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THE CAREER OF ADOLF REICHWEIN: A STUDY IN SOCIO-POLITICAL TENSIONS IN GERMAN EDUCATION BETWEEN 1918 AND 1945.

THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS
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SUMMARY.

An attempt is here made to reflect on educational history in the light of biography. It is a study of the career of Adolf Reichwein (1898-1944) and his relationship to certain social and educational tendencies in Germany between 1918 and 1945. The work begins with a sketch of the Kaiserreich and the kind of education at home and at school, which young Germans of the pre-1914 era experienced. The story of Reichwein's early years and as a 'Wandervogel' is traced, and some attention is paid to criticism levelled against traditional forms of German education after 1890. The first chapter closes with an account of Reichwein's participation in the World War of 1914-1918.

His student days and first marriage are then considered against the background of the early days of the Weimar Republic, considerable emphasis being placed on the meaning of 'Kulturpolitik' and the significance of the 'Akademische Vereinigung-Marburg'. Reichwein's entry into the field of Adult Education is described, first as an administrative

assistant in Berlin and then as organiser and lecturer in Thuringia. (Chapters II and III)

The fourth chapter gives a picture of Reichwein the traveller, airman and storyteller and is intended as a preparation for presenting him once again in a professional capacity as Becker's Press-Secretary in Berlin and as a teacher at the Teachers' Training College in Halle, this period lasting until his dismissal by the National-Socialists in 1933. (Chapter V).

The whole of Chapter VI is taken up with a detailed analysis and evaluation of Reichwein's theory and practice as headmaster of a village Primary school.

Chapter VII tells the story of his activities between 1939, when he was put in charge of the schools' section of the Deutsches Volksmuseum in Berlin, and 1944 when, after engaging in the German Resistance Movement, he was caught and hanged by the National-Socialists.

The last chapter offers an analysis of totalitarianism and seeks to show the impossibility of resistance to it in any but transcendental terms - the tragic predicament in which Reichwein himself was finally involved.

THE CAREER OF ADOLF REICHWEIN

A Study of Socio-Political Tensions in German Society between 1918 and 1945.

by

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1. Adolf Reichwein: The Chart of a Lifetime
2. Translation into English of an article from the 'Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung' of October 30th 1954, entitled 'Benito Cereno' - A Myth.
3. A Commentary on the German Youth Movement by Rolf Gardiner.

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CHAPTER I.

GROWING-UP IN THE KAISERREICH.

On October 20th 1944 a man, named Adolf Reichwein, was put to death by the National-Socialist government of Germany for having conspired against it. That event deserves to receive careful attention, first because it was the climax of the life-story of a remarkably gifted human being, and secondly because it was symptomatic of the interplay of educational and political forces in Germany during the first half of the twentieth century. By studying the biography of this one individual it is hoped to throw light on some educational features of a whole society and - more especially - to enrich the diagnosis of that social disease, which in its German manifestation was called Nazism but which in its general phenomenology is best described as the totalitarian sickness of our times.

Reichwein's career in fact provides material for the story of one man's life but it also epitomises the dilemma of an epoch. The pattern of his existence is symbolic of many of those tensions, which were a feature of German education between 1918 and 1945 and which correspond as well

to certain continuing conflicts in Western civilisation as a whole. Since the years of Reichwein's childhood and adolescence belong to the period 1898-1918, it will be appropriate to begin by obtaining some general idea of what it meant to grow up in the Kaiserreich, for the context of any man's origins explains much, if not most, of his subsequent development.

The German Empire at the end of the nineteenth century was a novelty in Central Europe. Geographical and historical determinants had ensured that its retarded nationalism was marked ever since 1815 and particularly after 1848 by an absence of that liberalism in its domestic and external affairs, which had accompanied the growth of democracy in most other countries of Western Europe. Bismarck's achievement had been to unite the German lands under Prussia on the basis of a successful campaign against Austria (1866) and France (1870) and internally to pave the way for the colossal expansionism attending the rise of modern German industry, the tremendous growth in population and the urbanisation of what until then had been a dominantly agricultural society.*1 From 1871 until

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*1 "In 1849 the German population numbered 35,128,000; in 1910 64,926,000. In 1871 the rural population formed 63.9 per cent of the total; in 1910, only 40 per cent. In the 60 years from 1849 to 1910 the urban population increased from 10 to 40 millions. In 1890, 11.4 per cent of the population lived in large towns of over 100,000 inhabitants; in 1910, 21.3 per cent. The great industrial city came into being, the industrial magnate, the industrial worker."

Roy Pascal: The Growth of Modern Germany: p.64
(London: Cobbett Press 1946)

1890 he had been able so to manoeuvre in his foreign policy as to prevent any coming together of those nations, France and Russia in particular, which might be expected to resent Germany's new place in the world, but with the advent of Kaiser Wilhelm II, the victory of the Catholics in the Kulturkampf, the insistence of the East German Junkers on their need of a protective agrarian tariff, the rise to political pretension of the Social Democrats, the cry of Pan-Germanism and a demand for colonial possessions, Germany's precarious position as an unsatisfied would-be Great Power, unequipped with the kind of representative institutions, which people could either understand or respect, very soon yielded to the dominance of two forces. The first was the influence of the now united industrialists and Junkers clamouring for outlets for the products of their trusts and cartels. The second was the pressure of international relationships, which after 1894 and decisively by 1904 had divided Europe into two armed camps, Russia and France on one side, Germany and Austria on the other, with Great Britain ever more likely to side with the former in the face of the big German naval programme and the traditional power of German armies, now glorying in the exhibitionism of their Imperial War-Lord and prepared to wage war on behalf of German economic interests wherever and whenever they appeared to be threatened.

The political inexperience and numerical weakness of the middle-classes meant that they looked to the Right far

more than to the Left for their alliances, while the new urban proletariat either succumbed to the impractical extremism of the Marxists or simply shared in the prizes of their country's mounting material prosperity without awareness of the reasons for it. The churches, Catholic and Protestant, were aligned for the most part with the national tendencies, which expressed themselves through the channels described above, while increasingly during the first decade of the twentieth century German 'Kultur', in the sense of ways of thinking and feeling to be imposed if need be by the martial fist, was applauded by German citizens and looked at askance by ~~all~~ others who encountered it whether in the university lecture-rooms of Berlin, the freshly acquired German colonies or the business-offices of the highly educated 'Geschäftsmänner'.

Yet behind all this there were warning voices, trying to give uneasy expression to that minority of Germans, who in the years before 1914, realised the dangers inherent in their country's political chauvinism and economic expansionism, set as it was in an international scene where the other great powers had similar interests to advance or more often to defend. Apart from the leaders of the Social Democratic Party*2, there were two great teachers, Burckhardt and Nietzsche,

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*2 Bebel - Legien - Rosa Luxemburg - Karl Liebknecht

both of whom in their very different ways despaired of Germany's and indeed the whole of Europe's condition. In a most penetrating study of what he calls "The Disinherited Mind" of modern Western civilisation Erich Heller in an essay entitled "Burckhardt and Nietzsche" has probed the wound of that cultural distress, which some fifty years later was to break out into political and economic totalitarianism.*3

"He (Burckhardt) knew, as certainly as Nietzsche, that the civilisation of Europe which he loved was doomed. To one of his German friends who placed high hopes in the pre-1848 revolutionary and nationalist movement, he wrote - to quote only one example out of a very great number of similar statements: 'None of you has any idea yet what a people is and how easily it deteriorates into a barbarous mob. You do not know yet what a tyrannical rule is to be set up over the spirit ..... We may all perish; but I for one shall choose the cause for which I am going to perish; the culture of old Europe.' Burckhardt could not bear with Nietzsche's iconoclast philosophising. ..... To Burckhardt, therefore, Nietzsche's nihilism must have appeared monstrous, and yet it must have set in motion those elements of despair which were inherent in his own philosophy." (p.64-5).

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*3 See Erich Heller: The Disinherited Mind. Essays in Modern German Literature and Thought. (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes 1952) p.53-69)

Burckhardt was preserved by the firmness with which he was rooted in the Christian and humanist tradition that he loved to contemplate as the meaningful continuum of history: Nietzsche was destroyed by the terror to which his deeper understanding of the fact that 'God was dead' exposed him: both were voices within the Kaiserreich engaged in that 'iconoclast philosophising', which, as we shall see, was to become the iconoclast reality on which the individual man of good-will, Adolf Reichwein, was all too tragically to suffer shipwreck.

Perhaps the best way of trying to capture the elusive 'Zeitgeist' of the Kaiserreich is to quote a passage from Robert Musil's strange and pregnant novel about the plight of pre-1914 Europe:- *4

"There are certain family feelings that are particularly intense, and one of them was the dislike of Germany that prevailed generally in the European family of nations before 1914. Perhaps Germany was the intellectually and spiritually least unified country, and hence a country that offered everyone something to suit his own dislikes; it was the country whose old-time culture had been the first to fall

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*4 See Robert Musil: The Man Without Qualities. Translated from the German by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. Vol. II. The like of it now happens. p.258. (London: Secker & Warburg 1954)

under the wheels of the new era and be sliced up into high-flown phrases for the catch-penny purposes of commercialism: it was, furthermore, aggressive, grasping, boastful and dangerously lacking, like every excited crowd, in responsibility for its actions. But all this was after all only European, and it should not have been anything but, at most, a little bit too European for all the other Europeans."

Skilfully suggested in this passage from a work of fiction are just those features of the Kaiserreich, which need to be constantly recalled - first the dominant ones, Germany's retarded nationalism, her socio-political absolutisms and particularisms,*5 her recently swollen population and vastly expanding industries, the weakness of her parliamentary institutions and the strength of her militarism; secondly the minority ones as shown in the claims of socialism and the warning voices of a few of her prophets who beneath the expansionism and prosperity of the epoch detected what a German historian*6 himself described as 'mass-Machiavellism' and the evil genius of those 'Kulturphilister' of Nietzsche's scorn.

How then did the youth of the Kaiserreich grow up? If education is defined as the means by which a society brings

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*5 See Samuel and Thomas: Education and Society in Modern Germany (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1949) Chapter I.

*6 See Meinecke: The German Catastrophe (Harvard U.P. 1950) Chapter VII.

up its young, it is well to recognise two truths, first that the means will vary according to the nature of the society and secondly that all children for some time and many children for a long time, which may even outlast childhood, are identified with the prevailing attitudes, values and beliefs of their parents on whom they are psychologically and economically dependent. A convenient classification with which to consider the sociology of this process is that suggested by Jung,*7 who makes a threefold distinction between education by example, collective education and individual education, bearing in mind however that the reality of any social condition must be a complex interweaving of these three categories. For our purpose here the first may be taken to apply to the largely unconscious or semi-conscious influences of home and parents, themselves the reflection of generally prevailing attitudes towards class, creed, profession and nation; the second to the deliberate, conscious influences of primary and secondary schooling, and the third to those exceptional cases, which distinguish themselves from either of the two previous categories by their outstanding excellence in the traditional convention of their society or by their marked and critical opposition to it. On this basis there may be ventured the following

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*7 See C. G. Jung: Contributions to Analytical Psychology: (Kegan Paul 1928) p.312-383 "Analytical Psychology and Education.

generalisations and, for Adolf Reichwein himself, particularisations regarding education in the Kaiserreich.

While fully appreciating the wide diversity of home conditions in Germany such as the homes of the élite, Junker, Industrialist and Officer-class, the homes of the professional middle-classes, and the homes of the vast majority of Germans, namely those of the peasantry and the new urban proletariat, it may nevertheless be suggested that there are certain features common to them all and worthy of attention as being significantly different from their counterparts in other Western European countries. First there is the striking rift between the 'Volk', thought of as the masses of unskilled or semi-skilled workers with a definitely inferior place in the social hierarchy, and the 'gebildete Schichten' - the cultured classes. Unlike her neighbours Germany at the end of the nineteenth century did not possess a sufficiently large and secure middle-class to span this rift with the result that extremes between the two sections were pronounced and tended to perpetuate a traditionally servile respect for 'die Obrigkeit', that which was one's immediate superior in daily life. This was reflected in political, economic and religious institutions and expressed itself in home-life by a strong male and paternalist predominance, accompanied still by a more or less sincere pietism a habit of hard work and an unthinking 'Vaterlandsliebe', composed of an increasing recognition and awe of Germany's more

and more confident bid 'for a place in the sun'. The prevailing tone of the German home was authoritarian; children were soon introduced to the idea that they had a 'Pflicht' to perform in life and that if the Kaiserreich offered them rights - such diverse rights as those of the officer class, of 'akademische Freiheit' or even of workers' rights - yet it demanded of them with uncompromising sternness a great many duties. Material standards of living in homes of all classes were rising fast, and conventional sanctions for the disciplining of the young by 'Papi's' word of law, the form of 'Anständigkeit' (decency) and the influence of church teaching, Catholic and non-Catholic - these still remained largely unquestioned. No doubt woman was a power in the home, but her strength in it was due in part to her almost complete lack of pretension outside it and in part to her male partner's false but sure assumption that the real values were the masculine ones and that therefore 'Mutti's' activity in the 'Stube' could give comfort and decoration without needing to be taken seriously.*8 Homes and parents of the Kaiserreich

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*8 Cf. Becker: German Youth: Bond or Free p.41-2 (London 1946) International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.

"The children who were born in the 'eighties and onwards were surrounded by a Germany rapidly casting off a great many of the stabilizing influences of the Biedermeier time, but within their homes the old virtues were still imparted. Given the mentality of the generation which founded families after 1870, examples of these virtues were found in a German past just far enough away to have the roseate tint of 'the good old days' .... Had not the virtuous Germans of bygone days lived sober, responsible, God-fearing lives? Were they not loyal to church

(contd. over)

at least until 1914, educated their young by the examples they themselves gave of their identification with Germany's retarded nationalism, economic expansionism, social and religious particularism: it was the exceptional household, whose vision extended far beyond the borders of its 'Land' or could scrutinise at all critically the evolving social patterns of its country's life.

Adolf Reichwein himself was born on October 3rd, 1898, at Bad Ems of Franconian-Hessian peasant ancestry on his father's side, his mother being a woman of the Rhineland. He was the first of three children, the two others being a brother Richard and a sister Klare: Adolf maintained friendly contact with them both after they had all grown up, but his brother became a member of the Nazi party, so that they were divided politically. Until the age of six he lived in the house of his mother's parents at Niederwalluf on the Rhine between Wiesbaden and Rudesheim, his father visiting the family as regularly as his duties as a 'Volksschullehrer' some little

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*8 (contd.) Cf. Becker: German Youth: Bond or Free.

and state? Did they not honour their parents and therefore live long in the land? Only those means sanctioned by the leaders whom God had set in authority whether spiritual or temporal, should ever be chosen by good little boys and girls who hoped to grow up into men and women of whom papa and mama could be proud. Even if the 'Do's' and 'Don'ts' were not always clearly mapped by God's earthly representatives, they could always be found by looking for the footsteps of the departed and by listening to the tales of their loyal, pious and kindly deeds."

distance away permitted. In 1904 the Reichwein family settled down in the village of Ober-Rosbach, which is attractively situated at the foot of the Taunus hills between Bad Homburg and Bad Nauheim. His mother died in August 1943, and the following extract from a birthday letter of Adolf to his father, dated 20th December, 1943, may be allowed to stand without comment as testimony to the warm filial affection,

"First let me send you all our best wishes for your birthday. This past year has been a turning-point in your life because of mother's death. However painful the loss of a lifetime's companion is, even more painful is a son's loss of his mother. Yet after the ills of recent years even death brings a kind of satisfaction." ⁂8a

The link with Ober-Rosbach, where his father was the local schoolmaster and church organist, remained unbroken throughout his career and is still maintained in the form of visits paid by Adolf Reichwein's widow to his aged father, who lives there in retirement.

It is not too difficult to reconstruct the home-life of young Adolf - his father a respected figure in local life with more than the usual ability of a 'Volksschullehrer', a decent though austere standard of living, a strict moral code

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⁂8a. Source A.

of upbringing, a general acceptance of the status quo but also some awareness of the rights of the 'common man' and the need to stand up for them. The young child must have been thoroughly soaked in the customs and manners of a rural community, whose mores were the conventional ones of well-to-do German peasantry, untouched as yet by the sociological significance of the railway which only a few years later was to link it to its more urban environment. Adolf's education by example was definite, simple, decent and conventional, his parents' role in the village left open possibilities of growth and development, which gave these early examples a more promising stamp than the majority of comparable village homes.

Turning to the second of our categories, that of collective education, we may raise the question of what kind of school system the young Reichwein was now to experience. By the end of the nineteenth century the 'Volksschule', which was compulsorily attended by almost all children except a very small minority of the 'privileged' from the age of six to fourteen, had certain well-defined characteristics. Its aim was to give a basic grounding in the three R's and a preparation for 'praktisches Christentum': it was the foundation of a state system of education, the 'Lehrplan' or curriculum of which showed remarkable uniformity throughout the country; it was administered by a local school-superintendent (schulrat) working in conjunction with an appropriate school committee of

the town or region concerned, and linked to the civil administration of its respective 'Land'. In many schools fees of varying size were charged, though in some education was free, but charges were nearly always made for equipment. These schools might be of a denominational or undenominational kind (simultan), the question being decided partly by considerations of administrative convenience and partly by political and ecclesiastical pressures. Methods of instruction were systematic to the point sometimes of rigidity, and it would not be unfair to summarize by remarking that within the given framework German 'Volksschulen' were probably more efficient than any other Elementary schools in Europe, but that the framework itself was conditioned by the prevailing socio-political patterns of the Kaiserreich so that it mirrored in its staffing, methods and programme the same influences as those already noticed in the homes with a more deliberate and self-conscious emphasis on narrowly utilitarian considerations within the straight-jacket of national tendencies. In this connection may be quoted an extract from Paulsen's "German Education Past and Present", first published in 1906:- *9

"Even in liberal circles the enthusiasm for the education of the people is perhaps no longer so warm as it was

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*9 F. Paulsen: German Education Past and Present, p.257 (Translated by T. Lorenz, Ph.D.) Unwin 1908.

fifty years ago - not to speak of the great landowners in the Eastern provinces nor of the Church of Rome. Not a few of the elected representatives of the nation view the progress of the education of the people with great misgivings. Since the rise of Social Democracy the question, if it is not easier to govern uneducated masses, is seriously considered even by men whose indignation would have been roused, not so long ago, by the mere formulation of such a suggestion."

Although Paulsen himself deprecated this tendency, it was one that never lay far beneath the surface of German life, and, as subsequent history was to show, the conditions of its being defeated, namely the demands of political and economic nationalism, were themselves inimical to the furthering of democracy in education.

Such then was the kind of context in which Adolf Reichwein obtained his first four years of collective education in the 'Grundschule' before passing on in 1909 at the age of ten to the 'Realschule' in the neighbouring town of Friedberg and in 1914 to the 'Oberrealschule' at Bad Nauheim. A word of explanation about these two types of school is necessary here as an introduction to an appraisal of this phase of his collective education. German Secondary education had been dominated by the Gymnasium with its concept of 'klassische Humanität' since the days of Wilhelm Von Humboldt, but already in the eighteenth century and increasingly in the nineteenth

century two other types of secondary school entered the field, the 'Realgymnasium' with its omission of Greek from the curriculum and the 'Oberrealschule' with its main emphasis on modern subjects from both of which entry could be made to the universities by the beginning of the twentieth century. The 'Realschule' provided a six year course for those children, who after four years in the elementary 'Grundschule', were destined by those of their parents who had the necessary means and ambition, to enter early into vocations wherein some knowledge of science, mathematics and modern languages would be of advantage to them. The development of these types of school - the 'Oberrealschule' with a nine-year and the 'Realschule' with a six-year post-elementary course - undoubtedly received much of its stimulus from the Imperially-inspired Reichsschulkonferenz of 1890 and was an expression of Germany's increasingly-felt need for a coming generation, suitably trained to administer an expansionist economy and control a self-conscious nationalism.

Two early letters of young Reichwein give a glimpse of the boy at this stage of his formal education, the first to his parents, dated July 20th, 1914 - just thirty years before the ill-fated conspiracy on Hitler's life and on the eve of the outbreak of the First World War. It describes his visit to Hamburg with its great harbour and busy traffic, which evidently made a strong impression upon him. In it there is a slightly precocious reference to a matter of current international controversy:-

"Just now the problem of Heligoland is very much to the fore. How is the issue to be settled? Somehow or other?"

The second letter is to his father, dated February 5th, 1915, and it gives a vivid picture of himself as a schoolboy helping to check on householders' stores and rations for the local government and being amused by the behaviour of would-be hoarders.

"Yesterday morning after first lesson we moved off to the Town Hall to be inducted into the mysteries of our new office. The town was divided into 30 districts, and each pupil was responsible for one district. There were 40 forms, which each household had to fill in to the best of its knowledge and conscience, 40 more with detailed explanations, one piece of writing paper and a green carrier. Five teachers were in charge and discharged their duties more or less conscientiously. We set off at 10.30 a.m. I had to knock at all the doors of the Lutherstrasse and the Ernst-Ludwig-Ring. I may say this was a most interesting undertaking. I ring, a maidservant appears, my business is explained in laconic fashion. "Just a second!" I wait 3 seconds - 5 minutes. I suspect that the worthy doctor's wife is still under her bedclothes at 10.30 a.m. The servant returns. I am to come up to the first, second, third floor - well, well, a door is opened, and I step into the larder and what a larder! In one corner there is a sack with some flour in it - was it 2 zentners

(I should have said that amounts of less than 2 zentners did not have to be registered) - I couldn't help laughing - to have gone up four flights of stairs just for that. In fact I did two or three flights in each house, and each time, as I remarked with a meaningful smile that only stores weighing less than 2 zentners need not be registered, a hubbub broke out:

"Good Lord, we have 2 zentners of flour - if only we had 2 pounds" or "Who would give us 2 zentners" and so on. Sometimes the lady would be panic-stricken before I had even said anything and would run into the kitchen, seize her flour-bin and with despairing and bitter countenance enquire: "Surely this wont be commandeered - it's hardly even a pound". Under such circumstances one can only grind one's teeth!" *10

It became clear, however, that Adolf's gifts were of the kind to demand a form of higher education superior to that obtainable in the 'Realschule'; hence his transfer to the 'Oberrealschule' at Bad Nauheim for a short time before he devoted himself to private study ('Autodidaktik') in preparation for 'Abitur' during the months before he joined the army.

However it is now time to turn to the third of the Jungian categories, Individual Education, and to see how the sociological dominants as outlined so far were being countered by other influences and to what extent Reichwein himself should be associated with them. It is particularly important to understand

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*10 Source A.

the socio-political directions in which critical educational theory was at this stage pointing because Reichwein was to be very closely bound up both with the practical shortcomings of such schemes in the Weimar period and the grim perversion of many of their elements under Nazism. *11

One aspect of the criticism against the dominant educational theory and practice of the Kaiserreich might be described as the Nietzschean protest. Nietzsche himself protested on the one hand against the sterility of studies in classical philology and on the other against the pretensions of materialist science: he deplored the way in which education was cut off from its roots and seemed to be deriving a kind of bogus nourishment from over-exact, specialist study or sentimental nationalism. Three of Nietzsche's ideas in particular were about in the educational atmosphere at the turn of the century, affecting directly or indirectly many different layers of academic life. One was that the universities displayed an indifference to general problems of culture in their obsession with specialist knowledge - the professor as 'the parody of the educated man'. Another was that culture depended on something more than purely rational intelligence; a third was the assertion that to collect, discover and record specific information was inferior to creation and reflection. Perhaps the core of Nietzsche's socio-political as

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*11 For many of the ideas in this section I am indebted to Frederic Lilge's "The Abuse of Learning. The Failure of the German University."

(New York: Macmillan 1948)

well as educational significance is best illustrated by the following passage, which helps to explain what must have been the impact on the younger Germans of how he saw "in the growing rush and the disappearance of contemplation and simplicity from modern life, the symptoms of a complete uprooting of culture. The writers of religion retreat and leave behind pools and bogs. Nations once again divide in fierce hostility and burn to tear each other to pieces. The sciences, without measure and in blindly selfish devotion, dissolve and atomize old beliefs. The civilised classes and nations are swept away by the grand rush for contemptible wealth. Never was the world worldlier, never was it emptier of love and goodness. The learned and educated are no longer beacons or sanctuaries in this growing emptiness, but themselves grow daily more restive, thoughtless and unloving. Everything, modern art and science included, prepares us for the coming barbarism ..... Everything on earth will be decided by the crudest and most evil powers, by the selfishness of grasping men and military dictators ..... But who will erect and preserve the image of man when men are so far gone that they feel like miserable worms or frightened dogs, because they have forgotten that image and sunk as low as beasts or even soulless mechanisms?" *12 The question posed in the last sentence of this remarkable prophecy of totalitarianism was one to the answering of

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*12 "Schopenhauer als Erzieher" by Nietzsche, Vol. VII pp.69-72. Quoted here from p.178 of Lilge's "The Abuse of Learning."

which Reichwein was to devote his life. The Nietzschean protest was also made by Lagarde against 'the tough crust of cultural barbarism' and by Langbehn with his insistence that 'knowledge produces only pigmies, but faith produces heroes.' A close connection existed between the anti-intellectualist and nationalist movements, and we shall do well to note how, as the twentieth century developed, two successive waves of longing, one before 1914 and another in 1933, swept Germany - a longing among Germans, in the words of Professor Wilson-Knight, to 'sacrifice political liberty for psychic freedom.' ("Christ and Nietzsche")

A second aspect of the criticism of educational dominants in the Kaiserreich is to be seen in the School Reform Movement, dating from about 1890. *13 Heralded by the work of Lichtwark in Hamburg and in the art world by the plays of Hauptmann and Sudermann, reform whether in the fields of women's emancipation, the condition of the working class or the plight of youth seemed to receive its strongest stimulus from school teachers, men like Kerschensteiner, Gaudig, Lietz in secondary and Jensen and Löttig in elementary education. The big phrases were 'free expression of individual personality', and 'child-centred' teaching: the apostles of the new outlook in the universities were Nohl, Litt, Spranger and Flitner. The 'Arbeitsschule' *14 and

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*13 Nohl: Die Pädagogische Bewegung in Deutschland und ihre Theorie. (3 Auflage Frankfurt 1949) See also Chapter VI, p.174.

*14 Samuel and Thomas: Education and Society in Modern Germany p.28 et seq. Its slogan - education for work through work. Kerschensteiner - Gaudig - P. Petersen and later the 'Jena' plan.

'Einheitsschule' *15 movements as well as demands for free expression in art *16 and the development of adult education were all part of the same movement, to the inspiration of which much of Reichwein's own later theory and practice were indebted. Yet it is on the Youth movement aspect that we must here especially concentrate for two reasons, first because the members of its early days had such a vital connection with the aspirations and frustrations of education in the nineteen-twenties, and secondly because Reichwein himself was such a typical child of that movement, although he did in fact go far beyond the type.

Apart from the sense in which there is always and everywhere the perpetual movement of youth against age, it can be shown that at certain times in certain societies and for certain reasons this movement takes on an abnormal character, distinguished sometimes by a savagely destructive attitude towards all previous institutions and mores, sometimes by constructive suggestions, theoretical and practical, for their reform. The German Youth Movement between 1896 and 1914 was the practical expression among young people of that philosophical and pedagogical criticism of the

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*15 A political as well as an educational policy calling for a 'common' school.
Cf. Comprehensive School demand in England and subsequent developments in different parts of Germany.

*16 Hamburg, Munich and Vienna were the centres of the movement, Kerschensteiner emphasising the drawing side of it and Jensen the language side.

status quo in the Kaiserreich outlined above. It was a protest against over-formality and rigidity in educational techniques, social habits, the frustrating and confining conditions of much urban life and conventional forms of authoritarianism! Its roots were complex, but they all had a common base in that urge for the organic, which was so marked a feature of the thought and practice of men like Nietzsche, Lagarde, Lietz, Spranger and Kerschensteiner. The movement was also in part a protest against the evils of industrialisation, a kind of neo-romantic away from it all in connection with the somewhat drab, monotonous daily life of office and factory and tinged by the anxiety that perhaps Germany was not playing the large and redemptive role in the world, which she should be playing. It hankered after abstract freedom, and its symbol was the 'Wandervogel', the young member, chiefly of the male sex, who singly or more often in companionship with others hiked across the German countryside, enduring much physical hardship and consciously seeking to revive old folk music and culture; it was composed of a strong blend of unthinking nationalism and dreamy cosmopolitanism. [*17]

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*17 For a most interesting sociological analysis of the German Youth Movement see Howard Becker: German Youth: Bond or Free (London: Kegan Paul 1946). Especially Part I, Chapter III "Revulsion: In Momma's House."

N.B. The following extract from that chapter, p.51:-

"Specifically they (German Young People) thought that parental religion was largely sham, politics boastful and trivial, economics unscrupulous and deceitful, education stereotyped and lifeless, art trashy and sentimental, literature spurious and commercialized, the drama tawdry and mechanical, the dance cheaply titillating or excessively formal, family life repressive and insincere, and the relations of the sexes, in marriage or out, shot through with hypocrisy."

The undoubtedly special need of German Youth to lead and to be led in a campaign against the social and educational dominants of the Kaiserreich was first met by one Karl Fischer, himself the pupil of an independently-minded Gymnasium teacher in the Berlin suburb of Steglitz, by name Ludwig Gurlitt. He was in Max Weber's sense of the word the movement's first 'charismatic' leader, and under his inspiration groups of like-minded young people began to coalesce with one another first in Prussia and then in other provinces of the Reich. Soon his leadership was challenged by Siegfried Copalle, whose adherents disliked the coarseness of some of the first group's activities, and the split which then ensued (1908) was the beginning of a whole series of fissures, which though temporarily overcome in 1914, were to play havoc with the whole movement in the 1920's. One of the issues which was a major source of controversy was the dispute as to whether the 'Jugendbewegung' was a purely masculine affair or whether girls too had an important part to play in it. *18 "The sects survived as sects, but certain features held in common by one detachment or another make possible a rough classification. There was in 1910 a dwindling minority of aggressively rebellious Roamers of pristine stamp; a smaller but slowly growing minority

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*18 For a discussion of this point and the whole question of the homosexual element in the movement see Becker: Op. cit. p.64-69.
Also Chapter V "Decision" for a vivid description of the main features of 'Wandervogel' life.
N.B. Becker states (p.92) that by 1905 there were over 78 'distinguishable clusters' of young people.
For a rather different interpretation of the meaning of the Youth Movement see Appendix III.

of homosexual lads sub-divided into primitivists of both types, with the soft variety slightly predominating; and a three-quarters majority as yet counting only about one girl to three boys, but with the proportions rapidly approaching a balance and with soft and hard primitivism combining into a standard, moderate form. The total membership of all these schismatic bodies was in the vicinity of fifty or sixty thousand, at the lowest estimate, shortly before World War I." ⁂19

It is important for the sake of obtaining an over-all picture to make a distinction between the Youth Movement as so far described and the 'youth tutelage organisations', which were devised by adults in much larger numbers than the 'Wandervogel' groups and which generally had official or semi-official backing.⁂20 The original German Youth Movement had been without clearly defined social goals, but, partly because of the implied threat to their own individuality by the 'youth tutelage groups', the leaders of the movement summoned a meeting three thousand strong on the hill of Hohe Meissner to achieve and proclaim their solidarity. This was in the main achieved by the formation of the "Free German Youth", largely on the initiative of Gustav Wyneken, founder of the 'Free School Community' of Wickersdorf. Soon the revived and united movement came under fire from official

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⁂19 Becker Op. cit. p.94.

⁂20 Op. cit. p.106 for a summary of the chief of these organisations.

quarters because of its radicalism and alleged immorality. This led to the more conservative elements splitting off from Wyneken and grouping themselves round Paul Natorp. *21 However before this rift became any wider, the First World War broke out in August 1914 and, almost overnight, German Youth, whether officially or privately organised, was with utterly insignificant exceptions, formed into one united whole blazing with ardour to defend the Fatherland in danger.

It is against the background of this expression of opposition "Individual Education" in the Kaiserreich that Reichwein's particular share in the 'Jugendbewegung' should be viewed. In addition to the quiet influence of a simple, dignified, hard-working home he had in his formative years clearly felt the need of something more, something which the standard form of contemporary life could not provide but which the 'Wandervogel' movement could offer. His own father has explained its significance:- *22

"The influence of the 'Wandervogel' movement, which had for a long time been coming to birth in Germany, was decisive in its influence on the spiritual development of his character not least in the shape of certain outstanding personalities in it like Schmalzhof, a schoolmaster in Ober Rosbach and Studienassessor

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*21 Natorp, Paul (1854-1924) - Professor at Marburg University. See p.46 for further mention.

*22 Personal Comment of Herr Reichwein Senior to the author.

Stein in Friedberg, who stood as formative ideals for him. At Club-evenings and on long hikes lasting for several weeks, North and South across the countryside, he learnt the true meaning of comradeship."

The big part of this passage is in the last word 'comradeship' because it suggests that to young Germans, who potentially were fitted to go 'beyond the type' the goal which they were seeking was some kind of social cement to give significance to what in the context of formal education and customary conventions was lacking. It could almost be said that Germany's fundamental political problem then and from 1918 onwards was to achieve a sense of corporate unity, which its existing institutions by reason of the nature of their historical conditioning were too fragmentary and particularist to provide.

In a reminiscence of the fifteen-year old 'Wandervogel' Dr. Ulrich has commented*23 on the unusual degree of self-control achieved by young Reichwein, citing as evidence an incident when Adolf's newly acquired and much-prized violin was smashed by the action of a fellow Wandervogel quite by accident when the two of them were on a rock-climbing expedition. Not only was there no outburst of temper on Adolf's part, but on the contrary an immediate attempt to console the innocent and rueful offender.

Across the education by example, collective education and individual education taking place in the Kaiserreich before 1914 as here described the First World War wrote its devastating

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*23 Source B (18)

and in many cases obliterating messages. For the first three years of it at least the sociological dominants became more dominant still, education was put into cold storage, and social including pedagogical reform was relegated to the realm of speculation among the many members of the 'Jugendbewegung' then fighting for their country. Yet, as we shall now see, war as ever tended to be a hatching-ground of further educational reform, some evidence of which may be gleaned from the personal story of Reichwein as he fought for Germany.

He joined the German Armed Forces, as a volunteer like so many other Wandervögel, in November 1916, and in a letter written home to his family on the last day of that year he expresses the hope and conviction that the New Year would bring peace and that a victorious one for his own country.*24 He had a short period of training, shared with several 'Wandervogel' contemporaries:- *25

"On route-marches during our training we always volunteered," writes his friend Dr, Ulrich, "to be advance-guards and generally succeeded in being chosen as scouts. So we marched on alone in front of the class-column into '<u>our</u>' world, singing and whistling 'Wandervogel' songs. This did not at all mean that we neglected the duties of comradeship. How often did each of us carry two rifles on the return march to barracks when fellow-recruits were 'all-in'. However great the strain was to do this, the wish

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*24 Source A.

*25 Source B (18)

to help and the consciousness of disciplining our bodies enabled us to achieve things which average youth could not. Reichwein took a peculiar delight after manoeuvres and parades in going over the obstacle-course of evil reputation two or three times and in performing all kinds of climbing-feats on the wall-bars. When we were allowed out we scarcely ever missed an evening meeting of the Mainz 'Wandervogel'".

Early in the spring of 1917 Reichwein and his friend proceeded with their detachment to Poland, and the following is a revealing extract from a further description by Dr. Ulrich:-

"In Jablonna we experienced the wide expanses of the East. On rest-days we wandered through the countryside in order to get to know the land and its people. On Sundays we sometimes visited Warsaw and looked especially at the Orthodox churches. When the sun had gone down in the evening and the broad heavens with their green-golden tint, peculiar to the East, arched itself above us, then came the hours of talk. Even then Reichwein was not concerned with sentimental or youthfully egocentric thoughts. However persuasively and convincingly he spoke, his was no phantasy-world. He rejected quite deliberately all those eccentric Reform-plans, which were being peddled by the older, one-sided apostles of the Youth Movement. What was the point of long hair, currency-reform, old-German customs and clothes-reform, soil-reform and 'back to Nature' ideas of nudism and sandals and similar petty problems when weighed against the simple clear conviction of young people, who in order to find themselves,

longed to recognise what they were and to grow to maturity. It was probably the most essential experience of these young people that they strove to realise the unity of their heads and hearts, their desires and their activities. They had to try and overcome that dualism, which still hangs about all philosophies and which manifests itself most clearly in the left hand not being allowed to know what the right hand is doing. It was not Nature and spirit that they experienced but a spiritualised Nature. That was the great novelty which the 'Jugendbewegung' contained. Wackenroder, the Romantic writer, said once that Nature and Art spoke a quite special language to men. "In a marvellous way they stir our whole being in the same moment and press into our every nerve and drop of blood." Just in that way were sentiments aroused in our young people by Nature, which glowed in them as 'Wandervogel' as though they had received consecration. ..... Herein lay the roots of a genuine sociology. These young people thought of themselves as a part of the world and mirrored the whole world in their own hearts. So there could be no partial-problems, no separate-evaluation, but the inner and outer concentration on unity and wholeness. It was among these kinds of young people that Reichwein had his roots and it was from such experiences in youth that his personality developed. From the experiences of his own youth he knew what youth means for the whole of life. That was why later on his devotion streamed out to the coming generation. Adolf Reichwein remained perpetually young, not only because he was always able to call on fresh

power from his own youth - and here we must not forget his understanding father who often hiked with him -, but also because he liked nothing better than to live and think with young people. A student from the 'Pädagogische Akademie' in Halle said to me once: "Professor Reichwein gets on so splendidly with us, because he has remained young."

In June 1917 Reichwein's detachment was moved to the Western Front. Commenting in a letter home on the author, Flaischler,*26 he expresses the following opinion, which is worth noting in relation to his own subsequent problems:-

"Like many moderns his outlook on life seems to me to be insufficiently charged with a sense of duty and too much concerned with his own well-being - a kind of egotistical moral welfare. In my opinion there exists a 'spiritual Guards Brigade' which has a high and holy responsibility for mankind on its conscience. Every educated man is in duty bound to respond to this responsibility."

Yet he liked Flaischler's little remark: 'Shield what you consider holy from the common light of day."

At this time too his letters reveal an almost precociously intelligent interest in the general political outlook for Europe: there are references to the German army occupying Belgium, to the need for coming rapidly to terms with the Russians, to the strength and bitterness of Franco-German suspicion.

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*26 Source A.

The Young Reichwein as 'Frontsoldat'
(1916-17)

At the end of July 1917 he was expecting to move up to the Front line, and he wrote a long letter home in which he considered the state's responsibility for post-war reconstruction and in particular its duties to the war-wounded: moreover he was already aware that war itself so often provides the impetus for social reform:-

"Hand in hand with welfare work must go adult education. We so often discussed this problem out here but never got very far, because no one knows enough about it. I've got a notion about the Danish Folk High Schools but no more, and about what is happening in this field in Germany I'm completely in the dark.*27 Yet it's clear enough to us that this will be one of the most important problems of the future."

A letter dated December 27th, 1917, tells its own story of the conclusion of Reichwein's military career:- *28

"I was badly wounded by shell-fire at the battle of Cambrai on December 5th (lung and right arm). Things are going a bit better with me now. In the next few days I shall be brought back to Germany. Warmest good wishes for the New Year."

Before continuing to follow the development of Reichwein's post-war career, it is opportune to marshal the central facts about the scenes of his childhood, which have been sketched in this chapter. First there is the picture of the

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*27 Cf. Reichwein's later knowledge and appreciation of Grundtvig Chapter V.

*28 Source A.

Kaiserreich between 1871 and 1914 seen in its political, economic and psycho-spiritual perspectives. Secondly there is the Kaiserreich regarded in its educational aspect under the three categories of education by example, collective education and Individual Education. In each of these categories attention was focused on their majority determinants in home and school, their minority counter-influences and the particular, individual relationship of the young Reichwein towards them. A third observation was made of the impact of the First World War on all three of them, and it only remains at this stage to venture some preliminary assessment of the nature of Reichwein's boyhood personality. The impression is gained of a lad of humble and decent origins, high-spirited and with a sense of humour, intelligent, sensitive and in his own person symbolic of the tension between those socio-political determinants of the Kaiserreich as sketched above and their minority earlier influences. Through the 'Wandervogel' movement and not a little owing to the sympathetic understanding of his parents Reichwein managed to get outside the influence of the dominants to a very great extent - a process much hastened by his experiences of the war. His own native shrewd realism acted as something of a brake on the leaping energy and passionate idealism of the other parts of his character, yet as the passage quoted from Dr. Ulrich's account suggests, members of the 'Jugendbewegung' inclined - often with justification - to regard themselves as distinct from 'average youth' -

a dedicated band, which Reichwein himself was to envisage from the trenches as a kind of 'spiritual Guards' Brigade'. It is the fate of that body of men, Reichwein one of the chief among them, which will be the subject of study in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER II.

COMING OF AGE UNDER THE REPUBLIC.

In January 1918 Adolf Reichwein lay in hospital at Kassel, recovering from his wounds on the Western Front. It was the beginning of a year of catastrophe and defeat for Germany, the main features of which should here be noted as the national stage-setting against the background of which he and many hundreds of other young ex-servicemen were to come of age then and in the next four years. A country with all the symptoms of retarded nationalism had suffered a decisive military defeat and was being occupied by the armies of her conquerors. Yet the significant fact is that the German Armed Forces managed to keep together and to return to the Fatherland with such a show of pride and power that, aided by the dependence of President Ebert and the new parliamentary regime on Quarter-Master General Groener for the maintenance of some kind of law and order in a Reich already threatened by bitter class dissention and possibly even 'Bolshevisation', the majority of Germans quickly came to believe that nothing had really changed. True the Kaiser had fled and the Allies were on German soil, true the Social-Democrats were in power, but the revolution as such was proving abortive, the German army had not really been defeated - only stabbed in the back by treacherous left-wing elements on the Home Front. In such an atmosphere it was perhaps natural for the new German government to

fear the Left more than the Right, especially when encouraged to do so by heavy pressure from the Allies, and to look, after the disbandment of the official armed forces, to the Free Corps or Volunteers as sources of power for the suppression of dissident movements and the protection of the fluid Eastern Front. The activities of the Free Corps deserve to be carefully noted, partly for their actual importance in helping to establish by rough and ready means the temporary position of a government, whose policy they despised, but perhaps even more for their symbolic and psychological importance as being the expression of the mood and needs of two classes of utterly disillusioned men, the ex-Front soldiers and the student youth of Germany. Apart from the material inducements for joining the Free Corps during a period in which hunger and unemployment were awful realities, there was the psychological appeal to an uprooted and disinherited generation. In a well-known book, "Die Geächteten," ✱1 Ernst von Salomon has given a classic description of this type of man, part of which is quoted here to show that the socio-educational scene, on which we shall be studying some minority figures, was in fact the inconspicuous and impotent partner of dominants in German society composed of the glorying extreme Right-Wingers and men of steel, who brought war back with them into civil life and the far larger number of their hangers-on and imitators in phantasy,

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✱1 Quoted from Waite: Vanguard of Nazism, p.44 (Harvard University Press) 1952 for which in general see re the Free Corps Movement in Post War Germany.

who though themselves not yet committed to a career of violence, were after another ten years of frustration under the Republic to become the Storm Troopers of the Third Reich:-

"These men were not workers, farmers, students ..... These men were soldiers ..... united in the bonds of blood and sacrifice. Their home was the Front - it was for them Homeland! Fatherland! Volk! Nation! That is why, yes, that is why they could never belong to us. That is the reason for this stolid, moving, spectral return ..... War moved them; war dominated them; they could never abandon it; never come home. They would always carry the Front in their blood; the approaching death, the glorious suspense, the suffering, the smoke, the cold steel ...

And suddenly they were supposed to become peaceful citizens in a bürgerlich world! Oh! no. That was a transplanting, a counterfeit which was bound to fail ..... The war is ended but the warriors still march."

Only by remembering the clue contained in this passage as to the prevailing climate of the dominants in post-war German Society, will it be possible to estimate at all accurately the minority forces arranged in opposition in the educational field of which Adolf Reichwein himself was a conspicuous member.

Once again applying the three-level Jungian categorisation to the post-war German scene in its specifically educational aspect, we may note that, as for education by example, traditional stereotypes of parent, teacher, home and authority

largely were maintained in spite of a great number of broken families, a number of superficial radical elements and the honest good intentions of the Weimar Constitution. Values of the old Germany, however smirched or questioned they might be in certain circles for a time, were held out and held on to as the real values to which all decent members of the coming generation must surely revert.

On the surface of course, that is at the level of collective education, the reverse appeared to be the case. It seemed as though educational control and administration would in the spirit of the Constitution, as for example in the ruling that all elementary education was to be free, be more centralised than heretofore and more in line with the democratic pretensions of the Weimar Republic. In fact, however, the proceedings of the Reichschulkonferenz of 1920 demonstrated the hollowness of such hopes, for it was notable for the obstructionist tactics adopted by Catholic and Protestant representatives at it and for leaving the implementation of any agreements made to the heads of the separate 'Land' governments, when they had to stand the assault, mostly with conspicuous ill-success, of customary denominational and particularist interests.[*2]

At this stage it is of particular interest to consider

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*2 From the author's personal observation in German schools somewhat later in the 1920's, the prevailing atmosphere in most Secondary Schools was strongly anti-republican.

the reflections of C. H. Becker,*3 who writing in the years 1918-1919 went straight to the heart of Germany's problem and revealed the kind of predicament in which our third category, the Individual Educationists, as interpreted below, found themselves. Becker posed three specific questions: are politics in the sphere of culture possible and proper? If so, is the individual German capable of dealing with them there, and again, if so, can the country as a whole deal with them, or are they not rather the province of each separate 'Land' government? "Kulturpolitik," argued Becker, was that which, consciously promoted, held a nation together inwardly and outwardly. Applying this to his own country, he fastened on the weaknesses of German individualism and particularism. "Individualism, which leads sociologically to particularism, has never been the strength of a people as a whole." (p.3 op. cit.). German unity was obtained, so wrote Becker, on a military not on an educational basis, and militarism itself was a kind of compensation for excessive tendencies to individualism. What then would unify the Germans as a nation after the collapse of militarism - unify it in a transcendence of confessional, professional and class differences? The answer lay, he went on, in educational endeavour:-

"Decisions about educational problems belong at any rate in the Germany of to-day to the province of politics and parliament." (p.6 op. cit.) Becker made a plan for the necessary,

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*3 See especially C. H. Becker: "Kulturpolitische Aufgaben des Reiches." (1919 Verlag von Quelle und Mayer in Leipzig)

minimum amount of centralisation in educational administration - just enough to make a 'Kulturpolitik' possible. By 'Kulturpolitik' he meant the conscious application of cultural-spiritual forces to the service of the people and the state in the interests of their internal solidarity and their external relations to other countries.

Elsewhere in the same book Becker summarised the obstacles in the way of German unity as first, the conflict between the political concept of the Reich and the cultural autonomy of the 'Länder', secondly the Confessional divisions, thirdly the tension between the assorted needs of unity and the increasing differentiation of modern society, and fourthly the tension between ideals of unity and the existing class-structure.*4 "Only unifying ideas lead to an unified culture." (p.45 op. cit.) "Our most immediate need is consciousness of ourselves as a people. Our task can be described as that of education to nationhood ..... The national category is missing from our people's character." (p.46 op. cit.) "Here then is a mighty, pedagogical problem, which we only underestimate because our whole educational system has been too much concentrated on the

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*4 Perhaps the pithiest summary of the essential defect in the Weimar Republic, which made so much of Becker's admirable theory of no avail in practice, is contained in Barraclough's "The Origins of Modern Germany", p.442.
"The Weimar Constitution established the external forms of political liberty, but without the changes in social and economic power which alone could give them vitality."

intellect. We have to recover reverence for the non-rational." (p.55 op. cit.)

Becker's analysis was in the main correct, and much of the effort of him and his devotees, Reichwein among them, was to be devoted to the practical attempt to solve this pedagogical problem. This attempt was gravely prejudiced from the outset, because in the Weimar republic educational endeavour was squeezed and mauled by the brute forces of economic necessity, these in turn gaining increased impetus from the psychological counter-dynamics of social immaturity and political infantilism. Whereas for example in England there had existed for a long time the habit and practice of a large amount of self-government and voluntary service, the Kaiserreich had provided too few foci of loyalty - where these did exist, allegiance to a particular 'Gemeinde' cut across wider allegiances and tended to stifle 'courage civile'. Inability to produce a generally acceptable solution to this problem was one of the underlying reasons why the Nazis were able after ten years and for a period of ~~thirteen~~ twelve years to provide their own solution, which was as effective as it was perverted.

Because much that was best in the minority of those who came of age in the early twenties is to be seen as a legacy and development of the original Youth Movement, it is on this aspect of the socio-educational scene that attention is now focused. The original 'Wandervögel' and their legitimate successors were described by Georg Goetsch, himself a radical restorer of value through significant forms of expression in musical and communal activity, as the 'conscience of the people', and it is

indeed tragic that so much of idealism and self- sacrifice was to be dissipated in the sectionalism of the post-1918 German Youth movement. The best elements recognised the nature of the political climate in the early 1920's: they saw the problem of a government which seemed to be coping ineffectually at an apparently vast distance away from them with the colossal problems of foreign occupation, unemployment and finally inflation. They realised the need in an agnostic state for some kind of organic bond to make the masses, now entering politics for the first time, cohere socially. They were understandably sceptical of the capacity of the various political parties to play this role and so tended to rely on their own 'Bünde' or associations wherein, they felt, there could be fostered just this type of organic bond. So, out of a true appreciation of the need, they tended to concentrate on putting their own houses in order but only, so to speak, in the wings of the national life. Typical of this were the many attempts, some of them for a time quite successful, to create 'Siedlungen' or 'settlements' within the interstices of the corrupt larger society. The post-war sections of the Youth Movement, challenged now to face the political realities of being grown up, did undoubtedly for the most part seek to correct the ultra-individualist tendencies of their earlier days by emphasising the need for 'Genossenshaft' - fellowship, social solidarity, but they did so in isolated groups or, when they did enjoy official backing, as for example in the field of adult education, it was a backing which came from the Cinderellas of government, namely the

education ministers, who themselves were the mere playthings of the dominant economic and political factors that determined the general form of the national development. All this is brought out very clearly in a book called "The Dear Monster" by Halkett (p.95-100, 178-210):- ⁎5

"In the Weimar Republic there was no common basis to be found, but a lot of helpless people and ideologies, using the free gift of the Democratic system as a means towards absolute power" (p.180).

We may now transfer these somewhat general observations on the early Weimar educational scene, to the universities, where the whole issue of politics and knowledge received a great deal of attention, and where this particular stage of Reichwein's own development was now taking place. Already in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the German universities, deservedly

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⁎5 G. R. Halkett: The Dear Monster (Cape 1939) and note especially the strange phenomenon of Muck Lamberty in Thuringia and the 'Glut in Geist', as evidence of the new life in German society that was trying to break through, but that found official political channels closed to it and that tended to flare up and disappear again in a series of unconnected episodes.
Note also Dr. R. Schairer (Yearbook of Education 1938: The Idea and History of Youth Movements p.969) on the results of the 1914-18 war:-
"But to have to live on not knowing where now lay the border-line between the cause of right and the cause of wrong ..... this was the trial, and the tragedy of many. And from year to year the 'other side' gained ground upon those left in doubt, proclaiming that not love, but force, not altruism but egotism, ruled the world."

world-famous for their academic achievements, were coming under fire from men like Nietzsche and Burckhardt, and by the turn of the century, and even more as a result of the First World War, they presented two main problems. On the one hand there was the superlative academic scholarship in the hands of the 'Kultur-philister' of Nietzsche's scorn, which seemed to bear little practical relation to the needs of the society which after all the Universities existed, at least in part, to serve. On the other hand there was the class-privilege of the universities, which cut them off from the main life of the people. With the coming of the Weimar Republic it might have been hoped that both of these problems would have been tackled. In spite of certain significant attempts to do so, which will be noted here below, they were not in fact successfully tackled and so contributed not a little to the eventual rise of Nazism by the large numbers of academic proletariat which they turned out on to the labour market. *6 Moreover their social structure as expressed in Professor-student relationship and the power of the 'Corporations' remained

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*6 See Kotschnig: Unemployment in the Learned Professions (London 1937)

largely unchanged. *7

Yet what must be noted here is the attempt made by three distinguished German university men to cope with this crisis of the university and a particular attempt by one organisation, with which Reichwein was closely connected, to breathe a new spirit into the whole idea of the university. The first of these three was Max Weber, who made a fine attempt to present to the post-war generation of students a rational view of the function of university studies, namely man's desire and ability 'to explain, organise and control the forces of nature and the functioning of society.' *8 Lilge brings out very well the inadequacy of Weber's attempt in the following passage, which is worth pondering in

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*7 There is a long history behind the organisation of German student life, but here it is only necessary to note the distinction between -

(a) The original 'Landmannschaften' organised on a regional basis, which emerged after 1817 as the 'Korps' with a strongly aristocratic aspect.

(b) The 'Burschenschaften', dating from the 1817 Wartburg meeting, with a largely middle-class membership.

The 'Alte-Herren' or Old Boys of these organisations played a considerable role in society as a whole as perpetuating the status quo and finding jobs for their successors as they came out of the universities. It was felt and rightly so, that if after 1918 the universities were to be reformed and modernised in keeping with the demands of the time, this structure of student organisation would have to be remodelled, but how difficult and in the end, impossible this was is illustrated by the efforts of the 'A-V' Marburg for which see the text of this chapter.

See also Samuel & Thomas: Education and Society in Modern Germany, p.121-8 for illuminating comment on these matters.

*8 Quoted from p.135 of Lilge: The Abuse of Learning. See especially his Chapter VI, entitled "The Last Stand of Rationalism".

connection with the socially-conscious policy which was to be attempted by the 'Akademische-Vereinigung', Marburg:-

"It was improbable that youth could abide by a mere absence of illusions. Besides, the irrational and destructive forces, against which Weber wished to guard them, could be inhibited only by the vision of an ideal and a social ethos which once more would make possible that community for which people everywhere had begun to long. But that vision, Weber did not have. His thoughts reflected the end of an era." (p.139)*9

It was the second of these three men, Max Scheler, who did more than anyone else to devise and present a new and living concept of the dynamic relationship between education and society going beyond Weber's rationalism. This is of particular interest as there is evidence that Reichwein himself was acquainted with Scheler's work,*10 and he may in particular have found much that was suggestive in it for his furthering of adult education. The third man was Paul Natorp, who in the early 1920's at Marburg was lecturing and writing about a 'Sozialpädagogik',*11 a deliberate attempt to give social and indeed political meaning to

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*9 Op. cit. p.139.

*10 Max Scheler: Die Wissensformen und die Gesellschaft (1926) For evidence of the Reichwein connection with the 'A-V' see 'Ockenhäuser Blätter' Spring 1919, p.3, and April 1921, p.4.

*11 See Paul Natorp: (1) Sozialpädagogik (Stuttgart 1922)
(2) Sozial-Idealismus (Berlin 1922)

education. He too is significant because of the evidence there is of his influence on members of the 'Akademische Vereinigung' Marburg and most probably therefore on Reichwein himself. What then was this association? *12 It originated in May, 1912, as an attempt by a small group of like-minded young students, most of them Wandervogel, to try and give form and a goal particularly within the university setting to that original, bare, 'away from it all' urge of the Youth Movement - to get beyond a certain 'Unschlüssigkeit' or 'inconclusiveness' in their affairs of which they were conscious. Could one, they were asking, just wander through the cultural world as a 'Wandervogel' wandered through nature? Increasingly their answer was 'No' and they sought a 'Gemeinschaft' or fellowship, which as an end in itself would bind them together on a basis of positive neutrality in matters of politics or religion. How frail was this hope, later events were to show! Perhaps this self-conscious craving for 'Gemeinschaft' had something to do with the peculiar status of woman in German society. Although she was very much in the home, she was often enough not of it. That is to say, her family, while well - perhaps too well cared for - were unable to obtain from her that emotional warmth, which comes from commonly felt experience. She

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*12 For much of this section, I am greatly indebted to a former member of the 'A-V', Mr. E. Kahn, who put at my disposal a number of the association's journals entitled 'Ockerhäuser Blätter'. It is of interest to note that at Whitsuntide 1954 38 members of the still living 80 original founder members of the 'A-V' (1912) met again at Marburg and entered into association with a new student body, 'Sodalitas Philippina Marburg', the ideals of the two having much in common in spite of the lapse of 44 years. They could be epitomised in one of the slogans of this meeting: 'Knowledge is indissolubly bound to conscience.'

was cut off from whole realms of what was deemed to be the man's world, especially politics, and so could not contribute the essentially feminine element in relationship, which the men-folk then sought to produce artificially in their various 'Gemeinschaften'. Another idea they held in common was that the pursuit of 'Wissenschaft' or 'knowledge' was not just like any other 'Beruf' or profession but that it contained within itself an absolute demand for the love of knowledge as a good in itself. The 'A-V' persisted spasmodically throughout the First World War even though its members were scattered and many of them eventual casualties. The records of those years reveal one pre-occupation in particular, namely how to make the 'Jugendbewegung' politically effective. In October, 1918, there was earnest questioning as to whether it should continue, as there seemed to be only some 25 surviving members. However the 'A-V' survived, albeit already divided between those of its members who wished to see it committed to active political work of a socialist kind and those who clung to the idea of positive neutrality. In the autumn of 1918 already the 'A-V' was organising study-seminars in Marburg. It was at the head of the movement for 'Hochschulreform' in Marburg, a rallying-point for student-ex-servicemen and for all those elements, who were tired of the old 'Korps' with their closed social prerogatives. The 'A-V' presented itself as 'the corporation of the Future' - an university within an university offering the social and intellectual companionship which by definition the traditional university had ceased to be able to offer: above all the 'A-V' strove to promote among its members a synthesis of living and learning.

In the Spring number (1919) of the journal there is a poem by Emanuel Geibel (1815-84): the fact that this nineteenth century poet was quoted ~~part of which is worth quoting here~~ as a sign of the confused longing for a lead, which this generation of students was seeking:-

> "Oh! destiny! Grant us a man, one man, ...
> A Man is needed - Descendant of the Niebelung -
> To master the uncurbed, contemporary times
> With iron fist and iron thigh"

This is an interesting echo within a minority group in University circles of the brazen dominants of the 'Free Korps' mentioned earlier in the chapter. The group met together for recreation and for study purposes, discussing problems of sex and socialism and reading Schiller's "Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man." Mr. Kahn himself wrote in the 1919 Spring number of the journal a few sentences, which capture exactly the aspiration and belief of a young 'A-V' member at this time, who desired to reform himself and his studies. Dissatisfied with what the original 'Wandervogel' had to offer him and also with the 'Freie Studentenschaft' which seemed to be suffocating in its own constitutional niceties, Mr. Kahn found what he wanted with the 'A-V' namely a moderate, homogeneous society in which the individual could both give and take and in which he had the opportunity together with others of re-orientating himself towards that larger society of which he was shortly to become a member.

It is not surprising that the 'A-V' and Reichwein should have come into contact, but before considering the nature of that relationship, a glance must be given to his activities on leaving

hospital. After completing his war-time school-leaving examination (Kriegsabitur), he began his university studies proper at Frankfurt-am-Main in December, 1918. *13 There is plentiful evidence of the kind of life he led there as an ex-service student during those first, confused, unhappy months of the Weimar Republic. On the iniative of a Swiss professor a discussion group was formed, calling itself 'Frankfurter Ortsgruppe des Internationalen Jugendbundes'. This young Reichwein joined, pale, wounded, deeply torn by his recent experiences. A member of that group has left us a picture of one such meeting he attended:- *14

"We had been discussing whether, if by means of one last war all future wars could be avoided, it would be right to wage that war. A quite intelligent young woman remarked that, having regard to the desirability of the goal, a few men's lives were not worth bothering about. We were sitting round a table, Reichwein just opposite me. The effect of these rather carelessly uttered words on him was frightening. I could see how they affected him. Generally so withdrawn in discussion, he suddenly banged his clenched fist down on the table and expostulated - 'That's the limit'. We were all shocked and shaken out of our theorising. This young man was the only one among us, who

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*13 Needless to say he was extremely poor during his student days, being dependent on a small grant, what he could earn by doing odd jobs and by some support from his home. His University subjects were History, Philosophy and Economics.

*14 Source B (8)

had known what it was to kill. On the way home afterwards, when we were by ourselves, Reichwein offered a brief explanation: 'Evil', he said, 'always and only begets evil - criminal means can never lead to good ends.'

Some twenty years later, Reichwein himself was to be impaled on the horns of this very dilemma.

He completed the second part of his university studies at Marburg, where he had moved early in 1920. In June of that year he married Eva Hillmann, a girl as young as and even less experienced than himself. It was a love-match over which the parents of both parties and some of Reichwein's own friends shook their heads uneasily, but for a while happiness was theirs in the midst of an extremely active life of play and study, hard living-conditions and many friendships. During this period which lasted until the Spring of 1922 Reichwein came under the sway to a limited extent of the Stefan George circle. It is difficult to conjecture how important an influence this poet had on him. No educated young German of the First World War and post-war generations could have remained untouched by the appeal which George made. It was an appeal for the controlled, the measured life to be led by the few who were capable of it and who would then infect the world around them by their balanced example. Reichwein, supremely a man of his generation and bearing the stigmata of war, was bound to be attracted by such a call, but the sanguine, adventurous, practical side of him ensured that he

would be no uncritical devotee. It is curious to note that Von Stauffenberg, the main agent in the 1944 attempt on Hitler's life, had been a member of the George Circle: he and Reichwein in very different ways shared that sense of mission to purge and purify their fatherland, which impregnates much of George's later poetry.

It is much easier to speak with confidence of the influence of Professor Wöllers, from whom Reichwein received the impulse to choose as thesis for his doctorate the influence of China on Europe in the eighteenth century. *15

The reflective character of parts of that thesis provides an interesting clue to the way in which a sensitive and intelligent young German in the early nineteen-twenties expressed the need to feel beyond his own country's borders towards a world perspective. In his introduction entitled 'The young generation of to-day and the wisdom of the East' (p.9) Reichwein sympathised with contemporary youth's urge to derive from Asia the needed assurance that no other culture than a spiritual one could rule the world, with the desire of young people to interiorise their lives and to search for the Tao. Together with Tolstoy, Lao Tse taught the value of non-action, sharply to be distinguished from 'dolce far niente', and it is significant that Reichwein obviously

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*15 Adolf Reichwein: China und Europa, Geistige und Künstlerische Beziehungen im 18th Jahrhundert (Berlin 1923). That this work is still a standard reference book may be illustrated by a citation from it found on p.466 of K. M. Panikkar's "Asia and Western Dominance" (Allen and Unwin 1953).

realised how valuable this doctrine could be in the recreation of integrity in the post-1918 German Youth Movement. On p.16 he commented penetratingly on a vital aspect of the post-war generation's outlook. Contrasting the non-rational approach of Lao Tse with the rational one of Confucius he said:-

"The prevailing non-rational outlook of the young generation to-day reminds one also of their inner revolt against that philosophical movement of the 18th Century, which is generally described as the Enlightenment." *16

His study of the relationship between Chinese and European thought in the 18th century led him to a conclusion (p.156), which, while obvious enough in its general setting, throws an illuminating light on the author himself in connection with his own role in German society:-

"One single wave in the stream of human existence strikes us at first as quite without connections, simply as just a single wave, but on closer scrutiny we discover that it is borne up by the whole main stream of which in different images it is a small reflection."

In the course of the Marburg idyll Reichwein evidently developed fast: someone, who knew him well then and later, has spoken of his charm, energy, and 'Unmittelbarkeit' or immediacy in personal relationships. While still at the University Reichwein had already begun to establish contact with wider

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*16 Op. cit.

circles in order to relate, as was his constant aim, the actuality of knowledge to the reality of living. For example he attended a conference on Adult Education at Weilburg in 1921, organised by Kultusminister Becker, and made his mark there by the insistence with which he pleaded for a dialectical approach to all problems. In the summer of that year he was present at Bad Brückenau at a meeting between representatives of the 'Deutschen Akademischen Freischarren' and those of the 'Akademische-Vereinigung Marburg', where the political and social implications of contemporary education were discussed.

Professor Bohnenkamp, himself a member of the 'A-V' has recounted how Reichwein first came into contact with it in May, 1920,*17 although from the outset he held himself the slightest bit aloof from the group and was always critical of it though sharing in its activities. In particular he was insistent on the need for 'A-V' members to face up to political realities, in a way which the revolution now made possible.

"He saw the opportunities offered by the young Republic but also realised the danger of their being thrown away." *18 He also questioned whether there were not in fact other social bonds between individuals than those of the group's which deserved priority of attention.

The best direct evidence of Reichwein's concern with the

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*17 Source C (11)

*18 Source C (11) p.6

'A-V' during his Marburg days and his efforts to give it a definite kind of social-realism is to be found in an article, written by him in the 'Ockerhäuser Blätter' for April, 1921, entitled "Vacation Work in Bodenrod in the Taunus."

"This is not supposed to be a lengthy statement or presentation of a plan but mainly a short notification. It strikes at the roots of the daily life of the 'A-V' as it has been, not at its essential being. The plan in its bare form may appear to be defective, but the new attitude on which it is based will, I hope, be appreciated at the Whitsun discussions. A number of 'A-V' members are already prepared to live and work during the summer holidays in Bodenrod, a village in the North Taunus with workers for industry in the large cities. We do not as students for our little parts want to appear guilty of not sharing in the fate which at present harasses our people in so deadly a fashion. It is to be a growing-together of a few men, belonging to one people, but who are unknown to each other. Because it is so difficult to act in recognition of the fact that we do in fact belong to one people, we do not dare to let down the defence mechanisms which separate us. Both sides stand, as it were, armed and simply do not dare to disarm. But now it's going to be done somehow or other quite simply. Students side by side with industrial workers are to help the peasants with the harvest, sharing accommodation, and this only to create opportunities by means of practical work together for closer understanding of one another. With both parties it is hoped that one-sided

attitudes will disappear. Both sides must see to it that there are keen men there, who will spread the experience farther afield after they have shared it.

The way will be a long one, so there is no point in writing much about it in advance. This is just a communication to all those members of the 'A.V', who were no longer in Marburg last winter asking them to make up their minds about it. Then the Whitsun meeting can be really fruitful. I hope the old members will be there. It is necessary to affirm the future of our people. A people's culture can only grow from the consciousness of all knowing themselves to be German. *19 If we still wish to hope, we must work hard ourselves. If what is done disappears into thin air, then there must be still greater exertion - or the renunciation of any belief in a German people's culture.

Finally, those who already know something about the plan are herewith informed that the house will be available for April! On the ground floor there are four rooms and a kitchen, and upstairs a big room and attics. There is a small garden. I have already been in touch with the four regional groups that have settlements there and found them ready to help out with more rooms. Other, important details can be passed on at Whitsun."

In this passage there is an early example of one of Reichwein's most constant and enduring efforts, namely the attempt to bridge gaps between manual and intellectual worker and so to

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*19 Cf. Becker's diagnosis (p.39-41)

increase harmony between the different classes of the nation.

On the completion of his university studies Reichwein, who was already beginning to be heard of by official circles in the educational administration in Berlin, succeeded in obtaining a post for himself against stiff opposition with Von Erdberg, the government official in charge of Adult Education in Prussia.

Here in the appropriate department of the ministry he worked as secretary and quickly gained an useful administrative insight into its problems. From his correspondence and from the collected evidence of colleagues and friends it is possible to reconstruct a vivid picture of the whirlpool of his activities. Living with his wife in the home of Professor Schüler yet continuously on the move between various educational centres for adults, strenuously involved in socio-political affairs, beginning to do business with publishers, contributing occasional articles on current problems to periodicals, his life had moved into a tempo, which was never again to slacken. A letter dated September 15th, 1922, to his father [*20] is of special interest as indicating the breadth of his concerns outside his strictly professional duties. He has been considering "the contemporary crisis of knowledge, present tendencies in humanist and Catholic outlooks - What particularly fascinates me is the relationship and difference between them, the practical and political aspects of education and more especially Catholic 'Kulturpolitik.' " Commenting on his father's work as a Primary School teacher in

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* 20 Source A.

Ober-Rosbach he wrote:-

"I don't share your scepticism. I believe one won't see much alteration in the state of the world in one's life-time, looking out at it from within. The world is too large and diverse for that. But this is no reason in my opinion for being pessimistic about the world. A bit of sarcasm, irony, ridicule about existence, as you yourself showed in your last letter, are good for one. Here in Berlin, far more than at home in the country one is filled with scepticism about men, but never about man. In order to realise what the true nature of man is, one has only to steal a quiet hour to read a poem by Goethe or to ponder the Bible or Eckhardt. I've realised already that one must have somewhere in oneself a small, still centre - otherwise one would simply go to pieces under the frightful daily impact of a capital city - a small, still centre, where one can occasionally commune with true men, for apart from a few friends and relations, they are so rare. Chiefly to blame for this is the distress of the times. Therefore my astonishment and admiration are all the greater when I meet anyone who has remained untouched by the ridiculous and meaningless money-fever of our contemporaries."

In this same letter he mentioned that he had been in contact with Communist groups and witnessed a shooting incident between them and the police in which the latter in his opinion played a shady role.

"But such experiences cannot convert me to Communism. I cannot believe that a new culture can be created just by an

alteration of conditions. Far more I think culture is a product of traditional forms and fresh forms: I don't believe knowledge can replace religion; rather religion seems to me to be the most original and complete form of human experience. So that I could more easily reckon myself as belonging to the group of religious socialists ..... Besides which it seems to me most unsuitable to employ violence to further the ends of culture, which like its parallels in nature herself, can only grow. So there seems to be a lot that separates me from the Communists. I do not, for example, subscribe to the doctrine of historical materialism ..... all cultural work is political work." In another letter of November 19th, 1922, he expressed his hesitation as to whether to slog on in administrative work, or to teach, but the issue, it is clear, was not going to be long in doubt. In July, 1923, in another letter to his father he repeated his objections to joining the Communist party or indeed any political party, yet he was busily engaged in politics, writing quite regularly for the 'Sozialistische Monatsschrift' on a variety of current topics.

"My job will be to report on the national and indeed nationalist tendencies of the day and to point out their political repercussions in all countries - also to expound the problems of economic unification of different territories."

He was to concern himself as well in an editorial capacity with another publication, devoted to socio-economic and educational matters.

By the summer of 1923 the Berlin phase of his career was

drawing to a close, as it became apparent that he would shortly be offered an important post in the field of Adult Education in Thuringia with his headquarters at Jena. In spite of some regrets he was glad to be leaving Berlin both on professional and domestic grounds - a son, Gert, had been born to him - also

"I want to digest my two years' experience in Berlin", and, "I hope to pick up a number of old friendships again in the course of my Thuringian work."

In this chapter a brief survey has been made of the socio-political scene in Germany after the First World War and the way in which Reichwein came upon it from home and school, through the 'Wandervogel' Movement and war, as a post-war University student and then in his first job as an administrator in Berlin for adult education. The socio-political tensions to which this ardent young educator was exposed have been neatly summarised as follows:-

"The pressures of political parties growing in radicalism; the emergence of movements with murky ideologies; economic insecurity and widespread impoverishment, resentment and conspiracy among the upper and middle-classes against the Republic; disaffection in the very ranks of its officialdom - those were the social realities in which that post-war generation of students grew up ..... " *21

Before passing on to the next phase of Reichwein's career, it is opportune to consider how far he was representative

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*21 Lilge: The Abuse of Learning (p.145)

of his generation at this time. It should first be noted that because of his socially humble origins and the fact that he had travelled through life the hard way, he probably possessed a far keener understanding than most of his associates of the social problems of his day. He was in passionate reaction against war of any kind: his life-long friend, Professor Bohnenkamp, has recalled *22 how when discussing the soldierly virtues at this time, Reichwein mentioned a certain incident of the war in which he had seen the bodies of some gassed Canadian soldiers; he declared that it could never be right to kill under any circumstances. Later experience forced him to compromise on this issue, but throughout his life he remained very close indeed to what Albert Schweitzer has called 'reverence for life'.

The following passage from Becker's memorial address for Reichwein in 1946 gives an excellent summary of the post-First World War generation's position:-

"The middle-class 'Jugendbewegung' before 1914 had not realised the fact that our whole life, even our most personal life, is deeply affected by forces outside ourselves. This was first understood by young Germans during the war. But not all of them had the determination to adhere to this conviction and to see that however intensively one might follow one's own intellectual pursuits, one must never forget that unless one contributed substantially to public life, all personal striving would be in perpetual danger of futility. Whoever lacked this insight fell

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*22 Source C (11)

an easy prey to the enticing thought that the German armies were not really defeated but were only the victims of morale-corrupting forces on the home-front.

Such tales, easily swallowed, were the resort of weaklings, who were unable to face up to the harsh reality of an undeniable military defeat. They were no temptation to a man like Reichwein. He realised that the war and its outcome were facts, with which all future German endeavour would have to reckon, and that 'imperialistic expansion' offered nothing more for Germany. Nothing less than a new orientation, both within and without, was the task before Germany if she was to learn from the collapse of 1918 that lesson, which alone could be regarded as a healthy result of such a frightful blood-letting, and if the terrible sacrifice were not to have been made in vain. Reichwein was determined to attempt such a re-orientation." *23

Of the generation that came of age under the young Weimar Republic, the dominants in state and education who stuck to traditional patterns and the minority who tried to break away from them, Reichwein can be said to have displayed already at this stage an unusual degree of insight into the socio-political problems confronting Germany. He believed then that they could only be solved by a rapid spread of knowledge of social and political realities among the people as a whole. That was his

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*23 Source B (9)

chief motive for turning his attention to the field of adult-education, but in the spirit of a 'freebooter', whom no party could really contain. His friend, Professor Bohnenkamp, referring to a discussion of the 'A-V' held in Abterode in 1923 puts a question, which may fittingly conclude this chapter:- *24

"When ten years later Germany had betrayed herself, we found ourselves agreeing that it was equally a lack of political activity and spiritual liberalism, which had been responsible for what had happened. But who of our generation, with the exception of him, had the strength to represent both these forces convincingly?"

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*24 Source C (11)

CHAPTER III.

REICHWEIN AND ADULT EDUCATION (1923 - 1926)

There is a sense in which Reichwein's whole career can be said to be connected with Adult Education because he was at all times concerned with how and what the mass of the people, now legitimately claiming political power, were learning. Yet the period to be examined here is from 1923 to 1926 when, in Berlin and Jena and travelling all over North Germany, Reichwein devoted most of his time to this special cause. An approach to it therefore demands attention to the significance of adult education in general as a phenomenon of Society and more especially to that phenomenon as it appeared in Germany.

Adult education first assumed importance in the second half of the nineteenth century as a parallel to the rise to political and social consciousness of the masses, and it can be described as partly idealistic and partly realistic in its complex motivation. On the one hand liberal and socialist opinion favoured the idea that every individual should have the opportunity for cultural self-fulfilment and this not only at school but throughout life; on the other hand education was recognised as a necessary and indeed indispensable weapon in the revolutionary struggle of the working-classes or as a

safeguard against political extremism. In Great Britain this twofold nature of the movement found rich expression in the Workers' Educational Association and the Extra-Mural Departments of the universities: the fact that such expression was very much weaker in Germany is in part a reflection of the difference in social maturity between the newly-emancipated classes of the two countries.

The German adult education movement dates from the founding of the 'Arbeiterbildungsvereine' after 1863 (Lassalle's socialist organisation) and the liberal 'Gesellschaft für Volksbildung' in 1871, although there is evidence of the existence of Workers' Educational Societies as far back as the 1830's. The dominant figure during the first three decades of the twentieth century was Robert von Erdberg, who seems to have had a just appreciation of the basic problem, namely that adult education must not be a watered-down version of academic studies or the clumsy manipulation of inert ideas - what he labelled, 'verbreitende Volksbildung', but rather 'gestaltende Volksbildung' - the kind of education in which men and women shaped and formed new knowledge out of their own experienced needs and responses. By 1917 there had developed a mainly social-democratic opposition movement to the traditional type of adult education; this was headed by Walter Hoffmann, Bauerle and Erdberg himself, who in September 1919 became Head of the Department of Independent Adult Education

Affairs in the Prussian Ministry of Science, Art and Adult Education. Largely under the impetus of these men and their supporters, the movement developed quickly under the Weimar Republic, and in 1927 there was formed the 'Reichsverband deutscher Volkshochschulen'. Yet it suffered from at least two major defects, namely the fact that the universities themselves largely remained aloof and that within the movement itself there was a constant clash of values of a denominational and ideological character.*1 To these considerations must be added for the years 1922 to 1926 the wider political and economic circumstances of a period which included the misery of the inflation, the French occupation of the Ruhr and the advent to power at the end of 1923 of Stresemann, followed by the Dawes plan and Locarno - a false dawn after dreadful night.

It was in the autumn of 1923 that Reichwein's activities transferred themselves to Jena, where he first acted

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*1 In the middle nineteen-twenties it is reckoned that there existed some 80 Heimvolkshochschulen and 215 Abendvolkshochschulen, and private individuals and organisations frequently received financial support from the 'Land' governments. In addition to the 'Reichsverband der deutschen Volkshochschulen in Jena, there was the 'Zentralstelle für Volkshochschulstatistik' in Leipzig and the 'Akademie der Volksbildner'.

I am much indebted in this chapter to the help of Dr. F. Borinski, formerly director of the 'Heimvolkshochschule, Jagdschloss, Goehrde Niedersachsen, who himself was and is closely associated with German Adult Education. He described the 'Hohenrodter Bund' (Erdberg, Bauerle, 1923) as 'the spiritual general staff of the movement.'

See also: R.J. Cook: Adult Education in England and Germany: a comparative study. (Thesis for M.A. Degree 1954, London University Institute of Education).

as secretary of the Volkshochschule, gradually took on the organisation of adult education in Thuringia as a whole and added to these activities in 1925 the directorship of the 'Heimvolkshochschule' in Jena, a residential hostel for workers interested in adult education.

In most of this work the role of the Zeiss works was an important one, as this firm supplied nearly all the funds for the running of the Jena Volkshochschule, its office being situated in the Jena Volkshaus, which belonged to the Zeiss works, while the Volkshochschule itself was organised as an independent association. It will be convenient to consider the events of this period under three headings, Reichwein's domestic affairs, his all-round professional activities and his travels.

Just before his move to Jena there had occurred the birth of his first child, Gert, 'mein kleiner Kamerad' (my little good-companion) as his father referred to him. The young parents had material difficulties of housing and maintenance to face and before long, as becomes evident from family correspondence and the witness of those who knew them at that time, a considerable strain in domestic arrangements made itself felt. As Reichwein himself confessed, his existence was 'gehetzt' (hectic), his comings and goings from home were irregular, visitors were legion, and it cannot have been easy to run the home effectively and at the same time participate,

as the intelligent young mother increasingly wished to do, in the political and social life of her husband, his colleagues and his students. In September 1926 the baby-boy was accidentally drowned, and under the blow of this tragedy a marriage, romantically conceived and prematurely burdened with economic and psychological trials, broke up, and husband and wife separated. Under the shock Reichwein's personality was 'turned to stony grief', and if it had not been for the timely intervention of his good and influential friend, Carl Heinrich Becker in Berlin, his whole subsequent development might have been disastrously affected. As it was, Becker succeeded in procuring him a grant to travel to the U.S.A. on a research job, and not without difficulty, Reichwein managed to obtain leave of absence from Jena for a year. This 'getaway' from his work, from Europe and from himself was decisive for his whole future development.*2

The outstanding impression derived from a review of Reichwein's all-round activities in and around Jena is one of ceaseless and strenuous endeavour on his part to establish contacts between working-class personnel and the socially-conscious members of the universities. Not only did he foster meetings between them and encourage every kind of educational

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*2 See Chapter IV.

lecture and discussion-group, but he also believed in living with the factory workers himself and sharing actively in their evening and leisure activities.[*3] Typical of his activities were four 'Arbeitgemeinschaften' (discussion-groups) which he arranged in Jena at the end of 1923. The first dealt with "The New Europe: political structure and economic possibilities"; the second with "A Comparison between the economic history of the Middle Ages and To-day"; the third with "Force and Non-Violence in Education and Politics", the fourth with "The Present Shape of Industry", and it is noteworthy that all four were linked to general world economic problems.

It was through the 'A-V', Marburg that Reichwein most persistently tried to implement his policy of adult education through common cultural experiences and living together of workers and students. In letters to his friend Wilfred Schüler[*4] there are frequent references to and considerations of the worth of gild-socialism, the visit of an 'A-V' choir to give a concert at the 'Volkshochschule' in Jena and to sundry study projects and a conference planned for August 1925 in

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*3 In his private correspondence there is a vivid account by Reichwein of his stay with unemployed glass-blowers in Neuhaus-Ingelschieb; at the time he was particularly impressed by the differences between socio-educational needs and problems of workers in cities and in the country.

*4 Source A.

Dresden of 'deutsch-nordische' attendants from Norwegian, Swedish and German 'Volkshochschulen'. There is still extant the memorandum which Reichwein prepared (26th May, 1925) for the establishment of an 'A-V' School, which though it did not lead to the actual foundation of one, is nevertheless of interest in that it depicts the direction of his thoughts at this time.*5

"The 'A-V' arose as an university within the university. The official university no longer possesses the unit of an 'Universitas litterarum'. It was sought in Fichte and Humboldt: in our own day what has been discovered has been 'the crisis of modern knowledge' ..... theoretically that is now past. We are the fortunate possessors of new criteria of a future universal education, symptoms of which may be discerned in the emergence of like concepts and values in all the faculty-disciplines. .....

We have learnt from the events of recent years not to expect a favourable external turn of events in Germany, that as things are and look like continuing to be, decisions of states too are unstable and not to be relied upon. If therefore one wants to be sure of a way forward, only one thing remains - to offer oneself."

Then followed more or less practical proposals for the establishment of an 'A-V' School.

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*5 Source A.

It is however to Reichwein's own contemporaries that we must turn for vivid accounts of his style of life in this phase of his career.

"When I got to know him", writes Hollander*6, his main object was to win over the working population to intensive adult education, and success soon came to him. He knew that he would have to devise other than the usual forms of adult education, that he would have to organise a hostel for young workers and call in other groups of the local population for scientific and artistic activities. With this in view he planned the construction of a large community centre. He got in touch with the best architects of the Weimar period and had special designs prepared. The way in which he conceived of the financing of this considerable building was typical of him. Hardly any monetary resources were available; he hoped, not without justification, to procure some assistance from the Carl Zeiss Foundation, but he hoped to get the bulk of the money from members of the 'Volkshochschule'. To attain this end he was quite prepared to sacrifice part of his own salary; he expected the same thing of lecturers at the 'Volkshochschule'; the class-members were to organise special collections of bricks for the house. Because of his lengthy trip to America, the plan did not come

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*6 Source B (6)

off. He himself paid for the detailed and costly building plans, as there was no other way of covering the cost."

The same writer depicts Reichwein living and working in the 'Volkshochschulheim' with young workers, training them in self-reliance and material co-operation and then leading them on, as in the case of the Lapland excursion, to test the strength and efficiency of their way of life under really tough conditions and in unfamiliar surroundings. It was during the Jena period too that he learnt to fly, and, having acquired a small airplane, he embarked on every kind of trip often at considerable risk to his own person.

His friends were always a bit anxious about him, for he had no idea of how to spare himself. What he recognised as the right thing to do and what he had therefore decided on stuck so firmly in the very centre of his thought and feeling that everything else was forgotten. His determination was so strong that it verged on caprice, but his objectives were always great and good.

Another friend and contemporary has described Reichwein's genius for close human relationships and for kindling small groups of young people to lively interest and disciplined enthusiasm, while commenting that at this stage of his career he was not so successful with big audiences, a capacity which however appears to have developed later.*7

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*7 Source B (23)

"The liveliness of his being was even then comparable to a flame from which others caught fire but which devoured himself."

Another friend, who knew him in his Jena days, has summed up the significance of his work as follows:- *8

"The political goal of his adult education work was to train men to become responsible co-partners in the shaping of a people's socialist order, inspired by a high ethical purpose. He was not interested in the kind of adult education that appeared to stand above politics. Just as all lukewarm, indecisive neutrality and half-measures repelled him, so also his vitally keen nature spurned every kind of lifeless doctrinairism. What only touched the many-sidedness of life from a rationalist angle remained quite alien to him. It was in the live individual person that the clear justification of all social policy had to be found. He desired a new kind of collective order which would permit of sufficient room for that freedom and self-imposed discipline, which would give to each individual the fullest self-expression: this he achieved in his own small educational circle.

Adolf Reichwein was the exact opposite of that type of intellectual, who seeks to persuade the man in the street by a number of speculative theories and at the same time to satisfy his own need for money. He did not need anything like

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*8 Source B (10)

that because his was a personality which radiated a natural authority, which by its mere presence and manner and without having to exert itself, exercised on all around a sparkling, stimulating, fascinating effect. He did not need to play a part. He was, if one may use a vastly misused and discredited term, in the best sense of the word a natural leader, who never lost touch with human beings, who trusted them and was trusted by them."

"The first time I saw Adolf Reichwein was in the spring of 1925," wrote an ex-pupil of his," *9 when he was explaining to a group of young students the idea and purpose of the 'Volkshochschulheim' in Jena which was about to be opened. I had gone along to the meeting with reservations; at the close of the conference I was determined to take part in the one-year residential course. Reichwein had directed his words to us all, but was it not as if he had spoken just to me alone? Each one of us seemed to have been addressed by him personally. That was something new and exciting. Most of us were socialists or communists with burning faith. Our striving and thinking were directed towards the distant goal of socialism; we were sceptical of and opposed to all and any who wanted to reconcile us to the present. We saw our task as a political one, but from Reichwein we learnt something else as well. Socialism was certainly a matter of state and social

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*9 Source B (12)

planning, a political task, but it was not only that. Socialism was a duty which had to be performed daily by each one of us as part of our quiet behaviour. It was not only a matter of tomorrow but just as much a matter of to-day, which was always beginning and never ending, and it was a task which concerned each one of us personally. That was the sense of his words. 'Don't', he cried out to us once, 'Don't, through bitterness and natural hatred, extinguish the holy flame of a truly free humanity, which you have to preserve for coming generations.' We understood and assented to that."

Over and above a wonderful capacity to live the life of his students, enriching it and filling it with his own zest and humour, Reichwein had the gift of pulling out the deeper stops as is shown by the following reminiscence of the same writer:-

"One Sunday afternoon, as we were sitting around in our house on the Beatenburg in Jena, he spoke to us about man. He told of Plato, of Kant and Nietzsche and in connection with these great thinkers he developed this idea of the freedom of man and of humanity. Finally he expounded the meaning of the words, 'Ecce Homo.' You can hardly imagine what it meant for a young, uneducated man to have a new world of thought opened up for him, deep, secret and yet brilliantly illuminated- how in that hour young hearts were touched for ever. And

perhaps a few of us then dimly realised that he who was explaining the idea to us, himself in quite exceptional measure embodied the essence of this humanity."

The pedagogical roots of his hostel work were once described by Reichwein himself as the education of young workers to true self-consciousness, a broad knowledge of the contemporary world and material aid. Reichwein could not exactly be called a socialist in the dogmatic sense of that word but rather a modern man with a highly-developed will towards social education."

A clerical friend has written:- *10

"At Whitsun 1923 I received an invitation at the Preachers' Seminar in Hofgeismar to attend an A-V conference in Abterode, where we were accommodated in the Youth Hostel of the parish. Here he was the life and soul of the whole meeting, like a boy among boys at play, and like a man in the clarity of his political orientation. He was particularly keen just then for a reconciliation between rural and factory workers and for a rapprochement between France and Germany."

Two further pieces of evidence must suffice to complete this sketch of Reichwein's Jena days, filled to the brim as they were with such a multitude of activities, plans and friendships. Their conclusion in domestic tragedy and

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*10 Source B (17)

a year's travel overseas receive fitting commentary from both these sources. *11 Helmut Truper has written:-

"We sometimes asked ourselves, how will he be able to contain that fire within him when he gets older, and when life with its set-backs threatens to destroy his optimism? If we had not experienced it ourselves in the last years we might not have realised how little inclined Reichwein was to compromise in the decisive questions of life, but we already knew that his confidence in the future was not a cheap one. His laughing, bright nature, which could so bewitch young people, was not easily come by but was rooted in a deep seriousness."

Otto Haase has described his first meeting with Reichwein in Jena, when the latter swiftly won him over to his plans and persuaded him to lecture at the Volkshochschule with the following words:-

"Naturally you can choose your own subject, but no one must stand aloof in times like these, when what matters is to help in the birth of a new era when everything is in flux and crisis. You must not stand apart. In this dawning epoch of demagogues the people, anyhow the decent part of them, have a real metaphysical need to receive instruction in the origins of human leadership and human relationships and to think seriously about them, You see, trade union knowledge

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*11 Source B (7) and Source B (11)

is not in a position to answer this need. Perhaps it does not even want to. For a long time I've been like a bloodhound on the tracks of someone who can. You can be sure you'll have a full house!"

Later on Haase had to defend Reichwein against a considerable amount of criticism, when reports reached Germany of his strange adventures overseas.

When Reichwein sailed for America in the summer of 1926 he left behind him a Germany, now re-admitted as an equal to the council of nations and economically booming. Yet behind the facade of temporary constitutional viability, a number of semi-military organisations were at work, and anti-republican activities were tolerated to such an extent as to make that tolerance an almost open invitation to intolerance, should the structure of parliamentary democracy be rocked by any threat from within or without to its existence. Moreover, as Cook quoting from Von Erdberg reminds us: "There were extremist groups, extreme nationalists for example - that had their own conception of the Volkshochschule and formed their own brand accordingly. The Fichte-Hochschulen at Hamburg, Leipzig and Marburg, had an expressly nationalist flavour. Their aim was 'to arouse in students feeling and understanding for the essentially German qualities of our literature, art, philosophy etc.' The Bauernhochschulen at Neudienstdorf, Hellerau, Henkenhagen, Wiligrad and Liebenau were also intensely

nationalistic in outlook. Associated with the name of Bruno Tanzmann they represented the most extreme form of political bias. The schools were the embodiment of anti-semitism and almost went as far as to refuse admission to a student until he could prove that he had no non-Aryan blood in his veins." *12 The continent of Europe was coping unconvincingly with its minority problems; a once victorious France bungled her party system and was again already nervous of foreign invasion; Italian Fascism had established itself. Spain was under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera; Great Britain had just been weathering a General Strike, Stalin had not long won his victory over Trotsky. In the Near East Turkey had become a modern state; there was a stirring in the entire Arab world; further East India was clamouring for self-government, China was in the throes of a civil war: Japan's expansionist attitude was becoming marked, while in the African continent the black man was not yet ready to challenge the European White's hegemony although slowly

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*12 See (1) Cook: Op. cit. p.82-3.
See (2) E. A. Mowrer: Germany Puts the Clock Back (First published 1933) for a realistic appreciation of the rottenness of the Weimar fabric:-
"What can be said for a republic that allows its laws to be interpreted by monarchist judges, its Government to be administered by old-time functionaries brought up in fidelity to the old regime, that watches passively while reactionary school teachers and professors teach its children to dispose the present freedom in favour of a glorified, feudal past; that permits and encourages the revival of the militarism that was chiefly responsible for the country's present humiliation?"

awakening to the realisation that it was no longer impregnable. Across the Atlantic the United States was prospering enormously, and 'dollar' imperialism was recognised, appreciated and feared not only in South America Republics but throughout the world.

In spite of the League of Nations and protestations by the nations of their desire for peace and disarmament, there was much in the world of 1926-1927, not least in its economic aspect, to puzzle the mind and challenge the spirit of any intelligent young man setting out to explore it. Reichwein was both young and intelligent, and he started out from a Germany where the unresolved conflicts of power-politics and economics and the chaos of moral standards and spiritual beliefs were even more thinly cloaked by material well-being and cultural experiment than elsewhere.

Haase has described the effect which Reichwein's trip had on the good citizens of Jena, as snippets of news began to reach them of his peculiar doings:- *13

"Only a few knew that he had utilised every free moment in the sailors' mess of the 'President Madison', in the week-end camp in California, in his hotel room in Kobe to finish writing his 'Raw Materials of the Earth'. ..... Where is Adolf Reichwein? Is he ever coming back? Will he not want to remain abroad? What can Jena and this modest little job offer him. Wouldn't it be a good thing to start looking round for a successor?

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*13 Source B (11) and Appendix I. Also P82

The number of such questions increased, and to satisfy people and to clarify the position it was found necessary to call a committee meeting of the Volkshochschule, the members of which were all good friends of Reichwein, most of them indeed introduced to the work by him and in their several ways most devoted to him. From the director of the Zeiss works down to the most humble mechanic, from the university professor to the Primary School teacher, this meeting at the Community Centre became excited and passionate in a manner quite alien to the usual custom of Thuringians. It was in fact a purely theoretical argument that had broken out about a person, who could not be there to answer it. The core of the discussion was: was Adolf Reichwein an adventurer? One member of the committee read out a postcard from a hospital in Colorado to which he had been brought, unconscious and covered with blood after a bad car accident. Another gave a really detective-story like kind of account of alcohol-smuggling on the Canadian coast in which Reichwein had been involved. A third exhibited not without pride a photograph of Adolf in the uniform of the American Merchant Navy on the bridge of an ocean liner!

What more natural than that under such circumstances there should grow up a myth about this man which spread like wildfire, that all sorts of wish-fulfilments should arise in peoples' fantasies, which everyday life could not bear out. Hero or adventurer, that was the question? Whatever the answer, neither could be considered a suitable leader of the Volkshochschule

in a small town in the green heart of Germany. What was one to make of such a man, who was in on gun-running for the Kuomintang in Shanghai, who was pursued on dog-sleighs by wolves in Alaska and not long after sealed a bond of blood-friendship with the Tohokumas of Mexico?

It must be confessed that the discussion of such agenda in a Volkshochschule is unusual and exciting. Fortunately it was decided not to label Adolf either an adventurer or a hero or even both and after his friends had got their troubles off their chests, peace was restored as was the usual way in Thuringia. We put up with each other sooner than injure each other. For the time being it was decided to await the return of the Prodigal Son."

It is important to emphasise at this stage that throughout the Jena period of his career, Reichwein had been writing on socio-economic and political topics in the press and periodicals as well as concerning himself with a major study of the world's resources of raw-materials, which was to find preliminary shape in a small booklet in 1924 and final form in a stout volume with statistical evidence in 1928. *14 There is interesting evidence of the width and inteligence of his interests in three issues of the bulletin of the A-V Marburg, which provide clear proof of his 'Sinn für das Politische' (understanding of

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*14 See List of Reichwein's Published Works (1924 and 1928)

political matters). ⁎15 There is an analysis of German foreign policy for the previous sixty years, which includes a cool appraisal of the 'ressentiment' feeling that coloured all thought in the nineteen-twenties about Germany's relationship to other countries and the effect of this on the post-war generation. The following extracts are eloquent witness to the perception, which Reichwein displayed in his appraisal of the socio-political scene:-

"It is the factor of 'ressentiment' that determines our contemporary conduct of politics and political public opinion. The politically-conscious man of to-day finds himself in a kind of paralysis, which prevents him from viewing historical events in a free and unclouded manner. This is the result of opinions, prejudices, passions, whether of a pacifist-communist or nationalist-reactionary character. It is the function of education to release men from this cramped position. We must try to attain to a kind of political simplicity, untrammelled by 'ressentiment'. We must simply respect facts and things as they are without pre-conceived notions and so gain insight into what it is really necessary to do. Love of the factual, submission to facts as they really are - that is the most important

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⁎15 Source C (1), and because of the harsh light it throws on the economic realities which militated against Reichwein's humanitarian efforts, see Scheele: The Weimar Republic (London 1940) Chapters XI-XV.
Scheele brings out the 'domination of finance over politics' and the 'close connection moreover between Germany's industries and her universities, the arsenals of her power and the generators of her intention.' (p.161)

condition of political education. That is especially our duty to-day with young people, of whom such an attitude of release from 'ressentiment is alone worthy. Citizens must not shut themselves off from the present by being burdened and twisted by opinions and prejudices. On the contrary it is essential that we enter realistically into the stream of events, try and see things with scientific objectivity, evaluate and discover the things that really matter."

Nor, continues Reichwein, must this result in a merely negative, critical attitude towards affairs.

"We as intellectuals are responsible for strengthening the discipline of our political thinking and our political behaviour. In this way we shall build a bridge between tradition and a new future.

We have had to experience both collectively and individually that, although politics are a matter for diplomacy and statesmen, it is the community as a whole which has to shoulder their consequences. In particular we students not only recognise the material fact of want in our own bodies, but above all we are aware of contemporary spiritual needs. The reason therefore why we concern ourselves with economic problems is because we realise that these factors largely determine the shape of both internal and external events, the individual and the social patterns of living and their cultural content as a whole. Moreover the idea of general education includes the idea of education for political judgment and independence, in

such questions. Politics do not exist for us just to be taken notice of in times of crisis, after which we return to a .. happier state of affairs where they need no longer concern us. They are not only a means of attaining happiness but they have value in themselves as an expression of creative living."

This observation of Reichwein provides an exceptionally acute commentary on the contrasting political maturity of two nations. In it he showed an awareness of a particular weakness of German society, which consisted in a lack of political spontaneity in its citizens that he was seeking to rectify. Whereas in England homes, schools, universities, local and national public life have all of them been permeated by a kind of political sense not needing to be defined, in Germany this has not been the case. For the German politics is more of a specialism reserved for the professionals: he misses the temperate climate of the amateur.

Finally, on the class issue, Reichwein declared:-

"The conflict no longer exists between 'Bourgeois' and 'Workers' but between a plutocracy of a few big capitalists and the mass of the people, to whom we all belong. So that our point of view is not the need of a single class; we are not concerned with helping any one section of society but rather with the question - how can the whole people, that is, how can we be helped? How is it possible in the present state of power politics to realise with what is left of culture a true people's culture? Nowadays business and politics stand opposed to

culture, for political events are in the last analysis economic events; how can politics be freed of economic pressure and become instead the servant of the cultural tasks of the future?" The problem on which Reichwein is here touching is the key one of modern European society, namely how to transform a political into an economic democracy without in the process sacrificing those cultural values, which were previously the monopoly of a minority. Ortega Y Gassett called it the problem of the 'pseudo-educated masses', and while its solution has nowhere been wholly satisfactory or complete, it was to prove especially intractable in Germany, for there during the Weimar period economic pressures were so severe - the inflation in particular which virtually crippled large sections of the lower middle-classes - that politics remained the master instead of becoming the servant of her 'cultural tasks of the future.' These, as Reichwein perceived, consisted in a sufficient number of Germans being able to transcend their particularist differences so as to achieve a collectively regenerate fusion instead of succumbing to a collectively degenerate confusion.

This is a convenient point at which to turn and review the salient features of Reichwein's career between 1923 and 1926. It was a period of between three and four years' dedicated service to the cause of adult education by an exceptionally gifted young man, who suffered the temptation of 'frittering himself away' (sich verspielen) - a temptation which he perhaps did not always resist but who possessed a shrewd understanding of the

vital link between adult education and political maturity. Yet the impression remains that he and his helpers remained curiously out of touch with those stronger and deeper currents of feeling of the period, which derived from Germany's general historical position and the nature of her educational traditions. For example the universities never became really involved in the life of the nation as a whole and certainly did not give any significant support to the adult education movement. Again that 'ressentiment' against which Reichwein warned his contemporaries hung heavily over all classes in Germany and was easily to be converted into that 'revolution of destruction', which swept the country ten years later. *16 All the more revealing therefore of the unequal balance of sociological forces in the early Weimar period is the evidence of Reichwein's efforts to tackle the immense task of equipping a young democracy with the educational weapons needed for its safety. The aim of each of the innumerable camps and conferences he organised was to bring together the young generation of different social strata and to train them to attain human and political maturity by sharing together common physical and intellectual tasks.*17 It would be wrong to under-estimate the influence of such gatherings as well as the long-term effect of the best 'Heimvolks-hochschulen' and the work of the 'Abendvolkshochschulen' in Leipzig, Jena and Stuttgart. Former students and teachers of

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*16 See Rauschning, H.: Germany's Revolution of Destruction (Heinemann, New York, 1938)

*17 Source B (12)

these institutions returned to serve their country in leading positions after the German catastrophe of 1945.

A memorial address "To the Memory of Adolf Reichwein", delivered on November 3rd, 1946, by one who knew him well gives the best and most vivid summary of Reichwein's struggles and achievements during the Jena period:- ✱18

"Reichwein described this time at the Jena Volkshochschule some ten years later: the style is typical. He wrote as follows, in 1929 -

'Ten years ago it was like riding through unexplored country with which we were all as yet unfamiliar. We were lucky enough to find many gaps in the hedges through which we could advance. However there were also insuperable obstacles, which prevented progress and permitted only of retreat. Every educational movement has to experiment. At that time - 1919 - we felt stirred to activity by the restlessness which had afflicted us all after defeat and the hard blows of war. The air was full of question-marks, and the desire for knowledge burned like fire ..... It was difficult to control the sudden manifestations of our varied interests. First we tried to steer them into the fields of philosophy, religion, art, literature, history, economics, science, medicine, hygiene, languages, crafts,

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✱18 Source B (9) Dr. Heinrich Becker, the writer of this memorial address, must not be confused with the former Kultusminister, C. H. Becker, although the former also worked in the Prussian Kultusministerium and there got to know Reichwein .

commerce, the domestic and social sciences and the study of community settlements.'

This first passionate interest (Reichwein called it 'intoxication') remained the lasting concern of all those in that circle who learnt to identify personal fate with the destiny of society. Here the fundamental connection became clear between the latter and each individual's own educational work. It could hardly have been otherwise at a time when most people were experiencing economic disaster because of the inflation, when the power of industry and of the banks increased tremendously; when militaristic groups openly regained their positions of power in the army and administration; when the adherents of a feverish new nationalism, applauded by 'patriotic' circles, freely attacked the champions of a new order for Germany based on honest, democratic and peaceful lines; when important statesmen of the republic were murdered by schoolboys and students. The year 1923 witnessed the height of the inflation and the first appearance of National Socialism.

Reichwein was then living with his Jena pupils and he and his colleagues and students perceived the burning importance of the whole range of these problems for a Germany which was battling for its existence in home and foreign politics. Together with his friends and his pupils, most of the latter being young workers, Reichwein became convinced that there was only one way to health for Germany, namely via Socialism. This process of social reform was only at its beginning, and the end could be alone realised through the establishment of a Socialist

order in commerce and industry. This idea was developed in his education work in the Volkshochschule, extended in the Trade Unions and tested out in every possible way. Years later when it became a matter of conflict with the National (pseudo) Socialists, Reichwein once explained his personal attitude to socialism, starting from the Marxist dialectic between 'Interest' and 'Idea':- the following extract comes from this:-

'"We know that 'interests' are formed not only by collective mass-movements, economically determined, but also by the development of ideas - both at a sub-conscious level ..... Marxism is a forward-moving concentric attack on industry ..... Socialist aims cannot be achieved by means of an attack on industry alone; everything else must be included - that is not a contradiction of Marx but going a step beyond him ....."'

In the same passage we find the sentence which embodies Reichwein's political faith to which he adhered to the bitter end: '"The workers, vanguard of the nation, are the object of our thought and labour."'

Reichwein's socialism sprang from his love for the German people, and again and again he drew strength and certainty from it. Most of all he loved young people. He acquired an infallible skill in dealing with them during his years at Jena. His personal as well as his professional relationships with them

grew in strength and were put to heavy tests, calling for endurance, courage, and will-power. Journeys through Germany, Europe and Asia Minor afforded many opportunities for the development of character and intellect. These excursions had stimulating repercussions in the Volkshochschule."

Another German rather older than Reichwein who committed suicide in 1925, had also responded to the challenge of the times and written a book about it. ✱19 "Germany's Third Reich" by Moeller van den Bruck, first appeared in 1923, and it is mentioned here as showing how a man with far less creative genius and positive energy than Reichwein, was yet able to achieve a more accurate estimate than he of the real state of the fatherland they had in common. Unlike Reichwein he lamented that since 1918

"We have spent these years comforting ourselves about our fate: but in those years we have done nothing to alter our fate."

Reichwein had on the contrary been doing a whole host of things, but they failed to gear into the general mood of the country because they had not come to grips with the deeper social problem which Van den Bruck anticipated in this further passage:-

"We mean rather a co-operative conception of state and economics, which must perhaps have a revolutionary foundation but

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✱19 Moeller van den Bruck: Germany's Third Reich. (Authorised English translation: E. O. Lorimer. Allen and Unwin, 1934)

will then seek conservative stability."

Ernst Toller[*20] once raised the question: "The German in Goethe, Hölderlin and Büchner, in Marx - what has that German in common with the 'dare-men'?" Reichwein's exploits as traveller and airman suggest that the answer may be 'a great deal'. The problem of their irreconcilability was to be posed at the collective level with ever more catastrophic effect in the years after 1927: at the personal level it was to create in Reichwein that inward, creative tension, which was the secret of his achievement between 1927 and 1940 and the inspiration of his martyrdom in 1944.

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*20 E. Toller: Letters from Prison (1935)

CHAPTER IV.

THE CREATIVE INTERVAL.

Fritz Klatt, one of the outstanding figures in the German cultural Youth movement under the Weimar Republic and a friend of Reichwein's, coined a phrase, "die schöpferische Pause" - the creative interval -, which found a certain resonance on the sounding-board of contemporary European civilisation.*1 By means of it he was drawing attention to the vital need, experienced by every organism and parallelled in the aesthetic and psychological spheres, for a more or less self-conscious pause between the process of inhalation and exhalation, between Yang and Yin, between plus and minus, between Yes and No, if life were to be recognised for what it essentially is, namely the spark set off by the clash between these and a myriad other opposites. In addition to this general application of the phrase, it can be usefully employed in a consideration of the specifically German scene in the second decade of the century and also of the stage reached in Reichwein's personal evolution by 1926.

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*1 Cf. the following passage from Charles Morgan's "The River Line" p.156-7, put interestingly enough into the mouth of the Germanophile, Heron:-

"I mean by a 'creative pause'," Heron said, "a period in which he regains his lost sense of origin, of rhythm and continuity, and in which he begins again to feel the sap rise ..... The idea of the sap and the idea of fruit are not separable without madness, as spirit and nature are not, and the world in which we now exist is obsessed by the idea of fruit and not even by the idea of bearing it but by the idea of consuming it."

In the first of these two senses it could be said that German society had been jerked from the authoritarian pattern of the Kaiserreich to the democratic pretensions of the Republic without the necessary 'creative interval' which would have permitted individuals and groups to make the essential adjustments in ways of thinking and feeling, which such a transition requires if it is to be successful and enduring. This deficiency was due in part to the domestic fact of Germany's retarded nationalism and political immaturity and in part to the undue economic and psychological pressure exerted upon her by the victorious Allies after 1918. Stresemann's policy of fulfilment was a belated, inadequate and not wholly genuine adknowledgment of the need for such a 'creative interval': Nazism was the collective expression of the regression to a more primitive form of integration of a society that had proved itself incapable of enduring the strains of advance towards greater self-reliance.

Now Reichwein, as is already beginning to emerge, possessed an unusual degree of awareness of the nature of this problem and had it brought home to him personally through his Jena experiences in adult education and even more poignantly through his own domestic tragedy in the untimely death of his young son and the break-up of his first marriage. He was badly in need of a 'creative interval' both as an individual and as a representative of the best of his generation. Because he had the good fortune to gain this breathing-space in which he could get his 'second-wind' in the shape of his world-tour of 1926-7

and because travel of various kinds played such an important part in the development of his character and the range of his influence, this chapter will be devoted to a description of Reichwein, the airman and traveller. From it there emerge the warmth and colour of an intensely human fellow-man, without a proper appreciation of which, much of his career would remain unintelligible. His duties as a soldier in the First World War and a lecturer in the Second World War took him to many different parts of Europe; his professional educational work gave him a view of most of Northern and central Germany; he conducted study-tours with his adult education students in the Balkans and Lapland, he enjoyed a number of purely holiday trips outside Germany; he visited England twice, and always he seems to have used these travels as occasions for creative work, both of an academic nature and of a more popular kind. *2

It is from his book "Adventures with Man and Beasts" that the full flavour of Reichwein's travel personality can be tasted. Whether he is telling of a ship's crew all dead drunk and himself the only sober one among them, left at the wheel, or of his mate, Trolle, or of the hanging of a rebel in a Mexican putsch, he brings out his own deep and sympathetic engagedness with each situation and the crudely elemental in all human beings, which has to be reckoned with. It was his ordeal to be himself world-minded and to be forced to work out his destiny in a Germany,

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*2 See his treatise on the Raw-material Resources of the world for the former and "Adventures with Man and Beast" for the latter.

which from the late twenties was becoming more and more a totalitarian fortress. His journeys up into the air and out into the world were no mere escapes: they were a central part of his life, giving it wealth and meaning.

Reichwein's flying-days belonged to the period 1924-32, and the following is an account of how he came to be trained and to acquire his 'little Klemm' - 'a dream in birchwood and raw silk,' as he lovingly referred to it. *3

"He turned up at our house on the 'Sophienhöhe' in order, as in recent times it had become necessary for him, not exactly just to gossip or discuss but to clarify or justify such ideas or decisions as he had in mind. "What's your reaction to my buying an airplane," he began quite casually, turning the conversation as though incidentally in the direction which he had already determined it should turn. Yet in the saucy laugh with which he covered the seriousness of this question there was perceptible a certain determination, if not aggressiveness. I noticed this time it wasn't just a remark to set the ball rolling - to use a favourite phrase of his -, which could be jokingly and irresponsibly tossed about.

"An airplane is a lovely thing - fast, sensitive, expensive - an airman strikes the imagination, is seen or admired by everyone, and when he crashes he enters Valhalla like a hero - so why not?" Such was the totally unsolemn answer, the indolent

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*3 Source B (6)

humour of which was intended to reveal his true intentions and, as he used to put it, help him 'to take up a position'. He took a few pulls at a very slender and feather-light Dutch cigar, which, I was convinced, he smoked more out of a liking for its elegant shape than for its flavour.

"You are wrong", he began, "if you think it's just another of Adolf's ⁂4 whims, one of those lustrous soap-bubbles, which - I realise only too well - I let arise and then explode to the annoyance of my friends. Now, look, I have at this moment in my pocket some money available from my academic publications, and I shall perhaps have to do a great deal of travelling in future - I mean to lectures all over Germany, to friends in France, in Bulgaria. Then again, as you know, the new Russia is an assignment of mine, not yet completed - I might almost say, a standing reproach! For all these purposes I need a swifter means of transport than train or car. I want to fly in order to be able to wander around places when I actually reach them."

"Excellent in theory, Adolf, though I'm quite sure you'll only fly and not voluntarily walk a yard except perhaps of necessity after a forced landing!"

He joined heartily in the laughter but did not let the thread of his thoughts be diverted: he continued earnestly and precisely:-

"I ask you as an experienced pilot of the World War if you will help me in this project," and with that he flashed a

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⁂4 Source B (11)

look from beneath his eyelids at his opponent - a habit of his when arguing. But he wasn't to win as easily as all that.

"Well, what is this latest fad of yours? One more sensation in your already, God knows, sensational enough life? I'll tell you quite frankly why you want to fly. You love speed, you want to experience the intoxication of distance and eternity - all right, but you also want to describe curves over the roofs of this city and wave to your friends. You'll dare wind and weather in a challenging way and then perhaps crash one day. Then we shall salvage your smashed bones from the ruins and conduct a heroic burial service! No, my dear fellow, I value your life too highly for that. We, and I speak for all your friends, expect something more important of you than flying!"

These last words were pronounced in a louder and more excited tone than was generally the fashion in our evening gatherings. After a pause in which there was complete silence save for the clatter of the tiles on the roof, he began to speak in that wonderfully deep, resonant voice, gently protesting:-

"So you reckon that I shall frivolously break my neck through lack of skill - very interesting! Well, then, surely you must do everything in your power to prevent my learning to fly?"

"Oh!, I wouldn't do that - if only for the reason that I know that would only make you do it all the more, but I would

entreat you to reconsider your plans very carefully." He gazed down rather dejectedly on the lights of the town, which seemed to encircle the darkness of the Saale water-meadows like a brilliant wreath, and took up the matter again, speaking over his shoulder:-

"Then you are sure I would make a bad or poor average kind of pilot. I'd like as a matter of interest to find out if that is so, because you have a few thousand flights behind you and should be able to judge such a thing?"

"If you really want to know - yes - at least I reckon after much experience to be able to judge these things. One gets a 'feeling' after a while for that sort of thing, and it tells me quite seriously - 'he won't live long' ..... but it's silly to talk like that for it's precisely danger, the constant situation of being imperilled that attracts you. Fundamentally you despise a safe existence because you believe it permits men's best qualities to atrophy. So I suggest we don't beat about the bush any longer, because I see from your expression quite clearly that you have gone much further with your plans than you have let on so far."

His ringing, carefree laugh pealed through the room as he fished in his coat-pocket, took out a thick packet of letters and advertisements, ran through them smiling impishly and then read out firmly with kindling eye:-

"Flying-School,

Schkeuditz-Gmbh

Dear Sir,

In reply to your enquiry we are sending you the enclosed printed notices from which you can learn full details. We are ready at all times to provide further information or to arrange a personal consultation, which we would recommend.

Yours faithfully,

Hoffman - Director."

"Have you already had this consultation?"

"No, but I wondered whether you would drive me to it tomorrow in your Chrysler. Then, as an expert, you would have the chance on the spot of discovering whether I was going into the affair in a serious or rash manner!"

So Adolf Reichwein learnt to fly in a Klemm airplane and was trained by one of the best teachers then in existence. During the next few weeks training proceeded with enthusiasm and every free day made use of. Adolf Reichwein came to appreciate that incomparable magic of learning to fly, which cannot bear comparison with any other kind of sport-experience whatsoever. For a long time he was held spellbound by the remarkable mixture of primitive wish-fulfilment and highly disciplined technique. After practising some forty 'take-offs' he did his first 'solo' and confronted me one day with a new plan.

"You must help me with the holding of a 'Flying-Day' in Jena," he said. "Pilots and planes will be provided by the 'Flying-School'. We only need to look for a suitable landing-ground." We traversed the meadows of the Saale and soon found via Zätzen half-way to Dornburg a strip of meadow-land about 100 metres long, which for the little sport-machines of those days was just enough. The 'Flying-Day' was a complete success. In spite of bad weather the inhabitants of Jena had either walked or driven out. The light-engined machines were commanded to perform large and small feats of acrobatics - loops and rolls, dives, pinpoint landings.

A few weeks later I was summoned to the telephone and heard his voice:- "Tomorrow or the day after I shall fulfil my promise and visit Jena and the 'Volkshochschulheim' in my airplane. As soon as weather conditions permit, I'll start from here (Halle) and let you know by telephone. It would be nice of you, if you could look out a landing-place for me near the Kernberg and somehow make it recognisable".

"All right, Adolf, O.K. - it'll all be ready", was the happy answer, "don't fly too high or too fast, and don't forget to take off!!"

From then onwards a kind of flying-announcement service was organised on the hills round Jena among the students of the 'Sophienhöhe', and as though in anticipation of a later evil every noise of an approaching engine was reported. But Adolf did not appear on the first day, nor on the second, nor even on the third. As we heard later the Air Security Officer had not been

able to despatch him to Jena or to Weimar, the nearest landing-ground being Erfurt. In the end however he appeared; the high-pitched whine of his little flying-engine suddenly made itself heard and reverberated between the sides of the hills between Jenzig and Sonnenburg. Everyone rushed to the windows, to the streets, to the roofs and undoubtedly descried a 'Klemm' making bold curves round the tallest buildings of the Zeiss works. People waved, laughed, shook their heads according to their nature. We raced downhill in the car to display the landing-signs, but it was already too late. The 'Klemm' turned away in the direction of Lobweda and disappeared from view. It was to be hoped that he'd wait a few minutes before landing until we could reach the anticipated spot to spread out our sheets. But he didn't wait. On the contrary, flying low, he chose for himself a meadow between high poplars, which must have struck him as suitable, prepared to land, swerved and swerved until he had overshot the planned landing-place, let down his wheels, rolled a bit further, and then crash - as if an empty cigar-box had been trodden on! The 'Klemm' had undoubtedly landed - no doubt whatever, but the shattered propeller had buried itself in a malicious ditch, and the tail stood up straight and defiant in the air. Otherwise nothing had happened - nothing at all! The pilot advanced to meet us, intact but with difficulty concealing his annoyance behind a smile.

"Hullo, Adolf, in the name of the absent Lord Mayor, who will shortly be sending the police, permit me to extend to you a hearty welcome!"

"I under-estimated the strength of the tail-wind", he announced in a matter-of-fact tone, - "otherwise it would have been a smooth landing."

He took off his helmet and glasses, brushed back his blonde hair in a typical way, rubbed his eyelids, more than usually red from the wind and was in a matter of seconds fully in command of himself, radiant and happy. Only an airman can appreciate this self-mastery, this promptitude of resilience, which at once after an accident displayed itself, for what is more sacred to a pilot than his machine - what but a crash-landing could bring him down so soon from the clouds of future desires! What is more annoying, sickening, bitter than to fail at the first serious attempt!

Naturally the fields of the Saale became crowded with people in the next half-hour - all of whom wanted to see the crashed airman. "Wonder if he's still alive! Surely he could have hopped across this little ditch!"

Fortunately the material damage was slight. Apart from the smashed propeller only a few struts and bars had been broken. The skilled hands of young friends from the Volkshochschule soon had the machine salvaged and transported with assiduous care to a workshop. The police did not have to worry or feel embarrassed because it had not 'led to anything!' The repairs, carried out by unskilled hands in a nearby carpenter's shop took a good week during which time

we had Adolf with us. Then we had to face an even more difficult problem than that of the landing, namely the take off from the narrow little valley between the tall trees. The ailerons had to be put in order and the propeller mounted without expert guidance. While the motor was already warming-up, the eye of a technically-minded young man noticed that one of the wing-bolts was missing! An hundred metres of runway were paced out and where necessary levelled and cleared of obstacles.

Amid this nervous crowd, compounded of anticipation, curiosity and uncertainty, Adolf remained quite unchanged, serene and happy, saying good-bye unhurriedly, cool and confident in face of the approaching danger, which he must have known existed. I think we all had stage-fright, but he was quite calm. The machine hobbled across the field, made one hop, then a few more; luckily he kept her on the ground for a long time before he took her up over the first dangerous clump of trees. Some seconds of suspense, and it was done. A careful left-turn, and one could see from down below that he had the machine well in hand in the bumpy weather: one more courtesy-round, much waving of handkerchiefs, and the machine was off on its way to Halle.

A few months later there occurred the most adventurous flight of all. Even Adolf, who loved to tell

stories and told them so well, did not say much about it. For some reason or other it must have been an uncomfortable memory for him. I only knew of this odyssey from the mouth of his flying companion, a most experienced Lufthansa captain, and it means something when such an experienced person, who has been shaken about by real bad weather, reported on this flight through a thunderstorm with hard and unfriendly words. Adolf wanted to go to Venice to meet a friend from the 'Freischar' on his return from the Balkans. As he had to be there on a specific day he would have been better advised to travel by train. Perhaps he did not yet know the wisdom of the saying, that 'If you want to travel safely, O airman, travel by train!'

Probably he was tempted by the risk and the praise of friends he would secure when he cruised over Venice and amid the applause of the crowd landed on the Lido. So he had to fly. A more cautious man would have taken into his calculations the uncertain weather conditions and started out a few days earlier. But it was a part of Reichwein's make-up seldom if ever to have enough time. So he started the day before from Berlin and with some difficulty reached Munich. Here everything was grounded because the Alps were covered by dark clouds and gave no sign of clearing a route over their tips. In the end he got permission to fly as far as Innsbruck.

He flew low along the Inn and then was grounded again. Friends were waiting in Venice, looking up at the blue sky to see if the longed for German plane would appear and were surely beginning to joke and grumble a bit for Adolf was bringing with him in the plane the rest of the travel money.

Bad weather conditions are sore trials for relationships between pilots. In the pilots' mess at Innsbruck some hard words must have been exchanged. The difficulty of an Alpine crossing for an aircraft that could not fly blind was in those days due to the fact that an absolutely exact course had to be followed which would not pass over establishments and positions of military importance. One was not allowed to follow the Brenner road but had to reckon with many detours. In addition the weather report seemed not to be forthcoming. Also it should be remembered that the little machine could only reach 45 h.p. in the little stern-engine and would have to carry two men and their luggage over the Alps.

They flew high over Innsbruck, laboriously reaching 4,000 feet and already encountered a bad wall of weather in part of the Dolomites, which could neither be flown over nor under. What to do? Turn back? No! It only remained to try and break through the wall. So into the thunder-clouds with the wood and wire machine, into the snow and rain,

without, be it noted, any blind-flying apparatus, steering the plane by hunch. The 'Boespitze' whizzed past a few yards away, the hotels on the 'Pardoihoch' could be descried, the 'Marmolata' was clear for a moment. Then as tends to happen in such circumstances when no one knows where up is and where down is, one has to be ready every second to collide with a crag or glacier. Nothing like that happened. The plane trundled along rudderless in the enveloping 'Wash-room'. Vertical and side rudders had become weak. One hung alternately down in the belts or pressed back into the sides by a mighty pressure. The machine hurtled earthwards like a leaf. If only the wings could stand up to the changing and powerful demands made on them, then perhaps there might be a tiny chance of seeing the earth again in safety. And they did hold out, those splendid wings!

The clouds parted and one saw, not beneath one but directly above one and quite close green fields, vineyards, roads, which seemed to be revolving wildly. It all depended now on a few seconds of iron calm and correct steering. If one lost one's nerve then and didn't wait for the machine to right itself, then the whole struggle would be in vain. One kept one's nerve and discovered oneself to be some 50 m. above the plain of the Po once again flying horizontally. A knowing and thankful look was exchanged between the front and back seat.

Venice greeted them with brilliant sunshine, and there just below them near the sea lay the aerodrome. Down they went therefore as quickly as possible because the motor had reached the limits of its endurance and good-will. But instead of being met by waving, welcoming friends, they were confronted by hostile-looking soldiers, who shouted at them and threatened them. Apparently, instead of landing at the civil aerodrome, they had landed at the military one. After the grim struggle over the Dolomites they could not care much about that, though the soldiers did not share their opinion, took them both prisoner and seized the airplane. Radio messages from various Alpine military stations had been received that a foreign aircraft had flown over the forbidden areas. Foreign agents! Spies! These constantly unruly Germans, who came in this kind of bad weather, would, God knows, not have missed anything over the Alps! After endless delay they were questioned. Had they photographed anything? No, they had no camera with them. What then was that bit of apparatus found in one of their suitcases? A Leica was placed on the table! That was a bit of bad luck and could easily lead to unfortunate consequences. Flying over forbidden territory, forbidden landing, Customs infringement, suspicion of spying. That was enough for a trip to Italy, but the most worrying aspect was the seizure of the airplane.

Probably there would have been negotiations dragging out over weeks with uncertain results, had it not been for the appearance - Deus ex machina - of an Italian friend of Minister Becker, who managed to arrange that the whole offence should be paid for by a fine and that the plane and its occupants should be liberated.

For a long time after that I did not see the 'Klemm', but Adolf took her with him whenever he could for meetings and journeys, work and pleasure. The last time I saw her was as she took off from the aerodrome at Frankfurt-on-Oder in the direction of Berlin. Just before the take-off there had been some minor engine trouble, which however could easily be put right. On the brakes being released it became apparent that the two magnetos were not working properly. Earlier in his career Adolf would not have bothered about this minor trouble but, as was quite possible, would have started off with only one magneto functioning. But he had learnt a lot and become more cautious. As I expressed surprise, the style of his answer illustrated his caution very clearly:

"I'm not flying back alone but taking a passenger for whom I feel personally responsible." It took many hours of work to make good this little defect. Some days later there was an article in the Oder press about 'The Flying

Professor': "The Professor at the P.A. at Halle on the Saale landed at the aerodrome there in his small sports machine and will according to reports be plying on to East Prussia." The 'Klemm' gave many people pleasure and their first experience of flying, because Adolf loved nothing better than to show his friends the earth from the air for the first time. Meanwhile he had disciplined himself to become a safe and circumspect pilot, schooled by many bad experiences and preserved in many dangerous situations. He had survived a remarkable number of forced landings by luck and good management and had frequently and against his wishes been welcomed as a hero and hospitably treated in many remote villages, as was customary in those days of little flying. Yet he did not succeed in making use of flying for the larger academic tasks which he had had in mind. He planned to save up for a more powerful plane for that later on. So it was all really only an episode in a rich and colourful life, but it was a highly significant and necessary stage in his career."

A former friend, Herr Kroug,[*5] has some other interesting reminiscences about Reichwein with whom he flew once when they had met in Frankfurt with friends from the

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*5 Source B (5)

Youth Movement, sometime in the early 1930's.

"I was having tea with some friends in Frankfurt-an-der-Oder and, as almost always tended to occur, we were discussing general and artistic questions, all the more excitedly because we were expecting Adolf Reichwein. Our passionate talk was interrupted by the sound of an engine in the sky, we rushed to the window to have a look, and soon there appeared flying pretty low over the housetops a little monoplane, performing various loops. That could only be Adolf Reichwein's plane - it was obvious from the two uneven propeller lengths, the one fairly big, the other fairly small.

We made straight for the aerodrome, but he had already landed successfully by the time we got there, and the ground staff were already joking about the two famous uneven propeller lengths of the Professor.

I had never in my life flown before and Adolf Reichwein dared me to take a trip with him over Frankfurt. The plane was a little two-seater with a 12 cylinder Italian motor. It was Reichwein's personal possession, and full of admiration I asked him how this costly object had come into his possession. "I cut it thong by thong out of my own flesh," he said laughing. What he meant by this was that he had led a spartan existence for many years in order to be able to acquire the plane. Those jesting words 'cut out of my own flesh' I have never forgotten - it was such a mixture

of bubbling life and renunciation - something quite unforgettable. Both things remained with equal vividness in my memory, the bleeding thongs and the pert laugh, and I realised that the airplane meant everything to him. He really knew how to give his own blood for others and for himself, he could do without things in order to give life for others and himself.

"Let's get in", he said with a roguish laugh as the propeller began to revolve.

..... He told me that a fortune-teller had once prophesied that he must be on his guard against falling, but he had never paid any heed to this warning. He had already had one crash and hurt himself badly but did not let this deter him and went on flying until under the Third Reich he was forced to give up the airplane. With this a cultured man was denied a fruitful field of activity, and this particularly offended someone, who possessed in great measure those qualities of leadership and power, which the leaders of National Socialism denied to our intelligentsia. But at that time as we soared above the sea of city roofs, all these painful considerations were a long way off, and we were full of extravagance and confidence and still lived in a democracy.

We circled high above the Oder, and now and then Adolf looked round to see if I were all right. "Sit still and don't get up to peer downwards or else I'll knock you

over the head good and proper." I doubted this, but Adolf shouted back to me: "I've even given a rather too audacious young lady a hefty knock on the head because she was a bit too keen on seeing and lifted herself up to get a better view of the landscape. If you're fond of a person you often hit them over the head!"

In the course of the flight he often switched off the motor, which to one like myself entirely unused to flying was slightly alarming. I considered it to be an unnecessary extravagance and dangerous as well. "Stop fooling", I yelled against the blast of the wind, "or else we'll be forced to make a landing by water on the Oder and I'm half tied in." Adolf Reichwein only looked round and laughed. There was something of the natural animal about him, a truly earthbound being. In spite of his blue eyes and blonde hair he often reminded me of a young seal, supple and charged - he was a blend of earthiness and living, active vitality. He looked like a magnificent seal in his flying suit: earth, water and air were his elements, but flying suited him best. In the coming years he always encountered me with that fresh gaiety which he displayed in the pilot's seat then as he turned an angle of 180 degrees."

Before proceeding to examine other aspects of Reichwein's 'creative intervals', which so often took the

form of travel by land and air and sea, it is opportune to consider the following pen-portrait of him in his heyday essayed by his great friend, Harro Siegel [*6]:-

"Medium-size in appearance or a little smaller, muscular, with small hands and feet, elastic, springy, supple and lithe in movement: a round, vaulted skull with - for a German - a particularly well-formed back of the head: fine-boned with clear-cut features - nothing superfluous, no fat or unnecessary flesh, yet not in the least skinny or lean - altogether well-proportioned: with a high colour when excited, his face and skin quickly flushed after only a little wine. In sun or water or in the mountains during winter he would go very red, almost scarlet and finally a bright mahogany colour: his eyebrows remained almost white: his hair, a light reddish-blonde, brushed straight back, had in his younger days a thick wave. Later on it became a bit thin but still stood up like a flame on his head. An almost straight nose with the slightest suggestion of a curve in the top third of it: a sharply cut mouth with lips neither narrow nor full, his ears small and sticking out a bit ..... very striking eyes, the eyelids completely drawn back under their folds with an eagle and falcon-like

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*6 Source B (2)

sharpness, light-grey in colour shot through at times by a sea-green or blue shade - spaced rather widely apart: his glance calls up hills, high seas, far horizons. The eyeball is fresh and firm, the eyes themselves always shining. On the eyelids there often appeared a reddish spot ..... The expression is never still: it is noting, participating, making demands. Energy, tension, warmth - electricity too and fire, which from time to time the man himself blows upon. Easy and direct contact with people. Voice, a light tenor, a bit sharp at times, resonant, trumpet-like and occasionally even crow-like - sharps and no flats - a laugh to correspond - more from the chest and breast than from the diaphragm - loud - a Ha! Ha! or an ironical Ho! Ho! The whole being, jovial, fiery, magnetic, turned towards the sun, radiant and radiating, warming, moving, sympathetic ..... His strong yet refined vitality seems to be inexhaustible. Fatigue, hunger, thirst, lengthy academic work all night long, intensive talk - self-denial came to him easily, and his dynamic was nearly always a plus. He lived more quickly, deeply, broadly than many. And yet mixed with it, in his later years occasionally, there was also something too tightly-stretched, too driven, restless - almost as though he shrank from a binding commitment, from settling down. Unresolved tensions seemed to be bridged over only by force. A suggestion of being fate-driven. As though, like Hamlet,

he could say "O cruel spite that ever I was born to set it right." Something in him would so like to be stilled and settled, and yet there is an urge there always to add to it, to remodel it and improve it. It must also be said that the gift of sleep kept him healthy. After travelling far in the night or emerging from a gripping discussion, which would probably make his companion go on thinking for hours, he would fall asleep in a few minutes like a child, and like Napoleon he only needed a very few hours' repose in order to be, like Helios, reborn."

Reichwein himself described his transatlantic and transpacific expedition as the 'intermezzo of an utterly free life'. On landing in the U.S.A. he bought a small second-hand Ford in which he drove himself across the continent not without several dangerous accidents. It is typical of him that he continued to accumulate material for and largely write his heavy tome on the raw material resources of the world while at the same time often travelling extremely rough. Nor was his summing up of the American scene, as expressed in a little book published a year or less later far beside the point:- (Blitzlicht über Amerika) *7

"For the average American there are two most compelling ideas: Success and Service. Both are the pillars

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*7 See list of Reichwein's published works.

of his business morale, both are rooted in Puritanism, in the spiritual world of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is a strange consequence of this ethic that they distinguish very sharply between man as man and man as an economic factor. To be 'smart' and cunning is synonymous and respectable, success gives absolution." (p.12) In a letter to his parents (22.12.26) he describes his resolve to sail East:-*8

"What on earth do you think I am now? Cadet in the American Navy! Don't worry! Only for two months. An acquaintance wrote to me from Guadalajara in Mexico that it was the rainy season there just then and the roads impassable. So I decided to use this time profitably and to take a trip to Japan, China and the Philippines. And now I'm cadet-officer on board the 'President Madison', a vessel of about 23,000 tons. I receive no wages but very good keep and get a free journey, which would otherwise cost me 1,200 dollars. True, I've got to work, but I don't mind that - in fact I prefer it to just lying around on board ship. ..... My life is lived in an unholy, rapid tempo but I'm learning more and more how to control it!"

The academic fruit of this trip is to be found in a carefully written article, published some 5 years later in 'Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik' and entitled

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*8 Source A.

Reichwein as a 'Merchant Seaman'
(1926)

'Population Pressure in Eastern Asia.' *9

The result of his Mexican experiences is to be found in 'Mexico awakes', *10 which appeared in 1930 and which contains a serious survey of that country's history and present condition as well as the following interesting comment in Reichwein's introduction to the book:- "Europe's existence is threatened by the collapse of her social order and the growing self-sufficiency of the continents, which she originally colonised. The domestic arrangements of its social life are her responsibility: the shaping anew of her external relations, her role vis-a-vis the other continents is for the most part already outside European control. Europe's previous supremacy, her power to dictate, is shattered." (p.III)

Harro Siegel has told the story of his adventure in Hong Kong. *11

"The American steamer on which Reichwein was working as a sailor had reached Hong Kong and tied up at the pier on the mainland side. On the last day of its stay there Reichwein got leave and went over by the ferry to the island to look up the German consul to whom he had an introduction. The latter showed him round, took him for a

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*9 See list of Reichwein's published works.

*10 See list of Reichwein's published works.

*11 Source B (2)

drive and pointed out the beauties of the locality. They bought a few things as presents for family and friends, and altogether had a great deal to say to one another. It got later and later, but half out of courtesy and half because of the interest of their conversation, Reichwein had not noticed how the time had gone. They handled everything very thoroughly and objectively and finally took a leisurely leave of each other. However he then hurried down faster and faster to the pier-ferry. Half-way there he already saw that it had started off, and by the time he arrived quite breathless it was far out from the shore. His own ship was already sounding its last hoots, the cables were being untied, the tugs were going into action. Long before the ferry reached the other side, had waited its customary time, had returned, had waited again and again got over to the mainland, the ship was in open water, freed of its tugs and travelling under its own steam - although as yet only half-steam.

Reichwein stood there in hat and mackintosh, a parcel of Chinese bric-a-brac under his arm and a dollar note in his pocket. A crowd of Chinese motor-boat drivers were standing on the pier; he hurried up to them, waving the dollar note. He was received with malicious grins; he repeated the gesture; they laughed at him. He looked each

one in turn in the face: they looked the other way, only one caught his eye and hesitated. Seizing on this one he gripped hold of him with one hand and brandished the dollar-note in his face with the other. He spoke to him in English: "This is all I have and it is yours, but you must, must take me out to my boat." Forcing him like this towards the motor-boat, the Chinaman half in sympathy half dumbfounded, finally agreed, perhaps tempted by the dollar note. The motor-boat was started up, and off they went in pursuit of the steamer. Slowly they approached it, and at last they were running along under its stern. Above them, high as a house-front, towered the ship's side, and even only under half-steam it was rushing through the water. No one had as yet noticed the motor-boat. How was he to get aboard? Then a head appeared above - one of his mates. Surely he'll understand and help, but he would have to do it alone in case the others started talking. Laboriously he rolled along a heavy coil of cable but then suddenly stopped. Impatiently Reichwein gazed up at him. He went off to the rear flag pole and slowly hoisted the flag, which unfolded itself and flapped in the wind - the steamer stops. What was happening was clear: they were passing a British and American Man-of-War, both of which acknowledged the salutes three times: it seemed half an eternity, and yet it was a

fortunate occurrence for without it there would not have been anyone on the watch, and no one would have noticed the motor-boat and the waving sailor, Adolf Reichwein. The man returned and threw one end of the cable overboard, attaching the other end firmly to the ship. It leapt along the water throwing a white trail behind it. Once, twice, the Chinaman tried to bring his motor-boat alongside of it, but each time it eluded him. At the third time he succeeded and the dollar note changed hands. Hat, coat, parcel had to be abandoned: one jump and Reichwein had got hold of the cable with both hands. A second later he was hanging up to the hips in the sea, and the Chinaman rapidly turned his boat and made for home at top speed without looking round once.

There then was Reichwein suspended, but hand over hand he painfully hauled himself a little higher - he was now only up to the knees in water. But he couldn't get any further: the unpliant cable was too thick and his sodden clothes too heavy, and the waves kept buffeting him. Would the man above continue to help, could he make it? He could not see him or shout to him, in any case he could hardly have heard and no one else was meant to hear. So it only remained to wait. Nothing happened. Below under the towering dark hull of the ship, clasping hold of the cable with both hands, uncannily alone, he was dragged along with his feet in the

water. As he learnt afterwards, the man up above was having the greatest difficulty in managing the cable on his own. At last he managed to get a proper grip on it with both legs braced. Slowly, very slowly Reichwein felt himself being hoisted up. At last his feet were clear of the water. Wet and whipped by the racing wind he hung in the air. He could not even get a grip on the cable with his legs - it kept tossing about in the water and being jerked roughly away from him. So there he hung by his hands with bent elbows, his teeth clenched, the knuckles of his fingers white, his muscles almost paralysed - any moment cramp could have seized him - the sweat poured down his face. His mate up above was having a similar experience - he too was at the end of his tether, but they did not give in, although something in Reichwein whispered to him to let go and so put an end to the torture. Pride and rage enabled him to master this impulse, although he was hanging almost unconscious from the cold. Centimetre by centimetre he was raised up the side of that tall ship. At last he managed to get hold of the railing, and was seized by the other man's arm and pulled on board.

Both had stretched themselves to the very limit of endurance: incapable of a word, a glance or a smile, they sat down next to each other on the deck - with choking breath and throbbing pulses. Gradually their heartbeats began to

quieten. They got up, hauled in the cable, rolled it up and stood it in its proper place. A handshake and a laugh expressed more than words of gratitude. Reichwein slunk to his cabin, changed into his ship's uniform and reported for duty, when he must already have been missed. The Second Officer to whom he reported met him on his way. What was he going to say? But he just glanced at him, closed one eye in a wink, said "Well Adolf?" and the incident was closed."

Another capacity in which Reichwein did much travelling was as the organiser and leader of parties of young workers and students on expeditions often involving hardship and some element of danger and calling for qualities of endurance in their members. In the 'Volkshochschul-Blätter für Thüringen (10 Jahr/November 1928, p.1) Reichwein stated his view of the nature of such travel:- *12

"Our job, and I believe it is an important one, is to develop a style of travel, which goes beyond mere recreation, which in fact may perhaps be the pre-condition of recreation - a style of travel which will enable the traveller to integrate the things which he sees with the world picture as a whole. It is no accident that in the post-war years hardly a single facet of our literary output has been so keenly taken up as descriptive travel books.

Thereby our contemporaries give evidence that they vaguely realise and some of them quite definitely recognise that to-day our personal fate is being every year more directly determined by the trend of world events."

For the members of a 'Volkshochschule' he is insistent that for every expedition there must be preparation, performance and evaluation. The two chief of these journeys were the ones to Lapland, and to the Balkans. In an account of the latter contributed by a participant (Martin - Report on a Folk High School Journey in the Balkans, Summer 1929) there is to be found an interesting sociological comment on problems of group-relationship created by the rather different attitudes of students and workers to orders. The difficulty arose because of the divergence between the leader-ideology of the students and the primitive democratic spirit of the workers. "If one is really keen to educate people at a deeper level than knowledge - and that is just what Reichwein does want, then one must approve of the means which give access to that level. Certainly after such a trip we notice differences. They are signs of a capacity for common effort in face of an emergency, the growth of this capacity in the teeth of resistance and an increased rallying round."

The second of these two study-journeys (Spring 1928) described magnificently by Reichwein himself in his "Hunger march through Lapland", was undoubtedly one of the greatest

experiences in his life - an event in which he produced from his own pen the following remark, which has a touching and cogent relevance to the subsequent pattern of his own life: "In the hour of decision there are no detours." In this story too he used the example of the two isolated men of science, one in Mexico, the other in Lapland, known to each other only through correspondence but engaged in a common search for knowledge, both of whom he had visited, as a symbol of the inter-relatedness of all human beings if only we could grow to an awareness of that fact. His work was consciously intended as a contribution to the spreading of that awareness.

Reichwein's two visits to England, the first in the mid-twenties and the second in 1938, are of interest for two reasons. On the first trip he was involved in a typical accident while climbing cliffs in Cornwall and spoke most appreciatively of the way in which local help had been mobilised to rescue him from the rocks on to which he had fallen. The second trip was a semi-official one, designed for the purpose of enabling a young German village schoolmaster, as he then was, to visit rural schools in south-west England. His main impression of our English country-schools - and no doubt he was deliberately shown the most up-to-date - was that they were unnecessarily well-equipped with material gadgets.*13

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*13 I am indebted for this particular piece of information to Mr. Rolf Gardiner. See also p.202-204.

The last capacity in which we may consider Reichwein the traveller is as the holiday-maker, pure and simple, the light-hearted, irresponsible maker of fun. Once again Harro Siegel supplies two amusing sketches:- ✱14

"It is a hot summer-day in Taormina - out of the season. Reichwein, almost the only guest in a large hotel, sits down to lunch after a long morning of sightseeing, in an enormous dining-room - white pillars, white tables, red paving-stones, lowered blinds, many black waiters. Three of them hover round the single guest, who in fine fettle is settling down to and thoroughly enjoying a bottle of heavy Sicilian wine in a mood of pleasant abstraction. At the end of the meal the room is heaving like a big ship, the white pillars sway majestically, the tables dance, the red floor seems to breathe, and in the midst of all this ceremonially huge black ravens stumble around - the waiters! Summoning all his resources Adolf Reichwein succeeds in getting out of the room, up the stairs to his room, turns the key in its lock, sits down on his bed and knows no more. He can recall none of his dreams, but suddenly he is rudely awakened - consciousness re-asserts itself, there is noise and movement around him, a blind is drawm, and light pours in. He opens his eyes and looks around. On all sides of his bed there are the black ravens with troubled faces - among them the hotel-porter, the manager and a mechanic with his box of tools, who

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✱14 Source B (2)

had forced the door. Anxiety gives way to astonished mirth when Reichwein appears to be quite well. He has been asleep from noon until past noon the next day, some '30 hours in the arms of Dionysus'.

.....

Just arrived in Palermo Adolf, clad in white trousers and shirt with a waving tie but without hat, his top-knot swaying in the breeze, goes for an afternoon stroll on the Korso. He swings along the street, encounters a flower-woman with lovely lilies for sale (white or red) and buys a large bunch of them. "Now what shall I do with them?" Adolf Reichwein surveys the passing carriages in which elegant mothers and beautiful daughters are disporting themselves. He decides to present them to the prettiest one. He espies the 'prettiest' sitting in a carriage - a white fragrant frock, a little white hat, black hair, great big dark eyes - all just as it should be. By her side is enthroned the mother - majestuoso pomposo - beneath an opened parasol. Neither of them has noticed the young man, who all of a sudden leaps up to the carriage, bearing a posy and presents the young lovely with the lilies. People take notice of this. Mama is dumbfounded, the girl intrigued. As she makes no attempt to take the proffered bouquet, he throws it on to her lap. The mother starts from her stupor, seizes the bouquet and hurls it furiously at the donor's head. The carriage rolls on. Pressing the flowers to his breast with both hands he hurries

away, because the bystanders, thinking the ladies to have been insulted, take their sides - take sides too for Italians versus Germans. There are cries, curses, shouts, a crowd begins to form and Adolf Reichwein's departure turns almost into a flight. At the corner of a street he spies a cafe-espresso, hurtles into it followed by some, while the others gather outside - already the waiters behind the bar are looking at him with suspicion and hostility when suddenly he has an inspiration - he takes the lilies and divides them out silently and politely among the waiters and the guests. Immediately the whole picture alters: people laugh, encourage him, compete for the flowers, shake hands with him, an atmosphere of pleasantry and benevolence establishes itself and spreads to those outside. Some cry 'Evvive il tedesco' others take up the cry, soon they are all echoing it. He is surrounded and carried shoulder-high through the cafe out to the street through a mass of shouting, waving, laughing Sicilians, while he distributes the remaining flowers right, left and centre."

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The intention of this chapter, as suggested by its title, has been to describe a general need and a particular response. Reichwein's own words as quoted earlier are a perfect statement of that collective and individual need of a 'creative interval':-

"Our job, and I believe it is an important one, is to develop a style of travel, which goes beyond mere recreation - a

style of travel which will enable the traveller to integrate the things which he sees with the world picture as a whole."

Seen as airman and traveller, engaged in this process of integration and in the gaining for himself the necessary 'creative interval', the figure of Adolf Reichwein begins to emerge in these more informal scenes as a vitally attractive personality. These external travel-events, spread out over many years yet all corresponding at different periods of Reichwein's career to constant and innate needs, confirm a biographer in his belief that personality is less a derivative of circumstance than the artist of opportunity. *15

Certainly three of Reichwein's characteristics have established themselves, first his tremendous gift for self-mastery, secondly his absolute need of danger and thirdly the uncommonly high-tension at which his psyche habitually operated. To him and his age can be fittingly applied the words of Sir Philip Sidney referring in a letter to Languet to the XVI century:-

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*15 For an expansion of this idea see "Sören Kierkegaard" by Johannes Hohlenberg (Translated from the Danish by T. H. Croxall) London 1954.
Chapter I: Point of View: inter alia:-
"The biographer will quickly learn to understand that it is not peculiarities that form personality but that rather the personality has drawn into itself various peculiarities."
"It is only our very limited intelligence which prevents us from seeing a person's life as a play in which circumstances have been ordered with such superior art that while for us it looks as though they have brought about the result, in reality it is the desired and wished-for result that has decided the circumstances."

"For in your letters I fancy I see a picture of the age in which we live: an age that resembles a bow too long bent. It must be unstrung or it will break."

Collectively the German bow broke in 1932: Reichwein the individual was still able to hold it at a fearful strain for a few more years.

Reichwein - The 'Flying Professor'
(1930)

CHAPTER V.

THE ADMINISTRATOR AND THE PROFESSOR.

(1927 - 1933)

PART I.

BERLIN 1927-1930.

The period of Reichwein's sojourn in Berlin as Press Secretary to C. H. Becker, the Prussian Kultusminister, should be noted as a time of apparent continuing improvement in world and German affairs. The Kellog Pact outlawing war was signed on August 27th, 1928, in 1929 much was being heard of Briand's plan for a federated Europe, and the German economy was formally released from its association with the old 'Reparations' problem by the Young Plan, which aimed at 'liquidating the past'; by July 1930 the last foreign soldiers were off German soil.

Yet the World Economic crisis of 1929-30 was just round the corner; in October 1929 Gustav Stresemann had died; in 1930 the National Unity Front (Nationale Einheitsfront) of the German Right-Wing parties had been formed; the influence of the Reichswehr in politics was greater, although less secure, than ever before, and, over all, symbolic of the majority mood of the German people, brooded the figure of Hindenburg, their President from 1925 until 1934.[*1] Although social democracy

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*1 For a brilliant sketch of 'the Hindenburg German' see "Frankfurte Hefte: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik" (6 Jhrg. Heft 2, Feb. 1951, p.90-101) Article by F. M. Reiferscheidt: "1945 bis 1950 Triumph des Hindenburg-Deutschen"

still theoretically prevailed, symptoms of its frail condition were abundant, to mention only the endless wages disputes in industry.

Against this background should be seen the figure of Becker genuinely trying to further his policy of 'Kulturpolitik als Kompromiss' irrespective of the quickly changing political scene. Once, when asked to which party he belonged he replied, "I belong to the party of education." In that one short sentence is summarised the fatal weakness of Weimar, epitomised in one of her finest servants, namely the divorce between politics and education.[*2] To this period however belongs Becker's greatest and most lasting achievement, namely the creation of the 'Pädagogische Akademien' for the training of Primary School Teachers, which, because of Reichwein's own close association with it, needs here to be understood in its historical context. During the nineteenth century Germany had led the world in the field of teacher-training for Primary schools. The educational ends however of such training, for which the means were so admirably adapted, were themselves limited and narrow, namely the handing-on of traditional content and method in teaching from one 'Volksschul-' conditioned child, now become a 'Volksschul-Lehrer' and one state official to another. It

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*2 (1) Cf. Great Britain where, because there is a strong tradition against introducing politics into education, the divorce is actually not so strong - politics are in the educational climate.

(2) See 'Carl Heinrich Becker: Ein Gedenkbuch' (Von der Vandenhoeck ~~Hosek~~ u Ruprecht, Göttingen 1950)

was, as Birley expressed it in his Burge Memorial lecture (1949) a tradition of 'skilled craftsman rather than independent practitioner.' Yet it should also be remembered that especially from 1848 onwards, it was the Primary School teachers almost exclusively, who defended educational liberties and fought for a proper training and further training of teachers. In spite of some attempts to improve the standing of the Primary School teacher as regards his training at the Reichsschulkonferenz of 1920, nothing very much was achieved and the following was the picture in the early years of the Republic.

In Bavaria and Wurtemberg there remained the traditional 'Seminar' training: in Hamburg, Thuringia, Brunswick and Saxony there were three years of full university training and two years of it in Mecklenburg-Strelitz. In Prussia under Boelitz as Minister of Education the decision was taken in 1924 that Primary School teachers should obtain their school 'Reifezeugnis' or leaving certificate and then be trained in 'Pädagogische Akademien'. By 1933 some fifteen such Academies had come into existence, not confined to Prussia, and working on a Confessional and co-educational basis and with a two-year period of training, exceptions being Frankfurt-am-Main which was undenominational and Bonn which was not co-educational. These academies were generally established near universities but also in towns where there were no universities or institutes of advanced study. It was not possible to obtain academic graduation through them, although the student-teachers were

permitted to attend lectures at the universities as guests.

In his famous memorandum *3 Becker summed up his opinion of their importance: "Universities exist to discover new knowledge, Technical High Schools - new technological methods, High Schools of Music - new artistic principles: the P.A's. exist to produce a new type of man, one who by his determined, harmonious integrity should provide a balance against the unceasing, continuing differentiation, specialisation and technologicalisation of our lives ....."

The bond between Reichwein and Becker dated from 1923, when Reichwein had been working under von Erdberg in Berlin: it had been strengthened by Becker's sympathy and help in the domestic crisis of Reichwein's married life and was now, on the latter's return from America to ripen into an even closer, though brief, partnership. There is an interesting account*4 of an early meeting in Berlin of a group concerned with the educational problems of teacher-training and consisting of 'green table' (the administrators: Becker and Reichwein's second father-in-law to be, Ministerialdirektor Pallat), and 'real life' (Fritz Klatt, Georg Goetsch, Harro Siegel) - a 'get together' of the 'General Staff' and the 'front line' executives. This is the impression Reichwein there gave, as Becker's public-relations assistant:-

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*3 See C. H. Becker: "Die Pädagogische Akademie im Aufbau unseres nationalen Bildungswesens" (1926).

*4 See Source B (2)

"A young man, very slim, wearing a blue suit, 'Schiller' collar and black stockings - pale, with reddish-blonde hair standing straight up from his forehead like a flame. The facial expression was very serious, mouth tightly shut, brows closely knitted, eyes staring, into the distance. He reminded me of the craggy Schiller."

In 'Carl Heinrich Becker: Ein Gedenkbuch' [*5] there are two passages worth quoting for the light they throw directly and indirectly on both these outstanding educators of the Weimar period. Speaking in praise of Becker, Reichwein wrote:-

"In a period which is shattered on one side by treacherous and irresponsible intellectualism and on the other by that contempt for things of the spirit, which derives from a confusion of intelligence and spirit - in an epoch that sways between intellectualism and sentimentality, it is the men who responsibly guard the things of the spirit and persist in treating men as whole beings that are the decisive elements. Whether they fight in the arena of politics or whether they live secretly as silent Lord Privy Seals of humanity ('Siegelbewahrer des Humanen') the actual course of events of any age is determined by them."

The actual course of events in Germany after 1932 lends colour to the conclusion that this statement of Reichwein's was more a pious hope than a realistic assessment.

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*5 Refer Note *2 (2)

In another passage Reichwein tried to describe the role of the spirit in education and in so doing surely gave a strikingly accurate portrait of his own character:-

"Just as an airman carries a handful of earth with him on his flight, so does spirit carry in its consciousness the conviction that its power to become incarnate derives from the solid centre of what is human. It is not the opposite of earth, not its devilish counterpart - it is the leap up out of that very heart of earthly existence, which is man's proper home." ⁂6

This short period of Reichwein's Berlin activity was crammed full of engagements; partly contact work for his ministry, partly the keeping up with former friends and especially the Volkshochschule in Jena, with acquaintances in the Youth Movement and Adult Education, partly again with the forging of new ties in the more official educational world, partly with the writing of articles and giving of radio talks, interspersed with constant travel and the obtaining of his pilot's licence. It must suffice to select three examples by way of illustration. In Nummer 46 2 Jahrgang of 'Deutsche Welle' (Berlin, 15 November 1929)⁂7 there appeared a talk by Dr. Adolf Reichwein entitled, "Is speed really pointless?" ("Ist Tempo wirklich banal"). The outspoken 'No' with which he answered this question demonstrates

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⁂6 Op. cit.

⁂7 See List of Reichwein's Published Works (1929)

that like Antoine Saint-Exupery and others after him, he had at least recognised the poetry of flight.

"Pointless?! For the airman who flies with sensitivity and intelligence, speed is like the magic cloak in the fairy-tale by means of which the riches of the earth are freshly revealed as though through the vision of eagles. It depends on you whether speed rewards or impoverishes."

In Nummer 49 2 Jahrgang of 'Deutsche Welle' (Berlin, 6 December 1929)[*8] there is another talk by Dr. Adolf Reichwein, this time on 'The North-Pole Explorer - Fridtjof Nansen'. In it Reichwein showed through his appreciation of Nansen's daring in the lone Arctic wastes and of his work for refugees his own deep hatred of war and his understanding of the need for solitude as the prior condition of true community.....
"Brotherhood is the experience of loneliness. He, who like Nansen has experienced the Arctic, morn after morn, year after year, must for ever contain within himself both the active principle of life and the passive one of death. For such a man life itself is a holy thing."

Perhaps these passages smack of Romanticism, which is hardly surprising if the nature of Reichwein's cultural origins is remembered. The romantic impulse did undoubtedly lie at the root of much of the endeavour put out by the Weimar 'men of good-will' and although it therefore tended to shrivel up in the face

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*8 See List of Reichwein's Published Works (1929)

of the stark reality of economic fact and sociological neurosis, for some, as indeed for Reichwein, it was to lead on to a more mature condition in the later years of crisis.

A third example, which illustrates Reichwein's combination of thinker and man of action is the expedition to Lapland referred to in the previous chapter.[*9] This expedition brought out strongly the pioneering, adventuring, daring element in the man, a quality which he admired in others as well as cultivating in himself and which he believed to be an essential part of any sound system of education.[*10] One of his English friends in trying to capture this facet of Reichwein's character used the word 'Knight-errant', 'Crusader' and at the same time 'a monk of the quiet cell.' [*11]

"In der Entscheidung gibt es keine Umwege." That maxim of Reichwein's, coined out of his Lapland experience, was to have a poignant application to the final stages of his own career.[*12]

Two further anecdotes may illuminate this phase of Reichwein's life in the great city of Berlin.[*13] Minister Becker recalled how one evening when Reichwein was with him, something almost uncanny happened.

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*9 See List of Reichwein's Published Works 'Abenteuer mit Mensch und Tier.

*10 Op. cit.

*11 See Source C (4)

*12 "Decision does not permit of evasion".

*13 See Source B (2)

"We were joking together on the verandah; it grew dark and our first lively conversation died away. I happened to lay my hand on his arm, and all of a sudden I felt as though a strong, warm current had streamed into it, run up my arm and knocked stoutly at my heart. I let go in a panic, and said, 'What's that? What's the meaning of it?' 'Oh! was it too much?', he replied. 'Please, forgive me. It wont do you any harm. On the contrary, I hope that because of it you'll sleep especially well to-night!' And, you know, I really did sleep wonderfully well."

On another occasion Harro Siegel and he were returning late from a rather intense, 'high-brow' party, and Reichwein murmured:-

"All very nice, but I'm happier with country folk and sailors."

During this period Reichwein gained a great deal of experience of political life but still refrained from actually joining a political party. As a political friend of his remarked:-

"This reserve towards organisations was a part of his character, which was better able to unfold itself in small casual gatherings." ✱14

Before proceeding to examine the next decisive stage of Reichwein's career, his professorship at Halle, it is

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✱14 See Source B (12)

instructive to pause and consider some reflections on the German educational scene of this time in its socio-political aspects, attempting to relate his position to them. Turning in particular to Becker's writings on the training of teachers, *15 we may note how he attempted to carry out his 'Kulturpolitik' and how he laid great stress on the need for an uniform German system of education. Four obstacles, maintained Becker, stood in the way of its realisation; first the conflict between the political concept of the Reich and the claims of the different 'Länder' to cultural autonomy, secondly the denominational issue, thirdly the tension between the requisite amount of unity and the tendencies towards ever greater degrees of professional differentiation in modern society, and fourthly the tension between the desired unity and class stratification. Becker's 'Pädagogische Akademien' were intended deliberately as instruments for the surmounting of these obstacles, and Reichwein himself was well aware of their reality. Although the minister had a good theoretical appreciation of the dangers of ideological divisions in the educational system, ("In teacher-training socio-economic motives are inseparably bound up with ideological

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*15a Refer Note *3

*15b Kandel writing in 1933 of the German scene a few years earlier, remarked:-

"Since the establishment of the Republic the political situation has been so unstable that a normal development in political and social affairs has been almost out of the question. Education has been caught in the maelstrom of parties as much as any other political concern."

(Studies in Comparative Education: I. L. Kandel, p.281, Harrap 1933).

ones", p.36), in practice much of his work was stultified by the actual political influences which forced it more and more to conform to the anti-democratic pressures of society as a whole.[*16] Although it is improbable that Reichwein had by this time already fully grasped the menace of this dichotomy, his previous experience in the Youth Movement, as an University student and as an Adult Education worker must have been preparing him for that evolution of his career, which after 1933 was to drive him back from politics on to the interim defences of education (1933-39) and then out again into politics in a truly critical sense from 1939 to 1944.

Also it can be asserted that by the end of the nineteen-twenties with the coming of Nazism, Reichwein saw more and more clearly that if education were to have any significant effect on society, it must be an education that began with the young child. In this connection too should be noted Becker's insistence on the importance of educating the whole man in the 'Pädagogische Akademien' (..... 'the educational goal is not what it is at the universities, namely a Faculty, but a man', p.60 op. cit.); the 'Pädagogische Akademien' could and should achieve an educational synthesis which the universities because of their

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[*16] On p.144-5 of the 1928 Volume of the Educational Yearbook there is a passage from one of Becker's speeches, which illustrates how he and those around him seem to have appreciated the nature of education's dilemma, increasingly caught as it was in the vice of party political faction: it also illustrates some recognition on their part of their tragic impotence to translate this appreciation into realistic and curative action.

specialist, faculty organisation could not achieve. It might be permissible to regard Reichwein as at this stage sensing in some measure the gravity of the political situation and responding to it by taking the problem with him into the actual pedagogical context of a Training College, partly there to come to terms with it in himself and partly in the hope of eventually contributing to the possibility of its solution through the student-teachers, who would come under his tutorial guidance. His work at Halle and his second marriage were to be of real assistance, not so much in resolving the tensions of German society as they impinged on his educational work as in making them more intelligible and so more endurable.

In the 'Educational Yearbook' of the International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University, appear some revealing passages on the state of German education in the late nineteen-twenties, which may here be fittingly noted as indicating further the kind of climate enveloping Reichwein at this crucial stage in the history of the Weimar Republic and the development of his own career.[*17] In the volume for 1926 Reinhold Lehmann, co-editor of the 'Leipsiger Lehrerzeitung und Schulreform, Leipzig' wrote (p.177):-

"Uncertainty and indecision continue in the field of legislation, politics and economics, with the natural consequence that little has been accomplished in educational legislation,

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*17 See also A. Buller: Darkness over Germany (London 1943)

although many of the ideas for reform have not yet been realised. There is still lacking a majority for a common ideal. At the same time two ideas are gradually becoming more clearly and more definitely crystallised out of the discussions on education - the youth movement and the agitation for higher popular education. Germany is looking for a community that is conscious of itself and does not speak in a variety of languages that are not materially understood; she is looking for a new generation that is trained more on the active and moral than on the intellectual side and that shows as a result more enthusiasm for self-education, responsibility, and spiritual enrichment than the old generation that accomplished little for an inspired life in an inspired people."

Reichwein, himself an enthusiastic worker in both the Youth Movement and Adult Education, strove through them to forge that 'majority for a common ideal', but because he and his fellow-workers were frustrated in this endeavour, partly by their own inadequate understanding of the dominant political forces of the day and partly by the stronger groundswell of traditional German sociological forces, the 'majority for a common ideal' failed to evolve and was instead imposed on itself by a weary and thirsty 'Volk' when the Nazi pipes began to play.

Rolf Gardiner has contributed the following account of one particular incident that belongs to this time, which should be carefully noted for the light it throws on Reichwein himself and the socio-political tensions of the educational scene.

"My memories and records of this period constantly refer to the puzzle over Reichwein's political direction or lack of direction. His wary allegiance to the socialist position seemed at the time a pose, a deliberate attitude not in full harmony with his spiritual convictions. It made him stand aloof from the strenuous efforts being made by the Buende to enter the field of cultural-political activity. This all came to a head over the policy of staffing the Pädagogische Akademien with leaders of the Youth Movement. The Jungmannschaft had concentrated its forces at two centres both in Eastern frontier provinces: at the Boberhaus, Loewenberg in Silesia where Reichwein formed camps of peasants, workers and students dealing with questions of regional reconstruction; and at Frankfurt on the Oder where an even more imposing and unique institution had been opened in 1929 as an act of faith by C. H. Becker in the work of Georg Goetsch. This latter place was the Musikheim, a 'college of the Muses' but built by an architect of genius, Otto Bartning, and destined to be a cultural lighthouse for the whole Ostmark. At it, in addition to regular courses of schoolteachers, a cross-section of the regional population took part in meetings for music and drama and became re-energised for work in their lonely outposts in a somewhat bleak province. It had been agreed by the leaders of the Buende, especially the Deutsche Freischar

to whom Goetsch belonged, that Frankfurt, with its wise and able Oberbürgermeister Dr. Kinne, should be made the focal centre for reconstructive work. It would demonstrate the belief of the movement that cultural and economic values, beauty and utility, should go hand in hand. To the Musikheim was to be added one of the new Pädagogische Akademien, and later a third institute, the three houses virtually forming a new kind of popular university at which the youth movement's and Becker's ideas would become manifest as they had failed to do at the old established universities. It was essential that the work should be complementary and not duplicated.

Reichwein had a decisive influence in the choice of the director of the new P.A. at Frankfurt. It was in my view a profoundly mistaken choice, and it sprang from Reichwein's curiously detached position in relation to the now richly developed bündische Youth Movement. The man who could have steered the P.A. at Frankfurt was the one-armed leader of the Deutsche Freischar Dr. Ernst Buske, a man almost as remarkable as a leader and teacher of youth as Reichwein. He was the one man who could diplomatically and practically give 'political' substance to Goetsch's inspired ideas. But he was reserved and not flamboyant in his dealings with Becker who had a deep respect and slight fear of his humour and power. From a

party-political angle it would be difficult but not impossible to appoint Buske; difficult because he was Syndicus of the Landbund, a right-wing agrarian organisation in N.W. Germany.

There is no doubt that Becker's educational policy, depending as it did on a coalition of the Catholic Zentrum and the S.P.D., was under fire from the Socialists who wished him to make political appointments to all educational institutions and later pushed him out of office in order to make way for a party-label Kultusminister Grimme. Reichwein's choice for Frankfurt was his friend Otto Haase. Haase was a good man, a little like Buske, but entirely without Buske's charisma and following. Moreover he had none of the socio-political ideas which fired Goetsch's artistic genius at the Musikheim. Buske and Goetsch would have made an irresistible team and the results of their joint leadership at Frankfurt would have been striking and unique. It fell to me to struggle very hard both with Becker and Reichwein over this whole question. I think that to-day Reichwein would agree that sub specie aeternitatis the Buske-Goetsch proposal would have been ideal. But in the neuralgic political position of the time the ideal had to give way to the tactically possible. Haase was appointed and from our point of view it was a sterile appointment. Architecturally

too the sprawling white P.A. was an affront to the adjacent masterpiece of the Musikheim. The disharmonious styles of the two institutes emphasised their disregard of one another. This was a profound waste, and symptomatic of the lack of co-operation between different wings of the Youth Movement from which Haase and Bohnenkamp and their colleagues also derived. Buske died quite suddenly in 1930, an unforgettable Wandervogel leader of whom an Englishman said that he combined all the best qualities of the German and English characters.

I think this account shows that Reichwein's independent development aloof from the inner counsels of the Buende, his soigné attitude to world affairs, was both a gain and a loss. He had detached himself: he was no longer a leading figure of the Youth Movement, but a man of independent critical power. That he did not identify himself with the efforts of the Buende to solve social and regional questions which were absolutely up his street, was a tragedy. But it was typical of that fastidious German particularism which made it possible for the totalitarian mass-movements to triumph over freedom."

In the Educational Year Book volumes for 1927 (p.166) and 1928 (p.144) there is a suggestive account of the clash between the government's attempt to create in the schools a real love and respect for the

Republic of Weimar and the resistance of many older members of the staff.

"The Prussian ministry issued detailed compulsory regulations on July 11th, 1927, for the celebration of Constitution Day. At the end of the year it ordered the song books to be revised so as to give expression to the spirit of the democratic state. The Ministry expects the teachers to exercise that moderation and restraint in expressing their political opinions out of duty that is required by their office, to train the young to co-operate in a democratic state, to educate them to a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the state and to arouse and cultivate a sense of loyalty to the state. The regulation is aimed indiscriminately at the enemy of the Republic, whether Right or Left."

The pathos of such a passage as this deepens our understanding of a man like Reichwein's intense desire to produce something better than this artificial stimulating of the populace's loyalties; it spotlights him as at any rate in large measure, an honourable exception to

"The best (that) lack all conviction
While the worst are full of passionate intensity"

(W. B. Yeats)

The conviction, which was to lead to over-long delayed action in the uprising against Hitler, took another ten years or so to mature in the ranks of the resistance. Meanwhile German men of good-will only taught in the wings of the national

stage. *18

The volume for 1929 contains a long and important article on 'The Philosophy underlying the national system of education in Germany' by Aloys Fischer, Oberregierungsrat and Professor of Education in the University of Munich. In the following quotation from it (p.270-7) may be found a clue to the personal problem of Reichwein the individual as reflected in Fischer's general plea for autonomy in German education:-

"Our national character is torn by the conflict between an excessive tendency towards profundity, inwardness, brooding imagination and an intentionally over-emphasised self-discipline, exaggeration of method and artificial rationalising. The latter trends are used as a remedy for the former qualities."

Reichwein the adventurer, the airman, was used as a remedy for Reichwein the pedagogue: the individual conflict was to merge and finally to be resolved in the collective one.

Later in the same article occur passages, which in the light of subsequent events, reveal a quite astonishing degree of complacency concerning the capacity of the German people to make their Weimar constitution work (p.287-8):-

"The great mass of German citizens, from the worker who is a member of the social democratic party or of a labour union, from the tradesman, artisan and peasant, to the capitalist, big

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*18 W.B. Yeats: Collected Poems (p.211 The Second Coming) Quoted in S. Spender's 'The Destructive Element.'

land-owner and entrepreneur, all those who represent the core of the population, feel themselves more in accord with the state than formerly. However, these are the beginnings of new fundamentally revolutionary parties - the communist with their programme of dictatorship of the proletariat, and the national fascist group, which advocates the dictatorship of capital. These extremists of the Right and of the Left have so far only reached the stage of preparation; they can but bide their time and have no decisive importance." (p.305)

While they were continuing their preparations, their time came in the shape of Germany's exposure to the effect of the 1929-30 World Economic crisis and her own mounting number of unemployed, not least in the 'learned professions'. *19 During this time Reichwein with more than one eye on the increasing roughness of the political weather and its socio-economic storm-clouds, worked for three years among his students at Halle, where we shall now follow him.

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*19 See W. Kotschnig: Unemployment in the Learned Professions (London 1937)

PART II.

HALLE 1930-1933.

By the time Reichwein took up his professorship in Political and Social Science at the Pädagogische Akademie in Halle, the world was already in the full grip of its economic crisis heralded by the U.S. bank crash in the autumn of the previous year. Germany was particularly badly affected, and this chapter of Reichwein's story must be viewed against the background of rapidly increasing unemployment, the withering of most of the finer blooms of Weimar culture, as for example the retirement of Becker from government activity, the last desperate attempts of Brüning to save the cause of parliamentary democracy, the hectic intrigues of Von Papen and Von Schleicher in the circles of the 'Herrenklub' and the military, and the final, fatal governing by decree, permitted under Article 48 of the Constitution - a series of activities which has been described by apologists as the 'pursuit of a policy of the lesser evil', the alternative being Hitler. *20

The brief years of Reichwein's professorship form the first main climax of his career: professionally in his

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*20 See A. Bullock: Hitler: A Study in Tyranny, Chapter IV (London 1952)

work with students and his various publications,*21 domestically in his happy second marriage; this period disclosed in him 'a dazzling personality' in active self-fulfilment. As Becker put it in his 1946 memorial address when referring to Reichwein's transfer from Berlin to Halle:- *22

"The difference of the job stimulated him in the degree to which he was now experienced in educational intellectual and political work. In 1933 the new masters of Germany dismissed him from his post, but these three years at Halle were in a way his most creative ones. Even his environment was favourable. His task was a vastly significant one just because of his concern for the intellectual needs both of young people and of the working classes. Training the teachers of the future involved helping them in every way, making personal and professional contact with them, educating them intellectually and at the same time sharpening their understanding and arousing their awareness of political responsibility.

Although 1930 to 1933 were years of conflict, they were also intense years. Reichwein and his friends observed the rise of the monster, which was trying to cast its spell

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*21 See List of Reichwein's Published Works (1930-33)

*22 See Source B (9)

over Germany. With ceaseless energy they sought to oppose it but still had to witness the mass of the German people surrender their political freedom and birth-right to a few banal slogans and emotional clichés and give themselves up to political adventurers and the forces of destruction which governed them." *23

The best evidence of Reichwein's socio-political and educational concerns exists in an article, which he himself contributed to the 'Sozialistische Monatshefte,' (12th October, 1931), entitled 'The Pedagogical Academies: No time to be lost.' *24 In his very first paragraph he goes straight to the point with a reference to the relationship between education and social conditions:-

"If we are concerned about the five million unemployed, if we reckon that in the winter it will soon be six or seven million, then, understandably but unpardonably, we feel overcome by the fact and become faint-hearted about cultural affairs. How few there are to-day, who can still think calmly about anything which is not strictly 'business'. Yet true statesmen can be recognised by their ability to protect with calm and conviction these institutions (the

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*23 See especially Professor Wilson-Knight: Christ and Nietzsche (London 1948) who has written of the Germans sacrificing "political liberty for psychic freedom."

*24 See List of Published Works (1931)

pedagogical academies) of our cultural life."

The role of the teacher, maintained Reichwein, was to contribute to this enlightened view of things:

"The spiritual suppleness of our people, without which we cannot face the moral, intellectual and spiritual demands of the next decades, depends largely on the existence of a structurally and socially creative body of teachers, who are capable of giving leadership not only in the educational destiny of individuals (children and adults) but also in the social destiny of the group, the community and the family. For teachers pedagogical and political destinies are necessarily interwoven. ..... It is only when one has grasped the sociological significance of the teaching profession, i.e. when one recognises wherein lies their social mission, that one can really formulate the function of teacher-training. The care of machines, the precision of our technical construction, the growth of comradeship and fraternal organisation, responsible attitudes of individuals towards society and the state, the capacity to make political choices and then to offer political obedience, these and a thousand other things will in the future depend on the fact that 150,000 teachers in Germany become the guardians not only of educational but also of political conscience in a true and comprehensive sense. That requires education and disciplined knowledge. He who to-day lacks or denies this

fundamental insight for whatever reason betrays the very existence of our people."

It was Germany's tragedy that those who had the insight lacked the conscience.

Further on in this same article Reichwein scornfully rejected the idea that primary school teachers should not be educated 'above their station', and should continue to be trained in the old 'Seminar' style.*25 The advocates of such a reactionary proposal to produce pedagogical N.C.O's for children had failed to understand -

"that a society which has reached a developed stage of economic communication and highly differentiated production can no longer be governed on an authoritarian basis but only on the basis of the autonomous responsibility of each single individual."

Reichwein saw clearly here that this political fact needed to be supported by a correspondingly educated realisation of its significance, which in turn would mean new methods of teaching, but his was a minority view. Later he was able to experiment with it himself as a village schoolmaster.*26 Meanwhile Reichwein showed up the political Right Wing as desiring the destruction of the pedagogical academies

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*25 See List of Published Works (1931)

*26 See Reichwein's own book 'Schaffendes Schulvolk' and Chapter VI.

because of their potentially disruptive social influence and pleaded with the Left Wing for its one hundred per cent support of them. He summed up their specific role in the following words:-

"In their spiritual and practical pattern the academies must be seen as a new and special synthesis of academic knowledge and character-training. They are intended both generally and in detail as a discipline, preparation and pre-experience for the future profession of teacher ..... After the tremendous spread, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of the store of human knowledge in the nineteenth century, it is only possible to achieve a convincing synthesis of its most important results for the service of education outside the universities. Just because of this, the academies have a special part to play distinct from the part played by the universities. It is up to us to develop these young academies into valid higher institutions of education."

Reichwein's Halle days were an attempt to translate his theory into practice, and as we now proceed to review the testimony of his contemporaries as to the measure of his achievement, we cannot but be struck by the enormous momentum of socio-political forces pressing against him and after a short time overwhelming him.

A former colleague of his has written:- *27

"I recall Adolf Reichwein as a slim reddish-blonde figure in which the best of youth seemed to be for ever incarnate. His previous life with its adventurous but purposeful travels in distant countries and his private airplane - an odd possession for a German pedagogue - gave him an aura of a peculiar kind. He did not exactly stand for the Youth Movement to which he had however belonged and the tradition of which had become so significant for the new 'Pädagogische Akademien' - there was no romanticism about him, but rather the sense of everyday life full of energy and a creative dynamic. It was not without significance that his subject was Current Affairs, a province which he really carved out for himself. None of the rest of us had such a strong and good influence on the students of the P.A. at Halle. I believe there was no doubt about this among the staff. It was thanks to his alertness, brave realism and quite unself-important integrity, which could look evil things straight in the face that in the critical winter of 1932-33, our last term, not a single unpleasant incident occurred.*28

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*27 See Source B (13)

*28 This suggests how effective resistance to Nazi policy might have been if Reichweins had been numbered in thousands or even hundreds, instead of tens.

Certainly there was a National-Socialist group in our midst too, but to the very end this only touched not more than a quarter of the student-body - an unusually fortunate circumstance. Even more important - the decencies of free discussion were preserved and for this Reichwein was largely responsible. He was the born leader of youth because he himself was both young and mature at the same time. He was the type of educator, who was more needed then than ever before, because he had a political insight into things and yet did not forget the human factor; because he knew the wide world and understood the tensions of international relations and yet devoted himself body and soul to the narrower task of training German teachers. His dismissal from office in April 1933 left the student-body quite bereft, and that at a juncture when it was demanding more than ever before courageous and honest leadership".

One of Reichwein's own students from Halle has written as follows:- *29

"He was a man who from the first made a strong impression on us students. Just his freshness and liveliness in lectures, his broad clear outlook on all historical and economic questions, these things attracted us greatly to him. But above all it was his personality, his youthful

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*29 See Source B (14)

vigour and elasticity, his infectious will-power that seemed to triumph over all difficulties - his enterprise which was a source of perpetual excitement. He would conduct excursions to study current events at first hand, and these would always be so arranged that we had the chance of observing clearly a piece of economic and social life and of discussing it with him. We would often gather in small groups in his house to discuss topical political or economic problems arising out of the life of our own people and he always tried to arouse in us an understanding of the development of our own nation and a feeling of responsibility for one another. Moreover he would sit there as our comrade, and the evenings would generally end with some story about his many travel experiences.

I shall never forget a holiday course he ran in Prerow/Dass in Fritz Klatt's residential Folk High School. We travelled there as a close group from Halle, and Reichwein was expected to arrive by airplane, but he did not turn up. At last news came that he had had an accident with his plane. When he finally arrived some days later by train, still very much done in by his crash, it transpired that the accident had only occurred because in spite of warning from the weather forecast at the airfield in South Germany, he had taken off in order to be in time to open our course and not to keep us waiting! Of this course (Politics and Education in 1933) which young people of all classes, professions and

parties joined, I remember very little - that is about the purely academic and theoretical study as compared with the human side and the personal attitude of Reichwein.

He lived with those of us from Halle in tents on the shore, which he himself had carefully planned in order to reduce costs for the participants; he sat with us in the evenings and told us of his experiences; he played games with us, went dancing with us, organised sailing trips and in short shared the whole of our life. One was always running across him in serious conversation with young people from the most diverse political groups, but the high spot was invariably when Reichwein sat down in our midst and told stories. On midsummer eve we all sat round a big fire on the shore and after we had sung many a lovely folk-song, he began to speak of wolf-hunts in Alaska, thrilling voyages in the Philippines, strange events in Japan, journeys through Lapland. We sat round him spellbound until the sky began to redden in the East, and we had not noticed at all how the time had gone by .....

Reichwein was made to educate and lead young people. I think it was his youthful audacity, his indomitable will-power, his desire always to be learning something new that made the flying professor so attractive: there blew about him a whole world of actually and genuinely experienced adventure. The fact that he lived alongside of us, shared everything

with us and became our good companion gave him that strong influence which he exerted over us. It was characteristic of him that he shared his Halle lodgings with a student, who had to be very careful about money, and this young man always remained his comrade and never became the dependent pupil. Just before our final examination his house was always open to us except when he was actually at work there, and here we could if we wished study intensively in special peace and quiet.

The way in which he remained true to his political principles is shown in the following manner; when in the spring of 1933 some Nazis pushed into the Academy and there hoisted the swastika flag, he never again entered its portals."

It is perhaps possible to detect in such a passage of tribute from a former pupil an element, which is foreign to any analogous English situation -, the tendency for young Germans to become 'Schwärmerisch' ('soupily sentimental') about figures they admire. It may be compared with 'hero-worship', and while both attitudes generally indicate a degree of arrested emotional development in the characters involved, it could be suggested that it is a stage of development which is passed through earlier by most - though not all - Englishmen than by most Germans. In England it is a schoolboy, schoolgirl infection of adolescence: in Germany it tends to become an adult habit.

One more tribute may be usefully quoted here, as it conjures up a picture of Reichwein's delicate position in the immediate pre-Nazi scene:- *30

"Reichwein's influence on the student-body at Halle was very great: in spite of the political difficulties, which arose in the years before 1933 because of his resistance to National Socialism. Even those students, who more or less openly declared their allegiance to National Socialism and who were therefore ranged against him, later frequently said that they would have been only too glad to have him on their side and that they simply could not understand why such a man as he was not a Nazi."

It was in the critical spring of 1933 that Reichwein married Rosemarie Pallat, a colleague of his at the P.A., who specialised in physical education and was herself the daughter of an eminent educational administrator from the ministry in Berlin. This second marriage, from which were born four children *31 was initiated by a short honeymoon in Italy just after Reichwein himself was dismissed from office by the Nazis on May 9th, 1933. Because it shed a golden glow of happiness over his darkest hours in later years and because

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*30 See Source B (9)

*31 Renate Reichwein (date of birth 13.2.34)
Roland Reichwein (date of birth 9.1.36)
Kathrin Reichwein (date of birth 21.12.38)
Sabine Reichwein (date of birth 6.6.41)

of the gallant and tragic role which the second Frau Reichwein was to be called on to play, it is fitting to quote here from her own short but eloquent appreciation of her husband and the father of her children:- *32

"The first time I saw him, consciously saw him, was in a group of students and children at a college party. What chiefly struck me about him was his relationship to children. He won their hearts straight away, understood their fancies and had a warm appreciation of their needs and special wishes. What a father he would be for his own children! .....

He knew exactly what especially appealed to young people and how to foster in them a positive sense of endeavour. From every word he spoke there sparkled forth an affirmation of life, a radiant joy in the ability to do things, an appreciation of the beautiful things of life and at the same time a full awareness of its gloomy side, which had to be coped with."

It should already have become clear why Reichwein refused the chance of emigrating and taking up a professorship in Istanbul, which was offered him. He was too conscious of and involved in the fate of his fellow-countrymen to divorce himself from them. He knew what they needed politically and

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*32 See Source B (1)

educationally, he foresaw what they were going to get because of their lack of political and social maturity. His decision to join the S.D.P. at last looks now like a kind of last-minute formal defiance of the totalitarian menace, but it could count for little. Germany's men of good-will were being forced into exile, concentration camps would before long open their jaws for them; a few would essay the difficult task of 'Innere Emigration' *33 while at the same time preserving their spiritual integrity. Reichwein was one of these courageous few, but before we follow him into the next chapter of his life, we may profitably direct our attention to a short, but important publication of his, which had to appear under the pseudonym of Peter Rosbach in July/August 1933.*34

It was composed while he was testing out the new political situation in Berlin in the early summer months of

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*33 The phrase 'Innere Emigration' or 'journey to the interior' is descriptive of the task attempted by some Germans of goodwill, who without emigrating from Germany or joining the active Resistance movement or assisting wholeheartedly in the Nazi régime tried to preserve the inner citadel of their hearts intact against the Nazi onslaught while yielding the minimum amount of obedience compatible with survival for themselves and their families. Whether this was a possible position has been a matter of some controversy.

*34 The pseudonym was taken from the name of Reichwein's village Ober-Rosbach.
"Grundtvig: Aus Anlass der 150 Wiederkehr von Grundtvig's Geburtstag am 8 Sept. 1933" von Peter Rosbach. See List of Reichwein's Published Works.

that year, and its theme was significantly enough the meaning of the one hundred and fiftieth birthday celebration of Grundtvig. In his essay Reichwein drew out the similarities of needs in the case of the nineteenth century Danish national awakening and the contemporary situation in Germany. While recalling Grundtvig's emphasis on the importance of 'Volk' 'Faith' and 'Freedom' and the 'living word' as contrasted with the written word, Reichwein continued the plea, already so eloquently demonstrated in his own previous experience, that education, adult-education in particular, must be 'close to life', and observe the real distinction between 'academic' and 'popular' learning. In particular Reichwein pointed out how Max Weber in 'Wissenschaft als Beruf' had just failed in the Germany of ten years earlier to carry complete conviction because there was lacking in his work that essential Grundtvigian ingredient, 'Volkstümlichkeit'.

We may note once again that the Nazis were to make good this deficiency in their own perverted and sinister way.

Much of the latter part of Reichwein's dissertation was an appeal through the words of Grundtvig for freedom, and he quoted (p.364) Grundtvig's optimism -

"Freedom is the natural element of spirit." For the next ten years that element was virtually to disappear

from the German scene: from 1933 to 1939 in the little village of Tiefensee Reichwein strove to protect and nourish it. As Von Machui put it*35

"The year 1933 marked the great dividing line in his life, not noticeably at first for the consequences of it were not yet to be seen". It was Reichwein's endeavour - in the end a vain one - to keep the pedagogical situation in daily educational experience independent of the political one.

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*35 See Source C (2)

CHAPTER VI.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOLMASTER.

(1933 - 1939)

An attempt must now be made to focus the German scene when Hitler came to power in order to gain understanding of why and how it was that National Socialism had sooner or later to strike decisively against the position of a Reichwein. The core of the Nazi appeal to the vast majority was that it offered an end to those various socio-economic tensions in German society, which by 1933 had become intolerable. Just how intolerable they were, both externally in the shape of ceaseless civil strife and internally in the gnawing anxiety felt by many Germans with regard to their own and other people's trustworthiness, deserves to be emphasised here on the basis of the author's personal experience of them in Hamburg during the winter months of 1932-33. Not only was there the fact of nightly shooting affrays between extremist parties of the Left and Right, but there was also the piteous demand for 'Ordnung' at almost any cost with unemployment and Germany's position in the post-Versailles international world as the two most widely feared threats to security. As one who worked among them the author feels bound to record that for German schoolboys and schoolgirls not to have climbed on the Nazi bandwagon would have been to

demand of them qualities of insight and near-saintliness, which it is unreasonable to expect of any child. The superficial legality of the 'Machtübernahme' ('taking over of power') and the fact that in recent months there had been an actual falling-off in pro-Nazi votes must not be permitted to obscure the fact that Hitler, the 'Shaman', represented the bulk of the nation in a fundamental manner. *1 Nazism provided a psycho-spiritual container for the frustrating conflict between Catholic and Protestant, Christianity and scientific rationalism, worker and employer and, even more, between the polar opposites, too far separated in the German character, of conscious reason and unconscious emotion.*2 Nazism provided a solution to the capitalist-socialist conflict, not least in the sphere of the unemployment problem, and Nazism offered some kind of solution

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*1 See Jung, C.G. Essays in Contemporary Events (1947) Introduction p.XIV-XV from a B.B.C. Talk (3.11.1946)

"Hitler was the exponent of a 'new order', and that is the real reason why practically every German fell for him. The Germans intended order, but they made the fatal mistake of electing the foremost victim of disorder and unchecked greed for their leader. They did not understand that not one of them had changed his individual attitude: just as they were greedy for power, they were also greedy for order. But they remained greedy all the same. With the rest of the world, they did not understand what Hitler's significance was, namely that he was a symbol for every individual; he was the most prodigious personification of all human inferiorities."

See also: H. G. Baynes: Germany Possessed (Chapter I) Adolf Hitler: Personal and Daemonic p.23-24.

*2 See Wilson-Knight: Christ and Nietzsche.

to the hitherto unsolved problems of Germany's retarded nationalism and immature democracy: that the solution was a reactionary, authoritarian, totalitarian one did not then matter; it supplied relief from unbearable doubt and a hope, however specious, for the young generation.

Of the accompanying terror and oppression throughout the land there is now no need to speak, except as it was to affect education. Although the National-Socialist educational system was not to receive formal shape until the years 1937-1938, its principles soon found practical expression at all levels in the dismissal of those not subscribing to the party's ideology and in the tremendous activity of the 'Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerverband' ('National-Socialist Union of Teachers'), which had been founded in 1927. The control of education was centralised in a Reich Ministry of Education with powers over all regional administrations, the schools were made to conform both in their curricula and their teaching personnel to the prevalent Nazi outlook with its emphasis on the irrational, the racial, the nationalist, the 'Führer-Prinzip' and the worship of physical strength. Evilly and exaggeratedly the Nazi educationists encouraged that 'flight from reason' and the 'urge for the organic' [*3] for which their Weimar forerunners had unsuccessfully striven to provide legitimate and creative outlets. In 1933 there was practically no chance of resistance: it must either

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*3 See Samuel and Thomas: "Education and Society in Modern Germany" and "Education in Nazi Germany" by Two English Investigators (Published by the Kulturkampf Association - London 1938)

Reichwein at Tiefensee
(1936)

politically it was lost. Had the Prussian State any further use for his services? If not, he was off. He went straight to Berlin and demanded to see one of the new department chiefs. This man, a certain Bargheer, was a swashbuckling Nazi ideologue. Reichwein was known to him as an independent light of the Socialist Left. The two men confronted each other and there was a fiery and abusive slanging match. Reichwein's audacity compelled the admiration of the Nazi. "Herr Reichwein," he said, "Sie sind ja der geborene S-A Führer! But you're on the wrong side, damn it! What the hell do you want?" "I want," said Reichwein quietly, "a single-class village elementary school." "Abgemacht - it's settled", said Bargheer, banging his fist on the table. And so Reichwein, Professor, Dr., became a village schoolmaster in the back-woods of Mark Brandenburg."

As can be imagined, the Reichwein couple had to move in on his new educational assignment under a cloud of local suspicion - the usual distrust of villagers of anything new in their midst, augmented by the fact that Reichwein came to them from the academic heights and that he was being closely watched by the Nazi authorities. His widow has given an eloquent description of the way in which the local worthies tried to trip her husband up ideologically by entertaining him alcoholically! Then there was the question of an assistant teacher. In a letter to his friend, Bohnenkamp, in October 1933 ✱6 he summed up the situation:-

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✱6 See Source A.

"Dear Hannes,

The decision has been made quite differently, and I'm staying in Germany. Luckily the negotiations dragged on for so long that in the meantime my hunch for remaining became a certainty. I finally decided a week ago, and just as though ordained, three days ago the Potsdam authorities informed me that as from October 1st I was appointed by direction of the Minister teacher in Tiefensee ..... The most urgent point is this: I've been granted two teachers in training or further training as assistant staff. I'd like to have Zimmermann!"

Then followed instructions to try and get hold of him and possibly a girl as the second assistant.[*7] The school term started on October 17th: on October 20th Reichwein wrote to Bohnenkamp that the school had been without a proper curriculum for six months and was therefore a bit lacking in things generally - it would take some time to put matters to rights, "but the children are a joy."

Such is an appropriate phrase on which to turn to an exposition and appreciation of Reichwein's own account of the Tiefensee experiment. Of all his publications this little book, which first appeared in 1937 under the title "Schaffendes Schulvolk" ('Creative School Community') and which was republished in 1951,[*8] is easily the most important.

It needs to be viewed against the background of those main educational traditions and influences in German history from

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*7 See Source A.

*8 See List of Reichwein's Published Works (1937 and 1938)

which Reichwein's own training and mature opinions were derived. Far back in time elementary education had been in Germany as elsewhere in Europe the province of the Church with its 'Klosterschulen' and 'Domschulen': then came their exposure to the forces of humanism and of the Reformation. In the seventeenth century Comenius made his great contribution, a direct echo of which can be discerned in Reichwein's own teaching in such matters as the need for careful observation of child-nature, the gradation of easy to difficult activity, learning as needing to have relevance to the meaning of life and the significance of perception. After the eighteenth century Enlightenment two tendencies can be clearly observed, the rationalistic and the Romantic, both strongly tinged as the nineteenth century progressed by the feeling of nascent German nationalism. 'Neuhumanismus', Wilhelm von Humboldt, Fichte, Pestalozzi and Froebel were the dominant influences. It will be seen that much of Reichwein's theory and practice were imbued with the wisdom of the last mentioned two. For example Pestalozzi's insistence that the educational process must be 'nicht begrifflich sondern anschaulich', 'not notional but evidential', was central to the whole organisation of Reichwein's time-table. Again Froebel's emphasis on the unity of life and work, the importance of the 'Kindergarten' and the value and meaning of play were all highlights of the Tiefensee experiment. Reichwein also treasured the Herbartian contribution with its stress on education's need for autonomy from the control of state and politics, or respect for the spontaneity

of the child and even a considerable part of Herbart's much criticised 'Formalstufen' or 'progress by ordered stages'. *9

More immediately it was to the Reform Movement in German education, dating from about 1890, that Reichwein was related by firm ties. It was then that the Germans ceased to be a mainly peasant people ruled over by a landed aristocracy and a cultural élite, and became an industrialised society with a swelling proletariat. This new state of affairs evoked response from two main groups of teachers, for higher education men like Kerschensteiner, Gaudig and Lietz, for elementary education men like Jensen, Wolgast and Lottig, the former emphasising the importance of what was taught, the latter emphasising the importance of the child, who was being taught. As will become evident, Reichwein drew heavily on both the idealistic and realistic sides of the Reform Movement, on its concern for the Youth Movement, education through art and Adult Education as well as on the idea of the 'Arbeitschule' and the 'Einheitschule.' All these tendencies came to a head in the years immediately after 1918, but by 1933 they had largely succumbed to the blight of the Weimar sickness. As Blättner puts it, *10

"By 1933 the pedagogical Reform Movement was at an end. Now no more movement was possible but only the will of one. For

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*9 See "Der lebendige Herbart", Vortrag bei der reformpädagogischen Tagung in Göttingen am 18.III.1948 in "Die Sammlung" 1948 S.207-8.

*10 See Blättner: Geschichte der Pädagogik, p.278.

propaganda reasons some things were continued, even insisted upon, music for example and the play of the Hitler Youth. In place of true education for citizenship there was political training and service. In so far as the Reform Movement had stood for a free and genuine humanity, it had now become quite superfluous. Not a few of its representatives became victims of the Terror, among them Adolf Reichwein."

Such was the setting in which Reichwein's experiment at Tiefensee between 1933 and 1939 has to be seen. An attempt will now be made to describe the contents of his book and to offer such comment as seems appropriate to the question of Reichwein's personal and collective significance. As he assures us in his own introduction to the book, it was neither a plan nor a proposal but rather the report of an actual situation and the educational experiment conducted within it with the minimum of material resources. Yet just because of this the whole book is itself a most valuable pointer to the sociological aspects of the German problem in education both in the nineteen-thirties and subsequently.

The first chapter is devoted to a brief exposition of the character of a creative school community, made up not of teacher as over against child but of teacher and child at work together in a learning situation. Education, he argued, must by its very nature be based on the needs of children, while at the same time it has to respect the political demands which contemporary society makes upon it. Reichwein set the teacher

uncompromisingly in a social context:-

"Surely the only type of person who can be an educator to-day is one who is rooted in the community and who embodies in himself the tensions of a spiritually creative man working in a society which is in the process of transforming itself". (p.12)[*11]

German society of the nineteen-thirties was certainly transforming itself, and it is poignant and instructive to watch how the socially destructive transformation came to succeed and the socially constructive one to fail in spite of a few isolated Reichweins and because its nature was overwhelmingly determined, not by educational principles, but by political and economic pressures, themselves of long standing.

Just because, continues Reichwein, the teacher was himself personally involved in contemporary social change, he had special and positive opportunities of witnessing before his pupils to the need for a new order of society. Because children attach significance to words chiefly in so far as they spring from deeds, it behoved the teacher to be practical. These children were pioneering in a new field of social development, which demanded courage and the ability to take decisions.

"Just as political tasks require of us the social discipline of comradeship, so do educational tasks demand the exercise of 'Bereitschaft' ('preparedness') (p.16).

This concept of 'Bereitschaft' was a basic one in Reichwein's thinking: he meant by it that quality to be fostered in children of their feeling themselves ready and prepared to

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*11 Op. cit.

contribute to life in a socially constructive way, not only or always through their own particular trades or professions but elastically, wherever and however their energies might be of use.*12 Children's moral sense must be encouraged to develop by providing them with opportunities for expressing their innate respect for the 'know-how' of things and for practising that obedience, which was the condition of a healthy child's freedom. Because 'true morality is always a social achievement' (p.16), the child on passing into late adolescence must be given the chance of belonging to a Youth group.

Reichwein emphasised further the importance of children learning from early infancy the value of orderliness as the condition of all successful achievement. To acquire this sense of achievement, which was the child's surest incentive to more growth and endeavour, it was essential that any job undertaken should be properly completed. This incentive was the secret of all creative activity in society: it could and should be linked to healthy forms of competition, chiefly in physical training, and it should include respect for the loser.

It was also important that teachers should know how

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*12 Op. cit.

to select the right kind of project for each child in that widely ranging age-group of six to fourteen, so that the children got an impression of over-all design and at the same time learnt the need for attention to detail. There must be avoidance of waste and the correct use of even the simplest kind of material: side by side with this respect for material effects there would then develop as a matter of course a sense of broad and open relationships between the children themselves. This could be extended into the adult world by accustoming the children to take part in the two main events of country life, namely the festivals of spring and autumn. The country-child's sharing in the serious 'daily-bread' work of his parents was pedagogically most useful: it made an appeal through its realism while still leaving the child free of the frequently dire struggle for existence of the adult world.

"The community of children, in so far as it can be self-contained, may exemplify in purer form what we are trying to promote for our people as a whole on the larger scale. It shows how each individual can strive to give of his best and at the same time fit in with the social demands of the group." (p.20)

Only the full text of this first chapter could properly convey that vision of the good society which Reichwein saw and translated into educational reality at

Tiefensee, but perhaps enough has been indicated to show clearly how it was precisely the lack of just such a vision in German education as a whole at this time, which ~~necessi-~~ incurred ~~tated~~ the clamping down from above of the imposed 'orderliness' of National Socialism.

The second chapter is devoted to a practical account of how the job of creating and running such a school community was in fact accomplished. Work undertaken, urged Reichwein, must be both meaningful and manageable; the vital distinction must be firmly established between 'play' that could always be broken off and 'work', which, once begun, must be completed.

"It is poison itself if it can be said of an educational community, here is work that has been begun and not finished." (p.21)

"The child is only bored i.e. his impulses are only deadened by what is empty of meaning to him. Just as he breaks off a game when the original impulse has exhausted itself, so in the serious learning process he switches off his attention when his consciousness loses track of the meaning, the 'what-for' of the lesson. It is a fallacy for the teacher to think that he can compel the child's attention for any length of time. By compulsion, threats and punishment he can obtain a powerfully close attention, really an over-close

one, which may indeed work for the moment, but which inevitably the next minute seeks compensation in still greater inattention." (p.22)

Reichwein insisted that the educational work of the children must be related to the real world of the adults. For example girls' needlework must be designed for useful clothes, not fancy linen. He then proceeded to give the following summary of a curriculum as suggestive guide rather than rigid formula:-

Children's self-expression and its achievement.

1. Spheres of self-expression.
   1. Words
   2. Music
   3. Mime
   4. Writing and drawing
   5. Creative construction
2. The achievement of these.
   1. In the field of ..... Language.
   2. In the field of ..... the Arts (Music, Movement, Physical Education)
   3. In the field of ..... Amateur Dramatics
   4. In the field of .....Imagination, and Representation of objects through writing and drawing.
   5. In the field of ..... The increasing ability to construct.

The country-side and the content of education.

1. Summer.
   1. Nature as the controlling Force: Soils, Climate, atmospheric forces, astronomy (Physics, Geology).

2. Nature as environment: The Earth as living space for human beings (Geography: political world-geography).

(f) 3. Nature as challenge: Population - organisation - man in control (Biology, Chemistry).

2. Winter.

4. Destiny shapes man: German poetry (Germans and their country-side: sailors, workers, peasants).

5. Man shapes his own destiny: German history, World history.

From "Schaffendes Schulvolk". pp.24-25.

Reichwein then continued with the assertion that modern man and above all the modern child needed to be re-associated with the rhythm of nature, which could in the last resort only be denied at the price of human catastrophe.

"The countryman has no holidays, because nature does not have any. The relationship of the countryman to nature is much like a dialogue. It is man, not nature, who is responsible for seeing that the dialogue is a successful one. It is for him therefore to take the initiative. We know that the most essential quality in the art of leading a discussion is the capacity to listen rather than to speak, its most stringent demand, that of sticking to the point. Nature provides the point: man is tied to it." (p.15)

The rural teacher should constantly be asking himself this question: was what he was planning meaningful and in true relationship to the child? In fact, said Reichwein,

here was one of the key points of all education, namely the need for children to be kept very close to reality, and by this was meant not only that which was physically close at hand. Often it was the teacher himself, who could and would have to suffice for the child as the embodiment of 'Lebensnähe' ('Closeness to life'). The rural school's curriculum must and should be largely determined seasonally i.e. the natural sciences in the summer, the social sciences in winter. Moreover these studies must never be allowed to become 'inert ideas', they must be related to the world of living and working people round about.

"Our education is essentially political - that is we educate people for fellowship, for living and working in a community." (p.29-30)

Reichwein then outlined the following time-table:-

Draft for a year's time-table.

Summer:

Nature

Plants		Animals
	Countryside	
Germination		The Struggle for Existence
	Maps	
Nutrition		The Natural Order
Soils	Physical Geography of the neighbourhood	

Winter:

Man as a social being.

Development	Nutrition
History as destiny	Study of mankind
Struggle for existence	Peoples
Evolution and Survival	The earth as the habitat of man

"Civilisation"

Applied Science.
(Technical skill in the struggle for existence).

From "Schaffendes Schulvolk". pp.30-31.

Educational method must tie in closely with educational content, and the wide age-range of the children (6-14) must be made a virtue and not, what it might easily be, a burden.

"It is because the child encounters reality immediately and not through the medium of the teacher only that all instruction is transformed into education." (p.33)

Reichwein maintained in fact that the child learnt through direct experience, selected largely for him by the teacher, who must be as it were, an expert artist at pulling out the right stops on the organ of social living.*13

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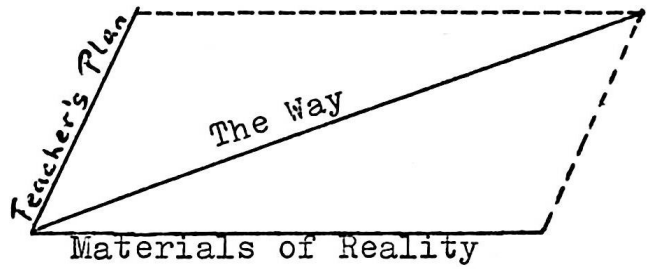
*13 Cf. This Adlerian conception of the role of the teacher as expounded in Oskar Spiel's "Am Schaltbrett der Erziehung" (Vienna 1951)

Method was like a middle-way between teacher's plan and the materials of reality in the child's environment, thus:-



M E T H O D

as an educational parallelogram of forces.

How then were the joint projects implied in such a plan to come about? One example among many for both winter and summer, which Reichwein gave, was that of the study of animals and the encouraging of the children's natural interest in them, up to a point where, as he put it, "the child shares Goethe's satisfaction in having discovered the discoverable and in reverencing silently the undiscoverable." (p.37)

In addition there were the co-operative children's projects of preparing for the various seasonal festivals and there was above all that event to which Reichwein attached very great importance, namely the school-journey with all that it could teach the child in self-reliance and appreciation of his cultural heritage.

Reichwein saw clearly enough the vital importance during the nineteen-thirties of relating the German people and above all German youth to their deep, true traditions, which could nourish them and help them to combat the assaults of

the totalitarian world, which was fast closing in on them. This becomes very plain as is shown later, in his approach to the film and the museum as media of education.

Reichwein's third chapter is devoted to a consideration of those primary, simple, elemental things such as the trade of the father, the hobbies of the family, the custom of the hearth which every child brings with him, as does every teacher, into the school community. These, he argued, had to form the basis of all subsequent education, for all other kind of material, necessary and assorted as it was, was secondary, put forward by the teacher to enable the child to expand and enrich 'the forms of his own self-expression'. In a few short pages Reichwein sketched the whole process whereby the trained teacher could use the child's natural play to help it on into experiment, practice and later still, disciplined work. This process of growth could be expressed both individually and collectively as that of acquiring, securing and ensuring the cultural heritage.

"The child as the carrier of culture - even if he is only a very tiny one - is involved in the great responsibility of his people, namely that of re-winning from generation to generation that which has developed and evolved and re-casting it into new forms" (p.83). It is perhaps permissible to comment in passing that if informed public opinion does not do this re-casting by democratic means, it will nevertheless be accomplished by totalitarian ones!

In much of this chapter Reichwein showed his concern for educating the kind of person, who by really understanding his own limited contribution to the 'weal of all' and accepting it in relationship to the wider community would be the exact opposite of one of the 'pseudo-educated masses.' *14 This intense realisation of such a need on his part is a fascinating commentary on the social scene in which he was at work, for here it was precisely from the 'pseudo-educated masses' - and these reached far into the ranks of the knowledgeable but uneducated university students - that Hitler derived his surest recruits.

It is in the fourth chapter of his book that Reichwein wrote most cogently and with a relevance far transcending the German scene about the fundamentals of education and their social significance,

"Education can only succeed where the educators, to whom are entrusted example, leadership and knowledge, know the reasons for what they do and believe in them." (p.102).

The predicament of teachers who lack such conviction was accurately described by Thomas Traherne in words which deserve to be quoted here for their relevance to the plight

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*14 See Ortega Y Gasset: The Revolt of the Masses
Sir Fred Clark: "Freedom in the Educative Society" (London 1948)
The true teacher according to the latter, has to accord with the type and at the same time to go beyond it: Reichwein satisfied the first condition but he exceeded the second!

of many teachers in Germany between 1918 and 1933:- ⁂15
"We studied to inform our knowledge but knew not for what end we studied. And for lack of aiming at a certain end, we erred in the manner."

Addressing himself to parents and teachers, Reichwein wrote:-

"Look, this is how a school of to-day is helping to make the fabric of a new age. It is one among many, somewhere in the country, apparently an island, but really just a link in a chain, not outstanding for anything remarkable or out of the ordinary - just a community as many others are and will become - a group of young people under guidance, who every day are creating their own form of existence and succeed in so doing because they have a goal." (p.102). It was of course to an almost immeasurable degree Reichwein's own qualities which made the school in Tiefensee into a 'creative school community' and so in fact differentiated it from most of those other schools of similar grade with which he sought to align it. Yet the exceptional nature of his own pedagogical achievement and the truths demonstrated by it serve usefully to show what was needed everywhere and what because of its non-existence was replaced so hideously by Nazism.

⁂15 See 'Felicities of Thomas Traherne' (chosen and edited with an introduction by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, 1934 (Dobell)

Reichwein pointed out that his community of forty children between seven and fourteen, was a good cross-section, twenty from the homes of agricultural labourers, most of the other half from homes of railway-workers and artisans and only a very few from the more privileged classes. This group of forty functioned as a playing and learning unit and was greatly aided by close parent-teacher co-operation while still remaining subject to the material limitations of a small and by no means wealthy village. The secret of harmony between home and school education, argued Reichwein, lay in the ability of both parents and teachers to learn how to acquire a fresh outlook, although they had themselves grown up in the traditional ways! That demanded a certain 'Offenheit' ('Openness') on their part, a capacity to "break with yesterday without already possessing tomorrow". (p.104) *16

"To educate children means to live for the future." (p.104)*17.

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*16 A reference surely to the almost 'traumatic' experience of those associated with the German Youth Movement, many of whom regarded their new way of life as the forerunner of a similar regeneration of the way of life of German society as a whole. Another of Reichwein's concerns, the importance of 'auf sich selbst verlassen' - 'to be self-reliant' also lay at the heart of the German Youth Movement and its later disciples. Yet the fact that it had to be so self-consciously defined and advocated is perhaps an indication that the quality had not taken real root in the German people as a whole - a further symptom of collective social immaturity.

*17 Cf. Albert Camus: The Rebel (London 1953). "Real generosity towards the future lies in giving all to the present." Reichwein's own fate was an eloquent comment on both these two texts.

"If we wish to understand what education to-day is about we must cast a glance backwards for a full generation. For it was at that time in the first decade of this century that the experiences of our own youth occurred, the experiences of an age-group which now constitutes the parents and teachers, who have the job of rearing the coming generation to face the future. We are the living bridge from yesterday to tomorrow. We have all experienced an alteration in our social relationships, we have come to acknowledge the supremacy of 'Gemeinschaft' (Community and fellowship), one of the finest verbal expressions in the German language, and this has become a kind of symbol for us. We are the trustees of this concept, which is a spiritual reality within us, and it is our task to give it reality for the people as a whole.*18

This re-shaping of our lives radically changes the relationship of the teacher to the child. All forms of behaviour are conditioned by this fact, whether looked at from the point of view of any one class or of society as a whole. Man's enforced obedience to rank or class used to imply the

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*18 Because it did not 'become reality for the people as a whole', Hitler became the instrument by which in its perverted form of 'Ein Volk - Ein Reich' it did become reality for the people as a whole.

actual recognition of a settled order in which obedience was anticipated and prescribed.*19 This system of obedience was so clear and certain, uncompromisingly graded and constructed, that only he who co-operated with it unquestioningly could feel comfortable in it. This unquestioning obedience was also the chief feature of all school discipline. Education on such a basis could be nothing but a 'Sitzschule' ('learning ex cathedra'). This was a mistaken notion, at its best of a certain dull utility lacking in depth and lasting influence, in its worst form the ideal of all crammers and the perpetual cross of true educationists. Out of this blind obedience of the child there could only grow the exact copy and consequence of predetermining will. And this prevented the free - I hesitate to use the much-abused word 'creative' - development of the child's own will: in fact, unless it wished to wreck its own premises, it was forced to oppose every direct, spontaneous wish of the child. Blind obedience on the part of the child is a comfortable but ruinous educational method. It is ruinous, not because it is pointless in itself, but because it makes too great a demand on the child. We know we are only just beginning to alter all this, but in education true pioneers have the honour of

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*19 Surely both a historical description of traditional German awe of 'die Obrigkeit' and a statement of sociological truth.

being front-line troops. If the teacher belongs to this body, it is inconceivable that the child will not catch the spirit of his personality. Yes, the teacher can only work on new things and problems with the child, who is himself mobilised for responsibility ..... only such children are capable of submitting themselves to the discipline and necessary morality of a community and thereby controlling their own loose, childish impulses with safety.

In saying all this we do not mean 'the child with equal rights', but just the contrary; where an old form of authoritarianism collapses, 'equality of rights' is demanded, but the solution of this conflict is only possible in a new order. If the form of that new order, properly arranged and stratified, guarantees new life, then it will automatically contain a new authority. Just because the old form of authority in society has obviously collapsed, the construction of a new one is essential. The school community, itself part of society, will not and cannot divorce itself from this breakdown. The split between Youth Organisation and school can only be healed when both are united on the question of the structure of society. .....

With the quite small child good habits take the place of actual obedience, but the school-age child is already able in his striving for fulfilment in work and games to achieve that inner and timely participation in and devotion to the task in hand, from which obedience springs as a habit. Being grown-up or mature begins when a man recognises this habit as the regular

basic duty of social living. Obedience to the teacher as a habit develops of itself in the normal child because of his striving to master his environment and work-a-day world, the key to much of which necessarily rests in the teacher's hands.

An obviously effective and convincing example, i.e. a demonstrably superior way of life rouses the desire to imitate and with it the will to obey. To-day that is the only possible form of authority.*20 Indeed it is its highest form, for it does not exhaust itself in mere imitation but fosters in the child a new and self-extending creativity. .....

The history of human destiny during the centuries is not so fluid that in the swift change from generation to generation new values emerge at all easily. Values are more firmly anchored and constant in the texture of society than is sometimes believed. Unless there has first been a reconstruction of the social order, the construction or destruction of values is too dangerous an undertaking for a society.*21 The simple forms of human relationships such as loyalty and gratitude, leadership and service, command and obedience retain their old

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*20 That this was and is not only a problem of German education may be seen by referring to books like:-
Bantock: Freedom and Authority in Education (London 1952)
Alex Comfort: Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State (London 1950)

*21 Reichwein is here raising the whole question of how values, individual and collective, are determined. It is interesting that he places chief emphasis on the need for general social change as a precondition of changes in educational values. Presumably however this would include not only the socio-political pressure in a Marxist sense but also such less easily defined ones as those proceeding from church or other ethical institutions.

worth beneath all apparent change. It is only the way in which they are infused with vital significance that alters." (p.104-5)

Reichwein picked up Pestalozzi's idea that "Self-strength is the element of all true art," pointed out that this idea had taken some hundred years to seep into the German Youth Movement and the new education generally, and that it was a concept applicable not only to the individual but also to the group, because as each child became conscious of his own 'self-strength', that did not focus on himself alone but spread over into the community.

"The school is a social cell" (p.107). He issued a warning against the undue swing over that had taken place from authority to freedom.

"It was forgotten that for every freedom of play and every development in the classroom, it is necessary to practise restraint for the sake of the social group as a whole: this means in terms of human beings a voluntary arrangement and subordination, which are the essence of discipline." (p.106)

Just as freedom had been misunderstood, so had equality. It was neither possible nor desirable for teachers to be as 'children among children' - children themselves needed the barrier between age and youth as a means of their own growing-up. The premature forcing of children into the adult problems of contemporary life was undesirable - it was a false idea of social realism.

"Many people have the false notion that to speak of politics, note production figures, examine geopolitical points of

view, study family and home conditions is in itself to make progress towards the new school. Actually that is only to add a new field of knowledge to it." (p.109).

"The normal child, when confronted with such information, is merely confused because it has no relevance to him." (p.110) "The child neither wishes to play at being a dwarf-sized adult nor to be reduced by adults to the size of a mere dwarf, but simply to be, no more and no less, a young person." (p.110)

But, continued Reichwein, young persons, like everyone else, really only exist in so far as they are creative.

"We devote our energies to them because we wish to have a society that values labour and achievement as the prime, earthly condition of our existence. That is what we are preparing our young people for." (p.110) Yet the way in which society developed could not be laid down and pre-arranged - it was a creative process and 'wherever there is creation there is room for play'. This meant that in contrast with former days there had now to be an immediacy and directness between all sections of society and that the teacher could be in immediate and direct touch with the child without however identifying himself with it. This balanced intimacy between teacher and taught was the essence of good schooling, and the worth of any educational community, was surely best gauged by the way in which it dealt with its problem children. Moreover it was by the proper training in and experiencing of fellowship when young that the adult later on was able to have healthy and co-operative

relationships with his fellow-workers.

"Comradeship in youth is an exercise for subsequent social solidarity in work." (p.114) Out of this there could grow a new and truer group solidarity. Not only must children be allowed to grow but also to grow upon each other. ('Wirken lassen' as well as 'Wachsen lasser')." .....

"Certainly the child must be valued for himself, but he only becomes of value to the community when he himself creates the values which the community urgently and of necessity requires for itself."

"To attain this end, it is imperative that every child be helped to discover his own métier." (p.116)

"Our educational group stands in close historical relationship to the Youth Movement, which established ineradicable roots in Germany before the World War (1914). This Youth Movement was an educational movement. It was very closely linked to all the pioneer educational movements of that time. Both in theory and practice the 'Landerziehungsheime' (country boarding schools)[*22] however much they differed from each other individually, were related to it. They were the experimental workshops of a new and living way of education which was to be a complete pattern for all young people and which, quite apart from 'Kraftmeierei' ('power-politics') and intellectualism, foreshadowed much of what we desire to-day for the people as a

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*22 These were the fruit of the work of Herman Lietz, a pioneer German educationist of the late 19th Century.

whole:- the exercise of will-power, the combination of understanding and endeavour, spiritual discipline, and, anchored in these, responsibility, concentration on the matter in hand and contempt for any knowledge other than that which was part of the living being of a man. Furthermore these are the virtues of responsible leadership and unquestioning, selfless obedience - a sense of order which embraces the individual as part of the whole, a discipline which willingly subordinates the insignificant to the important - these were indeed the virtues practised and proved before the war.

We educationists are responsible to-day for fostering them in society as a whole. What once, as the Youth Movement, threatened to drain away into an inland channel will now become like a large river, a creative flood filling our national educatior with its creative power." (p.120)

While working at Tiefensee and later as well Reichwein devoted considerable attention to practical study of the role of films in education and the different ways in which they could be used to stimulate the children to further their own forms of activity by means of carefully planned projects and also by quite spontaneous follow-up of films which had especially impressed them.[*23] In an article entitled, "Fairy-story and Film" - a contribution to the theme of 'Word and Picture', Reichwein pointed

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*23 See List of Reichwein's Published Works (1936)

out that like Goethe's youthful poetry, the fairy-story goes straight into words from real life without 'intermediate polishing'.

"It does not need to be understood, because like every immediacy of life, it is appreciated at a deeper level than reason." Its open form, said Reichwein, enables us to cut down explanation to a minimum; it should be narrated rather than read. It should be shared in the communal circle of the school as a common experience and so, by its companionableness, openness and immediacy compensate in some measure for its tendency to disappear from the family circle. Reichwein recalled Herder's likening of the fairy-story to a dream in which archetypal figures and situations constantly recur and by means of which the child's fantasy needs could be gratified in a way that in real life they could not be. Very often, maintained Reichwein, it satisfied in this dimension the child's desire, often frustrated in real life, to experience justice and to go beyond tragedy! ⁎24

Was the film capable of contributing to this process? Only, said Reichwein, if its pictures were not set in a realistic world, but, granted that condition it could undoubtedly on occasion make the point better than could the spoken word. In the introduction to his 1938 booklet⁎25 Reichwein was careful

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⁎24 Cf. Jaspers: Tragedy is not Enough (Tr: London 1953)
A. Weisinger: Tragedy and the Paradox of the Fortunate Fall (Kegan Paul 1953)
Both these books raise indirectly the question in modern education of how tragedy can be both experienced and transcended.

⁎25 See List of Published Works (1938)

to emphasise that he was only dealing with the instructional film as distinct from the 'state-political' ones, for which one is tempted to read 'propaganda ones'. Part II was devoted to examples such as films to be called "We make a Farm-yard," "The Language of Bees", "Pictures of the Live Arts" and "The Development and Fertilisation of the Pea."

Like the true pedagogue that he was, Reichwein also showed that the film had come to the school from outside and so should be regarded as an educational challenge. It ought to be clearly linked to various kinds of 'projects', and the teacher should be constantly alert to discern how children's observation of pictorial material, thus presented, could be developed into their own activity.

An apposite reminder of the political context in which Reichwein was functioning from 1933 to 1939 is provided by the following quotation from the Nazi Minister of Education in 1936, and it may serve also as a fitting introduction to an assessment of this phase of his career:- ⁎26

"Up to the present a certain amount of elasticity has been permitted to teachers. Now there must be complete uniformity of outlook and teaching ..... Absolutely uniform must be the national outlook, and the German view of history must

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⁎26 Frankfurter Zeitung (Nov. 2nd 1936)

be taught to the youngsters."

Such a statement provides a measure of Reichwein's achievement against the stream, some evidence of which by his contemporaries must now be provided both educationally and in the wider socio-political sense. In the first place it is important to note that Reichwein himself was honest enough to realise that the course on which he was set in 1933 would inevitably compel him to adopt some measure of compromise with the Nazi regime, however repugnant it might be to him. A friend, who ran across him in Berlin in the summer of that year, found him somewhat depressed:- *27

"To-day for the first time," he remarked sadly, "I've told a real lie. I've given the Hitler greeting to a school inspector." 'We were sauntering across a big, open square in North Berlin and passing by was a procession of the 'Hitler Youth' with Swastika flags. Adolf Reichwein stood still and carefully studied the reactions of passers-by.

"I want to ascertain how many of them salute the flag", he muttered anxiously; "that'll be a barometer of public opinion," he added without spite, just as a wise doctor might speak of one of his difficult patients. At that time something new entered into Adolf Reichwein's personality. He was full of fun, but not always quite so radiant and frolicsome as he used to be in

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*27 See Source B (12)

his airplane. Political anxiety had cast a cloud on him. Nevertheless his laugh, even in the ensuing years, remained full of life and vitality. Political worry in his case was not concerned with the victory of his political enemies but more with the deep anxiety of a good man about the menacing danger of a general moral collapse, the fear that a greater evil could now occur than would be bearable, that we could all become involved in this evil. What worried him was not just the victory of another political persuasion, but the victory of evil itself.'

Many of those who shared Reichwein's concern visited him and his family at Tiefensee during the nineteen-thirties. Here is an intimate sketch provided by one such visitor in 1937:- ⁎28

"I found him in the garden - no longer quite so young or so radiant, his hair already starting to thin a little, and yet he was absolutely the old Adolf Reichwein - the 'god-like' as one of his friends described him .....

..... the Reichwein household was to become for me as for so many others a sanctuary amid the dangers and pressures of the Nazi period; the Reichwein circle became a source of comfort and strength, an island of humanity. Nearly every Sunday and sometimes Saturdays too found me there. Nearly always I met a group of like-minded people. Within the charming framework of a warm and unaffected hospitality all sorts of thoughtful and important discussions took place in which everyone

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⁎28 See Source B (8)

joined passionately. Here was to be found that fellowship, which compensated for the loneliness and lostness of Hitler's world. Reichwein was the natural centre of all this; his humanity set the tone and level of discussion. Talks never strayed off into unreality as so often happens in political argument. Yet human and personal claims were given their proper weight.

I was always welcomed with the same cordiality, joined the family at their meals and found a sympathetic response to my accounts of the events and trends of the week's work in Berlin. I do not remember one single occasion on which I ever received an unsatisfying or uninterested reply from Adolf with regard to the pressing problems and conflicts of this time."

For tributes to the educational achievement of these years we may turn to two sources; the first comes from the pen of Reichwein's English friend, Rolf Gardiner:- ⁎29

"Reichwein wrote a descriptive account of this school at Tiefensee in 1937 which is a sheer delight. He records his work there during four years of solid, unobtrusive effort resulting in a picture of a village elementary school as it might

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⁎29 Wessex: Letters from Springhead. Midwinter 1946 (No. 2) Second Series p.79-81.
But note also from ditto (Autumn 1948 No. 4/5) Second Series p.191 the following interesting reference to an encounter of Rolf Gardiner's with Reichwein in 1935.
"Adolf Reichwein was in tremendous form. While I entertained him and Harro (Siegel) to supper in the Ratskeller, he related hair-raising stories of the Nazi-Bonzen and their self-indulgent, insincere ways, till I almost gaped with incredulity."

be in any part of the civilised world. There is nothing in this book which bears the slightest trace of Nazi ideology or propaganda. That Reichwein could achieve this without offending the authorities is a tribute to his genius. The book is illustrated with the most convincing photographs which show a creative school family, learning by doing and making, under the paternal, comradely guidance of a devoted and resourceful teacher. The leitmotif of the school was 'to make something out of nothing,' and the school indeed created its own surroundings: gardens, workshop, furniture, earthenware, musical instruments, films, amenities and festivals.

In 1938 Reichwein lectured on 'German rural education' in south-west England, once again with a consummate skill in avoiding any political stigma. I helped to arrange this tour and accompanied him. Reichwein first showed a film which depicted elementary schoolboys of eight to ten years of age making a model of a farmhouse and farmyard. The materials for this model were extremely simple and uncostly. In his own school the sum allowed for expenditure on school apparatus was only £10 a year; in most schools it was only £5, and this was paid out of a local village rate. All books, tools and materials had to be bought with this precept, and yet the schools managed to be hives of creative activity. He illustrated this by describing the work of his own school. The children, aged six to fourteen, some forty in all, came to school at seven in the morning and stayed until 12.30. The majority returned in the afternoon, which

in German primary schools is voluntary, and engaged in further practical activities. They cultivated a school garden; they made huts for livestock and benches and tables for outdoor classes in the school orchard. When they wished to build a greenhouse, bricks from a fallen chimney had to be collected and the attics of the village ransacked for odd pieces of glass; an old stove from a rubbish dump was recovered and put in order, and with the advice and assistance of two fathers, one a mason, the other a carpenter, the children built their greenhouse.

Music played a great part in school life; unable to buy flutes and recorders, the children planted sunflowers in their garden and afterwards made tunable instruments out of the stems. They played on these home-made recorders at the village festivals which were always organised by the school at Christmas, May Day and Harvest.

Reichwein explained how the children learnt through these resourceful methods and without the aid of expensive apparatus and tools. The ordinary school subjects became of absorbing interest to the children because they were taught in connection with living experience and practical work. There was no attempt made during the school period to train a child for its future vocation - this was done at the compulsory continuation classes for all between the ages of 15-18 held at the school in the later part of the day - but the children were brought up with a living understanding of the world around them and with a vivid experience of the natural life of their surrounding

countryside. He illustrated this with a film which very cleverly and amusingly depicted the life-cycle of the Sawfly caterpillar, which feeds on the needles of the pine-trees and ultimately destroys whole woods - the forest surrounding his own school consisting mainly of pine. In another film he showed the making of puppets for a 'Punch and Judy' theatre by children, such puppets theatres being a favourite pastime of German Schools.

While in England Reichwein visited a number of English schools including some very up-to-date senior elementary (central) schools. He felt that, admirable though these were, they were on the wrong tack, firstly in withdrawing children from the contributory villages to a central place, and secondly being overlavishly endowed with apparatus. Shining chromium taps and glass walls and tubular furniture: what had these in common with the farm-houses and cottages from which the majority of the children came? 'To make something out of nothing,' to stimulate resourcefulness and self-reliance, to cultivate imagination and spontaneity and a deep love of local independence, above all to inculcate self-responsibility - how much more important were these aims than any spoon-fed diffusion of science and 'culture'!

In spite of his clear abstention from all National-Socialist allegiances, Reichwein's work was valued and admired by the authorities. Shortly before the war he was released from Tiefensee to carry on work for the improvement of rural education in an advisory capacity. It speaks much for the generosity of the Kultusministerium that they allowed him to nominate his own

successor at the school and the right to return to it whenever he so wished.

In Reichwein's practical school work, the ideals of Becker's vision were demonstrated with genius in spite of the Nazi régime. The courage and self-abnegation with which Adolf Reichwein fulfilled this task were typical of the large minority of Germans who contrived to continue the constructive and experimental work of the previous era within the framework of Hitler's Germany. Such men were not only brave, they were pious and steadfast. Adolf Reichwein was bitterly aware of the dark sides of National-Socialism and of the corruption in high places. He never flinched from facing awkward or unpleasant facts, yet he was just and hopeful. I cannot think of a man who would have merited greater trust and respect in foreign countries than Reichwein. He was a European and a German, a man of world wisdom and experience who had yet demonstrated the value of an intense local, yes! parochial, loyalty."

Our second source is an address delivered to the memory of Adolf Reichwein at Jena on November 3rd, 1946, by Heinrich Becker, who had known him well in his Berlin days:- ✱30

"Here, in this school situated in beautiful country in the Mark, Reichwein's educational thought reached a further stage, and he made a very special contribution to education. Whoever visited him in the midst of the Tiefensee school-children aged

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✱30 See Source B (9)

6 - 14, surrounded too by his own growing family, felt that though special circumstances accounted for his position, he - the son of a teacher in Hessen, the man experienced in the Volkshochschule and the Training College professor - was the right person for the task. This mature work of an authority on education deserves careful study and is a rich contribution in one of the most difficult fields of education. All work at the school in Tiefensee was governed by the consciousness that a school is itself a section of real life and consequently its problems and their solutions should be realistic. All forces operative in the outside world have to be harnessed and used - but of course within the experience of the children. How these obvious demands were fulfilled in an exemplary way through years of drudgery at Tiefensee is an exceptionally attractive chapter in the history of modern education. The book mentioned above, with its lively pictures, is the best educational testament which Reichwein has left for us.

In spite of this significance which we - and Reichwein himself - must attribute to his school work at Tiefensee, it did happen in a situation not altogether natural. In the rest of Germany Nazism was fortifying its position. Ever more frequently came news of some friend or other having been put in prison or having lost his life, or having emigrated as his only escape. Under the jurisdiction of this malevolent power, increasingly conscious of its aims, work was done at Tiefensee which, in both principle and execution, was unmistakably opposed

to all Nazi educational aims and methods, though every now and again it could be camouflaged with a phrase of polite double meaning. The school house at Tiefensee became a meeting-place for more and more declared enemies of the régime. As Nazism approached the decision of 1939, the purely political work at Tiefensee grew. Reichwein had never for an instant given up his passionate enmity to Nazism, nor had he even made an inner compromise with it. Because of his very nature he could not for long be satisfied with taking refuge in education: he had always seen too clearly that education and politics are only two different ways of tackling the same problems. As soon, therefore, as the main purpose of his work at Tiefensee had been accomplished, Reichwein felt the urge to return to the political arena."

Final confirmation of the manner in which Reichwein came to terminate his Tiefensee work and move out once again on to the wider stage of education and politics is provided by Professor Geisler:- ✱31

"Reichwein recognised that educational counter-activity by itself could not prevent the inner and outer destruction of our people by National Socialism. So he determined out of a feeling of responsibility for the true Germany to take part in the political side of the Resistance Movement."

Before concluding this chapter, which has in part been

✱31 See Source C (8)

a description of Reichwein's personal life between 1933 and 1939 and in part an account of his educational theory and practice as expounded in his book, we should ask ourselves two questions. What relationship did his work bear to the New Education movement generally? What did it contribute of novelty and significance to an understanding of education in Germany and elsewhere?

The short answer to both of these questions can be found in the following anecdote. The father of one of the village school-children, when asked for his impressions of Reichwein, replied: "The Professor? Well, you know, he made our children free." *32 Behind that splendid tribute however there lies an ambiguity, which requires further analysis. Both educationally and generally the word 'freedom' in the post-1918 Western world signified not only something positive but also a negative, expressed for example in 'free-discipline' schools like Summerhill and Dartington and in the tendency to deny the validity of authority and institutionalism in political life. In Germany, where these tendencies had been particularly evident in the early days of the Weimar Republic, there was by 1933 a violent reaction against the specifically educational and generally social implications of this interpretation of freedom, - a reaction focused in Nazism and concentrating, not without justification, on the element of irresponsible individualism, which had often been a hallmark of the particular kind of freedom of the 1920's.

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*32 See Source B (6)

Reichwein therefore had to go to work within the context of a society, which for the time-being had rejected freedom as such because of its impatience with and contempt for the negative manifestations of it. His activity was therefore bound to be narrowly circumscribed and limited in its immediate scope. Moreover after some years it proved insufficient for him as a person, who felt increasingly the need to operate politically as well as educationally and so was led into the ranks of the Resistance.

Yet certain things which he emphasised at Tiefensee were undoubtedly a corrective to the shortcomings of the New Education Movement as expressed in its undue insistence on the absolute claim of the individual and in its tendency to try and abolish authority as such. They constitute a valuable legacy for the post-1945 period, a truth which was symbolised in the naming of one of the German Teaching Training Colleges, then at Celle, now at Osnabrück, as the 'Adolf Reichwein Pädagogische Hochschule." The legacy persists for all, who are to-day striving outside as well as inside Germany to re-define in their theory and practice the delicate relationship between freedom and authority as experienced by parent, teacher and child.

Reichwein's pedagogical contribution was a threefold one: it consisted first of his firm grasp of the social context of education - 'surely the only type of person who can be an educator to-day is one who is rooted in the community.' Secondly it consisted of his clear understanding of the role of the teacher

in the learning process of the child - "It is because the child encounters reality immediately and not through the medium of the teacher only that all instruction is transformed into education." Thirdly it consisted in his crystal-clear acknowledgment of the need for a moral principle in education. Evidence for all three of these assertions, but most of all for the third, is plentiful. One example is the way in which in the second chapter of his book Reichwein avoids all forms of false romanticism and makes a cogent distinction between children just 'playing about' and children playing spontaneously but to some purpose, which will in time declare itself in a capacity for organised and sustained study. A second example is where in the same chapter Reichwein, here fully in the Rousseau tradition, brings out the great need children have to be brought into contact with Nature's rhythms, to realise that 'the countryman has no holidays, because nature does not have any' - also his insistence on the values of the school journey as a method of acquainting children with their environment and broadening their social horizons. A third example is Reichwein's sensitive perception in the matter of parent-teacher relationship - how any educational progress must be dependent on home and school keeping in step. Here he was surely making a plea for the cultivation of that most precious quality of being able 'to break with yesterday without already possessing tomorrow', the absence of which in school and society results inevitably in either panic-stricken regression into the past or giddy flight into the

future. A fourth example is Reichwein's sober realisation, not always attained by the pioneers of educational reform, that there is a difference between children and adults, which is not only not to be regretted but to be welcomed as an essential instrument of education: as Reichwein was careful to point out, it was neither possible nor desirable for teachers to be 'as children among children' - children themselves needed the barrier between age and youth as a means of their own growing up.

Most interesting of all are Reichwein's views on the moral principle in education, for here may be discerned both his debt, direct or indirect to Herbart, and his gesture towards a continuing and as yet unsolved problem of our own times, namely, what is the nature of moral education and whence does it derive its authority? In his essay 'On the aesthetic revelation of the world as the chief work of education', published in 1804 as an appendix to an exposition of Pestalozzi's methods of education, Herbart began with the following sentence:-

"The whole work of education and its only work may be summed up in the concept - Morality." If we accept Sir Herbert Read's interpretation here and in what follows,[*33] morality may be simply defined as the will to be good and to do good. Avoiding the confusion of morality with mere legalism and the mistaken notion of morality as 'submission based on fear or a

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*33 See 'Question' Vol. I, July 1948 'The Moral Principle in Education' by Herbert Read (p.26 et sequ.)

habit of conformity, we may agree with Herbart that 'not every obedience to the first chance command is moral.' The individual obeying must have examined, chosen, valued the command: that is, he himself must have raised it for himself to the level of a command. The moral man commands himself. What is it that the moral man commands himself? Sir Herbert Read points out that Herbart was insisting "that the moral man does not command himself to do anything concrete or definite; that what exists is a certain disposition of the will, a certain readiness to act in any given situation (cf. Reichwein's 'Bereitschaft'). The moral condition is dynamic, not static; it is a kind of primary energy, an original source of moral power - a power, that is to say, not of doing but of willing. Obedience follows when this power is engaged by a concrete situation, when willing becomes action. For this reason Herbart calls this willing, which is real but not conditional, an unconditional manifold." By this last phrase Herbart meant the sanction of aesthetic necessity, and here he was in the good company of Plato and Schiller. Hence the Herbartian training of the child consisted in the latter's 'ever-expanding exercise of aesthetic choice, aesthetic appreciation and, perhaps, aesthetic creation.' Sir Herbert Read quotes once again from Herbart as follows: "Man stands in the midst of nature; himself a part of her, her power streaming through his innermost self, he answering external force with his own according to his method, his nature, first thinking, then willing, then working. Through his will goes the chain of nature."

The 'chain of nature' symbolizes a basic world harmony, which is the assumption lying behind this whole concept of moral education. In Plato the assumption is explicit, in Herbart it is implied by the reliance on aesthetic necessity, in Reichwein too it is implicit. For he seems to envisage the teacher as mediating, by means of his own 'nearness to life' (Lebensnahe), the reality of a basic world harmony to the child. As Reichwein says, the teacher's authority can only be based on his demonstrable 'know-how' of life, the revelation which he has had of the aesthetic rightness of the world. This 'know-how' of life is very much like Herbart's sanction of aesthetic necessity, lying at the root of all morality. How closely Herbart's and Reichwein's ideas march together may be seen by the way in which in his first chapter the latter stresses the value of 'Bereitschaft', the quality which children ought to have of feeling themselves ready and prepared to contribute to life in a socially constructive way. Even closer do these two pedagogues seem to resemble one another, when we recall Reichwein's advice that children's moral sense must be encouraged to develop by providing them with opportunities for expressing their innate respect for the 'know-how' of things and for practising that obedience, which was the condition of a healthy child's freedom. Both emphasised that morality was a social achievement, thus compensating for the over-individualistic teaching of some of the New Education Movement.

It was such a basic faith or assumption about the springs of morality that had been lacking, educationally and socially, and particularly in German society. For want of it the Nazis responded with a poisoned substitute. The realisation by Reichwein himself of the need for such a faith sustained him for a time in his work at Tiefensee and then pressed him to witness to it in a wider field. On one of the walls of his village school Reichwein had the following motto inscribed:- "The upright man thinks of himself last".*34 Why? Because he can command himself.

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*34 See Source B (2)

CHAPTER VII.

CURATOR AND CONSPIRATOR.

(1939 - 1944)

The last phase of Reichwein's career was played out against the background of the Second World War, so that in order to understand it, it will be necessary to recall the mood of Germany in 1939 and to examine briefly the nature of the German Resistance Movement to Hitler. The country had experienced six years of totalitarian government; it had solved its unemployment problem and could look back on an unbroken line of successes in foreign affairs: the majority of its people were well content with what Nazism had brought, a substantial minority was uneasy about but acquiescent in Hitler's treatment of the Jews and afraid lest his aggressive foreign policy might lead to war; a tiny minority was fundamentally opposed to the entire theory and practice of National Socialism. Some of the second and all of the third category may be reckoned as comprising the Resistance: the former had existed for many years but their activities were veiled and in the short run without political significance; *1 the latter met and conspired together and risked their lives for

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*1 For an interesting account of this aspect of the German Resistance, which it would be wrong to ignore or to regard with contempt, see R. Pechel: "Deutscher Widerstand" (Eugen-Reutsch Verlag - Erlenbach-Zürich 1947).

their convictions. Who were they? *2

"They consisted of a wide variety of men, coming from all quarters: from industry and administration like Goerdeler, from agriculture like the big peasant, Wenzel Teutschenthal, from the Christian Trade Unions like Nikolaus Gross, the miner and editor, from the Socialist Trade Unions like Theodor Haubach, Julius Leber and Hermann Maass, from the army like Generals Olbricht, Beck and many others, from the churches like Father Delp and the still surviving Father Rösch and Dr. Gerstenmeier, from diplomacy like Adam von Trott and Hans von Haeften, from education like Adolf Reichwein, liberal middle-class men like the minister Popitz and socialist conservatives like Counts Yorck and Moltke."

The problems of their partnership not least in its swaying attitude to communism and the U.S.S.R., will be examined briefly at a later stage. Here it is only necessary to emphasise, as a preliminary to studying the climax of Reichwein's own life, that it came when the tremendous Nazi power had tasted vast successes and had begun to suffer reverses and when the German Resistance of which he was an active member registered its existence by its dramatic conspiratorial failure.

From the summer of 1939 until the autumn of 1944 Reichwein's life was chiefly focused on Berlin, although he was frequently leaving it on official duties to do with his professional

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*2 This quotation comes from an address, delivered by Harold Poelchau on the Berlin radio at a dedication service in memory of July 20th, 1944, on July 20th, 1946. He had been the prison chaplain in Berlin, who had been pastor to some eighty of the anti-Hitler conspirators during their imprisonment. See Source B(b) 3.a.

work and later with lecturing to the German Armed Forces and also to visit his family during the increasingly long periods when they were evacuated from Berlin and finally when they sought refuge on the Kreisau estate of the Von Moltkes.[*3] He himself led a double life of outward conformity with the regime and of ever more intensive secret activity with the anti-Nazi resistance movement. Without ever losing sight of the specifically educational side of his work, which continued and indeed was the logical outcome of much of his previous pedagogical reflection, we should note how it is now only that Reichwein became in any sense a figure in the national life of the country and went beyond the borders of socio-educational circles. With the help of his own letters and the further testimony of friends, we shall now follow his course year by year and so prepare ourselves for an assessment of the nature of this final phase of his career.

1939.

In the late spring of this year Reichwein had taken up his duties as head of the Schools Section of the German Folklore Museum in Berlin; he obtained his appointment from the Education Ministry on the strength of his known and proved aptitude for relating school work to social environment. Having

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*3 See p.227-232 for some account of the part played by Kreisau personalities and the particular relationship it had to the Reichwein family.

worked at this from the receiving end, he was now to be given the chance of doing so from the supplying end. Most probably the motive on the part of the appointing Nazi authority was a twofold one - to have him more closely under observation than had been possible at Tiefensee and also to lure him indirectly into support for their programme of 'Blut und Boden'. Nevertheless it is certain that Reichwein went into this new enterprise with both eyes open. We may note in passing his enforced use of the Hitler greeting at the foot of a letter[*4] dated 15.8.39 to Professor Mitgau inviting him to co-operate in some joint pedagogical publication, which Reichwein was to sponsor from his new office. In another letter (7.11.39) he wrote to an old acquaintance:-

"However things turn out in the world at large, prospects are bleak, and the more bleak they are the more essential education will become. There will have to be schools and most certainly there will have to be rural schools. However much outward appearance may conceal the fact, the solidarity of the nation is dependent on the teacher. Unfortunately I am not at all satisfied with my successor at Tiefensee: in fact all the real point of my work there has disappeared within six months.

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*4 See Source A.

Who is going to restore it?"[*5] This must indeed have been a bitter pill for Reichwein to swallow, but already he had embarked on his new venture, the educational and other implications of which are admirably summarised in the following extract:-[*6]

"Shortly before the outbreak of war Reichwein applied himself with characteristic energy to the building-up of the Schools Section of the German Folklore Museum in Berlin, not least because of the opportunities for influence which such work would give him. The idea of testing out the value of museum work by means of live, educational experiment was to be given a full trial. There was a specially rewarding field for experiment available in that the simple handicraft needs and potentialities of young people would correlate naturally with the simple creative work of the old folk handicrafts. This would apply particularly to the treatment of materials (clay, wood, fibres, metals) and the shaping of their genuine basic forms. In a wider pattern however, as Reichwein himself pointed out, the sense of handicraft teaching as a specially important part of aesthetic education would be lost if young people just became dependent on it and

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*5 Reichwein's immediate successor at Tiefensee was also someone, turned out of his previous post by the Nazis, who tried to continue in the spirit of Reichwein's work. He was followed by a certain Herr Seeliger, a Nazi returned from overseas, who after a brief stay was called up to the Army. He was succeeded by the original head teacher of the school whom Reichwein had succeeded in 1939, and under him things once again became what they had been!

*6 See Source C (2)

used the old products as mere models or copies. If Reichwein did not, like so many others before him, go to the root of this matter but treated the aesthetics of folklore rather freely, this was in part due to the riches of his collection in the Museum which he revelled in but even more to the fact that of necessity he regarded this work as a cloak to cover up his suspect person and thus did not want to jeopardise it by raising fundamental questions amid the pseudo-romanticism of official quarters.

Yet in fundamentals too he tried to promote clarity, especially by means of the three exhibitions, largely conceived and executed by him, which dealt with 'Clay and Pottery', 'Wood in German Folk Handicraft' and 'Weaving and Working'. He did this as well by great activity up and down the countryside, not only within the framework of school education, but in the labour service, among women, the Reich's Nutrition Organisation etc. (Teachers' Conferences and Courses, One day Practical Courses, Weekly Instructional Classes, lectures). He also enunciated the most vital truth in the following sentence:-

'"If we ask what it is that we can learn from the beautiful old folk handicrafts, we certainly do not mean that we should just imitate them, i.e. just superficially copy them, but rather that we should absorb into our being something of their essence, something of that sane and careful skill with which they handled and shaped materials!" (Guide book to the Wood Exhibition p.76). To that period belong also the report on

'School and Museum' in the Schrift Archiv, which treats the whole matter most precisely with a variety of practical proposals, and also the series of three long essays entitled 'Folk-Form' (Material creates - People create it - the work creates them) in the Zeitschrift für Werkbücherei of 1942.

At the beginning of December 1940 he wrote:- ⁎7

"My work-activity continues: the more that schools and all cultural work directly affecting human beings disappear, the more determined I become to continue my work to the last, wherever possible."

Such is a fitting note on which to close this short account of the year 1939 in Reichwein's career established as he then was in his museum office in the Prinzessinnen-Palais in Berlin and about to develop the double theme of aesthetic education and conspiracy.

1940.

This was a year of ever-increasing professional activity and domestic pre-occupation as well as one of constant enquiry among old friends, who might prove to be rallying-points against the Nazi oppression. From his correspondence we learn of occasional skiing holidays in the Riesengebirge and tentative plans for the partial evacuation of his family from Berlin to which, in Reichwein's words, 'Tommy' was beginning to pay attention. In

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⁎7 See Source A.

a letter dated 21.1.40 *8 he tells of lecturing at a cultural centre for the teachers of the Hitler Youth, while a tribute from an old friend acknowledges the amazing way in which he had perfected himself in the techniques of his new job:- *9

"Together with a professional craft-worker I accompanied Adolf Reichwein in 1940 on a tour, which he conducted, of an exhibition he had organised. This professional simply would not believe, when confronted with the thoroughness and conviction of Reichwein's explanations, that he had only been seriously concerning himself with these matters for about a year. At that time, whenever it was possible, Adolf Reichwein himself acquired the manual techniques which were the basis of those art forms which he was seeking to commend. This ready thoroughness and certainty in approaching such a task were astonishing."

Many vivid pictures survive of Reichwein's busy days and nights, but a half-humorous remark at the end of a letter to his father-in-law (3.12.40)*10 may be taken as revealing how even now he was feeling out for a meaningful relationship to the grim political reality surrounding him:-

"You see - there's a lot happening but precious little getting done!"

Nevertheless we have the evidence of Rothe*11 that in

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*8 See Source A.

*9 See Source B (4)

*10 See Source A.

*11 See Source B (23)

June or July of 1940 he had met Reichwein in the garden of the castle at Stuttgart - for security reasons - to discuss the possibilities of Resistance. Further, Otto Suhr, writing in the 'Telegraf' ✱12 has reported:-

"His office in the Prinzessinnen-Palais, Unter den Linden became a meeting-place for many illegal anti-fascists from the year 1940 onwards. Together with his compatriot, and friend, Carlo Mierendorff, he belonged to Leuschner's group of workers whom he knew from his Darmstadt days and at the same time to the Kreisau ✱13 Kreis of Graf von Moltke, between which two groups he was in many respects the link."

The evidence of two men, who stood close to Reichwein, on the subject of his attitude towards politics may here be usefully considered. ✱14

"Reichwein was powerfully attracted by political life. Like all forms of conflict he enjoyed political conflict. He knew how important politics were for communal life. On his lips the word 'politics' had the sound and meaning, which the word 'polis' has carried ever since the beginning of Western History, thanks to the thoughts of many noble minds. And yet Reichwein could not be described quite simply as a political

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✱12 See Source C (12)

✱13 See p.227-232

✱14 See Source B (12)

type. A born politician, even in the good sense of the word, is aware of the possibilities of meanness, cunning, fraud, intrigue and treachery and is always reckoning with them. Although Reichwein had no illusions about the characteristics and methods of his opponents, he was not, because of his own nature, really able to treat them seriously.

Although he knew that gentlemanly behaviour was not suitable for this kind of opposition, that was in fact the only form of political struggle which he understood and was prepared to engage in. Just because honesty, plain dealing and sincerity were the hall-marks of his own character, he always assumed in spite of every conscious precaution that these were the motives which inspired his opponents. Reichwein was not a woolly dreamer; he never tried to disguise or to hide the sinister signs of the times for a moment but on the contrary took up the fight against them. Yet his deeply-rooted belief in the humanity of man prevented him from reckoning with the depravity, which he acknowledged and opposed in the mass; he could not believe it possible of the individual enemy."

Referring to Reichwein's work both as village schoolmaster and museum curator Professor Bohnenkamp has written:- ✱15

"It was the cloak, daily becoming thinner, for his own passionate activity. His professional de-motion had not injured him as a person; he had disciplined himself to take hard knocks.

✱15 See Source C (11)

In addition he retained at first the admiration of his opponents and so managed to gain from them a sphere of activity and their grudging respect. But the socialist in him was deeply outraged by the pseudo-socialism of Hitler, the German by the distortion and disfigurement of German art, the lover of truth by the deceitful and perverted misuse of true values, the free man by the suppression of free speech, the humanitarian by brute power. At first he hoped that the thunder-clouds would soon pass, that in the meantime he could take shelter in the kind of work he was doing and then start again when the air was cleared: for a long time he under-estimated the cold consequences of pure will-to-power and the daemonism of imprisoned forces, which were at work in it. But the more Germany was dazzled by it the more disorder broke loose and the more threatening the evil became, so the more determined grew his resistance every day. He began by making thorough enquiries as to the whereabouts, outlook, occupation and 'cover' of old acquaintances. Of these only a few had to be let go, while new ones were added to them, so that the net of his contacts became finer rather than coarser."

1941.

At the beginning of this year Reichwein was refreshing himself with a skiing holiday away from the wear and tear of city life in Berlin in order that he might become, as he put it, 'a normal man again!' In a letter to his great friend, Harro

Siegel,[*16] (17.7.41) he grieves over the loss of an acquaintance, known to them both, adding the following poignant remark:-

"With each person we lose, the burden on our own shoulders becomes heavier - it can only become lighter if we actually realise this and feel ourselves committed. In the last resort, all of us, the dead as well as the living, serve the same eternal cause, namely to roll aside from mankind the fantastically heavy tombstone which presses on it, so that men really be men. Let us draw closer to one another - in death as well as in life."

Again in another letter (7.9.41) he writes:- [*17]

"It is really the most ~~fundamental~~ *profound* subjects for the sake of which we act at the surface level, and we must always remain conscious of this relationship between the two. Then there are no superficialities left, and everything we do is important in so far as it is related to fundamentals. Surely the Germans, taken as a whole, are the most fundamental of all Western peoples. If only this creative ~~profundity~~ *thoroughness* could be brought into vital relationship with political endeavour."

In that last sentence Reichwein was touching one of the nuclei of 'the German Problem', and during this year 1941 he was actively trying to solve it for himself and others by the increasing part he played in political consultation and planning.

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*16 See Source A.

*17 See Source A.

For example there is evidence of his contacts with the Kreisau Circle, and it has been reported that:- ✱18

"His preparations for revolutionary action can to the best of my knowledge be traced back to the year 1941. He was convinced that such a revolutionary movement could only succeed with the support of the Left-wing workers' groups."

1942.

Before dealing with the events of this year it will be convenient to indicate briefly the particular role played by the 'Kreisau Kreis' in the German Resistance Movement without however entering at all fully into its many ramifications, which have been treated at some length in a number of books and articles. ✱19 This information is of great importance as throwing light on the

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✱18 See Source B (23)

✱19 See especially:

(1) Helmut von Moltke: A German of the Resistance (O.U.P. 1946)
(2) Zeller, E.: Geist der Freiheit. Der Zwanzigste Juli 1944 (Verlag Hermann-Rinn, München 1952)
(3) Gisevius, H.B.: To the Bitter End (Cape 1948)
(4) Rothfels, H.: Die Deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler (Scherpe-Verlag-Krefeld 1949)
(5) Wheeler-Bennett, J.H.: The Nemesis of Power (Macmillan and Co. 1953)
(6) Schlabrendorff: Revolt against Hitler: The personal account of Fabian von Schlabrendorff: Prepared and edited by S. Gaevernitz (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1948)
(7) Leber, A.: Das Gewissen Steht Auf (Berlin 1954) p.65-6 especially.

motives and mechanisms of Reichwein's life during the last and crucial phase and as explaining his own approach and relationship to the anti-Hitler forces. The 'Kreisau Kreis' came into existence and started systematic discussions among its members in the summer of 1940, although there had of course been Resistance discussions and activity in a number of other spheres for many years before that date. *20

The 'Kreisau Kreis' consisted of Conservatives and Socialists, propertied gentry and Trade Unionists, Protestants and Catholics: they were united by a common desire to see the end of the Nazis, but some, probably the majority at least until quite near to July 1944, were primarily concerned with plans for the creation of democratic government and post-war reconstruction in Germany after the anticipated Allied defeat of Nazism; the attitude of these elements and of the minority within the group, who favoured active conspiracy to assassinate the tyrant, towards the Army Generals always remained ill-defined. The members of the 'Kreisau Kreis' held three plenary sessions on Von Moltke's estate in Silesia (hence the name, Kreisau, after the village) at Whitsuntide 1942, in October 1942 and again at Whitsuntide 1943, but many of them, Reichwein included, who attended the first of

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*20 See especially: Source B(b) 1-2 Steltzer: Denkschrift Yorck & Moltke: Memoranda.
Whereas Steltzer's notes (15.7.44), written before the attempted assassination of Hitler, although anxious and full of foreboding, still contained hope, the documents of the two ladies (15.10.44) inevitably have about them the air of an elegy.

the plenary sessions, conferred together in smaller groups at other times and in different places.

The three premises from which the group set out were that National Socialism was an absolute departure from German and European traditions and a denial of the Christian and humanist conception of man, that Germany's military position was hopeless but that the onset of military defeat constituted grave dangers to Germany and Central Europe, which it was the duty of every responsible person to guard against; lastly the recognition that any large organised, political opposition in Germany, being in the circumstances of 1940 out of the question, new forms of activity must be discovered. The group sought to devise a positive programme uniting all shades of political and religious opinions and was emphatic, especially in its early phases, as to the impossibility of any active revolutionary coup. The agreed policy decisions of the group were listed under the headings of reconstruction of the state, industry, church and educational institutions, the judicial treatment of war criminals and offenders against the laws of the state. The group felt that attempts made by Oecumenical circles to establish contact with the Allies had done more harm than good, that it was unrealistic of the Allies to expect any active military movement in Germany, especially as before 1942 there did not exist even the framework of political co-operation within the ranks of the Resistance.

"Untroubled by the fact that officers too belong to our

circle", wrote Steltzer over-optimistically[*21], "we are a political group which because of its fundamental viewpoints feels responsible and which because of its accurate knowledge of the situation and its far-reaching opportunities for influence in Germany, wishes to help in averting the threatened spread of catastrophe into chaos. ..... The situation is such that the only possible thing for us to do, unless quite unforeseen circumstances arise is to await military defeat before trying an initiative regionally or centrally."

The group did possess a realistic appreciation of the utter difference in the internal condition of Germany as between 1944 and 1918, the main phenomenon of 1944 being a complete absence of trust or confidence among the German people themselves: they had also begun to realise the moral repugnance with which the outside world regarded Germany.

"The German problem", wrote Steltzer, "is entirely a problem of leadership!" [*22]

Within the 'Kreisau Kreis' there were undoubtedly certain unresolved conflicts, such as the one already mentioned as to whether violence was justified in the removal of a tyrant: there was also conflict as between those who inclined to the East and those who inclined to the West as the most likely source of Allied understanding; there was conflict between the older

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*21 See Source B (b) 1

*22 See Source B (b) 1

and younger generation and between the Right-wing and Left-wing elements. It is hard to estimate fairly the significance of the 'Kreisau Kreis', a large number of its members were destroyed by Hitler after the failure of the 20th July plot; it was a part of the over-all failure of the German Resistance Movement, it never really made up its mind whether it was a conspiracy or a preparatory commission discussing post-war reconstruction,*23 it seemed to be concerned with 'a directed defeat' (Moltke's phrase),

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*23 In considering the elements which went to the making of the 'Kreisau Kreis', the following points should be noted:-

(1) Zeller (see Note 19) claims that Reichwein together with Von Moltke and Gerstenmaier founded Kreisau. This statement should be treated with caution because, as Frau von Moltke has herself said, the whole point of Kreisau was that it was not a formal organisation but rather the result of the organic growth of a collection of individuals drawn together by common tastes and common need, something looser than anything which could be said to be founded.

(2) Gerstenmaier, himself a member of the 'Kreisau Kreis', wrote in "Das Parliament" (See Source C (13)):-
"In contradistinction to others I believe that the men of Kreisau did always contemplate a coup d'etat, for the remaining documents, published by Theodor Steltzer, only make complete sense on the assumption of a coup d'etat having succeeded."

(3) Harold Nicholson (See Source C (3)):-
"The Kreisau group did not seek to overthrow the Nazi leaders by violence or assassination. They believed rather that the Nazi tragedy must find its own lucis, that the Nazi leaders should be allowed to work out their own destruction to the bitter end. They foresaw and rightly foresaw that if the Hitler group were liquidated or overthrown before defeat had become absolute, a subsequent legend might arise in Germany that, but for their overthrow, a final victory might have been achieved."

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has written of the 'Kreisau Kreis' as "the Conscientious Objectors of the Resistance" and of Moltke and Yorck that, "Their remedy, however, was little more than an amalgam of Prussian mysticism and Prussian Christian Socialism."*24

Yet from a study of the dedicated lives and courageous actions of many members of the 'Kreisau Kreis', Reichwein not least, there emerges quite unmistakably the sense of heroism and self-sacrifice and a quality of nobility, which gives to the whole Kreisau enterprise a touch of tragic splendour.

"Right from the start they were conscious that their endeavour demanded of them that they risk their lives; out of this there arose a certain spiritual exhaltation, which radiated out among other men and led on to its final climax. When their lives were demanded of them they surrendered them without knowing whether their deaths would bear any visible fruit, but each one of them offered his life as penance for a commonly shared and acknowledged guilt." *25

It is into a climate of opinion such as that hinted at above that we must think of Reichwein entering with his established reputation as a pedagogue. From his correspondence we catch glimpses of him during the spring and early summer months of 1942, busy with his triple task of looking after his

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*24 See Wheeler-Bennett: The Nemesis of Power.

*25 See Source B(b). Note also D. Bonhoeffer's insistence among his Resistance colleagues on the need for 'repentance' for their own shortcomings as well as for the sins of their Nazi brothers.
(Widerstand und Ergebung: D. Bonhoeffer, Munich 1952)

family in their and his increasingly frequent absences from Berlin, broadening his contacts with individuals pledged to resist the Nazi regime, *26 and carrying out his official educational duties. In a letter to his friend, Wilfred Schüler, dated February 2nd, 1942, he wrote:-

"You ask me whether I still take such a grey view of things. I don't think that is the right way to formulate it. I have always tried to look at realities and to base my judgment on them. I've always claimed the right to express such a judgment, and it has always stood beyond optimism or pessimism. All around me I experience to-day, as I have always experienced, a kind of illusion which rigs itself up as optimism - or rather which is even worse - cynicism, which mistakes itself for pessimism."

In the course of this year Reichwein kept in fairly close touch with Rothe *27: on a walk together in the Berlin Tiergarten that autumn they anxiously discussed the state of the German troops besieging Stalingrad, news of which was leaking back to Germany. From another source *28 we learn something of the educational content of the Kreisau discussions:-

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*26 Source A.

*27 See Source A. Rothe himself was an active member of the Resistance and was particularly concerned with contacts outside Germany.

*28 See Source C (11)

"The pedagogical aspect of these discussions, which interested me keenly on each of my leaves, was given a high priority. The universities in particular came in for close attention - not only to ensure that they should recover their proper freedom of teaching and research, but also to see that they were imbued with a new intensity and depth of cultural activity ..... Similarly the question of Teacher Training was discussed, and Reichwein had first to win the group over to an acceptance of the idea that this should be conducted on a truly academic basis and be founded on our previous experience."

Rothfels has indicated[*29] how Reichwein seemed to have carried with him into his new combination of educational and political work his old convictions of the importance of adult education:-

"He devoted himself particularly to the question of adult education, and his strict Marxist convictions did not prevent him from at the same time associating himself with and approving of the ideas of Grundtvig."

Gustav Dahrendorf [*30] has written as follows of Reichwein, whom he did not encounter until near the very end:-

"I knew of Adolf Reichwein and of his glowing idealism which, contrary really to his own original intentions, drove him into political activity. This activity on his part arose from

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*29 See Rothfels: Die Deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler.
*30 See Source B (3)

a holy passion, sustained by an inextinguishable consciousness and faith that freedom was the spirit's natural element. He was concerned for the freedom of that spirit and of human personality. That was why he was a Socialist. That was why he became an active worker against Hitler."

Yet another passage from Becker's memorial address may serve as a fitting last commentary on this year of Reichwein's life:- *31

"At this time a visitor to Reichwein in his office in the Prinzessinnen-Palais would find something quite different seething under the surface of his work for the museum. Reichwein had decided to enter the direct struggle against Hitler and his system and, once taken, this decision governed his life. The web of his friendships, which tied him to open-minded people of almost every social class, and the respect which his personal integrity won for him, qualified him as few others for liaison work in a wide-spread conspiracy. He did not shrink from the task, although he knew what was at stake. "Decision allows of no evasion," he had written in his "Hunger March through Lapland," and he had courageously made this the motto of his life. This led him now to take part in those endeavours, which were to suffer shipwreck on July 20th, 1944."

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*31 See Source B (9)

1943.

In a letter of April of this year Reichwein let fall a remark which shows that he was under no illusions as to the reputation which Germany had acquired for herself, even among the neutral nations:- *32

"One notices that we have no friends in the world, whose hearts might be moved by our fate." Another letter (7.5.43) *33 written while on a visit to South Germany throws a shaft of light on one phenomenon of the relationship between National Socialism and education:-

"At midday I paid a call on Professor Huber (Law) of Strassburg University, whom I knew slightly: he made his way up on the band-wagon of National Socialism and is now despairing and resigned. On the other hand the historian, Heimpel was a delightful phenomenon."

In a letter to his wife (11.6.43) *34 he reported on a satisfactory course, which he had been conducting at Oliva:-

"Twenty-five participants with ears and understanding open, who listened and worked well, often quite voluntarily after the official close of the day until midnight or even 2 a.m. - the subject, "Education for beauty in craftwork."

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*32 See Source A.

*33 See Source A.

*34 See Source A.

In August he was on a tour in the North of the U.S.S.R., lecturing to the Forces and characteristically thoroughly enjoying the sumptuous rations he was getting in the officers' messes, while at the same time encountering the grim facts of war by sharing in some part of a local Russian counter-attack on the German positions. At the end of September he was in Paris on a similar tour:-

"Parisians still know how to live in spite of misery and shortages: at week-ends they travel into Normandy to fetch butter and eggs, and they have not surrendered their basic optimism. But as a German in this half-dead city, one has one's own secret thoughts." ✱35

Reichwein's Berlin home had been 'blitzed' in August in the absence of the family - with the loss of much of his personal property, and he was already writing to his wife that perhaps the time had arrived for her and the children to move out to Kreisau where the Von Moltkes had offered them asylum from the cold and bombing in Berlin and the West.

"And yet I have a feeling that Romai, and the children have nomadic days in front of them." ✱36

✱35 See Source A.

✱36 See Source A: A prophetic note, as Frau Reichwein especially and to a less extent her children had to move frequently and in danger when the Russians and Poles were in occupation of Eastern provinces of Germany towards the end of the war.

On December 10th, 1943, Reichwein announced in a letter to his wife *37 the death of Carlo Mierendorff, a close friend and one of the moving spirits among the Social-Democratic element in the 'Kreisau Kreis.' That was clearly a bitter personal blow. He arranged to spend Christmas with his family at Kreisau, and in the meantime he had been busy attempting to restore some kind of order in the Prinzessinnen-Palais, which had suffered some bomb damage. It is clear that by the end of this year Reichwein was not a little exhausted by the domestic plight of his 'bombed-out' family, by his uneasy educational work and, most of all, by the ever closer-contact he was keeping with the network of the anti-Hitler conspiracy.

1944.

January found Reichwein on yet another tour in Denmark, lecturing to the Forces and hearing, appalled, of the ever-increasing destruction of Berlin from the air: he realised too how hated was the presence of his countrymen among the Danes. In March and April he was lecturing again in Germany and in the so-called 'Protectorate' (Czechoslovakia), and he had also managed to steal a short holiday, skiing in the Riesengebirge. At Easter he managed to get to Kreisau. Writing from there to his father-in-law, he made the following revealing comment on the

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*37 See Source A.

copy of Nohl and Pallat's "Pädagogisches Handbuch: Sozial-pädagogik," which had been sent to him as a present:- *38

"A specially important volume for me, which I would have missed badly if it had not come to hand ..... How important it is for my present work and will be I hope, for my future work, I need hardly tell you. In fundamentals and historically considered, it will never get out of date. The problems, which among others I have in recent years been particularly concerned with (inspired by Tiefensee), are the educationally formative ones, and these cannot be properly conceived of or treated except within a socio-educational context. Furthermore, if I may say so, my quiet and behind-the-scenes activity in the last few years have borne some good fruit. My tactics have really been designed so as to enable me by means of lectures and courses to create a kind of constant ferment up and down the country. I've been trying through demonstrations to open people's eyes to the fact that in the sphere of aesthetic education real craftwork has not yet even begun to play its proper role and to show that this is the essential bit of expression-work in education, and that it is just here that educational reform has got to take its next step forward. In the course of so doing I was always finding occasion to draw attention to your joint indispensable and guiding pioneer work. My tactics were to stimulate those responsible in the

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*38 See Source A.

Ministry by means of regular visits and reports and to attract them to my point of view, also to win over specific Presidents and administrations, so that they gave practical expression to the idea.

I think I can say that this has been successful largely due to years of small-scale activity (constant drops wear away the stones), and so firm foundations have been laid for further advance along these lines. Here are a few examples: recent instructions from the Minister (not made public as yet) to the effect that every teacher can take an eight-week craft course at the state's expense in one of the still surviving Craft Seminars; the Ministry will encourage officially both by providing finance and suitable staff the activity of craft-education. A few areas have been specially selected, for example West Prussia, which I have been cultivating for a long time. Then the 'Regierungspräsident' of Marienwerder set aside 3000 Marks a fortnight ago, which will be divided up among those ten one-class schools, which in the coming school-year look like producing the best results according to my impressions of the last craft-courses I held in Stettin in March. The same district will appoint specialist advisers for rural instruction in its eleven areas: with the help of the Ministry I hope to overcome various political staffing difficulties. So you see that in spite of war and pestilence, the drive goes on. Naturally for myself these are all of them extremely important experiences both in the sphere of practical pedagogy and governmental guidance."

In the same letter, he mentioned that he had been reading Christopher Dawson's 'The Making of Europe', but -

"I am further than ever away from cultured leisure. Sometimes I envy those who withdraw into their books and leave it to others to maintain the struggle for the future. But I'm strengthened in my self-denial by the conviction that epochs can only be fulfilled if their thresholds are first fought for and won. And the fewer the fighters, the more responsibility there rests with those few. I've learnt very thoroughly in my own life what missed opportunities this lack of determination has caused. A dreadful, half-finished torso of abortive attempts lies in our wake ..... How difficult it is to combine action and contemplation in a living way?"

In April and May Reichwein was travelling in South Germany and then working again in Berlin: Whitsuntide was spent with his family at Kreisau. These months were charged with all the intense activity of his political work and culminated in his arrest by the Gestapo at the beginning of

July.[*39] From then until his brutal execution on October 20th, 1944, he was in the hands of the Nazis, imprisoned and tortured in Berlin. His letters of farewell to wife and children were grave, tender and courageous; two extracts may here be allowed to speak for themselves:- [*40]

"I need hardly say that my thoughts are constantly taken up with my own past life. But I can't really write about that now however beneficial it might be. One thing stands out clearly from contemplating those past decades - how rich and beautiful the time has been for me! The pain of the First World War fades into insignificance, and the healthy country life of an unfettered youth shines out all the more brightly - the ten years with the 'Wandervogel' and the excursions, near and far - the friendships of youth - happy student days in Frankfurt and

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*39 There is still some uncertainty as to who it was exactly who played the role of spy or informer (Gestapospitzel) at the meeting between the Social-Democrat and Communist representatives. In the 'Telegraf' of 4th January, 1947, Dr. Rudolf ~~Karl~~ Schmid, at whose house the first encounter took place on June 22nd, 1944, wrote an account of the meeting and drew attention to the presence at it of a 'third' (in addition to the previously agreed two Communist representatives), whom he considers to have been the informer. Included in the article are two references to Reichwein:-

(a) "Professor Reichwein explained to me that for example the Nazi Governor of Brandenburg, in the course of an address to his police officials warned them to keep their eyes more on military and bourgeois circles: 'We know the Communists,' he explained."

That is what made the contact work so dangerous for the Social-Democrats.

(b) With reference to the second meeting, not held in Schmid's house, "Leber and Reichwein were to be fetched from the Underground station in the Reichskanzlerplatz on July 4th by the Communists." That was the very night of their arrest by the Gestapo. (See Source C (5)).

*40 See Source A.

Marburg with yet other indissoluble friendships - then my enthusiastically-lived professional existence in Adult Education, the exceptional privileges of my travels in Europe, Asia and America, four years of flying and looking down on the earth from an eagle's perspective - in between, academic work, which cost nights as well as days of labour and finally the loveliest and richest of all - twelve years with you and the children. How much cause I have to be grateful!" (16.10.44)

"My dear Romai,

Judgment has been passed. For the last time I am writing your name, which has become so precious to me. In this last hour of mine on earth my thoughts are turning ever again with special intimacy to you and the four children, who you gave me and who for years, which to me seem many, were such a joy, comfort and edification.

These three months have been a time of great inner significance to me in spite of all the pain: they have helped to clarify and, I hope, also to purify a great deal. I depart with calm because I know that the children are in your care.

Since July 5th my daily prayer has been the 'Our Father' and, attached to it, a petition for you, the children and our parents. It is to this prayer that I owe my strength from day to day.

May God give you the strength to overcome difficulties and to continue your life steadfastly. Let the children, as they grow into the future, be your consolation and then your joy.

Thank your parents, relations and friends for all their goodness. For you my whole heart,

Your own Adolf. (20.10.44)

We may now turn to the further evidence for the last phase of Reichwein's career. On July 20th, 1952, there appeared a special number of the newspaper, 'Das Parliament: Die Woche im Bundestag', devoted to an account of the attempted anti-Hitler coup of July 20th, 1944, and giving character-sketches of many of those concerned in it. ⁎41 On page 25 there was a photograph of Reichwein and on page 4 an article entitled 'Four Character-Sketches', one of which about Reichwein ran as follows:-

"Adolf Reichwein, until 1933 Professor at the Pädagogische Akademie in Halle, emerged from the Socialist Youth Movement and was one of its best representatives. Both as man and teacher he was an idealist of an exceptional kind. The teacher in him, who felt responsible for the spiritual growth of the young, who tried by his own example to lead young people towards true goals, was drawn into a politically decisive action. "In the hour of decision there can be no evasion", "The fewer the fighters, so much greater the responsibility that rests on the few." His understanding of life expresses itself in these words of his. In his struggle for freedom - he once called freedom 'the true and natural element of the spirit' - and in his desire to achieve something new and great, it often seemed as though the

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⁎41 See Source C (13)

extent of the danger he was running hardly penetrated his imagination. He joined forces with Leber *42 in the idea of an all-embracing people's movement."

Reichwein and Leber were both concerned in the holding of secret consultations with representatives of the Communist section of the Resistance Movement, and at one of these meetings a spy was present. It is a supreme irony that this should so have occurred, as Reichwein himself had been the main promoter in the 'Kreisau Kreis' of contacts with the Communist elements and had acted as chief liaison officer in this matter. Evidence of this last point is supplied by Rothe, who has told *43 how he met Reichwein at the end of April or beginning of May 1944 at the Central Hotel in Berlin and how the latter had then ventilated the necessity of their taking soundings with the Central Committee of the K.P.D., although Rothe is not certain whether at that time actual conversations had already started or were only being considered.

Five separate pieces of evidence may now be brought forward to throw light on Reichwein's activities and reflections during the last year of his life: they are all from the pens of men, who had known him for some time and who were in touch with him almost up to the time of his arrest and, in one case, of his

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*42 Julius Leber was the outstanding figure of the Social-Democratic party at this stage, described as 'the Lenin of the German Working-Class Movement'.

*43 See Source B (23)

execution. The first is an extract from the 'Telegraf' of October 20th, 1946, written by Otto Suhr:- ¤44

"The hearing against the Social Democrats, in which three, Adolf Reichwein, Julius Leber and Hermann Maass were condemned to death, took place on October 20th, 1944. On the very same day Reichwein and Maass were executed. Reichwein had been committed to Socialism and the idea of freedom, and the last years of his life were entirely devoted to his own work and the overthrowing of National Socialism. He was one of those men who are so obviously being missed to-day in our work for reconstruction - in the sphere of popular education especially his place has not been filled.

The general public hardly knows of Adolf Reichwein, who was not an orator for big meetings, but he was the centre of a large circle of friends extending beyond Germany all over Europe and exerting a sterling influence. What was especially distinctive about Reichwein derived from the middle-class Youth Movement and from his way of looking at people - particularly young people - in such a way as to fascinate them. .... So far as I can remember, his pre-occupation with a coup dated back to 1941. He was sure that such a coup could only succeed with the help of the Left-wing Workers' Movement. I talked with him for the last time two days before his arrest on the occasion of the preliminary contacts with the Communists. His eyes were shining

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¤44 See Source C (12)

with the hope that the decisive event would occur within a few weeks - the event for which he had risked his life."

The second of these testimonies comes from a Latvian exile who only encountered Reichwein in Berlin in 1943 and 1944:- *45

"It is rare to come across men in whom idealism and patriotism shine forth so clearly, whose devotion to their countrymen and their belief in equal rights for all enable them to meet the greatest dangers intrepidly. His warm sympathy for my own fate soon led to a close friendship between us. Professor Reichwein was a convinced German patriot. He believed that God had set the German people as any other, to fulfil a mission, which it must complete, not however by repressing other peoples but by co-operating with them.

I met Professor Reichwein for the last time at the end of June, 1944, when he said, "Decisive steps must be taken to rescue the German people and European culture. It is tragic that we have to have recourse to means, which the whole of my inner conviction rejects. At best we shall no longer have any private life - that we must sacrifice for the sake of our children and the future of the German people. For the very sake of that future, so it must be. Already it is late, very late, but still not too late. Very soon now you'll see another Germany, and this

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*45 See Source B (19)

new Germany will have quite a different attitude towards your own country than the present one has.

It was only after the attempted coup of July 20th, 1944, became known that I fully understood those words. And when, later, I received a short message saying, 'Professor Reichwein is no longer alive,' I knew that there was one less noble spirit in the world."

The third testimony is taken from Becker's memorial address of 1946:- ⁎46

"At this time a visitor to Reichwein in his office in the Prinzessinnen-Palais would feel something quite different seething under the surface of his work for the museum. Reichwein had decided to enter the direct struggle against Hitler and his system and, once taken, this decision governed his life. The web of his friendships, which bound him to open-minded people of almost every social class, and the respect which his personal integrity won for him, qualified him as few others for liaison work in a widespread conspiracy. He did not shrink from the task although he knew what was at stake."

When we consider the events connected with July 20th, 1944, we are treading on sacred ground. We will say nothing about its political success or failure, nor consider what would have been the political results had the conspirators achieved their end - the removal of Hitler. We will only consider the plot from

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⁎46 See Source B (9)

his point of view. The beginning of war had not aroused any enthusiasm in the German people. It was too connected with evil and guilt, even though the mass of the people were not yet aware of the utter evils of Nazi methods.

With the first military successes, the 'Blitzkriegs' and their concrete advantages, the mood of the nation relaxed for a time, but subconsciously the anxiety remained: "What will be the end of it all?" When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, temporary success could no longer hide from thinking people that the war could only end in indescribable disaster for Germany. The enemy had not yet developed their armament potential, but well-informed people in political and military circles did not doubt that by 1943 at the latest the output of enemy armaments would be such that Germany would be helpless. As people also realised that Hitler and his fellow-criminals were gambling with their lives, and as their unlimited brutality and egoism were well-known, it became evident that Hitler would be the grave-digger of the German people, if he and his closest associates could not first be destroyed.

These thoughts were familiar to thousands of Germans and discussed by them with their intimate friends. But only in a few did thought become decision to protect the German people by destroying the man who was steering headlong to the abyss.

Such ideas arose in many different circles and those circles which turned the ideas into decisions were structurally very varied. Long negotiations were needed before the threads

were drawn together. The groups which finally took part in the attempt of July 20th embraced practically all sections of the German Resistance Movement. Trade Unionists, high-ranking serving officers, socialists, Roman Catholic priests and protestant theologians, agriculturalists, active diplomats, high officials in the Home Office were all united in one aim: to save the German people from the last and most terrible mile of its road to death by destroying the Nazi leader and his closest colleagues.

We cannot here describe the tedious detailed work of years which had to be carried through, under the constant threat of the Gestapo, by the chief participants before these groups, whose political and philosophical points of view were so different, could so far agree that united action was a possibility after Hitler's removal. We will only indicate the parts played by Adolf Reichwein and his friends in these negotiations.

True to his principles, Reichwein, along with his friends, directed his efforts to a socialist programme for rebuilding the German state and reorganising its economy after Hitler's fall.

The main lines of future German foreign policy were also laid down in principle. There was general agreement that only a declared policy of peace could save the world from chaos. There must be co-operation with all nations and no power politics. They thus acknowledged Russia as a European power. It meant

also that, though Germany was culturally nearer the western powers, there was to be no game with the West against the East, nor with the East against the West. German politics must be open.

One can imagine what exertions were necessary to unite the wide-spread groups of conspirators on this programme. Here Reichwein played a substantial part. This achievement will keep its significance despite the failure of the conspiracy.

Reichwein fell into the hands of the Gestapo owing to his efforts, shortly before the frequently postponed attempt, to include the communist resistance groups. He was arrested in the night of July 4th, 1944. When the attempt on Hitler's life on July 20th failed, Reichwein was doomed, as were his friends. Before his death on October 20th, he had to endure all the cruelty which the Nazi system used against its mortal enemies.

Many hundreds of prominent men and women of the German Resistance Movement died with him in the months between July 1944 and the collapse of the Nazi system. They bear unforgettable witness that, in spite of the Nazi terror, the opposition of the German people to Hitler had not been broken. "The blood of martyrs is the seed of the church" and the death of the men and women of July 20th, together with the many hundreds and thousands of upright witnesses against Nazism who laid down their lives in the concentration camps, the prisons and trials of the Third Reich, is the sacred seed from which a new and better Germany will arise. That all political, philosophical and social circles of our

nation found themselves united in death, gives us hope that in the life that lies ahead there will be no insurmountable barriers between those who seriously, honestly and unselfishly have a new and better Germany at heart.

Each individual sharing in this highest sacrifice is unforgettable in the circle of his friends. Adolf Reichwein belongs to the noble and outstanding men who are a reminder, an inspiration and an assurance for many Germans of what is best in humanity. We salute him in deep gratitude and reverence and salute also the eternal powers who allowed his life to become a lifelong example for us, a victor over death and the devil, a symbol of human purity, bravery and kindliness."

The fourth testimony comes from the pen of Professor Bohnenkamp, an intimate friend of Reichwein:- *47

"The 'Kreisau Kreis' was not a conspiracy to use violence against Hitler, but rather a spiritual preparation for what would have to happen after the rapidly approaching end of his power. After frequently renewed hesitations Adolf had rejected the idea of hastening this end by assassination.*48 'The cure is appalling but it must be complete: in no other way will Germany learn', he said to me in conversation, but he let it be known how difficult it would be for him to stick to that point

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*47 See Source C (11)

*48 Cf. Note 39 and Reichwein's early attitude to violence, Chapter II, p.61 of this thesis.

of view if fresh news reminded him too sharply of the seemingly never-ending death-roll.

When I visited him for the last time in January 1944, he was full of grief at Mierendorff's death and very anxious about the approaches being made by some of the 'Kreisau Kreis' to Gördeler[*49] and his circle. A little later Moltke was arrested: Adolf wrote that lightning had now struck his own roof.[*50] At the end of May when I was in Germany for a brief space, we missed each other because our telegrams miscarried, and I did not meet Adolf. At the beginning of July, when I might have had half a day to look him up, he had disappeared, and I departed, fearing the worst, back across the frontier to rejoin my unit.

It can have been no light decision - if in fact it ever happened - for Adolf and his friends to agree to a coup by violence and to take part in it. Adolf's courage, warm, human trust in people and the breadth of his personality fitted him for the last step he took (I still remember an earlier conversation with him and Mierendorff in which Adolf was the least prejudiced and most generous with regard to the Eastern Question and Communism): he and Leber negotiated with the Communist

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*49 Reichwein's anxiety proceeded no doubt from the not-unfounded suspicion that the Gördeler group were not careful enough to screen its activities and also no doubt from his fear that it was not sufficiently in sympathy with Left-Wing elements.

*50 A reference to the Von Moltke's residence in Silesia where the Reichwein family was sheltering.

Resistance Groups and were thereby betrayed by a spy and arrested even before his friends were shipwrecked on July 20th.

Chained, tortured, not losing hope and unbowed, Reichwein spent three and a half months in the dungeons of the Gestapo until the sneering Freisler*51 passed judgment on him within the precincts of the 'People's Court'. What we were able to do by way of playing down his activities in the eyes of the régime and by working at least for a pardon was little and futile. On the afternoon of October 20th, 1944, his wife, Countess Moltke and I sat together in hushed and stricken conversation while his life was taken. The way in which it was taken, the cowardly manner in which the most tender, frail and tolerant of men was brutally and secretly done to death remains a strident contradiction."

The fifth testimony comes from Gustav Dahrendorf, himself a prisoner of the Gestapo with Reichwein in Berlin: it is the most realistic and eloquent of all five:- *52

"Adolf Reichwein was arrested on July 4th, 1944. I saw him for the first time in the Gestapo prison in the Lehrterstrasse in Berlin when Dr. Julius Leber, Hermann Maass and I had been brought there from Ravensbrück, where we had spent seven weeks in the 'arrest-house' of the Women's Concentration Camp

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*51 The presiding Nazi judge.

*52 See Source B (3)

for interrogation. My cell was on the first floor of that wing of the prison building, which the Gestapo had cleared out in preparation for those arrested in connection with July 20th. During the daily putting-out of the bucket and water-jug I occasionally had the chance for a few seconds of seeing the cells on the opposite side of the ground-floor. Already on the first or second day of my presence in the Lehrterstrasse I saw Adolf Reichwein. I shall never forget what I saw: it was early in the morning: Reichwein's bed was a mattress, which had been laid down exactly behind the cell-door. S.S. security men were there taking off Adolf Reichwein's chains. Every evening he was fettered. One arm was tied by chains to both legs and in this unhappy state Reichwein had to sleep through the night. In the morning the chains were removed. It was during this procedure that I first caught sight of him. There was no doubt that it was he. His face was pale and lacerated, marked by the spiritual and physical tortures of arrest. It is not important, and yet I must mention that it was exactly at the same moment that I spotted Reichwein, the men who were unchaining him, the hard sleeping-place and a corner of the folding-table up against the wall of the cell on which was lying a packet of crisps. It was the same at night when his chains were put on. I could even see his cell through the opened spy-hole of my own cell.

It must have been on October 14th, 1944, that at about noon my cell door was suddenly unlocked. I was just swallowing the watery soup. "Hurry up - quick. You're being sent out!

Hurry!" I guessed that I was only being sent out from the Lehrterstrasse to be transferred to the Gestapo headquarters in the Prinz-Albrechtstrasse certainly not set free. And yet I trembled as I hurriedly collected my pathetic little pile of belongings, walked out of the cell and obeying a loud command, descended the iron stairs to the ground-floor to remain standing near an office opposite the exit. Standing there already were Dr. Julius Leber, Adolf Reichwein and Hermann Maass and Dr. Loeser, who in Gördeler's time had been ~~major~~ Burgermeister of Leipzig. We had to go, one after another, into the office to receive back the various articles, which had been taken off us on arrival. While waiting we had to stand upright with our faces to the wall. For about ten minutes I stood like that a yard or two away from Adolf Reichwein. In an unobserved moment I whispered to him: "How are you feeling, Reichwein? What are the prospects?" He answered softly that he had hopes of surviving. I no longer remember the exact words, but they were words of hope. His speech and manner at this time, as later, when on trial before the Peoples' Court cannot be better described than they have been by Annedore Leber in her memorial article: it often seemed as though the extent of his danger could not have penetrated the realm of his imagination. .....

On the evening of October 19th, 1944, about 6 p.m. the charge-sheet against "Julius Leber and four others, namely Adolf Reichwein, Hermann Maass, Dr. Leoser and Gustav Dahrendorf" was presented to me. "Betrayal of the Fatherland, Aiding the enemy, High Treason, Failure to report a high-treason plot were the

charges. Fourteen hours after the serving of the charges at 8 a.m. on October 20th, 1944, the case before the Peoples' Court was to begin.

Early on the morning of October 20th, we five accused were transported (handcuffed) to the Elsholtzstrasse in Schöneberg. I saw Reichwein again. Surrounded by a thick force of uniformed police officials, each of the accused between two huge shakos, we were led into the court. The five accused and ten police officials sat down on two rows of chairs. .....

The proceedings bore all the signs of a stage performance. Freisler, the prototype of the Nazi agitator of Nazi bestiality, the most willing tool of Nazi law, presided. Next to him were 'Peoples' Judges', nameless nonentities, on one side Oberanwalt Görisch, the representative of the Chief Justice and representatives of an attentive and obedient press - official counsel for the defence, who was deserving of either pity or contempt - a few spectators, representatives of the Wehrmacht, the Gestapo, wounded soldiers and a few civilians.

Freisler shouted and gesticulated. No sentence without a frightful wickedness or brutality, not a spark of humanity, not a sign of even formal propriety. Interrogation? None of the accused was interrogated: so it was with Reichwein. He scarcely permitted a 'yes' or 'no'. He shouted himself hoarse as he read out the accusation against Reichwein - the important work of popular education which Adolf Hitler had entrusted to

him which he had so shamefully abused by treason to the fatherland and high treason. There was not a hope of risking a single sentence against distortion of the facts, against lies and abuse. It was even impossible to utter an affirmation of belief.

In the course of the case against Adolf Reichwein a big and shattering indictment was heard. His official defence, when every attempt to object against the presentation of the facts had been cut short, finally requested that the court should take into consideration the unusual, human qualities of his client. It looked as though Freisler was going to let Adolf Reichwein speak. Reichwein began quite quietly. He could not speak any louder. Detention with its spiritual trials and bodily mishandlings had deprived him of his voice. I could hardly catch the sound of it. For a few seconds all eyes were focused on him. I was filled with an immense pity for the man. As he stood there, he was the symbol of all things human, from whom at that moment all the torture of suffering fell away. He began to speak of his work. He began ..... and then murder broke loose from Freisler - humanity? Human values? Whoever had, like Reichwein, betrayed so great a trust, had forfeited the right to be assessed in human terms. Shut up! Not another word! Crimes! Criminals! A storm of brutalised declamations broke the silence, which just for a moment, not longer, had surrounded those men.

Reichwein did not later make any formal statement. He listened to the verdict:-

Reichwein before the 'People's Court'
(1944)

'In spite of his one-time Social-Democratic leanings the Reich most generously granted Adolf Reichwein the possibility of responsible work. He knew of the traitor Gördeler's plans for a coup but did not do anything against them. In addition he was certainly connected with negotiations with the Communists.'

The ensuing part of the verdict therefore applied to the three friends, Julius Leber, Adolf Reichwein and Hermann Maass.

"All three had shared in the treason, which, if it had succeeded, would have surrendered our people defenceless into the hands of the enemy. They have dishonoured themselves for ever. They will be punished by death. Their property is forfeit to the Reich."

On the afternoon of October 20th, 1944, Julius Leber, Adolf Reichwein, Maass and I escorted by Gestapo officials, were brought in 'Green Minny' back to the Prinz-Albrechtstrasse. We sat in the body of the vehicle, myself directly opposite Julius Leber, obliquely opposite Adolf Reichwein. We could not speak. Our eyes met and sank into each other's. Reichwein's eyes sought mine. I had been sentenced to seven years imprisonment. I would be alive when Hitler and Hitler's Germany had long vanished. Reichwein's eyes spoke: they gave messages to his wife, children, his many friends. They betrayed behind his mortally-weary spirit the eternity of all that is human, which from his actions and his death will again be resurrected.

On the evening of October 20th, 1944, I was visited in

my cell by men from the Gestapo. They wanted to see the first man, who in the case of the 20th July had got away with a time-sentence. One of the visitors entered saying, 'Well, your friends Reichwein and Maass aren't alive any longer.'

They are alive - in us and through us!"

This chapter has given an account of the fusion of two themes, one of them Reichwein's personal development and educational work, the other Germany's fate under Nazism, her entry into the second World War and the anti-Hitler Resistance Movement. His double-life, dating from 1933 but becoming far more intense after 1939, was a part of the process of a sacrifice of long-term policy to short-term expediency; in part it may be thought of as the attempt that one individual made to achieve within himself an unity of purpose and existence, which, except in the perverted form imposed on it by Nazism, was lacking in the German society of which he was a member. This lack of unity moved to its tragic nemesis, collectively in the German catastrophe of 1945 and the failure of the 20th July coup, individually in the arrest and execution of Reichwein.

After he had moved to Berlin in 1939, Reichwein continued to appreciate and expand the vital long-term significance of education as a mighty determinant in social evolution, while ruefully acknowledging its short-term impotence as exemplified by the abrupt end to his own way of working under his successor at Tiefensee. He continued to advocate strenuously the

importance of craft-work in the aesthetic education of the child, while being careful not to question openly what he himself deemed to be the pseudo-romanticism of official Nazi educational policy: here he was echoing the struggle which had been going on in German education for the best part of a hundred years between those who realised the need for roots in education and those who also recognised the need but were prepared to contact those roots regardless of the means, however brutal these might be, which were employed to reach them. This was part of the unresolved conflict between the original German Youth Movement with its respect for the individual and readiness to treat him always as an end and the Hitler Youth, which was ready to treat him as a means for the achieving of 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich'.

In his insistence on the importance of bringing into the Resistance the Workers, even the most extreme Left-wing of them, Reichwein was repeating his life-long motif of pressing for the closer liaison of proletariat and intellectual elite and the fusion of classes. As a strong individualist himself and a child of the liberal tendency in German education, he failed to appreciate until near the very end the primitivity and ruthlessness of man in the mass, a factor, which as we have seen, even blinded him to the full danger of his personal position.

Reichwein had a fine understanding of one of the nuclei of the 'German Problem' when he remarked *53

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*53 See Source A.

"Surely the Germans, taken as a whole, are the most ~~fundamental~~ thorough of all Western peoples. If only this creative ~~profundity~~ thoroughness could be brought into vital relationship with political endeavour."

Here he was saying the same thing that Thomas Mann was getting at in his novel Dr. Faustus:- ⁎54

"What is and what ought to be - there is a bigger gulf between them with us than with others, simply because the 'ought-to-be', the standard, is so high." (p.123)

Both men were drawing attention to a socio-political tension, immensely potent for good or evil, which between 1933 and 1945 took the dark path.

In his dealings with the men of Kreisau we can perceive further evidence of how difficult it was, in the event actually impossible, to discover more than a kind of negative cement for binding together the anti-Hitler elements. In this connection we should once again note Steltzer's remark ⁎55 that 'the problem of Germany was a problem of leadership', and see in it a clue to understanding why it was that Reichwein's own barque had to suffer shipwreck and the German state to be sucked into catastrophe. In the case of the former true leadership failed to make contact with those looking for a lead; in the case of the latter 'bad money drove good money out of circulation'. This process was exemplified in the contrasting cases of those two University

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⁎54 Thomas Mann: Dr. Faustus p.123 (London 1949)

⁎55 See Source B(b) 1.

figures, Huber and Heimpel, to whom Reichwein drew attention.*56

Again his cordial appreciation of Nohl and Pallat's 'Sozial-Pädagogik' shows his ample understanding of the pathos of this lack of socially-significant thrust in German teachers.*57 Any sensitive observer of the German educational scene in the twentieth century must echo Reichwein's lament over the 'Missed opportunities', 'the lack of determination', 'the dreadful half-finished torso of abortive attempts'. We can also recognise in Reichwein's lament over the difficulty of combining action and contemplation yet another way, of describing how and why it was that the 'Dare-men' of Toller's description,*58 who favoured action at all costs, won their bloody though transient triumph.

We cannot fail to be impressed by the simple dignity with which Reichwein in his last hours looked back on his career and to reverence the manner of this human being's tragic catharsis in the midst of collective social chaos. We should ask ourselves how far Reichwein was justified in making the degree of compromise with Nazism, which in fact he had to make in order to work publicly at all between 1933 and 1944. It could be argued that by accepting a Nazi salary and by appearing on behalf of Nazi educational authorities at Nazi-sponsored conferences and by lecturing to the German Armed Forces he was identifying himself

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*56 See p.236

*57 See p.239

*58 Refer Chapter III, p.92

with the régime - at any rate in appearance - and so betraying the very cause he was trying to serve. This is one of those profound problems of human motivation, the resolution of which can lie only in the character of each single individual; it raises the question of how far the good man may go even in the sacrifice and soiling of a bit of his own personal integrity for the sake of remaining by the side of his fellows. As Berdyaev has remarked:- ⁎59

"The moral problem is to share the burden in the name of love and yet to have no share in the world's falsity."

The impossibility of solving this problem within the context of purely human affairs is perhaps best attested by Professor Bohnenkamp's cry of outrage at Reichwein's execution - 'a strident contradiction'.

Reichwein, through his acute experiences of general socio-political tensions, realised that the mere overthrow of Hitler was not enough to redeem German society; hence his vacillation about the rightness of the conspirators using violence to overthrow him, although it should be noted that he and they were prepared to approve the violence of the Allies in doing it for them. How far was he correct in his idea that Germany needed to undergo the cure of complete military annihilation as a pre-condition of healthy post-war reconstruction? At any rate he realised the need for a constructive programme especially in education, to provide the dynamic for that social and moral

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⁎59 Berdyaev, N.: The Destiny of Man (London 1937)

revolution which he believed to be necessary in Germany and for which he sacrificed his life.

As to the question of Reichwein's final justification in taking the course he did, this must be answered partly in terms of the ultimate meaning of his individual life, partly in its effects, ephemeral or lasting, on German society. What light has this biographical study in the fields of adult education, teacher-training, Primary Education and Museum work thrown on the socio-political tensions in German education between 1918 and 1945? The last chapter is an attempt to answer that question.

CHAPTER VIII.

BEYOND RESISTANCE.

The life and death of Adolf Reichwein provide suggestive commentary on a fundamental problem of this age, namely the totalitarian sickness of society. Within a German setting they illustrate three aspects of a more than German phenomenon: first, the very nature of totalitarianism itself, secondly the impossibility of its being resisted by traditional methods of statecraft, and thirdly the need for a creative response to its challenge, which, by accepting the daemonic elements inherent in it, is enabled to transcend them and so to pass beyond resistance.

Faustian man has need of Mephistopheles in his quest for self-knowledge: the 'shadow' which his being casts takes on the form of an objective reality - apparently external to himself. The integration of his personality occurs where that is assimilated which was previously projected, thus in the language of Blake, 'destroying the negative to redeem the contraries.'*1 It may well be that Europe and many other parts

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*1 See Jung: The Integration of the Personality, p.20.
"The character that summarises a person's uncontrolled emotional manifestations consists, in the first place, of his inferior qualities or peculiarities. Even people we like and appreciate suffer from certain imperfections of character that have to be taken into the bargain. When people are not at their best, such flaws become clearly visible. I have called the inferior and less commendable part of a person the shadow. We have met with this figure in literature; for instance, Faust and Mephistopheles. There is an excellent description of this figure in E.T.A. Hoffmann's 'The Elixirs of the Devil'."

of the world stand in need of the German example as the means whereby they can learn how to redeem their own bodies politic by accepting the daemonic forces within them.

Reichwein and other men of good-will of his generation had some insight into the problems to which totalitarianism proposed a specious answer: they tried for a time to disentangle the true from the false in that process. Because they lacked the psychological wisdom to transcend the brute contradictions with which totalitarianism surely confronted them, they were eventually bound to shape their resistance in a manner which could only end in disaster. That was their tragedy; by a just appraisal of their fate it can become our opportunity.

The introduction of the idea of 'transcendence' here is deliberate and is intended in the sense conveyed by the following extracts from Gabriel Marcel's 'Men against Humanity' (Chapter I, p.15 et sequ.)

"But let us imagine, then, the situation of our own country immediately after a putsch or coup d'etat: if rebellion is futile, and a retreat into insignificance impracticable, what, supposing that we are fully aware of our situation, does there remain for us to do? At the risk of discontenting and even of shocking those who still tend to think of solutions for political problems in terms of positive action, I shall say that in that region all the ways of escape seem to me to be barred. Our only recourse can be to the Transcendent: but what does that mean?

'The Transcendent', 'transcendence', these are words which among philosophers and intellectuals, for a good many years past, have been strangely misused. When I myself speak here of a recourse to the transcendent, I mean, as concretely as possible, that our only chance in the sort of horrible situation I have imagined is to appeal, I should perhaps not say to a power, but rather to the level of being, an order of the spirit, which is also the level and order of grace, of mercy, of charity; and to proclaim, while there is still time, that is to say before the State's psychological manipulations have produced in us the alienation from our true selves that we fear, that we repudiate in advance the deeds and the acts that may be obtained from us by any sort of constraint whatsoever. We solemnly affirm, by this appeal to the transcendent, that the reality of ourselves lies beyond any such acts and any such words. ..... What we have to do is to proclaim that we do not belong entirely to the world of objects to which men are seeking to assimilate us, in which they are straining to imprison us. To put it very concretely indeed, we have to proclaim that this life of ours, which it has now become technically possible to make into a hideous and grimacing parody of all our dreams, may in reality be only the most insignificant aspect of a grand process unfolding itself far beyond the boundaries of the visible world. In other words this amounts to saying that all philosophies of immanence have had their day, that in our own day they have revealed their

basic unreality or what is infinitely more serious, their complicity with these modern idolatries which it is our duty to denounce without pity: the idolatry of race, the idolatry of class, ... a man cannot be free or remain free, except in the degree to which he remains linked with that which transcends him, whatever the particular form of the link may be for it is pretty obvious that the form of the link need not reduce itself to official and canonical prayers."

What then is the nature of this psychological wisdom, which, it may be suggested, was so largely lacking in the German Resistance Movement? It lies, as the perennial philosophy has consistently taught, in the recognition that man is a whole, that psychic wholeness is the natural condition of the individual and the collectivity towards which state they both of them are pointed but from which they are for ever deflected by the forces of their own ignorance. In recent years the science of psychology has begun to make available some information as to the way in which this ignorance is bred, chiefly by the light it has thrown on the reality and power of the Unconscious. Analytical psychology in particular has shown how modern man needs to become aware of the personal and collective unconscious below the surface of his mind, on which he is largely dependent and without the acceptance of which he is nothing but its slave. Nowhere is this more apparent than with reference to that part of himself which his consciousness regards as inferior or bad in so far as it is aware of it at all and which is generally projected unintentionally on to some other

'enemy' or 'foreign devil'. Where no such object is legitimately available, as for example the mediaeval devil, the 'shadow' has to fall elsewhere - on nation, class or creed, and when once this process is at work the forces of reason and conscious prudence are helpless.

As Jung has shown in his 'Essays on Contemporary Society',[*2] this has been the dominant force in Germany and most of Western civilisation increasingly since 1914, and it is this form which underlies the manifold economic and political upheavals of the twentieth century. By an understanding of it we may obtain a clue as to the basic cause of totalitarianism.

Now in considering the nature of totalitarianism it is necessary to distinguish clearly between it and the various kinds of authoritarian dictatorships, which have existed from time to time in history. The former is a modern phenomenon and is essentially of European origin. It is the expression first of the individually, and collectively unsolved problem of the 'shadow', secondly of the rise to power of the pseudo-educated masses, and thirdly the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation of previously rural communities. It expresses the reaction of large social groups away from the perhaps as yet excessive challenge of democratic responsibility and back to dependence on authority figures, which themselves are then endowed with the

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*2 See Jung 'Essays on Contemporary Events.' Cf. also Blake's poem on Milton and J. M. Murray's comment on 'I am that Satan' in his 'Heaven and Earth'.

attributes of parental and 'shadow' archetypes which control the groups' movements from the depths of their unconscious. As Ernst Toller once put it, "The desire for a dictator is the desire for castration" (Letter from Prison).

This very general predicament of modern democracy agonising between the psychological burden of political responsibility and the psychological release of totalitarianism, has been especially pronounced in Germany, where transition from Kaiserreich to Republic was not only abrupt but poisoned by a certain historical tradition and character in the German people[*3] and by the pressures of international rivalry and suspicion. More precisely stated, the political institutions of Weimar had no roots, its economic structure, especially as developed in cartels and trusts, was inexorably anti-democratic in effect, and its psychological disposition unfit to display that 'courage civile' which can only spring from a secure confidence of a society in itself. In Germany, as elsewhere, this was all the more marked as the strength of the Christian conviction, which had previously been the promoter of psychic wholeness for Western man, began to weaken. Totalitarianism in its German form of Nazism was therefore the outcome of three things, the desire of a people to be led and its willingness to sacrifice 'political liberty for psychic freedom' (Knight), the nature of its economic structure, and the unreality to them of its novel, political institutions.

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*3 See Chapter I.

The Nature of Totalitarianism.

We may now consider what insights Reichwein possessed into this complex of socio-political forces in the period of his life before 1933 when Nazism began to shackle him. What have we seen of his reaction to the onset of totalitarianism in its embryo stages? As a young man he already displayed a quality, which one of his friends has described as 'Arglosigkeit' - a kind of harmlessness or innocence.[*4] This same friend has described how the young Reichwein, making a short stage appearance as Antonio in 'Twelfth Night' at Marburg, seemed by his acting to suggest another quality in him, namely that of a deeply reverent - reverent perhaps to the extent of foolhardy - respect for his opponent and antagonist. On the other hand this same virtue suffered from a defect in that its 'shadow' side or opposite was Reichwein's tendency on occasions to bear down upon his opponent in argument, corner him and force him to admit defeat when the latter had not really been convinced. It is perhaps permissible to see something of this element at work in the passionate insistence with which Reichwein pressed for contact with the Communists in the Resistance when maybe his impetuosity temporarily overcame the judgment of others and led him into the position of "if nobody else will take the risk of contacting and working with them, I will!"

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*4 For this and other helpful comments on Reichwein's character I am indebted to Herr Kroug of Göttingen.

If these two elements of harmlessness and respect for the adversary were constants in Reichwein's character, and that they surely were subsequent events were to prove, then the truth of a woman contemporary's prophecy could be well confirmed: "Adolf, you'll end up on the scaffold." ✱5 In the long run these two virtues are essential ones for those who aim to go beyond resistance: in the short run of Reichwein's career they were not the best either for the understanding of totalitarianism or for the attempt to resist it.

We have seen that Reichwein himself coming from the lower bourgeoisie and gifted with unusual intelligence and sensitivity was able on many occasions to bridge the gulf between 'Volk' and 'gebildete Schichten' (educated people) in German society which undoubtedly was one of the ~~germs~~ causes of Nazism. As an enthusiastic 'Wandervogel' and member of the Youth Movement he was able to experience and give expression to the 'Nietzschean protest' against the ills of the Kaiserreich. Yet these very ills showed themselves in the fissures within that Youth movement which he strove so hard to mend. It would not however be untrue to suggest that the Youth Movement by its very nature sidestepped the issues which were to breed Nazism and by so doing unwittingly fostered them: it remained for some time immune to the infection but did not contribute to its cure. Reichwein recognised the need for a 'spiritual Guards' Brigade' in the circumstances of

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✱5 Marianne Lehn, quoted by Kroug in the above-named (Note 4)

post-war Germany, but although he and its few members strove well and truly, it never succeeded in taking the field in an effective manner because of the totalitarian obstacles which the collectivity as a whole was unconsciously placing in its path.

Reichwein as we have seen from his early letters from the 1914-18 Western Front recognised early on the tremendous need and possibilities of adult education in a young democracy. In this he was an untypical ex-serviceman, who looked beneath the surface explanations of his country's military defeat. It was this realisation too, which attracted him to the 'A.V.' at Marburg and urged him to support Becker's policy of 'Kultur-politik'. It accounts also for the attention he paid to the German sociologists of the day, Weber, Scheler and Natorp and his concern for that tradition of 'Sozialidealismus' traceable back to the influence of Pestalozzi and Condorcet.

Perhaps it was in his interest for the East, academically displayed in his doctorate thesis and practically expressed in his Far Eastern travels, that he showed a deeper understanding than even he himself realised of the missing element in our Western civilisation's culture - that which might be summarised in the phrase 'non-action'. This again is something which belongs to the process by which society can learn to pass beyond resistance. Reichwein realised that the Weimar Republic could only prosper on the basis of a new solidarity of the classes, especially between students and workers, for which he strove unremittingly. He seemed to have a deep appreciation of one of

the chief menaces of the totalitarian tendency of the age, namely that of undervaluing the dignity of the human being: he grew somewhat sceptical of men, but never of man.

It must be admitted that he was over-sanguine in his belief that a synthesis of modern knowledge was realisable and capable of forming the basis of an homogeneous society. What distinguished him - a leader of men if ever there was one - from Hitler was that he was isolated from the masses. This isolation sprang from his very refusal to play on the stops which the Führer-'Shaman' knew how to do so effectively, and this refusal itself stemmed from a conviction that the individual needed to become regenerate if society were to be regenerated, or in psychological language that the evil had to be integrated, not eliminated by its transference on to other objects - in Hitler's case the Jews and the Treaty of Versailles.

On three other matters, all of which were to provide fuel for Nazism, Reichwein saw with great clarity, namely the basic need for a Franco-German rapprochement, the determining effects on national standards of living of the production and distribution of the raw-material resources of the world and the factor of 'ressentiment' in his own countrymen. Moreover he realised as few Germans could or can realise that in his own words "Politics do not exist for us just to be taken notice of in times of crisis after which we return to a happier state of affairs when they need no longer concern us. They are not only a means of attaining happiness but they have values in themselves

as an expression of creative living." It is in the nature of totalitarianism to be the expression of just the opposite of this conception. In it again there must be plenty of room for the 'dare-men': now Reichwein was in many ways a 'dare-man', but he was able to satisfy this instinct by his flying, travelling and other methods of living dangerously. To those less fortunately placed or less spiritually gifted than he, the 'S.A.' and 'S.S.' were the only outlet. The 'Creative Interval' which he enjoyed was surely also another factor in his ability to stand outside the totalitarian lure, for as Charles Morgan has suggested[*6] it was the divorce of sap from fruit to the extent of fruit-consumption without even fruit-bearing that was the hallmark of a sick society: Reichwein never divorced them.

It is during his Berlin and Halle days that Reichwein stands out most clearly in contrast with the 'Hindenburg German' - that passive apostle and subsequent worshipper of Nazism. Then it was that he tried to make something of the ideal of the 'Pädagogische Akademie', but in vain, for there was lacking a 'majority for a common ideal'. Just here we may be touching on a fundamental point in the whole story both of Reichwein the man and twentieth-century Germany, namely that no such majority was or indeed ever is possible except in religious or pseudo-religious terms. Hitler provided the pseudo-religion

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*6 See Charles Morgan: The River Line, Act II, Scene II, and the book of the play p.156-7 as quoted in my Chapter II.

and for a time the majority. Reichwein through the travail of a persistent minority role had to make his own way to a religious position.

Finally Reichwein perceived that 'a society which has reached a developed stage of economic communication and highly differentiated production can no longer be governed on an authoritarian basis but only on the basis of the autonomous responsibility of each single individual'. He was to realise slowly and painfully that if it were not so governed, authoritarianism inevitably became totalitarianism.

There is much evidence that Reichwein understood the nature of totalitarianism both in its general and specifically educational sense, and further that he discerned that in the core of Nazi doctrine there lay a denial of that freedom, which is 'the element of the spirit'. That is why he could not possibly have become a Nazi.

The Impossibility of Resistance.

Of its nature totalitarianism only establishes itself when the political, economic and psycho-spiritual condition of society as sketched at the beginning of this chapter is of such a kind as either by the sins of commission or more often those of omission, to invite it. This means that once established with all the equipment of modern power at its disposal, a totalitarian government cannot be resisted effectively from within

by any of the traditional methods of conspiracy and that, if it is overthrown from without by alien conquest, its essential ingredients - those which originally brought it into being - are not destroyed but only and very temporarily driven underground. Resistance is beside the mark unless the instruments of that resistance themselves partake of the mystique in a complete sense of which totalitarianism is its daemonic 'shadow' part. Dr. Zimmer in Guild Lecture No. 39 of 'The Guild of Pastoral Psychology', which is entitled 'Integrating the Evil' has expressed this truth quite clearly. "The power of evil", he says, "cannot be crushed or defeated by counter-aggression. It has to be checkmated by the mere sight of a superiority attained by self-conquest and self-sacrifice: by the mere sight of a plenitude acquired through the integration, in a reconcilable form, of its own black essence. The power of evil has to be made to collapse and dissolve in despair of its own impotence, of its own vain, purely destructive nothingness: otherwise after it has regained its strength and has stripped away the fetters of its under-world dungeon, there will be another war. Every lack of integration in the human sphere asks for its antagonistic co-operation."

This general truth about the sociological dynamics of totalitarianism was well understood and prophetically uttered one hundred years ago by the American writer, Herman Melville. In his tale 'Benito Cereno' he describes symbolically and with matchless skill how a totalitarian situation develops and how

within it resistance becomes impossible. The Spanish sea-captain is 'the symbol for the greatest humiliation which any individual or social class can suffer, namely to be, against his own will and yet apparently of his own free will, the accomplice of his own destruction.' He is the 'collaborateur malgré lui' and so may be taken to symbolise the thousands of people in Nazi Germany who collaborated in an attempt to prevent the worst by compromising with the bad.

When Don Benito has apparently been rescued from his appalling predicament of being the unwilling leader of his mutinous negro crew - when he appears to have been 'liberated' his melancholy still persists, and it is as if he feels the mark of death, the onus of the unsolved problem upon him. Don Benito has been unable to integrate the negro 'shadow' into himself.

"I think I understand you; you generalise, Don Benito, and mournfully enough. But the past is passed: why moralise upon it? Forget it. See, yon bright sun has forgotten it all, and the blue sea, and the blue sky; these have turned over new leaves."

"Because they have no memory", he dejectedly replied; "because they are not human."

"But these mild trades that now fan your cheek, Don Benito, do they not come with a human-like healing to you? Warm friends, steadfast friends are the trades."

"With their steadfastness they but waft me to my tomb, Senor," was the foreboding response.

"You are saved, Don Benito," cried Captain Delano, more and more astonished and pained; "You are saved; what has cast such a shadow upon you?"

"The negro."

(p.104 Shorter Novels of Herman Melville).

Indeed the concluding lines of Melville's story seem to suggest that the drama could only find its proper tragic and cathartic end in the death of both parties, black and white, so demonstrating the impossibility of resistance within a purely temporal context.

"Some months after, dragged to the gibbet at the tail of a mule, the black met his voiceless end. The body was burned to ashes, but for many days the head, that hive of subtlety, fixed on a pole in the Plaza, met, unabashed, the gaze of the whites ..... and across the Romac bridge looked towards the monastery on Mount Agonia without; where, three months after being dismissed by the court, Benito Cereno, borne on the bier, did, indeed, follow his leader." (p.105-6) ⁂7

This general truth was well exemplified by Nazism in

⁂7 See Appendix 2 for a further elucidation and interpretation of 'Benito Cereno', contained in a German radio discussion which comments penetratingly on the strength and persistence of the totalitarian sickness of our times. I am indebted to ~~Professor~~ Reader Siegel of Brunswick for drawing my attention to it.

Germany before and after 1933, where the requisite conditions existed, and something has already been seen of the way in which Reichwein himself attempted during the pre-Nazi period to check its onset but without success. So that when in 1933 Hitler came to power, Reichwein like others of the minority had to make a fateful decision in face of a totalitarian fait accompli.

The impossibility of the German Resistance showed itself nowhere more clearly than in its diffuse nature: it could be described as consisting of resistance by intention and resistance by deed, if we leave aside the absurdity of those many thousands of Germans who after the event claimed to have been resisters all the time! Reichwein started by belonging to the former category and passed into the second - in either case equally under the doom of ultimate defeat.

The paradoxical situation of Reichwein is underlined by the Nazi official's remark to him in 1933: "Sie sind der geborene S.A. Führer": that man recognised an essential element in his make-up, namely his outstanding gift of leadership, a gift however which during the Hitler regime had to be confined to a small educational scene until in 1939 it was transferred to the national stage and which then, owing to the circumstances in which it was exercised, was obliterated. As for his work at Tiefensee, it must be reckoned as a remarkable educational achievement without lasting effect except in so far as his little book, 'Creative School Community', is still read and his example still

remembered by the circle of his friends and acquaintances. Reichwein stated correctly in that book that for the health of the body politic of Germany, it was necessary for her children to be enabled to renew contact with her organic traditions in their pure form through nature, arts and crafts: this, as will be suggested subsequently, is one of the ways in which totalitarianism can be combatted, but for the time being the correct notion was being put to perverse uses by the Nazi ideologues.

Reichwein realised further that in the German society of his time there was a need of men and women, who had the capacity 'to break with yesterday without already possessing tomorrow' [*8] - a demand however which means mature citizens; otherwise those who have been dislodged from yesterday without their consent merely revert to many days before yesterday when faced with the unacceptable challenge of tomorrow - the destiny of most Hitler-worshippers.

We have already considered the degrees of 'compromise' with the Nazi authorities which Reichwein had to make during his period of 'sanctuary' at Tiefensee and while working at the Berlin museum. It must be added that this to him hateful necessity is yet another illustration of the impossibility of uncompromising resistance to totalitarianism: either the compromise does not last, as in Reichwein's case, or else it becomes

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*8 Reichwein: 'Schaffendes Schulvolk' p.104

acquiescent collusion. We have seen Professor Geisler's evidence (Chapter VII) of how Reichwein came to realise the futility of mere educational counter-activity: education might be the long-term answer to the causes of totalitarianism, but the latter was itself destructive of any such long-term project. So Reichwein took up his double-life of curator and conspirator and found himself, however reluctantly, like others in the Kreisau circle, compelled to transmute his impatience and agony over the last days of the Nazi regime into that active conspiracy, which was to cost him his life. This was because he must have realised the basic lack of realism in all the making of blue-prints for Germany after Hitler's overthrowal when that overthrowal was not really desired by the bulk of the nation for the right reasons.

Reichwein then was a minority figure involved in the impossibility of resistance to Nazism, politically a failure, educationally of some consequence, personally of fine, human quality whose most obvious and immediate legacy is to be seen in the small but not uninfluential group of educators in Germany to-day, whose affection for him remains as a continuing source of inspiration to their own educational endeavour. His ending, to borrow Shakespearean language, might well have been despair had it not been redeemed by prayer[*9] a reflection which

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*9 "And my ending is despair,
Unless I be relieved by prayer,
Which pierces so that it assaults
Mercy itself, and frees all faults."

(Shakespeare: The Tempest: Epilogue)

leads to some final comment on the title of this chapter, 'Beyond Resistance'.

The Transcendence of Totalitarianism.

If totalitarianism has its roots, as has been suggested, in the undue psychological frustration of individual and collective instinctive drives, in the economic contradictions of capitalist society and in the political inadequacy of the conventionally liberal forms of representative government, then, it may be argued, where resistance is impossible, only transcendence remains with the following three premises. First there must exist a sufficient number of individuals to initiate a social momentum, who have been weaned from a psychological dependence on external authority figures whether religious or political, and this implies the recognition by them of another object on to which they may be weaned. The only valid object for modern Western man is his 'Self' in the Jungian sense with its metaphysical implications. For as Marcel writes:

"It can never be too strongly emphasised that the crisis which Western man is undergoing to-day is a metaphysical one; there is probably no more dangerous illusion than that of imagining that some readjustment of social or institutional conditions could suffice of itself to appease a contemporary sense of disquiet which rises in fact from the very depth

of man's being." *10

Secondly there must be the acceptance of the need for a world economic plan to meet population and food problems and within this global context some kind of Joint European Production Board for social use rather than private profit. Thirdly there must be the creation of an European political unit to supersede the archaism of petty nationalism. These three premises, within which alone is any solution of the German problem possible, presuppose a common belief about the nature of man - negatively to the extent of a repudiation of the idea that he exists to be the victim of Belsen or the executioner of Hiroshima and positively to an affirmation of the reality and indestructibility of spirit - a faith such as that incomparably summarised by Wordsworth

> "Should the whole frame of earth by inward throes
> Be wrenched or fire come down from far to scorch
> Her pleasant habitations, and dry up
> Old Ocean, in his bed left singed and bare,
> Yet would the living Presence still subsist
> Victorious and composure would ensue,
> And kindlings like the morning - pressage sure
> Of day returning and of life revived."
>
> (The Prelude Book V)

This kind of faith was and is lacking in Germany and though more blatantly obvious there for historical and geographical

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*10 G. Marcel: Men against Humanity (Harvill Press 1953)p.27 This is the force of an earlier remark in this chapter to the effect that the transcendence needed to pass beyond resistance must be religious - the 'Self' being the immanent aspect of the godhead transcendent. For a full elaboration of this theme see Jung's 'The Integration of the Personality' and for a rather different but highly significant treatment of it, Alan Watts' 'Behold the Spirit.'

reasons, it is also lacking in the Western world as a whole. In Reichwein's own case it was not basically lacking: his whole character said 'Yes' to life, but because he belonged to his time he was inevitably handicapped by its deficiency in the premises outlined above. This meant that his whole career was an attempt to create them through education, the legacy of which is to be seen in his writings and the lessons which may be drawn from his example. When the attempt was wrecked, as he tried to combine it with the political action to which the shortcomings of the means of resistance drove him, there could be no other outcome than a tragic one. The wholeness which we may believe he achieved in his last hours and to which his letters of farewell testify, was the accompaniment of the terrible suffering that the collective forces of totalitarian Nazism inflicted on its victims.

The words of one of Reichwein's oldest friends accord well with our idea of Reichwein's significance and may therefore form a fitting conclusion to this study:- *11

"In May of the year 1946 I encountered a working-man at a level-crossing in the neighbourhood of Friedberg/Hessen, who addressed me in friendly fashion and turned out to be a former comrade of the First World War. In the course of conversation he asked after Adolf Reichwein: he had a lively recollection of him. Yet more than twenty-five years had gone by since the time from which this memory arose. What an impression Reichwein must

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*11 See Source (B) 18.

have made on that then nineteen-year old contemporary of his and how often must Reichwein's image have bubbled up in the thoughts of this simple man! Not only that - he had got a firm grasp of the personality of that more mature comrade, by whom he had been consciously influenced in several decisive moments of his life, and there must have been very many more unconsciously so influenced! When I told him about Reichwein's death, his simple comment was: "For me he remains what he was!"

But who was he? This is a question that cannot be disposed of by listing his intellectual, pedagogical and academic achievements: it leads us on to the totality of a personality. Without knowing anything of Reichwein's cultural gifts, that labourer had been permanently affected by his 'mere existence'. The life of a man like Reichwein sends its ripples of creative reality into the lives of his fellow-men and so out into the whole world. A truly lived existence has no end, just as it has no clear-cut beginning. Its spiritual essence is variable but not transient. Such a life strengthens one's belief in the elemental existence of spirit and triumph over death, just as supernatural religion maintains it does.

From another point of view the life and death of a man like Reichwein awakes an understanding of the elemental powers of both the internal and external world. Reichwein's being is like an internal flame that licks around and spreads itself, that kindles and burns and allows to burn. That is not just a

fanciful idea - this elemental quality showed itself in his reddish hair, in his manner of speaking, in the gestures of his hands and many of the movements of his limbs.

If one considers great men - not the gifted discoursers or the learned philosophers or the brilliant surgeons, it is not in the first place the sphere of their achievements that attracts us but rather the evolution of their total human personality. This unique evolution of a personality within its present form completes itself all the more in so far as that man's being presents a certain unity of development. There was a kind of natural intellectuality about the way in which Reichwein developed the spiritual freedom of his inner and outer world and preserved it as an ethic throughout his life and premature and violent death. Action and endurance, deed and destiny were not in his case contradictory laws but a realised expression of the struggle for freedom.

Thus let him appear in our eyes with the fire of his thoughts, the glow of his conversation, the kindling gestures of his hands, the sparkling of his eyes. Fire pulsed in his blood too - his was par excellence the 'sanguine' temperament. This temperament allowed him to be enthused and to enthuse others. Yet in the last resort his friendships, relationships with men of many different countries, travels, undertakings, often hair-raising adventures did not only proceed from this aspect of his

character. With all this fieriness he never lacked - even as a young man - self-mastery and self-discipline. .....

One can understand why it is that so many and indeed worthy men of Reichwein's temperament become one-sided fanatics of a political, religious or general kind. But Reichwein never did become a fanatic - even as a young man he knew how to limit himself and so at the same time to become unlimited in his range. That explains his connection with the S.P.D. He was quite clear and determined about the idea. The goals he had in view and his human relations linked him to the Social-Democratic party. Yet Reichwein could not be satisfied with a rigid materialism, as could be indicated by a Marxism which claimed to be not only an economic system but a philosophy as well. He was however a conscious Socialist and at the time of Hitler's dictatorship he remarked to my boys "When you are twenty years old, I'll teach you what Socialism really is."

From another point of view his love of Goethe and his ever-increasing attention to religious questions are evidence of a socialism, which must not be understood in a one-sided materialistic sense. And yet he repudiated the idea of giving spiritual existence an economic form as religious socialists in Switzerland such as Ragoz and Jan Mattheu tried to do. Economic and spiritual matters only come into contact by men's experience of meeting together, they are neither similar nor congruent.

It is only superficiality and pseudo-education that links economics to so-called 'outlooks on life' or bloodstreams with science, as the Nazis did.

But if ever a man seriously strove to realise his social and intellectual tendencies in life, that man was our friend, Reichwein. He shaped his own life, the life of his family and as much as possible his environment according to his fundamental beliefs. The form and context of his life became one whole in his hands. The fire of his spirit refined contradictions and dissonances into an harmonious unity."

APPENDIX I.

ADOLF REICHWEIN.

THE CHART OF A LIFETIME.

The Man	German Education	Socio-Political Tensions
1898 Reichwein Born Wandervogel Frontsoldat Werkstudent 1923	Jugendbewegung	Traditional Absolutisms v. Weimar 'Kultur-politik'
1923 Volkshochschullehrer-Geschäftsführer Reisender 1927	Volkshochschule	'Verbreitende' v. 'Gestaltende' Volkshochschule-Pädagogik
1927 Professor 1933	Pädagogische Akademie	Social Particularism v. Educational synthesis
1933 Volksschullehrer 1939	Volkschule	Nazi Authoritarianism v. Creative School Community
1939 Volkskundler und Verschwörer 1944 Reichwein Gerichtet	Volkskunde	Totalitarianism v. Politico-Educational Resistance

APPENDIX 2.

Saturday, October 30th 1954 / No. 253: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.

"Benito Cereno" - A Myth.

A Contrived Dialogue.

There are hints in Ernst Jünger's 'Strahlungen' and in Carl Schmitt's explosive little book of consolation, 'Ex captivitate Salus', which suggest that the hero of what is perhaps Melville's most significant story, 'Benito Cereno', provokes interpretations, which go far beyond mere literary history.

What indeed is the case of this weary captain, whom the American sea-dog, Amasa Delano, encounters one bleak morning on his neglected ship in the lonely bay of Santa Maria on the extreme south coast of Chile? Torn by the conflicting emotions of pity and suspicion he cannot make out whether the strange behaviour of the Spaniard is to be attributed to misfortune or villainy. Is his ship a trap for the unsuspecting Yankee or a wreck which he must succour? Is the superfluity of negroes on board due to a disaster at sea or does it portend a dangerous crew? Nothing is certain - only when Delano has with a shudder left the ghost-ship and Benito Cereno has with a piercing cry of

despair jumped after him into his boat, is the spell broken. Only then does one know that all previous surmises were wrong: under the frightful terror of the mutineers - a load of black slaves, who have managed to gain control of the ship - Don Benito has been compelled to play the role of captain without any longer being captain. What in the half-light of false alternatives had to remain inscrutable now appears as the most meaningful expression of a fatal situation.

How far this situation is not just a literary peculiarity but of the greatest and most general socio-political significance, Nicolaus Sombart tried to show in a talk broadcast one evening on the Hessian radio. The following is an extract from it:-

A. I must admit - there is something in the story. It's all so familiar. There's hardly a sentence that does not point to a deeper and more real meaning behind it.

B. And how would you describe that meaning?

C. Undoubtedly as the sociology of revolution, and social revolution at that. Fundamentally it's the quintessence of European historical significance of the last 150 years, 1793 - 1848 - The Commune - 1917, and finally the uprising of the depressed classes in 1933.

B. Yes, in the sense in which Marx distinguished between political and social revolution - Civil War.

A. Only one keeps on asking oneself how an American could know all that in 1855?

B. I'm afraid we shan't be able to probe that secret this evening, which after all is the secret of all political prophets even though there may well be some clues for such an elucidation. But don't let us forget that chronologically the tale belongs to the period between the Monroe Doctrine declaration and the outbreak of the War of Secession. So it should be regarded as Melville's warning to America just as much as a 'plaidoyer' for Europe. It is not accidental that the action takes place on a Spanish ship. Let's stick to our question - who is Benito Cereno?

A. Well as a matter of fact he is not captain, but neither is he a pirate. What else then?

C. Would you agree with me if I said: Benito Cereno is a symbol of the deep humiliation which an individual or class can suffer - against his own will but as though he had voluntarily become the accomplice of those who would destroy him?

B. That sounds a bit too pathetic and not quite precise enough. Let's recapitulate. We have a revolutionary situation: the uprising of a class against its oppressors, the seizure of power with the Utopian goal of reaching the Promised Land, the Earthly Paradise, the classless society or what you will. Benito Cereno, the representative of the old ruling-class, has nothing more to hope for from the new masters. His liquidation has been settled. And yet he's still left alive - he's even given a privileged position. Why?

A. Because he can do what the others cannot yet do, that is, steer a ship.

B. Quite so - Benito Cereno is a professional - a specialist if you like. That is why - at least for the time being he is spared. But why does he put up with this position? Why does he collaborate with his enemies? Why does he connive at the wretched game which he has been forced to play? Is it because he is unscrupulous ruffian?

A. Because life is dear to him! Surely one can't grudge anyone that? He's really only got a choice between collaboration and death.

B. Oho! I think he ought to have enough courage to choose death. After all there are circumstances in which .....

C. One moment! If I understand correctly, it's not just a matter for Benito Cereno of saving his own skin but the lives of all his fellow-whites in adversity.

B. Just so, Benito Cereno did wrong in order to avoid the worst wrong of all.

C. He must be taken therefore as a symbol of the 'Collaborateur malgré lui'!

B. Yes, if you like. Let's take an historical example - the relationship of the German generals to Hitler. I wonder whether it could be better portrayed than through the relationship between Babo and Benito Cereno?

A. Anyhow, that's how Ernst Jünger, a major on Stülpnagel's staff, would have seen the situation, isn't it?

B. I believe that however much one can indicate an individual fate symbolically, one cannot confine a symbol within the fate of a single individual.

Let's stick to that first sentence of Carl Schmitt. Benito Cereno has been advanced in Germany as symbolic of the predicament of the Intellectuals in a totalitarian system. Let's assume to start with that in formulating it thus, we're not just indulging in cheap apologetics. Let us be sufficiently European to recognise that our historical situation is a revolutionary one, and let us try to understand in the character of Benito Cereno the inevitable tragedy which is the lot of all survivors of an 'ancient régime', whether they are intellectuals, generals or politicians.

A. Inevitable? Surely Benito Cereno jumps into Captain Delano's boat?

B. Just as well to remind us of that fact. But do you really think that one can just jump into a Captain Delano's boat? Isn't it just the very presence of the benevolent but ununderstanding Delano that alone makes Benito Cereno's predicament intolerable?

A. How do you mean?

B. Well, there's the ship - drifting and more or less incapable of protecting itself. There's the terror on the ship: the constant threat of death - the horror among the crew - the unquenchable desire for revenge among the long-oppressed who

are at last seeing daylight. Anxiety, which breeds anxiety. We know all about that, and we must admit that it can be put up with. It isn't pleasant but one knows what one is about and can adjust to it. But then all of a sudden Captain Delano turns up, chubby-faced and philanthropic and utterly without understanding of the situation. With his transatlantic naivete and innocence he's not in the least capable of understanding it, because that sort of thing simply hasn't come his way before. With his dangerous goodwill and sense of moral propriety only two alternatives occur to him: either Benito Cereno is the proper captain of the ship, in which case the vessel is a pigsty and the captain a 'flop' or Benito Cereno is a pirate threatening his life, in which case together with his whole band of blacks he's fit only for the gallows. As with all humanitarians, what is different from themselves must of necessity be sub-human or non-human. I reckon that it is only with the confrontation of Delano that the specifically European in the Benito Cereno situation becomes apparent. Let's define it: what chiefly torments Don Benito is surely the fact that he is incapable of making his benefactor realise what his own position actually is.

Why then does Carl Schmitt talk about 'the position of the intellectuals'? Let's say ad hoc what the function of intellectuals is: it is surely to bring the relevant historical situation into consciousness ..... to express it ..... Where

in Europe - not only in Germany - can this be successfully achieved, so as to convince our American friends and helpers. We're always either pirates, wanting to defend themselves or by all means to deceive, or the incompetent dummy-captains who are not capable of controlling their own ship.

C. Surely we don't want to give utterance here to any kind of sinister anti-American talk?

B. Good Lord, no! We only want to find out what the bearing of the Benito Cereno story is.

A. I'd like to know how Benito Cereno ended. Does Melville say? We heard that in the end he did jump into Delano's boat. Was that the end of his difficulties?

C. A very proper question. B. struck me as not awfully convinced that as a European one could escape from one's predicament simply by emigrating!

B. You spotted that all right, my dear fellow, but I needn't let you twist my words. That word 'emigrate' was your own production. But listen to the end:-

"Though midway on the passage, the ill-fated Spaniard relaxed from constraint, showed some signs of regaining health with free-will; yet, agreeably to his own foreboding, shortly before arriving at Lima, he relapsed, finally becoming so reduced as to be carried ashore in arms. Hearing of his story and plight, one of the many religious institutions of the City of Kings opened an hospitable refuge to him, where both

physician and priest were his nurses, and a member of the order volunteered to be his own special guardian and consoler by night and day."

Cereno on a stretcher attends the hearing of the case, from the record of which extracts are quoted; he refuses categorically to see the negro Babo, and note carefully each of his answers. Delano wants to console him, now that everything appears to be over and cleared up:-

"You generalize, Don Benito; and mournfully enough. But the past is passed; why moralize upon it? Forget it. See yon bright sun has forgotten it all, and the blue sea, and the blue sky; these have turned over new leaves."

"Because they have no memory," he dejectedly replied, "because they are not human!"

"But these mild trades that now fan your deck, Don Benito, do they not come with a human-like healing to you? Warm friends, steadfast friends are the trades."

"With their steadfastness they but waft me to my tomb, Senor," was the foreboding response.

"You are saved, Don Benito," cried Captain Delano, more and more astonished and pained; "You are saved; what has cast such a shadow upon you?"

"The negro".

There was silence while the moody man sat, slowly and unconsciously gathering his mantle about him. There was no more conversation that day."

A. Because they have no memory, they are able to forget. Surely that's a crazy notion. What burdens us poor Europeans more than our memories. History is memory - who said that?

C. And the shadow, the negro? Not only are we unable to forget, but our future too is prejudiced .....

B. No matter - we can't exhaust the possibilities of this strange story. One can read it a hundred times, so it seems to me; once one has the key new doors are continually opening. Whatever Ernst Jünger and Carl Schmitt mean when they speak about Benito Cereno, they have made a splendid discovery: this tale contains greater insight into our historical circumstances than all the sociology of culture and philosophy of history, which have so far come to my notice.

Clearly there are situations, which can be better understood by means of images than by concepts. We were trying to elucidate a mystery and have discovered a true-myth.

Just listen to the end of the story - the rest is silence:-

"Some months after, dragged to the gibbet at the tail of a mule, the black met his voiceless end. The body was burned to ashes; but, for many days, the head, that hive of subtlety, fixed on a pole in the Plaza met, unabashed, the gaze of the whites; and across the Plaza looked toward St. Bartholomew's Church, in whose vaults slept then, as now, the recovered bones of Aranda, and across the Romac bridge looked

toward the monastery, on Mount Agonia without; where, three months after being dismissed by the court, Benito Cereno, borne on the bier, did, indeed, follow his leader."

Nicolaus Sombart.

APPENDIX 3.

A COMMENTARY ON THE GERMAN YOUTH MOVEMENT by Rolf Gardiner. (Submitted to the author 1955)

The movement of German youth at the turn of the century was a protest of the soul against the meretricious and artificial values of the late nineteenth century, against the hypocrisies and shams of Wilhelminian bourgeois society, and against the spiritual emptiness of the new Reich. It was a romantic rebellion of youth in search of genuine values and fundamental truths. But at its core this movement was restorative and soundly reconstructive; it was a journey not so much of exploration and emigration, as of rediscovery and homing, of a return to the roots of culture and faith from which modern civilisation seemed to be in apostasy.

The frenzy of this movement has often been overstated. Its chief forms of expression, the group-expedition and corporate music, were essentially traditional. The discovery of the Heimat, the nearer and wider homeland, by tours on foot across the countryside was in the tradition of the wandering scholars, poets and minstrels, of the mediaeval pilgrims, and of the apprentices and journeymen whose Wanderjahre took them, kit on their shoulders, to all parts of Europe. It was resuscitation of a habit that had never completely died out but had been lost to middle class youth. The realisation of the countryside and historical towns of the wideflung German realm was to these Wandervögel an elemental experience of infinite inspirational value. The life of the small

exploring and camping band was an experience of comradeship and discipline under conditions of hardihood and self-reliance. This group-life was a training in elementary political citizenship, as its music-making and adoption of folksong was an elementary training in the arts. In both activities the Wandervogel were going back to sources of things, to the elemental springs of European culture. It was an instinctive and sound passion for the primitive foundations of society in a time which had become pompously superficial or ornately pedantic. It was religious in defiance of catechismal doctrines and hackneyed piety.

Such a movement was bound to have its wilder and excessive enthusiasms. But the core was sound. Not for nothing was the Wandervogel, as the movement mythically called itself ('youth movement' was an abstraction of the sociologists), a child of Mark Brandenburg, of colonial Prussia. Karl Fischer who founded the Wandervogel in the Berlin suburb of Steglitz, and the other early leaders of the movement, Frank Fischer, Hans Breuer and Siegfried Copalle, were young men of passionate enthusiasm but manly good sense; they deprecated woolly thought and utopist fads. They had far-flung ideals of national regeneration in their hearts. Their ethic of comradeship was the Christian soldier's, their ideal of leadership that of example ('Leutnantdienst heisst seinen Leuten vorleben: a lieutenant's duty is to live before his men'). From early on they had to contend with cranks and reformers who wished to

sacrifice their zeal for sound-centred wholeness to eccentric fashions and unconventional extremes. Such people battened on the natural enthusiasm of youth and led it astray into sectarian by-paths. It was these, of course, that caught the attention of the derisory critics.

The Wandervogel was an organic movement, not an organisation. As such it differed from the youth organisations sponsored by tutelar bodies. Its structure was the local group or kinship, federated in a territorial Bund under chosen leaders. As genuineness and fundamental taste were the touchstones of the movement, it never aimed at a unified and uniform organisation. Its fissiparous character was animated by common currents of feeling and outlook. The quest of valid truth and taste prohibited easy amalgamations. The union of Free German Youth which met on the Hohen Meissner in 1913 was only a section of a movement which numbered perhaps fifty thousand. Many of the more traditionally-feeling Buende kept away, distrusting some of the theorists such as Gustav Wyneken the school-reformer, and the participation of girls in what they felt should be a spartan masculine movement.

The opening of the 1914 war with its call for service and sacrifice made a tremendous appeal to the members of the youth movement. Here was a cause to which the individual could give his whole ardour in the spirit of comradeship and true patriotism to which the movement had aspired. Its members

flocked to the colours, and with their experience of fending for themselves in the open-air, their eye for country, their knowledge of campcraft, and skill in organizing the wants and ways of an expeditionary detachment, provided the natural N.C.O's and Scouts of the German field army. These fine young men fell in their thousands, and those who survived returned bewildered and disillusioned with war to realize that their adversaries were not the political opponents of the nation but the demons of a mechanised world that had lost its soul and the purpose of life on the earth.

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SOURCE A.

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