Schlagende Verbindungen: Modern Communitarians?

R.G.S. Weber

Wilfrid Laurier University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd

Part of the Political Science Commons

Recommended Citation
https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/1557

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholars Commons @ Laurier. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive) by an authorized administrator of Scholars Commons @ Laurier. For more information, please contact scholarscommons@wlu.ca.
SCHLAGENDE VERBINDUNGEN: MODERN COMMUNITARIANS?

SUBMITTED BY: R.G.S. WEBER

SUBMITTED TO WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY AS PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

MAY, 1975
Ich möchte diese Arbeit meinem Corps und meiner liebevollen Erinnerung an meine aktive Zeit in demselben in Dankbarkeit widmen.
# Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .................................................. 19

MEMBERSHIP ................................................................. 34

ORGANIZATION
   A. EXTERNAL .............................................................. 43
   B. INTERNAL ............................................................. 48
   C. THE EXECUTIVE ...................................................... 50

THE LEIBFAMILIE ........................................................... 54

THE MENSUR ................................................................. 58

DISCIPLINE ................................................................. 71

" THE DARMSTÄDTER STUDY ............................................... 80

SUMMATION ................................................................. 90

APPENDICES
   I REGALIA ............................................................... 99
   II FORMAT OF THE DARMSTÄDTER STUDY .......................... 103

BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................................. 107
ABSTRACT

The study of communities and the concept of communitarianism have occupied the thoughts and works of many of the foremost social scientists of our time. However, societal integration through ties to clan and family lie on the other side of the Industrial Revolution and our own contemporary mass society calls for ever increasing liberation of the individual from his primary allegiances. Liberal individualism orients man away from any commitment other than to that of self fulfilment, accomplished more often than not through material ends. Thus we find that the study of communitarianism has grown out of a disenchantment with individualism. The usual methods of approach involve either the examination of contemporary attempts to create community, such as the commune movement, or of traditional communities now extinct. An alternative lies in the examination of traditional communities which continue to exist today. The Schlagende Verbindungen is such a grouping of communities. Their history can be traced to the early European medieval universities and their adherence to communitarian ideals continues to be evident even today. Their main function is that of maintaining and extending a community of integrated members, voluntarily bound to aid and assist one another for life through their fraternal affiliation. Thus these student organizations serve as an excellent example for the study of a traditional community seeking to fulfil the needs of its members and to give them the necessary primary group relationships which are predominantly absent in contemporary society.

The prime purpose of this thesis is to examine the Schlagende Verbindungen with special reference to their integration and communitarian functions.
INTRODUCTION

The word alienation is part of the cant of the mid-twentieth century, and it began as an attempt to describe the separation of the worker from a world of work. We need not accept all that this expression has come to convey in order to recognize that it does point us the way to realizing something of the first importance to us all in relation to our past. Time was, and it was all time up to 200 years ago, when the whole of life went forward in the family, in a circle of loved, familiar faces, known and fondled objects, all to human size. That time has gone forever. It makes us very different from our ancestors. (23, p. 93)

In this passage from "The World We Have Lost"
Peter Laslett has expressed the feeling that the period of family closeness and sharing of life experiences has gone forever. But has it vanished completely? The search to re-discover community, and to promote its development, has been the motivating force of such supposedly diametrically opposed writers as Marx, Burke, and Rousseau. Within the contemporary setting, "the social group has replaced the individual as the key concept in a great deal of social science writing and it is almost as apt to observe that social order has replaced social change as the key problem" (33, p. 28).

We do not have to read deeply in the philosophy and literature of today to sense the degree to which our age has come to seem a period of moral and spiritual chaos, of certainties abandoned, of creeds outworn, and of values devalued. The disenchantment of the world, foreseen by certain nineteenth-century conservatives as the end result of social and spiritual tendencies then becoming dominant is very much with us. (33, p. 46)

This "quest for community" as Nisbet has referred to it has developed out of the loss of the intimate contact of the community. "Historically the family's importance has come from the fact of intimate social cohesion united with institutional significance in society, not from its sex or blood relationships." (Ibid., p. 59)
But if community is not necessarily, or merely, dependent upon kinship it must have other properties. R.J.C. Preece defines it as follows:

Community is where the very notion of goals involves something beyond individuals. Co-operation is the denial of egotistical individualism but not of individualism per se: individuals may still co-operate to discover their individual identity. Community is where the identity lies beyond the individual. (40, p. 393)

The nineteenth century's release of Western man from his perceived fetters of family, clan, and class, to stand alone and to define himself as an entity apart, separate and unassociated from his historic roots, in fact gave him over to the addictive bondage of the endless search for libertarian, individualist freedom. This mirage coupled with the Industrial Revolution, which broke the economic bonds of communitarian adherence and gave the individual the opportunity to set himself apart financially, further complicated the situation and lead to the commonly felt self-inflicted segregation experienced in mass society. However in retrospect we observe that:

In the small, intimate, traditional community, the member's participation is as a total individual; in the mass society, his participation is in large
impersonal organizations and is limited to specific functions. (33, p. 17)

Emile Dirkheim described this phenomenon in his contemporary society as follows:

Individualism resulted in masses of normless, unattached insecure individuals who lose even the capacity for independent creative living. The highest rates of suicide and insanity ... are to be found in those areas of society in which moral and social individualism is greatest. (Ibid., p. 14)

It is doubtful that anyone could posit this situation as one to which he would wish to aspire or emulate, even in jest, but it is nonetheless representative of our modern Western world.

What then can be seen in that cast-off period of history which has comprised almost the entirety of human experience?

The history of man may be described as the history of the development from Gemeinschaft through Gesellschaft to Individuum. Even if this is not a linear development it is at least a dialectical development of progression and regression with overall increasing individuum at the expense of community. And if such a development is unalterable any modern hope for community is foredoomed. (40, p. 397)
However there do exist groups in which a conscious effort is made to generate "a sense of community." Perhaps the best example is that of the communes in the late 1960's. However many of those involved found that merely wanting to get "back to the land and really live together" was not necessarily sufficient substance from which to fashion a community. For those persons the realization that communities are not built but rather develop, did not materialize, and when after a short time the experiment didn't work, they quit.

Communities must develop from inter-personal relationships and the trust which can be found only in what Olmsted calls the primary group; "small 'face to face groups, spontaneous in inter-personal behavior' ... and sharing mutual and common ends." (34, p. 17) Cooley describes such groups further as "primary in the sense that they give the individual his earliest and completest experience of social unity ... they do not change in the same degree as more elaborate relations." (Ibid., p. 18)

This is the Gemeinschaft of which much has been written. The members of a commune unless genuinely willing to take the time needed to develop the relationships necessary for the growth of primary inter-personal bonds, could at best only hope to achieve the ties of Gesellschaft or those societal bonds described by Olmsted as those in which
"relations among members ... (of a secondary group) ... are 'cool', impersonal, rational, contractual, and formal." (Ibid., p. 18)

The commitment required to re-discover something as substantive as community and which itself took an unknown amount of time to develop should not be passed-off lightly. But the problem arises when persons socialized into the norms of liberal individualism are required to give up what they have been indoctrinated to think is their freedom of behaviour, in order to fulfill even partially the demands for the development of community. The decision becomes the traditional Tory question of the giving up of one freedom in order to gain another. Berlin saw it as freedom from and freedom to. This "self-enhancing dependence" is the necessary and vital ingredient to the existence and continuance of any community. To requote R.J.C. Preece "Community is where the identity lies beyond the individual." (40, p. 393)

The reluctance to "self-denial" of individualist freedom manifests itself in modern society most notably in personal crises of identity. Ernest Schachtel in his work "On Alienated Concepts of Identity" (23, p. 73) discusses this problem as follows. The subjects feel that they lack something and that if only they could change what
they have, or what they are their problem would solve itself. They turn almost invariably to the acquisition of goods or some other tangible commodity attainable by money, attempting to buy themselves a position of security upon which identity will rest and be certain. Ironically it was this economic freedom from tradition and stable position which the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution gave Western man and it is this same "panacea of mammon" that has ensnared and is destroying him.

However there are those who manage to pass this stumblingblock of materialism only to be caught-up in a never ending pursuit for their own personal freedom. They search endlessly for this illusive "self" which they feel can only be found through an existence of no personal obligations other than to that end. The situation becomes much like a dog chasing his tail, the end is always in sight and just out of reach, and if ever attained the realization is painful. The self is not the end but a part of the whole, from beginning to finish.

The completely free, unfettered individual is not only a failure as a social being; he fails even to satisfy his individual needs which of human necessity exceed his individuality. (40, p. 351)

But libertarians advocate the freedom of the individual
to determine when and how he will do that which he desires. This is posited as the balm to heal the wounds caused by the oppression of personal commitment to an entity beyond the individual self.

On purely logical grounds, if each individual is the master of himself then society can only consist of an aggregate of individuals. There can be no community because the individual cannot give up a part of himself to something beyond himself, and take a part of that beyond himself and make it a part of himself, whilst he retains complete individual control of his self as the highest ideal (Ibid., p. 353).

We inhabit (we do not live in it) a deteriorating society which is falling apart because it is ceasing to be a society and is becoming an economic arrangement held together by a romantic awe of technology. If we are to recover our lives we must recover our sense of society. (15, p. 45)

But this can also develop to the detriment of the individual. The conditions under authoritarian communitarianism, such as history has witnessed in the U.S.S.R. or in Nazi Germany, definitely work against the individual being more than a cog in the wheel of the corporate state. However to dismiss the present quest for community with vague references to the revival of tribalism, to
man's still incomplete emancipation from conditions supposedly 'primitive', is to employ substitutes for genuine analysis, substitutes drawn from nineteenth century philosophy of the unilinear progress. (33, p. 47)

Between these two extremes of suppression on one hand and anomie on the other lies the Aristotelian Golden Mean which must be acknowledged and found. R.J.C. Preece sees this continuum of individualism and communitarianism as follows:

```
selfish       co-operative       authoritarian
individualism individualism      communitarianism

/ x x x x

competitive individual tribal
individualism communitarianism communitarianism
```

(40, p. 343)

Authoritarian Communitarianism, as previously mentioned, suppresses and forces the individual by its very nature to succumb to the state's "isms" which rationalize its existence. It "occurs when the community is the end in itself, irrespective of the interests of its individual members" (Ibid., p. 346). Co-operative Individualism on the other hand enables individuals to achieve together but "does not fulfil the requirements of communitarianism which involve a sense of identity and solidarity lacking in all forms of individualism." (Ibid., p. 345)

Individual Communitarianism is, the Golden Mean or mid-point between these two positions.
It would be misleading to exaggerate the differences between co-operative individualism and individual communitarianism. Yet it is a difference which has a profound effect on social and political theory. For the communitarian it is not merely that the individual achieves his highest ends through the community but that the individual should lose a part of himself to that community. 'Belonging' is the most crucial end for the communitarian; it scarcely arises for the co-operative individualist. (Ibid., p. 357)

Within recent years there has been a conscious effort upon the part of some to attempt to rekindle some of the lost fire of community which has dissipated. Housing sub-divisions have been built on the concept of the village square in order to give neighbours the opportunity of getting better acquainted. Communes have attempted to find a sense of community through working and living closely together. Various social service agencies have set up drop-in centres and other facilities to help persons estranged from modern society. But how effective are the new forms of primary social relationships? Nisbet states the "new forms of primary relationships show, with rare exceptions, little evidence of offering as much psychological and moral meaning for the individual as do the old ones." (33, p. 52) This being true, would it then not be much more to the point to study those communities which have long histories and are still functioning during our
This paper puts forth the case that the communities to be studied here have been relatively unchanged within the last four hundred years. The members of these "associations" are both communitarian, since they join of their own volition, out of a common interest and purpose, and individualist since these communities do not require that their members renounce any personal beliefs or identity in order to join. Both the Industrial Revolution and "mass society" have done little to alter these communities either in structure or in their function of giving the individual a base from which to draw strength in order to return to his tasks outside his community. (30, p. 50)

Germany which has proven a thorn in the side of twentieth century Liberalism lends itself well to such study in that her industrial revolution although more economically productive than its European counterparts, was later in developing. Unlike in Britain the German aristocrats did not hold themselves above partaking in the industrialization of their country. Thus the German middle-class had little room to burst forth and upward in society as had their counterparts in Britain.

In England the aristocracy maintained an organic contact with the other strata of the nation by sending its younger sons into the business world,
and also by the bestowal of knighthood or peerage on the successful middle-class business magnates. In Germany, however, the process was one-sided, for although a number of wealthy industrialists, bankers and leading civil servants ascended into the feudal stratum, the aristocracy for its part, adjusted itself only slightly to the new economic structure and often disdained to engage in middle-class occupations. (6, p. 33)

Although the wealthy middle-class even went so far as to purchase the titles of extinct or impoverished aristocrats the term and stigma of "Geldadel" continued to haunt and bar them from being accepted as peers by the upper classes. Even the déclassé nobility attempted to remain as much as possible removed from such aspirants to title and arms. (Ibid., p. 17)

Thus the driving force for the setting-free of the "individual" as witnessed in the American and French Revolutions, could not and did not come to fruition in Germany without a self-confident bourgeoisie to champion its cause. Thus also died the fragmented revolt of 1848. Germans as a whole chose to set themselves apart from the changes of nineteenth century Europe.

Western concepts of liberty, which stressed the absence of checks on the visible exercise of freedom of speech and assembly, were dismissed as vulgar
and superficial. German freedom was conceived as the freedom of the inner man to engage in poetic flights of the imagination and daring metaphysical speculation. Its exercise depended little on the will of the official legislator, except that the passions aroused under a popular form of government were likely to disturb the tranquility required by the creative mind. (16, p. 16.)

With no established ideology to use as a justification for its aspirations to social prestige and acceptance by the nobility, the German middle-class became predominantly social-climbers. But

the German elite confidently maintained its values and demanded complete submission from its new members. And the number of these new members remained small in important places; of 600 corps fellows of the Bonn student corporation Borussia between 1840 and 1904, only 20 came from middle-class families; of 435 members of Göttingen's Saxonia between 1854 and 1904, there were 35; and among 740 of Heidelberg's Saxo-Borussia between 1853 and 1904, 177. (10, p. 51)

Here then in these student associations we have a repository of traditional German conservatism and adherence to the ideals of community as attested to by the members' social strata and desire to be part of a fraternity.

These fraternities are known as "Schlagende Verbindungen", a term which is derived from the fact that
their members engage in a specialized type of fencing. In the Anglophonic world, particularly the American segment, these organizations are referred to as "dueling fraternities." However within their general identity are several very distinct groups which developed along common lines but out of differing contexts and chronological progressions. Disregarding several small splinter groups the associations are in rough chronological order of appearance: Landsmannschaften, Deutsche Burschenschaften, Kösener Corps, Turnerschaften, Weinheimer Corps and Sängerschaften. It is upon the corps that we will eventually concentrate since it is these fraternities which are undoubtedly, as a whole, the most conservative purely by their memberships, thus offering an excellent example of a traditional conservative, upper-class community.

By definition the upper-class has always been outnumbered by the other strata of society. The peasant, journeyman, or guildmaster of traditional society has little difficulty in finding comradeship of his equals within his own municipal setting. As Hobsbawm points out the sense of community permeated and was an indigenous part of all strata of society (with the possible exception of the bourgeoisie). (18, p. ix) However for the aristocracy on the other hand, unless the family was of the urban or court nobility, association with peers was much more difficult due to geographic distances, emphasising the
necessity for social connections. Thus the son of a noble family attending university would quite likely find himself, as the member of a student fraternity, a member of a peer group other than his immediate family, for the first time. The commonality of experience and the bonds of friendship thus developed should not be under-estimated for it gave rise to an extremely powerful network of social connections.

Other than the accusatory theme of their being clique, contemporary German society at large knows very little, if anything, regarding the basic generic differences or genesis of these fraternities as a whole. To further complicate the situation further, for those who would study this area, there exist over forty student organizations, excluding student political groups, which are based upon a full gamut of criteria ranging from those of religious convictions known as "confessionals", to those which cater to such pastimes as table tennis.

There is emulation of the Schlagende Verbindungen within these many organizations, but little praise for them. For an example, there exist six organizations for Roman Catholic students. Two of these Kartels, as they are called, have regalia which resembles very closely those of the Schlagende Verbindungen. However, these Kartels, although they attempt to imitate the external characteristics of the fencing fraternities, are, on the other hand,
extremely swift to accuse them of any numbers of deeds.

Similarly the N.S.D.A.P. wished to emulate these communities. The Party encouraged duelling amongst members of the S.S. Officer Corps and adopted the songs of the fraternities in the hope of generating an "esprit de corps" similar to that of the Schlagende Verbindungen. At the same time, however, all student fraternities as of 1935 were forced either to fold or to become "Kameradschaften" under the auspices of the Nazi Party and thus succumb to its "Volksgemeinschaft" principle. Many members of student corps were subsequently imprisoned or killed for their reluctance to adhere to this edict.

In contrast we find the contemporary student youth of the Federal Republic suffering from an identity crisis in that their linkage to German history must pass through the National Socialist Era. The remembrance of this period causes them discomfort and embarassment, imposed externally through the media and world public opinion. For the most part German students attempt to detach themselves from things of an historical nature as categorically bad and tend to cling only to the present.

With the end of World War Two Germany was once again open for the acquisition and digestion of the many forms of foreign cultural material which had been so harshly denied during the reign of the N.S.D.A.P. Music, literature and other cultural media could seemingly not be imported
quickly enough to keep-up with the "inquisitive hunger" of the German people. The type of atmosphere which produced this phenomenon also had the affect of producing polar-oriented thinking within the population of the Federal Republic. German customs or practices were either zealously guarded or cast aside as old fashioned relics of the preceding era which had brought about the disgrace, shame, and losses suffered by the nation. Thus it was with the Schlagende Verbindungen that the new adherents were perhaps almost over-eager to preserve their centuries-old traditions; while the opponents of these associations ranted vehemently for the total outlawing of these communities which they felt to be the spawning ground for new outbursts of neo-Nazi behaviour. These critics tended to be for the most part persons who had had very little if any contact with such groups and whose political leanings were almost invariably of a leftist or liberal inclination.

The German students of the period tended also to be either definitely for or strongly against the existence of, or their own joining, the Schlagende Verbindungen. A typical quip was "What do you kids want with sabers? I'm a machine-gun man" as was reported in a mocking article in the New York Times Magazine. (56,p.31)

However within the past several years German youth and society have begun to adopt a more moderate attitude toward things linked with the German historical continuum.
Also the growing disenchantment of university students with the political left gives further impetus to chapters of Germanic history, which have for years been sadly neglected. This change of inclination has added not so much to the growth, but rather to the social support, of the Schlagende Verbindungen. Such work as the Darmstädter Study, which will be examined later, has furthered the understanding of German society for these communities.

Let us now turn briefly to the history of the Schlagende Verbindungen in order better to understand the internal traditions and the forms of these conservative communities.
CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The appearance of the first universities at Bologna and Paris during the Medieval Age attracted students from throughout Europe to journey to these centres in quest of higher learning. Like most persons in strange surroundings, these scholars banded together with others from the same geographical origin for the purpose of comradeship. These men were, none-the-less, aliens within the city where they studied. The question then arose to whom were they to answer for their actions.
Thus began the conflicts of "Town and Gown". (54, p. 71) Foreign students were citizens of another state and were not protected under the civic law of the city within which they studied. But at the same time they must also be disciplined for their own pranks and legal infractions.

The schools of Paris, like those of Bologna, were attended by a multitude of foreign students and young masters from all parts of Europe who, lacking citizenship, banded together for mutual protection and help according to their home countries or provinces. (Ibid., p. 36)

These organizations slowly came into being in the 1220's and were known as "nations" (Ibid., p. 36) but existed in varying numbers at different universities; Paris had four nations, while Bologna in 1265 recorded fourteen nations (25, p. 9).

These universities were thought of so prestigiously, that the cities housing them looked upon them as intellectual treasures and feared their loss. Thus it was conceded that the students should swear loyalty to the rector of the university, who in turn took an oath not to remove the university from that city (Ibid., p. 7). By 1245 students
at Bologna were being granted special privileges -- exemptions from military service, customs, tolls, and communal tax, as well as being granted legal and civil rights (Ibid., p. 8).

However, students were not encouraged to mingle with common people or to seek pleasure in their forms of entertainment (54, p. 113). But students did manage to create their own diversions from studying, such as "dicing and gambling, and visiting other 'dishonest' places," ... "singing, dancing, and staging mumeries in churches." (Ibid., p. 109). "German students had a special knack for fencing." (Ibid., p. 110) "Strange as it seems drinking was the only amusement officially allowed, though efforts were made to prevent excesses." (Ibid., p. 114)

At the university of Bologna

the preferential position of the German nation ... was indicated not only by the fact that it had two votes in the election of the rector and in university assemblies whereas the majority of the other nations had only one, but also by the right indicated in 1265, of the German nation to have the rector chosen every fifth year from its rank. The favoured position of this nation, due in all probability to the protection and patronage of the emperor, was further enhanced by the prestige of its members, the majority of whom belonged to the nobility and were mature men. Thus
the records of the nation between
1289 and 1796, include a number
of cardinals, bishops, princes, dukes,
lesser nobles, knights, and other
officials of church and state (25,
p. 29-30)

This fact regarding the German nation should
be kept in mind in order to understand better the member­
ship of the Schlagende Verbindungen when it is looked
at later.

With the founding of the first German-speaking
universities (Prague 1347-48, Vienna 1365, and Heidelberg
1385) German students no longer needed to travel to
Bologna, Paris, or Padua in order to pursue a higher
education. Also as the number of universities increased,
the German students began to align themselves by region
rather than by nation. In writing on the Constitution
of the University of Cologne, founded in 1388, Hastings
Rashdall states:

We have seen that in the earlier
Germanic reproductions of Paris,
(the University of Paris) the im­
portance of the nations and the
proctorships were increasingly
diminished. (41, p. 256)
and of the University of Rostock, founded in 1419, he writes,

The national subdivisions of Paris and Bologna were clearly out of place in a merely provincial university; and by this time the German universities were becoming essentially provincial. Leipzig (1409) was founded by students from three distinct nations of Prague; here the national distinctions were naturally perpetuated. But Leipzig was almost the last German university in which this part of the old Parisian system was reproduced. There is no trace of nations at Rostock, or any of the subsequently founded universities of Germany except Louvain. (Ibid., p. 262)

The direct result of this was the formation of Landsmannschaften, for which the memberships were recruited from students of specific regions attending a specific university. To clarify this let us take an example; a student from Swabia journeys to Heidelberg in order to continue his studies. In Heidelberg he would find the Landsmannschaft 'Suevia' of which the membership would be almost entirely from Swabia. The exceptions would be students from areas not having a large enough representation of Landsmänner (countrymen) at that university to form
such a 'Bund' (group). These Landsmannschaften usually had some arrangement by which members lived together, sharing their regional customs and dialects. The student also found protection within his 'Bund', for the universities were in fact, whether officially or otherwise, a law unto themselves. Students, being foreigners, settled matters in their own manner of seeking justice.

It became a general practice for the hostel in which the members of a specific Landsmannschaft lived to fly the colours of the region from which its members originated. Thus the house of Landsmannschaft Suevia would fly the colours red, white, and black, while that of Landsmannschaft Teutonia would fly red, white, and purple. Later the members of these 'Bünde' identified themselves by the wearing of their colours in various forms which will be discussed later.

This remained relatively unchanged until the victory of Napoleon at Jena in 1806 which catalyzed the rise of the German national democratic movements in the early nineteenth century.

Two nationalist German youth movements arose out of the period previous to and immediately after the War of Liberation: the Turnvereine and the Burschenschaften.
"Turnvater" Ludwig Jahn, Ernst Moritz Arndt, and the historian Heinrich Luden were the spiritual progenitors of the Burschenschaften movement. (38, p. 63) The Turnvereine were organized by Jahn in Berlin, prior to 1811, urging "the physical and national regeneration of German youth for the cause of the fatherland." (Ibid., p. 63) However it was not based at the universities as was its slightly later brother the Burschenschaft.

As a result of these fervent nationalist endeavours and the legacy of such a romantic as Fichte, many university students enlisted in Lützow's 'Free Corps' to fight against the French in the German War of Liberation. These Free Corps however should not be confused with those of the Hitlerian era. The war over, many of the liberal and nationalist elements among these patriotic youths wished to form a student movement based upon German nationalism, as opposed to the regionalism of the Landsmannschaften. They

were in no mood now that the victory had been won to see it betrayed by a spirit of repression. This kind of attitude was especially strong at the University of Jena where the Burschenschaft movement was founded. (11, p. 89)
The University of Jena had for some years counted Schiller, Fichte, and Luden amongst its faculty and "became the model institution of higher learning in the early period of the romantic movement" (43, p. 464). Thus Jena became an incubator for the nationalist and liberalist movements.

The Jena Burschenschaften, formed in 1815, chose "Honour, Liberty, and Fatherland" as their motto, (37, p. 311) and adopted as their colours those of von Lützow's 'Free Corps': black, red, and gold (43, p. 464).

The movement quickly spread to other universities, such as Heidelberg, Giessen, Erlangen, and Halle (Ibid., p. 464). To strengthen the movement a festival was held at Wartburg in October of 1817. The date was that of "the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig, and at the same time a suitable date for the commemoration of the tercentenary of Luther's Reformation" (Ibid., p. 464). Thus Luther and Blücher were revered as liberators of the German people.

The Wartburg festivities climaxed with a bonfire into which were cast articles symbolic of the forces thought to be repressing the national liberal movement: Prussian uniforms and books of anti-nationalist writers. The following year 1818, the Burschenschaften of 14
universities met to draft a constitution and thus formed the Allgemeine Deutsche Burschenschaften. The acts following committed in the name of fervent national liberalism by this organization reached an apex by the assassination of August von Kotzebue at the hands of Karl Sands in 1819. This situation was seized upon by Metternich to bring down the 'Karlsbad Decrees' within the same year, (11, p. 90) consequently outlawing the Burschenschaften, "but they were immediately reconstituted as secret societies. In 1848 all laws against them were abrogated" (47, p. 29).

During this same period, there were, of course, many Germans within the academic community who did not support the principles of the Burschenschaften, whose membership came predominantly from middle-class families. The sons of upper-class and aristocratic families had generated from the strata whose "life and ideas had been influenced by the cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism of the age of Enlightenment", (43, p. 464), the sons of such families therefore could not condone the rampant national-liberalism of the Burschenschaften. Thus a movement began in 1818 at the university of Erlangen to form Corps for the sons of such families. This movement also spread and in March of 1821 the Corps of Halle, Jena, and Leipzig met to draft
their own constitution (68, p. 46). The place they chose to meet was Bad Kösen, a small town roughly equi-distant from the three respective cities. They later were named "Kösener Corps after this meeting place.

Thus the basic differences between these two movements becomes very plain; the Corps on one hand espousing monarchy, constitution, and conservatism, while the Burschenschaften on the opposing hand shouted for revolutionary republicanism and liberal nationalism (Ibid., p. 46).

Both the Corps and the Burschenschaften had grown out of a dissatisfaction with the older Landsmannschaften. The Burschenschaften claimed that the Landsmannschaften encouraged German regionalism and thus hampered the formation of a national German state. The Corps on the other hand grew out of a frustration in that the Landsmannschaften were being extremely ineffectual in combatting the liberalism and republicanism of the Burschenschaften. Thus both stemmed from a mutual discontent with the stance of the Landsmannschaften.

During 1848, the 'Year of Revolution' the student organizations played a more disjointed role than they had previously in 1813. Munich, Berlin, and Vienna all felt
great student participation in the political eruptions of the year. In Munich the king's consort was driven out by students because of her libertine fantasies, and in Vienna the Burschenschaften were in the forefront of the liberal insurrection and the march on the Landhaus against the government. Of this Lewis Feuer writes,

The younger generation had imbibed its ideology in the student secret societies, the nine Burschenschaften organized in Vienna during the forties on the German model. The older generation desired reforms which would transform the Austrian Empire into a liberal constitutional monarchy. The younger generation wished union in a Greater Germany, together with universal suffrage. The fathers sought gradual change with limited objectives; the sons aimed at radical based change. The revolution could have succeeded if the unity of the generations had been preserved; as it was the absolutist monarchy survived because the violence of the young caused the elder generation of liberals to draw back. (13, p. 69-70)

Thus the year of European Revolutions did little more than strengthen and accentuate the inherent differences between the Corps and the Burschenschaften. In speaking of the Burschenschaften, Feuer states,
The German student movement was probably more elitist than any other, and was relatively lacking in the back-to-the-people spirit. Its liberalism was conceived in terms of the hegemony of an intellectual elite. For this reason, when after 1848 its elitist aims were satisfied, the German student movement rapidly became a thing of the past. (Ibid., p. 67)

The war of 1866 being of an externally oriented nature tended not to bring emphasis upon these differences and ever so slightly began to bring the various factions of the Schlagende Verbindungen closer together.

The German unification and anti-French policies of Bismarck, although not republican or liberal in nature, met with a certain degree of approval from the Burschenschaften. Having been a Corps student and a conservative, he met with approval from the Corps. Thus during this period, the animosity waned between these two factions: first because governmental policies were external in concentration and secondly because Bismarck and his policies worked toward the basic linking of both factions in question.

During the First World War, as had been the case in 1813, the students left the university to fight and
resumed activities at the universities in 1919. The Corps, Burschenschaften and other 'German' organizations were forced to close in Strassburg and in Switzerland (Basel, Bern, Zurich); the areas no longer officially able to hold Pan-Germanic ties.

In 1935 the activities of the 'schlagende Verbände' were ruled anti-Nazi and commanded to cease. However, it is known that clandestine activities continued until at least 1939. During this period it is thought that the Burschenschaften enjoyed a type of special status in the eyes of the Third Reich because of their strong nationalistic stand and members such as Otto Skorzeny becoming officers within the Reichswehr.

The Democratic movement was, to a large extent, made up of resentment on the part of the powerless bourgeoisie. The resentment received striking expression in the program of the Burschenschaften and of their precursors, the Turnvereine .... Hatred of the French went along with hatred of Jews, Catholics, and 'nobles' .... It is not difficult to recognize in these 'democratic' slogans the ideology of the Fascist Volksgemeinschaft. There is, in point of fact, a much closer relation between the historical role of the Burschenschaften, with their racism and anti-rationalism, and National Socialism, than there is between Hegel's position and the latter. (28, pp. 179-180)
Thus we see the historic linkage between the Deutsche Burschenschaften and the N.S.D.A.P. However, it is not logical or just to judge all of the Schlagende Verbindungen by only one of the components. Members of all the Schlagende Verbindungen fought during the Second World War; however, the Corps and Landsmannschaften, as did the German Officer's Corps, fought to avenge the Treaty of Versailles not for the glory of the Nazi cause.

After the Second World War the Schlagende Verbindungen were officially allowed to re-form in 1955, although clandestine activities had begun immediately following the defeat of the Third Reich. Today only the Deutsche Burschenschaften maintain any specific political interests; and even for them it is more an intellectual exercise than a militant movement. They are no longer ideologically nor actively the avant garde or fashionable repository for bourgeois disillusionment. Contemporary European middle-class youth find it far more chic to align with the Spartakus, or other, leftist factions.

However, the Schlagende Verbindungen do still fulfill a very vital political function within contemporary German society. They always have, and continue to be, organizations which integrate their members; through their
ability to find and help maintain the delicate balance between the community and the individual. This matter is at a more primary political level than the Revolutions of 1848. It deals with the individual within society, and his fulfillment through individual communitarianism.
CHAPTER TWO

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in these fraternities is divided into four sequential stages, each of which corresponds roughly to a stage in the academic life of a student.

The first academic stage is that of experiencing the new-found personal "freedom" in the atmosphere of the university setting. Most university students, regardless of the age in which they live or the country in which they study have seized upon this period of time to "spread their wings", carouse, and upon occasion indulge in riotous living, purse permitting.
This is usually followed by a period of somewhat more sober academic activity. The first several semesters having been spent in wanton expenditure, the student feels the need to justify his being allowed to remain in the scholastic community and begins to organize his life with the idea of academic pursuit as his goal. This successfully accomplished for several semesters, the student spends more and more time at his studies, preparing for his final exams. This period of scholarly pursuit is the third stage, and the fourth is that of graduation and leaving the university to pursue a career.

Within the Schlagende Verbindungen these four stages in a student's academic life are complimented by parallel stages within the fraternity. A new member usually is in his first academic stage, i.e. that of being rather irresponsible, and is thus not received as a full member. Such members are referred to as "Füchse" or foxes.¹

The second phase, that of accepting responsibility, corresponds to the position of full membership, the

¹In the 19th century, a German university student who did not belong to a fraternity was an exception and referred to by many ignoble zoological titles. "Fox" however, became reserved for those persons within the fraternities in the twilight of partial membership. (69, p. 23)
fox becomes a Corpsbruder (C.B.) or Corps brother. In the third stage, which occurs during the period of serious and extended study, the member is given the title of inactive Corpsbruder (i.a.C.B.). In the period after leaving university the Corpsbruder receives the status of Alte Herr or "Old Lord".

None of these changes in status is forced upon a member, and none reduces a member's privileges within the community. The act of a person to join the fraternity is a completely voluntary one, as are the changes of status within the community. The community makes the decision as to whether the change of status is merited, but the actual application and decision come from the individual member himself.

New members for these communities come from two main sources. The first of these sources is that of family tradition and the second is a "low-key" style of recruitment at the university of persons interested in joining such a community.

In a family where the father, or perhaps several generations of fathers, have belonged to a specific fraternity, at a certain university, their sons usually join the same "Bund" and continue the family tradition. In such
cases, fraternity correspondence regarding members of such a family would be as follows:

Helmut Schmidt -- (first generation) -- Schmidt I
Gerhardt Schmidt -- (son of above) -- Schmidt II
Hubert Schmidt -- (1st son of Gerhardt) -- Schmidt III
Rudi Schmidt -- (youngest son of Gerhardt) -- Schmidt IV.

The second source of new members, that of recruitment at the university, may very well include sons from such traditions as above or merely persons interested in joining an academic fraternity. At the beginning of each semester the fraternities, whether Schlagende or not, tack-up posters at the university, giving an open invitation to anyone interested in becoming a member of their fraternity or in joining in an evening of merriment or intellectual discussion, etc. These "open-house" activities usually continue for about a week to ten days, during which time those guests who appear to the members of the community to be suitable for membership, and exhibit a true interest in joining the fraternity, are asked to return upon successive evenings for more intimate meetings.

Once the membership is convinced that the feeling of interest upon the part of the guest is genuine, and that he could serve a productive role within the community,
the question of joining is put to him.²

The potential "fox" appears before the fraternity council at which time he is asked, in a relaxed atmosphere, questions concerning his personal views and background. This done he then leaves the room, and a discussion is held and a vote is taken whether or not to accept him as a fox.

As a fox, a member must fulfil certain duties in order to achieve full member status. However, these obligations go hand in hand with the objective of integrating the new member into the community. It is this integration that is strived for by the non-Schlagende Verbindungen and which is so rarely achieved. A fox is required to fence one hour per day, excluding weekends, and to receive weekly instruction in the history and protocols of his own and other fraternities. In addition to this a general topic for discussion is chosen every semester by the fraternity. Each fox wishing to change his status to full-member must give a paper dealing with some aspect of the general topic. This paper must be presented at a general meeting of the fraternity. Following a question and answer period, a

²Some houses have extra criteria for membership. The Deutsche Burschenschaften for example require their members to hold German or Austrian citizenship. Also any religious affiliation is usually Lutheran since Luther and Blücher are revered by the Deutsche Burschenschaften as liberators of the German nation and were celebrated as such at the Wartburg Festival in 1815. (29, p. 35)
vote is taken as to whether sufficient knowledge and work have been illustrated to warrant acceptance of the paper. Rejection of the paper means a re-writing of it and submission of the revised work for acceptance.

In addition to these requirements there exists one which separates the Schlagende Vereine from all others: the "Mensur" or fencing event. This will be dealt with in detail later. For now let it suffice to say that if a fox passes the Mensur, has his paper accepted and has fulfilled any other requirements set down by his "Bund", he will then be voted upon by the Corps Council and accepted or rejected as a Corps Bruder. Once past this vote, he becomes a "brother" for life. Expulsion of a Corps Bruder (C.B.) is possible, but only under grievous charges of actions against the community. However, should a fox at any time feel that membership within that specific fraternity, is not in the best interests, he may withdraw from the community and his decision will not be questioned by its members.

As a C.B. a member is eligible for any of the offices within the community. He is expected to accept some of the responsibility for the functioning of his fraternity, and since rotation of these offices occurs
every semester and is determined by nomination and vote, members are able to alternate duties according to their study schedule and the amount of time available to them to take on such duties.

As study time becomes more crucial, and final exams approach, the C.B. usually asks to be allowed to become "inactive" (i.a.C.B.). This relieves him of mandatory functions such as fencing and non-mandatory duties such as serving on the executive, and frees his time for academic pursuits. However, many an i.a.C.B. continues to hold office and serve in some administrative function.

The last stages of membership, that of Alte Herr, is generally not taken until leaving university. The joining of a member to the Alte Herrenschafft implies that he has become a physically-onlooking, rather than a participating, component of his fraternity. The psychological implications of being unable to contribute often tends to motivate a large number of members to keep their status of i.a.C.B. for as long as several years after completing their studies.

Also with each progressive stage of membership the financial obligation increases. The Alte Herrenschafft, 

\[3\text{It must be kept in mind that students in German universities must write cumulative comprehensive exams in the final year of study. (39, p. 68)}\]
because they are usually established in their career and are not able to give a great deal of time to their Bund, are expected to contribute more monetarily and bear the financial burden of running the community. This is also a reason for i.a.C.B.'s not to take membership as Alte Herren immediately following completion of their studies. Often they wait until they are well established before changing their status to Alte Herr, to facilitate better the bearing of their financial obligations.

There are three types of associate memberships, which should be discussed at this point: Mitkneipender Corpsstudent (M.C.), Zweibandermann (Z.B.), and Conkneipender (C.K.). The "M.C." is a member of a fraternity at another university and for some reason, be it studies or business, is living away from his fraternity's location. Such men are often asked as guests to fraternity celebrations. These persons are considered of importance because they have the great potential of acting as emissaries between the two fraternities, and thus contribute to a better understanding and feeling of friendship. It has been said that one good "M.C." can be of much more value than a Zweibandermann. (69, p. 29)

A "Z.B." is similar to the "M.C." in that he is
away from his Bund. However, he has chosen to become active in a fraternity at his new university. He must first become inactive in his "Muttercorps" or mother fraternity before becoming active in a second. Membership in more than one Corps may be held simultaneously, but not in the active status. (69, p. 29)

The Conkneipender (C.K.) is a rare occurrence but nonetheless an interesting exception. He is a person unable, because of some handicap, to fulfil all other requirements of a normal fox and is given other duties to make up for his inabilities. As such, the C.K. is given all privileges awarded to full Corps Brothers with the exception of being allowed to vote on questions of fraternity business and policy in the Corps Council.

Through these various types of members and associates the Corps is able to continue to exist, in spite of its ever changing active membership, and to carry out liaison work with other Corps. These forms of inter-corps communication facilitate better understanding and cooperation between the various corps, thus contributing to the building of a sense of community within the larger organizational unit of the "Verband" which will be dealt with next.
A. EXTERNAL ORGANIZATION

During and following the War of Liberation the corporative student unions (Corps) in all German universities were organized in the 'Association of Senior Members' (Seniorenconvent, S.C.) acting as the representatives and spokesmen of incorporated and unincorporated students alike. The Corps furnished the largest contingents of volunteers and the common cause made them forget all regional differences and petty factional disputes. (43, p. 464)

These S.C.'s still exist and are the basic external means
of affiliation of every student Corps. The C.C. or Corps Council of every Corps is represented in a local S.C. This body forms the liason unit for Corps within that same city, geographic proximity and/or university.

As an example, let us take the S.C. in Braunschweig in which there are four Corps: Rhenania, Teutonia-Herycnia, Marchia, and Frisia. Each C.C. is represented in this local S.C. Each year the administrative tasks of the S.C. are taken on by a different Corps within the S.C. This does not give the presiding Corps any special privileges, but it is considered an honour to have the responsibility and the tasks are undertaken with a healthy sense of competitiveness to do better than the preceding Corps. The "Vorsitzender" or presiding Corps' responsibilities are those of correspondence with other S.C.'s and the organization of local S.C. events, such as an annual S.C. Ball. Other S.C.'s are normally, as a matter of course and protocol, invited to send a delegation to such events organized in other localities.

There are twenty-nine S.C.'s within West Germany, eleven affiliated with Weinheimer Corps and the remaining nineteen to the Kösener Corps Verband.* These are the main affiliations for the Corps. The difference is not in the

*In Munich the Kösener and Weinheimer Corps hold a joint S.C., thus the total twenty-nine.
Corps themselves but rather in the university at which they originated. The Kosener Corps originated at the arts and sciences universities such as Heidelberg, while the Weinheimer Corps sprang from the technical universities. In Munich, for example, where there are both types of universities, the Kosener Corps and Weinheimer Corps have a joint S.C. of twenty-one Corps. However, the affiliation, e.g. Weinheimer or Kösener, is not dropped in such a case because the S.C. is merely a sub-organization of the Verband or federation. The S.C. does not act as a representative or go-between to the Verband. It is only an organizational unit and is not a link in a chain of command. Similarly, each Corps is autonomous within the Verband -- with equal voice, vote, and status, being "aequus inter pares".

Just as the S.C. is organized to meet the administrative needs of the local Corps, so the Verband is set-up to organize the Corps on an inter-regional level. This level previously included Switzerland and Austria. However, since the First World War the affiliations in Switzerland have been broken down due to legal pressure, but there still exist five S.C.'s in Austria within the "Kosener Verband. This is not a nationalistic organization
of a Pan-Germanic nature as one would be more likely to find in the Deutsche Burschenschaften.

The administration of the Verband is conducted in much the same fashion as that of the S.C. The duties of the Vorort (presiding S.C.) are rotated annually amongst the S.C.'s, just as the functions of the Vorsitzender Corps are among the Corps of an S.C. The main administrative task of the Vorort is the organizing, and presiding over, the annual convention of the Corps within its Verband. Each Verband has its own traditional meeting place. Prior to the Second World War the Kösener Corps met at Bad Kösen in Thuringia; but they now meet in Würzburg. The Weinheimer Corps continue to meet at the Wachenburg Castle, in Weinheim, which is located north and equidistant from Mannheim and Heidelberg, on the edge of the Odenwald.

It is of the greatest importance that the relations between these cities and the fraternities are not allowed to deteriorate. For although such conventions bring millions of marks to the communities annually, several thousand fraternity students, unless well disciplined, could cause extensive damage in a very short period of time to any municipality. For this reason, the Corps organize their own police-force for the duration of their convention.
Any member of a Corps found to be drunk or otherwise guilty of disorderly conduct is apprehended and his Corps is held answerable for his actions.

The organizing of this policing force, the finding of accommodations for the several thousand persons attending the convention and the arranging for municipal co-operation with regards to parades, parking, public transport etc., are all duties of the Vorort. Therefore, much time, effort and planning are required in order that the event is successful.

The business meetings of the convention are attended by only the Corps' executive, who then transmit the information to their members at a later date. All other functions may be frequented by the Corps' general membership.

It is therefore evident that the two external organizations, the S.C. and the Verband, are of an organizational rather than a progenitory nature. Each Corps has its own equal and independent position within the federation of Corps, just as the individual C.B. has a separate, independent, and equal status to his Corps brothers. Thus autonomy is, within the Corps, an existing, constitutionally guaranteed factor: as opposed to the vague ill-grounded mumbling of press correspondences and "New
Leftists who decry the Schlagende Verbindungen in general as being 'authoritarian,' 'totalitarian' and 'anti-democratic.'

B. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

A Corps differs greatly from the "Greek Letter" fraternities of North America in that it is not merely a chapter of a large parent conglomerate. Therefore, the external affiliations of a Corps are purely of an organizational nature; the purpose of which is to establish solidarity and improve communications amongst the various fraternities.

The purpose of the internal council of the Corps is to administer to the organizational needs of the fraternity. There are generally four of these councils; the Allgemeine Convent (A.C.) or General Council, the Corps Convent (C.C.) which includes all members except foxes, the Alte Herrenscvent (A.H.C.), and the Feierliche Corpsconvent (F.C.C.).

The A.C. deals with matters which affect the foxes directly such as discipline of the foxes and Corps functions which encompass the whole Corps, such as the organizing of a Christmas Party. Within the A.C. the foxes have a seat, voice and vote as do all other Corps members.
The C.C. is composed of what is referred to as the "inneren Corpsverband". This is composed of the C.B.'s, i.a.C.B.'s and the Alte Herren. The foxes and Conkneipanten form the "ausseren Corpsverband" and because of their partial membership are excluded from any of the major decision-making functions. The C.C. is the active policy-making core of the fraternity. It is responsible for the enforcing of Corps statutes regarding fencing, protocol, petty-cash expenditures, the running of the Corps' house, and, when necessary, the disciplining of Corps members.

Within the C.C. all members of the "inneren Corpsverband" have a seat, voice and vote. A Corps Convent can officially be held if three or more of the inneren Verband are in attendance. This facilitates decision-making, should a case arise which demands immediate attention.

The statutes allow for an unofficial or "ausser-ordentlicher Corps Convent" (A.O.C.C.) to be held to deal with urgent problems and the decision to be later reported to the next official C.C. All policy decisions must pass by a two-thirds majority vote in the Convent and questions of a less important nature require merely a simple plurality of votes before being accepted.
The Council of Old Lords (A.H.C.) is composed of only Alte Herren. Their realm of jurisdiction is that of handling the financial and property holdings of the Corps. The A.H.C. reserves the right to disallow membership to its ranks and to discipline its own members.

The Feierliche Corpsconvent (F.C.C.) is the highest court of the Corps. It rules over all constitutional matters such as alterations or supplements to the constitution. Notice of such meetings must be given at least two weeks in advance, and attendance is restricted to the "inneren Corpsverband", requiring a minimum of eleven members present and is presided over by the executive of the C.C.

Thus it can be seen that each council has sanction over only those persons within its ranks and such matters as are directly related to that segment of the membership.

In brief, the A.C. deals with potential members, the C.C. with the active life of the Corps, the A.H.C. with past active members, and the F.C.C. with all facets and aspects which affect constitutional issues.

C. EXECUTIVE ORGANIZATION

The executive of a Schlagende Verbindung is referred to as the "Chargen". It consists of three
officers — the Senior, Subsenior, and Consenior. Each member of the Chargen must be an active C.B. and be willing to give freely of his time because of the demanding nature of these offices. Each position is filled by nomination and vote in the C.C. at the end of each semester. This election then allows the new Chargen time to get things in motion prior to their semester in office.

The duties of the Senior are basically those of any presiding officer. He chairs the following councils: the Allgemeine Convent, the Corps Convent, and Feierliche Convent, and presides over all official functions as 'primus inter pares'.

The Consenior is in charge of the organization of Corps activities. He is responsible for the instruction of fencing, the setting-up and co-ordinating of committees for social events, and any sporting activities such as table tennis, hiking or soccer in which the Corps might be involved.

The Subsenior is the general secretary, responsible for the keeping of accurate minutes of proceedings and for the internal and external correspondence of the Corps.

The "Fuchsmajor", although not a member of the executive, nonetheless holds an exceedingly important
position within the Corps. He is responsible for the training and actions of his foxes. It is he who gives the foxes their knowledge of Corps history and protocol, as well as helping those new members become integrated within the active community of the Corps. He is answerable to the Senior and the Corps Convent for any infractions committed by the foxes in his charge and is delegated to speak on behalf of any or all foxes within the C.C. Thus his personality and leadership abilities weigh very strongly upon the degree of ease with which new members become part of the Corps which in turn affects the type of active members and attitudes within the community as a whole. For these reasons the Fuchsmajor may be chosen from the i.a.C.B.'s from the standpoint that a slightly older member perhaps knows better where emphasis should be given in dealing with future Corpsbruder.

There are several other positions of responsibility within the fraternal community such as "Kassenwart" (Treasurer) and "Hauswart" (Housesteward), but their functions are self-explanatory by the title given to the responsibilities.

The presiding officer of the Alte Herrenschwanz is known as the "Vorsitzender" and is regarded as the overall
president of the Corps. He, together with the Chargen, form the presiding executive: the Vorsitzer represents the interests of the Alte Herren and the Chargen represents the "active" segment of the Corps.

The Vorsitzer enjoys the privilege within the Alte Herrensverband (A.H.V.), Federation of Old Lords, of being regarded as "primus inter pares" and serves as the delegate of the interests of the A.H.V. within the C.C. However, within the Corpsconvent his position is respected but his voice and vote are only equal to that of any other member of the "inneren Corpsverband". Should any issue arise within the C.C. which requires a representative attendance and vote of the A.H.V. the membership of the A.H.C., being members of the "inneren Corpsverband", would attend the C.C. and sit as equals.

Thus, we see that the governmental practices of the Corps are founded upon basic egalitarian tenets. The structure is fundamentally multi-cameral with an overlapping in some cases of membership and executive. However, each of the "Conventen" does not require the approval or ratification of another body, since each is in itself autonomous within its own areas of jurisdiction. This is indeed similar to that relationship of members within the corp; equal and necessary components, contributing to the life and functioning of their fraternal community as a whole.
Within a few weeks of his acceptance as a "Krassfuchs", each member is encouraged to choose from the ranks of the active Corps brothers, a Leibbursch, or father within the Corps. The choice of Leibbursch should be a Corps brother with whom he has an extremely good personal understanding. However, the choice is entirely at the discretion of the fox and the arbitrary selection of Leibbursch by the C.C. is forbidden by both Corps tradition and statutes.
The acceptance of this choice brings with it a high measure of responsibility for the "Corpsbursch" concerned. It becomes his first and foremost task to introduce his "Leibfuchs" into the spirit of the Corps and the community of Corps brothers. He is responsible for his fox's education in all aspects, be it in regards to life within the Corps or within the realm of academe. The Leibbursch must see to it that his fox does not want for instruction or discipline either within the Corps or in his studies. He also must be ready and willing to counsel his Leibfuchs in case of any emergency or problem he might have within or outside the realm of the Corps. The Leibbursch should be the first to champion his fox in the C.C.. Similarly he is directly answerable for the actions of his Leibfuchs. Thus, if a fox insults someone, it is his Leibbursch who must answer for the offence. From his perceptions and understanding the Leibbursch must be the real judge, as to whether his Leibfuchs has become successfully integrated and well adjusted within the community life of the Corps. (69, p. 23).

However, the relationship does not stop at this point; the Leibfamilie consists of the succeeding "generations" of Leibfuchse from a given Corpsbursch and politics

\[^{1}\text{From the Latin crassus - vulgar.}\]
within the Corps sometimes follow along "Leibfamilie" lines. This is especially so in such matters as the voting and nominations for offices or the defence of a "Conleib", (member of the same family) against harsh discipline by the Corpsconvent. For example, in one recent case a Leibbursch, then an Alte Herr, drove the length of Germany to defend his Leibfuchs and returned to his job the next day having had only a few hours sleep. In such a case it is not the self-sacrificing that should be remembered as much as the sense of loyalty and responsibility for a member of the Leibfamilie. The example is not an unusual instance. This devotion to other Conleibe exemplifies very plainly the sense of integration and feeling of oneness to be found within a Corps. The searching-out of a Leibbursch by a Krassfuchs and their working together toward the end of integrating the fox into the community as an active Corpsbruder, epitomize the spirit of the Leibfamilie and the close interpersonal bonds developed within the Corps as a whole.

Time was, and it was all time up to 200 years ago, when the whole of life went forward in the family, in a circle of loved, familiar faces, known and fondled objects, all to human size. (23, p. 93)

The Corps provides the environment and opportunity within
which its members are able to form these primary relationships of community and family that have been lost by so many individuals within contemporary society.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE MENSUR

The Mensur is the function of the Schlagende Verbindungen which sets them apart from all other academic communities and which is so highly criticized by persons outside these fraternities. As with many other subjects, those who cry most loudly against this practice, usually know the least concerning it. They may also be of those who would like to join such a community and for some reason, be it religious conviction, or family disapproval, are unable to enter a "fencing fraternity".
The history and genesis of the duel could fill several volumes, nonetheless a few lines should be included at this point to facilitate a basic understanding of the Mensur. The Germanic tribes were apparently unique in their use of trial by ordeal.\footnote{From private conversations with Dr. Joseph Braun, September 1973.} However, the origins of the duel cannot, indeed, be traced further back than A.D. 501, when Gundebald, King of the Burgundians, legally established the trial by combat, or judicial duel. This was a variation on the earlier forms of the so-called 'Judgement of God', the ordeal and the oath. (3, p. 12)

Needless to say the format of such encounters changed through the centuries in keeping with the new developments in weapon technology. By the advent of the Renaissance, the usual weapon for dueling was the Italian rapier. However, there is a distinction that should be made here. The "romantic" Renaissance duel was not generally practised within the Germanic states as it was in Italy, France, Spain and England. This type of duelling was predominantly brawling with weapons and was outlawed by the Roman Catholic Church in Codex Juris Canonici, canon 2351. (66, p. 14)
Die katholische Kirche bestrafte dieses Duell seit dem Tridentinischen Konzile durch die Exkommunikation. (Ibid., p. 14)

The Germanic duel on the other hand originated during the period of the Thirty-Years' War. The great difference being that the Germanic "Barock" duel was fought from personal belief and conviction. The provocation was upon the grounds of belief rather than the colour of one's shirt, as was the case in the "romantic" duel.

The Germanic duel was taken up by the Corps in the second half of the Eighteenth century. The large ideological differences which arose between the Corps and the sons of the middle-class have been previously pointed out. It became common practice for the first "mensur" of a Corps fox to be against a member of the Deutsche Burschenschaft. Previous to the formation of the Burschenschaften, mensuren were fought upon other political grounds, as exemplified by Bavarian and Prussian antagonism.

Although there were many nobles and military officers within these fraternities, not everyone had equal training with the sabre.*2 Thus a school of sabre was

*2 The sabre was the weapon used by "germanics" as opposed to the rapier or epee used by "romantics".
developed at the Germanic Universities which was peculiar and unique unto itself. The closest practice to it would be "single-stick" or "back-sword" play, but even that does not approach the intricacy of "akademische Fechten". This is not to infer that the sabre duel, as most persons would imagine it, was an uncommon activity. The spirit of the romantic movement did abound at the Germanic Universities, but it was, until outlawed in the 1930's, the means of settling personal matters.

In Germany, Jena, Halle, Leipzig, and Heidelberg were the centers of fencing, and the sport was compulsory in the military schools. ... Duelling flourished in the universities, and it was transformed into the Mensura or Schlager fencing which became a German specialty." (1, p. 14)

The weapon for the Mensur is known as a Heidelberger Korbschlaeger. It is a straight-bladed sabre with a large basket guard; the blade having a square end and sharpened approximately six inches along the inside edge and two inches along the back. The handle is in an adapted sabre grip with the addition of a leather thong, through which the first finger passes to facilitate better the "flipping" action of the sword play.
In the areas perhaps best described as originally under direct Prussian rule e.g. Berlin, Breslau, Leipzig, Konigsberg, Rostock etc., the implementation of a different weapon known as the "Glockenschlaeger", which takes its name from the bell-shaped guard, occurred. Its appearance is not unlike the fencing foil of the Italian school: "a cup hilt with a pair of diminutive quillons". (21, p. 261) These quillons then replace the thong of the Korbschlaeger and are also used to facilitate the flipping action of the sword play.  

With regards to Leibschutzen or body protection, the face and head being the only objective of the attack, a very elaborate system of armouring and padding is resorted to in order to protect the wrist, arm, and shoulders, and, in short, all parts of the body liable to receive by accident cuts aimed at the face, and the defence of which does not form part of this curious system of fencing. The eyes are protected by iron "goggles", the branches of which likewise afford some protection to the temples. In some cases even, especially between freshmen -- "Fuchse" -- the head is further protected by a cap. (Ibid., p. 262)

---

3 The blade of the Glockenschlaeger also differs in weight and girth, in that it is an adaptation of the rapier blade rather than the sabre, as in the case of the Korbschlaeger. Due to the lighter weight of the Glockenschlaeger, the action is faster and therefore the technique varies slightly. However the basic format and rules regarding the Mensur are the same regardless of the weapon used; the variants of technique would presumably be evident only to the most avid of fencers.
This last statement brings forward the existence of differing sets of rules with regards to the actual fencing. Although the practice of wearing the hat is no longer widely followed it is worn as identification during the salute of arms just prior to the engagement of the combatants. Each major university such as Heidelberg, Wurzburg, or Munich has its own unique methods of beginning the encounter, and of determining the number of blows to be exchanged in each round. The genesis of these "Kommenten" could in themselves fill a good-sized volume, but it is not the intention of this work to become a manual for the instruction of academic fencing. Let it suffice to say that there are differences from one university to another and if a fraternity member were to fence with someone from another university, it is the general practice to conduct the combat according to the regulations of the municipality in which the encounter occurs.

The way in which Schlaeger fencing deviates most greatly from all other schools of the fence is that the combatants stand directly opposite, within easy striking distance which is measured from chest to chest.*4 Under no circumstance should any part of the fencer's body, other than the sword-arm move. The feet remain firmly planted and the head, even if hit, is not to flinch.

*4 The exact distance varies upon the fencing Komment, but is some number of sword length components (e.g. blade, guard)
The play is very simple, but so unnatural that it requires much vigour, long practice, and the development of particular muscles of the forearm, for perfection. It consists of flipping cuts delivered from the wrist -- not with the centre of percussion, but with the extreme part of the blade, which alone is sharpened -- and directed to either side of the adversary's face, and to the top, or even the back of his head. (Ibid., p. 262)

Even this form of sword-play was outlawed by the Roman Catholic Church.

Die Entscheidung der Katholischen Kirche vom Jahr 1890, durch welche die damals mit dem neuen studentischen Duelle durch gemeinsames Gebot gekoppelte Mensur ebenso wie jedes Duell bestraft wurde, steht in den Actis Sanctae Sedis, vol XXIII Rom 1890/91. (66, p. 23)

During the Weimar Republic's ill-fated experiment with democracy, student duelling in German universities was outlawed. Hitler lifted the ban in 1933, but only to turn around and dissolve the fraternities altogether in 1935. (56, p. 34)

The Mensur was further outlawed by the occupation laws of the Allied Force following World War II. However, those edicts died in 1950 and presently "academic fencing" is allowed under both West German and Austrian law. In response
to criticism of the Mensur one Alte Herr of Vandalië-Teutonia
Berlin is reported to have stated:

"Blodsinnig ... How can anything be bad if both Hitler and the
Communists have been against it."
(52, p. 42)

To relate briefly the procedure of the Mensur, let us take as an example a Fuchs, who has prepared himself for his first Mensur or Bestimmungsmensur. Prior to his Mensur the Fuchs must have his fencing assessed upon the criteria of speed, skill, strength, and stamina. The reason being that the Mensur is a match of equals, and a test for the combatants'mettle, not a contest in which one side has a decided advantage.

For this reason there exists within each Senioren Convent a council established purely for the purpose of matching Mensuren opponents and the running of those events. The selection of an opponent must be ratified by the fox's Corpsconvent and verified with the other fraternity before the match is allowed to proceed.

The "Paukant" (fencer) is accompanied by his party of four attendants (Partei). If possible the functions of this party are carried-out by members of the Leibfamilie prior to the engagement, the two opponents are seated facing
each other while final adjustments are made to their protective equipment by their "Bandagebursch" (the member of the party responsible for ensuring that all safety precautions have been taken). A "Zahlfuchs" from each party stands at the middle of the floor, beside the umpire, for the purpose of counting and recording the number of rounds fenced. The cards upon which the match is recorded document the events, such as the number of rounds fenced officially, whether blood is let and stitches received, etc. These cards then serve as a permanent record of the event for the fraternity and the Paukant.

The "Schlepper", or Schleppfuchs which is the original form of the name, is the person who stands to the right and rear of the Paukant. His primary task is that of caring for the sword. Between rounds it is his responsibility to disinfect the blade, by means of a gauze-padded glove saturated in antiseptic. Also the wrist of the fencer's sword-arm is usually massaged in these interims. This, as well as coaching the Paukant, fall into the realm of the Schlepper's duties in the period between rounds. Although the practice differs between fraternities and regions the position of Schlepper is most often taken by the Leibbursch.
The last but most important member within the Partei is that of the Sekondant or Second. His task is to intercede for his Paukant, with his body if need be, and to ensure that strict and proper attention be paid to the rules of the Mensur. He also bears a sword, and upon the completion of a round, an infraction of the rules, or if a situation arises which could prove harmful to his Paukant, he calls for a halting of the blades and springs between his Paukant and his opponent. Needless to say the Sekondant is well protected by a helmet and padding in order to minimize his danger as much as possible. The office of Sekondant is often taken by the Leibbursch, but should a better qualified second exist within the Bund, he usually will take the responsibility of the position.

As was previously mentioned, blood-letting is not the purpose of the Mensur. The Paukant is testing his skill and courage against that of his opponent. The point to be made by such encounters is that the fencer feels strongly enough about his intention to be part of his fraternity that he will risk the scarring of his face, thus giving an external sign of his loyalty and commitment. There is no winning or losing of a Mensur. The Paukant is testing his ability and strength of convictions. It is for this reason that he is required to stand fast and not
flinch. Even the slightest head movement, whether he is hit or not, calls for an immediate disqualification of the fencer and his withdrawal from the Mensur.

Once the Mensur is finished, members of the "inneren Corpsverband" who are present, hold an i.a.C.C. and vote upon the performance of the Paukant. If the Mensur is deemed lacking in any way it is rejected and must be repeated at another time with another opponent. Traditionally, the failure of a fox to pass the Mensur three times means expulsion from the community. Each fraternity determines for itself the number of Mensuren its members are required to fence. However most members gladly fence more events than their allotted number and such contests are referred to as "Lust Mensuren".

The Mensur is considered sword play, not a duel, (66, p. 21) and may not be entered into by a Corpsbruder as a means of settling personal disputes. This is safeguarded by the arranging of the Mensuren, the office of Consenior and the approval of each Partei by a meeting of the Corps Council.

The last recorded death caused through academic Schlaeger fencing occurred in the 1870's. Even if one compares this upon a percentage basis of active participants
Schlaeger fencing places much more favourably in terms of fewer casualties than more popular sports. To attempt to verify this there was a study conducted between July 1, 1928 and April 15, 1930 which tabulated the number of fatalities associated with various popular sports during that period.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Fatalities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boating and Sailing</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain climbing</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorracing</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(68, p. 105)

Therefore, fencing should not be considered dangerous when compared with these figures or those of the casualties and injuries inflicted by North American football or hockey.

The willingness of fraternity members to fence and risk scarring for their belief in their own community should be looked upon as admirable rather than derided as is usually the case. It is interesting to note in studying group bonding that group membership generally decreases in

¹The data does not, in fact, prove what it sets out to prove. Not only is the data for motorracing difficult to believe, but there is no attempt to give a proportionate estimate and fatalities. Nonetheless, the data does suggest convincingly that fencing is far less dangerous than is popularly imagined.
proportion to the demands made upon its members, but the greater the demand, the stronger the interpersonal bonds which develop among its members. Thus it is with the Schlagende Verbindungen. Much is required of their members, but the degree of group integration and interpersonal bonding which result are achieved by few other communities.

The Mensur is not conducted for the purpose of deciding a winner and loser, judged upon the amount of blood loss or stitches received. This ritual, as pointed out earlier, is performed out of a member's personal conviction and willing self-sacrifice to illustrate his dedication to his fraternity and to ensure his position within that community. Thus it should be viewed as an indication of the individual's commitment and will to be an integral component of the community of his Corps.
CHAPTER SIX
DISCIPLINE

All groups or organizations have rules which determine the bounds of their existence and jurisdiction over their members. Some of these codes are merely behavioral in that only attendance and common interest are required of the participants. An example of such a group would be a women's quilting-circle. As more requirements are made of the members, such as a membership fee, a constitution becomes an inevitability in order to safeguard the monetary or other interests of the members.
Groups also have the ability to exclude unwanted persons. In the first example, persons not interested in the making of quilts would not be likely to attend such gatherings. Thus their exclusion in this case would be upon the grounds of interest and therefore persons uninterested would, of their own volition not wish to belong to such a group.

However should the group be such that money is handled and that privileges can be derived from membership within it, such a group has written in its constitution the boundaries within which its membership may move. Such groups enjoy the privilege of accepting or rejecting potential members upon the grounds of their constitution. Similarly they protect their interests internally by expulsion or discipline of members upon the grounds of their constitution.

In this regard one is reminded of discipline at the colleges of Cambridge. Members of the colleges wear academic gowns when within the town of Cambridge, whether on the streets, in the shops, or at their college. Persons who attend the colleges and do not wear gowns, demonstrate therefore that they do not wish to be thought of as members of their particular college, or the University of Cambridge. Thus since the University of Cambridge wishes only those
persons who are its members to attend, such persons who do not see fit to exercise their privilege of wearing academic gowns, are probationed by the University of Cambridge.

Such behavior could also be interpreted as anti-social when applied to a given society, which then would mete out the discipline deemed suitable by its constitution.

Similarly the Schlagende Verbindungen have disciplines written into their constitutions. Quite naturally any group which binds its members as brothers for life must have a means by which to regulate the behavior of its membership.

Although measures may differ slightly from Corps to Corps the basic forms of punishment are based upon a common principle. It should be kept in mind however that the greater the status within the fraternity (i.e. inactive C.B. having greater status than active C.B.), the higher the position a member holds and the greater the example he is expected to maintain. Although he may have more rungs of the ladder to step down, the i.a.C.B. also has much further to fall once he has dislodged himself.

At each meeting of the Corpsconvent a time is allotted upon the agenda for matters of discipline. During this time the floor is first thrown open to persons wishing to punish themselves for misdemeanors by "Freiwilliges
Strafen" or voluntary punishment. The member will state his infraction and suggest what he feels is appropriate punishment. If this complies directly to the constitution, the punishment will undoubtedly be accepted outright. However should the proposed "Strafen" not correspond to the Corps regulations regarding the infraction, a vote of those members present, to approve the proposal, would be taken. It should be borne in mind that a member submitting himself to Freiwilliges Strafen engages in a type of plea-bargaining and the punishment given is not usually the maximum possible.

However here a difference should be kept in mind: the law of his fraternity is one that the member has chosen to live by whereas that of a state is one imposed upon an individual at birth.

The actual form of disciplining members and the punishment meted out vary according to the infraction in question and therefore the severity of the measure taken is made to fit the deed. In order of seriousness and severity the hierarchy of castigation is as follows.

The more basic reprimand known as an "Einfache Ruffel" is dealt with by the Senior and made known in the Corps Convent. The punishment for such offences is usually
a fine, not exceeding twenty marks, and/or a task of work to be completed. A "Protokollierte R"uffel" takes basically the same form of chastisement but is discussed and decided upon by the Corpsconvent. However the great difference is that, being of a "Protokol" nature, the incident is recorded in the official minutes, or "Protokols" of the Corps and remains as a permanent record of the incident. Also these disciplinary Protokols are published in the internal circular of the Corps, thus the Alte Herrenschaft is informed of such behavioral matters as well. If the Alte Herren feel that a certain member has repeatedly behaved in an unacceptable manner, they may respond by bringing pressure to bear upon the Corps Chargen and thereby impose more severe punishments to correct the member's behavior.

In my opinion ethical training is significant because we try to give the men ethical training not only for the university but also for life, so that they'll behave properly. We try to bring out the training that our fraternity brothers received at home. It's perfectly possible that a man will forget his training. Then of course it's up to us to call it to their attention and to strike their sensitive spots with the punishments that are current among us. (32, p. 97-98)
"Temporare Dimission" is the first of the three more stringent measures taken to discipline fraternity brothers in matters considered of a greater importance to the individual and/or to his relationship to his fraternity and Corps brothers.

For instance we can impose some really painful punishment on a man who has been putting off his examination for an unreasonable length of time and that puts him back up front. We also admonish our members in questions of honour. We have what we call the principle of self-accusation. If something has happened that affects our fraternity or our public life, we ask: 'Who did it?' and the guilty party has to confess even if it means punishment. (Ibid., p. 98)

These more severe steps are begun by Temporare Dimission under any of the following reasons:

a) If a Corps brother acts in a manner which is contrary to the principles of the Corps or against the unity of the Corps;

b) Negligence and neglect of his studies;

c) When after a "Protokollierten Ruffel" in any given semester, a member again behaves in a similar fashion or shows no intention of wishing to reform;

d) The disgracing of the Corps through actions which would result in bad public opinion of the fraternity;
e) By purposely going against decisions made by Corps Convent or the articles of the Corps Constitution;

f) Repeated reluctance to pay fines.

If after Temporare Dimission the person in question continues his action "i,p. Dimission" (Dimission in perpetuum) or full Dimission is enforced. The discipline levied during Dimission can take several forms, any of which or in any combination, may be meted out at the discretion of the Convent before which the charge is brought. Under full Dimission the member in question is sent to the "Black Forest" which means all forms of punishment are enforced as follows. He must surrender his colours to the Consenior until such time as he is vindicated. He is allowed to speak with only one fraternity brother whom he chooses as his go-between during his period of punishment. He is not allowed to associate or converse with any member of his or any other Corps for the duration of the penalization. Should he be in an inn and members of a fraternity arrive he is required to finish his meal or drink and leave. However he is required to attend all Corps functions but without the right to speak, vote or participate in these activities.

Should these measures of the "Black Forest" not bring the offender into line, Exklusion (cum infamia) or
dishonourable expulsion from the Corps is instigated and must be decided upon by a special Convent of the Alte Herren and active members.

All levels of Dimission and Exklusion are printed in the "Protokols" of the publication which is circulated to all Corps. Thus a member under "Exklusion" is also an outcast from all Corps and their membership throughout the world. In many instances this can also mean the barring of membership to any fencing fraternity regardless of what convention it adheres to — Deutsche Burschenschaft, Sängerschaft, Turnerschaft, etc.

Thus the basic tenets of law and community are realized. A man wishing not to live within the law of a community to which he has previously affiliated himself, whether through birth, ceremony, or both, thus declares himself by his actions anti-social and outside this law. In so doing he has declared himself an outlaw and therefore disentitled himself to the protection and privileges offered by that community. By accepting him any other community is in fact declaring itself to be directly opposed to, and to challenge the edicts of discipline of that community; thus proclaiming enmity.

The laws of the Schlagende Verbindungen are no less stringent upon their members. Such members join
themselves to their fraternities. Thus in transgressing the law of the community a member is twice in error in that not only the law is broken but also his word by which he has bound himself to adhere to the communal laws of the fraternity. Therefore, the lawbreaker not only breaks the community code and trust, but also declares himself a liar.

Another consideration to be made is that a Corps, in particular, binds its members for life and the prospect of having within a community, for life, someone who can not be trusted becomes extremely repugnant at best.

Thus discipline of members is harsh but understandable in the light of maintaining of a highly integrated "Lebensbund". Primary groups are built upon intimate, personal ties (34, p. 17) and such ties would be very difficult even to imagine without a sense of trust among the members involved.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DÄRMSTÄDTER STUDY

During the Winter Semester of 1973-74 the Corps of the Darmstadt Convent conducted a study of the attitudes toward the Schlagende Verbindungen by students attending the Darmstadt Technical College, Darmstadt highschools, and the University of Mannheim. The purpose of this study was to promote better public relations between the Corps and their academic peer groups at university. Through the study it was hoped that the profile presented by non-members of these
fraternities would give an indication of their public image.

The means of building this profile was a questionnaire which was directed towards indicating "the positive and negative attitudes of university and high school students toward 'schlagende farbentragende Verbindungen'" (71, p. 46)

The return rate of questionnaires at the two universities was approximately one for every three distributed; giving a total sample of 250 responses. The high school students were given more personal attention and predictably, although their sample was much smaller, the return ratio was approximately 84%, providing the study with 45 responses.

The sample was processed both as a total unit and also broken down for the purpose of comparison into the three groups of origin; as illustrated by the graphs of appendix number two which shows the distribution of answers to questions one, two, and three.¹ However questions number five, seven, eight and nine brought the most interesting results and it is those which are most deserving

¹All nine questions and their results are given in Appendix Two.
of comment. The results were as follows:

Question Five: The Mensur was viewed as aggressive and not constructive in leading toward a sense of community (67%).

Question Seven: The internal organization of a Corps was seen as authoritarian (71%).

Question Eight: The attitude (Geisteshaltung) and viewpoint of Corps students was seen as dogmatic (72%).

Question Nine: The political position of Corps students was seen in varying degrees as Rightist in orientation: Mannheim university students, 67%; Darmstadt university students, 77%; and those of the Darmstadt highschool polled the highest at 83%. (These results will be discussed later since they form the core of the more substantial criticism against the Schlagende Verbindungen brought forth in this study).

After the termination of the study several seminars were held by the participating Corps of the Darmstädter Senioren Convent. At that time the results of the study were reviewed and discussed and a public relations program set up with the aid of members of the "Batelle Insitut" in Frankfurt. The resulting "Kontaktaktion" program went
into effect at the beginning of the winter semester 1973-74. One quarter of the university freshmen students (450) were personally contacted and were invited to visit with a Corps for further information and discussion. Approximately 20% of those students contacted indicated an interest in gaining more information concerning the Schlagende Verbindungen.

The indication would then be that approximately 20% of the university student community have an interest in the "fencing fraternities". This is due partially to the slow but growing disenchantment of university students within West Germany toward leftist oriented activism and ideology. The post-Second World War momentum of socialism within the Federal Republic of Germany appears to be losing impetus and with it the previously almost blind following of the majority of the student population has become much more moderate. This present period of what could almost be thought of as a period of ideological water treading is witnessed by a very small and timid, but nonetheless definite, movement toward returning to German traditional concepts. With this is also returning a sense of pride in being German; a national pride which has been notably absent for several decades. The past is again
becoming of interest to German youth and with it the traditions of the "Vergangenheit". Accompanying this a curiosity has arisen regarding the student associations the members of which have played such decisive roles in German history and have been summarily accused by their enemies of crimes ranging from beer hall brawling to armed insurrection and assassination. However let us turn now to the findings of the Darmstädter Study and see if the German public's image, or imagination, of the Schlagende Verbindungen is in fact justified, with regards to the material brought forward by the study and this paper.

The Corps of the Darmstädter S.C. commented thus on question seven, eight, and nine:

Das Toleranzprinzip des Corps muss erläutert werden! Z.B.: Das Corps ist eine Organisationsform reform-williger Stattsbürger, keine politische Studentengruppe. Das politische Etikett rechts passt nicht auf eine Vereinigung, die Studenten jeder erlaubten politischen Richtung, Religionszugehörigkeit und Rasse aufnimmt und in der die Willensbildung nach demokratischen Regeln abläuft. (71, p. 48)

This statement when contrasted with the nationalistic stand taken even today by the Deutsche Burschenschaften, which consider only persons of German or Austrian citizenship
eligible for membership in their association, gives one cause to wonder if the fire of the Wartburg is not still ablaze. On the other hand the Corps continue to be tolerant and cosmopolitan in outlook; accepting persons into their communities regardless of race, nationality or religious persuasion. It should be noted that the Corps have never had an anti-Jewish policy as have the Deutsche Burschenschaften. More specifically the Kösener Corps passed a resolution in the 1880's declaring themselves as neither pro nor anti-Jewish and even accepted Jews as members.

If religious, political and racial tolerance as stated by the Darmstädtter S.C. and verified by the historical performance of the Corps are regarded right-wing and dogmatic, as the replies to the survey would indicate, then either the usual contemporary, popular classifications of the political right-left continuum must be reassessed, or the perception of the Corps by the groups measured is in error. However, this misperception is easily traced to factors previously mentioned such as reluctance on the part of contemporary German youth to associate with traditional Germanic practices and institutions. This coupled with bad press and uncomplimentary
television coverage have only added to a misperception of the Schlagende Verbindungen in general, making no provision for the variances and differences which exist amongst the members of these associations.

The irony here is that within the study the answers to question nine were directed towards "rightist" as indicating right-wing reactions when in actual fact the traditional, conservative Right with its cosmopolitan, communitarian and individualist ideals easily embraces those concepts set down by the Corps, therefore making the responses to the survey inadvertently correct. Question seven which viewed the internal organization of a Corps as authoritarian was also an obvious misconception as this paper has illustrated. It would be very difficult indeed for a community with multi-camaral, democratic government, which changes its officers twice yearly to become authoritarian. This does not rule out the possibility of its occurring, but the chance of it happening with any degree of consistency is highly unlikely.

It must also be kept in mind that persons join themselves to these communities and, as members, submit themselves to the rules and subsequent disciplines of the fraternal community to which they have, of their own desire,
become a part. Thus the internal organization of a Corps can not realistically be considered as either repressive or authoritarian.

However, the response to question four which regarded the Mensur as aggressive and not constructive in promoting a sense of community within the fraternity may be partially explained by another popular misconception of the Schlagende Verbindungen. There are many German students who believe that members of these communities fence against their own fraternity brothers. If this were in fact the case then the point that the Mensur is an activity which is aggressive and not conducive to the building of a community might have considerably more credence. But as has been pointed out by the chapter on the Mensur this is not the case.¹

When one looks, even briefly, at the initiation practices and rites of passage which have been, and are, carried out by primitive tribes, guilds, and trade unions alike, the Mensur in contrast begins to take on the aura of a very moderate ceremony. (18, p. 150-174)

It would be of little use to argue that the rites of these communities did not serve to initiate, formalize part of the acceptance and aid in the integration

¹There is a very rare exception to this, that of Corps Brandenburgia in Cleveland whose members were forced for several semesters to fence "internally" due to the unavailability of "Gegenpaukanten" from other Corps.
of the neophytes into their respective communities; for this is in fact the very reason that such rites exist. If the Mensur did not act as a cohesive force within the fencing fraternities it would have been difficult if not impossible for the Schlagende Verbindungen to have reached their present age. Those student associations which emulate the Schlagende Verbindungen do so in almost every aspect except in the "akademische Fechten" but it is this one act that binds the members of the fencing fraternities so closely. It is this bond that the Nazi Party attempted to create through the promotion of dueling within the S.S. Officer Corps, but with its typical lack of understanding for most things noble the attempt failed.

In summary, the Darmstädter Study was successful in illustrating to the Darmstädters Senioren Convent some of the popular concepts regarding Corps held by German students. The study also gave a rough estimate of how widely these attitudes are held and thus gave the participating Corps an indication of how much public relations work they would have to undertake if they wish to convey their true selves to the German public. The Corps are egalitarian, communitarian and offer their members the opportunity to find the fulfilment of individuals working with others
towards an end; their fraternity and its continuance. This is the proper concept of the Corps and that which the "Kontaktaktion" program hoped to present. We can only wait to judge the results.
SUMMATION

The requirements made by a Corps upon its novices are no more stringent than those made by other traditional communal associations which bind their members for life. But the greater part of society has changed and continues to do so.

Where groups change ceaselessly, as jobs and mechanical process change, the individual experiences a sense of void, of emptiness, where his fathers know the joy of comradeship and security. (30, p. 56)

The freeing of the individual and the search for freedom of the self, which Liberalism has preached as man's salvation and path to self-fulfillment have only handed him
over to the oppression of a relentless master, who revels in man's selfishness.

Only in their social interdependences are men given to resist tyranny ...
Where the individual stands alone in the face of the State he is helpless.
...Genuine freedom is not based upon the negative psychology of release. Its roots are in positive acts of dedication to ends and values. Freedom presupposes the autonomous existence of values that men wish to be free to follow and live up to. Such values are social in the precise sense that they arise out of and are nurtured by, the voluntary associations which men form. (33, p. 268-269)

In his book "Rites of Passage" van Gennep makes the observation that almost without exception all communities share a common procedure for the accepting of new members. Orders of knighthoods, guilds, and primitive tribes all follow the same basic process of separation, transition, and incorporation. (50,p. 101-108) In the case of a Corps the aspiring member achieves the first stage, that of separation, by becoming a "fox" and thus setting himself apart from all other non-members purely by his intention to join the fraternity. The stage of transition is the aspiring member's term as a "Fuchs". This is his period of instruction and he is allowed to transgress the bounds of the community with no great repercussions.
Initiation is a period of months, not only the final moment of acceptance.

"Physical puberty and social puberty are essentially different and only rarely converge" (Ibid., p. 65). If this stage of transition is then viewed as a period of time rather than a single act, the understanding of transition and initiation becomes much clearer. In describing an extreme case of the transition stage, van Gennep mentions the Habé tribe of the Niger Plateau.

During the novitiate, the young people can steal and pillage at will or feed and adorn themselves at the expense of the community. 
... The novices are outside society and society has no power over them. (Ibid., p. 114)

However, unlike the Habé youth, Corps novices are not allowed to plunder and loot within the confines of the community. The period of transition is used rather to gain the rudiments of discipline and skills which will aid them in their academic pursuits and as contributing members of German society. Thus the "Fuchse" have their own sponsors or parents within the Corps to champion for them during this transition period. When discussing the "Leibfamilie" it was pointed out that the Leibbursch has
a position of great responsibility and should at all times have the best interests of his Leibfuchs at heart. The period of "Fuchsheit" is the time during which Corps novices are instructed in i) academic discipline, as witnessed by their papers presented before the Corps Convent, ii) the traditions and history of the fraternities, and iii) fencing, all of which constitute an integral part of the life of a Corpsbruder; commonality of goals, traditional ties and communitarian integration.

When this has been completed to a predetermined and satisfactory level the "Fuchs" is received as a Corpsbruder, thus fulfilling van Gennep's third step, that of incorporation.

There is a kind of historical awareness implicit in this focusing upon the family, for the overwhelming majority of communal or sacred areas of society reflect the transfer, historically, of kinship symbols and nomenclature to non-kinship spheres. We see this in the histories of religion, guilds, village communities and labour unions. Kinship has ever been the archetype of man's communal aspirations. (33, p. 287)

Within the Schlagende Verbindunden this role of "family" is carried out by the Leibfamilie and the Leibbursch. In this way the Corps member has not only a community within
which he is an integral part but also a smaller, closer, more intimate unit within which his need for personal contact can be fulfilled.

When men have a common, potentially achievable, purpose, when they see, and unite for, a common end, they are integrated and fulfilled. When they have no such purpose they become anomic; and it is the anomic the disoriented, who undertake the debilitating desperate quest for the non-existent, essentially individualistic self. (40, p. 350)

The formation of the "nations" at the early universities occurred for this precise reason. The student in the foreign surroundings of another society, the members of which all had their own communitarian functions to fulfil, was in dire need of such communities as the "nations" to aid him in coping with academic and personal life in an unfamiliar setting. The Landsmannschaften brought individuals together upon bonds of commonality; region of origin, the similar pursuit of higher learning and geographical estrangement from home and family. Within his Landsmannschaft a member was again in a community of his countrymen and also within a group of his peers, academically inclined members of the upper classes. The rise of the middle classes forced cleavages within the
Landmannschaften and finally resulted in the major rift between the Corps and the Deutsche Burschenschaften. It is interesting to note that the main criticism by the Burschenschaften of the Landmannschaften was that they promoted regionalism while the Burschenschaften championed the cause of a united Germany, the "Gross-Deutschland." However although the Landmannschaften may have been based upon regionalism their much more cosmopolitan attitude is borne out by examples such as Landmannschaft Scotia in Tübingen of their international viewpoint as opposed to the furvent nationalism of the Deutsche Burschenschaften.

The ideological differences amongst the various factions of the Schlagende Verbindungen have not changed their function within German society: that of academic associations which fill the need of young academics for community. However, the Corps do differ from the other fencing fraternities in that they, because of the strata of German society from which they have historically drawn their members, have an additional bond, that of a common acceptance of traditional conservative beliefs. The Corps is a "Gemeinschaft" in which the individual finds fulfillment within the community as a contributing part, working toward the good of the whole.
The co-operative individualist partakes and uses the group to promote his own individual ends while the individual communitarian works for the group and by losing himself in that community finds his fulfillment. "Belonging is the most crucial end for the communitarian; it scarcely arises for the co-operative individualist." (40, p. 357) But neither is the fulfillment of the individual found by the submission of his identity to, nor his becoming a part of, an authoritarian machine.

Observers find that modern industrial society tends, even in democratic countries, to be a "mass" society in which men are pushed, shoved, stamped, and molded into the proper combination of docility and fanaticism. Under totalitarian conditions these tendencies are made thoroughgoing actualities: the remaining primary ties to community and family are ripped asunder, the variabilities and uniqueness of individuals and groups are brutally liquidated, and what remains is a mass of atomized robots subject to the arbitrary command of the all-powerful state. (34, p. 56-57)

The totalitarian machine of Nazi Germany attempted and failed to enact "mass healing" of the wounds inflicted upon Germany by liberal individualism through mass culture. The fine balance between individualism and communitarianism can not be realized in "mass" society
with its gross indifference to the human need for identity. On the other hand, the attitude of the co-operative individualist who views society as a plurality of individuals in contact with one another out of a self-centred motive does not satisfy the individual's needs and aspirations to become more than the human animal.

The danger for man lies in only finding himself as an individual and failing to find himself as more than himself, as part of a communal whole. (40, p. 342)

The Corps of the Schlagende Verbindungen provide this 'belonging' for their members. The integration of new members is a key function of these fraternities. It is through membership within these communities that a Corpsbruder can find himself as a member contributing to something beyond his immediate self. Left to his own devices he would fail miserably and not be able to fulfill his personal needs not to mention the innumerable "wants" which individualism tends to spawn.

Within the security and identity provided by the family and community, the individual is unable to master the anxieties and frustrations of technological society .... Modern society thus loses the social cohesion, which is the prerequisite of the search for the good society (Ibid., p. 349)
These needs are met and satisfied by the fraternity community and the Leibfamilie of a Corps, thus providing the individual with the security and identity necessary for him to function well within modern society. Such requisites can not be fulfilled by the passing acquaintances of mass technological society nor can they by the estrangement of the individual from his community and family brought about by the Industrial Revolution and liberal individualism. Thus, a Corps of Schlagende Verbindungen is a community of individuals working toward the benefit of one another through service and membership in a fraternal community based upon the principles of individual communitarianism.

Ich würde, wenn ich heute wieder auf die Universität käme, auch heute noch in ein Corps gehen. Kein anderes Band hält so fest wie dieses.

Fürst Bismarck Hannoverae Göttingen
am 27, April 1895.
As has been previously stated each Corps has its own identifying colours which are worn by its members at fraternity functions. Not only the set of colours, usually three, but also the order in which they appear is of significance. For example, the green, white and black of Corps Saxonia zu Hannover is not the same as the black, white, and green of Corps Rheno-Nicaria zu Mannheim und Heidelberg. How are these colours worn? Let us start with the fraternity cap or Mutze as it is called. The colour and style of hat identifies the Corps to which the wearer belongs. Corps Guestphalia of Munich has the same colours as the Corps Rheno-Nicaria but the Guestphaliae cap is black while that worn by members of Rhena-Nicaria is white.

The band or ribbon is the predominant identification symbol. It is worn at all fraternity functions including the Mensur. The colours are described as from top to bottom when correctly worn from right shoulder to left hip as by most orders. Some of the Baltic nationalist fraternities in protest of the Teutonic Order, wear their colours from
left to right, thus differentiating themselves from the German Baltic Korporationen.

The ribbon is fastened together over the right shoulder by means of a large metal button. This bears an inscription stating the date upon which the member was accepted as a Krassfuchs, as well as his name, and that of his Leibbursch who gave it to him.

The Zipfel is constructed much like a watch-fob, from ribbon of the Corps' colours. A silver shield placed around the center of the fob bears the Corps insignia and an inscription. The Bierzipfel, or largest size of zipfel, is presented to the Leibfuchs by his Leibbursch upon his being accepted as a Corpsbruder. Weinzipfels, the next size, are exchanged between Corps brothers or with members of other Corps, to commemorate special shared experiences such as a unique trip or semester of study together.

The smaller Schnapszipfel is a rare exchange and is regarded as a token of high respect and deep friendship between two Corps brothers who have spent their active fraternity lives together. The last is the Sektzipfel and is presented by a Corpsbruder to his fiancee giving her the status of Coleurdam, thus awarding her, as the female half of the marital union, all possible respect, help and,
if needed, protection, which a fraternity brother would afford his own sister.

The Zirkel or Corps insignia is a series of joined and superimposed letters, which give the initials of the Corps and usually one of the Latin salutations, such as "vivat crescat floreat". This Zirkel is used as part of a Corps brother's signature and is also incorporated in the fraternities coat-of-arms and inscribed on gifts exchanged between fraternity members.

The uniforms worn by the Chargen at official functions, known as Chargenwicks, take their form from that of the light Cavalry, particularly the Hussars, during the Napoleonic Wars. (71, p. 86) The colours of the Wicks are naturally dependent upon those of the Corps. This uniform includes riding boots, (full Wellington style) riding pants, gloves, sash, and parade-sword with cavalry scabbard and sling.

These all harken back to the free-Corps, Lützow, and the War of Liberation, when the Corps supplied so much manpower to fight the nationalist expansion of Napoleonic France.

The rest of the membership have uniforms dependent upon the protocols of the particular Corps. However, the general practice is that foxes wear jackets of a
different colour than that of the Chargen omitting the riding boots and parade sword etc. The C.B.'s and i.a.C.B.'s generally are identified merely by their band and hat.

In short, these few symbols of identification illustrate ties with the past, an autonomous status within the realm of academic fraternities as a whole, the Leibfamilie bond, and exchanged tokens of friendship and love. The amount and quality of human sensibility involved with these relics, demands, by nature, that such a community must be highly integrated and self-reliant.
APPENDIX TWO

QUESTIONS OF THE DARMSTÄDTTER STUDY AND RESULTS

1. Do Corps students have personal advantages through membership? (results graphed)
   (Yes - No)

2. What is the influence of Corps membership on studies? (results graphed)
   (Hindering - Helpful)

3. What is the relationship of Corps members to each other? (results graphed)
   (Indifferent - Friendly)

4. The relationship and attitude of Corps students toward women is both natural and normal -- 70%.

5. The Mensur is aggressive and non-constructive to the building of a sense of community -- 67%.

6. The alcohol consumption of Corps students is higher than average -- 80% affirmative.

7. The internal organization of a Corps is authoritarian -- 71%.

8. The attitude (Geisteskaltung) and viewpoint of Corps students is dogmatic -- 72%.

9. The political stand of Corps students is Rightist in orientation
   
   Manheim University - 67%
   Darmstadt Technical College - 77%
   Darmstadt Highschool - 83%
Bild 1: Haben Corpsstudenten durch ihre Mitgliedschaft persönliche Vorteile?
(Do corps students benefit personally through their membership?)
Bild 2: Einfluss der Mitgliedschaft im Corps auf das Studium.

(The influence of membership in a Corps upon academic studies.)
Bild 3: Beziehungen der Mitglieder untereinander.

(Relationship of Corps members to one another.)
BIBLIOGRAPHY


40. Preece, R.J.C. *Political Animal But ...* 1975 manuscript -- forthcoming publication.


PERIODICALS AND JOURNALS


GERMAN TEXTS


GERMAN JOURNALS