

*Lieder, totalitarianism, and the Bund deutscher Mädel:  
girls' political coercion through song.*

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## ***Lieder*, totalitarianism, and the *Bund deutscher Mädel*: girls' political coercion through song**

The *Bund deutscher Mädel* (*BdM*), a Nazi youth organization for girls, was sponsored, organized, and promoted by Adolf Hitler's National Socialist Party. The *BdM* instilled values and beliefs of National Socialism in German girls, and encouraged attitudes and behavior in them that harmonized with Party views on womanhood. Political indoctrination for girls often came through music -- especially song. Musical repertoire of the *BdM* strongly interconnects with the organization's development, internal structure and political philosophies.

My thesis analyses the relations between music, the *BdM*, National Socialism, and gender. Historical perspectives are documented to clarify the function and intention of the *BdM*, including its politics and philosophy, its activities designed to foster 'natural' gender roles, and its emerging supremacy over other right-wing youth movements in Nazi Germany. My thesis then examines conceptions of 'natural' gender roles for girls and women in Nazi society and how these role expectations are covertly and overtly embedded in the official music book of the *BdM*, entitled *Wir Mädel singen!* To illustrate this relationship between music, politics, and gender expectations, ten songs from *Wir Mädel singen!* are analyzed in detail.

## ***Lieder*, totalitarianisme et le *Bund deutscher Mädel*: la contrainte politique de filles par le chant**

Le *Bund deutscher Mädel*, une organisation de jeunes filles nazis, a été parrainée, organisée et promue par le parti national-socialiste d'Adolf Hitler. Le BdM inculquait les valeurs et les croyances du national-socialisme aux jeunes Allemandes et encourageait chez elles des attitudes et les comportements qui concordaient avec les perspectives du parti sur la femme. L'endoctrinement politique des filles passait souvent par la musique, et surtout le chant. Le repertoire musical du BdM était étroitement lié à l'évolution, à la structure interne et à la philosophie politique de l'organisation.

Ma thèse porte sur les rapports entre la musique, le BdM, le national-socialisme et les rôles des sexes. Des perspectives historiques sont présentées afin de cerner les fonctions et les objectifs du BdM, y compris ses caractéristiques politiques et philosophiques, ses activités visant à renforcer les rôles naturels des hommes et des femmes, et sa suprématie par rapport aux autres mouvements de droite qui s'adressaient aux jeunes de l'Allemagne nazi. Ma thèse traite ensuite du rapport entre la conception nazie des rôles naturels des filles et des femmes dans la société et la façon dont cette conception était ancrée, ouvertement ou non, dans *Wir Mädel singen!*, livre de musique officiel du BdM. Afin d'illustrer ces rapports entre la musique, la politique et la conception des rôles masculins et féminins, la thèse présente une analyse détaillée de dix chansons extraites de *Wir Mädel singen!*.

## Acknowledgments

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## Introduction:

Between 1933 and 1945, Adolf Hitler's National Socialist Party sponsored, organized, and promoted the *Bund deutscher Mädel*, a Nazi youth organization for girls. During this time, the *Bund deutscher Mädel* sought to instill the values and beliefs of National Socialism in them, including strict instruction about the "essence" of femininity as being separate from masculinity. This dualist perspective became impressed upon girls in the *Bund deutscher Mädel* through gendered education and work. In both subtle and obvious ways, these guided experiences perpetuated attitudes and behavior in young German girls that harmonized with Party views on womanhood. A common path to political indoctrination for and about girls came through music -- in particular, through the medium of song.

Musical repertoire of the *Bund deutscher Mädel* strongly interconnects with the organization's development, internal structure and political philosophies. My thesis will begin with a sketch of changing politics and society in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century that gave rise to the *Wandervogel* movement. This early youth movement merits discussion for two reasons: their community values paralleled the *Bund deutscher Mädel* in significant ways, and its folk music repertoire survived the movement itself to both influence and become a part of the organizational identity of the *Bund deutscher Mädel*. I will also enumerate the 1920s predecessors of the *Bund deutscher Mädel* that embraced the political right in the aftermath of the Versailles Treaty.

The second part of my thesis will examine the emerging supremacy of the *Bund deutscher Mädel* over other right-wing youth movements. Its development, consolidation, and organization will be detailed. Proclamations by Nazi leaders regarding gendered

notions of work, recreation, and education will frequently buttress my analysis of the *Bund deutscher Mädel*, and later prove to be indispensable in understanding the group's choice of musical inventory.

Last, but not least, the final sections of my thesis will present assertions by various Nazi music leaders about the values and importance of music for indoctrinating girls in the *Bund deutscher Mädel*. Their statements about music provide a pivotal link between generalized Party proclamations about girls' roles in National Socialism, and *Bund deutscher Mädel* song selections. Using the official *Bund deutscher Mädel* songbook entitled *Wir Mädel singen!*, I will select ten examples to detail relations between text and music, taking into account analyses of keys, meters, melodic ranges, tempi and text settings. Close examination of these songs will demonstrate conceptual intersections between physical tasks, traditional values, Nazi politics, and gender roles.

## Chapter One

### Background:

The basis for understanding the community and cultural significance of the *Bund deutscher Mädel* lies in its earliest twentieth century predecessor, the *Wandervogel* movement. This youth movement arose in rebellious response to economic, political, and social change in Germany, manifesting as a return to nature and a community consisting solely of youth. The initial rebellious nature of the *Wandervogel* movement dissipated as changing conditions of Germany shifted politics to the right. However, the idea of equal comradeship and value on folk culture survived well into the National Socialist era.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Germany was ruled by Kaiser Wilhelm II, yet the country, as well as many others in Europe and North America, also gained rapid industrialization brought on by technological advances during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The rise of industry in Germany changed the demographics of its society significantly: it created large urban centers, but its rapid growth meant that housing for its newest members was often inadequate. In addition, the move to urban centers from country dwellings facilitated a breakdown of long-established rural life. Not only did the new capitalist enterprise set up demographic dislocation, but workers became oriented toward the idea of democratic social status. This idea clashed with the traditional, hierarchical class structures of imperialist rule. As a consequence, the various societal changes in Germany bred dissatisfaction among young, urban, middle-class Germans.<sup>1</sup> Some of these German citizens, opposed to both imperialist rule and industrial urban enterprise, decided to form a youth movement that looked for “a regeneration of

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<sup>1</sup> Howard Becker, *German Youth – Bond or Free?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 97-8.

Germany”<sup>2</sup> by finding “[their] essential selves through the hardships of living on the land.”<sup>3</sup> This youth organization was called the *Wandervogel* movement.

The *Wandervogel* movement, beginning about 1902, was at its inception solely for men and boys.<sup>4</sup> This exclusivity was not unusual, for it mirrored the division of men and women in German society that was lifted only for formal social occasions. In 1911, female members were finally accepted into the movement.<sup>5</sup> Female *Wandervögel* in 1911 made up approximately one quarter of *Wandervogel* members, and total membership of all *Wandervogel* members fell between “...fifty or sixty thousand, at the lowest estimate, shortly before World War I.”<sup>6</sup>

*Wandervögel* conceptualized an idealized, medieval Germany whose members revered nature.<sup>7</sup> They habitually made hiking trips, slept outside, and ate frugally.<sup>8</sup> The *Wandervogel* value of personal freedom manifested itself in living day to day. A minority report of the *Wandervogel* 1913 Hohe Meissner conference stated: “Our strength is precisely our lack of programme...”<sup>9</sup> However, conformity showed in the group loyalty between like-minded members:

Where lively people are together no one needs a programme. Our happiest hours were those in which there was nothing planned beforehand, argued out, and finally fixed. Instead, words and songs quelled out of the living present and out of the deep bonds which wove every participant into an internalized unity...”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Becker, 198.

<sup>3</sup> Becker, 197.

<sup>4</sup> Becker, 199.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Stachura, *The German Youth Movement 1900-1945: An Interpretive and Documentary History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 27.

<sup>6</sup> Becker, 94.

<sup>7</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 19.

<sup>9</sup> Becker, 97; cited from Robert C. Schmid, “German Youth Movements: A Typological Study,” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1941, 103. Original source cannot be found.

<sup>10</sup> Becker, 97; cited from Wilhelm Stählin, *Fieber und Heil in der Jugendbewegung* (Hamburg, n.p., 1924), 59-60. No German translation.

This quotation speaks not only of the spontaneity of daily life, but also other important features of *Wandervogel* society. Close comradeship was important, and members often used a ‘Heil’ greeting.<sup>11</sup> Through their hikes in the countrysides of Germany, *Wandervogel* also learned different German dialects from encounters with rural people.

Not only were German dialects culturally valued by *Wandervogel* youth, but *Wandervogel* also collected rural instrumental and vocal music from their travels.<sup>12</sup> A dormant folk tradition was discovered in songs, poetry, and dances; old instruments, like lute and guitar, came out of obscurity. Collected songs consisted of parting songs, love songs, work ballads, seasonal songs, ceremonial songs, martial tunes, countrydances, and doggerel verses.<sup>13</sup> The *Wandervogel* youth thus started a musical tradition based on *völkisch*<sup>14</sup> orientation, having the qualities of nostalgic traditionalism and emotional fusion.<sup>15</sup>

The music of the *Wandervögel* was collected in a songbook entitled *Der Zupfgeigenhansl* [The Pluck-Fiddle Jack], published in 1909 by Hans Breuer, one of the first founding members of the *Wandervogel* movement.<sup>16</sup> In its introduction, Breuer wrote: “the folk-song is a poetic expression of *Wandervogel* ideals, a mirror of the

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<sup>11</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 19.

<sup>12</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 23-4.

<sup>13</sup> Becker, 87-8.

<sup>14</sup> Before National Socialism, the word *völkisch* meant “of the people” and “national”, yet with folksy, naïve, and rural connotations. The word grew an extra dimension during the Third Reich, when it acquired the connotations “Aryan” and “racial”.

<sup>15</sup> Becker, 97-98. During my April 12, 2002 interview with former BdM member and *Jungmädelsgruppenführerin* Mrs. Schleiermacher, she stated that the *Wandervogel* repertoire was “very Romantic” and proceeded to recite the third verse of a well known *Wandervogel* song entitled “Die blaue Blume”. It goes: Es blühet im Walde tief drinnen die blaue Blume fein,/die Blume zu gewinnen, ziehn wir in die Welt hinein./Es rauschen die Bäume, es murmelt der Fluss,/Und wer die blaue Blume will,/Der muss ein Wandervogel sein. (The fine blue flower blooms deep in the woods/ to win the flower, we go out into the world/ The trees rustle, the river murmurs/ And whoever wants the blue flower/ He must be a *Wandervogel*.) I shall discuss *Wandervogel* music in more detail when I discuss an example of *Wandervogel* music that survived in *Bund deutscher Mädel* repertoire later in my thesis.

<sup>16</sup> Becker, 87.

German essence...a valid expression of *Wandervogel*'s yearning for Nature and pure humanity."<sup>17</sup>

After the First World War, the *Wandervogel* movement dwindled.<sup>18</sup> The loss of the war, coupled with the economic and social ramifications of the Versailles Treaty, turned the tide against *Wandervogel* pacifism. Instead, a shift to the far political right continued throughout the 1920s, yet the *Wandervogel* influence upon reclaiming folk traditions survived. Folksongs and dances were maintained and developed in the 1920s through such individuals as Fritz Jöde and Walter Hensel<sup>19</sup>, who founded and developed the Finkensteiner Singing Movement in 1924.<sup>20</sup> Silesia and Frankfurt also had similar movements based upon the influence of the *Wandervogel*.<sup>21</sup>

In 1920, Adolf Hitler founded the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*,<sup>22</sup> (NSDAP) whose first aim was to fight the conditions of the Versailles Treaty. At its inception, women were barred from Party membership because they were seen by party members to be fit only as mothers and housewives.<sup>23</sup> In March of 1922, the first *Jugendbund der NSDAP* (Youth League of the NSDAP) was formed in Munich

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<sup>17</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 23. No German translation.

<sup>18</sup> The *Wandervogel* movement continued to exist throughout WWI for male members who were too young for conscription, as well as the fewer female members. *Wandervögel* did not advocate military action (Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 29.) Because of the movement's pacifist stance, to be called a *Wandervogel* during the National Socialist era was a dangerous epithet. Mrs. Schleiermacher, former BdM leader, encountered social difficulties with her BdM peers prior to her leadership status. Some of them accused her of being a "*Wandervogel* type", although she never belonged to the movement. When asked what that meant, she explained "Too Romantic. Too mellow. Not fighting enough." (Interview with Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002.)

<sup>19</sup> Both individuals became important in the Third Reich.

<sup>20</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 58; originally cited in Karl Vötterle, "Fünfzig Jahre Finkenstein," JADJB VII (1975): 105.

<sup>21</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 58; Helmut Neumann, "Vom Grenzscheulheim Boberhaus der Schlesischen Jungmannschaft," JADJB IX (1975) 253-5.

<sup>22</sup> Birgit Jürgens, *Zur Geschichte des BdM (Bund deutscher Mädel) von 1923 bis 1939* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 19; originally in Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler: Eine Biographie* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1973), 181, 183.

<sup>23</sup> Jürgens, 19; cited from Georg Franz-Willing, *Die Hitlerbewegung*, (Hamburg: R. v. Decker, 1962), 80.

by Gustav Adolf Lenk in accordance with Hitler's wish, to include both boys and girls.<sup>24</sup>

The girl's section of the *Jugendbund* was established in 1923. Gustav Adolf Lenk proclaimed that girls were to be good housewives and mothers, to maintain morals, and to shun Jews.<sup>25</sup> However, the girls division of the *Jugendbund der NSDAP* was short lived, due to the outlawing of the NSDAP after the Munich *Putsch* on November 9, 1923.<sup>26</sup>

In 1924, the *Hitler-Jugend* founded a new wing of its organization called the *Grossdeutsche Jugendbewegung* (Greater German Youth Movement).<sup>27</sup> Led by Kurt Gruber in Plauen and Vogtland, the group included both boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 19 with "pure German blood".<sup>28</sup> Two years later, the *Hitler-Jugend* for male youth was formally established,<sup>29</sup> yet Nazi girls were not formally organized in the NSDAP until 1928-9<sup>30</sup>; they operated under the name *Schwesternschaften* (Sister Communities).<sup>31</sup> The first Reich leader of the *Schwesternschaften* was Martha Assmann, chosen by Kurt Gruber.<sup>32</sup> In 1931, her successor became Anna-Maria Hanne.<sup>33</sup> Girls' memberships in the *Schwesternschaften* were very low; at its founding in 1928, only 67 girls belonged. This number of girls' memberships grew to 1711 by 1931.<sup>34</sup>

The year 1929 marked the first time that guidelines about the activities regarding the *Schwesternschaft* were formalized. Vague in description, they stated that the

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<sup>24</sup> Jürgens, 20; Gabriele Kinz, *Der Bund deutscher Mädel: Ein Beitrag über die ausserschulische Mädchenerziehung im Nationalsozialismus* 2., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), 11.

<sup>25</sup> Jürgens, 21; Kinz, 10; cited from the *Völkischer Beobachter*, 5 May 1923, 5.

<sup>26</sup> Jürgens, 21.

<sup>27</sup> Kinz, 11.

<sup>28</sup> Jürgens, 22-3.

<sup>29</sup> Trude Bürkner, *Der Bund deutscher Mädel in der Hitler-Jugend* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1937), 7.

<sup>30</sup> Howard W. Koch, *The Hitler Youth: Origins and Development 1922-45* (New York: Dorset Press, 1975), 69; Bürkner, 7.

<sup>31</sup> Jürgens, 22-3.

<sup>32</sup> Jürgens, 24; Kinz, 12-3.

<sup>33</sup> Jürgens, 27.

<sup>34</sup> Kinz, 12; cited from Mercedes Hilgenfeldt, "So wurden wir," in *Das deutsche Mädel* (November 1936): 5.

*Schwesternschaften* were to oversee the work of its local chapters, and that practical work was not to be much different than housework except for the sewing of party uniforms.<sup>35</sup>

Like the other far right youth groups, the *Schwesternschaften* were anti-Semitic, ultra-nationalist, and advocated traditional roles for girls and women. In 1930, a cultural admonition of the *Schwesternschaften* read: “Germans fight against Jewification in art! It concerns your own self!” and “Nigger music and other Jewish racket” should not be listened to, but “good German *Hausmusik*”.<sup>36</sup> As well, girls were already being trained to hike, sing, learn about the “homeland”, and become physically strong.<sup>37</sup> These cultural and physical conditionings also became apparent in the *Bund deutscher Mädel* between 1933 and 1945. In fact, the same year that these proclamations were written, the *Schwesternschaften* were formally absorbed into the *Bund deutscher Mädel*.<sup>38</sup>

Apart from the *Schwesternschaften der HJ*, other splinter right wing youth groups existed in the 1920s. In 1925, Gustav Adolf Lenk and former *Freikorps* leader Gerhard Rossbach established the *Völkischer Mädchenbund* in Plauen.<sup>39</sup> This group had subsumed another Catholic group called the *Königin-Louise-Bund*. Another, called the *Nationalsozialistische Frauenarbeitsgemeinschaft*, was even more extreme in its emphasis on tradition, calling for girls to sew the clothes of SA members, to learn the art of housework, and to prepare for the role of motherhood.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Kinz, 13; cited from Mercedes Hilgenfeldt, “So wurden wir,” in *Das deutsche Mädel* (November 1936): 5.

<sup>36</sup> Jürgens, 25; cited from *Sturmjugend*, April 1930. “*Deutsche kämpft gegen die Verjudung in der Kunst! Es geht um Euer eigenes Ich!*”, “*Negermusik und anderes jüdisches Getöse*” and “*gut deutsche Hausmusik*”. Translation my own.

<sup>37</sup> Jürgens, 25.

<sup>38</sup> Jürgens, 26; cited from *Völkischer Beobachter*, 3 July 1930.

<sup>39</sup> Kinz, 14; originally in Hannsjoachim Koch, *Geschichte der HJ* (Percha, n.p., 1979), 123; Koch, *The Hitler Youth*, 79.

<sup>40</sup> Jürgens, 36-7.



Yet more right wing youth groups of the 1920s were the *Nationalsozialische Schulerinnenbund* (NSSi) and the *Deutscher Mädelring* (DMR). The former group went further than other women's organizations to indoctrinate girls because it focused on formal teaching. For example, evening school taught German history, literature, the "racial question", and the struggle against Marxism; girls were taught the importance of volunteer work duties, the physical pursuits of dancing, hiking, and sports, as well as the practical work of sewing and other household tasks.<sup>41</sup> The group *Deutscher Mädelring* was established in Munich, 1924. It focused on the *Führerprinzip* [the leadership principle], the "Racial Question" and *Volksgemeinschaft* [national community].

A larger group was the *Deutsche Frauenorden* (DFO) led by Elsbeth Zander that, in spite of its title, included girls.<sup>42</sup> The division included the aforementioned girls' first youth *NSDAP Jugendbewegung* that dissolved after the Munich *Putsch*. Its main centers were in Mecklenburg, Berlin, and East Prussia.<sup>43</sup> A split from the DFO resulted in the first forerunner of the *Bund deutscher Mädel* in 1925; it joined with the NSDAP boys group on the first *Parteitag* of 1926. Consequently, the complete group called themselves "Hitler-Jugend, Bund deutscher Arbeiterjugend".<sup>44</sup>

The DFO included as its main goals to keep girls' German blood pure, and to show girls as upstanding German women and mothers. Culturally speaking, the DFO admonished girls to:

Cultivate the German ways of being through German literature and art. Strengthen love of the homeland through hiking and lectures. — Introduce oneself to social duties: nursing, infant care, care of the poor, youth care, household tasks of

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<sup>41</sup> Jürgens, 39.

<sup>42</sup> Kinz, 14

<sup>43</sup> Jürgens, 22.

<sup>44</sup> Jürgens, 22; Kinz 11; cited from Günther Kaufmann, *Das kommende Deutschland* (Berlin, n.p., 1940), 14, 16-7.

women with consideration of the rules of health (lodging, clothing and sewing), battle against unGerman essence in literature, theatre and movies, dance and fashion, music.<sup>45</sup>

By July of 1931, the National Socialist party had enough power to bring all youth group under its jurisdiction. The decision, made by Hitler, was carried out by the head of National Socialist youth (*Reichsjugendführer*) named Baldur von Schirach. As a result, the *NS-Frauenschaft* overtook the DFO; the following year, girls in the *Frauenschaft* were subsumed under the formal name of the girls group called *BdM in der Hitler-Jugend*. Notably, the name of the group indicated that the group was not self-sufficient.

In the autumn of 1931, BdM members were divided according to their ages. Girls between the ages of 15 and 18 belonged to the BdM proper; younger girls between the ages of 10 and 14 were considered to be a part of the BdM, but their division was called *Jungmädels*.<sup>46</sup> The new leader of all of BdM girls<sup>47</sup> became Elisabeth Greiff-Walden.<sup>48</sup> Under her leadership, National Socialist indoctrinal emphasis depended on the age group of the BdM. For the *Jungmädels*, “the political and *weltanschaulische* schooling stay[ed] in the background, and a greater value [was] laid upon cultural upbringing.”<sup>49</sup> BdM girls had more practical work to learn as well as more overt political and ideological training. On behalf of all girls, however, the BdM issued this proclamation in 1932:

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<sup>45</sup> Kinz, 15; Paul Meier-Benneckenstein, ed., “Die Frau im Dritten Reich,” in *Das Dritte Reich in Aufbau*, vol. 2, *Der Organisatorische Aufbau* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1939), 368. Original German reads: Pflege deutscher Art durch deutsche Literatur und Kunst. Festigung der Liebe zur Heimat durch Wanderung und Vorträge. – Einführung in die sozialen Aufgaben: Krankenpflege, Säuglingspflege, Armenpflege, Jugendpflege, Einführung in die hauswirtschaftlichen Aufgaben der Frau unter Berücksichtigung der Gesundheitlehre (Wohnung, Kleidung, Nahrung), Bekämpfung undeutschen Wesens in Literatur, Theater und Kino, Tanz und Mode, Musik.”

<sup>46</sup> Bürkner, 12. Boys in the Hitler Jugend had parallel age divisions. The older boys were belonged to the *Hitler-Jugend*; the younger boys belonged to the *Jungvolk*.

<sup>47</sup> Kinz, 16. The following year, von Schirach decreed that girls to the age of 21 should be under BdM and not the *Frauenschaft*, yet this was not law until 1941.

<sup>48</sup> Jürgens, 30; cited from the *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1 June 1932.

<sup>49</sup> Kinz, 18. originally in the *Richtlinien des BdM*, 26.

The League of German Girls in the National Socialist youth movement is neither a community club nor a coffee circle, but it is a fighting, working, long-term community. We are all undyingly bound by the *Weltanschauung* and struggle of Adolf Hitler's national socialist movement!<sup>50</sup>

The development of the BdM thus had roots in the *Wandervogel* movement, a rebellious youth response to Germany's industrialization at the turn of the twentieth century. The initial free spirited nature of the *Wandervogel* group, loosely based upon community sharing and appreciation for the German homeland, soon gave way to the BdM – a movement that espoused *Wandervogel* values and musical culture in a growing membership of right wing political conformity.

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<sup>50</sup> Jürgens, 31. Original German: "Der Bund deutscher Mädel in der nationalsozialistischen Jugendbewegung ist kein Verein und kein Kaffeekränzchen, sondern es ist eine Kampf-, Arbeits- und Lebensgemeinschaft...Uns alle verbindet unlöslich Weltanschauung und Kampf der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung Adolf Hitlers!"

## Chapter Two

*National Socialism creates a national community (Volksgemeinschaft) that begins with the child and ends with the old man. No one can silence this powerful symphony of German life.*<sup>51</sup>

### BdM organization:

National Socialism was a movement primarily for and about men in German society. However, youth alliance groups were prevailingly middle-class, and many middle-class girls and women quickly became members.<sup>52</sup> In spite of their enthusiasm, women's membership and contributions to the movement were often not acknowledged or valued by Nazi men during the early years of National Socialism. Female membership in the National Socialist party was very small. In 1921 it was merely 10 percent, yet it fell to 5 percent in 1929. A lack of female membership records indicated Hitler's insistence on "absolute exclusion of women from any responsibility in his government."<sup>53</sup>

Author Claudia Koonz explains that Nazi men inadvertently gave women a unique opportunity to participate in the party because they cared so little about the women in their ranks. Therefore, "men allowed women considerable freedom to interpret Hitler's ideas, recruit followers, write their own rules, and raise funds."<sup>54</sup> Before 1933, Nazi women provided men with a homey domestic atmosphere; they kept folk traditions alive, gave charity to poor Nazi families, cared for SA men, sewed brown shirts, and

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<sup>51</sup> Spoken by Hitler during a speech in Potsdam, 1932. Quoted in von Schirach, *Die Hitler Jugend: Idee und Gestalt* (Berlin: Verlag und Vertriebs-Gesellschaft, 1934), 185. "Der Nationalsozialismus gestaltet eine Volksgemeinschaft, die vom Kind an beginnt und beim Greise endet. Niemand kann diese gewaltige Symphonie des deutschen Lebens zum Schweigen bringen."

<sup>52</sup> Becker, 153.

<sup>53</sup> Donald D. Wall, *Nazi Germany and World War II* (Minneapolis; New York: West Publishing Company, 2001), 40. Originally in Claudia Koonz, "The Fascist Solution to the Woman Question in Italy and Germany, in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, " eds. Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 514.

<sup>54</sup> Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: Jonathan Cape, 1987), 256-7.

prepared food for rallies. Thus, “Women’s participation created a gloss of idealism.”<sup>55</sup>

The preservation and continuation of this rested with BdM girls – the women, wives, and mothers to be.

When the BdM was given formal sanction as the only recognized youth group for girls, its membership grew tremendously. The greatest number of memberships existed in Sachsen, Munich, Westphalia, and Berlin.<sup>56</sup> At the Reich youth rally in Potsdam in October 1932, 15 000 girls were present out of an attendance of roughly 70 000 people.<sup>57</sup> In January 1933, when the Nazis came to power, “there were well over 3000 girls [formally registered] under the flag of National socialism.”<sup>58</sup> Later that same year, girls accounted for 25 percent of *Hitler-Jugend* membership. By 1936, 60 percent of all German girls between the ages of 10 and 18 belonged to girls’ State Youth.<sup>59</sup>

The organization of the *Bund deutscher Mädel*, like all National Socialist youth groups, had a highly regimented and hierarchical internal structure. Fritz Brennecke, author of the *Nazi Primer*, provided this general outline:

The Hitler Youth is organized along the lines of the party and the army; a hierarchy of units starting with groups of 15 comrades at the bottom and extending upward through troops, comitata, sub-districts, chief districts, regions, chief regions, to the Reich unit itself.<sup>60</sup>

BdM Reichsreferentin [Reich reporter] Trude Bürkner detailed the organization of the BdM and *Jungmädel* in her book called *Der Bund deutscher Mädel in der Hitler Jugend*. Providing a chart, she enumerated groups of girls as large as 3000 to as few as

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<sup>55</sup> Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 257; cf. Wall, 48.

<sup>56</sup> Bürkner, 8.

<sup>57</sup> Koch, *The Hitler Youth*, 80.

<sup>58</sup> Bürkner, 8.

<sup>59</sup> Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*, trans. Stuart McKinnon Evans (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 244.

<sup>60</sup> Fritz Brennecke, *The Nazi Primer: Official Handbook for Schooling the Hitler Youth*, trans. Harwood L. Childs (New York: Harper & Bros., 1938), xix.

15, all of whom “play a part in the real life of the Party.”<sup>61</sup> Bürkner gave several examples: ten girls formed a *Mädelschaft*; four of these formed a *Schar* [company]; four companies formed a *Gruppe* [group]; and four groups formed a *Ring* [ring] consisting of approximately 600 girls.<sup>62</sup>

All activities and public services of BdM members were overseen and coordinated by various offices laid out by the *Reichsjugendführer*. Offices were established for physical exercise, health, ideology, propaganda, travel, culture, and broadcasting.<sup>63</sup> They existed to instruct girls about National Socialism, and to encourage girls to pass on their learning to their future families: “The task of schooling in world outlook is simple: the molding of German girls as bearers of the National Socialist point of view.”<sup>64</sup>

### Leadership:

The strict organization of the BdM required careful choice of local and regional leadership. Deciding upon effective role models for youngsters, *Reichsjugendführer* Baldur von Schirach proclaimed “Youth shall be led by youth!”<sup>65</sup> Youthful leadership soon became apparent:

The regional leaders, responsible for from one to two hundred thousand youngsters, are usually not less than twenty-one but rarely more than thirty years of age, while the battalion leaders range from twenty to twenty-five. The leader of a platoon of eighty to one hundred and fifty boys will usually be a little under

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<sup>61</sup> Bürkner, 11.

<sup>62</sup> Bürkner, 12, 21. *Reichsjugendführer* Baldur von Schirach also wrote and contributed to several books about Nazi youth. His book *Die Hitler Jugend: Idee und Gestalt* includes many graphs and charts demonstrating strength in numbers of the whole *Hitler-Jugend*: the partitioning of youth movements before and after the Nazi takeover in 1933, a graph showing the dramatic rise in boys’ and girls’ membership in the *Hitler-Jugend*, and one chart showing the percentage of BdM and *Jungmädel* participation in sports. In addition to these, von Schirach had included masses of detailed, folding charts that show every division and location of all contemporary *Hitler-Jugend*, *Jungvolk*, BdM, and *Jungmädel* groups. Although the visual representations are striking, they are noticeably lacking in specific numbers and comparative analyses.

<sup>63</sup> Bürkner, 10.

<sup>64</sup> Von Schirach, quoted in Bürkner, 7. German original unavailable.

<sup>65</sup> Kinz, 15. (“Jugend muss von Jugend geführt werden.”) Schirach stated this in 1932.

twenty, while the squad leaders in charge of about a dozen lads are most frequently in the vicinity of sixteen or seventeen.”<sup>66</sup>

Enthusiastic undertaking of this dictum became clear in 1938, when youth applications for leadership maximized beyond the required 1000 annual positions throughout the Reich.<sup>67</sup>

Girls who wished or were chosen to become leaders in their regional districts were required to attend a series of courses. All leaders of the *Hitler-Jugend* and the BdM trained for their positions either over weekends, or over 3-week sessions.<sup>68</sup>

For girls, the training stressed German history, the race idea and German craftwork.<sup>69</sup> Most of the BdM leaders were, in fact, not well educated – most completed grade school with some secondary education. Later, in 1942, a six-month period of leadership training was introduced as a way to consolidate National Socialist commitment among new and older BDM girls.<sup>70</sup>

BdM youth was led by the *Reichsjugendführer* Baldur von Schirach.<sup>71</sup> Von Schirach had close contact with and much support from Hitler, and as a result, Hitler lent von Schirach a measure of glamour.<sup>72</sup> Hitler personally liked von Schirach; “... partly on the basis of their common interest in art.”<sup>73</sup> Von Schirach had power over all the

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<sup>66</sup> Becker, 163.

<sup>67</sup> Brennecke, *The Nazi Primer*, xxvii (from a forward by Dr. Harwood L. Childs).

<sup>68</sup> Becker, 176. Corroborated in interview with Mrs. Schleiermacher, April 12, 2002.

<sup>69</sup> Kirkpatrick, 91. See also Wall, 99: “All Hitler Youth activities...had hikes, sporting events, demonstrations, physical training, and at the heart of the program, ideological education. Events were scheduled for evenings and weekends so that schoolchildren, as well as those members who were unemployed, could attend. All activities stressed discipline, loyalty, courage, self sacrifice, and obedience.”

<sup>70</sup> Gerhard Rempel, *Hitler's Children: The Hitler Youth and the SS* (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 153. Originally in Michael Wortmann, *Baldur von Schirach: Hitlers Jugendführer* (Cologne, n.p., 1982), 184, 248.

<sup>71</sup> Becker, 164.

<sup>72</sup> Becker, 171.

<sup>73</sup> Becker, 170. Baldur von Schirach not only led the youth organizations, but he also influenced youth group music. Von Schirach wrote several songs for youth, the most famous being “Unsre Fahne flattert uns

*Führerinnen* [leaders] of girls' youth groups. Throughout the better part of the 1930s, von Schirach also battled with Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, head of all women's organizations from 1934 to 1945<sup>74</sup>, for control over young women between the ages of 18 and 21. In 1938, von Schirach inevitably won. That year he founded the *Glaube und Schönheit* -- a transitional group for 18 to 21 year old women -- that closed the gap between BdM and National Socialist Women's memberships.<sup>75</sup>

### Membership:

By the end of 1933, 600,000 girls belonged to the BdM.<sup>76</sup> Membership numbers in all youth groups grew exponentially throughout the 1930s, although increase of girls' memberships was especially striking in light of their extensive marginalization only a few years before. An especially notable statistic was the ratio of girls to boys in the *Hitler-Jugend* between the years 1934 and 1935, when girls' membership jumped from 25 percent to 41 percent of all youth. Of further interest was the phenomenal membership increase in the *Jungmädel* that far surpasses the impressive numbers of BdM members, particularly between 1932 and 1935. A probable reason for the rapid *Jungmädel* growth at this time lies in the correlation between members' age of entry (ten years) and the rising omniscience of the National Socialist Party during the mid-1920s. Consistently throughout the 1930s, the *Jungmädel* and *Jungvolk* members outnumbered their older youth counterparts.

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voran." *Wir Mädel singen! Liederbuch des Bundes deutscher Mädel*, ed. Reichsjugendführung, forward by Maria Reiners (Wolfenbüttel; Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer-Verlag, 1943), 96-7.

<sup>74</sup> Anna Maria Sigmund, *Women of the Third Reich* (Richmond Hill: NDE Publishing, 2000), 113-22.

<sup>75</sup> A youth state organization for girls aged 17-21. "Physical education was considered to be important, but girls could choose other interests like music and painting. They were taught to appreciate the everyday things in life -- what the NS state deemed 'good taste'." Becker, 188-9.

<sup>76</sup> Frevert, 224.



The year 1936 became the ‘Year of the German *Jungvolk*’.<sup>77</sup> A huge campaign was mounted to recruit as many ten-year-old boys and girls as possible as ‘volunteers’ for the *Jungvolk* and the *Jungmädel* by April 20 as a present for Hitler’s 47<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Children were sworn into *Hitler-Jugend* membership on April 20 with a vow that said:

I promise  
In the Hitler Youth  
To do my duty  
At all times  
In love and faithfulness  
To help the *Führer*  
So help me God.<sup>78</sup>

The *Führer*’s birthday was thereafter also known as Youth Pledge Day. The day was celebrated with music, flags, speeches, and readings from *Mein Kampf*. In addition to the recited vow, a confession was stated:

The will of the *Führer* is our will, his faith is our faith, and with his words we confess: my faith is rooted in my people, I will serve my people with my will, I will give my life for my people.”<sup>79</sup>

Eight months later on December 1, 1936, Baldur von Schirach implemented the *Hitler-Jugend* law. It read:

1. The whole of German youth within the borders of the *Reich* is organized in the Hitler Youth.
2. All German young people, apart from being educated at home and at school, will be educated in the Hitler Youth physically, intellectually, and morally in the spirit of National Socialism to serve the nation and the community.
3. The task of educating German youth in the Hitler Youth is being entrusted to the *Reich* Leader of German Youth in the NSDAP. He therefore becomes the Youth Leader of the German Reich’. His office shall rank as Supreme Governmental Agency with its headquarters in Berlin and he shall be directly responsible to the *Führer* and the Chancellor of the *Reich*.

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<sup>77</sup> Koch, *The Hitler Youth*, 112.

<sup>78</sup> Koch, *The Hitler Youth*, 112. Koch’s personal recollection.

<sup>79</sup> Wall, *Nazi Germany*, 99-100. Originally in Alfons Heck, *A Child of Hitler: Germany in the Days When God Wore a Swastika* (Frederick, Colo.: Renaissance House, 1985), 179.

4. All regulations necessary to execute and supplement this decree will be issued by the *Führer* and the *Reich* Chancellor.<sup>80</sup>

This *Hitler-Jugend* law applied to the all ‘Aryan’ boys in Germany. In 1939, the law also became compulsory for every ‘Aryan’ girl,<sup>81</sup> and became fully operative in 1940 when Arthur Axmann took over the position of *Reichsjugendführer* from Baldur von Schirach.<sup>82</sup>

Many German girls joined the *Bund deutscher Mädel* willingly. In a book entitled *Account Rendered: A Dossier on my Former Self*, Melita Maschmann explained her decision to join the BdM<sup>83</sup>:

When I search myself for the motives which tempted me to enter the Hitler Youth then I find also this one: I wanted to break out of my childish, narrow life and attach it to something that was great and essential. This desire was shaped by countless contemporaries...the nationalist component was significant for me, because it corresponded with the spirit which permeated me from earliest childhood onwards...my childhood experiences correspond with the experience of a whole generation, which grew up among a bourgeoisie fundamentally inclined towards the Right and from which later so many young leaders of the National Socialist “movement” and *Wehrmacht* of the “Third Reich” were to emerge.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, eds. *Documents on Nazism, 1919-1945* (New York: Viking Press, 1975), 356.

<sup>81</sup> Frevert, 243. This assertion was contested during a personal interview that I conducted on March 21, 2002 with two former BdM members. Both women immediately said that 1937 was the year that girls were required to join state youth. Whether this is actually true or not, the time coincides with the enactment of the *Hitler-Jugend* law, and all youth, if not forced to join up, almost certainly felt the obligation to participate in State Youth.

<sup>82</sup> Melita Maschmann, *Account Rendered: A Dossier on my Former Self*, trans. Geoffrey Strachan, (London; New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1964), 136. Originally published as *Fazit: Kein Rechtfertigungsversuch* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanhang, 1963).

<sup>83</sup> During the Nazi era, Maschmann became the first Reich German BdM leader of the press and propaganda division in the Wartheland (western Poland) as a press officer from 1939 to 1941. In 1943, she attained a position as the female head of the department of the press and propaganda division in the Reich Youth Leadership. Maschmann, *Account Rendered*, 136-7.

<sup>84</sup> Koch, *The Hitler Youth*, 95; Maschmann, 12.

Another former BdM member, Gerda Zorn, explained that she joined the BdM because she enjoyed the camaraderie and excitement “at working for a great cause.”<sup>85</sup> Renate Finckh asserted that she joined because she “finally found an emotional home, a safe refuge, and shortly thereafter also a space in which I was valued...I was filled with pride and joy that someone needed me for a higher purpose.”<sup>86</sup> Former *Jungmädels Gruppenführerin* and BdM member Mrs. Schleiermacher recalled her family’s reaction to her participation: “My father was in the army under the Kaiser...he was very much to the right...We all saw that Germany needed to build up and we thought it was a good thing, so we did our share.”<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, she stated,

Once I was in a leading position, I could very much do as I liked within the frame. That was one reason many of us did go into the BdM...we said there are some things we don’t like, but ...Rather than staying outside and criticizing everything, it [was] better to try to do what we thought was good.<sup>88</sup>

Not all German citizens were pleased about Nazi youth membership. For example, Catholic groups were against Nazi Youth, especially in the South and West of Germany.<sup>89</sup> Historian Stephen Roberts, writing in 1937, observed during his year long stay in Germany that

Again and again in Germany, even in Catholic Bavaria and the Black Forest, I found cases of children whose Roman Catholic parents tried to keep them in the few struggling Church societies that still exist for children. In every case the children wanted to join the *Hitler-Jugend*. To be outside Hitler’s organization was the worst form of punishment.”<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 194. Originally in Gerda Zorn, “Mein alltäglicher Faschismus,” in *Der alltägliche Faschismus: Frauen im Dritten Reich*, ed. Otto Schüddekopf (Berlin: Dietz, 1982), 45.

<sup>86</sup> Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 195. Originally in Renate Finckh, “Im Gespräch mit Heike Mundzeck,” *Der alltägliche Faschismus*, 70-1.

<sup>87</sup> Mrs. Schleiermacher, interview with Rachel Anderson, April 12, 2002.

<sup>88</sup> Mrs. Schleiermacher, interview with Rachel Anderson, April 12, 2002.

<sup>89</sup> Rempel, *Hitler’s Children*, 49.

<sup>90</sup> Stephen Roberts, quoted in David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 61-2.

Apart from religious issues, some parents were concerned about letting their children into the *Hitler-Jugend*, especially the BdM for two reasons: it interfered with schoolwork, and in some places, it was known for dubious sexual morality.<sup>91</sup> Author Gerhard Rempel writes:

Older HJ boys and BdM girls established liaisons that could not be kept under cover and gave parents the impression that “a certain degeneration” existed within the HJ, ascribed largely to immature leaders not qualified for the positions they held.<sup>92</sup>

Under the ill-defined principle of the *Kameradschaft*<sup>93</sup> in the Nazi regime, girls and boys had more freedom to socialize than ever before. Combined with BdM preparation for and emphasis on the impending role of motherhood, and extraordinary social circumstances due to the war, some BdM girls birthed illegitimate babies.<sup>94</sup>

### Ideology:

The primary requirement for membership in any Nazi youth group depended on German blood purity. All children were taught the following fourth point of the membership program outlined by the NSDAP, reprinted in *The Nazi Primer*:

Only those who are comrades of our folk can be citizens of the state. Only those who are of German blood, irrespective of religious belief, can be comrades of our folk. Consequently, no Jews can be comrades of our folk.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 132. Originally from BA, NS26/361 – report of HJ *Gebiet* Saarpfalz of (probably) late 1935 on ‘sexual criminality’ in its ranks. As an interesting aside, I encountered a male former youth member who spontaneously recalled the BdM as “*Baldur- drück mich*.” (“Baldur – hug me”) – a reference to *Reichsjugendführer* von Schirach. Corroboration of this mock acronym is in Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 399. Other acronyms with the same theme were “Bald deutsche Mutter” (soon a German mother), and “Bedarfsartikel deutscher Männer,” (useful thing for German men). See Martin Klaus, *Mädchen in der Hitlerjugend: Die Erziehung zur „deutschen Frau“* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, 1980), 104.

<sup>92</sup> Rempel, 51.

<sup>93</sup> Defined as “humanly freed, wonderful relationship between young boys and girls.” (“...menschlich befreiten und herrlichen Verhältnis zwischen Jünglingen und Mädchen.”) Martin Klaus, *Mädchen in der Hitlerjugend*, 108. Originally from Busse Wilson, *Liebe und Kameradeschaft* (n.l., n.p., 1925), 95.

<sup>94</sup> Koonz, 398-401.

<sup>95</sup> Brennecke, 11-2. See also p. 77: “Intermarrying with races of foreign blood is as dangerous for the continuance and existence of a people as inheritable internal defects. The German people have direct

At the time of *The Nazi Primer*'s publication, over 7 million youth had been taught this belief; it was reinforced repeatedly through 'scientific' degrees of racial superiority.<sup>96</sup> Hitler and his Nazi leaders used these notions of racial superiority to justify Germany's impending border invasions to fulfill its need for *Lebensraum*.<sup>97</sup>

"...the great part of our people is of Nordic descent justifies us in taking a Nordic standpoint when evaluating character and spirit, bodily structure and physical beauty. It also gives us the right to shape our legislation and to fashion our state according to the outlook on life of the Nordic man."<sup>98</sup>

The Nazis further framed the expansion of *Lebensraum* as a gift of culture and spiritual standards "...from the disinterested [objective] leadership of the German people" to the cultural poverty of "...many lesser peoples."<sup>99</sup> In spite of this alleged magnanimity of Nazi Germans toward lesser peoples, to maintain racial superiority "...a people must win new territory if it does not wish to lower its whole standard of living,"<sup>100</sup> because "...the social and cultural needs of Germans is higher than those of many other peoples."<sup>101</sup>

These assertions in *The Nazi Primer* were rooted in Hitler's perceptions of race and biology elucidated in *Mein Kampf*:

The crown of the *völkisch* state's entire work of education and training must be to burn the racial sense and racial feeling into the instinct and the intellect, the heart

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contact only with one type of foreign people: with the Jews. So for us fostering race is one and the same thing as a defensive warfare against mind and blood contamination by the Jews." The BDM handbook by Trude Bürkner also repeatedly alludes to an anti-Jewish stance by exhorting girls to uphold pure, 'clean' standards – adjectives referring to ethnicity.

<sup>96</sup> Brennecke, xiv. From highest to lowest superiority, some of the 'races' are named in *The Nazi Primer* as Nordic (16), Dinaric (26), Eastern (28), and East Baltic (31). The Nordic (German) race is "predisposed to leadership by nature" (20); Dinarics are proud and brave (27-8); The Eastern race is said to "...lack the spirit of rulers. For this reason they are compliant and submissive subjects" (30-1); and the Eastern Baltics: "... are no leaders by nature, but need leadership"(32).

<sup>97</sup> The literal translation of this word is "the space in which one lives". In Nazi ideology, the need for *Lebensraum* led to German invasion of Poland.

<sup>98</sup> Brennecke, 35.

<sup>99</sup> Brennecke, 108.

<sup>100</sup> Brennecke, 195-6.

<sup>101</sup> Brennecke, 201.

and brain of the youth entrusted to it. No boy and no girl must leave school without having been led to the ultimate realization of the necessity and essence of blood purity...The *völkisch* state will have to make certain that by a suitable education of youth it will someday obtain a race ripe for the last and greatest decisions on this earth. And the nation which first sets out on this path will be victorious.<sup>102</sup>

Baldur von Schirach, the *Reichsjugendführer*, instructed youth in these beliefs and encouraged *Führer* worship as well: "Whoever serves Adolf Hitler, the *Führer*, serves Germany, and whoever serves Germany, serves God."<sup>103</sup>

#### National Socialist Education:

"The principal task of the school is the education of youth in the service of nationhood and state in the National Socialist spirit,"<sup>104</sup> proclaimed Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior. Activities in the classrooms for children reflected the "National Socialist spirit" in coordination with all levels of the *Hitler-Jugend*. Teachers read from either *Mein Kampf* or other Nazi literature as part of opening devotions,<sup>105</sup> and the national anthems *Horst Wessel Lied* and *Deutschland über alles* were sung.<sup>106</sup> Most significantly, all school lessons began and ended with the 'Hitler Salute'.<sup>107</sup> Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior, passed guidelines in December of 1934 about when, where, and how to give the 'Hitler Salute' in schools -- teachers and students were required to salute one another both inside and outside school. In addition, pupils had to greet members of staff by raising their right arms in the appropriate posture even within

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<sup>102</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 145, taken from Hitler's quotations in *Mein Kampf* (Munich: F. Eher nachf., 1925), 388-9. No German translation.

<sup>103</sup> Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 121. Original source unavailable.

<sup>104</sup> Noakes and Pridham, 351-2. Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior, December 1934.

<sup>105</sup> Wall, 98.

<sup>106</sup> Becker, 182.

<sup>107</sup> Noakes and Pridham, 352.

the boundaries of the school. A provision also stated how to incorporate the ‘Hitler Salute’ into Catholic education:

When hitherto Catholic religious instruction began and ended with the verse and response: ‘Praised be Jesus Christ.’ ‘Forever and ever, Amen,’ the German salute is to be given *before* this at the beginning of the lesson and *after* it at the end of the lesson...<sup>108</sup>

Not only was the ‘Hitler Salute’ incorporated in Catholic educational facilities; it became necessary to include during encounters between Protestant, Nazi citizens and all Catholic laypeople. During the later years of the war in Mecklenberg, a BdM member remembered that her local group was stationed in proximity to a nunnery. All BdM girls were directed by their leaders to greet the nuns with the salute, and the nuns in turn were required to return it. Mimicking the action to me, this woman recalled that the nuns reluctantly did so.<sup>109</sup> Not only was this constraint put on Catholic subjects, for she remembered that any mention of religion was unacceptable. BdM girls – Catholic or Protestant -- were forbidden to pray.

### Separation of the Sexes:

The upbringing of youth to National Socialism rested not only upon teaching racial biology, nationalist supremacy, and *Führer* worship, but also upon ‘natural’ division of the sexes. In 1934, Hitler stated the following at the National Socialist Women’s Campaign:

We do not consider it correct for the woman to interfere in the world of the man, the main sphere. We consider it natural if these two worlds remain distinct, where one belongs to the strength of feeling, the strength of the soul. To the other belongs the strength of vision, of toughness, of decision... What the man gives on the battlefield, the woman gives in eternal self-sacrifice... Every child that a

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<sup>108</sup> Noakes and Pridham, *Documents on Nazism*, 352.

<sup>109</sup> Anonymous, interview with Rachel Anderson, 21 March 2002.

woman brings into the world is a battle, a battle for the existence of her people.<sup>110</sup>

Hitler's conviction that women should be relegated to the domestic sphere permeated every level of Nazi dogma. Small girls were indoctrinated with the idea of serving the state through motherhood. Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior, stated in 1937:

We know what we are doing when we give the small girl a doll. We are making sure that this child is exposed to the symbol of her future motherhood, and we are unanimous in the desire that this playing child will, if possible, become that which she is constructed to be: a mother...the substance of womanhood is motherhood."<sup>111</sup>

Thus, girls in the private and public sphere were encouraged to be mothers. For girls in the BdM, "The principal stress [upon girls' ideologically correct training] above all is to be laid first on physical education, then on the furthering of spiritual and finally of intellectual worth. The aim of feminine education unalterably has to be the future mother."<sup>112</sup>

Trude Bürkner, national leader of the BdM, announced in February 1937 that an immanent reform of the German school system would be tailored to the National Socialist view of proper female education. This did not mean that girls' education would be reduced to "Kinder, Kirchen, Küche"[children, church, kitchen] as anti-Nazis claimed, but to

...prepare girls to be fitting comrades for their future husbands, by giving them instruction in politics, economics and culture; the most important element in girls'

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<sup>110</sup> Noakes and Pridham, eds. *Documents on Nazism*, 364.

<sup>111</sup> Becker, *German Youth*, 186; original citation unavailable.

<sup>112</sup> Kirkpatrick, 110. See also Becker, 189; and *Hitler-Worte*, 14. "Das Ziel der weiblichen Erziehung hat unverrückbar die kommende Mutter zu sein." The contrast between boys and girls expectations were clearly explained in von Schirach's *Die Hitler Jugend*, 98: "Jeder Junge will ein Mann werden und jedes Mädchen eine Mutter..." "Every boy wants to become a man and every girl a mother..." The word "Mann" means both husband and man. Von Schirach thus makes a distinction between a boy's being and a girl's role.



schooling, as in boys' then, was to be instruction in the National Socialist view of significant issues, and, indeed, of life as a whole.<sup>113</sup>

Gendered ideological indoctrination of the BdM thus became present in and eventually coordinated with schools. Former BdM leader, Mrs. Schleiermacher, recalled that "Everybody had school on Saturdays...[but] everybody had Saturday off if you had BdM or *Jungmädel*. Saturday was the Youth Day."<sup>114</sup> To ease potential conflict between state youth education and public school education, Dr. Auguste Reber-Gruber, consultant on the board of girl's and women's education, advised "...[that] women teachers should accept and welcome the work of the *Bund deutscher Mädel* which had great educational value in the realm of character development."<sup>115</sup>

The strongest attitude that Nazi ideologues wanted to instill in girls through state youth education was a fanatical conviction in the primacy of Germany. This attitude revealed itself in the official BdM creed that all girls were required to memorize:

You must believe in Germany as firmly, clearly and truly as you believe in the sun, the moon and the starlight. You must believe in Germany, as if Germany were yourself; and as you believe your soul strives towards eternity. You must believe in Germany – as your life is but death. And you must fight for Germany until the new dawn comes.<sup>116</sup>

Yet Nazi expectations of BdM members to show fanatical devotion to Germany through catch phrases as "character development" and "fitting comrades[hip]" still left their roles poorly defined. Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, head of all women's organizations, provided a comprehensive explanation of how BdM girls should become true Nazi women both in character and commitment to married partnership:

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<sup>113</sup> Jill Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1975), 121; Bürkner, 16.

<sup>114</sup> Interview with Rachel Anderson, March 21 2002. BdM girls also held *Heimabende* [evenings in the home] on Wednesdays.

<sup>115</sup> Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Society*, 167.

<sup>116</sup> Maschmann, 35.

Woman is entrusted in the life of the nation with a great task, the care of man, soul, body and mind. It is the great mission of woman to minister in the home and in her profession to the needs of life from the first to the last moment of man's existence. To recognize fully the eternal connections which determine her mission in the state, in marriage, family and racial culture and to render this knowledge fully effective as comrade, helper, and womanly complement of man--that is the right of woman in New Germany.<sup>117</sup>

Author Claudia Koonz, noting the Nazi conflation of biology and notions of gender in statements such as Scholtz-Klink's, perceptively wrote:

To a degree unique in western history, Nazi doctrine created a society structured around 'natural' biological poles...The habit of taking psychological differences between men and women for granted reinforced assumptions about irrevocable divisions between 'Jew' and 'Aryan'. In place of class, cultural, and religious divisions, race and sex became the predominant social markers."<sup>118</sup>

Conceptual differences between male and female, described by Hitler as "two worlds",<sup>119</sup> revealed themselves in the respective *Hitler-Jugend* and BdM slogans that said 'Unity in Death' and 'Unity in Suffering'.<sup>120</sup> The expectation that boys would die for their country while girls would suffer for their deaths and the chaos of war became ingrained in all activities of youth groups of all ages.

The slogans of the Hitler Youth manifested themselves even in small children's leisure time. Dr Robert Ley, chief of National Socialist orders, noted "... the natural play of youth is preparation for responsible positions in [our folk community]"<sup>121</sup> Further proof of channeling childrens' play towards women's work and men's work in the state showed in visual images from the film "William M. Shirer Talks About the Hitler Youth". Clandestinely filmed in 1945, this documentary shows young boys of

<sup>117</sup> Kirkpatrick, 114; cited from Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, *Verpflichtung und Aufgabe der Frau im nationalsozialistischen Staat* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1936). No German translation.

<sup>118</sup> Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: 1987), 257.

<sup>119</sup> See quotation on p. 23-4.

<sup>120</sup> Frevert, 250; Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 5; Ursula von Kardorff, *Berliner Aufzeichnungen 1942-1945* (Munich: Biederstein, 1982), 127.

<sup>121</sup> Becker, 177. Original source unavailable.

approximately eight years old playing strategic war games in Hitler Youth uniform; a little girl, not more than five years old, sits at a table with her parents as she stitches the lining of a soldier's helmet.<sup>122</sup> In the next chapter of this thesis, I will examine how the separation of the sexes manifested itself in work for the German *Reich*.

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<sup>122</sup> *William M. Shirer Talks About the Hitler Youth*, prod. and dir. Army Navy Screen Magazine, 17 min., Thunderbird Films, 1945?, film.

### Chapter Three

#### Strength; Sports; Beauty:

The separation of the sexes in Nazi Germany perhaps showed most obviously in the regime's emphasis on girls' physical activities. Baldur von Schirach, in his 1934 book *Die Hitler Jugend*, stated that two thirds of girls' education should be spent in sports, but only one third specifically on National Socialist ideology.<sup>123</sup> Beginning with Hitler, Nazi ideologues asserted that fostering physical strength in girls was necessary to bear and raise children. As well as preparing for mothering duties, outer strength was seen to be a coordinated manifestation of inner strength. This belief was implicit in the BdM motto for girls 'Hard, but not coarse'.<sup>124</sup>

Beginning in 1934, sports were played competitively<sup>125</sup> by girls and boys, and sport schools were established for gifted athletes.<sup>126</sup> By 1937, 450 German cities held large annual sport competitions called *Sportfeste* involving the BdM.<sup>127</sup> The following year, the *Reichsjugendführer* decreed that girls' participation in at least one sport was mandatory.<sup>128</sup>

The grace of physical strength became especially equated with beauty during the Nazi era.<sup>129</sup> Baldur von Schirach wrote: "As boys strive for strength, so should girls

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<sup>123</sup> Von Schirach, *Die Hitler Jugend*, 99.

<sup>124</sup> Bürkner, 13. Original German: *Herb, aber nicht derb*.

<sup>125</sup> Von Schirach, *Die Hitler Jugend*, n.p.

<sup>126</sup> Kirkpatrick, 90.

<sup>127</sup> Bürkner, 13.

<sup>128</sup> Kirkpatrick, 92-3. All three former members of the BdM who spoke with me emphasized the sports activities. Mrs. Schleiermacher remembered contests for throwing, the high jump, and running; another member recalled running over ten miles in the rain while holding a flag.

<sup>129</sup> Mrs. Schleiermacher recalled some BdM girls did synchronized dancing with hoops for public occasions, 21 March 2002.

strive for beauty.”<sup>130</sup> To be a sturdy, robust and buxom woman was the National Socialist physical ideal.<sup>131</sup> Nazi appreciation for what was or seemed to be ‘natural’ extended to women’s personal grooming. While the Nazi party approved of long braided hair, it disapproved of cosmetics.<sup>132</sup> Appropriate personal vanity extended to proper sleep, wearing tidy and modest clothing, and maintaining clean nails and hair.<sup>133</sup> The strength and appearance of Nazi women was important insofar as these characteristics attracted a mate.

### BdM Work for the State:

Another activity for girls, apart from caring for their personal appearances and competing in sports, was participation in manual labor. In 1933, Hitler asserted that:

It remains our firm decision, that each individual German, whoever he may be, whether rich, whether poor, whether the son of a scholar or of a factory worker, that he must once in his life take up manual work, so that he becomes acquainted with it, so that he can also command later in this area more easily because he himself has already learned to obey.<sup>134</sup>

Although Hitler’s quote refers only to boys, in practise, girls also became acquainted with manual work. Baldur von Schirach’s book, *Die Hitler-Jugend*, includes a chart that compares the percentage of girls and boys participation in German industry, dated 1934.<sup>135</sup> Unsurprisingly, the numbers reveal segregation of work based upon division of the sexes. No girls’ participation was shown in construction (*Bergbau*),

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<sup>130</sup> Von Schirach, *Die Hitler Jugend*, 97. “Wie der Junge nach Kraft strebt, strebe das Mädel nach Schönheit.”

<sup>131</sup> Becker, *German Youth*, 187. See *Ihr habt die Pflicht gesund zu sein!* special edition of *Die Mädelenschaft* 8 (May 1939): cover.

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Mrs. Schleiermacher, 21 March 2002; *Die Mädelenschaft* 8 (May 1939): 11-20.

<sup>133</sup> *Die Mädelenschaft* 8 (May 1939): 11-20.

<sup>134</sup> *Hitler-Worte*, 26. (“Es bleibt unser unverrückbarer Entschluss, jeden einzelnen Deutschen, sei er, wer er sei, ob reich, ob arm, ob Sohn von Gelehrten oder Sohn von Fabrikarbeiten, einmal im Leben zur Handarbeit zu führen, damit er sie kennenlernt, damit er auch hier einst leichter befehlen kann, weil er selbst schon vorher gehorschen lernte.”) Originally from a speech on National Work Day, 1 May 1933.

<sup>135</sup> No page number given.

chemistry (*Chemie*), or paper (*Papier*) mills. By contrast, girls had a 31% participation in the tobacco (*Tabak*) industry, and a 25% enrollment in work at home. (*Heimarbeit*). No boys' participation is shown. Areas of industry where boys' representation heavily outweighed the girls' were in advertising (*Graphwerbe*) and leatherwork (*Leder*). Interestingly, textile and clothing industries (*Textil und Bekleidung*) showed only a girls' 60% enrollment versus the boys' 45% enrollment, the only area of industry where boys and girls participated together with representation weighted on the girls' side.

In 1934, the Nazi government instituted agrarian reform; the following year, it became law. Known as the National Labor Service Law, it decreed that boys and girls were required to work for one year in either farm work or household help. That year, ten thousand girls participated. Between April 1937 and March 1938, the number of girls working on farms (*Landdienst*) swelled to twenty five thousand.

The general purpose of *Landdienst* was to create a unity among all Germans. Its work intended to remove class barriers between Germans, and to create awareness that every individual youth effort counted; lastly, *Landdienst* was an important Nazi ideological manifestation of physical, geographical and cultural ties to German soil. In a *Hitler-Jugend* circular of January 8, 1940, *Landdienst* was contextualized as:

...a political task of National Socialism. Its purpose is to bring back boys and girls from the cities to the land, to create new recruits for the agricultural occupations and thus secure their continuous existence. The best of them should be given an opportunity to settle. The Hitler Youth is the sole executor of the land service.<sup>136</sup>

Three divisions of *Landdienst* distinguished different kinds of farm work. The *Land Jahr* (Land Year) required boys and girls to voluntarily work for small wages on

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<sup>136</sup> Koch, *The Hitler Youth*, 231. See also Werner Klose, *Generation im Gleichschritt: ein Dokumentavericht* (Oldenburg: G. Satling, 1964), 103. Note also how this statement echoes the philosophical impetus of the *Wandervogel*. See p. 3 of my thesis quoting Becker, 197-8.

farms while living in camps administered by party organization. The *Land Hilfe* (Land Help) was an individually based work activity where youngsters were sent to help out a peasant family by youth employment services.<sup>137</sup> Lastly, the *Land Dienst* proper was a type of farm work based on the National Socialist desire to promote the idea of one social class. Students went to work alongside peasants on the land.<sup>138</sup>

BdM girls in the *Land Dienst* camps worked on farms in the daytime by helping mothers with housework. During harvest periods, they also organized and operated kindergartens in the local villages, and held group discussions about how to spend their time with the children. Most importantly, BdM girls promoted National Socialist ideology into all their activities.<sup>139</sup> Evening times were important too, when after mealtime, the girls and the families they stayed with shared folk dances and sang folk songs.<sup>140</sup>

#### BdM and Expansion to the East:

During the summer of 1940, when Germany's *Lebensraum* extended into the east, Arthur Greiser exhorted BdM leaders to join German forces in the Wartheland.<sup>141</sup> Leaders were introduced to the work by SS staff in Łódź before they went to the Wartheland, and then they traveled to villages and farms to help new settlers establish

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<sup>137</sup> One former BdM member and *Jungmädels* leader told me that her experience of land service was difficult. Ordered to scrub stairs by the wife of the family she stayed with, she could not do it because she had had no experience in her upbringing to do so. Upon being asked what she could do, she said she could sew. She was lucky, for that winter was cold -- and because she sewed, she had the privilege of sitting by the only fireplace in the house. Anonymous interview with Rachel Anderson, 21 March 2002.

<sup>138</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Nazi Germany*, 93.

<sup>139</sup> National Socialist slogans were everywhere for youth to pass on to others with whom they had contact. In the girls' and women's camps the entrance motto read: "Be pure, be true, be German". The slogan for men and boys read "Live truly, fight bravely, die laughing!" From Kirkpatrick, 94; Becker, 192; Koonz 196.

<sup>140</sup> Becker, *German Youth*, 192; Kirkpatrick, 94.

<sup>141</sup> Rempel, *Hitler's Children*, 149.

themselves. In preparation for the work of leading BdM girls in the Wartheland, BdM leaders were required to have one year of basic training in home economics.<sup>142</sup> BdM leadership of domestic duties in the Wartheland consisted of outdoor labour, housework, and baby care; all duties were culturally supplemented with sharing folktales, singing songs, and teaching their new neighbors the German language.<sup>143</sup> These BdM activities were overseen by the *Reichskommissar für die Festigung Deutschen Volkstums*, known as the RKFDV (National Commissariat for the Strengthening of German Folklore). At the end of 1940, 1400 BdM girls carried out the work of the RKFDV.<sup>144</sup>

The emphasis laid upon BdM activities in the eastern Germany and Poland during 1941 became housework, fieldwork and child care in schools. That year, new BDM units were instituted in sixty-four villages, where BdM girls conducted *Morgenfeiern* (Nazi morning celebrations), operated preschools, and staged hundreds of celebrations. As well, BDM girls replaced outlawed priests to perform weddings and baptisms. They helped to establish ninety-one kindergarten schools, and eighty-five elementary schools in the Warthegau. In these schools the BdM organized sports events, aided students with homework, and led musical education.<sup>145</sup>

Many BdM leaders became teacher's aides because the Wartheland in 1940-41 was short of them. As such, they played a key role in the 'Germanization' of the east. BdM leaders were thus required to strengthen their own education at the Reich Institute in Elbing. Their educational training opened the door to a career otherwise possibly

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<sup>142</sup> Maschmann, 90.

<sup>143</sup> Maschmann, 92-104.

<sup>144</sup> Rempel, 150-1; Originally in "*Wehrkreis I: Bestimmungswidrige Werbung*," 4 February 1943, T-175/131/2658041; Kirkpatrick, 90.

<sup>145</sup> Rempel, 151; Maschmann, 129-34.



denied, because many BdM leaders came as students or had no occupational background at all.<sup>146</sup>

As the war progressed, BdM leaders were additionally required to respond to civilian emergencies of war. The first places where they were required to take action were in the badly hit areas of Germany's eastern provinces, then the western ones. BdM leaders worked in a variety of roles such as message couriers and as guides to oversee transportation of people out of immediate war zones. Rank and file members of the BdM and *Jungmädel* looked after small children.<sup>147</sup>

In 1939, BdM girls were recruited by *Reichsjugendführer* Baldur von Schirach to take over office work for the security police force, such as typing, clerking, telephone operating.<sup>148</sup> Hauling garbage for the economy program also became a necessary task<sup>149</sup> Reich youth offices also employed BdM girls to boost the morale of German soldiers. Between 1942 and 1944, 107 000 BdM girls were deployed at train station platforms ready with food and drink for arriving soldiers. Sixty thousand more girls worked in army hospitals, and 64 000 worked for the German Red Cross.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Rempel, 153. Former BdM leader Mrs. Schleiermacher recalled that educated girls, especially kindergarten teachers, were highly prized as youth leaders in every area of the Reich. Interview with Rachel Anderson, April 12, 2002; In spite of Hitler's insistence on the breakdown of class barriers in Nazi society, it created social discomfort in the BdM, according to one other subject I interviewed. 21 March, 2002.

<sup>147</sup> Koch, *The Hitler Youth*, 232; Maschmann, 129-34.

<sup>148</sup> Rempel, *Hitler's Children*, 75; Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*, 159. See also in *Die Werkarbeit im Kriegeinsatz der Hitler-Jugend*, ed. Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Berlin, n.p., 1942); M. Dargel, ed. *Mädel im Kampf* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer-Verlag, 1941); Klose, *Generation in Geschritt*, 237-66.

<sup>149</sup> Kirkpatrick, 90. Mrs. Schleiermacher recollected that her group had to collect and sort toothpaste tubes for the economy program. Interview with Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002.

<sup>150</sup> Koch, *The Hitler, Youth*, 234.

### Public Profile of the BdM:

Public visibility of the BdM girls was strongly cultivated throughout the National Socialist era. *Die Mädelschaft*, the BdM magazine, had 200,000 copies in circulation by 1938.<sup>151</sup> A film was also made about BdM members under the jurisdiction of the Press and Propaganda Division, entitled *B.D.M.: Werk, Glaube, und Schönheit*. This film demonstrated appropriate activities for girls such as cooking, hunting, and horseback riding.<sup>152</sup> BdM girls spent time in more than 1000 vacation camps, making an effort to contact and recruit non-BdM members, particularly before the war.

The BdM also became associated with music in the German public mind. Beginning in 1939, the Red Cross decreed that BdM and *Jungmädel* members would entertain soldiers at military hospitals with theatre, instrumental, and choral performances.<sup>153</sup> BdM choral groups sang on radio broadcasts before the war.<sup>154</sup> In addition, BdM girls organized hundreds of recreational evenings of singing and dancing, both formal and informal.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Becker, 188-9.

<sup>152</sup> Maschmann, *Account Rendered*, 140. At end of war, a monthly youth film was made called *Junges Europa*. In 1944, a feature film called *Junge Adler* [Young Eagles] was made about the *Hitler-Jugend*. All of these films were made by the Press and Propaganda Division.

<sup>153</sup> Maschmann, 138.

<sup>154</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Nazi Germany*, 90.

<sup>155</sup> Maschmann, 142. Mrs. Schleiermacher recounted a trip to the Rhineland in 1938 consisting of 2000 Hitler Youth members, both boys and girls. One evening at a youth hostel, Mrs. Schleiermacher's group and the boys' counterpart held an evening dance of waltzes and foxtrots, March 21, 2002.

## Chapter Four

### Music in BdM Celebrations:

Girls from the BdM organized and participated in great celebrational ceremonies that marked national holidays or seasonal changes that were instituted by Heinrich Himmler to create emotionally satisfying substitutes for Christian festivals. In June of 1939, a two hour-long Summer solstice celebration was held. Beginning at 10 o'clock in the evening, it included speeches, torch passing, and dancing BdM girls.<sup>156</sup> Melita Maschmann also described her attendance and direction of these types of celebrations. She wrote, "We sought to say in our music: our thanks for the community in which we lived; for the 'new start' in the life of our nation, for the harvest, for the birth of a child or for the beauty of a summer."<sup>157</sup>

Generally speaking, celebration times expressed themes that author Sebastian Spratte differentiates as summons, proclamations, and pledges.<sup>158</sup> The 'summons' theme consisted of exhortations to unify every German person's mind, body and spirit under National Socialism, often expressed as flag marches or fanfares. The high point of the songs usually had a word or words of the *Führer*, in a poem or saying, framed by choral, solo, or instrumental music.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Rempel, *Hitler's Children*, 40.

<sup>157</sup> Maschmann, *Account Rendered*, 50.

<sup>158</sup> Sebastian Spratte, "Die Schulfeier und ihre Rolle im Erziehungssystem des Dritten Reichs," in *Lieder in Politik und Alltag des Nationalsozialismus*, eds. Gottfried Niedhart and George Broderick (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 137.

<sup>159</sup> An excellent example of a song with a summons theme may be found on the first page of *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend* 1 (September-October 1941). The song is entitled "Wo wir stehen". It is prefaced by the title *Jugend hilft dem Führer* (*Youth help the Führer*) and some words addressed to youth by Hitler. The song's verses read: 1. Where we stand, is loyalty; our stride is its command; we march after the flag so we do not march out of place. 2. When we sing, loyalty is silent; it is greater than song; it quietly bears our flag, so that nobody will see it waver. 3. When we attack, loyalty sings, and its song sets us on fire; we glow like the flag, so that everyone can follow it. (Wo wir stehen, steht die Treue, unser Schritt ist ihr Befehl, wir marschieren nach der Fahne so marschieren wir nicht fehl. 2. Wenn wir singen, schweigt die Treue, sie ist grosser als das Lied, sie trägt schweigend unsre Fahne, dass sie keiner wanken

Proclamations were in the form of a short address done at the high point of the celebration called *Sprechchöre* [speaking choirs]. *Sprechchöre* recited poems that expressed thoughts about the celebration at hand, spoken either by an individual or a small group. Historically speaking, author Goethe used *Sprechchöre* as literary devices in *Faust*, where characters recited poetry within the poetic drama itself. In the 1920s and 1930s, *Sprechchöre* in Germany performed works that were spoken instead of sung. During an interview with former BdM-*Jungmädel Gruppenführerin* Mrs. Schleiermacher, she recalled one of the *Sonnenwendfeier* celebrations<sup>160</sup> where she alone recited a *Sprechchor*. Although she noted this particular occasion, *Sprechchöre* could be recited for “any special occasion, for any [special] birthday, [for] it ma[d]e a big impression on the listener”.<sup>161</sup>

Songs with a ‘pledge’ theme mostly consisted of words spoken by Hitler, or either a saying or a poem about him. The actual pledge honors the *Führer*. A BdM book, dated 1941<sup>162</sup>, instructs proper celebration of Nazi calendar days and details how to celebrate April 20, Hitler’s birthday. The first song meant to be sung on April 20, 1941 was the song “Die Welt gehört den Führenden” (The World Belongs to Leaders), followed by a poem entitled “Des Führers Augen”.<sup>163</sup> Final songs of the ‘pledge’ celebrations were either the *Deutschlandlied* or the *Horst Wessel Lied*.

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sieht. 3. Wenn wir stürmen, singt die Treue, und ihr Singen zündet an, und wir glühen wie die Fahne, dass ihr jeder folgen kann.)

<sup>160</sup> This day also marked the *Tag der deutschen Jugend* [Day of German Youth].

<sup>161</sup> Mrs. Schleiermacher, interview by Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002.

<sup>162</sup> A partial book from 1941 with no title (only pages 65-96 of the book are available). Source from Mrs. Schleiermacher.

<sup>163</sup> Two eyes look at me/ two eyes show me the way/ I see them now before me / I have seen them in the struggle/ as a burning reminder. In them lies my judgement,/ In them stands my duty,/ In them breaks the betrayal,/ In them faith becomes action:/ in the eyes of the *Führer*! ( Zwei Augen schauen mich an,/zwei augen weisen die Bahn,/ich sehe sie auch jetzt vor mir stehn/ich hab’ sie im Kampfe gesehn,/als

### Music as Expression of *Volksgemeinschaft*:

Music making in the era of National Socialism became an act of both passive and active participation. It was intended to arouse and heighten emotion in members of the German *Gemeinschaft* [community]:

Music, the realm of sounds, can express religious feeling and human emotions in a more spiritual way. And what is celebration other than a way of creating these expressions! Nothing can gather the senses, abstract them from all outer things and guide them towards inner imaginings as music can. Music is the art that creates the closest link between the sensual and spiritual (*geistigen*) realms.<sup>164</sup>

In 1938, Karl Friedrich Sturm, yet another music pedagogue, proclaimed: “Celebration is normally a community affair. In community feelings are transferred from one person to another, so that in the very best case scenario one single current of air will blow through and carry all those celebrating.”<sup>165</sup> With these proclamations, Nazi pedagogues attempted to celebrate *Volksgemeinschaft* [national community] concepts and simultaneously obliterate the dark intentions in them.

The most common musical genre used in National Socialist celebrations became the folksong. Music pedagogues expounded upon this issue throughout the era of National Socialism. Wilhelm Ehmann spoke of the importance of folksong because

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brennendes Mahnmal./ In ihnen liegt mein Gericht,/in ihnen steht meine Pflicht,/ in ihnen zerbricht der Verrat,/ in ihnen wird Glaube zur Tat:/ in den Augen des Führers!) By G.D. (no other name given).

<sup>164</sup> “Die Musik, das Reich der Töne [kann] religiöse Gefühle, menschliche Empfinden in der geistigeren Form zum Ausdruck bringen. Und was ist die Feier anderes als die Formung dieses Ausdrucks! Es vermag nichts die Sinne so zu sammeln und so von allem Äusseren zu abstrahieren und inneren Vorstellungen zuzulenken, wie die Musik. Die Musik ist die Kunst, die die engste Verbindung des Sinnlichen mit dem Geistigen herstellt.” Spratte, „Die Schulfeier,” 138; originally in Hermann Roth, “Musik und Feier,” in *Musik in Jugend und Volk* 1, 362. Interestingly, modern science explains why vocal music is the “intellectual, emotional and spiritual” bond. The right hemisphere of the brain processes sound, while the left side processes verbal skills. Hence, vocal music is an integrative cerebral activity.

<sup>165</sup> “Feier ist in der Regel Gemeinschaftssache. In der Gemeinschaft finden leicht und rasch Gefühlsübertragungen statt, so das günstigenfalls ein einziger Luftstrom alle Feiernden durchzieht und trägt.” Spratte, „Die Schulfeier,” 135; originally in Karl Friedrich Sturm, *Deutsche Erziehung im Werden* (Osterwieck, n.p., 1938), 118; Günther, 38.

“The folksong is a way of being ...it is a bit of our world view.”<sup>166</sup> Their significance lay not in how they were vocally executed, but rather “...in overcoming mere performance and taking on the experience of the community. Hearing is then only an intensification, and not an end in itself.”<sup>167</sup>

*Volksgemeinschaft* celebrations, though marked by high emotion and expression, were nevertheless strictly coordinated with all Nazi calendar days. Ehmann wrote:

If hymns follow the church calendar, then folksongs follow the folk year, the political and natural year...What is confused and freely accessible receives a fixed order. Every song drives its roots back into the *Lebensboden* [life's earth]. It has become an unalterable fact...when a certain song rings out, the corresponding yearly timely outline appears...In singing songs the year's cycle is realized in sound. In the song one recognizes what time of year it is. In song, the celebration is revealed.<sup>168</sup>

Ehmann's statement is significant because it reveals the tangled web of associations bound together under the rubric of musical expression. It conflates Nazi ideas of politics, the 'natural', *Lebensboden*, ritual celebration, and folksong that has direct relevance to a later discussion about the official music of the BdM. Interestingly, *Reichsjugendführer* Baldur von Schirach drew an implicit connection between the role of girls in the *Volksgemeinschaft* and musical imagery to describe the appropriate BdM attitude:

You pledge yourself to the *Gemeinschaft* (community) and hold its goal higher than your own self [*Ich*]. You should dance and be happy, but you should know

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<sup>166</sup> “Das Volkslied ist eine Art des Seins...Das Volkslied ist ein Stück Weltanschauung.” Brade, “BdM Identität,” 150; originally in Wilhelm Ehmann, “Die Liederstunde des Volkes,” in *Deutsche Musikkultur*, 1 (1936): 24.

<sup>167</sup> “...überwinden wir die bloße „Vorführung“ und führen zum Erlebnis der Gemeinschaft. Auch das Hören ist dann nur noch eine Steigerung, nicht aber Selbstzweck.” Spratte, „Die Schulfeier,” 139; originally from Siegfried Schlövg, “Das Volkslied als Element der Fei ergestaltung,” in *Die deutsche Schulfeier* 9 (1942): 176.

<sup>168</sup> “Wenn das Kirchenlied dem Kirchenjahr folgt, folgt das Volkslied dem Volksjahr, dem politischen und natürlichen Jahr...Die wirre, frei verfügbare erhält ihre feste Ordnung. Jedes Lied treibt seine Wurzeln in den Lebensboden zurück. Es ist unverrückbar geworden...Wenn ein bestimmtes Lied erklingt, tritt der entsprechende Jahresabriss ein...Im Liedersingen wird der Jahreskreis tönend gewendet. Am Lied gibt sie auch die Jahreszeit zu erkennen; im Lied enthüllt sich das Fest.” Brade, “BdM Identität,” 152; originally in Ehmann, “Die Liederstunde des Volkes,” in *Deutsche Musikkultur*, 74.

that there is no private life. Rather, you remain part of your community and its higher goal.<sup>169</sup>

### Music, Children, and State Intentions:

The two fundamental strengths of the song, its form of expression (which springs from joy for life) and its structured form, which aims at order, remain effective even in the simplest song, the children's song. The influence on building character, which comes from joyful participation, is therefore unmistakable in the children's song. In that with this at the same time the first integration into the community takes place, the children's song and children's games set the task for the educator of making these fundamental strengths of education effective in the education of the small and smallest, in the national consciousness of their later to be developed national-political duties.<sup>170</sup>

Thus children's songs were not about play, but rather structure, character building, community, and duty to the state – what former BdM *Führerin* Carola Stern called a “singing dictatorship”:

This National Socialist State was positively something of a singing dictatorship. It was constant singing. At village marches, at the camp, at the camp fire, during the celebratory days...sometimes I ask myself, which individual had made a greater impression on us. Adolf Hitler or Hans Baumann<sup>171</sup>, and I am inclined to speak of Hans Baumann.”<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> “Sie geloben sich der Gemeinschaft und stellen das Ziel der Gemeinschaft höher als ihr „Ich“. Sie sollen tanzen und fröhlich sein, sollen aber wissen, dass es für sie kein Privatleben gibt, sondern dass sie Teil bleiben ihrer Gemeinschaft und ihres hohen Zieles.” Von Schirach, *Die Hitler Jugend*, 98.

<sup>170</sup> “Die beiden Grundkräfte des Liedes, seine aus der Lebensfreude quellende Äusserungsform und seine auf Ordnung hinwirkende, gegliederte Form, zeigen sich mithin bereits im einfachsten Liedgebilde, dem Kinderlied wirksam. Der Einfluss auf die Charakterbildung, die aus freudiger Anteilnahme kommt, ist daher im Kinderliede unverkennbar, und da hierbei zugleich eine erste Einordnung in eine Gemeinschaft stattfindet, stellen Kinderlied und Kinderspiel den Erzieher vor die Aufgabe, im Volksbewusstsein der später hieraus zu entwickeln nationalpolitischen Aufgaben diese Grundkräfte der Erziehung in der Erziehung der Kleinen und Kleinsten wirksam zu machen.” Günther Noll, “Kinderlied und Kindersingen,” in *Lieder in Politik*, 115. Originally in Ekkhard Pfannenstiel, „Das Lied im Kindergarten,” in *Kindergarten* (1941): 149.

<sup>171</sup> Hans Baumann, the most prominent Nazi composer of children's songs.

<sup>172</sup> Gottfried Niedhart, “Sangeslust und Singediktatur im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland,” in *Lieder im Politik*, 5.

Another former *BdM-Führerin*, Ilse Strobel, not only referred to the “singing dictatorship”, but perceptively observed why the regime emphasized song as it did:<sup>173</sup>:

Through them [songs] we committed ourselves to a goal, to obedience and to loyalty to the *Führer* and *Volk*. Through them all the great feelings a youngster can muster were awakened. Our belief and idealism found their expression in them. And through their effect our gaze was diverted, also in our songs, to what stood behind our “great goal” in political reality.<sup>174</sup>

Strobel’s understanding of the effect of singing in the BdM will be shown to parallel my later analysis of BdM official repertoire in *Wir Mädels singen!*

### BdM; ‘Blood and Soil’; Music:

Strobel’s reference to the “greatest goal” of the contemporary political reality was explicitly stated by Wolfgang Stumme in 1944. In Stumme’s book *Musik im Volk*, he explained that music was a “racial and soulful (*blutgebunden-seelische*) form of expression” to be used in the “great task of upbringing.”<sup>175</sup> Joseph Goebbels added a significant term to describe his vision of what connected cultural value and racial purity. To him, German culture was required to be “firmly and indissolubly rooted in the *Volk* customs of the Mother earth (*Mutterboden*).”<sup>176</sup> The term *Mutterboden* was used again in 1939 by Nazi music pedagogue Walter Kühn to understand the purpose of folksongs in

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<sup>173</sup> Fritz Jöde’s student, Wolfgang Stumme, became the *Hitler-Jugend* pedagogue and head of the Music Division of the Cultural Office of the *Reichsjugendführung* (RJF) in 1935. This division of the RJF was the most successful and aggressive Nazi cultural institution of learning. The office established a huge network of music institutions that employed more than 1000 Nazi pedagogues by 1939.

<sup>174</sup> “Durch sie bekannten wir uns zu einem Ziel, zu Gefolgschaft und Treue für Führer und Volk. Durch sie wurden all grossen Gefühle, deren eine Jugend fähig ist, wachgerufen, und unser Glaube und Idealismus fand in ihnen seinen Ausdruck. Un mit durch Ihre Wirkung war uns eben auch durch unsere Lieder der Blick versetzt auf das, was hinter unserem ‘grossen Ziel’ in der politischen Realität stand.” Spratte, „Die Schulfeste,” 144; originally in Staatsarchiv Detmold, D 72 Strobel Nr. 20.

<sup>175</sup> Spratte, “Die Schulfeste und ihre Rolle im Erziehungssystem des Dritten Reichs,” in *Lieder in Politik*, 134; originally in Wolfgang Stumme’s *Musik im Volk* (Berlin: C. F. Vieweg, 1944), 11.

<sup>176</sup> Spratte, “Die Schulfeste,” in *Lieder und Politik*, 134; originally in Joseph Goebbels, *Die deutsche Kultur vor neuen Aufgaben* (Munich: Signale der Zeit, 1934), 335-6. See also Friedrich K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1982), 123.



National Socialist context. “The traditional folksong...” Kühn wrote, “was understood as the *Mutterboden* of German culture that served...to construct a cultural and historical place of identity.”<sup>177</sup>

The term *Mutterboden* deliberately blurs the distinction between the reproductive abilities of female biology and the growth cycles of geology. From a Nazi ideological perspective, the differences between these two sites of fertility disappeared with regard to girls and women.<sup>178</sup> Nazi understanding of girls and women as (future) mothers thus relegated them to both ‘natural’ and domestic spaces. With women in the home, their main influence was felt in raising children; this task inevitably included moral and cultural upbringing. The domestic (blood) and ‘natural’ (earth) spaces of female influence, conflated in the term *Mutterboden*, fertilized the development of the folksong genre.

Hitler cynically employed this chain of semiotic meanings when he proclaimed “Blood and Race will become the source of artistic intuition again.”<sup>179</sup>

*Reichsjugendführer* Baldur von Schirach watered down Hitler’s views and made them more friendly and accessible in BdM guidelines:

The BdM must deal with the problems of a cultural *Gestaltung* of National Socialist ideas differently than many groups and organizations in Germany have previously done, because the latter have mixed up national-socialist culture with singing rounds [*Liederkränzchen*], groups [*Liedertafeln*] and similar things. The BdM must actually see its calling to create a new cultural stance, a new style from out of itself.”<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> “Das traditionelle Volkslied...verstanden als „Mutterboden der deutschen Kultur“, diene...der kulturellen und historischen Identitätsfindung.” Spratte, 139; originally in Walter Kühn, *Führung zur Musik Voraussetzungen und Grundlagen einer einheitlichen völkischen Musikerziehung* (Lahr (Baden): M. Schauenberg, 1939), 111.

<sup>178</sup> I will discuss this later with regard to the song “Erntelied”, from *Wir Mädel singen!*.

<sup>179</sup> “Blut und Rasse werden wieder zur Quelle der künstlerrischen Intuition werden.” *Hitler-Worte*, 10; originally from Hitler’s speech in the *Reichstag*, March 23, 1933.

<sup>180</sup> “Der BdM... muss er sich mit den ganzen Problemen einer kulturellen Gestaltung der nationalsozialistischen Idee befassen muss, auf andere Weise, als viele Gruppen und Organisationen in

However Erna Bohlmann, BdM *Hauptreferentin* [chief reporter] from the office of culture spoke less euphemistically about the role expectations of BdM girls:

The cultural work of the BdM, which shares the common, final clarity of goals of the *Hitler-Jugend*, offers the prerequisites for the unified experience of the national community [*Volksgemeinschaft*] on the great, unifying days of the year. Step by step and surely, this work makes young girls ripe for their specific tasks in their future families.<sup>181</sup>

Together, these declarations by von Schirach and Bohlmann emphasize different aspects of the same issue; while von Schirach emphasized cultural development for girls and skirted the domestic roles and responsibilities, Bohlmann did just the opposite. Their relative positions of power *vis à vis* the BdM probably contributed to their perceptions of girls' most appropriate work for the Reich. Von Schirach, having a less direct involvement with the BdM, could afford to offer ideal expectations; Bohlmann, working in the *Kulturamt* [Office of Culture], likely wrote with a greater sense of immediate need and reality.

#### BdM Music: Celebrating Bonds of Community and Womanhood:

*The man's world is said to be the State, his struggle, his readiness to devote his life to the service of the community...the woman's is a smaller world. For her world is her husband, her family, her children, her home...The greater world is*

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Deutschland bisher getan haben, die nationalsozialistische Kulture mit Liederkränzchen und Liedertafeln und ähnlichem verwechseln. Der BdM muss es eigentlich als seine Berufung empfinden, aus sich heraus eine neue kulturelle Haltung, einen neuen Stil zu formen." Anna Christine Brade, "BDM Identität zwischen Kampflied und Wiegenlied: eine Betrachtung des Repertoires im BdM-Liederbuch *Wir Mädel singen*," in *Lieder in Politik*, 151; originally Baldur von Schirach, *Schüler im neuen Staat* 4 (January 1934): 30; also Jürgens, 138.

<sup>181</sup>"Wenn wir als Mädel unsere besonderen Aufgaben in der Volkstums- und Kulturarbeit zu erfüllen haben...Die Kulturarbeit des BdM bereitet in gemeinsamer letzter Zielklarheit mit der HJ die Voraussetzungen für die Erlebniseinheit der Volksgemeinschaft an den grossen, alle verbindenden Tagen des Jahres, und macht daneben schrittweise und sicher die Mädel reif für ihre besonderen Aufgaben in der künftigen Familie." Brade, "BDM Identität," 151; originally Erna Bohlmann, "Das Mädchen in der Kampfzeit," in Hilde Munske, ed., *Mädel im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Freiheitsverlag, 1935), 14.

*built on the foundation of this smaller world.*<sup>182</sup>

In 1940, music pedagogue Michael Alt complained of “how few song selections there are in the feminine musical upbringing that fits with the soulful characteristic of girls.” Alt pleaded for a collection exclusively for girls, including songs such as spinning songs, dance songs, love songs, children’s songs cradle songs and wedding songs:

For the political song of our times arise from the thinking and attitudes of the men’s groups [Männerbunde] and remain largely allied with them. One has to choose very carefully, especially among the celebration songs, those that will match feminine feeling. The songbooks of the BdM are created with attention to this principle.<sup>183</sup>

Thus Alt alludes to the songs of the men’s groups [*Männerbunde*] that likely included men’s organizations of National Socialism and those that came before – as different from women’s songs expressing “soulful” and therefore “feminine” characteristics. Alt’s statement is very important for two reasons, for it explains the song contents and presentations in the BdM songbook *Wir Mädels singen!* that I will analyse later in my thesis, and it alludes to issues surrounding music in youth movements before National Socialism.

Sources and statements regarding music for girls in youth movements predating Nazism are almost non-existent. Instead, available sources document music that belongs to the *Bundische* movements of the 1920s and the *Wandervogel* of the 1910s. Authors on the music of the *Wandervogel* analyse songs that speak of adventure, historical military events, heroes, and Christianity, where either nothing is specifically said about girls’

<sup>182</sup> A partial speech by Hitler. Noakes and Pridham, 104; originally in N.H. Baynes, ed., *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler 1922-1939*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), 590.

<sup>183</sup> “Denn das politische Zeitlied entspringt ja vor allem dem Denken und der Haltung des Männerbundes und bleibt ihm auf weite Strecken verhaftet. Man wähle mit Bedacht, vor allem unter den Feierliedern, diejenigen aus, die auch dem weiblichen Empfinden noch angepasst sind. Auf dieser Linie bewegen sich auch die Liederbücher des BdM.” Brade, “BdM Identität,” 163; originally in “Das Liedgut in der Mädchenerziehung,” in *Nationalsozialistische Mädchenerziehung* 16, no. 6 (1940): 90.

involvement, or so little about them as to provide no clarification of their role in the movement.<sup>184</sup> Articles about music of the *bundische* groups do not specifically mention girls, either. Rather, they explain *bundische* music in the context of appropriation between youth groups of different political affiliations.<sup>185</sup> Many songs that became popular in the 1920s were of a genre called *Landsknechtslieder*, a form of song with military and/or violent imagery in 4/4 meter commonly associated with boys.<sup>186</sup>

However, one many extrapolate attitudes about the relationships between the sexes and the roles of girls by examining song contents in the *Wandervogel* songbook collection called *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*.<sup>187</sup> A discussion about *Der Zupfgeigenhansl* is a large subject in itself, and almost all of the BdM songs that I will examine in part four of my thesis do not refer to *Wandervogel* repertoire. However, it remains important to mention that many BdM and *Hitler-Jugend* songs cross reference with those of *Die Zupfgeigenhansl*. Some examples of shared repertoire are:

Als die Preussen marschierten<sup>188</sup>  
 Die Leineweber<sup>189</sup>  
 Es, es, es und es<sup>190</sup>  
 Kein schöner Tod<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Authors like the aforementioned Howard Becker, from 1946 and Peter Stachura, *The German Youth Movement* and many others.

<sup>185</sup> Karin Staverock, "Bündische Lieder in der Hitler-Jugend," in *Lieder in Politik*, 35-60.; Vernon L. Lidke, "Songs and Nazis: Political Music and Social Change in Twentieth-Century Germany," in *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany*, eds. Gary D. Stark and Bede Karl Lackner. (Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1982), 167-200.

<sup>186</sup> In spite of its association with boys, I spoke with a former BdM member who stated that her favorite songs were the *Landsknechtslieder* because she liked their strong martial rhythm.

<sup>187</sup> Hans Breuer, *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, reprint of 1914 ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Schoenhof's Foreign Books, 1946).

<sup>188</sup> [As the Prussians march] Breuer, *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, reprint of 1914 ed., 1946, 220. Cf. Fischer et al., eds., *Klingende Ernte: Musikbuch für Mittelschulen, Klasse 4 bis 6, Zweiter Teil für Jungen* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Vieweg, n.d.), 28-9.

<sup>189</sup> [The Linen Weaver] Breuer, reprint of 1914 ed., 1946, 295. Cf. Walter Rein, *Mein Herz hat sich gesellet: Überlieferte Weisen in dreistimmigen Tonsätzen für Mädelchor* (Potsdam: Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1944), 26-7.

<sup>190</sup> [It, it, it and it] Breuer, *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, reprint of 1914 ed., 1946, 15. Cf. *Fahrtenlied*, Liederblatt der Hitler-Jugend, Sonderausgabe für Jungmädels, Blatt 4: (Wolfenbüttel; Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer-Verlag, n.d.), 9.

Morgen marschieren wir<sup>192</sup>  
 Schlaf, mein Kindelein, schlaf<sup>193</sup>  
 Tanz rüber, tanz nüber<sup>194</sup>  
 Wenn all alle Brunnlein fliessen<sup>195</sup>

The titles of these songs demonstrate ideas that divide along notions of male and female subjects. The two songs “Als die Preussen marschierten” and “Morgen marschieren wir” have themes of war and marching against the enemy. They are included in boys’ Nazi repertoire, but not girls. In contrast, all other songs about children, dancing, contemplating nature and dignified grief are included in girls’ repertoire yet absent in the boys’.

The gendered division of songs deemed appropriate by the Nazi pedagogue Michael Alt therefore had roots in music from collections of the beginning of the twentieth century. Indeed, many of these songs originated centuries before. The aforementioned songs often do not bear dates, but a few have specific historical origins and composers. For example, “Morgen marschieren wir” bears text from the Liller war.<sup>196</sup> “Als die Preussen marschieren” is a Franconian folksong with music by two

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<sup>191</sup> [No More Beautiful Death] Breuer, *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, reprint of 1914 ed., 1946, 212. Cf. Hans Fischer et al., eds., *Deutsche Musik für höhere Schulen, Chorbuch für Mädchen* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Vieweg, n.d.), 44-5.

<sup>192</sup> [Tomorrow We March] Breuer, *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, reprint of 1914 ed., 258. Cf. Fischer et al., eds., *Klingende Ernte: Musikbuch für Mittelschulen, Klasse 4 bis 6; Zweiter Teil für Jungen* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Vieweg, n.d.), 40.

<sup>193</sup> [Sleep, My Little Child, Sleep] Breuer, *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, reprint of 1914 ed., 132. Cf. Adolf Strube, ed., *Kein schöner Land: Musikbuch für höhere Mädchenschulen* (Leipzig, Verlag Merseburger & Co., 1942), 16.

<sup>194</sup> [Dance Here, Dance There] Breuer, *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, reprint of 1914 ed., 272. Cf. *Wir Mädel singen! Liederbuch des Bundes Deutscher Mädel*, ed. Reichsjugendführung, forward by Maria Reiners (Wölfenbittel; Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer-Verlag, 1937), 49. I will discuss this example in full later in the thesis.

<sup>195</sup> [When All the Little Fountains Flow] Breuer, reprint of 1914 ed., 61. Cf. *Wir Mädel singen!*, 103.

<sup>196</sup> Fischer et al., eds., *Klingende Ernte: Musikbuch für Mittelschulen, Klasse 4 bis 6; Zweiter Teil für Jungen*, 40.

composers called Kretzschmer, and A. W. F. von Zuccalmaglio, written circa 1830-40.<sup>197</sup>

All other songs belonging to girls' repertoire bear no dates, composers, or historical meanings, yet all mention specific regions of origin.

Thus much of the folksong repertoire of the BdM was rooted in location and "culture", rather than specific moments in time; historical anonymity of the girls' songs mirrored anonymity of the girls' world. These folksongs, newly contextualized in the Nazi era as *Volksgemeinschaft* songs, "...expressed national feelings rooted in folk and peasant culture," and were copied in new compositions "so the new composers were to give expression to their relationship to the people".<sup>198</sup> BdM repertoire contained both these old and 'new' songs.

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<sup>197</sup> Fischer et al., eds., *Klingende Ernte: Musikbuch für Mittelschulen, Klasse 4 bis 6; Zweiter Teil für Jungen*, 28-9.

<sup>198</sup> Meyer, 284.

## Chapter Five

### Official BdM Repertoire: *Wir Mädel singen!*:

Old and new songs of the BdM, closely related to the ideology of the national community, were compiled in a book called *Wir Mädel singen! Liederbuch des Bundes deutscher Mädel* and published by the *Reichsjugendführung* [Reich Youth Leadership Office].<sup>199</sup> Its first publication in 1936, like its subsequent ones in 1939 and 1943, included selections for specific times of the year, just as Wilhelm Ehmann had earlier declared was so important to observe.<sup>200</sup> Songs for specific Nazi days include the Winter solstice [*Wintersonnenwende mit Vorweihnacht*]; January 30, the Day of German Revolution [*Tag der deutschen Revolution*]; April 20, Hitler's birthday [*Tag des Führers*]; May 1, Day of Work [*Tag der Arbeit*]; Summer solstice/Day of German Youth [*Tag der deutschen Jugend*]; October 1, Day of Harvest [*Tag der Ernte*]; and lastly, November 9, Day of Struggle [*Tag der Kämpfer*].<sup>201</sup> Other songs apart from Nazi commemoration in separate divisions called *Tageslauf im Lager* [daily songs for camp]; *Fahrt und Rast* [travel and rest]; *Volk und Land* [people and land]; and *Arbeit und Stand* [work and status].<sup>202</sup> Approximately half of all these songs commemorate official Nazi holidays.<sup>203</sup>

*Wir Mädel singen!* includes a page-long forward by Maria Reiners. In it, she acknowledged the variety of sources that comprise the BdM repertoire:

Our songs tell of our *Weltanschauung* [world view] and of our positive

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<sup>199</sup> Brade, "BdM Identität," 150; also *Wir Mädel singen!* The 1939 edition had distributed 1.2 million copies, but the 1943 edition had far less due to the paper shortage during the war. I use the 1943 edition for my analyses.

<sup>200</sup> See p. 38 of my thesis.

<sup>201</sup> Brade, "BdM Identität," 153; also *Wir Mädel singen!*

<sup>202</sup> Brade, "BdM Identität," 153-4; also *Wir Mädel singen!*

<sup>203</sup> Brade, 150-2.

affirmation of life: whether it is the political song to the flag or a happy tune or saying before a meal – all these songs form our daily routine, they are expressions of our very being.<sup>204</sup>

This portion of Reiners' address to young girls echoed von Schirach's earlier declaration to form a "new cultural stance" because it states that songs expressed BdM "daily routine...[their] very being" as a necessary aspect of German *völkisch* identity. Reiners further instructs BdM girls on where, when, and with what attitude to perform their repertoire. Significantly, her forword emphasizes that community (*Gemeinschaft*) results from making music:

No celebration can become a real experience if songs are missing. Only through the communally sung song do celebrations obtain their great, powerful sense of obligation. And when we travel, and meet female comrades, whether it is in the north, south, east or west, we know: through our songs, through our common repertoire, we will immediately find a bridge to one another. And in singing we sense: "we are a great unity!"<sup>205</sup>

Ten songs from *Wir Mädels singen!* will be examined here that represent National Socialist themes and the roles of girls in relation to them. "Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne" commemorates the Winter Solstice; "Tanz rüber, tanz nüber" marks May 1, the Day of Work; "Eine Flamme ward gegeben" and "Erntelied" mark the summer solstice on June 21, also known as the Day of German Youth. Songs from daily camp life are old and new compositions entitled "Alle stehen wir verbunden" and "Kein schöner Land in dieser Zeit", while "Wanderlied der Jugend" and "Auf, du junger Wandersmann" are examples of *Fahrtenlieder*. The last songs included in this repertoire sampling -- those

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<sup>204</sup> "Unser Lied kündigt von unserer Weltanschauung und von unserer Lebensbejahung: das politische Lied an der Fahne ebenson wie die fröhliche Weise oder ein Spruch beim Essen – sie formen unseren Tageslauf, sie sind Ausdruck unseres Wesens." In forword of *Wir Mädels singen!*, n.p.

<sup>205</sup> "Keine Feierstunde können wir zu einem wirklichen Erleben werden lassen, wenn unsere Lieder fehlen. Erst durch das gemeinsam gesungene Lied erhalten sie ihre grosse, kraftvolle Verpflichtung...Und wenn wir auf Fahrt gehen, Kameradinnen treffen, sei es im Norden oder Süden, im Osten oder Westen, so wissen wir: durch unsere Lieder, durch unser gemeinsames Liedgut finden wir sofort eine Brücke zueinander, und beim Singen spüren wir: 'Wir sind eine grosse Einheit!'" Reiners, n.p.



most identifiably ‘Nazi’ -- are “In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen” and “Volk, ans Gewehr!”.

### Song Analyses:

The first song to be discussed in *Wir Mädel singen!* is a song by Hans Baumann<sup>206</sup> called "Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne".<sup>207</sup> Baumann wrote the song in 1936, and thereafter it became the most popular Yuletide carol of that year.<sup>208</sup> In fact, “Hohe Nacht” was a prominent song in National Socialist repertoire until the end of the war, and beyond.<sup>209</sup> Known as a *Wiegenlied*, or cradle song, the text of "Hohe Nacht" tacitly accorded with National Socialist policy<sup>210</sup> for two reasons: it minimizes the Christian dimension of Christmas by avoiding direct references to the Virgin Mary, and it commemorates the Winter solstice rather than Christmas Day.<sup>211</sup>

The context of the song’s inclusion in *Wir Mädel singen!* links girlhood to the impending roles, virtues and values of motherhood so heavily emphasized in National Socialist literature.<sup>212</sup> Images in the text of “Hohe Nacht” describe devotion to earthly nature and the universe, as well as guarding of morals:

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<sup>206</sup> Hans Baumann was the most prominent composer of National Socialist music, especially for children.

<sup>207</sup> *Wir Mädel singen!*, 15.

<sup>208</sup> Kinz, 195. Kinz also explains that the song title became the name of a Christmas song collection published in 1936.

<sup>209</sup> According to two former BdM members, “Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne” is still sung at Christmas time at the Montreal church called St. Paul the Evangelist. Interview with Rachel Anderson, 21 March 2002.

<sup>210</sup> During National Socialism, Christianity was looked upon with suspicion because its subject of worship was God instead of Hitler.

<sup>211</sup> Kinz, 196.

<sup>212</sup> See pp. 23-7 of my thesis.

# Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne Wort und Weise von Hans Baumann



2. Hohe Nacht mit großen Feuern, die auf allen Bergen sind – heut muß sich die Erd erneuern wie ein junggeboren Kind.

3. Mütter, euch sind alle Feuer, alle Sterne aufgestellt, Mütter, tief in euren Herzen schlägt das Herz der weiten Welt.

Mus: Hans Baumann, Die Morgenfrühe. Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, Potsdam.

1. Majestic night of the clear stars, they act as broad bridges; our hearts go out over a vast expanse.
2. Majestic night with great flames that burn on all mountains -- today the earth will renew itself, like a newborn child.
3. Mothers, all the flames, all the stars are set up for you. Mothers, deep in your hearts beats the heart of the wide world.<sup>213</sup>

Physical tangibility contrasts with abstraction in the verses of “Hohe Nacht”. The phrase ‘majestic night’ in the first verse acts as a repetitive device, creating a shadowy atmosphere of contemplation of and communion with nature that is unfathomable -- where girls’ spirits reach out into the ‘vast expanse’ of the universe. The stars are clear, and by implication, so are the ‘hearts’ that “go over” there in the sense of pure thought of and loyalty to God, the *Führer*, and Germany.

The second verse of “Hohe Nacht” alludes to the Swiss practise of lighting mountaintop bonfires to demonstrate united territories during historical battles.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>213</sup> Original German: 1. Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne, die wie weite Brücken stehn über einer tiefen Ferne drüber unsre Herzen gehn. 2. Hohe Nacht mit grossen Feuern, die auf allen Bergen sind – heut muss sich die Erd erneuern wie ein junggeboren Kind. 3. Mütter, euch sind alle Feuer, alle Sterne aufgestellt, Mütter, tief in euren Herzen schlägt das Herz der weiten Welt. *Wir Mädel singen!*, 12.

<sup>214</sup> Personal exchanges with Dr. Christoph Niedhöfer and Dr. Tamara Levitz, 3 March 2002.

Metaphorical reference to this historical custom implicitly suggests that fire is an element of nature, it represents community, and its combination with the surface of the earth burns away all traces of the past. The earth, then, is “like a newborn child” implying -- rather than stating -- a mother’s presence. The earth, as the child, is a cradle of community; the mothers’ flaming hearts are unfathomable, ‘natural’ recipients of it because they react to and unite with mysterious elements of nature. Together, mother and child, representing passion and need, begin a new condition of life as a result of their mutually fervent bond.

Conceptual associations in verse two become obvious in the last verse of “Hohe Nacht”. Here, mothers are related to “all the flames” and “all the stars” in a clustered equation with Nature. Their hearts burn with passion and devotion, yet the fervency remains immeasurable, signified by the distant stars. Not only does the mothers’ purity of passion and devotion travel far, but also goes ‘deep’, adding breadth to the immense space enclosing these feminine, maternal sensibilities.

The music of “Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne” reflects sentiments and images of its text. A repeating rhythmic pattern of a half note followed by two slurred quarter notes evokes a rocking motion; its beat inevitably returns to beat one. The monotonous 4-note melody and steady rhythm generates an image of a gently swinging cradle. However, the second melodic phrase to the implied dominant extends beyond the triadic fifth of the tonic -- demonstrating a trite example of word painting on the word “weite”. Similarly, the approach to and retreat from the word “Bruken” are stepwise, illumination the function of the word. A more extended version of word painting occurs in the second melodic half of each verse, demonstrated in verse one as: “our hearts go out over a vast

expanse” (mm.10-12). The “vast expanse” signifies its spatial enclosure by an accelerated, extended rhythmic pattern of quarter notes spanning a major sixth from the highest to lowest notes of the melody.. The final phrase “our hearts go out” (mm. 14-6) arises out of the previous phrase through a D major chord in first inversion (“Ferne”, m.12), settles on the melodic apex of D for two half notes, falls to a half-note on the dominant, then steps down each note in the octave to D. The melodic structure of “Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne” outlines the space that holds a mother’s passion and devotion for the homeland as child. Though seemingly great in the abstract, its sonic realization is small, for the mother’s devotion is confined to a D major scale.

A final remark: “Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne” mirrors Nazi perception of the intellectual, spiritual and emotional capabilities girls and women. Dr. Auguste Reber-Gruber, a consultant on female education in the Ministry of Education, explained this view:

The female differs from the male mind, which excludes inward involvement and takes a cool, businesslike pride in its “objective” attitude. Owing to her natural disposition, her greater experience for life, woman has the capacity for that inner devotion which more deeply fathoms the nature of things and perceives their true value and substance by means of loving absorption.<sup>215</sup>

A completely different kind of song in *Wir Mädchen singen!* comes from the selections for May 1, the Day of National Work. “Tanz rüber, tanz nüber” also belongs to *Der Zupfgeigenhansl* repertoire of the *Wandervogel*.<sup>216</sup> A traditional Franconian folksong, its text is written in dialect:

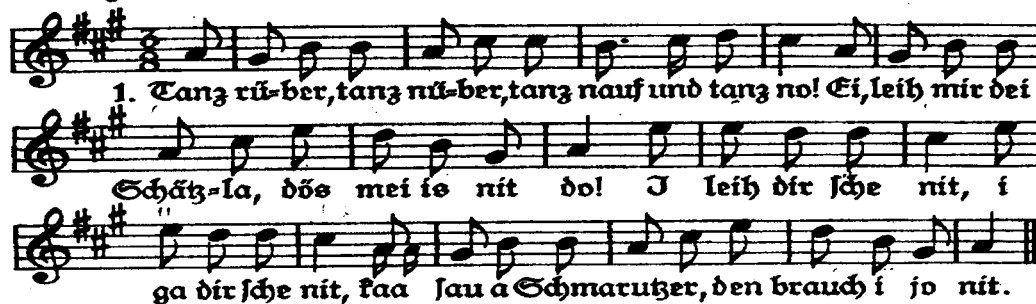
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<sup>215</sup> Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 203. Originally in Auguste Reber-Gruber, *Weibliche Erziehung im NSLB* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1934), 9. Cf. also best-selling Kuni Tremel-Eggert, *Barb* (Munich, Eher, 1934). No German original available.

<sup>216</sup> Hans Breuer, ed., *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, 1911, 272; Hans Breuer, ed., *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, reprint of 1914 ed., 1946, 95.

## Tanz rüber

Aus Franken



2. Und wenn du sau stolz mit deinem Schätzla willst sei, so nimm a Papierla un wickels enei! Un nimm a roats Bandel un strick se fest zu, nachert kimmt dir ka sau a Schmarutzer derzu:

1. Dance over here, dance over there, dance up and dance down. Hey, lend me your darling, mine is not here! I won't lend her to you, I won't give her to you, you're a pig, a freeloader, I just don't need that.

2. And if you want to be as proud as a pig with your darling, so take a paper and wrap her up. And take a red band and bind it fast, and then no pig, no freeloader will take her away from you.<sup>217</sup>

In contrast to the deifying text of “Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne”, this “Tanz rüber, tanz nüber” text shows hostility and mistrust towards women. Its first two sentences set the tone and meaning of the entire song. In “Tanz rüber”, a man orders a woman to “Dance here, dance there, dance up and dance down”. The woman’s reaction is absent; in fact, she has no voice at all. The narrator does not await her reply, but tells another man to “lend me your darling”. The verb “lend” in the phrase reveals an attitude that women are negotiable property between men. Further reinforcement of this attitude shows in the following textual clause “mine is not here!” – according to this text, women are interchangeable, yet desirable objects, evidenced by the word ‘darling’.

However much the woman is a darling object, the narrator implies unreliability in

<sup>217</sup> Original German: 1. Tanz rüber, tanz nüber, tanz nauf und tanz no! Ei, leih mir dei Schätzla, dös mei is nit do! I leih dir sche nit, i ga dir sche nit kaa sau a Schmarutzer, den brauch i jo nit. 2. Und wenn du sau stolz mit deinem Schätzla willst sei, so nimm a Papierla un wickels enei! Un nimm a roats Bandel un strick se fest zu, nachert kimmt dir ka sau a Schmarutzer derzu.” *Wir Mädels singen!*, 49.

his “own” woman, for “[she] mine is not here”. To understand the following textual phrase “I won’t lend her to you, I won’t give her to you” seems to require interpolation of yet a third man’s presence – one who vies for a darling too. The narrator will neither “lend her” nor “give her”, for that man is “a pig, a freeloader”.

The phrase in the second verse “proud as a pig with your darling” denotes that a darling is not a subject of love, but rather an object of pride. In other words, she enhances his status. Remaining text clarifies the issue in “Tanz rüber”: some nameless man – the original “pig” and “freeloader” – had stolen his darling. The narrator’s solution of keeping one’s darling – wrapping and tying her up – infers that the desirable woman cannot be trusted to (or want to) fend for herself when another man tries to take her away.

Interesting parallels occur between the text of “Tanz rüber” and official Nazi declarations that orchestrated women’s activities in the Reich. For example, the narrator’s command of the woman to dance echoes von Schirach’s command to BdM that “[They] You should dance and be happy.” As for the attitude in “Tanz rüber” that women are property of and defined by men, Hitler said: “A woman belongs to the State and with her marriage becomes a citizen.”<sup>218</sup>

The music of “Tanz rüber” minimizes the text’s ugly meaning through its lively dance meter, thereby encouraging participants’ physical expression rather than contemplation. Dance became an important activity in BdM life, because it was, according to Hitler, a “soulful expression” befitting girls and women.<sup>219</sup> It upheld German culture and later provided respite from the grimmer aspects of war. Rather than

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<sup>218</sup> Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 177.

<sup>219</sup> See pp. 23-4 of my thesis for full quotation and references.

reflecting upon such broadly semiotic concepts as ancestors, soldiers, God, the *Führer*, or the role of motherhood, “Tanz rüber” has a rhythmically joyful, private quality apart from solemn rituals so obsequious in the Nazi regime.

Consisting of four simple phrases in A major, the stepwise melody of “Tanz rüber” is liberally sprinkled with triadic leaps not larger than a third. Every phrase begins on an eighth note upbeat that launches a rhythmic pace consisting almost entirely of eighth notes. Repetition of an A-G-sharp-B melodic figure at the upbeats of mm. 1, 5 and 13 mark phrase beginnings, while the figure’s inversion marks cadences at mm. 8 and 16. This figure also clarifies the AA’BA’ structure of the tune.

Many old regional dance songs became popular during the Nazi era and new ones were written in dialect to mimic old ones. Aside from “Tanz rüber”, other examples of revived dance songs were “Dreh dich, Rädchen” from Baden,<sup>220</sup> and “Die Leineweber”<sup>221</sup> from Alsace-Lorraine. The “Tanz rüber” example, like the aforementioned folksongs, had origins that either corresponded to strong Nazi areas of Germany, or to areas deemed to be German, not French, such as the region of Alsace-Lorraine. Therefore, the most obvious ideological reason that “Tanz rüber” is in *Wir Mädels singen!* lies in its historical and *völkisch* expression of soil and simple folk. By its very nature, it accorded with *Volksgemeinschaft* values that were most commonly celebrated on the Day of National Work.

The greatly contrasting attitudes towards women between the texts of “Tanz rüber, tanz nüber” and “Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne” exemplify idealization and

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<sup>220</sup> Adolf Strube, ed., *Kein schöner Land: Musikbuch für höhere Mädchenschulen*. (Leipzig: Verlag Merseburger & Co., 1942), 29.

<sup>221</sup> Walter Rein, *Mein Herz hat sich gesellet: Überlieferte Weisen in dreistimmigen Tonsätzen für Mädelschor* (Potsdam: Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1944), 26-7.

denigration of them. Conceptually, women were either placed high or bound up, but were not on equal footing with men. Author Koonz provides insight by stating: “The separation between masculine and feminine spheres...relegated women to their own space—both beneath and beyond the dominant world of men.”<sup>222</sup>

The song “Eine Flamme ward gegeben” from *Wir Mädel singen!* expresses similar sentiments as “Hohe Nacht der klaren Sterne”, yet it has a less contemplative tone. Simultaneously commemorating the National Day of German Youth and the Summer solstice, “Eine Flamme ward gegeben” elaborates the theme of German humanity as a united, devoted flame for the homeland. Although expressed differently, its text -- like “Hohe Nacht”-- has a theme of burning devotion, gendered as a female sensibility:

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<sup>222</sup> Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 258.



# Eine Flamme ward gegeben

Worte und Weise  
von Heinrich Spitta

1. Ei = ne Flam = me ward ge = ge = ben al = len,  
die zum Lich = te — stre = ben, ei = ne Flam = me, die ver =  
zeh = ret, Flam = me, die hält un = ver = seh = ret, wer  
— nicht ih = rem Bran = de weh = ret. Schlie = ßet den  
Rei = hen, laßt flam = men die Glut! Nichts soll ent = wei = hen,  
kei = ner be = schrei = en, was tief in un = serm Her = zen ruht.

2. Eine Flamme ward gegeben, der entspringt das neue Leben. Lodernd steht sie an der Wende unsrer Zeit, die Feuerbrände sengen, betend hebt die Hände. Schließet den Reihen...

3. Eine Flamme ward gegeben allen, die für Deutschland leben: Rein aus Gott ist sie geboren, hat sich Volkstreu erkoren, die nicht glauben, sind verloren. Schließet den Reihen...

1. A flame has been given to all, to them that strive toward the light, a flame, it consumes. Flame, you remain unquenched for whoever does not resist your blaze.  
Chorus:

Close the ranks, let the embers flame! Nothing shall profane nor reproach what lies deep in our hearts.

2. A flame has been given, out of which new life arises. It remains ablaze for our turn of the times, the burning passion scorches; lift up your prayerful hands. (Repeat chorus)

3. A flame has been given to all, it lives for Germany: pure from God it is born, has given itself to people's troth; who does not believe in it is lost. (Repeat chorus)<sup>223</sup>

The dominant intention behind the text of "Eine Flamme" is to cultivate a

<sup>223</sup> Original German: 1. Eine Flamme ward gegeben allen, die zum Lichte streben, eine Flamme, die verzehret, Flamme die hält unversehret, wer nicht ihrem Brande wehret. Chorus: Schliesset den Reihen, lasst flammen die Glut! Nichts soll entweichen, keiner beschreien, was tief in unserm Herzen ruht. 2. Eine Flamme ward gegeben, der entspringt das neue Leben. Lodernd steht sie an der Wende unsrer Zeit, die Feuerbrände sengen, betend hebt die Hände. (Chorus). 3. Eine Flamme ward gegeben allen, die für Deutschland leben: Rein aus Gott ist sie geboren, hat sich Volkstreu erkoren, die nicht glauben, sind verloren. (Chorus). *Wir Mädels singen!*, 66.

fanatical, unshakeable passion for the great, yet unnamed German cause. According to its text, to partake in the greatness of Germany is to be consumed *en masse* by passion for the homeland. This passion is couched in the metaphor of the flame, and framed in the context of religious fervor.

In the first verse, the flame is set up as an object for which one should strive to participate in, to reach for, and perpetuate. The “flame that has been given to all” comes with an implicit duty: in its welcome, each recipient should discover both how and when to use it. One’s consumption by the flame becomes akin to religious purification, recalling the phrase ‘cleansed by fire’. “Pure from God it is born”, the flame lights a path to righteousness. To resist it, therefore, invokes the presence of evil because “...those who resist it are lost”.<sup>224</sup>

Religious overtones continue throughout the remaining verses. The phrases “lift up your prayerful hands” in verse two and “pure from God it is born” in verse three provide strong images of Christianity. Individuals who do not hold a flame that “lives for Germany” are lost, forsaken by God and literally left in the dark.

Image and ideas in “Eine Flamme ward gegeben” cleverly conflate National Socialism with Christianity. The chorus especially features this aspect in its first line “Close the ranks, let the embers flame!” To “close the ranks” refers to military solidarity in both senses of defense and aggression. To “let the embers flame” sets forth an idea of quiet conviction growing more assertive, but embers can also refer to individuals who, in becoming unified, blaze with strength of action arising from those convictions. The last line “Never shall they profane...” refers to a state of essence: whatever the emotional or

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spiritual condition of the heart, nationalist conviction in the supremacy of one's country is intrinsic, God-given, and therefore natural.

Apart from textual evocation of soldierly might, the music of "Eine Flamme" reflects both military and Christian conventions. Of importance is its melodic setting in the Phrygian mode, for this mode has a rich history of theoretical uses. For example, the Greek philosopher Plato wrote in his treatise *The Republic* that people training to become leaders should avoid melodies expressing softness and indolence; instead, their musical education should consist of Dorian and Phrygian melodies that foster courage and restraint.<sup>225</sup> The philosopher Aristotle agreed, with an added twist:

The musical modes differ essentially from one another, and those who hear them are differently affected by each...the Phrygian inspires enthusiasm.<sup>226</sup>

Centuries later, these early views on music as a character-building tool were passed down to the medieval Fathers of the Christian Church such as St. Augustine and St. Ambrose:

Like the Greeks, they believed the value of music lay in its power not only to inspire divine thoughts but to also to influence – for good or evil – the character of its listeners...This view formed the basis for many of the pronouncements about music made by the church fathers...<sup>227</sup>

In the history of music, according to *Deutsche Musik* the most important thing that music did was build character. In National Socialist terms, "...the rebirth of old heritages...shows itself not only as historical possession of the German people, but at the same time as the eternal, non-historical expression of its ways."<sup>228</sup> Heinrich Spitta, composer of "Eine Flamme", was well known for incorporating these ancient views of the virtues of music. In *Deutsche Musik*, more songs by Spitta such as "Erde schafft das

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<sup>225</sup> Donald J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca, eds., *A History of Western Music*, sixth edition (New York: Norton, 2001), 7; originally in Plato *Republic* 3 (398c-399e); also *Laws* 7 (812c-813a).

<sup>226</sup> Grout and Palisca, 13; originally in Aristotle's *Politics* 8 (1340a).

<sup>227</sup> Grout and Palisca, 25-6.

<sup>228</sup> *Deutsche Musik, Klasse 6 bis 8 für Mädchen und Jungen*, 192.

Neue” and “Heilig Vaterland” are mentioned as other strong examples of modal writing.<sup>229</sup> By implication, then, “Eine Flamme ward gegeben” expresses its text through the Phrygian mode to draw a link between historical meanings and National Socialist context.

However much Heinrich Spitta theoretically aimed to write in the Phrygian church mode that harkens back to ancient Greece, his tune lacks the distinctive sound of the semitone between the tonic and the supertonic; instead, it suggests either A minor, or an extended E minor that will tonicize A minor but never follows through. The reason for this is because the triadic structure of the melody initially seems to be based upon an A minor triad in second inversion. Where the supertonic does appear in m.13, it rises to become an F-sharp, and remains so at its second and third appearances at the song’s final cadence, thereby making the melody actually sound in E minor.

The rhythm of “Eine Flamme” begins with a pattern consisting of a dotted eighth note and a sixteenth note. It launches into an unusual 4/4 meter with poorly conceived rhythmic flow. The pattern occurs again in mm. 2, 4, and 6, then finally at the chorus in m.11. Unfortunately, a glut of quarter notes surrounds this pattern (mm.5-10), making it sound misplaced and directionless. Poor rhythmic quality betrays the text’s call to unity.

The text of “Eine Flamme ward gegeben” is fanatical, yet Spitta’s awkward martial rhythm diminishes that intended fanaticism. In addition, the song’s rhythmic pattern and the textual flow of ideas from one to another overlap disjointedly in between the words “gegeben allen” (m.2) in verses one and three. Moreover, the Phrygian mode is

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<sup>229</sup> J. Müller-Blattau, *Germanisches Erbe in deutscher Tonkunst* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Vieweg, n.d.) in *Deutsche Musik, Klasse 6 bis 8 für Mädchen und Jungen*, page 192. Both examples are also in *Wir Mädel singen!* on pages 25 and 29 respectively. The song called “Erde schafft das neue” in *Deutsche Musik* is entitled “Wir Jungen” in *Wir Mädel singen!*.

conceptually at odds with actual structure of the melody, featuring leaps of perfect fourths throughout that consistently outline triadic shapes. Lastly, the march-like rhythmic profile and melodic shape of melody are incongruently paired with a Phrygian mode, especially so at the song's final cadence decorated by a minor third, rather than major third.

The strongest musical element in "Eine Flamme ward gegeben" is word painting. At the word "streben" (m.4), the prominent contour of a rising fourth occurs between A and D, rather than the usual E to A. Yet another example is the word "beschreien", where a rising eighth note figure leads to the tessitura of the melodic range on note E. An ascent to the E tessitura followed by an octave drop at the cadence (mm. 9-10) melodically underlines the text's basic chain of ideas; the phrases "Brande wehret", "Feuerbrände sengen", "sind verloren" demonstrate the all-or-nothing attitude expected of devotees to National Socialism. A similar emphasis occurs on the phrase "die Glut" (m.12): the word "die" leaps up a perfect fifth to E on "Glut", remaining there for the sole half note duration in the song. Melodic and rhythmic emphasis on "Glut" may be attributed to the elements of strength and time that a flame requires to qualify as a blaze.

The text of "Eine Flamme ward gegeben" does not lend itself to an obvious explanation as to why it is in the repertoire of *Wir Mädel singen!*. However, the imagery of passionate involvement – as Hitler said, "the strength of feeling, the strength of the soul"<sup>230</sup> – was an appropriate theme for girls. In addition, the flame image directly associates with righteousness, and righteousness denotes a standard of high morals; girls as future guardians of the home were expected to uphold these standards. Furthermore, the flame's action simultaneously transforms and consumes the subject it touches. Boys

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<sup>230</sup> See p. 23-4 in my thesis for full quotation.

and girls in Nazi society paralleled this active/passive relationship through traditional gender roles that became polarized in fascist politics.

*Wir Mädel singen!* also includes the song “Erntelied” in its collection of Summer solstice/National Day of German Youth repertoire. Written by Hermann Roth<sup>231</sup>, “Erntelied”’s words and verse divisions unmistakably equate gender with biology:<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> No biographical information available.

<sup>232</sup> Original German: 1. Wir geben als Pflüger durch unsre Zeit, wir machen den Akker zur Frucht bereit und säen in heilige Erden. Erwachsen die Saaten, die Ernte is weit. Doch über unsre Vergänglichkeit wandert das deutsche Werden. 2. (Männer:) Wir haben gesät und gerühret die Hand, gewartet bis Saat in der Reife stand und unsere Ernte gehalten. Wann sich erfüllet unsere Zeit, wird über unsre Vergänglichkeit Reife sich neu entfalten. 3. (Frauen:) Wir schauen die Erben von unserem Blut, in denen Wille und Zukunft ruht und schauen auf ihre Saaten. Wir hüten die deutsche Gläubigkeit. Denn über unsre Vergänglichkeit wachsen neue Taten. 4. (Alle:) Wir haben Mut und Willen zur Saat und glauben an die Vollendung der Tat, die wie schaffend gegründet. Und ist unsre Ernte so fern und weit: Hinaus über alle Vergänglichkeit unsterbliches Leben sich findet. *Wir Mädel singen!*, 76.

# Erntelied

Worte von Hermann Roth  
Weise von Heinrich Spitta

1. Wir gehen als Pflüger durch unsre Zeit, wir  
ma-chen den A-cker zur Frucht be-reit und  
sä-en in hei-li-ge Er-den. Es  
wach-sen die Saa-ten, die Ern-te ist weit. Doch  
ü-ber uns-re Ver-gäng-lich-keit  
wan-ert das deut-sche — Wer-den.

2. (Männer:) Wir haben gesät und gerühret die Hand, gewartet bis Saat in der Reife stand und unsere Ernte gehalten. Wann sich erfüllet unsere Zeit, wird über unsre Vergänglichkeit Reife sich neu entfalten.

3. (Frauen:) Wir schauen die Erben von unserem Blut, in denen Wille und Zukunft ruht und schauen auf ihre Saaten. Wir hüten die deutsche Gläubigkeit. Denn über unsre Vergänglichkeit wachsen neue Taten.

4. (Alle:) Wir haben Mut und Willen zur Saat und glauben an die Vollendung der Tat, die wir schaffend gegründet. Und ist unsre Ernte so fern und weit: Hinaus über alle Vergänglichkeit unsterbliches Leben sich findet.

1. All: We go as ploughmen through time, we make the field ready to bear fruit and sow into the holy earth. The seeds grow; the harvest is wide. Yet over our mortality arches the German Becoming.
2. Men: We have sown and bestirred our hand(s), have waited until the seed has ripened and have held our harvest. When our time comes, over our mortality a new maturity shall unfold.
3. Women: We behold the heirs of our blood, in whom the will and future are held and we look upon their seeds. We keep watch over German faith. For over our fleeting nature new deeds grow.
4. All: We have the courage and will to plant and believe in the fulfillment of the act which we have creatively founded. And even if our harvest is so far away, out beyond all mortality, undying life will be found.

Within the idea of inseparability between gender and biology are equations of masculinity with activity, and femininity with passivity: men plant and stir; women nurture. The metaphor of the autumn harvest as an endpoint of gestation implicitly alludes to planting and nurturing as natural extensions of their sexed bodies. Both await the harvest from their ‘essential’ perspectives, whose duality is perceived, in National Socialist terms, to form a complete, natural whole in preparation for future generations of Germans who will be rewarded by God. Textual wording of the active/passive split reveals more gendered dynamics. For example, in the sexual metaphor of men planting seeds, women act (‘nurture’) as conduits of future generations as if their presence in the sexual act had no other purpose – these in a girls’ *Liederbuch*, a model of how girls should behave in order to fulfill their duty to the Reich.

“Erntelied” is found not only in *Wir Mädels singen!*, but is cross-referenced in another piece of BdM literature from the months of September and October of 1941, entitled *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend: Ausgabe Bund deutscher Mädels und BdM-Werk „Glaube u. Schönheit“*.<sup>233</sup> This pamphlet consists of three sections. The first is called “Jugend hilft dem Führer” (Youth helps the Führer) and “Praktische Anleitung für die Werkarbeit für das WHW” (Practical Instructions About the Work for WHW); the second is called “Mädels, sei gesund an Leib und Seele” (Girls: Be Healthy in Body and Soul); and the last section is called “Nur gesunde und kraftvolle Menschen können die Zukunft unseres Volkes tragen” (Only Healthy and Strong People can carry on the Future of our *Volkes*). The song “Erntelied” is a part of the third section.

The section “Nur gesunde und kraftvolle...” discusses the requirement of racial purity in great detail, such as the marriage laws which forbade the marriage between

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<sup>233</sup> *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend* 1 (September-October 1941).



individuals with chronic illnesses of any kind,<sup>234</sup> and especially between individuals where one party was Jewish.<sup>235</sup> An unsourced quotation from the *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend* sums up the serious message of the marriage laws:

Keep your blood pure. It is not only yours. It comes from afar. It flows far away. It is heavy with a thousand ancestors, and our entire future flows within it.<sup>236</sup>

Continuing on from this, the *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend* reads:

...only then, when we never forget this, will we fulfill our duty to our people. Today, health is the center of the greatest battle of destiny of all time. This battle is not only about the continuation of the state, but rather about the very being or non being of us, the German people, and thus about the future of our German blood for all time. We want to think about this always and find our place in the struggle in this context.<sup>237</sup>

Immediately after these words, the song “Erntelied” appears, drawing an unmistakable parallel between the importance of the marriage laws and the song’s text. These final phrases, the contextual insertion of “Erntelied” in the material, and the song’s presence in *Wir Mädel singen!* all contribute to the text’s social admonition to guard racial purity and the roles of men and women in German society.

Heinrich Spitta, author of “Eine Flamme ward gegeben”, also wrote the melody of “Erntelied”. Like “Eine Flamme”, Spitta composed “Erntelied” in a somber key, most likely because the text delivers a serious and contemplative message. The minor key of “Erntelied” sounds comparable to that of a church hymn.

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<sup>234</sup> *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend*, 43-4.

<sup>235</sup> *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend*, 45.

<sup>236</sup> “Halte dein Blut rein. Es ist nicht nur dein. Es kommt von weit her. Es fließt weit hin. Es ist von tausend Ahnen schwer, und all Zukunft strömt darin.” *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend*, 45.

<sup>237</sup> “Gesunde Kinder werden nur von gesunden Müttern geboren. Zu dieser Gesundheit gehören Sauberkeit, Zucht und Stolz – nur dann, wenn wir das niemals vergessen, erfüllen wir unsere Pflicht in unserm Volk. Es steht heute mitten im grössten Schicksalkampf aller Zeiten. Dieser Kampf geht nicht allein um den Bestand des Staates, sondern um Sein oder Nichtsein unseres deutschen Volkes und damit unseres deutschen Blutes für alle Zukunft. Daran wollen wir stets denken und daraus unsern Platz in diesem Ringen finden.” *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend*, 46.

Oddly paired with Spitta's choice of key is its simple, leaping tune in a sprightly 4/4 meter. Although no tempo marking is indicated, one may infer the pace of the song by its triadic shape and leaping upbeat that conjure up marching songs rather than hymns. "Erntelied"'s twice-repeated first phrase establishes the key and may also allude to the repetitive action of "moving like a plough". At the words "säen in heilige Erden" (mm.5-6), the melody descends in an undulating stepwise motion, painting a picture of seeds dropping into the earth. Rhythmic repetition of the note A in mm. 6-8 alludes to suspended time as the seeds grow.

The last two phrases, beginning on the upbeat of m.8, have the most dramatic sound in the song. At the words "Doch über unsre Vergänglichkeit", the triadic, melodic contour parallels that of "Erntelied"'s opening phrase, yet its tonality changes from D minor to D major. The transformation from minor to major sound thus crudely depicts, in both spiritual and emotional terms, a joyous welcome extended to inevitable death. Doubled voices on the words "wandert das deutsche Werden" symbolize the multitudinous souls swooping up the D major scale into Heaven.

Apart from "Erntelied"'s coded message of guarding racial purity, ideas of German men's and women's roles in perpetuating the cycle of life may be understood in two important contexts. In a contemporary sense, the welcoming of death echoed a Nationalist Socialist attitude about death as sacrifice – yet the presentation of this idea differed between boys and girls; what author Frevert termed "Unity in death", and "Unity in suffering", respectively.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> See page 26 of my thesis; Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 196.

A similar song about racial purity may be found in the camping songs of *Wir Mädel singen!*. “Alle Stehen wir verbunden”<sup>239</sup> is a devotional song to the flag, one of what author Spratte calls “We-songs”.<sup>240</sup> Written by Herybert Menzel, the text emphasises the unity of one people under one rule:

**Alle stehen wir verbunden**      Worte von Herybert Menzel  
Weise von Georg Blumenfaat

1. Al-le ste-hen wir ver-bun-den un-ter  
un-serer Fah-ne Schein. Da wir uns als Volk ge-fun-den,  
geht nicht ei-ner mehr al-lein, geht nicht ei-ner mehr al-lein.

2. Alle stehen wir verpflichtet Gott, dem Führer und dem Blut. Fest  
im Glauben aufgerichtet, froh im Werk, das jeder tut.

3. Alle wollen wir das Eine: Deutschland, du sollst leuchtend stehn.  
Wolln in deinem hohen Scheine unser aller Ehre sehn.

1. We all stay in solidarity under our shining flag. There we find ourselves as one people, no one goes alone anymore; no one goes alone anymore.
2. We all stay in duty to God, the *Führer*, and the blood. Firm in conviction of faith, happy in work that each does.
3. We all want to be as one: Germany, you shall stay alight. We will see all of our honor in your bright light.<sup>241</sup>

The textual meaning of “Alle stehen wir verbunden” is straightforwardly ideological, one of the few texts in *Wir Mädel singen!* relatively unadorned with metaphors. Mrs.

Schleiermacher, former BdM and *Jungmädel Gruppenführerin*, stated that each openly National Socialist song “spoke for itself”. Elaborating further, she said, “There aren’t

<sup>239</sup> *Wir Mädel singen!*, 98.

<sup>240</sup> Spratte, 141.

<sup>241</sup> Original German: 1. Alle stehen wir verbunden unter unsrer Fahne Schein. Da wir uns als Volk gefunden, geht nicht einer mehr allein, geht nicht einer mehr allein. 2. Alle stehen wir verpflichtet Gott, dem Führer und dem Blut. Fest im Glauben aufgerichtet, froh im Werk, das jeder tut. 3. Alle wollen wir das Eine: Deutschland, du sollst leuchtend stehn. Wolln in deinem hohen Scheine unser aller Ehre sehn. *Wir Mädel singen!*, 98.

really that many songs that were pointing to ideology. It was more [about] a love for your country.”<sup>242</sup>

“Alle stehen wir verbunden”, like “Erntelied”, has a cross reference in the third section of the BdM *Schulungsdienst*. Its insertion occurs immediately after the section entitled “Mädel, sei Gesund an Leib und Seele”.<sup>243</sup> The text at the end of this section speaks of the hierarchy in Nazi society based upon the sexes:

[We need] to protect the strength of our people, so that we can take hold of the future with pure, ready hands. That is why we must watch ourselves and keep healthy in body and soul. Then our own life will also one day be rich and fulfilled. But most of all, then we can stand in front of our soldiers and before the *Führer*.<sup>244</sup>

This message clearly implies that women and girls are subject to, must win, and must keep the approval of more powerful men (soldiers and *Führer*) of their society. In context, however, perverts a well-known Christian dictum by St. Paul the apostle: “The head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God.”<sup>245</sup> In National Socialist ideology, the *Führer* replaced Christ.

Words of the *Führer* himself are inserted between “Alle stehen wir verbunden” and title heading “Nur gesunde und kraftvolle Menschen können die Zukunft unseres Volkes tragen”:

We have to fight to secure the survival and propagation of our race and our people, to nourish its children, and to keep its blood pure, to keep the fatherland

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<sup>242</sup> Interview with Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002.

<sup>243</sup> *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend*, 37.

<sup>244</sup> “Die Kraft unseres Volkes zu hüten, damit wir einst mit reinen, bereiten Händen die Zukunft anpacken können, Darum müssen wir über uns wachen und uns gesund erhalten an Leib und Seele, Dann wird auch unser eigenes Leben einmal reich und erfüllt sein, dann können wir aber vor allem vor den Soldaten und vor dem *Führer* bestehen.” *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend*, 36.

<sup>245</sup> Rosemary Agonisto, ed., *History of Ideas on Woman: A Source Book* (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), 71. Originally from I Corinthians 7:1-15, 25-40; 11:2-15; 14: 34-5, 40. King James Version.

free and independent, so that our people can mature into fulfilling the task the Creator has assigned to them.<sup>246</sup>

The E minor music of “Alle stehen wir verbunden”, written by Georg Blumensaat, is as simple as its text. Beginning on the downbeat, the first and second phrases are divided by a rest that emphasizes the message of solidarity. A similar emphasis occurs at the end of the second phrase “unter unser Fahne Schein”, but the half rest here marks the both the end of the first textual idea and sets up the continuance of the song. Chord doubling in the second and fourth phrases (mm.3-4; 8-10) underline the important images of the song such as “Gott”, “Führer”, “Blut”, “Fahne” “Werk”, and “Ehre”. The Picardy Third at the final cadence draws a link between new music of the Reich and old conventions of musical mastery,<sup>247</sup> however it also signifies the feeling of joy expected to underlie a people’s solemn undertaking of National Socialism – in work and with honor, alone no more.

“Alle stehen wir verbunden” starkly contrasts with a 19<sup>th</sup> century German song called “Kein schöner Land in dieser Zeit”.<sup>248</sup> “Kein schöner Land”, another camp song in *Wir Mädels singen!*,<sup>249</sup> was also included in a song collection for the *Jungmädels*<sup>250</sup> and

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<sup>246</sup> “Für das wir zu kämpfen haben, is die Sicherung des Bestehens und der Vermehrung unserer Rasse und unseres Volkes, die Ernährung seiner Kinder und die Reinerhaltung des Blutes, die Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit des Vaterlandes, auf dass unser Volk zur Erfüllung der auch ihm vom Schöpfer zugewiesenen Aufgabe heranzureifen vermag.” *Schulungsdienst der Hitler-Jugend*, 37. Note also how this quotation speaks of Germany’s land in terms of clearly defined masculine and feminine qualities. This statement also draws a strong parallel to the one made by Gertrud Scholtz-Klink on p. 26 of my thesis.

<sup>247</sup> Contemporary emulation of these old musical techniques were especially accepted if songs glorified the peasants, people, and simple virtues. Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 282.

<sup>248</sup> “Kein schöner Land in dieser Zeit” was written by A. W. F. Zuccamaglio in 1840. From *Abendlieder, Liederblatt der Hitler-Jugend* (Wolfenbüttel; Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1940?), 6-7.

<sup>249</sup> *Wir Mädels singen!*, 108.

<sup>250</sup> *Abendlieder, Liederblatt der Hitler-Jugend*, 6-7.

became the title for a girl's high school music book.<sup>251</sup> Indicators in the text point to the song's popularity throughout Germany, rather than tying the song to any specific region.<sup>252</sup>

**Kein schöner Land in dieser Zeit**      In ganz Deutschland

1. Kein schö-ner Land in die-ser Zeit, als hier das  
uns-re weit und breit, wo wir uns fin-den wohl un-ter  
Lin-den zur A-bend-zeit, wo wir uns  
fin-den wohl un-ter Lin-den zur A-bend-zeit.

2. Da haben wir so manche Stund gegessen da in froher Rund und  
taten singen; die Lieder klingen im Eichengrund.

3. Daß wir uns hier in diesem Tal noch treffen so viel hundertmal,  
Gott mag es schenken, Gott mag es lenken, er hat die Gnad.

4. Jetzt, Brüder, eine gute Nacht, der Herr im hohen Himmel wacht;  
in seiner Güte uns zu behüten ist er bedacht.

1. No more beautiful land in this time, as here that is ours so broad and wide,  
where we find ourselves under the Linden tree in the evening, where we find  
ourselves under the Linden tree in the evening.
2. We have sat here so many times in a happy circle singing; the songs ring out in  
the oak forests.
3. That we, here in this valley of ours still meet so many hundreds of times, God  
may give us this, God may change our destiny, he has the mercy.
4. Now, brothers, good night, God in the high sky watches over us; in his  
goodness he is concerned with protecting us.<sup>253</sup>

Three principal ideas conflate to promote a Romantic, *völkisch* image of

Germany: a bucolic setting, group singing, and God's care. Significantly, mention of

<sup>251</sup> *Keine schöner Land: Musikbuch für höhere Mädchenschulen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Verlag Merseburger & Co., 1942).

<sup>252</sup> *Wir Mädels singen!*, 108. The tag beside the title reads "In ganz Deutschland".

<sup>253</sup> Original German: 1. Kein schöner Land in dieser Zeit, als hier das unsre weit und breit, wo wir uns finden wohl unter Linden zur Abendzeit, wo wir uns finden unter Linden zur Abendzeit. 2. Da haben wir so manche Stund gegessen da in froher Rund und taten singen; die Lieder klingen im Eichengrund. 3. Dass wir uns hier in diesem Tal noch treffen so viel hundertmal, Gott mag es schenken, Gott mag es lenken, er hat die Gnad. 4. Jetzt, Bruder, eine gute Nacht, der Herr in hohen Himmel wacht; in seiner Güte uns zu behuten ist er bedacht. *Wir Mädels singen!*, 108.

singing in “happy circles” as a traditional pastime fits well with the Nazi perception of acceptable music making, especially with regard to girls and women.<sup>254</sup> Nature, music and spirituality set in rose-colored nostalgia fitted the National Socialist perception of Germany as a place of utopian harmony, both literally and metaphorically.

The various allusions to harmony – vocal, pastoral and spiritual – coincide with the symmetrical musical structure of “Kein schöner Land”; it has more internal cohesion than other examples from *Wir Mädel singen!* due to its AABB form. In addition, the placement of triadic notes anchors the consonance of the melody, and its textual ideas flow harmoniously with it. Rhythmic patterns are similarly coordinated: the ‘A’ sections feature quarter notes in on beats one and two (mm. 2 and 4), and longer phrases in the B sections feature a string of eighth notes in descending sequential runs, whose repetition ends with a quarter-note (mm. 7 and 10). The layers of unity in “Kein schöner Land” allude to its regional popularity throughout Germany, and the concept of *Gleichschaltung* in National Socialism.<sup>255</sup>

A very different type of music came from the *Fahrtenlieder* in *Wir Mädel singen!*.

According to Mrs. Schleiermacher,

The nicest songs were the ones that talked about going out and marching...Not necessarily marching in that sense that you had to be in line, but you have the same rhythm while you are walking – it entices you to walk.<sup>256</sup>

One *Fahrtenlied* is called “Wanderlied der Jugend”.<sup>257</sup> The text, written by

Hermann Claudius, was “about getting away from industry, from the machines. That had

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<sup>254</sup> See pp. 43 and 47-8 of my thesis.

<sup>255</sup> The word means coordination. The term was used to denote the normalization and subsumption of all originally private groups under Nazi umbrella organizations.

<sup>256</sup> Interview with Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002. The genre of *Fahrtenlieder* was also most closely associated with the *Wandervogel*.

<sup>257</sup> *Wir Mädel singen!*, 120. It also appears in the songbook *Werkfeier: Sieben Lieder der Arbeit* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1940), 10-1.

nothing to do with National Socialism but it fitted that line.”<sup>258</sup> This comment raises a very important issue about the collected music of the BdM in *Wir Mädel singen!*. Most songs were not overtly National Socialist, and for this reason, the songs were viewed as apolitical. A different former BdM member said that she enjoyed the marching rhythm of songs, like the *Landsknechtlieder* because “The beat was [invigorating]...we never listened to the words – we just liked the melodies.”<sup>259</sup>

The fact that many historical songs were co-opted into National Socialist repertoire because their textual messages did not oppose contemporary politics glossed over the larger political policies of the era, allowing people to believe that they were not participating in music making that had negative connotations, consequences, or purposes. Author Vernon Lidke states “...the violence of the text[s] seemed always ameliorated by the joyous bounce of the marching music or the near religious solemnity of the chorales and marchlike anthems. Music softened the brutal language, disarmed and captivated the unwary.”<sup>260</sup> This disarming music, often at variance with textual meanings, became standard fare for children in all Nazi youth organizations.

“Wanderlied der Jugend” is typical of the *Fahrtenlieder* genre due to its simple melody, marching rhythm, and text that speaks of youth as a bearer of new times.

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<sup>258</sup> Mrs. Schleiermacher, interview with Rachel Anderson, 21 March 2002.

<sup>259</sup> Private exchange with former BdM member, 2 April 2002.

<sup>260</sup> Lidke, “Songs and Nazis: Political Music and Social Change in Twentieth Century Germany,” in *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany*, Gary D. Stark and Karl Bede Lackner, eds., (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1982), 186.



# Wanderlied der Jugend

Worte von Hermann Claudius  
Weise von Armin Knab



2. Einer Woche Hammerschlag, einer Woche Häuserquatern zit-  
tern noch in unsern Adern. Aber keiner wagt zu hadern: Herrlich  
lockt der Sonnentag!
3. Birkenlaub und Saatengrün! Wie mit bittender Gebärde hält  
die alte Mutter Erde, daß der Mensch ihr eigen werde, ihm die  
vollen Hände hin.
4. Wann wir schreiten Seit' an Seit' und die alten Lieder singen,  
und die Wälder widerklingen, fühlen wir, es muß gelingen: Mit  
uns zieht die neue Zeit!

1. When we stride along side by side and sing the old songs that echo in the forests, we feel it must succeed: with us, a new time comes.
2. A week of striking hammers, a week of building brick edifices still trembles in our veins. But no one risks a quarrel: the sunny day magnificently entices us!
3. Birch leaves and green seeds! How the old mother earth, as if with pleading gestures, holds out her full hands to humanity so that it becomes her own.
4. Repeat first verse<sup>261</sup>

“Wanderlied der Jugend” has a march-like rhythm in 3/2 meter, beginning on the downbeat. Broad, simple lines outline the shape of the melody. However, the musical aspect of this song is overshadowed by the song’s textual significance.

The text features contrasting clusters of ideas. Companionship, in the first verse, is an assembly of humanity, nature, and music, imaged as marching in the forest while

<sup>261</sup> Original German: 1. Wann wir schreiten Seit an Seit und die alten Lieder singen, und die Wälder widerklingen, fühlen wir, es muss gelingen: Mit uns sieht die neuen Zeit! 2. Einer Woche Hammerschlag, einer Woche Häuserquatern zittern noch in unsern Adern. Aber keiner wagt zu hadern: Herrlich lockt der Sonnentag! 3. Birkenlaub und Saatengrün! Wie mit bittender Gebärde halt die alte Mutter Erde, dass der Mensch ihr eigen werde, ihm die vollen Hände hin! (Repeat first verse). *Wir Mädels singen!*, 120.

singing the “old songs”. By contrast, the second verse describes the noise in “striking” and “trembling” sounds and sensations associated with the impersonal, industrial city. Ideas in the last verse correspond to those of the first verse, although the description of nature here specifically becomes feminine with such images as leafy nature, pleading gestures, and “old Mother Earth”. In turn, “old Mother Earth” signifies the wise woman, past childbearing years, whose “full hands” present the capacity of her wisdom, love, and fecundity.<sup>262</sup> Her “pleading gestures” also parallel an action in the tradition of women’s (second) sex – an action in silence, its visual impression lacking self determination and confidence, coaxing out the tender side of someone or something stronger than her in order to evade what is undesirable.<sup>263</sup>

The inclusion of “Wanderlied der Jugend” in *Wir Mädel singen!* reinforces models of appropriate, ‘natural’ images of feminine roles. Significantly, the song strongly echoes *Wandervogel* aesthetics and repertoire,<sup>264</sup> and likely remains here because its value of simplicity and nature correspond to those of the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft*. Therefore, textual suggestions and meanings of “Wanderlied der Jugend” show themselves to be both highly adaptable to and reliant upon political context.

Another *Fahrtenlieder* in *Wir Mädel singen!* is a traditional Frankish folksong called “Auf, du junger Wandersmann”. A cheerful, A-major tune, it features stepwise motion liberally sprinkled with repeated note and triadic leaps. “Auf, du junger

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<sup>262</sup> Old Mother Earth is also a common figure in Grimms Fairytales and German myths, including Wagner’s Nordic sagas.

<sup>263</sup> I interpreted “Wanderlied” before I had an opportunity to cross-reference it with other Nazi song material. It so happened that my interpretations fit with an interpretation of “Wanderlied” in the *Werkfeier: Sieben Lieder der Arbeit* song collection. In this collection, each verse in “Wanderlied” is gendered like the previously discussed “Erntelied”; the first verse, repeated at the end, is for an entire chorus. The second verse is marked for male chorus, and the third is marked for the female chorus.

<sup>264</sup> See pp. 3-6 of my thesis.

Wandersmann" fits in well with the agenda of BdM repertoire because it emphasizes *völkisch* values -- youth, activity, and appreciation for things German:

## Auf, du junger Wandersmann

Aus Franken

1. Auf, du jun - ger Wan - ders - mann!  
 set - zo kommt die Zeit her - an, die  
 Wan - der - zeit die gibt uns Freud.  
 Wolln uns auf die Fahrt be - ge - ben,  
 das ist un - ser schön - stes Le - ben;  
 gro - ße Was - ser, Berg und Tal  
 an - zu - schau - en ü - ber - all.

2. An dem schönen Donaufluß findet man ja seine Lust und seine Freud auf grüner Heid, wo die Vöglein lieblich singen und die Hirschelein fröhlich springen; dann kommt man vor eine Stadt, wo man gute Arbeit hat.

3. Mancher hinterm Ofen sitzt und gar fein die Ohren spitzt, fein Stund fürs Haus ist kommen aus, den soll man als Gsell erken - nen oder gar ein Meister nennen, der noch nirgends ist gewesen, nur geseffen in sein Nest?

4. Mancher hat auf seiner Reiss' ausgestanden Müß und Schweiß und Not und Pein, das muß so sein: trägt's Felleisen auf dem Ruck - fer, trägt es über tausend Brücken, bis er kommt nach Innsbruck ein, wo man trinkt Tirolerwein.

5. Morgens wenn der Tag angeht und die Sonn am Himmel steht so herrlich rot wie Milch und Blut, auf, ihr Brüder, laßt uns reisen, unserm Herrgott Dank erweisen für die fröhlich Wander - zeit hier und in die Ewigkeit.

1. Arise, you young wanderer! Now comes the time, the time of wandering gives us joy. We want to be gone on our journey, [for] that is the best thing in life: great waters, mountains, and valleys everywhere.

2. On the beautiful Donau river one finds cheer and joy on the green heath, where the little birds sing beautifully and the little deer jump happily; then one comes to a city where one has good work.
3. Some sit before a fire, and carefully prick up their ears and never leave the house – so [why] one should recognize him as a friend or even call him a master, he who has been nowhere and just sat in his nest?
4. Some in their maturity withstood trouble and sweat and need and suffering; it must be so; he carries it over a thousand bridges until he comes to Innsbruck, where one drinks Tyrolean wine.
5. In the morning when the day begins, and the sun is magnificently red in the sky like milk and blood, arise, brothers, let us mature, to show our thanks in all eternity for the happy time of wandering.<sup>265</sup>

Former BdM-*Jungmädel Gruppenführerin* Mrs. Schleiermacher interpreted this text to mean: “You’re young and you are able to go together out into the woods and sing and see something new and be happy, and feel happy walking.” She also noted that *Fahrtenlieder*, generally speaking, were about “adventure... and comradeship.”<sup>266</sup>

One may easily understand why the jaunty “Auf, du junger Wandersmann” was appealing to youth. Its sunny mood, timeless quality, and layers of pastoral, naïve images make for appropriate consumption by young children and youth. Moreover, the song’s *völkisch* images were entirely in step with National Socialist values: glorification of rural Germany, building neighborly community through marching, and plentiful urban labor exalts Germany as the land of plenty.

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<sup>265</sup> Original German: 1. Auf, du junger Wandersmann! Jetzt kommt die Zeit heran, die Wanderzeit die gibt uns Freud. Wolln uns auf die Fahrt begeben, das ist unser schönstes Leben; grosse Wasser, Berg, und Tal anzuschauen über all. 2. An dem schönen Donaufluss findet man ja seine Lust und seine Freud auf grüner Heid, wo die Vöglein lieblich singen und die Herschlein fröhlich springen; dann kommt man vor eine Stadt, wo man gute Arbeit hat. 3. Mancher hinterm Ofen sitzt und gar kein die Ohren spitzt, kein Stund fürs Hausist kommen aus; den soll man als Gesell erkenne oder gar kein Meister nennen, der noch nirgends ist gewest, nur gesessen in seim Nest? 4. Mancher hat auf seiner Reif’ ausgestanden Müh und Schweiss und Not und Pein, das muss so sein: trägt’s es über Tausend Brucken, bis er kommt nach Innsbruck ein, wo man trinkt Tyrolerwein. 5. Morgens wenn der Tag angeht und die Sonne am Himmel steht so herrlich rot wie Milch und Blut, auf, ihr Brüder, last uns reifen, unserm Herrgott Dank erweisen für die fröhlich Wanderzeit, und in die Ewigkeit. *Wir Mädels singen!*, 120-1.

<sup>266</sup> Interview with Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002.

“Auf, du junger Wandersmann” and other similar songs were sung on local hiking trips organized by youth leaders each Saturday. Mrs. Schleiermacher remembered: “Saturday was the youth day. [The BdM or *Jungmädel* leaders] had activities for them: marching, excursions, that kind of thing.” On a greater level, the traveling described in “Auf, du junger Wandersmann” and the local hiking trips of youth day were but small examples of mass traveling undertaken by BdM groups and all state youth groups throughout Germany. Mrs. Schleiermacher recalled a great train journey through the Rhineland in 1938, in which 2000 BdM and HJ members participated. Then a leader, she was assigned to take care of twenty girls from all of Germany whom she did not know.<sup>267</sup> The purpose of these kinds of journeys was to familiarize youth with the different regions and people of Germany. In Hitler’s vision of *Gleichschaltung*, he advocated that all Germans should become unified and acquainted with one another. Forging friendships and common experiences among youth from all parts of Germany was an effective way to combine personal and political bonds.

BdM members followed soldiers into Poland to help German settlers with work most associated with culture: farmwork, housework, and more significantly, education.<sup>268</sup> At the same time that these girls went to the east, a new genre of song arose to express Germany’s expansion policy, known as songs of the East. Most commonly sung around 1937 and 1938, the time of Czechoslovakia’s annexation, these songs drew BdM girls directly into contemporary political issues.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Mrs. Schleiermacher, interview with Rachel Anderson, 21 March 2002.

<sup>268</sup> See pp. 32-3 of my thesis.

<sup>269</sup> Mrs. Schleiermacher, interview with Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002.

Under the division called “Volk und Land”, *Wir Mädel singen!* includes a song of the east entitled “In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen”.<sup>270</sup> Written by composer Hans Baumann, this song became a ubiquitous presence in rallies, parades, and countless songbooks:<sup>271</sup>

**In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen** Worte und Weise  
von Hans Baumann

1. In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen, denn im  
Ostwind stehen sie gut, dann befehlen sie zum  
Aufbruch, und den Ruf hört unser Blut.  
Denn ein Land gibt uns die Antwort, und das  
trägt ein deutsch Gesicht, das für haben viel ge-  
bietet, und drum schweigt der Boden nicht.

2. In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen, laßt sie neue Straßen gehn,  
laßt sie neue Straßen ziehen, daß sie alte Heimat sehn. Denn  
ein Land gibt...

3. In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen, daß sie wehn zu neuer Fahrt.  
Macht euch stark! Wer baut im Osten, dem wird keine Not erspart.  
Doch ein Land...

4. In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen, denn der Ostwind macht sie  
weit—drüben geht es an ein Bauen, das ist größer als die Zeit.  
Und ein Land gibt uns die Antwort...

Aus: Hans Baumann, *Die Morgenfrühe*. Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, Potsdam.

<sup>270</sup> *Wir Mädel singen!*, 175.

<sup>271</sup> Cf. also Guido Waldmann, ed., *An Weichsel, San und Warthe* (Cologne: Tongers, n.d.), 21-2; *Kein schöner Land*, 150. The latter cross-reference classifies it as a historical song, with the following printed information under the verses: “Hanse and German knights, who made the Baltic sea into a German sea, have not left behind any songs for us. Only medieval castle monasteries, churches and citizen dwellings bear witness to their deeds. But today new songs emerge that focus our gaze on the land of the German eastern frontier.” (“Hanse und Deutschreiter, die die Ostsee zu einem deutschen Meer machten, haben uns keine Lieder hinterlassen. Nur Ordensburgen, Kirchen, und Bürgerbauten künden von ihren Taten. Aber heute entstehen neue Lieder, die den Blick auf das Land an der deutschen Ostgrenze richten.”)

1. In the east wind raise the flags, because in the east wind they look good; then they direct a signal to depart, and our blood hears the call.

Chorus:

Then a land gives us the answer, and it carries a German face; for that, many have bled, and that is why the earth is not silent.

2. In the east wind raise the flags, let them go to new places, let them unfurl in new streets, that they see the old homeland. (Chorus repeat)
3. In the east wind raise the flags that wave to a new journey. Protect yourself strongly: whoever builds in the east will be spared no suffering. (Chorus repeat)
4. In the east wind raise the flags, then the east wind makes them broad; around it something is being constructed that is greater than time. (Chorus repeat)<sup>272</sup>

Mixed reactions greeted Hitler's expansion policy, at least on a private level. One former *Jungmädel* Führerin and BdM member<sup>273</sup> stated that she understood the policy as "supporting the idea" of reclaiming lands that belonged to Germany before the First World War. However, Mrs. Schleiermacher viewed the expansion policy as being aggressive, and doubted its validity:

I once said to one of the girls [peer leaders]: 'Now is that really a good thing to do?' [but] she didn't really want to hear about that. She didn't want to see any aggression in that.<sup>274</sup>

Clearly, the message of "In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen" intends to overtake and crush all obstacles in the path of Hitler's expansion policy. Germans are represented in this song as both aggressors and victims. Aggression, masked as a redress of past national weakness, reveals itself in the phrase "our blood hears the call" in verse one.

Similar contextualizing of aggression shows in the second verse through visual evocation

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<sup>272</sup> Original German: 1. In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen, denn im Ostwind stehn sie gut, dann befehlen sie zum Aufbruch, und den Ruf hört unser Blut. Denn ein Land gibt uns die Antwort, und das trägt ein deutsch Gesicht, dafür haben viel geblutet, und drum schweigt der Boden nicht. 2. In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen, lasst sie neue Strassen gehn, lasst sie neue Strassen ziehen, dass sie alte Heimat sehn. 3. In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen, dass sie when zu neuer Fahrt. Wacht euch stark! Wer baut im Osten, dem wird keine Not erspart. 4. In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen, denn der Ostwind macht sie weit, drüben geht an ein Bauen, das ist grosser als die Zeit. *Wir Mädel singen!*, 175.

<sup>273</sup> Anonymous, interview with Rachel Anderson, 21 March 2002

<sup>274</sup> Interview with Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002.

of amassed flags on the streets, as well as in the conceptual conflation of old and new in relation to “homeland”, “places”, and “streets” in verses two and three.

Although the “In die Ostwind hebt die Fahnen” expresses aggression, a stronger statement about Germany’s victimization occurs in the repeating chorus --in the “old homeland” that “carries a German face” where “many have bled”. The sacrificed lives of soldiers and Germany’s loss of the First World War are the reasons “why the earth is not silent”. Germany’s past losses thus call out to a new generation in a manner that recalls the adage “An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.”

The struggle for “reclamation” of the East naturally entailed the probability of pain; hence the admonition to “Protect yourself strongly! Whoever builds in the East, will be spared no suffering.” The verses’ contextualization of suffering implies injustice; the underlying message states that Germany should neither have had to suffer, nor to continue suffering for taking is rightfully theirs.<sup>275</sup> If suffering had to be endured, it was put in perspective as a temporary block to better times. The final phrase of “In den Ostwind” implies that suffering is ultimately for the greater good of Germany, for “something is being constructed that is greater than time.” Time, then, becomes elastic in this song, where it refers to the present time of attendant hardships and the time to come - - known to contemporaries as “the Thousand Year Reich.”

The music of “In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen” sounds stereotypically military. Two constant, alternating rhythmic patterns emerge. One pattern consists of two sets of dotted note values followed by two sets of quarter notes. This pattern begins and ends on upbeats whose repetition is marked by a quarter rest. Its repetition begins on the upbeats

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<sup>275</sup> This attitude dovetails with my interview subject’s assertion that songs of the east spoke of reclaiming ‘German’ lands. 21 March 2002.



of mm. 1, 5, 9, and 13. A second rhythmic pattern is identical, except that four quarter notes become three. Therefore, this pattern ends on beat one, so that two rests mark beats two and three (see upbeats to mm. 3, 7, 11, and 15). Both rhythmic patterns create phrases of eight beats, and in keeping with the strict rhythm, the text is set syllabically. The overall rigor of “In den Ostwind” can be seen to “entice (...) you to march.”<sup>276</sup>

An evocation of marching can also be discerned in the song’s melodic profile. The melody of “In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen” has a consonant, clean sound that reflects its clipped rhythms. Symmetrical leaping figures from E to A occur on the upbeats of mm.1 and 8. The leaping figure becomes more prominent in the chorus, shown in the first and second phrases that outline a second inversion triad in F minor. This shape occurs for the last time in mm.12-3 in the tonic key of A major.

The overall character of melody, rhythm, and text of “In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen” is strongly masculine and soldierly. Aggression and brutality are inherent in the song’s text, yet they are not openly stated; the sole utterance of the word “blood” refers not to violence committed by Germans, but past wrongs done endured by them and their ancestors. Therefore, the text concentrates on Germany’s victimization, where rectification of past suffering becomes common ground for all Germans. In “In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen”, this common denominator was newly contextualized as both a new and nostalgic adventure, where people paraded together “in new streets” to visit the “old homeland” in what becomes a glorified *Fahrtenlied*.

Another significant song of the East included in *Wir Mädel singen!* is called “Volk, ans Gewehr!”. Cross-referenced in countless Nazi music materials, “Volk, ans Gewehr!” is an important example of gendered musical presentation. Separate music

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<sup>276</sup> Mrs. Schleiermacher, interview with Rachel Anderson, 12 April 2002.

volumes of *Deutsche Musik für höhere Schulen*<sup>277</sup> for boys and girls both include “Volk, ans Gewehr!”. In each girls’ and boy’s volume, a chapter of song types are called “Songs of our people”. This chapter has further subsections of songs, each bearing a name. “Volk, ans Gewehr!” is a subsection heading in both volumes; however, title headings and accompanying images in the score are different. The boys’ subsection reads “Lieder der Kampfzeit” [Songs of the Struggle];<sup>278</sup> it shows an image of personified, individual activity. On the other hand, the girls’ subsection reads “Kampf und Bekenntnis” [Struggle and Faith] and accompanies an image of almost religious devotion and relative physical passivity.<sup>279</sup> In *Wir Mädchen singen!*, however, “Volk, ans Gewehr!” appears without visual images:

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<sup>277</sup> Hans Fischer, Willy Hermann and Adolf Hoffmann, eds., *Deutsche Musik für höhere Schulen Klasse 6 bis 8, Dritter Teil für Mädchen; Klasse 6 bis 8, Dritter Teil für Jungen*; 46 and 44 respectively.

<sup>278</sup> See p. 83. *Kampfzeit*, or “time of struggle” refers to early National Socialist efforts to establish its politics in the widest possible public eye. As such, *Kampfzeit* songs emphasized struggle, blood, resurrection of national glory, pride in the swastika, and both specific and non-specific hatred of perceived German enemies.

<sup>279</sup> See p. 84.



# Lieder der Kampfzeit

Volk, ans Gewehr!

1. Siehst du im D=sten das Mor=gen=rot? Ein Zei=chen zur Frei=heit, zur  
 Son=ne! Wir hal=ten zu=sam=men, ob le=beind, ob tot, mag  
 kom=men, was in=mer da wol=le! War=um jehst noch zwi=feln, hört  
 auf mit dem Ha=dern, noch fließt uns deut=sches—  
 Blut in den A=dern. Volk, ans Ge=weh! Volk, ans Ge=weh!



# Kampf und Bekenntnis

Volk, ans Gewehr!



1. Siehst du im O-sten das Mor-gen-rot? Ein Zei-chen zur Frei-heit, zur  
 Son-ne! Wir hal-len zu-sam-men, ob le-bend, ob to-t, mag  
 kom-men, was im-mer da-wol-le! War-um jetzt noch zwi-e-feln, hört  
 auf mit dem Ha-der-n, noch fließt uns deut-sches—  
 Blut in den A-der-n. Volk, ans Ge-wehr! Volk, ans Ge-wehr!

# Volk, ans Gewehr!

Worte und Weise  
von Arno Pardun

1. { Siehst du im O - sten das Mor - gen - rot, ein  
hal - ten zu - sam - men, ob le - bend, ob tot, mag

1. 2.  
Zei - chen zur Frei - heit, zur Son - ne. Wir  
kom - men, was im - mer da wol - le. War -  
um seht noch zwei - feln, hört auf mit dem Ha - dern, —  
noch fließt uns deut - sches — Blut in den A - dern:  
Volk, ans Ge - wehr! Volk, ans Ge - wehr!

2. Viele Jahre zogen ins Land, geknechtet das Volk und belogen. Das Blut unsrer Brüder färbte den Sand, um heilige Rechte betrogen. Im Volke geboren erstand uns ein Führer, gab Glaube und Hoffnung an Deutschland uns wieder. :: Volk, ans Gewehr! ::

3. Deutscher, wach auf, und reihe dich ein, wir schreiten dem Siege entgegen! Frei soll die Arbeit, frei wollen wir sein und mutig und trotzig verwehren. Wir ballen die Fäuste und werden es wagen, es gibt kein Zurück mehr, und keiner darf zagen! :: Volk, ans Gewehr! ::

4. Jugend und Alter — Mann für Mann umklammern das Hakenkreuzbanner. Ob Bürger, ob Bauer, ob Arbeitsmann, sie schwingen das Schwert und den Hammer für Hitler, für Freiheit, für Arbeit und Brot. Deutschland erwache, ende die Not! :: Volk, ans Gewehr! ::

1. Do you see the eastern morning glow? It is a sign of freedom, towards the sun. We keep together, whether living or dead, whatever may come. Why do you still doubt? Stop the wrangling; in us still flows German blood in our veins: Our people, to arms! Our people, to arms!

2. Many years have passed in the land, enslaved us and lied to our people. The blood of our brothers colored the sand, we were cheated out of our holy rights. A *Führer* rose among us — gave us hope and faith in Germany again. Our people, to arms!

3. German, wake up and line up, we stride towards victory! Free shall work be, free we will be and bravely and defiantly bold. We clench our fists and will dare it, there is no going back, and no one may hesitate! Our people, to arms!

4. Young and old — man for man embraces the swastika banner. Whether citizen, whether burgher, whether farmer, whether working man, -- they swing the sword

and the hammer for Hitler, for freedom, for work and bread. Germany, awake, end the suffering! Our people, to arms!<sup>280</sup>

Written by Arno Pardun, the text's general purpose was twofold: to awaken resentment in Germans about their treatment during the First World War, and to justify Germany's expansion into Poland. Many of the ideas, images and phrases in "Volk, ans Gewehr!" predate Nazism. For example, the songbook *Kein schöner Land* lists "Volk ans Gewehr!" as a "historical" song.<sup>281</sup> Written in 1933, it belonged to the time of Nazism's early struggle for power, known as the *Kampfzeit*. Generally speaking, *Kampfzeit* songs borrowed from songs of the First World War, the *Freikorps* and veterans' organizations, the Social Democrats, and Communists.<sup>282</sup>

Because "Volk, ans Gewehr!" belonged to the *Kampfzeit* genre, many of its images and phrases echo other songs of the same ilk. For example, its opening lines "siehst du im Osten das Morgenrot, ein Zeichen zur Freiheit, zur Sonne" draw a parallel to the first lines of the Communist song "Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit":

Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit!  
Brüder, zur Lichte empor!<sup>283</sup>

"Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit" originally was a Russian workers' song, introduced to the German labor movement by conductor Hermann Scherchen, who learned it as

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<sup>280</sup> Original German: 1. Siehst du im Osten das Morgenrot, ein Zeichen zur Freiheit, zur Sonne. Wir halten zusammen ob lebend, ob tot, mag kommen, was immer da wolle. :Warum jetzt noch weifeln, hört auf mit dem Hadern, noch fließt uns deutsches Blut in den Adern: Volk, ans Gewehr! Volk, ans Gewehr! 2. Viele Jahre zogen ins Land, geknechtet das Volk und belogen. Das Blut unsrer Brüder färbte den Sand, um heilige Rechte betrogen. Im Volke geboren erstand uns ein Führer, gab Glaube und Hoffnung an Deutschland uns wieder.: Volk, ans Gewehr! 3. Deutscher, wach auf, und reihe dich ein, schreiten dem Siege entgegen! Frei soll die Arbeit, frei wolln sein und mutig und trotzig verwegen. Wir ballen die Fäuste und werden es wagen, es gibt kein Zurück mehr, und keener darf zagen!,:; Volk, ans Gewehr! 4. Jugend und Alter – Mann für Mann umklammern das Hakenkreuzbanner. Ob Bürger, ob Bauer, ob Arbeitsmann, sie schwingen das Schwert und den Hammer für Hitler, für Freiheit, für Arbeit und Brot. Deutschland, erwache, ende die Not!,: Volk, ans Gewehr! *Wir Mädel singen!*, 181.

<sup>281</sup> Adolf Strube, ed., 155.

<sup>282</sup> Lidke, 171.

<sup>283</sup> Translation reads "Brothers, on to the sun, on to freedom, brothers, rise up to the light!" Lidke, 175.

prisoner of war.<sup>284</sup> Although this song originated with Communists, the worst enemies of National Socialists, its fighting spirit fit well with the ideology of Nazism to become known as a German song.

Another phrase in “Volk, ans Gewehr!” contains references to a non-Nazi song. One reference reads “whether citizen, whether farmer, whether builder, whether working man – they swing the sword and the hammer for Hitler, for freedom, for work and bread.” These words echo the verse from a Communist song entitled “Auf (roter) Tambour, schlag ein” that read: “And if a bloodhound shoots us dead, we die for the flag that’s red.”<sup>285</sup> “Auf (roter) Tambour, schlag ein” was appropriated by the Nazis and given a new title: “Du kleiner Tambour, schlag ein”.<sup>286</sup> The new Nazi version changed the verse to read: “And if Marxists shoot us dead, we fight for freedom, and for bread.”<sup>287</sup>

In full circle, the verses of “Auf (roter) Tambour, schlag ein” and “Du kleiner Tambour, schlag ein” correspond to the final words of “Volk, ans Gewehr!”. Furthermore, similarities between these ideas and images occurred not only in song, but in National Socialist prose, too. An article from June 1939, entitled “Lieder machen Geschichte” [Songs Create History] declared that National Socialism battled for “freedom, labor and bread.”<sup>288</sup>

The musical setting of “Volk, ans Gewehr!” depicts two separate yet related moods. One is of equanimity, reflecting the narrative speech in the song, and the second is of euphoria, glorifying the German Reich. The first mood is realized in an ascending,

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<sup>284</sup> Lidke, 175.

<sup>285</sup> German original reads “Und schießt uns so ein Bluthund tot, wir sterben für die Fahne rot.” Lidke, 179.

<sup>286</sup> “Du kleiner Tambour, schlag ein” was written in the 1920s by Werner Wessel, brother of Horst Wessel of the “Horst Wessel Lied”. Lidke, 179; originally in the *Liederbuch der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeitspartei*, 17-8.

<sup>287</sup> German original reads “Und schießen uns Marxisten tot, für Freiheit kämpfen wir und Brot!” Lidke, 180.

<sup>288</sup> Hans Bajer, “Lieder machen Geschichte,” *Die Musik* 31 (June 1939): 589-92.

symmetrical melodic arc, confined to the range of a minor sixth. Divided by rests, the euphoric mood expresses itself in rising sequences, reached by minor seventh and octave leaps. These different textual moods become unified through a consistently stately and martial rhythm. The chorus “Volk, ans Gewehr!” features compressed, rising symmetry that parallel the song’s opening lines; therefore, they accord with disciplined mental attitudes and physical postures of would-be conquerors.

More interestingly, “Volk ans Gewehr!” became one of ten songs known as *Pflichtlieder*<sup>289</sup> that all members of the Labor Service were required to memorize.<sup>290</sup> “Volk, ans Gewehr!” implicitly asserted that class and political differences of the past could be traded for unity in Hitler’s German Reich -- both for Germany and against its perceived enemies. Thilo Scheller’s 1937 version of “Volk, ans Gewehr!” prints its final line as “Germany, awake! And death to the Jew!”<sup>291</sup> Significantly, this command differs considerably from the version in *Wir Mädel singen!* which says “Germany, awake! End the suffering!”<sup>292</sup> Thus *Wir Mädel singen!* suggests, rather than explicitly states, one of the significant agendas in the Nazi regime.<sup>293</sup> Suffering, rather than killing, was an appropriately gendered response from girls because the former alludes to feeling, while the latter alludes to action.

Thus music of *Wir Mädel singen!* was a collection of songs gathered for BdM girls to express externalized political propaganda. Equally important, the songs reverberated culturally with past female roles in German society. In other words, BdM

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<sup>289</sup> Lidke, 189.

<sup>290</sup> Lidke, 190. From Thilo Scheller, ed., *Singend wollen wir marschieren*, second edition, (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter, 1937).

<sup>291</sup> Lidke, 192. German translation: “Deutschland, erwache! Und Juda – den Tod.”

<sup>292</sup> German translation: “Deutschland, erwache! Ende die Not!”

<sup>293</sup> Koonz says it well: “Hitler, who vacillated on nearly every other political issue, never relented on two biological axioms: Separate the sexes and eliminate the Jews.” *Mothers in the Fatherland*, 53.



song repertoire that was chosen by the Reich Youth Office could be (and were) easily internalized because it resonated with historical German customs. Just as the song “In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen” conflated ‘old’ with ‘new’ in its verses, a significant portion of German traditions, cloaked and brought to extremes in Nazi politics, became ‘new’.

## Conclusion

*The ...overused harmonies, the triad, obvious cadences, the romantic rising of the second voice also found in traditional folksongs and the classic-romantic repertoire ...captur[ed] the emotional needs and desires for the familiar, for roots, integration, identity and common purpose to the fascists...It was precisely the use of traditional form and content (apart from the decidedly political texts) which in combination with Nazi élan proved so appealing and useful.*<sup>294</sup>

---Meyer, *The Politics of Music*

*The traditions [Brauchtum] were the background for our singing.*<sup>295</sup>

---Mrs. Schleiermacher

The relationship between musical repertoire and ideological roles of *Bund deutscher Mädel* members was based upon a mix of tradition and new politics not always clearly defined. Primary sources of all consulted National Socialist literature frequently contained a limited scope of ideas that were, upon closer examination, clouded layers of semiotic allusions to German cultural iconography. My goal has been to clarify these chains of allusions as they related to the Third Reich in order to gain a better understanding of music, politics, and feminine gender in Nazi society.

In my thesis I have provided a conceptual framework that draws links between cultural customs, political philosophies and gender as they directly relate to understanding the music of the *Bund deutscher Mädel*. Rooting discussion in the community minded nature of the *Wandervogel* and its rediscovery of traditional folk music, I outlined its historical impact upon German music of the 1920s and into the Nazi period, in addition to its political dissipation that led to the emergence of far right politics of Nazism. In chapter two, I discussed the origins, ideological conceptions and internal structure of the BdM which held highly traditional views of women, tinged with the

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<sup>294</sup> Meyer, 64.

<sup>295</sup> Interview with Rachel Anderson, 21 March 2002.

idealization of German community revived by the *Wandervogel* and hardened into dogma by the Nazi party. Chapter three examined the intersection of women's roles in Nazi society and BdM activities for the state, while chapter four clarified ideological parallels between party assertions and beliefs about women and girls, and music as a cultural expression of their sex.

Lastly, and most importantly, the groundwork of historical documentation laid out in chapters one through four provided the basis for an interpretive approach to understanding specific musical repertoire of the *Bund deutscher Mädel*. Songs from the BdM music anthology *Wir Mädel singen!* revealed themselves to be cultural microcosms of old German customs and new Nazi politics. Each one highlighted different aspects of the complex conceptual relationships between *Lieder*, totalitarianism, and the *Bund deutscher Mädel*.

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