



MASCULINITY IN THE HITLER YOUTH

As ideal enforced through songs

Abstract

To achieve its goal of shaping the identity of the German youth, the Hitler Youth used songs to indoctrinate young German minds with its ideals. In line with earlier trends and ideas, masculinity was an important aspect of the Nazi doctrine, which racialized the concept.

Therefore, masculinity formed part of the ideal identity that the Nazis tried to instill in the youth. This resulted in militarization of the Hitler Youth, since the Nazis, including Baldur Von Schirach, considered this a crucial part of masculinity. They well-understood that songs were an important means for the transmission of values. Not only did they compose songs for this end, but they also nazified older songs by placing them in a Nazi context. By nazifying older songs, Von Schirach was able to use them as a propaganda for his masculine ideals that he wanted to instill in the youth.

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Introduction

“Unshakeable, determined to fight, certain of victory,”¹ was the slogan of a Nazi propaganda poster that summarized the masculine ideal of the Third Reich. George Mosse states that, starting with the Wars of Liberation, manliness was understood as the embodiment of “law, morality, virtue, faith, and conscience, [and] as a means of personal and national regeneration,” and that by “fighting the good fight, men attempted to translate these elements into action.”² Instead of a given, masculinity became a label that needed to be earned.³

Although masculinity was increasingly militarized during the 19th and 20th century, the Great War changed some masculine norms. Mosse argues that since the 19th century, “the ideals of camaraderie, [and] the quest for a meaningful life [...] represented real [societal] needs.”⁴ Furthermore, men attempted to prove their manhood in war[...]⁵ Hence, the First World War can be considered a result of the masculine atmosphere. However, although the soldierly principles of masculinity continued to be valued, the Great War altered the norms of masculinity somewhat.⁶ Therefore, it can also be seen as a catalyzer of masculinity. Whereas masculinity was traditionally defined by character, and before the Great War only youth movements had emphasized body culture, this idea was taken over more broadly after the Great War.⁷ Additionally, the tragedies of the war left their traces as well, since the younger generation felt responsible to uphold the ideals of sacrifice and military masculinity in honour to their fallen fellow-countrymen. This honouring of the dead became explicit in the Cult of the Fallen.⁸

The Cult of the Fallen, honouring the Great War dead, was important for the regeneration of Germany after its defeat in the Great War, and united the Germans in one brotherhood. It was argued that the fallen found no rest and returned to Germany “in order to rejuvenate the *Volk*,” and that through the death of the fallen, Germany would be restored.⁹ Hence, this myth gave hope to the defeated country. Furthermore, the Cult of the Fallen had a unifying function, as it asserted that it united the living and the death in a German community comrades, which was united in their faith in Germany.¹⁰ This German brotherhood was seen as the seed from which a “new and better Germany would grow.”¹¹ This demonstrates how the Cult of the Fallen was used to encourage the defeated Germans, and give them a future perspective in their mourning by explaining why the “dead had not fallen in vain.”¹²

By giving the Cult of the Fallen an ideological dimension the Nazis used it to strengthen their ideas of racialized masculinity and promote the values of comradeship and sacrifice.

¹ “Nazi Posters: 1939-1945,” accessed January 3, 2020, <https://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/posters3.htm>. Also see Appendix A.

² George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 26.

³ S. Levsen, “Constructing Elite Identities: University Students, Military Masculinity and the Consequences of the Great War in Britain and Germany,” *Past & Present* 198, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 149.

⁴ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 22.

⁵ Mosse, 22.

⁶ Levsen, “Constructing Elite Identities,” 170.

⁷ Levsen, 172.

⁸ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 78.

⁹ Mosse, 78.

¹⁰ Mosse, 79–80.

¹¹ Mosse, 80.

¹² George L. Mosse, “National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Germany,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 14, no. 1 (1979): 2.

Although the more realist view on war had diminished some of the appeal of the Cult of the Fallen, ideology became more important in stimulating war enthusiasm.¹³ Playing into this, the Nazis used the Cult of the Fallen to specifically honour the casualties of the Nazi struggle. Touching upon their racial doctrine which taught a hierarchy of races, the Nazis promoted a strong Aryan race, which had a masculine connotation.¹⁴ Social Darwinist principles played an important role. Bergman argues that as “superior” Aryans, the Nazis saw it as their duty to “subjugate all other peoples.”¹⁵ Masculine aggressiveness thus took a central place. Those who died for this cause were symbolized by the so-called blood flag,¹⁶ and represented the virtues of comradeship and willingness to sacrifice oneself. Embodying exactly these values, the soldier remained the ideal type of masculinity.¹⁷

Masculine values were transmitted through, among others, the Hitler Youth (HJ), which was aimed at shaping the identity of the youth according to Nazi values. As HJ leader, Baldur Von Schirach had much power to shape the youth organization according to his own ideas about masculinity. His promotion of, for example, the ideals of comradeship and militarization demonstrates how his aims with the HJ were influenced by the masculine ideals of National Socialism of which Von Schirach was an ardent supporter.¹⁸ Many youth activities were intended to strengthen the boys and because “manliness in the militarized sense” was the ultimate aim for boys, the HJ was militarized.¹⁹ In addition to the fact that group activities were employed to build comradeship, sports were emphasized and skills, such as marching, were practiced. Furthermore, music contributed to the masculine climate of the youth organization and was played at party meetings, rallies and at the *Heimabenden* (home evenings) of the local Hitler Youth.²⁰

The use of songs was an important means for the transmission of ideas and thus for the process of identity formation of the youth. Music had always been a relevant aspect of youth organizations, but Niedhart argues that with the establishment of the Third Reich, music was also used for political education.²¹ Von Schirach understood that music was a powerful tool for shaping the identity of the youth and therefore compiled a songbook in 1933. Because this songbook was designed for use by the HJ,²² it can be considered a relevant resource for the singing practices of the HJ. To gain deeper insight into the implicit forms of the indoctrination of the youth with nazified masculine values, this thesis will attempt to answer the question of how Von Schirach’s ideas about masculinity were represented in the songs he selected for his book *Blut und Ehre*.

¹³ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 205.

¹⁴ Anson Rabinbach, Sander L. Gilman, and Lilian M. Friedberg, *The Third Reich Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 1049.

¹⁵ Jerry Bergman, “Darwinism and the Nazi Race Holocaust,” *Creation Ex Nihilo Technical Journal* 13, no. 2 (1999): 2.

¹⁶ Simon Taylor, “Symbol and Ritual under National Socialism,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 32, no. 4 (1981): 509.

¹⁷ Nicole Loroff, “Gender and Sexuality in Nazi Germany,” *Constellations* Vol 3, no. 1 (2012): 51.

¹⁸ Michael Wortmann, *Baldur von Schirach, Hitlers Jugendführer* (Köln: Böhlau, 1982), 59.

¹⁹ Lisa Pine, “Creating Conformity: The Training of Girls in The Bund Deutscher Mädel,” *European History Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (2003): 371.

²⁰ Jean-Denis Lepage, *Hitler Youth, 1922-1945: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Company, 2009), 78.

²¹ Gottfried Niedhart, *Lieder in Politik Und Alltag Des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. George Broderick (Frankfurt; New York: P. Lang, 1999), 193.

²² Niedhart, 225.

Research will be done firstly by analyzing the general ideas of National Socialism on the concept of masculinity, embedded in their historical tradition, which will be compared to earlier definitions of masculinity. This chapter will then connect 'masculinity' to the HJ and its use of songs. Chapter 2 will deconstruct Von Schirach's own conceptions of masculinity, which will be linked to his view on the HJ and its purpose. Thirdly, a song analysis will be conducted to research to what extent and how Von Schirach's ideas on masculinity are represented in the songbook he compiled.

Chapter 1 Historical Background

1.1 Masculine foundations in the *Wandervogel*

The *Wandervogel* was founded in 1901 in reaction to bourgeois society and stimulated a close connection to the *Volk* (people). The concept of the *Volk* was a product of 19th century romanticism.²³ It was closely connected to ‘Germanism,’ which should be understood in terms of character and thus as “a matter of inner attitudes,” inherent in German individuals.²⁴ Firm in “its loyalty to [...] the *Volk*,” the *Wandervogel* culture was designed to strengthen the bonds with this *Volk*. It saw bourgeoisie elements, such as industrialization and urbanism as threatening these deeper inner attitudes that constituted ‘Germanness’.²⁵ Therefore, the *Wandervogel* opposed these values. Mosse argues that the *Wandervogel* was an “unpolitical form of opposition” against the lack of “vitality, warmth, emotion and ideals” of bourgeoisie society.²⁶ The *Wandervogel* attempted to escape this society through romanticism.²⁷ It sought a more meaningful existence than bourgeoisie society could offer by going back to nature through hiking and nurturing close male friendships in a romantic masculinity.

The fundamental aspect of hiking (*wandern*) implied physical and mental masculine values. *Wandern* was viewed as “a practical method of self-education to physical toughness, [and] self-discipline.”²⁸ Hiking was not only a physical action, but also turned into a lesson about the physical qualities of German men. The fact that the *Wandervogel* desired to go back to an elemental existence, instead of the complexity of bourgeoisie society, had consequences for their perception of physical beauty. By hiking, man and nature would be reconnected.²⁹ As the return to nature “was [...] a fusion with a vital and elemental essence [of nature],”³⁰ this beauty was defined by physical – and mental – toughness.³¹ This toughness was supposedly demonstrated by the “harshness [...] of elemental nature.”³² Moreover, the mental masculine virtue of self-discipline was considered necessary for reaching a higher level of cultural advancement and would lead to the youth becoming “beautiful, purer and more honest.”³³ Furthermore, hiking was supposed to increase “the love of the homeland.”³⁴ This again shows a *Volkisch* connection with ‘Germanness.’ Additionally, in contrast to the bourgeoisie urban complexity,³⁵ as previously discussed, the simplicity of nature reflected the ideal of freedom for the *Volk*.³⁶ The youth was to

²³ George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (London: Lowe & Brydone, 1966), 14.

²⁴ Mosse, 33.

²⁵ Mosse, 13–14.

²⁶ Walter Laqueur, *Young Germany; a History of the German Youth Movement*. (New York: Basic Books Pub. Co., 1962), 4.

²⁷ Laqueur, 6.

²⁸ John Alexander Williams, “Ecstasies of the Young: Sexuality, the Youth Movement, and Moral Panic in Germany on the Eve of the First World War,” *Central European History* 34, no. 2 (2001): 166.

²⁹ Thomas Ekman Jørgensen, “The Purest Flame of the Revolution: Working Class Youth and Left Wing Radicalism in Germany and Italy during the Great War,” *Labor History* 50, no. 1 (February 2009): 21.

³⁰ Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, 175.

³¹ Mosse, 175.

³² Mosse, 175.

³³ Williams, “Ecstasies of the Young,” 170.

³⁴ Williams, 166.

³⁵ Jørgensen, “The Purest Flame of the Revolution,” 21.

³⁶ Barbara Stambolis and Jürgen Reulecke, *100 Jahre Hoher Meißner (1913-2013): Quellen zur Geschichte der Jugendbewegung* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress GmbH, 2015), 61.

lead humanity from the darkness by upholding this freedom,³⁷ and regard itself as the hope for the future.

Romantic masculinity furthermore included the notion of masculine comradeship. Although the *Wandervogel* stressed the connection between German individuals and the *Volk*, they saw themselves as individuals with “independent intellect and tormented exalted spirit,”³⁸ and disconnected from bourgeois society. The *Wandervogel* was the opportunity for “such spirits” to “sustain the potency of their souls with intense friendships [...],” while hardening themselves “against the harsh natural elements in their wanderings.”³⁹ Male friends sought a more meaningful life than bourgeois society could offer them.⁴⁰ This demonstrates that *Wandervogel* stimulated comradeship already before the Great War. The trench battles strengthened this bond between comrades, as they longed for “a feeling of closeness to those around them.”⁴¹

1.2 *Wandervogel* musical tradition

The *Wandervogel* music reflected the desire for communal and internal unity. Group singing and folk songs became an important part of *Wandervogel* meetings.⁴² Old songs were rediscovered,⁴³ and connected the youth with the *Volk* over time. Being part of celebrations, traditional songs symbolized the rededication of the youth to German values,⁴⁴ and reinforced the message of the speakers at those meetings, who encouraged the youth “to emulate the great German heritage.”⁴⁵

The internal *Wandervogel* unity was symbolized by the use of polyphonic music. Whereas the common music of the early 20th century was often monophonic, dominated by one voice or melody, polyphonic music consisted of more than one voice and different tunes merged into a greater melody, thereby embodying the merging of individuals into the larger community. Therefore, this use of music shows that “the group function was regarded as more meaningful than the self-awareness of the isolated individual.”⁴⁶

1.3. Transition to Bündischen Jugend and Hitler Youth

The separation between returning Great War veterans and the rest of German society altered the mentality of young Germans and resulted in the transformation of the *Wandervogel* into the *Bündischen Jugend*. Germany’s surrender contributed to the political dimension of the existing generational gap. Many felt betrayed by the government which existed of the older generation. Although the Versailles Treaty officially ended the war, the younger generation believed that Germany was forced to sign and felt responsible to convert the defeat into victory,⁴⁷ thereby righting the injustices of the older generation. Furthermore, many returning soldiers felt closer to their comrades than to other loved ones,

³⁷ Stambolis and Reulecke, 63.

³⁸ Elizabeth Heineman, “Gender Identity in the Wandervogel Movement,” *German Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (1989): 251.

³⁹ Heineman, 252.

⁴⁰ Heineman, 249.

⁴¹ Heineman, 261.

⁴² Laqueur, *Young Germany; a History of the German Youth Movement*, 19.

⁴³ Laqueur, 19.

⁴⁴ Mosse, 174.

⁴⁵ Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, 174.

⁴⁶ Mosse, 175.

⁴⁷ Rüdiger Ahrens, *Bündische Jugend: Eine Neue Geschichte 1918-1933* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2015), 62.

which made it hard for them to assimilate in “normal” society. Because many soldiers had idealized women and domestic life during their time in the trenches, reality did not live up to their images. A German veteran confessed that he felt an “intense sense of belonging [to] his community of comrades.”⁴⁸ Hence, the Great War created a rift in society. It can be argued that the Great War altered the mentality of the young men in two ways.

Firstly, despite disappointment in the reality of comradeship and the concept of *Volk*, the focus on military bravery led to the militarization of *Wandervogel* masculinity after the Great War.⁴⁹ Due to improper behaviour of the average soldier and the separation between society and ex-soldiers, reality had not met the existing ideal picture of war. However, most ex-military *Wandervögel* focused on military bravery. Whereas they used to see themselves as isolated intellectual spirits, now, many started to elevate themselves above society as isolated heroic soldiers instead.⁵⁰ This possibly caused and reinforced the gap between the home front and the veterans. The generational gap came to be represented in the Cult of the Fallen, which promoted a militarized masculinity by glorifying soldiers.⁵¹ Soldiers were seen to be above the daily routines of life by fighting and dying and death in battle was the ultimate freedom that soldiers could attain.⁵² After the Great War, this myth was used to exhort the youth to seek the same glory.⁵³ Thus, it encouraged the youth to conform to military ideals.

Secondly, following the societal trend of politicization, the transition from the *Wandervogel* to the *Bündischen Jugend* was characterized by the politicization of youth movements. Society had become politicized, because the Great War had broad politics close to daily life, affecting families personally since their loved ones were fighting at the front.⁵⁴ Although political parties had “tried to draw the promising youth [of the mostly apolitical *Wandervogel*] into their orbit,”⁵⁵ explicit politization did not happen until after the Great War. This trend started with the foundation of the *Freikorps den Deutsch-Nationale Jugendbund* (DNJ) in January 1919.⁵⁶ The singing of ideological songs became common during gatherings.⁵⁷ Often activities were based on the interests of members of the *Bund* and gave people the opportunity to meet others with the same interests and political outlook.⁵⁸ Additionally, political values, such as nationalism and militarism were seen in the DNJ activities. An example of an implicitly politicized activity was the so-called *Auslandfahrt*.⁵⁹ Travelling to countries with a significant number of ethnic Germans was supposed to strengthen the *Bündischen* bond with the *Volk*, regardless of national boundaries. These trips created a binary worldview that separated German from non-German.⁶⁰ Besides these nationalist ideas, other political elements, such as anti-Semitism, that had been present in the

⁴⁸ Jason Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 155.

⁴⁹ Heineman, “Gender Identity in the Wandervogel Movement,” 261.

⁵⁰ Heineman, 261.

⁵¹ Mosse, “National Cemeteries and National Revival,” 2.

⁵² Mosse, 2.

⁵³ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 78.

⁵⁴ Steven Schouten, Personal Conversation, January 15, 2020.

⁵⁵ Laqueur, *Young Germany; a History of the German Youth Movement.*, 41.

⁵⁶ Ahrens, *Bündische Jugend*, 78.

⁵⁷ Ahrens, 79.

⁵⁸ Ahrens, 79.

⁵⁹ Ahrens, 131.

⁶⁰ Ahrens, 132.

background of the *Wandervogel*, were strengthened.⁶¹ Although not all activities had political aims, the *Bündische* practices created an environment where political ideas could be developed and nourished.

Political parties, such as the NSDAP,⁶² utilized the strengthened connection between youth movements and politics to instrumentalize the youth movements and gain control over the German youth. In 1926, the NSDAP had established the HJ to attract and organize the youth under the auspices of National Socialism.⁶³ Its aim was the complete control over Germany's youth.⁶⁴ Whereas the HJ before Hitler's *Machtergreifung* mainly used illegal means, such as threats of violence,⁶⁵ to dissolve other youth groups, this changed after 1933, when Hitler appointed Baldur Von Schirach as "youth leader of the German Reich."⁶⁶ Using legal power to dissolve and prohibit other movements, Von Schirach broke down other youth groups and issued them official documents of dissolution.⁶⁷ By the summertime of 1933, most other youth movements had disappeared, giving the HJ great control over the youth.⁶⁸ Therefore, the National Socialists were able to use the HJ as a channel to promote their ideological ideals among the youth.

1.4 National Socialism and masculinity

By propagating hard masculinity in line with Social Darwinist principles, the Nazis racialized 'manliness'. Kühne defines hard masculinity as a "hegemonic ideal of "hard" manliness that demanded aggressiveness, strength, discipline and control over others and oneself,"⁶⁹ and argues that it contained three dimensions: physical performance, emotional conditions and moral constitution.⁷⁰ The stress on physical performance played into the body culture that emphasized strength and could be traced back to ancient Greece.⁷¹ Emotional hardness was defined by "decisiveness, aggression, brutality, discipline and control over others and oneself."⁷² It was ultimately tested during battle, when soldiers were to overcome their fears of death, and be prepared to give their life for the fatherland, valuing death over dishonour. Lastly, masculine moral hardness, shaped according to military standards, was fashioned to achieve the goals of the Nazi regime and did not shun violence against civilians if that was regarded necessary.⁷³ Nazi morality justified practices that otherwise would have been deemed immoral. Hard masculinity was in line with the Social Darwinist principle of survival of the fittest, which was the foundation of the hierarchical *Rassenlehre* of Nazism.⁷⁴ The desire for control over ('racially inferior') others was seen in Nazi policies which included an aggressive, dominant

⁶¹ Arno Klönne, *Hitlerjugend; die Jugend und ihre Organisation im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt: Norddeutsche Verlagsanstalt O. Goedel, 1960), 49.

⁶² National Socialist Movement (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei)

⁶³ P.D. Stachura, "The National Socialist Machtergreifung and the German Youth Movement: Co-Ordination and Reorganization, 1933-34," *Journal of European Studies* 5 (1975): 255.

⁶⁴ Stachura, 256.

⁶⁵ Stachura, 257.

⁶⁶ Stachura, 257.

⁶⁷ Stachura, 257; Stachura, 261.

⁶⁸ Stachura, 261.

⁶⁹ Thomas Kühne, "Protean Masculinity, Hegemonic Masculinity: Soldiers in the Third Reich," *Central European History* 51, no. 3 (September 2018): 394.

⁷⁰ Kühne, 398.

⁷¹ Mosse, "National Cemeteries and National Revival," 3.

⁷² Kühne, "Protean Masculinity, Hegemonic Masculinity," 400.

⁷³ Kühne, 400.

⁷⁴ Bergman, "Darwinism and the Nazi Race Holocaust," 1.

expansion of German territory, and were thus strongly masculine.⁷⁵ This furthermore demonstrates how Nazi masculinity became racialized. Real Aryan men, according to Nazi standards, were not to show any physical, emotional and moral weakness. Soldiers resembled this ideal the closest.⁷⁶

Furthermore, Nazism radicalized the Great War legacy of comradeship by propagating martial masculinity in a racial context. Like in the Great War, the notion of comradeship motivated the Nazi soldier to fight and focus on the collective good instead of his own interests.⁷⁷ Comradeship was the glue that kept the army together, and male bonding provided the soldiers with comfort in war.⁷⁸ Moreover, masculine acts depended on social interaction with other men, and were to be performed for the German *Volk*.⁷⁹ However, whereas the Great War comradeship was mainly nationalist, and performed on behalf of the nation-state, Nazi comradeship was racialized. Nazi soldiers for example, could also kill Jewish civilians to protect the racial purity of the ethnically German *Volk*.⁸⁰ The notion of comradeship was therefore not revolutionary, but a radicalization of the Great War legacy.

The so-called blood-flag embodied Nazi masculine values.⁸¹ The swastika and the colours of the flag symbolized its literal meaning. Rosenberg argues that the swastika was the mark of battle and signified the German race and the value of the *Volk*.⁸² The colours black-white-red came from the flag of the Second Reich under which the soldiers had fought in the Great War.⁸³ This demonstrates the racialized nationalism of Nazism. More abstractly, the flag symbolized the nazified Cult of the Fallen, and thus the casualties of the NSDAP struggles.⁸⁴ The flag was introduced after the Munich beer *putsch*.⁸⁵ Honouring those who sacrificed their life for the movement, it exemplified the ultimate sacrifice that all Germans should be prepared to give. Additionally, the flag signified how the Nazi man would live on through his descendants' blood, wherefore the Nazi cause would never die. Consequently, the flag also unified the German people through time as part of one German brotherhood.⁸⁶ Therefore, it can be argued that the blood-flag symbolizing racial unity and community, was an embodiment of masculine values of Nazism.

Furthermore, public alcohol consumption as a masculine practice, radiated dominance and hardness. Public alcohol consumption was deemed a privilege of adult manhood.⁸⁷ The

⁷⁵ Bergman, "Darwinism and the Nazi Race Holocaust," 2-3.

⁷⁶ Kühne, "Protean Masculinity, Hegemonic Masculinity," 396.

⁷⁷ Kühne, 403.

⁷⁸ Kühne, 403.

⁷⁹ Kühne, 401.

⁸⁰ Kühne, 401.

⁸¹ See Appendix A

⁸² Alfred Rosenberg, *Blut und Ehre. Ein Kampf für deutsche Wiedergeburt. Reden und Aufsätze von 1919-1933. Herausgegeben von Thilo von Trotha* (Eher Nachf, 1936), 129.

⁸³ Rosenberg, 129.

⁸⁴ Taylor, "Symbol and Ritual under National Socialism," 509.

⁸⁵ Baldur Von Schirach, *Ich Glaubte an Hitler*, (Hamburg: Mosaik Verlag, 1967), 37.

⁸⁶ Mosse, "National Cemeteries and National Revival," 7.

⁸⁷ Christopher Dillon, "Commentary: Masculinity and the Racial State," *Central European History* 51, no. 3 (September 2018): 514.

greater one's alcohol consumption, the greater his perceived manliness became.⁸⁸ As drinking was a social act, it formed an important part of male bonding, and thus stimulated comradeship.⁸⁹ At mass meetings in beer halls, the most vocally dominant male received the greatest respect.⁹⁰ This way of hierarchical conversation expressed the masculine values of "toughness, readiness to stand one's ground [and] never quit the field."⁹¹ Drinking rituals were part of "performative masculinity."⁹² Although the notions of drinking rituals and masculinity had been present in pre-Nazi society, Nazism radicalized them and did not leave any room for weaknesses in the face of the enemy.⁹³ Alcohol consumption was a way of hardening the men to carry out genocidal acts. Browning describes how members of a police battalion were fed alcohol to control their fears and emotions after carrying out a genocide.⁹⁴ This brutalized the war, as Nazi soldiers were not supposed to show pity towards the enemy, lest they be perceived as less masculine. In addition, alcohol furthered the process of radicalizing Nazi masculinity by suppressing feelings of guilt in accordance with the moral aspect of hard masculinity.⁹⁵ This shows that the last 'weaknesses' were rooted out.

1.5 Hitler Youth and masculinity

Aiming to shape the identity of the youth according to Nazi ideals, the HJ promoted Nazi masculinity through its practices. The Nazis understood that the youth was still malleable, and that by subjecting them to certain practices, they could be depersonalized. Hence, unquestionable obedience could be instilled in them.⁹⁶ Therefore, the main purpose of the HJ was "to inculcate discipline and good order in general and to submit young people to strict Nazi schooling."⁹⁷ In line with Nazism, the HJ radiated masculine energies, and was defined as a corporation that was masculine in its unconditionality, brutality and hardness of view.⁹⁸ Activities were politicized to transmit masculine ideals and teach the youth to be as "swift as [...] greyhounds, as tough as leather, and as hard as Krupp steel."⁹⁹

The Hitler Youth activities aimed at strengthening the boys according to the principles of hard masculinity. To survive according to Social Darwinist principles, the German people had to be powerful and thus HJ activities were meant to keep the *Volk* physically healthy and strong.¹⁰⁰ Peer pressure and public humiliations were used to push the boys to their limits, which they were

⁸⁸ Edward B. Westermann, "Drinking Rituals, Masculinity, and Mass Murder in Nazi Germany," *Central European History* 51, no. 3 (September 2018): 369.

⁸⁹ Westermann, 368.

⁹⁰ Westermann, 372.

⁹¹ Richard Bessel, "Violence as Propaganda: The Role of the Storm Troopers in the Rise of National Socialism," in *The Formation of the Nazi Constituency 1919-1933 (RLE Nazi Germany & Holocaust)*, ed. Thomas Schiller (Totowa: Barnes and Noble Books, 1986), 144.

⁹² Westermann, "Drinking Rituals, Masculinity, and Mass Murder in Nazi Germany," 368.

⁹³ Westermann, 370.

⁹⁴ Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, Reissued (New York: HarperPerennial, 1998), 69.

⁹⁵ Browning, 69.

⁹⁶ Michael H. Kater, *Hitler Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 30-31.

⁹⁷ Lepage, *Hitler Youth, 1922-1945*, 83.

⁹⁸ Wortmann, *Baldur von Schirach, Hitlers Jugendführer*, 112.

⁹⁹ Adolf Hitler, "Hitler's Speech of September 14, 1935," in *Hitler, Reden Und Proklamationen 1932-1945*, ed. Max Domarus, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Löwit, 1973), 532.

¹⁰⁰ Kater, *Hitler Youth*, 30.

sometimes forced to exceed both physically and mentally.¹⁰¹ This demonstrates how the HJ was used to instill emotional and physical hardness in the boys and to weed out the last 'weaknesses' in them.

Moreover, reflecting Nazi militarized masculinity, the HJ contained military elements, such as comradeship, sacrifice, and martial virtues. Group activities created a strong sense of comradeship among the members of the HJ, thus continuing the trend of pre-Nazi youth groups. Comradeship tied the Nazi youth together and stimulated a strong connection with the *Volk* as well. Von Schirach himself described the HJ in terms of eternal comradeship, which included the fallen of the Nazi struggle.¹⁰² Therefore, the HJ comradeship could also be traced back to the Cult of the Fallen, in which the living and the dead were united. Thus, the HJ promoted the notion of sacrifice, which symbolized the ultimate honour for the youth.¹⁰³ Furthermore, masculine virtues, such as endurance, bravery, discipline, and hardness were promoted.¹⁰⁴ Whereas these values were often disguised in HJ games, such as marching long distances,¹⁰⁵ they would be useful in real battles.

The motto "Blood and Honour" reflected the racist and nationalist sentiment of the HJ. The notion of blood referred to racial purity. Defilement of the blood was considered the cause for the deterioration of the *Volk*.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the purity of the blood, was deemed crucial for great performance.¹⁰⁷ The HJ enforced these racial ideas by propagating nazified military masculinity. As future soldiers, the boys would fight for Aryan dominance.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, Mosse argues that "the concept of honour entailed an ideal of manliness."¹⁰⁹ According to Rosenberg, this masculine honour was achieved by prioritizing "the German fatherland, *Volk* and freedom."¹¹⁰ As discussed previously, dying for the Nazi cause was the highest masculine honour one could achieve. By turning "*Blut und Ehre*" into its motto, the HJ asserted that these were the ideals they strove after.

Furthermore, the contrasts between masculinity and femininity emphasized the masculine responsibility to the state. The world of men was defined by the state, their struggle, and their readiness to perform their duty for the *Volksgemeinschaft*, while the world of females was defined by their husbands and domestic life.¹¹¹ Thus, males were given a greater political role

¹⁰¹ Kater, 30–31.

¹⁰² Baldur Von Schirach, "Introduction to Arnold Littmann," in *Herbert Norkus Und Die Hitlerjungen von Beusselkietz* (Berlin, 1934), 6.

¹⁰³ Jay W. Baird, "From Berlin to Neubabelsberg: Nazi Film Propaganda and Hitler Youth Quex," *Journal of Contemporary History* 18, no. 3 (1983): 501.

¹⁰⁴ Kater, *Hitler Youth*, 29–30.

¹⁰⁵ Lepage, *Hitler Youth, 1922-1945*, 74.

¹⁰⁶ Alfred Rosenberg, James Whisker, and Peter Peel, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century: An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Confrontations of Our Age*, trans. Vivian Bird, Reprint edition (Newport Beach: Noontide Pr, 1982).

¹⁰⁷ Rosenberg, *Blut und Ehre. Ein Kampf für deutsche Wiedergeburt. Reden und Aufsätze von 1919-1933. Herausgegeben von Thilo von Trotha*, 242.

¹⁰⁸ Hitler, "Hitler's Speech of September 14, 1935," 914.

¹⁰⁹ George L Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 18, <http://public.ebib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=272976>.

¹¹⁰ Rosenberg, *Blut und Ehre. Ein Kampf für deutsche Wiedergeburt. Reden und Aufsätze von 1919-1933. Herausgegeben von Thilo von Trotha*, 117.

¹¹¹ Martin Klaus, *Mädchen in Der Hitlerjugend: D. Erziehung Zur Dt. Frau*, Pahl-Rugenstein Hochschulschriften Gesellschafts- Und Naturwissenschaften; 15 : Serie Faschismusstudien (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1980), 21.

than females. Additionally, the descriptions of the ideal types for boys and girls differed in that boys were given active roles, while girls were to behave more passively.¹¹² While the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* was focused on domesticity, and serving the men,¹¹³ the boys were being prepared for a life in the midst of battle.¹¹⁴ Consequently, males were seen as more dominant than females.¹¹⁵ By defining both sexes in opposition to each other, the HJ emphasized that active political roles and values were inherently masculine.

1.6 Hitler Youth and songs

Understanding that music could be employed for ideological ends, the HJ leadership used songs to indoctrinate the youth with Nazi ideals, thereby shaping their identity. To achieve this identity formation, the Nazis used endless repetition of songs to numb the minds of the youth.¹¹⁶ This robbed the youth of their individual identities, thereby creating an identity vacuum. Because music, especially mass singing, created a sense of belonging to the *Volksgemeinschaft*,¹¹⁷ the ideological ideas propagated by songs, filled this identity gap with Nazi ideals. Meyer states that “the active music culture captivated youth... for collective identity[...].”¹¹⁸ Hence, the music culture also aimed at cultivating a new national consciousness.¹¹⁹ The youth leadership realized that singing influenced character building¹²⁰ and therefore explicitly inserted ideologically charged songs in the HJ repertoire.¹²¹ Although some songs dated from the pre-Nazi era and might not have fit the Nazi ideology completely, placing them in a new context made them suitable for the purposes of the Nazi regime, by adding a nazified dimension to them.¹²² This sometimes changed the original meaning of the textual context of the songs. Furthermore, Meyer argues that “it was precisely the use of traditional form¹²³ and content [...] which in combination with Nazi elan proved so appealing and useful.”¹²⁴ Consequently, several older songs were selected based on ideological fitting,¹²⁵ nazified and used for indoctrination of the youth. An example of the re-use of songs is found in Von Schirach’s songbook *Blut und Ehre* which will be used for song analysis.

¹¹² Pine, “Creating Conformity: The Training of Girls in TheBund Deutscher Mädel,” 371.

¹¹³ Klaus, *Mädchen in Der Hitlerjugend*, 24.

¹¹⁴ Pine, “Creating Conformity: The Training of Girls in TheBund Deutscher Mädel,” 379.

¹¹⁵ Tim Heath, *Hitler’s Girls: Doves Amongst Eagles* (Havertown, UNITED STATES: Pen & Sword Books, 2017), 77.

¹¹⁶ Kater, *Hitler Youth*, 32.

¹¹⁷ Niedhart, *Lieder in Politik Und Alltag Des Nationalsozialismus*, 12.

¹¹⁸ Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, American University Studies, v. 49 (New York: P. Lang, 1991), 63.

¹¹⁹ Niedhart, *Lieder in Politik Und Alltag Des Nationalsozialismus*, 39.

¹²⁰ Niedhart, 117.

¹²¹ Kater, *Hitler Youth*, 32.

¹²² “The Power to Influence Minds: German Folk Music during the Nazi Era and After,” in *Music, Power, and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 75.

¹²³ With form, Meyer refers to “overused harmonies, the triad, obvious cadences, the romantic rising of a second voice [...] and the classic-romantic repertoire” (p.64). He furthermore argues that these techniques filled the emotional needs and desires for identity, common purpose etc. (p.64)

¹²⁴ Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 64.

¹²⁵ Broderick and Niedhart, *Lieder in Politik Und Alltag Des Nationalsozialismus*, 40.

Chapter 2 Baldur Von Schirach

2.1 Personal background

2.1.1 Family background

Born in 1907, Baldur Von Schirach was the son of a German father and an American mother. After his military career, his father became the president of the Weimarer Hoftheater.¹²⁶ This would give Baldur the opportunity to grow up in an artistic environment, where he probably learned how to create effective propaganda.¹²⁷ Furthermore, because his American mother had taught Von Schirach English to be his first language, Von Schirach was somewhat isolated from other children.¹²⁸ When his brother committed suicide in 1919,¹²⁹ Baldur somewhat lost sight on his identity. According to Wortmann, this contributed to his attraction to Hitler.¹³⁰

2.1.2 Youth movement

Baldur joined the *Knappenschaft* in 1924.¹³¹ The *Knappenschaft* was a patriotic, rightwing, nationalist, anti-Semite youth organization that was militant in character.¹³² Its leader, Hans Severus Ziegler, arguably indoctrinated the youth with anti-Semitic literature, such as Chamberlain's *Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts*.¹³³ Furthermore, Ziegler admired Hitler, and portrayed him as an exemplary German.¹³⁴ In addition to the anti-Semitic ideas of the youth organization, Baldur also independently started to read anti-Semitic literature.¹³⁵ Thus, anti-Semitism was a crucial part of his identity formation. However, soon, Von Schirach became disappointed with the cool detachment of general Ludendorff, whom he had idealized.¹³⁶

2.1.3 Member of the NSDAP

Hitler's personal approach arguably had a psychological attraction on Von Schirach.¹³⁷ From the time of Hitler's first performance in 1925 on, he supported Nazism.¹³⁸ There he had met Hitler personally, which made a great impression on him, since Hitler personally shook his hand.¹³⁹ He became a member of the NSDAP on August 29, 1925.¹⁴⁰

2.2 Von Schirach's political entry and career

Although Von Schirach had attempted to gain some influence in the youth movements after his entrance into the Party, he became more active for the NSDAP after he started his study at the University of Munich in 1927. Von Schirach soon joined the NSDAP student organization. He actively attempted to increase support for the Nazi student movement and organized a meeting at which Hitler spoke.¹⁴¹ This demonstrates that Von Schirach was motivated to establish

¹²⁶ Wortmann, *Baldur von Schirach, Hitlers Jugendführer*, 22.

¹²⁷ Wortmann, 32.

¹²⁸ Wortmann, 27.

¹²⁹ Wortmann, 29.

¹³⁰ Wortmann, 31–32.

¹³¹ Wortmann, 34.

¹³² Wortmann, 34.

¹³³ Wortmann, 34.

¹³⁴ Wortmann, 34.

¹³⁵ Wortmann, 34.

¹³⁶ Wortmann, 36.

¹³⁷ Wortmann, 38.

¹³⁸ Wortmann, 36–37.

¹³⁹ Wortmann, 38.

¹⁴⁰ Wortmann, 41.

¹⁴¹ Wortmann, 51.

the National Socialist doctrine within German society and increase support for the NSDAP. In 1928, he was appointed as *Reichsführer des NS-Studentenbundes*.¹⁴²

After leaving Munich, Von Schirach focused on winning the support of all German youth, and unifying them into a “new front,” which would fight for the new Germany.¹⁴³ In 1932, Von Schirach convinced Hitler to hold a Nazi Party day for the youth of the country.¹⁴⁴ This rally was successful as thousands of youth came to see Hitler.¹⁴⁵ Von Schirach knew how to reach youth, and how shape them to make them useful for the Third Reich. His political strategy ultimately boiled down to colonizing all youth rights under National Socialism.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, Von Schirach used the HJ to brainwash the youth with Nazi ideals, which included its masculine values. In 1933, Von Schirach was officially appointed as national youth leader.¹⁴⁷

2.3 Von Schirach and masculinity

Because Von Schirach valued military masculinity, he militarized the Hitler Youth. Since Von Schirach was appointed chief of NSDAP youth activities,¹⁴⁸ it was under his responsibility that the boys learned shooting, map reading etc.¹⁴⁹ In addition to these pre-military exercises, Von Schirach created the cult around death, tragedy, sacrifice and heroism, which would become characteristic of the Hitler Youth.¹⁵⁰ Several of his poems refer to the military, indicating that Von Schirach attached importance to this aspect of masculinity.

Asserting that masculinity was inherently military Von Schirach suggested that all German males possess military qualities. His “Spruch”¹⁵¹ states that all German males are soldiers. This could mean that he implied that every German male had the responsibility to be a soldier, or to have military virtues. On the other hand, Von Schirach also stated that all HJ members were soldiers of National Socialism.¹⁵² With this he could have meant that they all had the duty to fight for the Nazi cause. In “Die Einen und die Andern,”¹⁵³ Von Schirach presented a binary perspective, leading to inclusion and exclusion. He put forward the notion of ‘the other,’ by claiming that one is either a soldier, or one is self-indulgent and will fall victim to the Bolsheviks, who were demonized by the Nazis. This implicitly asserted that every self-respecting German was a soldier. In any case, Von Schirach supported the idea that masculinity and the military were intrinsically linked to each other.

Von Schirach propagated the ideal of comradeship based on the connection through blood, and glorified the ideal of sacrifice, which were fundamental to the HJ ideology. Promoting comradeship among the Hitler Youth, Von Schirach stated that the HJ “home evenings” were meant to recover the bond between comrades, and that the cohesion of the HJ was partly

¹⁴² Von Schirach, *Ich Glaubte an Hitler*, 58.

¹⁴³ Wortmann, *Baldur von Schirach, Hitlers Jugendführer*, 60–61.

¹⁴⁴ Von Schirach, *Ich Glaubte an Hitler*, 152.

¹⁴⁵ Von Schirach, 160.

¹⁴⁶ Wortmann, *Baldur von Schirach, Hitlers Jugendführer*, 61.

¹⁴⁷ Von Schirach, *Ich Glaubte an Hitler*, 190.

¹⁴⁸ Kater, *Hitler Youth*, 16.

¹⁴⁹ Kater, *Hitler Youth*, 29, 31.

¹⁵⁰ Wortmann, *Baldur von Schirach, Hitlers Jugendführer*, 92.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix A

¹⁵² Baldur Von Schirach, *Die Hitlerjugend: Idee Und Gestalt* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1934), 130.

¹⁵³ See Appendix A

dependent on these evenings.¹⁵⁴ Indirectly, the HJ comradeship was important for the stability of the whole *Volksgemeinschaft*, because the Hitler Youth was considered the future of the *Volk*.¹⁵⁵ However, his idea on comradeship transcended the present, and Von Schirach furthermore saw the HJ as a continual reminder of the sacrifice that comrades had brought in the past.¹⁵⁶ The youth was connected to these fallen comrades through the shared concept of blood. Von Schirach stated that the unity of the youth was to be achieved through a blood struggle, and that the youth itself, out of loyalty to this blood, would strive for the ideal for which their comrades had given their life.¹⁵⁷ Thus, 'blood' gave the Hitler Youth the responsibility to fight for the same principles as their comrades had done in the past. Those who did not promise to be like the dead were not real comrades.¹⁵⁸

Furthermore, the notion of sacrifice was inherent to the fundamental ideology of the HJ. According to Von Schirach, the stress on sacrifice was the distinguishing characteristic of the HJ.¹⁵⁹ "Die Einen und die Andern" refers to the Great War by mentioning those resting in Flanders. This can be interpreted as hinting at the masculine Cult of the Fallen, as discussed earlier. In addition to giving the ultimate sacrifice, the fallen were praised for other virtues, that had become masculine ideals in Nazism, such as suffering in silence, and unwavering national loyalty.¹⁶⁰ These concepts reflected the hard masculinity, as previously discussed.

Embodying the values that Von Schirach wanted to instill in the youth, the flag was a prominent HJ symbol. In his poem "An die Fahne",¹⁶¹ Von Schirach attributed several roles to the flag. By stating that the flag transcended all others in beauty, the poem asserted a sense of superiority. This could hint at a glorification of Germany and the Aryan race in relation to other nations and races, or at the Hitler Youth which Von Schirach saw as superior to other youth organizations.¹⁶² Moreover, being the power of every fighter, and the intensity and common will, the flag was also a symbol of national pride and unity, giving the soldier a cause to fight for. Additionally, by sanctifying sinners and being the hand with which the heroes prayed, the flag carried religious meaning. Therefore, the flag could furthermore be linked to martyrdom, by implying that those who died for it, died a sacred death. In addition, the flag symbolized comradeship, serving as the bridge between comrades fighting for the same cause over time. Arguing that the flag was more than death,¹⁶³ Von Schirach clearly touched upon the Nazi idea that the flag transcended the deaths of the fallen. The flag also carried the notion of faithfulness, as it was a symbol of dedication to the struggle which went beyond the past. In short, the flag was a unifying symbol which connected the HJ to the past and their ideological struggle which gave them a common vision.

Lastly, by dividing the youth in a male and female part, the Hitler Youth sustained the constructed traditional roles for both males and females. The HJ was for males, while the females received another education in the *Bund Deutscher Mädel*. Von Schirach argued that this was

¹⁵⁴ Von Schirach, *Die Hitlerjugend: Idee Und Gestalt*, 106–7.

¹⁵⁵ Von Schirach, 190.

¹⁵⁶ Von Schirach, 90.

¹⁵⁷ Von Schirach, 91.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix A, "Auf einem Gefallenen-Denkmal"

¹⁵⁹ Von Schirach, *Die Hitlerjugend: Idee Und Gestalt*, 90.

¹⁶⁰ Baldur Von Schirach, *Die Fahne der Verfolgten* (Berlin 1933), 15 (also found in Appendix A).

¹⁶¹ Von Schirach, 9.

¹⁶² Von Schirach, *Ich Glaubte an Hitler*, 192–93.

¹⁶³ Dero Volk, *Hitlerjugend's Anthem - "Vorwärts! Vorwärts!"*, 2014, <https://archive.org/details/youtubewZhfFrq7CEI>.

because girls matured faster than boys and that both organizations were united in dedication to the *Volk*.¹⁶⁴ It can, however, be argued that by maintaining this distinction, Von Schirach was able to educate both males and females in the specific behaviour that the Nationalist Socialists expected from them.

2.3 Von Schirach and music

Von Schirach used music in the Hitler Youth to construct a masculine atmosphere that complemented and reinforced his propaganda of Nazi masculine ideals. From his first youth rally on, he employed military songs to create the desired aura.¹⁶⁵ Later Von Schirach would remark that the education of the youth should be characterized by a strong emphasis on music.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, it becomes clear that songs were deliberately used as a means for the transmission of Nazi ideas.

Chapter 3 Song Analysis

Baldur Von Schirach nazified older songs by placing them in his songbook *Blut und Ehre*, which he published in 1933. In January 1933, Hitler had become Germany's chancellor, and the same year, Von Schirach was appointed as *Reichsjugendführer*.¹⁶⁷ Nonetheless, already before his appointment, he had started to draft a new program for the Hitler Youth by creating resources for the organization, such as flag, poems, but also song collections.¹⁶⁸ However, instead of composing all songs himself, he also selected older songs based on ideological fitting.¹⁶⁹ This chapter will analyze selected songs,¹⁷⁰ taken from *Blut und Ehre*, to investigate how Von Schirach's ideas about masculinity were represented in his songbook.

3.1 Deutschland, Deutschland über alles

Known as Germany's national anthem, the *Deutschlandlied* was authored in the 1840s by August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben,¹⁷¹ and sung to Hayden's melody composed in 1896.¹⁷² Furthermore, the *Deutschlandlied* became an important part of the Cult of the Fallen, because it was probably sung during the Battle of Langerack, where youthful regiments stormed at enemy trenches.¹⁷³ This battle, and therefore also the *Deutschlandlied*, became symbolic of the ideal picture of "manly youth sacrificing themselves joyously for the fatherland."¹⁷⁴ Through the song, the fallen of the struggle encouraged the "manly spirit of Germans who do not shirk war."¹⁷⁵ In *Blut und Ehre*, this song is part of the section "Wir heben uns're hände."¹⁷⁶ In this context, the

¹⁶⁴ Von Schirach, *Die Hitlerjugend: Idee Und Gestalt*, 95–96.

¹⁶⁵ Von Schirach, *Ich Glaubte an Hitler*, 159.

¹⁶⁶ Niedhart, *Lieder in Politik Und Alltag Des Nationalsozialismus*, 211.

¹⁶⁷ In English: National youth leader

¹⁶⁸ Wortmann, *Baldur von Schirach, Hitlers Jugendführer*, 92.

¹⁶⁹ Broderick and Niedhart, *Lieder in Politik Und Alltag Des Nationalsozialismus*, 40.

¹⁷⁰ The lyrics of the songs can be found in Appendix B

¹⁷¹ "Deutschlandlied | History, Lyrics, Meaning, & Facts | Britannica," accessed December 24, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Deutschlandlied>.

¹⁷² Albrecht Riethmüller, 'Joseph Haydn und das Deutschlandlied', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 44 (1987) 241–267, 247.

¹⁷³ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 70.

¹⁷⁴ Mosse, 72.

¹⁷⁵ Mosse, 73.

¹⁷⁶ In English: "We raise our hands"

raising of hands possibly symbolized an act of dedication to the Fatherland. This strengthens the song's nationalistic sentiment.

By hinting at unwavering loyalty for the superior fatherland, the Nazis used the *Deutschlandlied* in reference to the *Rassenlehre*. Germans will always (*stets*) be prepared to protect and defend their country. Moreover, they strive for the unity, right and freedom of their country with heart (inner conviction) and hand (deeds). This was also demonstrated by the HJ education, which was inherently political and used indoctrination (heart) and pre-military exercises (hand) to serve the country. The sentence "Germany above all" demonstrates a strong nationalist sentiment and can also be interpreted as hinting at the Aryan superiority of the *Rassenlehre*. In connection with the military sentiment of defense, the *Deutschlandlied* arguably furthered the ideas of militarized masculinity in a racial context.

Propagating important masculine values, the *Deutschlandlied* was arguably written from a masculine perspective. Because the song mentioned the word *brüderlich*, it possibly propagated the notion of male comradeship. In a brotherly fashion, the Germans strove for the collective good of the country, which consisted of its defense and protection, but also of its unity, right and freedom. In a Nazi context, these concepts could be understood as the defense of the Aryan race and the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the unification of the German *Volk* into one nation, the right of the Aryans to living space, and the freedom from threats by other races, such as the Jews. Furthermore, the second stanza states women, fidelity, wine and songs as values that inspire the Germans to noble deeds. Firstly, by defining women in relation to men and portraying them as passively stimulating males to active noble deeds, the notion of dominant masculinity is strengthened. Secondly, German fidelity refers to loyalty to the Nazi struggle, which, according to Nazism, was the duty of all Germans. Thirdly, wine symbolizes the drinking rituals which were inherently masculine. During the Second World War, alcohol indeed stimulated men to 'greater' deeds, as it enabled them to carry out genocidal acts in the name of Nazism. Lastly, mass singing was important to masculinity, because it created a comradely bond between the men. This notion was strengthened by the fact that this song was part of the Cult of the Fallen and united the men into a front that fought for a common cause. In the Nazi context, this cause was the common good of the Aryan race and the Reich.

In conclusion, it could be argued that Von Schirach included the *Deutschlandlied* in his book because it furthered his propaganda aims of masculinity by being written from a masculine perspective and asserting norms that define masculinity.

3.2 Kein schön'rer Tod ist in der Welt

"Kein schön'rer Tod ist in der Welt" was authored around 1620 by an unknown writer and sung on a melody composed by Silcher. This song originated in the context of the Thirty Years War.¹⁷⁷ However, it was suggested to be part of the necessary procedures of the Nazi event program, and thus nazified.¹⁷⁸ In *Blut und Ehre* the song was placed under the section "Der Tod reit' auf einem kohlschwarzen Rappen,"¹⁷⁹ named after the title of a song about those who died in Flanders during the Great War. This could mean that this section was meant to glorify the fallen.

¹⁷⁷ "Thirty Years' War | Summary, Causes, Combatants, Map, & Significance | Britannica," accessed January 7, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Thirty-Years-War>.

¹⁷⁸ Carolyn Birdsall, *Nazi Soundscapes: Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933-1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 42.

¹⁷⁹ In English: Death rides on a coal black horse

In a Nazi context, this song encouraged sacrifice in the name of the Nazi struggle, as it praised those who with gladness gave themselves with body and soul to the country. This was in line with the doctrine of the Hitler Youth, which encouraged the youth to give themselves to the state. The song promised them that if they would be killed in the Nazi struggle, they would die a blessed death.

Therefore, this song contributed to the nazified Cult of the Fallen, which implied that dying in the Nazi struggle was the highest honour one could receive. This played into the perception of hard masculinity, in which men were expected to value death over dishonour, as seen before. By calling death on the battlefield the most beautiful death, this song could be useful propaganda material to contribute to the mythization of martyrdom for National Socialism, which Von Schirach was also known for. The song stated that with music of drums and flutes the heroes would be buried. This implied that death on the battlefield is not something grievous, but rather lead to immortal honour. The fact that this honour was immortal connected to the notion of the transcendent legacy of the fallen. Instead of disappearing with death, their honour encouraged the living to fight on.

This song furthermore encouraged soldiers to act heroically by emotional hardness. This hardness was stressed by the statement "*Darf nicht hör'n groß Wehklagen,*" which could be interpreted as the suggestion that soldiers should not weep for their fallen comrades, but remember the cause for which they fight, and continue towards their goal. Everything should be aimed at the collective good and in Nazi context, the interests of the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

By emphasizing the Cult of the Fallen and the honour connected to it, the song propagated masculine values. Glorifying death and the fallen, it implied an intrinsic connection between death in battle and the masculine value of eternal honour. Because the song furthered the Nazi propaganda of soldierly masculinity, it was important for the HJ.

3.3 Hört ihr es grollen durch Straßen und Gassen

"Hört ihr es grollen durch Straßen und Gassen" was written and composed by Werner Altendorf (1906-1945). Because he was a *Reichstag* member of the Nazi regime, this song arguably directly transmitted Nazi ideals. In *Blut und Ehre*, this song belonged to the section "Un'sre Fahne flättert uns voran."¹⁸⁰ Masculine values connected to the flag are also evident in the song itself.

By mentioning the unwavering push towards victory and honour, this song asserted hard masculinity. Hunger and pain should not hamper soldiers in their march towards their goal. In addition, the singers were willing to give body and life to gain honour. This was part of their physical hardness, but could also refer to their emotional hardness, as they were supposed to look beyond their fears and hardships, and focus on the greater good. The honour as result of their sacrifice was also an important part of the construction of masculinity. The more soldiers confirmed to the hard masculinity that was propagated by this song, among others, the more honour they would receive, with the highest honour being martyrdom for the Fatherland. As previously discussed, Von Schirach praised these masculine values in his poems.

The notion of sacrifice was presented as a sign of fervour in this song. The sentence "*Wir tragen in hämmernden Herzen die Glauben an Deutschland mit,*" could be interpreted as a motivation for the soldiers to not let hardships stop them. They were driven by their patriotism

¹⁸⁰ In English: Our flag flutters at our front

and love for Germany. This song explicitly stated that the singers sacrifice everything for Germany with only freedom and honour, instead of personal gains, as their wage. Furthermore, this faith in Germany connected both living and dead in a common dedication to the struggle. The living bore the responsibility to continue the struggle for which their comrades died. This was seen in the song, because the 'we' group – of the living – sacrifices body and life. Here a parallel with the song "Kein schön'rer Tod ist in der Welt" becomes apparent. This notion appears at least twice in *Blut und Ehre*, showing that sacrifice was a central concept of Nazism.

In this song, the concept of the flag strengthened the message of comradeship, bravery and patriotism. The song stated that the flag, together with the rumble and the shrill sound, was part of the revolutionary movement, whose goal was to shape the foundation of German thinking and life according to Nazism.¹⁸¹ Connecting the symbol to the Nazi revolution, Von Schirach saw the youth as the flag bearer of the revolution. Moreover, the flag empowered the men by motivating them and giving them a cause to fight. It visualized nationalist pride in Germany, for which the men were willing to endure hardships. This is connected to Von Schirach's idea that the flag was a uniting element, because it provided the men with a shared will. According to Von Schirach, this unity was fundamental to both Hitler Youth and *Volksgemeinschaft*.

The notion of comradeship was further enhanced by the fact that the song was written from the first person plural. Therefore, it united the singers literally in their singing ritual, and figuratively in their common vision and belief in Germany. This created an inclusion of those who belong and an exclusion of those who do not belong to the group. This sense of comradeship was made explicit by the use of the word *Brüder*, asserting the strength of the bond among singers. Together they would achieve freedom, which they, as men, would actively enforce.

In short, asserting the masculine values of honour, hardness, sacrifice, comradeship and bravery, this song was useful for Von Schirach. Furthermore, the song was easy to sing at home evenings, because no accompaniment was needed. Hence, the words gained more importance. The lyrics were also empowered by the rhythm of the song, since the dotted eighth-sixteenth note and a whole note or longer created the effect of a shout at the end of several sentences.

3.4 Relevance of the representation of Von Schirach's ideas in songs

Because many older songs seemed to assert values in line with Von Schirach's ideas, they were easy to nazify and hence a powerful means for invading the minds of the youth. By creating an official song bundle for the Hitler Youth, Von Schirach ensured that users would take over the nazified dimension of these older songs. Furthermore, although this is a limited selection of songs, their similarity to Von Schirach's ideas, indicates that Von Schirach used the concept of songs to spread his ideas among the youth.

Conclusion

Through the nazification of pre- Nazi songs, Von Schirach used them to propagate his nazified ideas about masculinity. Rather than being complete new, 'masculinity' was historically developed. Therefore, youth organizations that preceded the Hitler Youth, also contained masculine sentiments. The *Wandervogel* for example, encouraged mental and physical toughness through hiking etc. It furthermore propagated the ideal a strong connection with the *Volk* and the

¹⁸¹ Rosenberg, *Blut und Ehre. Ein Kampf für deutsche Wiedergeburt. Reden und Aufsätze von 1919-1933*. Herausgegeben von Thilo von Trotha, 182.

notion of male comradeship. This was also reflected in its musical tradition, where traditional songs symbolized the rededication to German values and the idea that the common good was more important than individual interests.

Furthermore, the Nazis exploited the strengthened connection between politics and youth movements. The Great War was both a result of the pre-War masculine atmosphere, as well as a catalyzer of masculinity, changing the mentality of especially young Germans. The Great War had politicized society, bringing politics home, when confronting families with politics, as their loved ones were fighting at the front. Moreover, veterans found it hard to assimilate into 'normal' life again. Having idealized domestic life during their time in the trenches, it could not live up to their expectations, and left them with a longing for their comrades. Focusing on military braveries instead of disappointments, they glorified the soldier as a masculine ideal. The Cult of the Fallen, which glorified war casualties, propagated the soldier as escaping daily life which had become so difficult for many veterans. As these trends led to politicization of the youth movements, the Nazis could use the HJ as a propaganda channel to control the youth.

Through the HJ, the Nazis were able to shape the youth's identity according to their ideals of racialized hard masculinity. By racializing 'masculinity', Nazism added an ideological dimension to it and radicalized it. Nazi hard masculinity did not leave any room for physical, emotional and moral weakness, which was important for its goal of Aryan dominance in accordance with Social Darwinist principles. To further enhance this cause, the Nazis ideologized the Cult of the Fallen and further developed militaristic masculinity. The flag and public alcohol consumption were embodiments of these masculine ideals. Furthermore, as the youth was still malleable, the HJ was an affective means to shape the youth according to Nazi masculinity. Glorification of for example 'sacrifice' and 'comradeship' encouraged military masculinity. Moreover, hardness was stimulated through various exercises. The HJ motto "Blood and Honour" demonstrates its aim of racial purity and masculine honour. Lastly, by emphasizing the differences between masculinity and femininity, masculine responsibility to the state was stressed.

As youth leader, Von Schirach used older songs to propagate his nazified ideas about masculinity to the youth. His poems propagate the masculine values of comradeship and sacrifice in connection with military masculinity. Furthermore, in line with Nazism, Von Schirach used the flag as embodiment of masculine values and as unifying element that tied the youth to its past and ideological struggle. Moreover, by maintaining the division between the male and female counterparts of the HJ, Von Schirach was able to aim his education specifically at masculinity, as females were not part of the male organization.

By adding a nazified dimension to traditional songs, Von Schirach implicitly changed their meaning to match his own nazified ideas of masculinity, and turned songs into a means to shape the identity of the German youth. Especially comradeship and sacrifice appeared in his songbook, as they had had a longer historical development. Therefore, in a nazified context, Von Schirach's racialized nationalism glorification of the fallen seemed to be reinforced by the songs. Hence, the power of HJ music and singing was turned into a propaganda machine of masculinity.

This paper has been limited by its selection of songs, and availability of sources, and thus more research with a broader range of songs to get a more nuanced analysis is recommended. It would be interesting to integrate more articles of Von Schirach himself, to thereby gain a better insight into his ideas on songs. Lastly, a comparative research with the integration of an analysis

on songs in Fascist Italy might also lead to enlightening ideas about the representation of masculinity in songs.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Images



Figure 1 Nazi Poster Masculinity¹⁸²



Figure 2 Nazi Blood Flag¹⁸³

¹⁸² "Nazi Posters: 1939-1945."

¹⁸³ "Blood Flag (Third Reich, Germany)."

Appendix B: Poems from *Die Fahne der Verfolgten*

*Spruch*¹⁸⁴

*Es kann nicht jeder feldherr sein
Doch jeder sei Soldat!
Ein jeder Mann in unsrn Reihn
Ist General – der Tat*

Not everyone can be commander
But everyone is a soldier
Every man in our ranks
Is general – of action

*Die Einen und die Andern*¹⁸⁵

*Die Einen sind vom fressen fett
Und ernten fremde Saaten
Und haben Haus und Hof und Bett
Die Andern sind Soldaten*

The one group is fat from eating
And harvests foreign seeds
It has a house, a garden and bed
The others are soldiers.

*Die Einen wurden riesenreich
Die Andern ruhn in Flandern
Sind sie vor Gottes Sonne gleich
Die Einen und die Andern?*

The one group becomes giant empire (Soviet Union)
The others rest in Flanders
Are they equal before God's face?
The one and the other?

*Den Soldaten des Grossen Krieges*¹⁸⁶

*Sie haben höher gelitten als Worden sagen
Sie haben Hunger, Kälte und Wunden
Schweigend getragen
Dann hat man sie irgendwo gefunden
Verschüttet, zerschollen, oder erschlagen.*

They have suffered more than words say
They endured hunger, cold and injuries
In silence
Then found man them somewhere
Buried, lost, or defeated

*Hebt diesen Toten zum Gruss die Hand!
Sie sind so fern vom Vaterland gefallen,
Die Türme aber ihrer Treue ragen
Uns allen, allen
Mitten im Land*

Lift the hand to greet the dead,
They fell so far from the Fatherland
Towers, however, project their loyalty
To us all, all
In the midst of the country.

*Auf einem Gefallenen-Gedenkmal*¹⁸⁷

*Es stehe dieses Zeichen
So stolz wie eure Tat!
Wer nicht an euren Leichen
Gelobte, euch zu gleichen
Der ist kein Kamerad...*

There stands this sign
So proud as your deed
Who does not promise to your bodies
To be equal to you
He is not a comrade....

*An die Fahne*¹⁸⁸

Du bist die Schönste aller, die uns wehten

You are the most beautiful of all that blow

¹⁸⁴ Baldur Von Schirach, *Die Fahne der Verfolgten* (Berlin 1933), 28.

¹⁸⁵ Von Schirach, 17.

¹⁸⁶ Von Schirach, 15.

¹⁸⁷ Von Schirach, 16.

¹⁸⁸ Von Schirach, 9.

*Du bist die Kraft, die jeder Kämpfer wirbt
Du heiligst selbst den Sünder, der dir stirbt
Du hohe Hand, mit der die Helden beten*

*Inbrunst und Wille bist Du von uns allen
Wer für Dich fiel, zum Bild wird er in Dir
Du bist die Brücke zwischen dort und hier
Heil denen, die in Deinem Schatten fallen.*

You are the strength that every fighter
gathers
You yourself sanctify the sinner that dies for
you

You, high hand, with which the heroes pray

Fervour and will, you are for us all
Who falls for you, will become depicted in
you

You are the bridge between there and here
Hail those who fall in your treasures.

Appendix C: Songs from *Blut und Ehre*

Deutschland, Deutschland über alles

Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Über alles in der Welt,
Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze
Brüderlich zusammenhält.
Von der Maas bis an die Memel,
Von der Etsch bis an den Belt,
Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Über alles in der Welt!

Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang
Sollen in der Welt behalten
Ihren alten schönen Klang,
Uns zu edler Tat begeistern
Unser ganzes Leben lang.
Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang!

Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit Für das
deutsche Vaterland!
Danach lasst uns alle streben
Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Sind des Glückes Unterpfand;
Blüh' im Glanze dieses Glückes,
Blühe, deutsches Vaterland!

Kein schöner Tod ist in der Welt

Kein schöner Tod ist in der Welt,
Als wer vorm Feind errschlagen
Auf grüner Heid, im breiten Feld
Darf nicht hör'n groß Wehklagen
Im engen Bett, nur ein'r allein
Muß an den Todesreihen.
Hier findet er Gesellschaft sein,
Fall'n wie die Kräuter im Maien.

Manch frommer Held mit freudigkeit,
Hat zugesagt Leib und Blute,
Starb sel'gen Tod auf grüner Heid, dem
Vaterland zugute.
Kein schöner Tod ist in der Welt, als wer
vorm Feind erschlagen

Germany, Germany above all (English Translation¹⁸⁹)

Germany, Germany above all *
Above everything in the world *
When, always, for protection and defense
Brothers stand together.
From the Maas to the Memel
From the Etsch to the Belt,
Germany, Germany above all
Above all in the world.

German women, German fidelity,
German wine and German song,
Shall retain, throughout the world,
Their old respected fame,
To inspire us to noble deeds
For the length of our lives.
German women, German fidelity,
German wine and German song.

Unity and right and freedom
For the German Fatherland;
Let us all strive to this goal
Brotherly, with heart and hand.
Unity and rights and freedom
Are the pledge of fortune grand.
Prosper in this fortune's glory,
Prosper German fatherland.

No more beautiful death exists in the world (English Translation)

No more beautiful death exists in the world
As he who is slain by the enemy
On the green heather, in the wide field
Should not hear great lamenting
In a small bed, only alone,
Even though here he likes to have company,
He must fall to the death rows like herbs
during harvest

Several pious heroes with gladness
Had promised body and blood
Died blessed death on the green heather, to
the good of the Fatherland
No more beautiful death exists in the world
As he who is slain by the enemy

¹⁸⁹ "Das Lied Der Deutschen / Deutschland Über Alles / German National Anthem / Deutsche Nationalhymne / Deutschland Über Alles Free Midi Mp3 Download Strand Hotel Sechelt Bed Breakfast," accessed December 16, 2019, <http://ingeb.org/Lieder/deutschl.html>.

Auf grüner Seid, im freien Feld
Darf nicht hör'n groß Wehklagen

Mit Trommelflang und Pfeifengetön,
Manch frommer Held begraben,
Auf grüner Heid gefallen schön, unsterblichen
Ruhm tut er haben.
Kein schöner Tod ist in der Welt, als wer
vorm Feind erschlagen.
Auf grüner Heid, im freien Feld
Darf nicht hör'n groß Wehklagen.

Hört ihr es grollen durch Straßen und Gassen?

Hört ihr es grollen durch Straßen und Gassen,
Seht ihr die Männer die Sturmflaggen fassen,
Hört ihr den Klirrenden, gellenden Ton?
Revolution! Revolution!

Und wir recken zum Himmel die Hand
Und es gellt als ein Schwur durch das Land
unser Schrei:
Wir tragen hunger und Schmerzen,
Die hemmen nicht unser'n Schritt.
Wir tragen in hämmernden Herzen
Den Glauben an Deutschland mit!
Wir tragen in hämmernden Herzen
Den Glauben an Deutschland mit!

Hier uns're Leiber, hier unser Leben,
Alles für Deutschland zum Opfer zu geben;
Freiheit und Ehre der einzige Lohn!
Revolution, revolution!
Und wir reden zum himmel, usw.

Heiße, die Mauern, die Ketten zerspringen,
Brüder, wir werden die freiheit erzwingen,
Ferne da leuchtet der Morgen uns schon!
Revolution! Revolution!
Und wir reden zum himmel, usw.

On the green heather, in the free field
Should not hear great lamenting

With drumming sound and flute sounds
Are several pious heroes buried.
Fallen on the green heather, so beautiful
Immortal glory is given to him
No more beautiful death exists in the world
As he who is slain by the enemy
On the green heather, in the free field
Should not hear great lamenting

Do you hear the rumble through streets and alleys? (English translation)

Do you hear the rumble through streets and alleys?
Do you see the men who grasp the storm flags?
Do you hear the clanking, shrill sound?
Revolution! Revolution!

And we stretch our hand to heaven
And our cry calls out as a vow through the country:
We bear hunger and pain
They do not hamper our step
In our beating hearts, we carry
The belief in Germany along (2x)

Here our bodies, here our life
To give everything for Germany as a sacrifice
Freedom and honour, the only payment
Revolution, revolution!
And we stretch our hand to heaven, and so on.

Aye, the walls, the chains are shattering
Brothers, we will enforce freedom,
Distantly, the morning lights already
Revolution! Revolution!
And we stretch our hand to heaven, and so on.