
Article 2.

Civil Society and the Army from Family Magazines during the German Empire: Army Representation in the Family Magazine *Die Gartenlaube* and *Daheim*

Yui NAGAO*

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Abstract

“German Sonderweg” has been one of the most significant themes in the study of modern German history. Before the 1980s, many researchers viewed the modern societies of Britain and France, which gave birth to mature democratic societies, as representative examples of societies that had taken the “normal path”, and developed a critique of modern German society, which failed to form a democratic unified state before and after the war.

However, this view of history, which was criticized in the 1980s by British social historians, was also reviewed in Germany after the end of the Cold War and the reunification of Germany. The unification of Germany in 1990 meant that although the country had once followed a unique path, there is now an emphasis on the recognition that the German people have reunited under a state system that shares the same values as those of the Western democratic countries. In this process, the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848 and the following revolutions have been recognized as the “unfinished revolution”, to show that it was the starting point of the democratic movement in the history of modern Germany.

The purpose of this article is to delve into the multi-layered nature and transformation of German civil society from the establishment of the Reich to the Imperial period. For this purpose, I use the family magazines *Die Gartenlaube* and *Daheim*. These magazines, founded in the latter part of the 19th century, had a clear intent towards enlightenment and growing the civil society. Because of this, the relationship between nationalism and civil society was strongly reflected in their articles. Also, those relationships had a transition over the periods most clearly illustrated in an article on the “Army”. This paper will discuss the changes in German civil society during the Second Reich, focusing on the representation of the army in those articles, and how it has changed over the years.

Introduction

Since the Fischer controversy that began in 1966, the theory of the so-called “Sonderweg” has been one of the most significant themes in the study of modern German history¹. In other words, the belligerent nationalism that covered Germany in the late Weimar period found support among German researchers such as Wehler, who argued that many glimpses of belligerent nationalism appeared during the Second Empire, and that the establishment of the Nazi regime was not a coincidence due to the political problems of the time, but an inevitable consequence of modern German history². They viewed the modern societies of Britain and France, which gave birth to mature democratic societies, as representative examples of societies that had taken the “normal path” and developed a critique of modern German society, which failed to form a democratic unified state before and after the war.

1. Fischer, Fritz (1961). *Griff nach der Weltmacht: die Kriegszielpolitik des Kaiserlichen Deutschland, 1914-18*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag.

2. Wehler, H.-U. (1973). *Das Deutsche Kaiserreich 1871-1918 (Deutsche Geschichte, 9)*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

* ex-Doctoral Student, Department of Western History, Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences, Osaka City University.
E-mail: yui_nagao1201@yahoo.co.jp

However, this view of history, which was criticized in the 1980s by British social historians such as G. Eley, was also reviewed in Germany after the end of the Cold War and the reunification of Germany³. The formation of a unified Western-led state in 1990 meant a clear signal to both domestic and international audiences that Germany would once again be based on liberal democratic values. Even though Germany had once followed a unique path, there is now an emphasis on the recognition that the German people have reunited under a state system that shares the same values as those of the Western democratic countries. In this process, the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848 attracted attention. In 1996, a number of studies were published to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the 1848 Revolution, many of which overcame the conventional view of the 1848 Revolution as a “frustrated revolution” to show that it was the starting point of the democratic movement in the history of modern Germany, that is, the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany as a democratic unified state.

This shift in assessment from a “frustrated revolution” to an “unfinished revolution” was repeatedly emphasized by Gall in his interview, “The Dark Side of the 1848 Revolution,” which appeared in the German popular magazine *Spiegel* as a special feature for the 150th anniversary celebrations in February 1996⁴. Before and after this article, various perspectives on the 1848 Revolution have been put forth, many of which redefine the 1848 Revolution in a positive light due to the political context of the victory of the democracy-based Federal Republic of Germany⁵.

In the midst of the above-mentioned reconsideration of this peculiar way of thinking, the question of “who is a citizen” has always been raised. Although this process gave rise to specific categories such as “educated citizen” and “economic citizen”, it was difficult to obtain a definitive definition of the “citizen”. The reason for this is that in the nineteenth-century period the German “citizen” often manifested itself in the form of a “downward distinction” with a sense of vassalage as a defensive segregation against the lower class of workers rather than an upward distinction⁶.

Otto Dann’s work, published in 1993⁷, points out that modern German civil society has been perceived as monolithic in its ties to nationalism. Focusing on the structural problems peculiar to the Reich, he portrays the formation of the modern German nation-state as a pluralistic society of “federal territorial states, each with its own identity”. In other words, the consciousness and identity of German citizenship was forced to be reconstructed in the social transformation from the late 19th century to the Wilhelm era, and as a result, it is difficult to define “who is a citizen”.

Based on the above, the purpose of this article is to delve into the multi-layered nature and transformation of German civil society from the establishment of the Reich to the Imperial period. For this purpose, I use the family magazine *Die Gartenlaube*, one of the largest commercial magazines in Germany from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, as the main source. Founded in Leipzig in 1853 by the liberal Ernst Kyl, *Die Gartenlaube* tried to nurture German citizens at home by providing them with knowledge of poetry, fiction, geography and history, family medicine, etc. From the very beginning, *Die Gartenlaube* was full of subjects related to German nationalism, and it became a major source of information for the German people⁸.

On the other hand, according to the previous research on this magazine, it has been said that the magazine became rapidly “secularized” after the establishment of the empire and was absorbed by imperial nationalism. However, the articles in *Die Gartenlaube* after the turn of the century, which have not received much attention in

3. Blackbourn, D. & Eley, G. (1984). *The peculiarities of German history: bourgeois society and politics in nineteenth-century Germany*, Oxford Oxfordshire New York: Oxford University Press.

4. In an interview with *Die Spiegel*, Gall attempts to redefine the 1848 Revolution as an "unfinished revolution" and the beginning of Germany's democratic process that would continue into the present day. On the other hand, *Spiegel* stated that, contrary to Gall's assertions, the 1848 Revolution was only a "frustrated revolution". It finally concludes that modern German history up to defeat in World War II was ultimately a repetition of the failure and dictatorship of the liberal movement and that it was the suppression and frustration of the 1848 Revolution that determined the tide of German history.

5. Masutani, H.(1998). “Study of the 1848/ 49 Revolution on Sesquicentennial,” *Historical journal* 584, pp. 87-101. Association of Historical Science (In Japanese).

6. Kocka, J. (2010). *Civil Society and Dictatorship in Modern German History*. Hanover N.H: Published by University Press of New England.

7. Dann, O. (1993). *Nation und Nationalismus in Deutschland, 1770-1990*. München: Beck.

8. Akagi, T (2010). “The study of *Die Gartenlaube*: Establishing Identity in the German Civil Class in the Late 19th Century”: *Memoirs of Osaka Kyoiku University* 58, 1-18. Ser. I, Humanities (In Japanese).

the past, did not retreat from the political agenda, and the consciousness of the empire was not entangled in a single nationalism.

The transition was most clearly illustrated in an article on the “Army” in *Die Gartenlaube*. It went without saying that through the glory of the Franco-Prussian War, the German army came to function as a pillar of authority during the Second Empire. On the other hand, as shown by the scepticism of the army in the early years of the Empire, especially the army organization, towards urban society, the army needed some time to gain the loyalty and identity of German civil society⁹. The “secularization” of *Die Gartenlaube* in the early years of the Empire was rather a colourful expression of this upheaval of civil society and the subsequent restructuring of it.

This article will discuss the changes in German civil society during the Second Reich, focusing on the representation of the army in *Die Gartenlaube*, especially the army and how it has changed over the years, dividing it into chapters 1 to 4.

1. *Die Gartenlaube* (1853-1870), the family magazine as a continuation of the 1848/49 Revolution

Since the latter half of the 18th century, Germany has seen the formation of civil society in various aspects. This change was not simply a result of an increase in population in urban areas due to the development of commerce, industry, and transportation networks, but also due to a rise in various urban-based civic cultures and literary and artistic activities based on them.

From their beginnings, the various activities of German civil society have been strongly influenced by the German intellectual property of the past, such as history and literature. In the second half of the 19th century, some people tried to find an answer to the question of how to liberate Germans living in various regions from the domination of the traditional ruling class and to create a new class of citizens beyond the framework of the old status system in German civil society by means of “education (Bildung)” training. Initially, a relatively wealthy and knowledgeable group of people, mainly urban property-holders and educated citizens, especially senior officials and printers, began to educate the German people as a whole. The emergence of population movements between and among cities and regions, as well as between cities, also supported the expansion of the association’s activities beyond the urban framework¹⁰.

As a result of the failure of the 1848 Revolution in Germany, there were those who attempted to advance to the final liberal movement by fostering the family as the basis of civilian life. The Leipzig printer Ernst Kyle was one such person. Kyle oriented his efforts toward the cultivation of the “good home” as a foundation for the citizenry, and enlightenment through the home¹¹.

In 1853, Kyle started a new weekly magazine, *Die Gartenlaube*. The first issue of *Die Gartenlaube* was mentioned in “Illustrated Family Magazine (Illustrierte Familienblatt)” by Kyle, which means that the first issue of *Die Gartenlaube* was written by Kyle himself. In his founding address at the beginning of the first issue of the magazine, he “refused to deal with any political or religious subjects that might provoke controversy”¹².

However, the magazine had been dealing with political issues in a controversial manner. In this regard, Dieter Barth¹³, Kirsten Belgum¹⁴, and Akagi analyse the political tendency of *Die Gartenlaube*. In particular, Akagi’s research notes that many of the serialized novels in *Die Gartenlaube*, one of the main forms of content in the

9. Barth, Dieter (1974). “Zeitschrift für alle. Die Familienblatt im 19. Jahrhundert. Ein sozialhistorischer Beitrag zur Massenpresse in Deutschland.”

10. Akagi, op. cit. (2010).

11. Barth, op. cit. (1974).

12. Belgum, K. (1998). *Popularizing the nation: audience, representation, and the production of identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900*. Lincoln Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.

13. Akagi, op. cit. (2010).

14. Koch, M. (2003). *Nationale Identität im Prozess nationalstaatlicher Orientierung: Dargestellt am Beispiel Deutschlands durch die Analyse der Familienzeitschrift Die Gartenlaube von 1853-1890*. Peter Lang publisher.

magazine, featured a pattern of novels in which honest and wise citizens were able to overcome greedy and stupid aristocrats¹⁵. For Kyle and others, the aristocracy and the traditional ruling class represented by it are the subjects who suppressed the 1848 Revolution. The novel's analogy of a virtuous citizenry triumphing over them was, as it were, the ideal of a civil society. Kyle's goal was to realize such a society, and he actively incorporated political issues into *Die Gartenlaube* as a place to enlighten citizens by providing them with the discussions and knowledge they needed to achieve this goal.

This tendency in *Die Gartenlaube* was dampened by the unification of the German nation as an empire in 1871 and the growing acceptance of this national unity¹⁶. A more decisive change was the death of Kyle, the founder of the magazine, in 1878, and there was no one to continue his work. Immediately after the establishment of the empire, *Die Gartenlaube* strongly opposed unification under the traditional ruling class of the empire. However, after the reunification of the empire, the political conflicts among the citizenry became multi-layered, and *Die Gartenlaube*'s claims were forced to change. As a result, from 1878 onwards *Die Gartenlaube* gradually retreated from political and religious issues.

However, the “de-politicization” of *Die Gartenlaube* since 1878 did not mean that the magazine completely lost its nature as a forum for political discussion. When the First World War broke out in 1914, *Die Gartenlaube* glorified the war and called for cooperation, as if to fuel the enthusiasm of German civil society.

At first glance, such a magazine full of militaristic propaganda could be seen as a de-politicized family magazine caught up in a system of total warfare. However, *Die Gartenlaube* was surprisingly indifferent to the war effort in the latter half of the war and the end of it, which suggests that *Die Gartenlaube* continued to publish in the interests of civil society after the depoliticization of 1878.

As described above, *Die Gartenlaube* actively published articles on these issues from its first issue and from 1878, in a form that represented the political and social grievances still held by radical liberalists, such as Kyle, who had been frustrated by the 1848 Revolution. When *Die Gartenlaube* was first published, it had a circulation of only 5,000 copies, but in the less than 20 years leading up to the reunification of the German Empire, it gained a large number of readers, and in the 1870s the number of subscriptions reached 380,000¹⁷. Even though the above figures are fragmentary, *Die Gartenlaube* was not only one of the most widely read commercial magazines published in Germany from the late 19th to the early 20th century, but also had a major influence on subsequent German magazine publishing as a pioneer of the “illustrated magazine¹⁸”. In addition, this magazine was intended to educate the German public, and from then on, discussions in the magazine developed frequently in line with the political interests and arguments of urban citizens, who were assumed to be the readers of the magazine. In the next chapter, I focus on the discourse related to the military in the family magazine *Die Gartenlaube*.

2. Enthusiasm for unity and the formation of the empire (1870-1900)

Nationalistic discourse such as German unification was scattered throughout the magazine from its inception. On the other hand, with the exception of 1870-71, the army, an essential element of German nationalism in modern German history, was rarely mentioned in the magazine.

Many of the articles mentioning the army before 1870 also included introductions to German-American officers who had emigrated to the United States and to foreign affairs, such as the British army¹⁹. The articles that appeared in this period concerning the army in Germany were mostly about garrisons and parades, and included

15. Zaumseil, F. (2007). *Zwischen Nation und Region: die Zeitschrift "Gartenlaube" in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Hamburg: Diplomica Verl.

16. Mochida, Y. (1998). *Doitsu erito yōsei no shakaishi: Gimunajiumu to abitoūa no sekai* [A social history of German elite training: the world of Gymnasium and Abitur]. Minerva Shobo. (In Japanese)

17. Akagi, op. cit. (2010).

18. Koch, op. cit. (2003).

19. Belgum. (1998). Belgum mentions that a proposal to erect a monument to Hermann was already published in *Die Gartenlaube* in 1853.

articles introducing the history of the defeat of 1866 and the occupation of Germany²⁰.

An exceptionally near-contemporary article dealing with war with regard to Germany was a series of articles entitled “Memories of the War” on the First Schleswig-Holstein War, which took place in parallel with the Revolution of 1848, and was published several times in 1860. Although the war ultimately ended with the King of Prussia agreeing to an armistice over the objections of the National Assembly, the Frankfurt National Assembly was cooperative and opposed the armistice to the end, as it encouraged Schleswig-Holstein to support the independence of Germans “abroad”. It was also half-legendary and recalled that German citizens served in this war as volunteers, as they had during the War of National Liberation in 1813, and formed the core of the army²¹. Kyle and *Die Gartenlaube* repeatedly emphasized in the magazine the structure of the conflict between German citizens who voluntarily stood up for their fellow countrymen and the traditional ruling class that suppressed them for their own reasons as “memories of the war”.

It was the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 that changed the situation of the magazine. The February 1870 issue of *Die Gartenlaube*, published immediately after the outbreak of the war, was filled with articles and poems enthusiastically welcoming the war. Kyle and the civilian readership of *Die Gartenlaube* saw the war not as a private struggle between Hohenzollern and Bonaparte, but as a war of defence of the German people against the invader Bonaparte, just as in 1813. In other words, the troops and soldiers participating in this war were not the pawns of the territorial sovereigns who had suppressed the revolution in 1848/49, but formed the re-emergence of the civilian army, composed of the German nation, that had won the liberation of the German people in 1813²². In a magazine piece immediately after the war began, “Against Bonaparte!²³,” a poem by the patriotic poet Emil Rittershaus, *Die Gartenlaube* continued to call on the German people to come together through this war.

In an editorial acknowledgement at the end of the 28th issue of 1870, Kyle praised the cooperation of overseas compatriots in the war for the defence of their country as a great event that “showed the world Germany’s national unity” and indicated a plan for distribution to the families and widows of soldiers in the war, for which the editorial department was responsible²⁴. From then until the end of the war, *Die Gartenlaube* continued to glorify “the great unification of the German people”.

As a result of the Franco-Prussian War, national unity was achieved in the form of an empire under the leadership of Prussia. However, for *Die Gartenlaube* and its readers, who enthusiastically supported the war for the defence of the country, the unification of the German nation in the form of an empire was not at all satisfactory. A poem by Rittershaus appeared at the beginning of the first issue of *Die Gartenlaube* in 1872, the year following the establishment of the Reich, in which he had written the poem. It begins, “One empire, but sadly (the German people) seem to me to be torn by hatred and to be sowing seeds of quarrels,” and seems to be an expression of the disappointment of Kyle and the other libertarians who, since the Revolution of 1848, had aimed at the self-reliance and enlightenment of the civilian population²⁵.

Previous researches have mentioned various aspects of the changes in the composition of *Die Gartenlaube* during the period of imperial unification, and they all agree that from the 1880s onward the political and religious tone of the magazine gradually waned. Novels and poetry remained the main forms of content of *Die Gartenlaube*, but articles with illustrations offering a wide variety of knowledge, such as family medicine and introduction to foreign geography and culture, increased, as suggested by the term “family magazine”. This trend was solidified by the death of its founder, Kyle, in 1878 and the transfer of the magazine’s publication to the Berlin-based Kleiner Verlag in 1883. The transfer of the publication rights was described in the magazine as “the excellent illustration

20. *Die Gartenlaube*: 1855, p. 579 “Kriegerleben, aus dem englischen, im kriege und in frieden.”

21. *Die Gartenlaube*: 1856, p. 597 “Kriegs=Erinnerungen von 1806.”

22. Wette, W. (2008). *Militarismus in Deutschland : Geschichte einer kriegerischen Kultur*. Darmstadt: Primus; Pröve, R. (2006). *Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*. München: Oldenbourg.

23. *Die Gartenlaube*: 1870: Nr. 32, p. 9 “Wider Bonaparte!”

24. *Die Gartenlaube*: 1870: Nr. 32, p. 16 “An unsere Leser”

25. Ibid

and printing technique of the Kröner Verlag, which will be sufficient to fully introduce the beautiful climate of the motherland²⁶.” This reference shows that *Die Gartenlaube* was still committed to its mission of providing a platform for the education of its citizens, but henceforth “controversial political and religious issues” temporarily disappeared from the magazine²⁷.

However, this “secularization” does not mean that *Die Gartenlaube* had abandoned its role as a commentator. Rather, after the turn of the century, at a time when militarisation, and in particular the expansion of the army, became a major concern for the general public, controversial articles began to appear again in *Die Gartenlaube*. I will discuss this point again in the next chapter.

3. The revival of nationalism (1900-1914)

Most of the previous studies on *Die Gartenlaube* are in agreement that from the 1880s onwards, due to the “secularization” of the magazine’s pages, articles in *Die Gartenlaube* became more and more like a “family magazine” in the original sense of the term. As mentioned above, with the exception of the year 1870/71, there were hardly any articles on the military in *Die Gartenlaube*, and this is in agreement with most of the previous studies on the magazine.

However, amidst the atmosphere of belligerent nationalism that swept over the German Empire from the late 1900s to the period of the First World War, *Die Gartenlaube* also saw an increase in the number of articles that hinted at the aggressive nationalism seen during the Revolution of 1848 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The number of articles on the army in *Die Gartenlaube*, which had not been examined since the Franco-Prussian War, increased from 1908 onwards. Furthermore, from 1905 onwards, not only the number of articles increased, but also the content of the articles began to change. Rather than simply introducing garrison events and parades, articles appeared that discussed the military as part of foreign policy and advocated the expansion of the military in order to prepare for future wars. In addition, articles with expert commentary on past wars and German weapons, such as warships, began to decorate the pages of the magazine.

In the late 1900s, right-wing and nationalist organizations such as the Wehrmacht Society grew in power. These civilian right-wing organizations advocated changing the policy of naval bias and gaining hegemony on the continent through the expansion of the army, which had brought glory to Germany²⁸. This growing debate within and outside the army eventually led to the expansion of the army in 1912/13. The spread of this movement to demand and promote military expansion is also evident in the fact that many organizations and associations, such as Deutscher Flottenverein and the Alledeutshcer Verein, were not formed for their own sake, but were involved in this movement. Wette notes that the activities of organizations based on social groups that were originally far from being associated with militaristic arguments, but were closely linked to civil society and the family, also became more pro-military in this period²⁹. In parallel with this trend, *Die Gartenlaube* began to feature articles on army-related issues with enthusiasm.

Thus, through the enthusiasm of German civil society from the turn of the century, *Die Gartenlaube* again began to treat nationalist discourse and the army in the magazine. As a result, when the First World War broke out in 1914, the family magazine argued as enthusiastically for Germany to join the war as it did in 1870. When the Great War broke out, this magazine published an extra issue, comparing the coming war to the “Crusades” and calling for

26. *Die Gartenlaube*: 1874: Nr. 18, pp. 9-15.

27. At that time, the circulation of *Die Gartenlaube*, as well as its publication and distribution channels, is difficult to track continuously due to historical limitations. For example, according to a study conducted by Dieter Barth in 1974, the number of subscribers decreased to about 250,000 in the 1880s and then leveled off. Barth states that the number of readers of *Die Gartenlaube*, family magazine, peaked in 1870 with about 2 million, based on the assumption that the number of readers was larger than the number of copies because it was read by subscribers and their families, as well as in coffee shops, where people gathered in large numbers.

28. Brose, E. (2001). *The Kaiser's army: the politics of military technology in Germany during the machine age, 1870-1918*. New York: Oxford University Press.

29. Mochida, Y (1983). *Gunpuku wo kiru Shimin* [Civilians in military uniform]. Tokyo: Yuhikaku. (In Japanese)

participation in the war³⁰1.

The most obvious change in the pages of the magazine after the outbreak of the war was the introduction of a page-size photograph or portrait entitled “Bilder aus die großer Zeit” (The Greatest Generation), which always appeared at the beginning of every issue. In other words, the opening pages of the magazine are adorned with portraits of famous generals, commanders, and general staff members of Germany’s past and present, and the next few pages are filled with pictures of the army’s front lines, etc., so that the image that these military heroes and the wars in which they took part helped to build of Germany’s “great era” could also be applied to the war at hand.

As mentioned above, *Die Gartenlaube* actively featured the army in the pages of the magazine in the midst of the rise of nationalism in Germany and the enthusiasm for war. This does not mean, however, that magazines like *Die Gartenlaube* were simply entangled in a frenzied nationalism. The next chapter focuses on the deterioration of living conditions in Germany as the war dragged on, and the changes this brought about in the pages of the magazine.

4. The fall of the “peace in the castle”: the breakup of the Imperial Army (1914-1918)

The prolonged war and the military-first production program to support it made life after the guns started firing rapidly deteriorate. Within the walls of the so-called “peace within the castle” that surrounded the Reich, the problem of food became particularly acute. Already in 1915, Germany was suffering from a serious food shortage, and despite the development of various substitute products and plans to increase production, the food situation deteriorated rapidly, with a total of 600,000 people dying of starvation in the Reich throughout the entire war³². Besides, the Social Democrats, who had been cooperative with the war effort at the beginning of the war, were unable to obtain parliamentary consent to issue war bonds in the Reichstag at the end of 1914, as a result of the Social Democrats’ opposition to the issue of wartime bonds in 1915, and as a result, anti-war sentiment was spreading throughout the fifteen societies. As a result, as mentioned above, *Die Gartenlaube* came covertly to refuse to continue promoting the war at this very time when it was coming under the Hugenberg Foundation’s control of the media. This can be read especially in the pages of the magazine in the second half of 1917 and in the year 1918.

Die Gartenlaube, once enthusiastic about the outbreak of the Great War, became increasingly sceptical of war cooperation, directly and indirectly. The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the commencement of peace negotiations with the German Reich for an immediate ceasefire further increased the war-hating sentiment in Germany, and German civil society was becoming negative towards the continuation of the war. On the other hand, in 1917 there were still many articles in the magazine with a strong pro-gun coloration, such as portraits of soldiers, advertisements for publications glorifying the military, and appeals for donations to the colonial forces. As mentioned earlier, this was a period of media domination by the Hugenberg conglomerate, and *Die Gartenlaube*, as mentioned above, only sought to protect the legal practices of civil society and maintained a cooperative attitude towards the war and the military.

However, early in 1918 *Die Gartenlaube*, which had consistently called for war cooperation since the outbreak of the war, suddenly made clear its refusal to glorify the war. The “Image of the Greatest Generation,” which had adorned the opening pages of *Die Gartenlaube* for more than three years since the outbreak of the war, was abruptly discontinued from the first issue in 1918, and was replaced by a series of novels and other general articles of the sort that had been published in peacetime. The disappearance of the portraits of military personnel from the opening pages of the magazine and the following pages led to a rapid decline in the presence of the army in *Die Gartenlaube*. As to the reason for the sudden absence of the army in the magazine from the beginning of 1918, it is difficult to

30. Wette, op. cit. (2008).

31. *Die Gartenlaube*: 1914. Nr. 33, “Die deutsche Flagge”. *The German flag, it must be flown. Otherwise, we will not survive. Victory or ruin. No room for manoeuvre! Give yourself for someone else, give yourself for Germany! Beat it! Beat it! I would rather die than see Germany destroyed! Stand up, Germany! Bismarck, stand up! Long live Germany!*

32. Fujiwara, T. (2011). *Kabura no fuyu* [Turnip Winter]. Kyōto: Jinbunshoin. (In Japanese)

find an exact cause for this, since there was no explanation of editorial policy in the pages of the magazine, as there had been at the time of its acquisition in 1883. However, as mentioned above, civilian life in the German Reich at that time was in a state of prolonged deprivation, and there were demonstrations and riots on the part of civil society against the continuation of the war.

After the end of World War I, the magazine's stance on the side of urban citizens became even clearer as it stood against the growing dominance of conglomerate capital over the media. One of the characteristics of *Die Gartenlaube* during this period was that its articles were written with the working class in mind, rather than for the middle-class urban citizens who had traditionally been the target audience for *Die Gartenlaube*. When the German Revolution broke out in November 1918, it did not report on the revolution itself, but rather took a wait-and-see attitude towards it at that point in time. After the series of revolutionary disturbances had ended, the 1918 issue published a picture of the new German political leaders under the title "Our New Leaders" once the provisional governing body, led by Friedrich Ebert and others of the SPD, had been established on November 10, and key ministers had been chosen³³.

From then on, however, *Die Gartenlaube*'s attention shifted to organizations such as the Spartacus Group and the German Communist Party, rather than to the new government led by the SPD. The week following the publication of the photos of the new German political leaders, it published an article with photographs of the memorial service for those who had participated in the revolution in Berlin and were the victims of suppression. Moreover, in the weeks thereafter, *Die Gartenlaube* continued to report on meetings of representatives of the Soldiers' and Peasants' Rite gathered in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies in Berlin, as well as on street demonstrations of the Spartacus Group. Those were the most radical offshoots of the Social Democrats, which had once been criticised by civil society as 'enemies of the Reich'. They should have been the most repugnant targets of those who represent the capitalist position, such as Alfredo Hugenberg. However, the *Die Gartenlaube* at the end of the war, with its intermittent articles treating them favourably, rejected the capitalists and the empire, the ruling class of the Empire of the Great War, in favour of radical socialism, which was hostile to them. Thereafter, as the turmoil at the end of the war subsided, its pages returned to their peacetime counterparts.

Conclusion

From the 1880s, *Die Gartenlaube*'s content changed from a political journal to a family magazine, when German civil society was experiencing social changes before and after the Reich establishment. Amidst the ideological turmoil in civil society during the early years of the Reich, *Die Gartenlaube* withdrew from political debate, as previous studies have shown. However, as we have seen in this paper, in the late 1900s the magazine once again published articles in earnest on the foreign policy of the German Empire and the army as a related subject. After Kyle's death, *Die Gartenlaube* did not abandon political issues either, but reintroduced them in the magazine when public interest in politics and military affairs resumed. At first glance, the tone of the articles published in the magazine was sympathetic to belligerent nationalism, as it had been in the early 1900s. However, this does not mean that *Die Gartenlaube* had abandoned its view of German civil society's uniqueness since the 19th century. As soon as the peace in the castle collapsed during the war and the protracted war threatened the interest and livelihoods of the civilian population, it openly showed its scepticism toward the Reich and the army that had led the country to such a situation. Thus, although the Great War's fervour temporarily swallowed up the citizens of the turn of the century and caused the transformation of *Die Gartenlaube*, the civil society and the uniqueness of Kyle's post-1848 orientation were not lost. This can be seen in how *Die Gartenlaube* treated articles about the army and the war in the magazine's pages. The space of the "family magazine" launched in 1853 as a continuation of the unfinished revolution was a significant turning point in determining the character of modern German civil society in the sense that it continued to represent the pluralism of imperial civil society even after it had been baptized in the baptism of German imperial unification and belligerent nationalism during the world wars.

33. *Die Gartenlaube*: 1918: Nr. 49. p. 15; *Die Gartenlaube*: 1918: Nr. 50 p. 12. "Die Beisetzung der November=Gefallen in Berlin".

Finally, I would like to point out some issues that need to be addressed in terms of the historical position of the findings mentioned above from the analysis of *Die Gartenlaube* since the turn of the century. As mentioned above, there are only fragmentary records of *Die Gartenlaube*'s circulation, but after the 1870s, when it was at its peak, the number of copies continued to decline. After the turn of the century, this magazine was replaced by *Daheim*, which became popular as a family magazine. Like *Die Gartenlaube*, *Daheim* was launched in 1864 in Leipzig as an illustrated family magazine, and its classification and trends were similar to those of *Die Gartenlaube*. However, *Daheim* differed from *Die Gartenlaube* in the following two respects.

First, *Daheim* had been actively publishing practical knowledge about family life, such as housework and children's education, since its first issue. For example, Henriette Davidis, an authority on home cooking in Germany at the time of the first edition of *Daheim*, was commissioned to write a column on home cooking in the magazine. After 1886, *Frauen-Daheim*, *Der Hausgarten*, and *Kinder-Daheim* were published in 1892 and 1894, respectively, as supplementary magazines to provide knowledge on family issues. It contained many articles that were close to home magazines in the original sense of the term. While *Die Gartenlaube* was founded as a continuation of the 1848 Revolution and was intended to educate citizens in the family, *Daheim* intended to provide knowledge used in the home more generally. It thus could replace *Die Gartenlaube* in the social structure after unification and the turn of the century.

The second characteristic of *Daheim* is that, compared to *Die Gartenlaube*, *Daheim* continued to publish articles with a more assertive belligerent nationalism, especially after the turn of the century. After the First World War's outbreak, *Daheim* published a supplementary magazine called *Illustrierte Kriegschronik des Daheim*, which, like *Die Gartenlaube* in the early years of the war, encouraged readers to support the war effort. This attitude continued even after the outbreak of the German Revolution in 1918. In contrast to *Die Gartenlaube*'s stance on the German Revolution, a portrait of Wilhelm II, with the title "Our Emperor," appeared on the magazine's front page immediately after the establishment of the new government.

As mentioned above, when examining civil society during the German Empire, it is essential to compare the discourse of *Die Gartenlaube*'s successor magazine, *Daheim*, which proved a famous successor to *Die Gartenlaube*, in light of the changes in the social structure. It is hoped that such an examination will provide a more detailed picture of modern German civil society as a continuation of the unfinished revolution that has taken shape in an unbroken line. That will become an issue in the future.