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Udo Kraft: A German man

by Volkmar Stein

As Hector bade farewell to Andromache before marching off to do battle against the Greeks, she begged him to stay: Do not orphan your child or make your wife a widow. We feel for her. And we can even understand Hector's response: he would have felt ashamed before his people if he had abandoned them in this dangerous battle. It's an old story. It has been 95 years since Udo Kraft, a professor at the *Gymnasium* in Büdingen, marched off to war intent on dying. A memorial at the Büdingen *Gymnasium* lists his name among the teachers and students who fell in World War I. However, we feel very distant from the spirit that animated him. The terms in which he was celebrated also seem alien to us.¹ This alien quality is the starting point for my reflections, and my goal is to better understand it.

His own writings are the main sources from which we may derive such understanding. Udo's brother, Friedrich Kraft, published a selection of his "posthumous papers" in 1915. Primarily, these involve excerpts from his diary, letters, and speeches. It is regrettable that the scope of his writings and the criteria by which Friedrich selected them are never made clear. I will return to this later. In 1903, Udo wrote a travel report from South America for a Munich newspaper. However, the "more comprehensive research" which, according to Esselborn, he carried out between 1911 and 1912 at the Berlin Museum of Ethnology, cannot be confirmed.

In 1921, Udo's brother published his "Lesefrüchte" as a Christmas gift for his friends. For quite a while, at least between 1897 in 1908, Udo had kept a little brown notebook, which was only half filled, in which he jotted down quotations that seemed important to him. Here, according to his brother, he exercised no editorial judgment and made no revisions. The thoughts that a person finds valuable enough to write them down tell us something about him as well.

The most important sources are the report about Udo's final days published in the *Büdingen Allgemeiner Anzeiger* and an appreciation by Karl Esselborn commemorating the 20th anniversary of his death. These apparently involve oral communications and documents from his circle of friends and acquaintances that are no longer available. Information may also be gleaned from the annual reports of the Büdingen *Gymnasium* from the time Udo taught there, including classes taught, syllabi, and topics covered in the upper classes.

Historical understanding requires that the facts of the past not be uncritically measured by the standards of the present, but that they be viewed in terms of their time. In Udo's case this means understanding the Wilhelmine mindset. The source material for this period is well-nigh inexhaustible. In particular, I will make use of material compiled by Harry Pross: The title of his book, *Die Zerstörung der deutschen Politik* [The destruction of German politics] makes clear his critical stance.²

Before examining Udo Kraft's writings for clues to his personality, goals, and motives—it appears that this has never been done before—, let us take a look at the purely biographical facts of his life, even though they will add little to what is already known from the above-cited material.

Udo Kraft—his full name was Rudolf Karl Emil Kaspar Robert—came from a family of lawyers. His father, Friedrich Kraft (1835-1912), practiced as an attorney and notary in Giessen and later in Büdingen; his grandfather was president of the High Court of Appeal. His mother, Lina née Simon (1842-1888) was the daughter of a Protestant minister. Like Udo, his older brother Friedrich (1869-1925) also became a teacher at the *Gymnasium* and later taught at the progressive Odenwaldschule, near Heppenheim; his younger sister Anna (1873-1926) married a physician in Worms, and also taught at the Odenwaldschule. Udo was born on November 29, 1870. He attended school in his hometown of Giessen, and after graduation attended university there as well. As Esselborn reported, Kraft originally contemplated becoming a forester. When he left school, he said he wanted to study law. But in fact, he enrolled in the philosophy department. He acquired credentials to teach history, geography, and German in the upper grades, and Latin in the middle grades. After his state examination in March 1896, he entered military service in the 116th Infantry Regiment (Kaiser Wilhelm) (2nd Grand-Duchy of Hessen) as a volunteer serving for one year. He then joined for further teacher training the faculty of the same *Gymnasium* that he had attended as a student. His first real job came in 1898, when he was hired by the secondary school in Langen. From April 1899, he spent three years as a private tutor in Buenos Aires, and then visited his uncle, Dr. Wilhelm Simon, in Baltimore. Because his widowed father had since moved to Büdingen, Udo applied, successfully, for a position at the Wolfgang-Ernst-Gymnasium. With the exception of a one-year break, he spent the rest of his professional life there as a fully qualified secondary school teacher, and was awarded the title of Schoolmaster in 1903, and Professor in 1913. He took a leave of absence in 1911 in order to continue his studies at the university in Berlin. At the same time he took a position tutoring the two sons of the newspaper publisher August Scherl. However, he resumed his teaching position in Büdingen after only one year. Scherl broke his contract with Udo after only half a year; Esselborn gives no reason for this action. Nonetheless, Udo stayed on in Berlin in order to finish some work he was doing at the Anthropological Museum. He began teaching again in Büdingen in 1912-13. After the war broke out, he enlisted as a volunteer with his old regiment in Giessen. He died on August 22, 1914 at Anloy, Belgium, with the rank of Company Sergeant Major. He took a bullet to the temple, and was one of the first in his regiment to fall. He died immediately.

Even a cursory reading of his published papers makes it clear that Udo's preoccupation with death for the Fatherland had nothing to do with "self-education." His readiness to die was not an endpoint that Udo came to over the course of a lifetime, but rather a disposition that manifested fully formed in his very earliest diary entries. Udo began his diary on New Year's eve 1886-87; on August 13, 1887, depressed by a poor grade on an essay, he asks what will become of him, and continues:

I have often contemplated that if war is unavoidable, O that it may come now! Gladly would I die an honorable death on the battlefield for my beloved German Fatherland. Then I would have amounted to something, and my life would not have been in vain. May Heaven prevent only one thing: that I should go through life a cripple.³

It would be reasonable to write off a 16-year-old's desire for death on the battlefield as little more than an adolescent tantrum: "I'll show them what I'm made of!" What surrounds these sentiments, however, indicates that something more enduring was at issue here.

Udo questioned the meaning of life, particularly of his own existence, from the very outset. Even his first diary entry on that New Year's eve (no exact date is given) reads:

I don't know why I so seldom feel truly contented. There is always something missing. That I definitely feel—something big that I can hold on to, something that will influence everything that I do and think, something that will give my life direction. I have felt this way for many years; exactly when it started I cannot say, but I feel quite distinctly the desire and necessity, and it has become a vague certainty that something must happen to channel my life onto a particular path.—Sometimes I seem to be contented. This is almost always the case when I become conscious of having used my time in earnest, particularly when I have done my duty, when I have accomplished or made something... But then I again get this disquieting, anxious feeling. At these times I ask myself, “What is your purpose in the world?—To work, earn your daily bread, and enjoy life? No, that cannot be why you are here.” At these times another thought suggests itself, one that I have also found in Cicero's “Pro archia poeta” and “Pro milone”: I want to accomplish something great so that my name will not die along with my body, but will live on.—Earlier in life I had this thought quite frequently, but I always rejected it. Now I think I have figured it out. I want to be a good and noble man. I want to strive for self-respect, to become conscious of my own inner substance. I will ask only such people what they think of me whom I respect. My ideal is to become a true, loyal German man...⁴

This sixteen-year-old could not simply accept life as a given and on its own terms. Like many adolescents then and now he pondered the question that has engaged children and philosophers alike since time immemorial. But what is notable—and unlikely to figure in the ruminations of today's children or philosophers—is Udo's emphasis on “duty.” His conclusion: Meaning cannot simply be found or discovered, but must be created. The wish to be remembered by posterity beyond the grave probably draws less from Christianity than from the paganism of antiquity.⁵ By Udo's lights, as quoted above, the “feat” by which this is accomplished is the perfection of his own personhood. At the beginning we have the humane and humanistic values as expounded by Goethe (“May man be noble, helpful and good.”) But in the second sentence thereafter, the adjectives “true,” “loyal,” and “German” crowd to the fore. And here we come face-to-face with the Udo Kraft complex—which became a German complex in the 19th century.⁶ Germans and all that was German embodied the highest moral values. In an essay for which Udo was given a poor grade—the essay that occasioned his downtrodden diary entry of August 13, 1887—the assignment was to compare the Nibelungen saga with the Odyssey.

In this, the forthright, bold and true hero of the Nibelungen saga embodies an ideal completely different from that of the “nimble, cunning Odysseus,”* who not infrequently lies and cheats to achieve his purpose when brute force fails. Such behavior did not go against the grain of the Greek Volk; on the contrary, they took delight in their hero's facile lies and glib talk.*□ The ancient Germans would have despised such a man. Openness and forthrightness of spirit, unbounded courage, and steadfast loyalty: these are the ideal virtues of our ancient German heroes. These are the characteristics that have preserved the German Volk through the centuries up until this day, and which will continue to preserve it forever.⁷

We could well imagine this coming from the mouth of Diederich Hessling in Heinrich Mann's parody of Wilhelmine mores *The Loyal Subject*. This might have been on the mind of

□ Teacher's marginal comment: “Where did the writer get this?”

□* Marginal comment: “Is this the writer's own intellectual property?”

his teacher, who was unwilling to accept the ideas in Udo's essay as the intellectual property of the "author." Yet, the teacher was being unfair to his young student. Most of what he said had certainly been said by others before him. Nonetheless, young Udo could very well have claimed these thoughts as his intellectual property with greater justification than could many of his intellectual forebears. Why? Because he actually believed them. He repeated these sentiments in his private correspondence throughout his lifetime; only his certainty that German virtues will never die later gave way to worry about the future.⁸ That is why he was the appropriate person to make patriotic speeches—he held those beliefs as a student, as a fraternity member, and as a teacher.⁹

Born between the Battle of Sedan and the restoration of the Reich, in Versailles, his life spanning almost the entire duration of Bismarck's empire up to the onset of World War I, Udo was a representative of his time.

Udo's image of Germany was transformed into an idyll even though, or particularly when, he was living in Argentina. The image of the foreign land, which he was intent on learning about, comes off poorly by comparison. On July 16, 1899, he wrote his sister: "I sometimes get a strange feeling in my heart when I read in your letters about the woods, Solomon's seal, and the Schiffenberg. A single word is enough to awaken images, sensations, moods, so that I feel surrounded by the scent of my *Heimat's* forests, by flashes of sunlight filtering through green leaves, by bird songs and the comforting murmur of brooks, by the simple pealing of church bells on summer mornings fresh with dew, by the soft humming of insects in the heat of the afternoon." The exoticism of nature and the people around him seem "cold and without soul." "True, there are beautiful birds here, but they don't sing; there are magnificent flowers in all colors, but they lack fragrance... The women and girls are much like the flowers. Beautiful they may be, and they glitter in their garishly colored silk gowns and red makeup, but just as the flowers lack fragrance, so too do their faces, cold as stone, lack loveliness. And when Walter von der Vogelweide praises German women, 'reht als engel sind diu wîp getân', then I strongly suspect that Argentine women for all their beauty are inhabited by the Devil."¹⁰ It is astonishing that a trained historian and geographer could with such naïveté and simultaneous rigidity perceive and pass judgment on people and surroundings that differed from what he was used to. In the same letter, Udo described a parade on Argentina's Independence Day with a derision that is somewhat reminiscent of the military doctor in Thomas Mann's *Felix Krull*. "True, a German reservist would find seriously depressing the way they carry their rifles on their backs." Military discipline is sorely lacking.

Nonetheless, a report about his trip to the Atacama Desert yields a somewhat different picture. Udo was open to the appeal of a magnificent countryside, which he took in with the trained eye of a geographer. He gained insight into economic and social conditions and even indulged in political criticism of the "free" Republic of Argentina, where the indigenous population, though legally emancipated, lived like slaves. But then the report ends with a description of an evening in a hut on the arid high plateau.

"This is when our thoughts take flight, spanning vast reaches. And I think back to the time when a handful of Spanish adventurers climbed to the top of this plateau and smashed the powerful ruling Inca empire in order to integrate an entire continent into the global Spanish monarchy. And what has happened to it? It lies destroyed, much like the power of the Aztecs and Incas of old. What would have happened if our Volk, united and strong, had been in a position to conquer the New World?—*Our Volk!* It gives me a warm feeling just to contemplate it. Far, far away beyond the ocean lies

my beloved German *Heimat*, where people think and feel as I do, so different from these neo-Latins. And if only during the centuries in which we withdrew into ourselves and became the people of poets and philosophers—if only we had conquered the world: Would we have remained the Volk that feels so strongly and sincerely that even our enemies must admit that loyalty and truthfulness have always been basic to our nature? What would it have profited us to gain the whole world and forfeit our soul, the soul of our Volk.¹¹

After contemplating the transitory nature of worldly power, as would seem appropriate in this and almost any other place, Udo again stressed the higher moral standing, the deeper spirituality of the German Volk, in comparison with other peoples, not just with the “neo-Latins.” To his way of thinking, this was simply the way it was; he never doubted it, and no further proof was necessary. And he was by no means alone in this opinion. However, authors like Hölderlin and Grillparzer were more balanced in their writings, as were most assuredly the contemporary novels of Fontane. And if Udo had heard or read the swaggering speeches of Wilhelm II with any intellectual distance, we would hope that doubt might at least have entered his mind. Still, we find here a reason in the form of a rhetorical question as to how the German Volk’s “soul” had remained pure: the powerlessness of this “delayed nation” (Plessner) protected it. Similar conceptions can frequently be found throughout the 19th century. In Schiller’s fragment, “German greatness,” which was written during a time of political impotence, he spoke of “German dignity” as a moral greatness that resides in the culture and in the character of the nation.¹² And in Richard Wagner’s “Meistersinger,” Hans Sachs praises “sacred German art,” which will live on, even after the Holy Roman Empire has faded away. However Udo, as previously mentioned, turned the one into a justification for the other. But this raises concern about the future of a Germany that was now both united and powerful. And Udo actually raised this concern explicitly in another passage.¹³ The linguistic secularization becomes clear in his concluding question, a transposition into a national context of a parable of Jesus from the New Testament (Mt 16:26 and Mk 8:36).

Let us return for a moment to the point of departure of his contemplation: Udo Kraft’s search for the meaning of life, and the “German man” as the culmination of this search. Udo was denied the “immortality” of offspring since he remained unattached.¹⁴ There is no mention of any sort of relationship with women in any of his appreciations—he apparently preferred the company of men. On the other hand, there are numerous quotations in his “Lesefrüchten,” his selections from readings, in which women or love between men and women are celebrated.¹⁵ Udo cannot have been totally insensible in this respect. In May 1907, on resuming his previous life, he described himself as an “old bachelor” (at 36), “completely happy”—“apart from one particular lack in my life.”¹⁶ One is tempted to hypothesize that this “lack” may have referred to his bachelorhood.

His profession was to be his most promising path to self-realization—at precisely the moment when he felt that the soul of the German Volk was in danger of falling prey to external gloss. But it is uncertain just what his profession meant to him. Esselborn quotes from an otherwise unidentified official document from 1907.

“I love my profession because I love young people, and because I have retained the ability to empathize with them. I firmly believe in the educational role of the teaching profession, especially in a relatively small institution such as our *Gymnasium*. This is why I have done all I could to enter into personal relationships with my students, and to get to know them person to person.”¹⁷

This would not have been the idiom of the “the friendly idyll of a school-master’s sinecure in Büdingen.”¹⁸ The annual reports of the *Gymnasium* indicate that Udo consistently served as class teacher¹⁹ in the first year, but relatively little in the upper classes, which would certainly have limited the potential for political education in the narrower sense.

I will reproduce *in toto* a very revealing dream Udo described in a letter when he was 36:

Emperor Napoleon had announced a conference of all the European princes. King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia says to me, “Would you please represent me at the conference, as I have to take care of some business in the city.” The conference took place in the assembly hall at the Giessen Gymnasium. Napoleon climbed to the podium, took out a piece of paper, and called out: “Emperor of Russia!” — “Here!” — “Emperor of Austria!” — “Here!” — “King of Bavaria!” — “Here!” And each one rushed eagerly to the podium, and positioned himself in a semi-circle in front of it—just like when the sergeant calls the squad leaders together at roll call. — Then he called out, “King of Prussia!” — But instead of saying, “Here!” I strode purposefully to the podium, stood at attention, and declared, “His Majesty the King of Prussia has charged me with representing him, and so I must appear here. But if I were King, I would not have come at all, as we do not respond to such an imperious tone!” (verbatim; I recited it to myself several times and reviewed the proceedings when I awoke.) I have forgotten what was talked about subsequently. But I do remember hurling a curse in his face. The little yellow Corsican stared at me for a long time and his face became fire-red. I returned his stare resolutely with steely eyes, and thought, “He is going to have you arrested now. But it doesn’t matter; you finally said it to him!” — But Napoleon did nothing of the sort. He turned away and continued with the conference as if nothing had transpired. Then I thought—in my dream!—“How strange!” It was just like back in secondary school with “Bapsch.” We were translating Xenophon’s “Anabasis” with him just after he finished his practicum. The Greeks had come upon a herd of ostriches, and Xenophon writes, “but when we approached —ένταῦθα ἀπόχοντο (literally: they were gone). During the break we prepared the translation with a crib. I said, “The best way to translate this is: ‘they evaporated’, and when it’s my turn, that’s how I’ll translate it.”—And it came to my turn. I felt a bit uneasy because class honor was at stake. So I translated, “they evaporated.” And “Bapsch” stared at me, and his face turned fire-red just like Napoleon’s. I returned his stare and expected a box on the ear—but Bapsch did nothing of the sort. He simply turned away and corrected me: “ran away”—whereupon I continued to translate. I see this episode before my eyes as if it had happened today, and now it comes back to me in a dream.²⁰

That day, Udo had been reading about Napoleon, the “tyrant” for whom he harbored eternal hatred. The dream brings the fulfillment of his wishes. Udo Kraft, the simple man whom the Prussian king entrusts to represent him—the fact that he’s no Prussian is immaterial—shames the crowned heads of state gathered before Napoleon’s throne with his manly courage. He shows them how a real German deals with an arrogant tyrant. And the shocked Corsican does not react with the punishment that Udo actually anticipates. This is how his courage, which preserves honor, is rewarded. And this is where Udo connects with his own experience as a student—as trivial as the “courage” it took to spit out a flip translation may seem to us, so little similarity is there between a small-town school master and the ruler of Europe. Udo preserved his class’s “honor” before Bapsch; he wants only a similar opportunity to prove his

manly honor. Before his dream, Udo had read with “throbbing heart” about “the Wars of Liberation, and once again, as often happened in my younger days, he wished, “O, if only I had lived in that great age and had found a beautiful soldier’s death!” “Theodor Körner was the happiest of men; his greatest joy was in his own death.”²¹

Udo was not unaware that peace might be the “serious event,” and that proving oneself in daily life might be important, but he was unable to come to terms with it in his own life. To him, only the extraordinary deed—death on the field of honor—, as it was called by his generation, seemed to confer dignity on life, and to give it meaning. “Eternal peace is a dream,” wrote Moltke in a letter, “not even a beautiful one, and war is a link in God’s world order. In it unfold man’s most noble virtues: courage and self-abnegation; duty and sacrifice with one’s life on the line. Without war, the world would sink into materialism.”²²

And so it was with Udo as well, basically a free-floating aggressiveness—and it wasn’t hard to find a target for such heroic deeds. France and England were target enough. After his return from the New World, Udo conveyed to his uncle in America his emotions on seeing the Rhine again. The “magnificent old songs” were reawakened—in addition to songs of joy and longing, also “songs of defiance against the ‘archenemy’, who has been seeking to conquer its banks by trickery and force for a thousand years.”²³ The concept of the “archenemy,”²⁴ though without direct geographic attribution, crops up as early as 1887, in a story that Udo wrote for his parents about Johannes, a minstrel who dies a hero’s death for the Fatherland. But it was the English—in the context of the Boer war—, “that barbaric, corrupt nation of shopkeepers,”²⁵ for whom he reserved special vitriol. Here, too, he found himself in agreement with many of his contemporaries. In 1915, the well-known political economist and sociologist Werner Sombart wrote an essay, or better said, a pamphlet, with the title “Shopkeepers and heroes” in which he viewed German militarism as the “heroic spirit raised to martial spirit. It represents the highest integration of Potsdam and Weimar.” Sombart elevated Moltke’s concept, maintaining that war is the “most sacred thing on earth.” “Nothing is so held against us by the shopkeepers of the world that we hold war to be sacred. They say that war is inhuman and senseless. The slaughter of the best of a Volk is bestiality. And that is how it would appear to a shopkeeper who knows nothing higher on earth than the natural life of the individual. But we know that there is a higher life, namely the life of the Volk, the life of the state.”²⁶ Sombart, too, believed that the English represented a shopkeeper mentality. And the fact that the English were “racially kindred”²⁷ made matters even worse for Udo because it raised the specter of Germany falling prey to crass materialism.

And this establishes the elements that lead to a longing for death that to us is not only alien, but perhaps even repellant. At the beginning we see a longing for meaning that does not seek fulfillment in the harbor of religious thinking or other world view. Udo was forced to “bootstrap” his own meaning. The sort of immortality afforded by having children was not an option; living on through his educational work was not enough. The result was aggression turned outward against a hostile and inferior world, but at the same time against himself. Death as a work of art.

Of course, Udo Kraft was a man full of contradictions whose motivations and actions cannot simply be reconstructed by speculating on them. As evidence, I cite a letter written on 23 July 1907. In it, Udo related that he had been in Salzhausen eight days earlier and heard the fanfare march of the Hanau lancers, which made a great impression on him. “I suppose I’m just a childish spirit, but I simply don’t know what it does to me. I wrote you once—in reply to a letter in which you were overly effusive in praising a letter I had written—how little I value

words compared to deeds, to serious manliness, and how certain realizations that to most reasonable people would only be cause for a smile have crystallized in my life. In my reason, too. But my feelings are completely different.”²⁸ To have the deed take precedence over the word is one thing, his fascination with the military—what he witnessed in Salzhausen was nothing more than pageantry—is quite another. That a 36-year-old teacher can be so affected by a military march seems incredible to us. Reason tells him that there are values, accomplishments, and deeds other than military ones. A 36-year-old who describes himself as an “old bachelor” and at 43 writes of his “old bones” is drawn into an emotional maelstrom against which he is powerless. The irrational, the “experience,” is victorious. In Udo, reason capitulates with a smile.

However, his self-analysis leaves us to conclude that Udo’s personality may have been a far richer and multifaceted instrument than is evident from the selected writings from his “self-education.”

Be that as it may, Udo Kraft is no “shining example”²⁹ in this day and age. Nowhere do we see him engaged in the constructive solution of a political problem, either in theory or by involving himself in the public discourse. For him—as for many Germans of good will—politics began and ended with the “right attitude,” advocacy for Volk and Fatherland, self-sacrifice in war. We recognize the straightness of his path and the idealism with which he lived his life. He achieved the goal he set for himself when he was 16. But that is precisely what pulls us up short.

Sources

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Speech by Pastor Eschenröder (Frankfurt a. M.) at the dedication of the Udo-Kraft-Hütte on 6 August 1922 (mentioned in the *Büdingen Allgemeiner Anzeiger*, of 12 August 1922).

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Translation by Kenneth Kronenberg

¹ The Udo-Kraft hut across from the “Klippe” in Büdingen was dedicated as a youth hostel on 6 August 1922, with syblings, relatives, and friends in attendance. “The simple celebration included the song ‘Kein schöner Tod ist in der Welt, als wer vorm Feind erschlagen’ [No death so beautiful as his who before his enemy is slain] accompanied by fiddles and guitars (report in *Büdingen Allgemeiner Anzeiger* of 12 August 1922).

² Harry Pross (ed.), *Die Zerstörung der deutschen Politik, Dokumente 1871-1933* [The destruction of German politics]. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Bücherei 1960 (subsequently referred to as “Pross.”)

³ *Selbsterziehung zum Tod fürs Vaterland*, page 11.

⁴ *Selbsterziehung*, page 7.

⁵ His “Lesefrüchte” contains another quotation that points toward a different path: “The most precious transmigration of the soul is that to our children.”

⁶ As early as 1858, Julius Fröbel wrote, “What people other than the German so frequently makes such frequent use of an epithet describing its own character? ‘German power’, German loyalty’, German love’, German seriousness’, German song’, ‘German wine’, ‘German deepness’, ‘German thoroughness’, ‘German industriousness’, ‘German women’, ‘German maidens’, ‘German men’—what people uses such epithets other than the German? In effect, the German spirit constantly stands before the mirror observing itself, and once it has looked itself over a hundred times and become convinced of its perfections, it is driven to stand before it once again by that unspoken doubt which has always comprised the deepest riddle of vanity. What is this other than the self-torture of the hypochondriac who lacks [forward] motion and who could be helped only by such motion?” (Pross, 11). Whether Fröbel was correct as to cause and effect is an open question (Pross, by contrast, hypothesizes “impeded self-determination”). Motion did Udo little good—that was something he had in abundance.

⁷ *Selbsterziehung*, page 9.

⁸ On September 16, 1900, writing from Argentina, he enumerated the characteristics of the “German soul” that he had better learned to appreciate through comparison with those of other countries: “inner simplicity, manliness, loyalty, and a sense of duty.” (*Selbsterziehung*, page 32) Of course, soon thereafter he discovered that these characteristics were not as indestructible as he thought. In his patriotic speech of 1902 he says: “But now that we stand there in our glory, we are threatened with the loss of what is most precious to us: the core of our being, which has remained the same for centuries, the inner life of the mind, simple and unadorned.” (*Selbsterziehung*, page 38).

⁹ Speech given on the occasion of a graduating students’ carousal, March 19, 1891; speech celebrating the restoration of the German Reich, written January 16, 1892; speech on the occasion of a fraternity Christmas carouse all, December 1893; patriotic speech on the occasion of the 12th annual meeting of the Altherrn Bund of the Arminia fraternity, Giessen, held in Frankfurt, October 12, 1902; speech given on the occasion of a Kaiserskommers on January 27, 1910. The annual reports of the Gymnasium confirm that he also gave a speech there on the Kaiser’s birthday on January 27, 1908 as well (annual report, Easter 1908, page 10).

¹⁰ *Selbsterziehung*, page 20.

¹¹ A vacation trip, page 477. I think it puts Udo in a better light that he balanced this observation with a sentence at the end of his essay: “From his hut, Don Angel calls me to dinner, which he himself prepared carefully and lovingly in the Italian manner with much oil and garlic.”

¹² Friedrich Schiller, *Collected Works*, Vol. I. Munich: Hanser 1958, p. 473.

¹³ See endnote 8 above.

¹⁴ See endnote 5 above.

¹⁵ Lesefrüchte 4 (Hohes Lied); 5 (Homer: “For nothing is better or stronger than this: when two people, a man and woman who are like-minded in ideas keep a house.”); 12 (Luther: “To whom it can be given, there is no dearer thing on earth than a woman’s love.”); on the other hand, in an old German verse (Lesefrüchte 11) maidens trail behind beer, wine, and music.

¹⁶ *Selbsterziehung*, page 49.

¹⁷ Esselborn, page 4 (the four-page appendix is not paginated).

¹⁸ *Selbsterziehung*, page 41.

¹⁹ Klassenlehrer. The Klassenlehrer, or Klassenführer, was charged with advising and overseeing the class as a whole. He did not, however, exercise a supervisory role vis-à-vis the other teachers.

²⁰ *Selbsterziehung*, page 47.

²¹ *Selbsterziehung*, page 46.

²² Pross, page 29

²³ *Selbsterziehung*, page 42.

²⁴ *Selbsterziehung*, page 12.

²⁵ *Selbsterziehung*, page 31; similarly in *Selbsterziehung*, page 32 (“petty, arrogant, and faithless nation of shopkeepers”).

²⁶ Pross, page 195.

²⁷ *Selbsterziehung*, page 39.

²⁸ *Selbsterziehung*, page 52.

²⁹ Esselborn, page 4.