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Governing through nature: camps and youth movements in interwar Germany and the United States

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Focusing on youth camp development in Germany and the United States during the interwar period, this article argues not only that such camps played a crucial role in the ways in which national societies dealt with their youth, but also that their history forces us to rethink relations between place-making, nationhood, and modern governing. First, the article addresses the historiography of youth movements in relation to current debates about spatiality, nationalism, and governmentality. The main part of the article examines organized camps, in particular by the German *Bünde*, the *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler Youth), and the American Boy Scouts, focusing on their transition from relatively spontaneous activities of particular social movements, to objects of professional design, national-scale planning and intricate management in the interwar period. This development demonstrates how in the seemingly trivial activity of camping, nationalism is interwoven with the project of conducting youth through contact with nature. Despite divergent contexts and political ideologies, youth camp development in this period constituted a set of practices in which the natural environment was deployed to improve the nation's youth, and to eventually reproduce them as governable subjects.

Keywords: camps • governmentality • interwar Germany • interwar United States • youth movements

Introduction

On 11 October 1913, more than two thousand young Germans came together on the *Hobe Meißner* hills near Kassel to set up camp. This event, which became famous under the name *Erste Freideutsche Jugendtag* ('first free German youth day') brought together members of a variety of youth movements, all of which had emerged over the previous two decades. One of the main organizers was the *Wandervogel* migratory movement ('bird'), an association of bourgeois youth from Steglitz near Berlin, which had begun to undertake regular hiking and camping trips in the nearby region. Officially established in 1901, it rapidly instigated a nationwide movement of splintering and heterogeneous groups, loosely united by the idea of an unbound experience of nature, and by a critical attitude towards what they saw as the cultural problems of adult society.¹ Situated in the context of bourgeois anxieties in a rapidly urbanizing and industrializing nation, this 'back to nature' impulse was not necessarily reactionary: it was conceived as a search for a new modern and more authentic German culture.² The sites for this spiritual search were the nation's natural and historic landscapes, yet it was the organized collective camping trip – symbolized by the *Hobe Meißner* gathering – that

provided the means to experience there. As such, youth came to be cast as the vanguard of a more 'natural' national culture that would reform German society.

Around the time German youth movements established a camping tradition, youth camps in the United States emerged within an entirely different context. After his travel to Britain where he learned of the British scouting movement, Chicago publisher W.D. Boyce founded the Boy Scouts of America in 1909 with the support of the YMCA.³ Like the British, the American youth camps had an immediate success and quickly became the essential means to attain the movement's objectives – individual character building, citizenship training and self-improvement.⁴ Already in 1908 Baden-Powell called the Scout movement 'a school of citizenship through woodcraft.'⁵ At this time however, taking youth into the outdoors was not an entirely new practice in the United States: YMCA camping trips, as well as private summer camps – notably in New Hampshire – had been organized since the mid-1880s.⁶ Their organizers were motivated by the desire to remove children from the perceived dangers and 'moral corruption' of the city, a theme that continued to guide them throughout the Progressive Era.⁷ Nevertheless, with the enormous popularity of the Boy Scouts of America, a different motivation gained prominence, one that was supported by a novel rhetoric of generosity and generality: 'The great aim of the Boy Scouts of America is to make every boy scout a better citizen. It aims to touch him physically – in the campcraft and woodcraft of the outdoor life in order that he may have strength in after days to give the best he has to the city and community in which he lives, as well as to the nation of which he is a part.'⁸ For the millions of participating young individuals, the activities of the youth camp – hiking, putting up tents, preparing food in the open, playing games, listening to camp fire stories, trails and so on – offered unabashed excitement and adventure away from school and parents.

These brief episodes demonstrate the variety of ideologies and contexts that led different national youth organizations at the beginning of the 20th century to collectively venture into nature. Why were these groups attracted to experiences of nature? Which forms of subjectivity and collectivity did these experiences invoke? And how did this affect the relationship between youth and the larger society of which they were a part? In spite of the ubiquity and triviality of youth camps in contemporary culture, I aim to reveal its historical and theoretical significance. In this article, I will argue not only that camps play a crucial role in the ways in which national societies have dealt with their youth, but also that this ubiquitous activity forces us to rethink relations between place-making, nationhood, and modern governing.

Despite important points of divergence, national youth movements across the Atlantic were held together by a common set of social activities, many of which revolved around the experience of the youth camp. Through common practices such as hiking, scouting and setting up camp in the natural landscape, these voluntary associations – established on a national scale and gradually under the aegis of the state – linked meanings of adolescence and youthfulness to experiences of nature, while evoking feelings of community, nation and/or citizenship. Rather than re-examine the nationalist ideology and nation-building purposes of these youth movements, however, this article focuses instead on the role of their spatial techniques and methods. Specifically, I am concerned with the social practice and the designs of youth camps, as they provided the framework for the central formative experience of youth across the Atlantic. By comparatively examining the development of German

and US youth camps in the period between the world wars, I aim to understand the contradiction between their national particularities and their overriding significance to construct meaningful connections between youth, nation, and nature.

The article begins by addressing the historiography of youth movements in relation to theoretical debates about spatiality, nationalism, and governmentality. In a second and third part of the article, I examine youth camps, respectively in Germany and the United States, from their emergence until the beginning of the Second World War. I focus on their transition from relatively spontaneous activities of particular social movements, to objects of professional design, national-scale planning and intricate management. This allows me to analyze the youth camp as a consciously shaped social practice and as a built environment with a particular internal logic and organization. The article concludes by recapitulating how the youth camp, despite the divergent conditions in which it emerged, is embedded in a regime of relations between nature and society – constructions that serve as sources of modern power and means for governing.

Spatiality, Nationalism, and Governmentality

Historical study of youth movements is complicated not only by national cultures of history writing, but also by the question of what defines ‘youth’ and ‘movement.’ Their history tends to be divided along two axes, which correspond to differing political ideologies and to nationally defined areas of study.

Much scholarly attention has been directed towards Germany, where a ‘fin-de-siècle culture of adolescence’⁹ and the imaginary of youthful individuals roaming freely in the natural landscape were generally understood as a reaction to the problems of a rapidly industrializing society. Such studies tended to conceptualize youth movements as spontaneous associations of unbounded individuals in the context of a cultural critique against the perceived falsities of bourgeois society. Despite the fact that several confessional organizations for young individuals already existed in Germany and other countries – such as the Young Men’s Christian Association – the German youth movements were perceived to be the first in that they were organizations ‘for youth, of youth and by youth.’¹⁰ This view is legitimated by a specific sociological conception of a social movement as a voluntary association of free individuals, distinguished from hierarchically organized or ‘ideologically oriented’ social groupings. As such, youth movements have entered history as a typically German phenomenon, or at least a phenomenon that originates in Germany.¹¹ A logical consequent step has been to align this uniqueness with a more general German exceptionalism, marked by the specter of National Socialism and the rigidity of its teleology. As such, a central question was whether the *völkische*¹² ideology of many German youth movements meant they were direct predecessors of the fascist *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler Youth), or whether they remained (innocent) organizations malignly appropriated by the Nazi regime.¹³ While this approach has undoubtedly enabled an subtle understanding of the historical continuities between the prewar, the Weimar and the Nazi periods, it has also cast modern German history, and the history of its youth movements, as incomparably different from others.

Other groups of scholars have diversified this history by focusing on different youth movements, mainly from the perspective of national politics and political ideology. Such studies

contrast with some of the previous renderings in that they describe national youth movements as hierarchically organized and controlled 'from above.' Questioning the previous definition of youth movements, they have focused on institutionalization, and have revealed youth organizations' disciplinary tendencies, nation-building ideologies, military provenance, and social agenda. The main focus here has undoubtedly been the scouting movement: the imperialist agenda of the British Boy Scouts, the religiously inspired reform efforts of the *Scouts de France*, and the character-building ideology of the American movements.¹⁴

This historiography reflects a dichotomy in theoretical approaches to the subject: either youth movements are defined as emancipatory movements – be they subsequently hijacked – or they are cast essentially as disciplinary institutions with an agenda of social control, pacification or reform. Admittedly, more recent scholarly work has provided a more nuanced rendering of the power relations involved in youth movements, demonstrating among other things: how masculinity is constructed and normalized in the American scouts movement;¹⁵ how the radical political ideologies of the *Hitlerjugend* appealed to adolescents in search for certitudes and attracted by adventure and escape from an often confusing social world;¹⁶ how Italian fascism effectively eliminated, through organized leisure, 'any meaningful distinction between force and consent';¹⁷ how conflicting agendas of social reform nevertheless gave French working-class children the opportunity to experience vacations without sorrow.¹⁸

While these historical studies have been remarkably successful in uncovering the complex histories of various youth movements, further historical research, so I argue, would benefit from a more conscious engagement with notions of locality, place, and the built environment. Despite the very located character of these movements' everyday activities, geographical notions have figured only marginally in the historical accounts.¹⁹ Recently, scholars have begun to address this by focusing on the 'cultural landscapes' of various youth organizations. The historical study of American summer camps by Abigail Van Slyck is particularly important in this respect, since it offers a pioneering account of how their designs were shaped by middle-class anxieties about modern childhood development, gender roles, class tensions and race relations.²⁰ Nevertheless, even in this excellent study the youth camp remains a 'peculiarly American phenomenon' and in general, the bulk of existing studies continue to use the built environment as an illustration – albeit a salient one from time to time – for the sake of a story that is 'naturally' located at the national level. Yet, the fact that the youth camp emerges as a located practice and spatial form in many Western nations during the first half of the 20th century, calls for an alternative approach. Led by the persistence of youth camps across national and ideological boundaries, and the lack of spatial analysis in its current historiography, this article therefore focuses on comparing the youth camp developments of two national movements that have been particularly prominent in terms of camp development – namely Germany and the United States.

In what follows, I examine their spatiality by focusing on camp development, techniques and design, and on cultural constructions of place and nature. I have relied mainly on visual representations and experiential descriptions for reconstructing this spatial history – leaflets, publications, plans, and drawings by the youth movements themselves, photos collected by others, and secondary sources. Despite these limitations, I have attempted to transcend the representational realm of these sources, and have taken up the recent call for studying actors and sites of what has been called 'geographical practice.'²¹ Hence, I will focus on youth

movements' desired inter-actions with the natural landscape, and on the performance of identity through everyday activities in the outdoors, rather than on iconography of landscape or representations of nature.²² This focus on spatiality does not entail spatial determinism: as a architectural technique, the youth camp both emerges from and produces social practices that set up multiple relations of power. Consequently, rather than simply categorizing the youth camp as an inherently repressive or liberating spatial form – either because of its formal descent from the military encampment and its disciplinary character, or because of its location in 'unspoilt' nature and its consequent arousal of free-spiritedness – I aim to understand its ambiguous role in the social construction of youth and nature.

A focus on spatiality in the debate on national youth movements entails first of all a theoretical exploration of the relationships between nationhood, locality, and the everyday practices of place-making. Over the past few decades, historians and geographers have done crucial work to rethink these relationships, primarily through the notion of nationalism. In reaction to global and theoretically-oriented studies such as by Gellner, who aimed to explain the emergence of nationalism as a social consequence of modern industrial and bureaucratic organization and thus understood its formation primarily as structured from above, subsequent studies – following Hobsbawm's critique of Gellner – have emphasized the role of the everyday in the formation of nationalism.²³ While Anderson's landmark study revealed the crucial role of print capitalism and vernacular cultures of literacy in the emergence of a national 'imagined community', Billig has emphasized the role of the mundane in the nation's representation and reproduction.²⁴ Rather than illustrating nationalism through local practice, more recent studies have aimed at a better understanding of the relations between the local and the national, either through the social construction of geographical scale,²⁵ or by examining the ways in which various geographies actively construe nationhood.²⁶ As such, scholars have demonstrated the way in which the interchangeability of place, the regional and the national assures the reproduction of nationhood.²⁷ Against the subordination of localness to nationhood, they have emphasized another kind of local, one that 'continues to live, in the era of nationhood, no so much outside the national, but beyond and alongside it.'²⁸ Still others have focused on the role of particular places and significant sites in the production of nationalism, through processes of monumentalization.²⁹

Building upon this previous work, which has undoubtedly served to reframe our conventional notions of nationhood and locality, I argue that the temporary character of youth camps – be they permanently constructed and only temporarily inhabited, or temporarily constructed and moved around during the hike – increases the importance of place-making in the production of nationhood to such an extent that the latter's finality can be called into question. By this, I mean that in the youth camp – a highly ephemeral practice of place-making – nationhood serves as a means and not necessarily an end in the constant social enactment of togetherness. Questioning the fact that the nation is the conscious or unconscious goal of the individual subjects or social movements, I argue therefore against the view that the national imaginary provides 'an imagined space where the attainment of a fully satisfying goal (in our case, a nation) is perceived as "not too far away"' and thus 'provides the imaginary grounds on which individuals are symbolically constructed as purposeful (because hopeful) and meaningful nation builders.'³⁰ Rather than a reciprocity between nation and self, the spatio-temporal practice of youth camping suggests that nation-building is but one of

several backgrounds against which subjectivities are formed in this process. Hence, rather than focusing solely on these movements' overt nationalist symbolism – the raising of flags, the anthems, the surface display of bodies and uniforms, the relentless representations of national identity – I concentrate on the everyday performance of hiking and camping.³¹ This does not mean youth camps should be understood as beyond nationalism, but rather that the nation is but one – be it central – means through which these practices becomes socially meaningful.

To comprehend the youth camp at once as a space produced by voluntary members of a local movement, and as a spatial form referring directly to the nation-state, theories of nationalism do not suffice.

I will therefore employ an additional theoretical framework. Because its premise is to understand power beyond, yet in relation to, the nation-state, I use the notion of governmentality. In the context of his 1978–79 courses at the Collège de France, Michel Foucault developed this notion as a neologism of *gouverner* and *mentalité*, in order to express the entanglement of practices of rule and regulation with the development of forms of rationality and knowledge production. Understanding the term beyond its institutional political meaning as the working of the modern state, Foucault defined governing as 'the conduct of conduct.' As such, governmentality points at the techniques and rationalities involved in both governing the self and governing others. Exactly this ambivalence is what links subjectivity and state formation, and allows the analysis of governing as a continuum from political government to forms of self-control, or what Foucault has called 'technologies of the self.'³² In response to the evocative yet fragmentary state in which Foucault's theory remained at the time of his death, scholars in many fields have further developed governmentality as a central notion for the analysis of power in modern society.³³ One of the main innovations of this approach is that it allows modern rule to be understood outside of the realm of the state. Power can thus be conceptualized as moving across society and being exercised in heterogeneous institutions and subjects. As such, it is not located in or characteristic of a certain body, but constitutes a set of practices occurring on particular sites.

Despite the enormous potential this offers to examine diverse geographies of power, the majority of governmentality studies have remained theoretically focused on vertical structures, and on the modern state. On the one hand, there is a thrust of historically oriented studies, mainly of the 19th century, which have illustrated the role of control, state surveillance, and discipline – not necessarily limited to total institutions such as prisons, but also including more dispersed spaces of moral, social, sanitary, and medical reform. Because these studies have largely focused on state elites directly aimed at reforming populations, the abnormal, the colonized or the working-classes, non-state and more horizontal or dispersed forms of governing have been relatively marginalized.³⁴ On the other hand, studies dealing with the more contemporary period have concentrated on realms in which the state, while withdrawing some of its direct engagements, nevertheless is shown to have an indirect hand.³⁵ This focus is due to the predominance of a presumed 'neoliberal regime,' as a result of which the diversification of sites of governing to include non-state institutions and milieus is assumed to be a unique trend that only emerges with the global economic restructuring in the 1970s.³⁶ Consequently, taken as a whole, the governmentality literature not only suffers from an

insufficiently historicized analysis of the relations between the state and various other actors and institutions, but also narrows the potentials of its own approach in that it has left the agency – as far as assignable – with the state. The study of interwar youth camps – initially established in the realm of civil society and only subsequently co-opted the state – offers the possibility to address some of these shortcomings by emphasizing the spatial production of associational life.

Finally, drawing from the notion of governmentality, I will address the role of nature in the construction of youth camps. Rutherford demonstrates that within the geographical literature the main focus has been on examining the governing *of* nature – the ways in which nation-states, subjects, and transnational groups and corporations examine, speak for and attempt to regulate nature.³⁷ Less attention has been given to the role constructions of nature and natural landscapes play in conducting individuals and governing societies. Despite some attention to the formation of a new ‘environmentalist subjectivity,’ the use of (constructions of) nature for governing has not been central to current research. To determine how exactly the natural environment is deployed to such ends, it is necessary to examine more closely the everyday practices of relating to nature. The historical examination of youth camps that follows, allows the focus to shift from the governing *of* nature, to governing *with* or *through* nature.

Making camp: practicing *Gemeinschaft* in the German landscape

Of all the emerging youth organizations in Germany around the turn of the 20th century, the bourgeois *Wandervogel* movement had the strongest emphasis on the individual’s transformative encounter with nature. Such ideology of nature found expression not only in the rhetoric of its foundational texts, such as Hermann Hoffmann’s ode *Hoch das Wandern*,³⁸ but also in the movement’s various magazines and newsletters, in which natural landscapes were often depicted as sublime backdrops for the individual’s panoramic appropriation.³⁹ Nevertheless, despite ideological differences with other German youth movements at the time – including the socialist *Naturfreunde* (‘nature friends’) organization and the rightwing *Pfadfinder* (‘track finders’, Germany’s scouting movement – the *Wandervogel* movement resorted, like all of them, to collective experiences of nature.⁴⁰ It is in particular through the organization of collective hiking and camping trips that many youth movements in prewar Germany were able to find a common ground. Through collective gatherings such as the *Erste Freideutsche Jugendtag* in 1913, the German youth movements expressed their cultural and political intentions: hiking and camping were not only to arouse feelings of natural beauty, but also, the love for the natural landscape as a national *Gemeinschaft* (community).⁴¹ Despite, or rather because of, its ephemeral nature, camping allowed an active domestication of place. As such, the natural environment could be experienced as a *Kulturlandschaft* (‘cultural landscape’) in which a harmony between nature and *Gemeinschaft* was assumed. As pointed out by many historians of modern Germany, the concept that allowed this transfer across spatial scales was that of the *Heimat* (homeland), which at once signified the locality, the region and the nation.⁴²

In the years following World War I, in stark contrast with the elite character of the prewar *Wandervogel* movement, and under the influence of international scouting movements that intentionally recruited from the lower middle-classes, the German movements gradually entered the domain of an emerging mass culture.⁴³ This corresponded with the emergence of a new organizational structure, the *Bünde* (unions). These were nation-wide organizations consisting of local groups that were largely autonomous. In contrast to the prewar movements, these newly formed groups instigated a resolute move away from the individual reform philosophy of the bourgeois *Wandervogel* movement, towards an ideology of communal life.⁴⁴ Rather than seeing their gatherings as an ephemeral collection of free individuals, its members now acknowledged lasting forces binding together individualities in permanent group structures. This new sociality of the *Bünde* was seen as an antidote to the anonymity and class divisions of modern capitalist society. Throughout the 1920s, the *Bünde* became increasingly organized, and while continuing the prewar activities of hiking and camping, they now structured these communal experiences around customs and rituals, which were often adopted from other youth movements. Uniform dress code, an attribute that was previously considered too militaristic, became common practice after the adoption of the uniform blue shirts and red neckerchiefs of the Austrian *Rote Falken* (red falcons) group. The strict discipline of the British Boy Scouts also became a major influence: the *Bünde* took over the commandments and the 'good deeds' from international Scoutism and the *Pfadfinder*.⁴⁵ Thus, while the German youth movement assumed a more disciplined approach under this international influence, it also invoked a more rigid communal spirit in overtly national terms.

Contrasting the free unregulated movements, unstructured dancing and naturalist body culture of the *Wandervogel*, but retaining their sensibility for folklore and intimacy, a more hierarchical understanding of communal experience – based on discipline and a sense of duty towards the collective – gained ground. It is under this influence that the *Bünde* transformed the ephemeral camping practices cultivated by the *Wandervogel* into well-prescribed customs and events: the weekly *Fahrt* (short excursion), the yearly *Große Fahrt* (a two week hiking trip) with the *Zeltlager* (communal tent camp), and the rallies featuring sportive competitions between the different *Bünde* became well-known and popular activities in German public life. Walther Riem's *Deutsches Lagerhandbuch* (*German Camp Guide*), a three-volume pocket guide to setting up and managing camps, reveals the increasingly important role of youth camps in German society. The guide was aimed at all German youth organizations and describes in great detail the organization of youth camping: the different kinds of camp layouts, tent forms and their internal organization, communal facilities, kitchen logistics and sanitary requirements, but also camp games and stories, knotting and bird-watching, pedagogical and community building techniques, and so on.⁴⁶ While being entirely recreational and festive, these social practices were also disciplined, reproducible, and standardized, and they became central to the operation of these movements throughout the 1920 and early 1930s.

During this period, many of the *Bünde* were motivated by a rightwing *völkische* ideology – the idea that the German race was one large community or *Volksgemeinschaft* ('folk community') transcending existing party and class lines.⁴⁷ Whether or not these youth movements directly strengthened or partly resisted the rise of National Socialism is beyond the scope of this article. What is certain is that the NSDAP's seizure of control in 1933 and the subsequent *Gleichschaltung*⁴⁸ which included the youth movements, had devastating effects on the German

youth, who could now be indoctrinated through these already established associations.⁴⁹ The political goal of the *Hitlerjugend* was to supply a form of pre-military education exclusively for German boys, who were prepared either for direct incorporation into the army, or for a political career in the new *Reich*. Despite these militaristic and totalitarian ambitions, and the regime's official attempts to remove from these previous movements all influences deemed bourgeois or un-German,⁵⁰ the *Hitlerjugend* took on many of their existing social practices: the *Zeltlager*, the *Große Fahrt*, the campfires and the hiking continued to be central to the *Hitlerjugend* organization.

In the Nazis' attempts to mobilize the German youth as a vanguard for the expansion of the *Reich*, the youth camp was used as an essential instrument: 'Every youth leader knows the community-building power of the camp, he knows that, without camp education, modern youth edification as aligned to the national-socialist imperial idea is barely conceivable.'⁵¹ Despite the fact that the youth camp continued to be a temporary installation of tents, as inspired by earlier social practices, it was carefully reformed and designed by the National Socialist regime. Aimed primarily at boys, the experience of camping during two or three weeks in the summer was to leave an imprint of specific values, and was considered the ideal place for them to take the ritual step towards manhood: 'In the camp, mummy's boys learn to be independent, and weaklings are strengthened. The camp is the most beautiful dream for a young person.'⁵² In an attempt to control the experience of young camp goers, the National Socialists prescribed the minutiae of camp design and management in official manuals.⁵³

Youth camp designs were directly inspired by the image of the medieval German village. The representation of a tight collection of equal building forms was translated into the orderly arrangement of tents, similar in size and form. This formal unity symbolized the social cohesion of a desired organic community of German boys. The relation of a 'natural' formal order with a desired social structure was further achieved in the prescriptions of the anthropomorphic camp layout, the *Feierstätte* (place for gatherings and festivities) functioned as head, the flag pole as heart, and the boys' tents as limbs of the corporeal organization (see Figure 1). The tents were designed as an arrangement of similar units, with in the center – like the image of the cathedral in the medieval village that served as its inspiration – the camp flag. This image of the body politic combined organic communality with military order, something which was also reflected in the official social ranking of the group.⁵⁴ The *Feierstätte* symbolized this militaristic-communitarian organization: the communal space was constructed not as a circle, but as a theatre, in such way as to communicate the inner opposition of community and symbol, obedience and leadership.

To strengthen the participants' feelings of community, the camp was to be fenced and gated with a symbolic entrance structure (see Figure 2). This was a formalization of customs that already existed in the 1920s *Bünde*.⁵⁵ While this construction did not have a direct military purpose, its aesthetic association with defense strategies suggested the unity of the camp community, and would psychologically prepare the boys for their future military duties. The closed character of the camp as a limited world of experience was further enhanced by explicit prescriptions: nobody was allowed to leave the camp under any circumstances, and parental visits were only allowed on one special day. The organization of the ideal camp was not considered compatible with an open door policy: 'Nothing is more annoying for the orderly

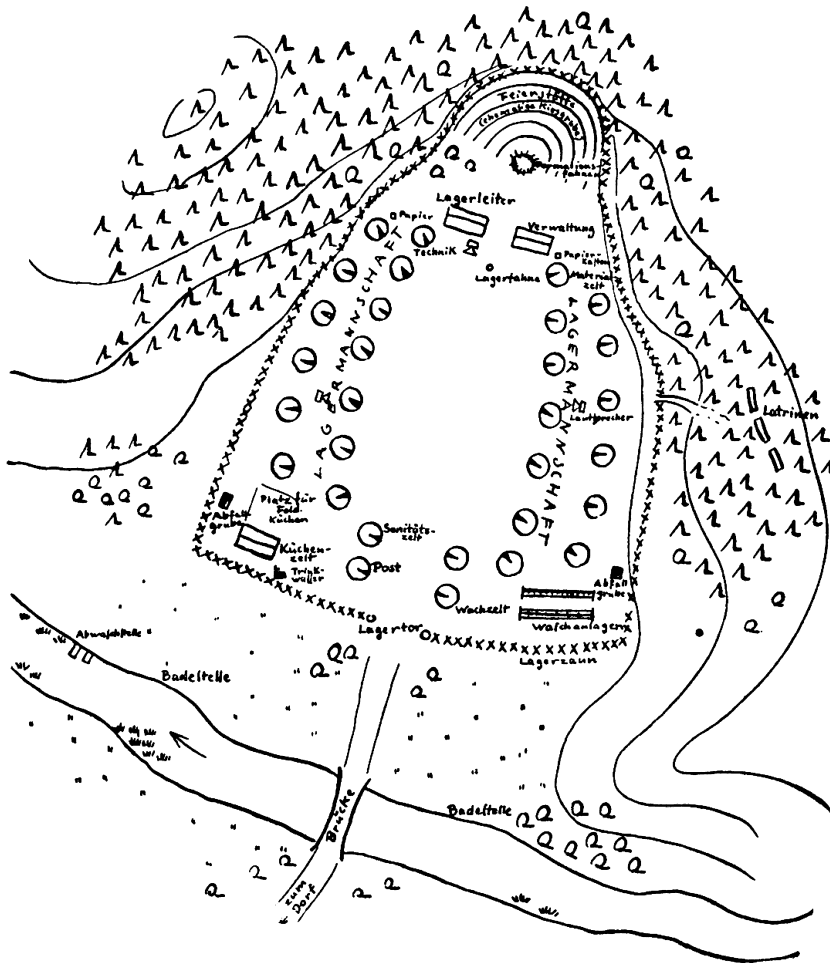


FIGURE 1 Ideal plan of Hitlerjugend tent camp (1937). From: Claus Dörner, *Freude Zucht Glaube – Handbuch für die Kulturelle Arbeit im Lager*, im Auftrage der Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenger Verlag, 1937), p. 17.

operation of the large summer camp, than having unexpected spectators in the camp.⁵⁶ This rule was supposedly implemented to impress the parents about the orderly nature of the camp, but hardly concealed the regime's intention to limit both parental control and outside influences, and as such to amplify the impact of the camping experience on the young boys.

Order in perception was the fundamental principle of the naturalistic arrangement (see Figure 3): 'We must cluster similar tents in groups and create, through separation, the curving perspectives, concentration and loosening, a balance that pays respect to nature.'⁵⁷ In a similar vein to the German *Autobahn* (highway), which was to be 'organically' embedded in the natural landscape so as to meld German tradition with rapid modernization,⁵⁸ the youth

As Thomas Lekan has recently pointed out in his history of German environmentalism, from the end of the 19th century various social movements in Germany had begun to gather around the preservation of landscapes and the experience of nature as a means to foster a stable national identity in a time of unparalleled industrialization and rapid social change. These organizations – in particular the *Naturschutz* (nature-protection) and *Heimatschutz* (homeland-protection) movements – were characterized by a rightwing nativist mentality, which led them to be taken up easily by the National Socialist regime with its ‘blood and soil’ ideology.⁶¹ Despite the *Hitlerjugend* leaders’ vision of an ‘organic’ coexistence of man and nature in the youth camps, in practice the natural environment often served as an amenable resource more than a well-respected living entity. For instance, the *Vorschriftenbandbuch* (instruction manual) considered a careful siting of the camp in the landscape essential to its success. As such, it prescribed that after dismantlement, the temporary camp was to leave no traces in the existing landscape.⁶² This thoughtful attitude towards nature conservation however contradicted camp design prescriptions, which included heavy wooden fencing and a dug-in gathering ring requiring large displacements of earth and the consumption of considerable amounts of wood. These were nevertheless conceived of as simply reversible actions in an otherwise unchanging natural landscape.⁶³

To the meticulous design prescriptions corresponded a precise choreographing of the camp’s social activities, all of which served to instill specific qualities in the individual boys. Cleanliness, discipline, obedience and manliness were the fundamental values of what was called the ‘cultural labor’ in the camp. These were inculcated through a strict daily schedule. The boys’ day started with a morning washing session, and the raising of the flag. This was followed by a small breakfast and plenty of outdoor activities, the most important among which were fighting games and hiking trips. Whereas fighting games served the obvious purpose of muscular fitness and pre-military training, the hike – which was distinguished from the military march – was of a more ambiguous nature. The leaders of the *Hitlerjugend* defined hiking through the landscape in clear opposition to its previous meanings associated with the bourgeois *Wandervogel* movement: ‘We, members of the *Hitlerjugend*, have nothing in common with that view which comprehends [the youth movement] only as a selfish existence, an enjoyment, a romantic way of life, a quiet daydreaming that is unworldly and therefore against the people. (...) The hike, our trek, is for us part of our *Hitlerjugend* duty and therefore, duty to Germany. Our hike is thus purposive and bound to the land.’⁶⁴ While such rhetoric was of course part of the larger aim of the National Socialist regime to profile itself as the alternative to bourgeois capitalism and class tension, it also engaged youth as a vanguard in its political project.

The *Hitlerjugend* hikes were goal-oriented and served ultimately as an exercise for the eventual expansion of the German Reich: ‘The important problems for the future of the German border area will always remain merely theoretical if [the German boys] do not actually experience this borderland.’⁶⁵ This idea, which was evoked in propaganda photographs showing *Hitlerjugend* boys at the Eastern border of Germany (see Figure 4), demonstrates more than the symbolic and physical appropriation of the German landscape as racially defined *Heimat*. The importance of the hike lies in its use as a pedagogical technique. In correspondence with the Nazi notion of *Heimatkundliche Schulung* (homeland education)⁶⁶ – for instance the camp fire stories about German battles of the nearby region which aimed to strengthen



FIGURE 4 Propaganda photo of Hitlerjugend at the Eastern German border (1938). From: Reichsverband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen, Ilse Mau & Albert Oberstadt. *Fahrt – Erlebnisberichte deutscher Jungen und Mädchen* (Berlin, Wilhelm Limpert Verlag, 1938), no page number.

the boys' feelings of attachment to the temporary *Heimat* of the camp landscape – the hike figured as a form of 'geographical practice' aimed to demonstrate Nazi *Lebensraum* (living space theory).⁶⁷ More generally, such practices correspond with Nazi tourism to the poorer regions of Eastern Europe, which, as demonstrated in Baranowski's recent study of the popular leisure organization *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy), sharpened racially grounded perceptions of Germany's higher 'standard of living' and thus its racial superiority, and allowed the Nazi state to underscore its claim to the disputed territories in the East.⁶⁸

Despite the liberating experience of camping as it was practiced decades earlier by the *Wandervogel* movement, and the adoption of elements from this tradition in the *Bünde* and subsequently by the Nazi regime, the *Hitlerjugend* camp functioned undoubtedly as a disciplinary space, carefully planned and managed with the aim to reproduce politically instrumental subjectivities – in this case amenable, dutiful, nationalist and anti-Semitic German men. Yet at the same time, the youth camps were heavily supported by many willful German boys who looked forward to adventurous romping in the outdoors, and who were mesmerized by the highly ritualized displays. The *Hitlerjugend* camps – with their 'organic' layouts and symbolic entrance gates – should thus be understood as *attempts* to reshape the German youth, and to unify its members from different classes. Nevertheless, as historians and witnesses have pointed out, this social unity was a goal rather than a reality: despite the regime's efforts to transcend class by fostering racial bonds, working class and middle class youths in the Hitler Youth 'were very often at each others' throats.'⁶⁹

In spite of the intense and highly developed nationalist content of the *Hitlerjugend*, the analysis has shown that fostering nationalist sentiment was an important yet not the only principle of the regime. Before the 1933 *Gleichschaltung*, the larger part of the German youth movements were already aligned with nationalist ideas – and nature was for them the privileged means to be truly German. Yet their engagement with and appropriation of nature was a constant process

that constituted a means of conducting oneself and others in a socially useful way. The *Hitlerjugend* built upon these already established practices in the elaboration of its political project. As such, despite the regime's attempt to forge an 'organic' relationship of its youth with the natural landscape, the camps did more than represent a national *Heimat*; they came to figure as strategic instruments in the project of governing the national population.

The summer camp: producing happy Americans in the wilderness

Just like their German counterparts, the American youth movements – of which the Boy Scouts of America was the most significant, both in numbers and cultural influence – envisaged camp life as their foundational experience. Yet, the American youth organizations responded to a different nature, and to different nationally defined attitudes to the natural environment. Rather than adopting European practices of communal camping, the Boy Scouts of America developed outdoor activities in the context of the distinctly North-American notion of wilderness. Whereas older generations of scholars tended to cast wilderness as the given reality upon which Americans constructed their identity, more recent scholarship has revealed the fundamentally unnatural character of wilderness by emphasizing the multiple ways in which it is constructed – whether through the planned removal of human inhabitation, the physical interventions that allowed it to be experienced or the changing knowledge and practices of preservation and conservation.⁷⁰ The American youth movements entered in this process of constructing wilderness at a moment when, right after the 'closing of the Frontier,' wilderness became generally recognized as invaluable to the nation, intellectuals began to associate it with the sacred and the sublime, the conservation movement brought about its transformation into a national park system, and Indians were removed from it through law, manipulation and force.⁷¹ The camp development plans of the Boy Scout of America bear witness to these environmental changes and cultural shifts.

Initially, the modern American youth camp was inspired by the tradition of the summer camp, organized since the 1880s by confessional organizations, social reformers, and institutions for private schooling.⁷² Aimed at the desire for reform, in which nature formed the principal frame of reference, these summer camps were permanent settlements consisting of simple tents or log cabins, loosely distributed over uncultivated land, without the comfort of the city but in relative proximity to it. When soon after its establishment the Boy Scouts of America began to draw up camp plans, it adopted the general concept and layout of these earlier summer schools. This can be discerned in one of the surveys made of early Boy Scout Camps, drawn up by its members in 1919 and later on published by the movement's Department of Camping (see Figure 5).⁷³ The camping environment that can be reconstructed from this map is a settlement of simple barracks. Located at a distance from the communal facilities – an office, an infirmary, a tent for preparing food and a storehouse – were the boys' sleeping cabins.⁷⁴ The base of the 'camp director' and the 'scouts master' were both located at a considerable distance from these. This spatial layout – the arrangement of informally distributed entities on open terrain and the location of the controlling agency outside the center of the arrangement – corresponds to that of the early summer camps, which

the mental and physical development of the boys. The 1927 Boy Scouts of America publication *Camp Site Development Plans*, and in particular its *Camp Divisional Plan* (see Figure 6), aptly demonstrates these influences. First of all the proposed youth camp continues to adhere to a number of military-inspired designs and themes, despite the explicit denial on the part of the Boy Scout movement of espousing any sort of military ideology after the First World War.⁷⁸ Apart from the visual resemblance in the proposed architecture of gates, watchtowers and defensive fencing, and the fondness of disciplinary time schedules, this plan proposed a radical division of the camp into ‘troops or patrol units’ assigned to distinct areas for training and exercise. To these militaristic principles, the guidebook adds a layer of American national themes from a still recent yet already imagined Frontier history: ‘Each division is responsible for its specific activity as applies to the entire group. The Seascouts look after the safety of swimmers and boating. The Indians entertain with ceremonies and camp fires, while the Pioneers are the mainstays in construction work in their particular unit, and any general improvements which need to be made about the camp.’⁷⁹ While such references certainly strengthened feelings of American identity, the proposed plan was also geared towards conducting the boys by means of the camp environment. The division of the camp population into small groups that would be assigned a particular program of activities reflected this instructive rationality.

While being imagined as an uncultivated wilderness, the actual role of nature in such designed environments was not so much to supply a sublime ‘wilderness experience,’ but

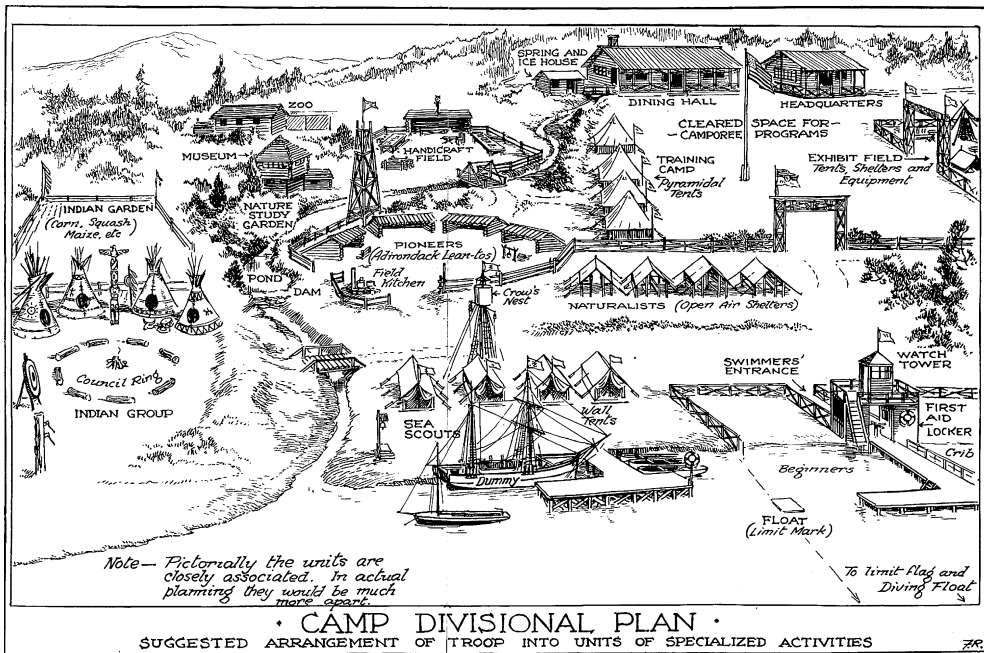


FIGURE 6 From: Boy Scouts of America, *Camp site development plans* (New York, Boy Scouts of America, 1927), p. 3.

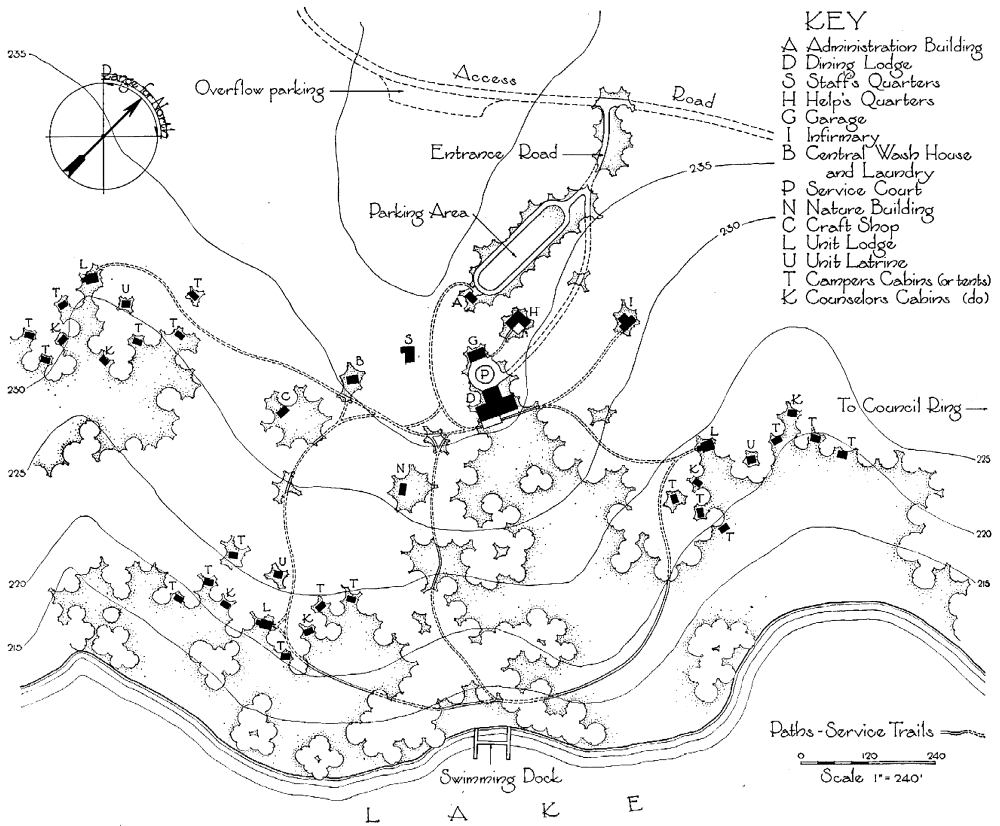
rather to achieve pragmatic pedagogical goals – to turn boys into men, and girls into women. For the boys, romping and playing in the outdoors would give self-control, strength and a sense of freedom, indispensable qualities for becoming a well-functioning and self-assured adult. The girls, collected under a separate but related organization, the Camp Fire Girls, were guided by a woman-at-home ideology: under mottos like ‘Seek beauty,’ ‘Glorify work’ and ‘Give service,’ its activities in the outdoors would, paradoxically, bring the girls crucial values for future domestic life. Such gender-specific pedagogical principles found their origins in 19th century back-to-nature ideas, in American primitivism, and in concurrent societal concerns about masculinity. Maynard has described the evolution of the early summer camps in this context, characterized by the rise of ‘the outdoor movement’ and ‘the standardization of boyhood by grown-ups’ at the end of the 19th century.⁸⁰ Underlying such attitudes was a widespread fear of the effeminate, directly associated with urbanity, its dangers for ‘overcivilization,’ and moral degeneration.⁸¹ The 19th century back-to-nature movement aimed to counter this perceived loss of masculinity by linking manliness directly to nature. The ruggedness of the late 19th century summer camps and the rusticity of its architecture translated these gender-defined reform ideologies. Nevertheless, while the Boy Scout movement was certainly inspired by such earlier ideas, the modern youth camps of the 1920s were guided by a more comprehensive pedagogical motivation, in which girls had an equally important place and expanded the social meanings of nature and the outdoors. This new pedagogical rationale was aimed at a whole specter of middle-class Americans and was meant to assure the reproduction of societal roles based on gender – not unlike in contemporary Germany.⁸² What is perhaps distinctly American in these camp developments then, was the deployment of the natural environment as an element in modern recreation. In contrast to the German camp, in which a more disciplinary attitude towards the boys defined the relation with the natural surroundings, the American camps conducted the boys by fostering ‘free’ recreation. Thus, apart from the exploration of flora and fauna, considerable time was allotted to sports, swimming and other forms of modern leisure that were being developed around the time. In the 1927 camp development plans, this is reflected in the elaborate guidelines for the construction of waterfront facilities, aquatic slides, diving platforms and springboards.⁸³

Altogether, the camp layouts conceived by the American Boy Scouts in the 1920s responded to the American ‘wilderness’ with a type of camp that combined the reform tradition of the summer camp, the rational division of the military encampment, the imagery of the American Frontier, and the pedagogical principles of character building – all while inventing a hugely popular modern recreational environment for America’s emerging middle-classes. Nevertheless, despite its detailed guidelines for camp design, the Boy Scouts of America was a voluntary organization lacking the power to implement them, and depended largely on outside support for the development and management of its camps. Whereas before the 1920s camping facilities in the United States were not very widespread and still privately owned and organized, the thriving 1920s saw the construction of numerous public and municipally run camps, providing facilities for the fast-growing youth organizations.⁸⁴ These newly constructed camps were much larger and became the subject of modern planning techniques. In this context, increasing attention was given to standards of hygiene: ‘When what we now call, ‘Camping’, was the everyday life of the pioneer, the question of sanitation was comparatively

simple. (...) With the present day camp consisting of a population of fifty to a thousand or more campers, the subject of sanitation in all of its phases takes on a very broad and complicated aspect.⁸⁵ Despite the continued adherence to rustic appearance of tents and log cabins, the camps gradually became subject to modern infrastructural techniques and technologically more advanced design such as modern toilet facilities and drainage.⁸⁶

The increase in scale and level of planning continued in the 1930s, when the design of camps became part of New Deal policies to provide recreational facilities for middle-class America. Around this time many natural areas in the United States were being identified for conservation, and camp planning and management shifted from being local, private concerns to becoming officially administered by the federal and state governments. The new camps implemented under guidance of the National Park Service did not cater only to youth movements, but served more generally as collective recreational facilities for individuals and families 'sponsored and supervised by some character-building, educational, welfare, or other organization.'⁸⁷ Nevertheless, youth movements remained the primary users of these camps, and the National Park Service created design guidelines in which the Boy Scouts of America, the Y.M.C.A., and other youth organizations had an advising role.⁸⁸ Whereas these federally initiated camps – now increasingly in the hands of professional experts – became ever more modern, both in terms of comfort and the management of the natural environment, their architectural designs continued in the rustic tradition set by the earlier camps. The ideal layout now became standardized into a 'typical plan,' which continued to consist of separate clusters of tents or cottages (see Figure 7). The new camp was accessible by car, and the gated entrance road led to a central area, which contained the camp's main facilities: the main administration building and communal facilities such as the dining hall, kitchen, infirmary, recreation hall and storage building. From there, different paths led to the unit clusters and the recreational facilities such as the lake, swimming pool, and campfire ring. This camp layout, like the Boy Scout layouts before, was derived from an imagination of the nation's past. Whereas *Hitlerjugend* German camp designs were inspired by imagery of the Medieval German village, the contemporaneous American camp layouts evoked the 'invented traditions' of Indians and Pioneers. The design of log cabins recalled the 'rustic' construction techniques of Pioneers (Figure 8), whereas the social activities and organization of the camp addressed Native American culture as it was known and imagined during this period.

The instrumental use of Native-American themes for child development goes as far back as E.T. Seton's Woodcraft Indians, a youth organization founded in 1902 to introduce boys to Indian customs.⁸⁹ During the 1920s and 1930s, Indianness became one of the central themes for the development of the social activities in the American youth camp.⁹⁰ Stories adopted from Native-American mythology, such as 'Blackfeet Indian Stories' and 'Pawnee Hero Tales,' were translated into social practices through dramatization and dressing up; games whereby a group of pioneers is to deliver food supplies to another pioneer who is besieged in a camp by a tribe of Native Americans, served a similar function.⁹¹ Their rationale was stated in the Boy Scout handbook: 'The Indian legends are our American folk lore. The romance in them is universally appealing. Their setting is that of our own country. The trails of their adventure and romance linger upon the trails where we set our feet today.'⁹² Indianness and outdooriness became symbolic realms for locating the essence of Americanness. As Philip Deloria, Shari Huhndorf and Susan Scheckel have demonstrated, for the past



A LARGE ORGANIZED CAMP ON A LAKE-FRONT SITE

FIGURE 7 Camp layout as proposed in typical plans of the National Park Service (1938). From: Albert H. Good, *Park and recreation structures, Part III – Overnight and organized camp facilities*, United States National Park Service (Washington, DC, Department of the Interior, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 116.

centuries Americans have needed Indians in order to define themselves as Americans.⁹³ Unlike the Indian references of the preceding centuries, which helped to emphasize American identity negatively, the new Indianness of the Boy Scout camps was of a more ambivalent nature: fashioned as an ancient culture, and dissociated from the actual struggles of Indians fighting to get access to their native lands now turned nature reserves, Indian customs were now articulated by the youth movement as a temporary resolve from capitalist urban America, and as a means to foster desired American manhood.⁹⁴ Indian ceremonies, sleeping in teepees, and learning to canoe would help bring young white boys back to the land, and turn them into patriotic Americans.

As Van Slyck has demonstrated, this supposedly primordial Indian culture – subordinated in order to create a newly 'original' American identity – was aimed to guide the personal development of the young white camp goers.⁹⁵ At first sight, the adoption of Indian themes reflects

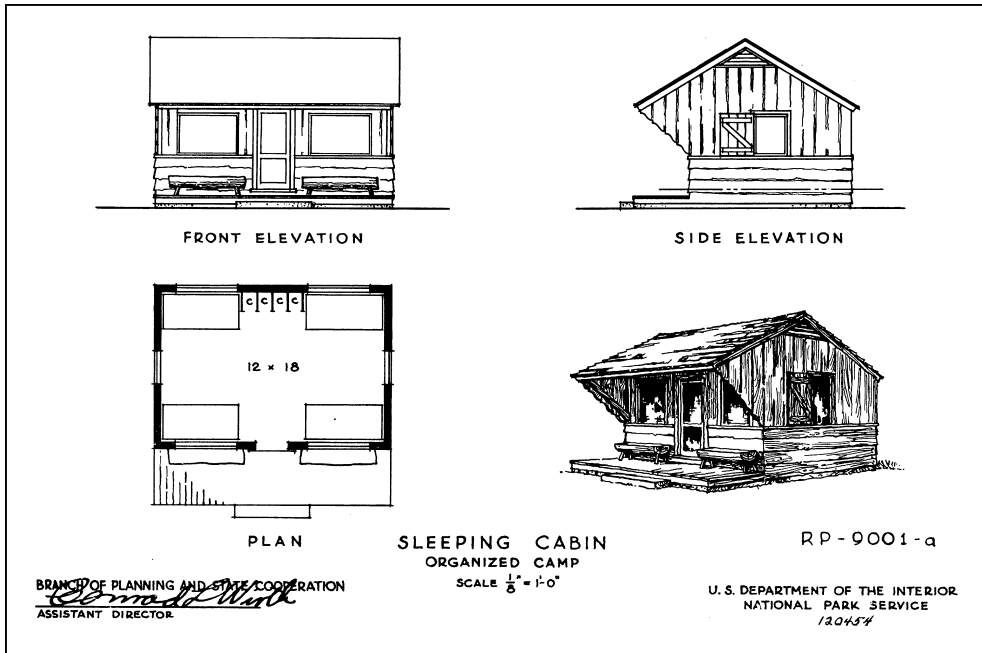


FIGURE 8 Sleeping cabins as proposed in typical plans of the National Park Service (1936). From: United States National Park Service, *Typical layout studies for an organized camp* (1936), no page numbers.

a concern with national symbols and community building: ‘Organized camps arranged in units are somehow analogous to the villages of certain nomadic Indians, wherein the placing of tepees acknowledged groups within a group, and provided fixed positions for related families which were always reassumed in each new encampment.’⁹⁶ Yet, the rhetoric accompanying these modern camp guidelines hardly disguised its underlying pedagogical rationale: ‘Camps laid out in units allow for the variations that exist in all human beings. In children’s and young people’s camps, a breakdown into small units permits a logical grouping of campers of the same age and physical ability, similar interests and experience. In these small groups children and adolescents are given the opportunity to find themselves, while in ‘mass camping’ they experience a hardly avoidable regimentation and a sensation of being lost in the world.’⁹⁷ The camp layout was thus meant to allow for intimate experiences of nature while maintaining the possibility for collective gatherings. In these plans, Indianness did more than to foster American values or identity; by seamlessly combining it with modern child psychology and management techniques, it served the larger purpose of guiding the formation of modern youth.

A recurring feature of the camp as developed by the National Park Service was the ‘council ring,’ built to accommodate campfire meetings and story telling events (see Figure 9).

Inspired by a similar combination of Indian references with modern attitudes towards camp development, this communal space tended to be located away from the children’s sleeping arrangements. Despite slight differences in the location of the council ring in boys’ and girls’ camps, as illustrated by Van Slyck,⁹⁸ American youth camps tended to articulate this communal space as

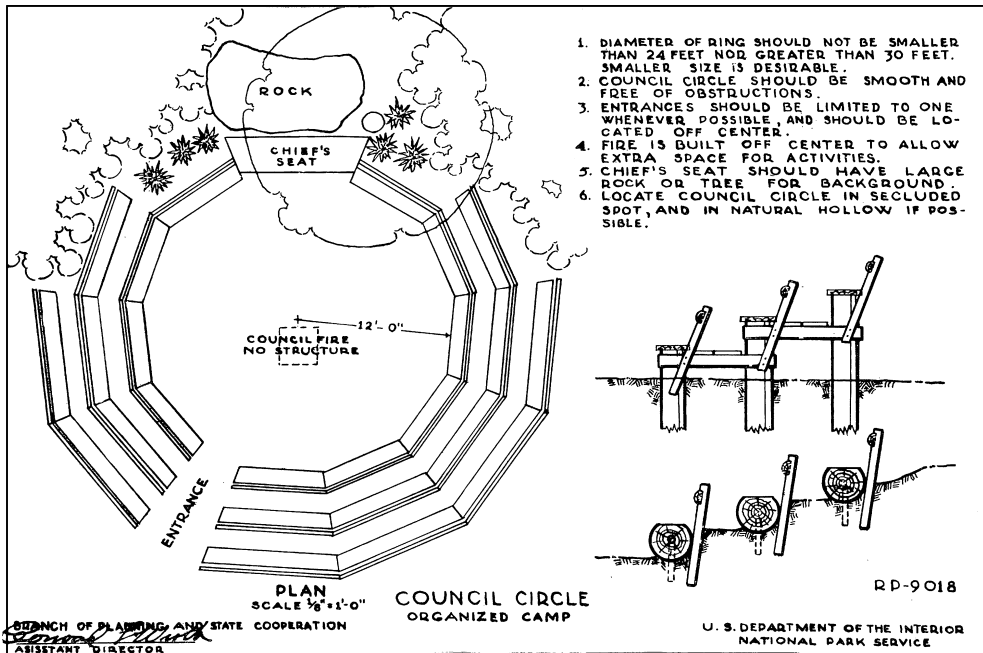


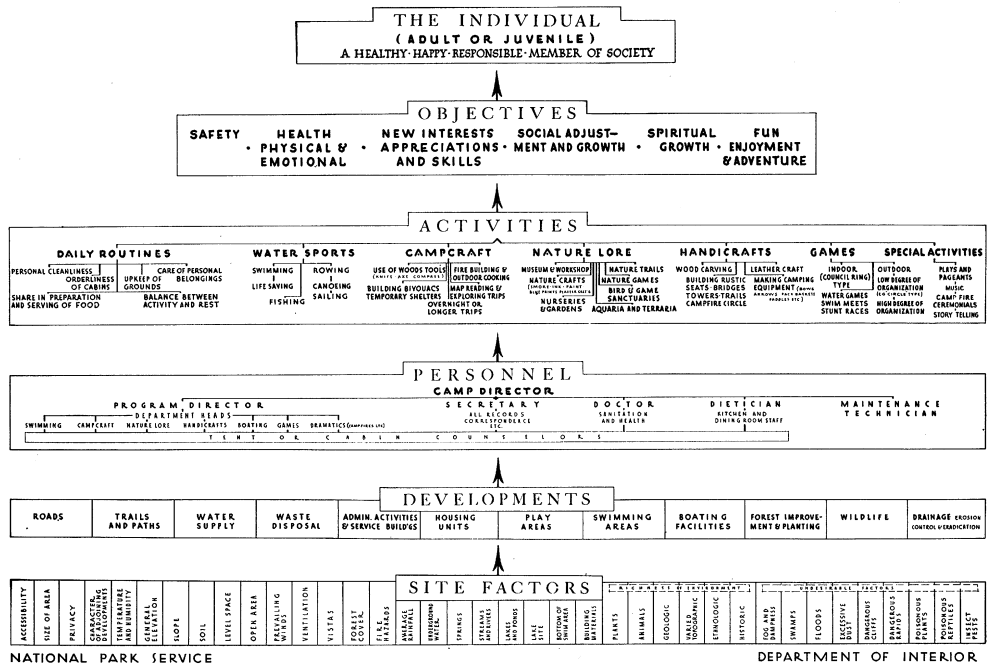
FIGURE 9 Council ring as proposed in typical plans of the National Park Service (1936). From: United States National Park Service, *Typical layout studies for an organized camp* (1936), no page numbers.

a secondary element, rather than as the central feature of the camp. As such American camps articulated a specific attitude towards the collective in which a representation of communal power was avoided: in contrast to the German idea of a racial bond strengthened through the innate relation of a *Volk* (people) with the land, the North-American camp was conceived as an intimate yet open gathering of individuals whose recreational freedom and contact with 'wilderness' would instill a vague sense of Americanness.

While the outdoor activities shaped by such design features certainly aroused feelings of American national pride, they also aimed to introduce specific personal values and skills to the participants. Proverbs such as 'The boy scouts knows how to start a fire without matches, for he knows the secret of the rubbing sticks used by the Indians' or 'A scout, like an old frontiersman, does not shout his wisdom from the housetops'⁹⁹ promoted the values of resourcefulness, self-reliance and masculine humility. Despite their different cultural packaging, these values were clearly inspired by the British movement.¹⁰⁰ As the American groups adopted and modified certain values of their British counterparts to fit distinctly American moulds of citizenship and belonging, an important reference remained the duty to the country: 'A scout is a patriot and is always ready to serve his country at a minute's choice. (...) He desires a strong body, an alert mind, and an unconquerable spirit, so that he may serve his country in any need.'¹⁰¹ Despite the fact that such values of self-control and individual autonomy served the goals of national government, a Boy Scout was meant, fundamentally, to 'govern his own conduct, and this is considered fun, not work.'¹⁰²

The US National Park Service ‘Chart Illustrating the Factors Involved in Locating, Developing and Operating an Organized Camp’ (see Figure 10) graphically demonstrates this rationale. The chart lists the factors that have to be taken into account for the design and management of a camp, the ultimate goal of which is the production and sustenance of ‘healthy happy responsible members of society.’ The necessary elements to attain this goal arranged vertically according to their function. At the top of the list are social factors such as personnel and facilities; towards the bottom, the ‘natural factors’ that are considered foundational for a well-functioning youth camp. This representation effectively summarizes how the natural environment is implicated in the project of governing the nation’s youth. What distinguishes this endeavor from that of the earlier bourgeois attempts to morally reform children through contact with nature – as evinced by the 19th-century summer camp – is not just its scale, nor its scope of operation, but the intricate connections it establishes between a healthy youth, a salving nature, and a well-governed nation: the Boy Scouts’ youth camp demonstrates how the larger project of modern governance – which in the United States came to center around the creation of happy self-governing members of society – operates *through* nature, by means of natural resources and environments.

CHART ILLUSTRATING THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN
LOCATING, DEVELOPING, AND OPERATING AN ORGANIZED CAMP



Conclusion

In this article I have examined how throughout the first half of the 20th century, national youth movements of different ideological stripe developed the youth camp as their central pursuit. The analysis of German and United States youth camps has shown how national youth movements became concretely attracted to experiences of nature, how they constructed environments and cultural meanings of nature, and how the social practices of the youth camp came to figure as practices of conduct and control. The ideological differences between German and US youth movements, the divergent rhetoric of their leaders, and the contested meanings of camping have demonstrated that it is not a singular spatial technique, but a heterogeneous set of practices in which multiple relations of power interact.

Youth movements in various Western nation-states during this time were tied to the ideologies of nationhood, coinciding with the gradual extension of national citizenship to the young individual.¹⁰³ The natural environment took a prominent place in the translation of these ideologies into social experience: for the German movements, the natural landscape was the ground upon which ideas about racially defined community and nationhood could be exercised; for the US movements, nature functioned as the pragmatic background for training self-governing citizens. Despite the fact that these organizations were not directly linked to the state (before 1933 in Germany at least), they assumed responsibilities that were conventionally considered the domain of the nation-state: the education of young citizens, their social unison, and the civic justification of the nation. As such, the camps developed by these movements functioned both as spaces of freedom – recreational freedom from parental authority, from school, and from the problems and constraints of everyday life – and spaces of formation, normalization and disciplining – to create well-functioning citizens or national(ist) subjects. Eventually, during the 1930s, when youth movements had already gained in scale and public prominence, they became more closely linked to the state. Admittedly, this took place in starkly different political constellations: whereas the Boy Scouts of America continued to be a voluntary organization – sponsored by the state which supplied its facilities – to educate children to become autonomous and self-controlling individuals in a liberal society, the *Hitlerjugend* was a fascist institution aimed at the formation of disciplined racist subjects prepared for warfare. Yet, despite these differences both movements brought youth in contact with nature, both deployed the natural environment to advance political and societal goals, and in doing so, both aimed at reproducing youth as governable subjects, amenable to the ideology and success of the nation-state.

My analysis of German and US youth camp development has concerned a reframing of relations between place-making, nationalism, and modern governing. Whereas the cultural meanings of nature as evoked in the youth camp are widely diverse – the German *Kulturlandschaft* versus the American idea of Wilderness – and dependent on divergent political conceptions of national citizenship and belonging, the techniques of governing youth in the national context relied unequivocally on experiences of nature as generated in the youth camp. As such, rather than as a set of nationalist symbols, this article has located the significance of the youth camp in the temporary and participatory character of place-making it involved. This process made it possible to simultaneously educate youth, to regulate its conduct, and to discipline its behavior, all while stimulating liberating contacts with nature. This does not imply

that the national content of these youth camps is irrelevant to the project of governing youth, nor that we should simply replace our theories of nationalism with governmentality theory. Rather, I hope to have demonstrated that youth camping entails a spatio-temporal process in which nationhood constitutes an element in the larger project of governing youth, through contact with nature.

By comparing youth camps situated in ideologically divergent contexts, the analysis has aimed to complicate the analysis of power in the process of place-making. Whereas the early German youth movements originated as 'free' movements in reaction to existing society, they nevertheless evolved into nationalist movements that set the stage for the disciplinary organization in the 1930s. The United States youth movements, in contrast, originated from the military practice of scouting but nevertheless aimed at the formation of free, self-governing citizens. As a process of place-making the youth camp, was instituted both as a result of authoritarian powers of persuasion and control, and the consent and participation of hundreds of thousands of young individuals in 'free' contact with nature. This freedom cannot be understood in opposition to discipline, since it is an element in the service of governing.¹⁰⁴ While the 'innocent' experiences of nature recreation in the American youth camp contrast with the discipline in the *Hitlerjugend* camp, in both cases they contribute to a political regime of conducting selves and others in highly regulated ways.

The meticulously planned youth camps of the *Hitlerjugend* and the *National Park Service* did not simply utilize cultural meanings of nature to further the values of citizenship and national belonging; they deployed the natural environment itself to mobilize youth, and to eventually reproduce them as governable subjects. As such, they fundamentally embedded nature in the modern project of governance, which can be understood here as arising in the concrete connections between environments – natural and built – and social organizations – including but not limited to the state. The social practice of camping during the interwar period thus demonstrates how nationalism and governmentality are intricately interwoven with the natural environment.

Biographical note

Kenny Cupers holds a professional degree in architecture (KULeuven, Belgium) and an MA in Photography and Urban Cultures (Goldsmiths College, London), and has worked as an architect and urban planner in Berlin and London. He is the author of *Spaces of uncertainty* (with M. Miessen, 2002), an investigation of leftover spaces in Berlin and their importance for understanding contemporary public space. He is currently a PhD candidate at Harvard University (Cambridge, MA) with a dissertation on modern housing and the invention of the everyday user in postwar France. He can be contacted at: Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, Gund Hall, Room 417c, 48 Quincy Street, Cambridge MA02138, USA; email: cupers@fas.harvard.edu

Notes

¹ The history of German youth movements in this period is characterized by institutional instability and various splits between different groups, among which are the *Wandervogel*, *Alt-Wandervogel*,

- Jung-Wandervogel*, *Steglitzer Wandervogel eV*, *Wandervogel deutscher Bund*, and *Bund für deutsches Jugendwandern eV*. For a graphic representation of the spread of the *Wandervogel* movement over Germany, see W. Kindt, ed., *Die Wandervogelzeit: Quellenschriften zur deutschen Jugendbewegung 1896–1919 – Archiv und Dokumentation der Jugendbewegung* (Düsseldorf & Köln, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1968), pp. 1072–3.
- 2 Early interpretations of the youth movement, such as by Engelhardt and Grube, already envisaged it as a search for a new modern, and at once more authentic German culture. This corresponds with Lekan's recent history of German environmentalism, which puts forward the argument that the various movements advocating the preservation of German landscapes were characterized by an utterly modern attitude towards change, rather than a reactionary impulse. See T. Lekan, *Imagining the nation in nature: landscape preservation and German identity 1885–1945* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2004); V. Engelhardt, *Die deutsche jugendbewegung als kulturhistorisches phänomen* (Berlin, Arbeiter-Jugend Verlag, 1923); K. Grube, *Zur charakterologie der deutschen jugendbewegung* (Halle-Wittenberg, Philosophischen Fakultät der Vereinigten Friedrichs-Universität, 1929); W. Mogge et al., *Fokus wandervogel: der wandervogel in seinen beziehungen zu der reformbewegungen vor dem ersten weltkrieg* (Marburg, Jonas Verlag, 2001).
 - 3 E. Rowan, *To do my best: James E. West and the history of the boy scouts of America* (Las Vegas, Las Vegas International Scouting Museum, 2005).
 - 4 For the ideology of the British Scouting movement, see R. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for boys* (London, C. Arthur Pearson, 1908); J. Springhall, *Youth, empire, and society: British youth movements 1883–1940* (London, Croom Helm, 1977); R.H. MacDonald, *Sons of empire: the frontier and the boy scout movement 1890–1918* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993); M. Rosenthal, *The character factory: Baden-Powell and the origins of the boy scout movement* (London, Collins, 1986).
 - 5 R. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for boys* (London, C. Arthur Pearson, 1908).
 - 6 See B.W. Maynard, "‘An ideal life in the woods for boys’: architecture and culture in the earliest summer camps", *Winterthur portfolio* 4(1) (1999), pp. 3–29; D. Macleod, *Building character in the American boy: the boy scout, YMCA and their forerunners 1870–1920* (Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); A. Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness: summer camps and the shaping of American youth, 1890–1960* (Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press, 2006). One primary source has stated that the first YMCA camp took place in 1885 in the state of New York. See Georgia State Planning Board in cooperation with the United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, *Report on organized camping in Georgia, prepared as part of the park, parkway and recreational area study*, February 1940, p. 41.
 - 7 See, for example, D. Cavallo, *Morals and muscles: organised playgrounds and urban reform, 1880–1920* (Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). In 1920, when the summer camp was long recognized as a beneficial factor of 'character building,' the New York Community Service asserted: 'It is always difficult to picture adequately what our little city child feels when he is whisked as though he were on the proverbial magic carpet from the sordid environment of the city to the exalting contact of the glorious outdoors.' See, Community Service (Incorporated), *Summer camps municipal and industrial* (New York, 1920), p. 14.
 - 8 Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for boys* (32nd Edition) (New York, Boy Scouts of America, 1925), p. 11.
 - 9 J. Neubauer, *The fin-de-siècle culture of adolescence* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992).
 - 10 W. Laqueur, *Young Germany: a history of the German youth movement* (London: Transaction Books, 1962).
 - 11 This perception dates at least as far back as the 1930s: 'The Youth Movement is so essentially German that it would be justifiable to typify the Germans as the people with a youth movement...', in R. Apel et al., *German youth in a changing world* (Berlin, Terramare Office, 1933). After the Second World War, this perception continued in popular histories. See J.H. Knoll and J.H. Schoeps, *Typisch deutsch: die jugendbewegung, beitrage zu einer phänomengeschichte* (Opladen, Leske+Budrich, 1988).

- ¹² Völkisch, which would translate as ‘ethnic,’ folksy or folkloric, refers to the German interpretation of the populist movement, which had strong ethnic and often racist undertones.
- ¹³ In his history of the German youth movement, Laqueur restricts his periodization to the 1933 *Gleichschaltung*, thereby clearly dissociating ‘free’ youth movements from the totalitarian *Hitlerjugend*. In contrast, Mosse traces the ideology of the Third Reich back to the early German youth movements, which he sees as predecessors to the Nazi ideology. Unlike Laqueur’s, Stachura’s history of the German youth comprises the entire period 1900–1945, but in opposition to Mosse, he clearly distinguishes the group loyalty of the 1920s *Büüdische Jugend* from the mass regimentation of the *Hitlerjugend*, thereby rejecting the former’s role as precursor. Wolschke-Bulmahn investigates the military rituals in the *Wandervogel* movement, restoring a sense of ideological continuity between pre- and post-war German youth movements. More recent histories covering the *Hitlerjugend* tend to focus on the larger question as to whether the German population willfully consented or actively resisted the Nazi regime. In this vein, Michael Kater’s recent account offers a balanced view of the *Hitlerjugend*, arguing that the majority of German youth fell for and backed Hitler enthusiastically, while a small minority vigorously resisted. Other historical studies responding to this debate are the recent works by Gellately and Baranowski. See, W. Laqueur, *Young Germany: a history of the German youth movement* (London, Transaction Books, 1962); G. Mosse, *The crisis of German ideology: intellectual origins of the Third Reich* (New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1964); P. Stachura, *The German youth movement 1900–1945* (London, MacMillan, London, 1981); J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, ‘Kriegsspiel und naturgenuß – zur funktionalisierung der bürgerlichen jugendbewegung für militärischen ziele’, *Jahrbuch des archivs der deutschen jugendbewegung*, Band 16 (Burg Ludwigstein Witzenhausen, Stiftung Jugendbirg Ludwigstein und Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung, 1986–87), pp. 251–70; M. Kater, *Hitler youth* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2004); R. Gellately, *Backing Hitler: consent and coercion in Nazi Germany* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001); S. Baranowski, *Strength through joy: consumerism and mass tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- ¹⁴ See, J. Springhall, *Youth, empire, and society: British youth movements 1883–1940* (London, Croom Helm, 1977); R.H. MacDonald, *Sons of empire: the frontier and the boy scout movement 1890–1918* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993); M. Rosenthal, *The character factory: Baden-Powell and the origins of the boy scout movement* (London, Collins, 1986); D. Macleod, *Building character in the American boy: the boy scout, YMCA and their forerunners 1870–1920* (Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); P. Laneyrie, *Les scouts de france: l’évolution du mouvement des origins aux années 80* (Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1985).
- ¹⁵ J. Mechling, *On my honor: boy scouts and the making of American youth* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001).
- ¹⁶ M. Kater, *Hitler youth* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2004).
- ¹⁷ V. de Grazia, *The culture of consent: mass organisation of leisure in fascist Italy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 22.
- ¹⁸ L.L. Downs, *Childhood in the promised land: working class movements and the colonies de vacances in France, 1880–1960* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2002).
- ¹⁹ This can be explained both by the fact that the everyday spaces inhabited by these actors are relatively inaccessible in terms of historical sources, and by the fact that conventional historical studies have tended to focus on official institutions and national politics.
- ²⁰ A. Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006).
- ²¹ Building upon what has recently been coined ‘more-than-representational theory’ and upon recent work in the history and sociology of the sciences, Lorimer has developed such an approach by situating ‘geography’s power-knowledge relationships in the spaces and sites of their making.’ See H. Lorimer, ‘Telling small stories: spaces of knowledge and the practice of geography’, *Transactions of the institute of British geographers* 28(2) (2003), pp. 97–217; H. Lorimer, ‘Cultural geography: the busyness of being ‘more-than-representational’, *Progress in human geography* 29(1) (2005), pp. 83–94.

- ²² Despite the tendency in the notion of 'landscape' to overvalue the visual and the representational, I have been particularly inspired by Mitchell's and Matless' conceptualization of landscape 'as a verb,' and thus beyond representation. Following Matless in particular, I understand landscape as a mode of interaction with the natural environment in the formation of national, cultural and social identities. See W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and power* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1994); D. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London, Reaktion Books, 1998).
- ²³ E. Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1983); E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 11.
- ²⁴ B. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London, Verso, 1983); M. Billig, *Banal nationalism* (London, Sage, 1995).
- ²⁵ See A. Jonas, 'The scale politics of spatiality', *Environment and planning d: society and space* 12 (1994), pp. 257–64; E. Swyngedouw, 'Reconstructing citizenship, the rescaling of the state and the new authoritarianism: closing the Belgian mines', *Urban studies* 33 (1996), pp. 1499–521; D. Delaney and H. Leitner, 'The political construction of scale', *Political geography* 16 (1997), pp. 93–7; N. Brenner, 'The limits to scale? Methodological reflections on scalar structuration', *Progress in human geography* 25 (2001), pp. 591–614.
- ²⁶ For an overview of this literature, see R. Jones Rhys and C. Fowler, 'Placing and scaling the nation', *Environment and planning d: society and space* 25 (2007), pp. 332–54.
- ²⁷ See C. Applegate, *A nation of provincials: the German idea of heimat* (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1990); L. Appleton, 'Distillations of something larger: the local scale and American national identity', *Cultural geographies* 9 (2002), pp. 421–47; A. Confino and A. Skaria, 'The local life of nationhood', *National identities* 4 (2002), pp. 7–24.
- ²⁸ A. Confino and A. Skaria, 'The local life of nationhood', *National identities* 4 (2002), p. 10.
- ²⁹ See P. Jackson and J. Penrose, *Constructions of race, place and nation* (London, UCL Press, 1993); E. Kaufmann and O. Zimmer, 'In search of the authentic nation: landscape and national identity in Canada and Switzerland', *Nations and nationalism* 4 (1998), pp. 483–510.
- ³⁰ G. Hage, 'The spatial imaginary of national practices: dwelling-domesticating/being-extermimating', *Environment and planning d: society and space* 14 (1996), p. 478.
- ³¹ I have been inspired here by Gagen's analysis of the physical reform movement in the USA during the Progressive Era. Focusing on the production of scientific knowledge about child exercise and of physical education theory, she has revealed an individual and social reform attitude rather than a uniquely nationalistic program. See E. Gagen, 'Making America flesh: physicality and nationhood in early twentieth-century physical education reform', *Cultural geographies* 11 (2004), pp. 417–42.
- ³² See M. Foucault, *Naissance de la biopolitique: cours au Collège de France, 1978–1979* (Paris, Gallimard & Seuil, 2004); M. Foucault, 'Governmentality', in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller, eds, *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality* (Chicago IL, University of Chicago Press, 1991). For a succinct summary of Foucault's lectures, see T. Lemke, "'The birth of biopolitics": Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality', *Economy and society* 30(2) (2001), pp. 190–207.
- ³³ See N. Rose, *Governing the soul: the shaping of the private self* (London, Free Association Books, 1989); G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller, eds, *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality* (Chicago IL, University of Chicago Press, 1991); N. Rose, *Powers of freedom: reframing political thought* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999); M. Dean, *Governmentality: power and rule in modern society* (London, Sage, 1999); J.Z. Bratich et al., *Foucault, cultural studies, and governmentality* (Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 2003); S. Elden, 'Governmentality, calculation, territory', *Environment and planning d: society and space* 25 (2007), pp. 562–80.
- ³⁴ For a historical study of the 19th-century US federal state from a governmentality perspective, see M. Hannah, *Governmentality and the mastery of territory in nineteenth-century America* (Cambridge,

- Cambridge University Press, 2000). Even in the few attempts, such as by Rabinow, to move beyond the disciplinary institution, the spatial analysis of liberal governmentality has focused on elite and state-led urban reform practices. See P. Rabinow, *French modern: norms and forms of the social environment* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989). Huxley has begun to identify a more diverse set of spaces and practices of governing, in particular through what she calls a 'vitalist spatial rationality.' See M. Huxley, 'Spatial rationalities: order, environment, evolution, and government', *Social and cultural geography* 7(5) (2006), pp. 771–87.
- ³⁵ See M. Sparke, 'Political geography: political geographies of globalization (2) – governance', *Progress in human geography* 30(3) (2006), pp. 357–72. Rutherford in particular criticizes the predominance of state-centered analyses in geographical studies of governmentality, see S. Rutherford, 'Green governmentality: insights and opportunities in the study of nature's rule', *Progress in human geography* 31(3) (2007), p. 302.
- ³⁶ See the 2006 theme issue of *Environment and planning d: society and space*, with foreword by Larner. In particular the contributions by: T.D. Rutherford, 'Local representations in crisis: governance, citizenship regimes and UK TECs and Ontario local boards', pp. 410–13; and K. Mitchell, 'Neoliberal governmentality in the European Union: education, training, and technologies of citizenship', pp. 389–407. See also, G. MacLeod and M. Goodwin, 'Space, scale and state strategy: rethinking urban and regional governance', *Progress in human geography* 23(4) (1999), pp. 503–27.
- ³⁷ S. Rutherford, 'Green governmentality: insights and opportunities in the study of nature's rule', *Progress in human geography* 31(3) (2007), pp. 291–307.
- ³⁸ Hoffmann writes: 'Free is the bird, free is the song and free is the fellow who explores the world! Such venturing into the beautiful nature, over mountain and valley, that's what traveling really means!' ['Frei ist der Vogel und frei ist das Lied und frei ist der Bursch, der die Welt durchzieht! Solch Hinausziehen in die schöne Natur, über Berg und Tal, das heißt Reisen (...)!'], in W. Kindt, ed., *Die Wandervogelzeit: Quellenschriften zur deutschen Jugendbewegung 1896–1919 – Archiv und Dokumentation der Jugendbewegung* (Düsseldorf & Köln, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1968), p. 24.
- ³⁹ Many such pictures of natural landscapes can be found in *Der wandervogel – zeitschrift des bundes für jugendwanderungen* and other such magazines, between 1900 and 1914. Wolschke-Bulmahn has examined the ideas and representations of nature in the *Wandervogel* movement. See J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, *Auf der suche nach arkadien: zu landschaftsidealen und formen der naturaneignung in der jugendbewegung und ihrer bedeutung für die landespflege* (München, Minerva Publication, 1990), pp. 33–62.
- ⁴⁰ The ideology of nature of the German youth movements was never unilateral, and scholars have examined these differences by studying the role of nature experience in socialist and other youth movements. See G. Gröning and J. Wolschke, 'Soziale praxis statt ökologischer ethik – zum gesellschafts und naturverständnis der arbeiterbewegung', in *Jahrbuch des archivs der deutschen jugendbewegung*, Band 15 (Burg Ludwigstein Witzenhausen, Stiftung Jugendbirg Ludwigstein und Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung, 1984–1985), pp. 201–52; W. Erdmann and J. Zimmer, *Hundert jahre kampf um die freie natur: illustrierte geschichte der naturfreunde* (Essen, Klartext Verlag, 1991); D. Günther, *Wandern und sozialismus: zur geschichte des touristenvereins 'die naturfreunde' im keiserreich und in ber weimarer republik* (Hamburg, Verlag Dr. Kovacá, 2003).
- ⁴¹ Whereas the most significant group at this event, both in numbers and ideologically, was the *Wandervogel* movement, many other groups took part: *Abstinenzvereine*, *Reformschulen* and *Studentenverbindungen*. See W. Mogge, 'Naturverständnis und kulturkritik: der hohe meißner als symbol der jugendbewegung', in *Jahrbuch des archivs der deutschen jugendbewegung*, Band 15 (Burg Ludwigstein Witzenhausen, Stiftung Jugendbirg Ludwigstein und Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung, 1984–1985), pp. 171–200.
- ⁴² See C. Applegate, *A nation of provincials: the German idea of heimat* (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1990); A. Confino and A. Skaria, 'The local life of nationhood', *National identities*

- 4 (2002), pp. 7–24; T. Lekan, *Imagining the nation in nature: landscape preservation and German identity 1885–1945* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2004).
- ⁴³ See W. Laqueur, *Young Germany: a history of the German youth movement* (London, Transaction Books, 1962), pp. 133–55; F. Raabe, *Die bündische jugend* (Stuttgart, Brentanoverlag, 1961); D. Schenk, *Die freideutsche jugend 1913–1919/20: eine jugendbewegung in krieg, revolution und krise* (Münster, Geschichte der Jugend, Bd. 17, Lit, 1991).
- ⁴⁴ See W. Kindt, ed., *Die deutsche jugendbewegung 1920 bis 1933: die bündische zeit – archiv und dokumentation der jugendbewegung* (Düsseldorf and Köln, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1974), pp. 272–9.
- ⁴⁵ The *Pfadfinder* movement adopted many of the activities and values of the British Boy Scout while reinventing it as a purely German organization (Baden-Powell is relegated to a mere footnote in its official guidebook), including its values – such as ‘Ritterlichkeit,’ ‘Beobachtungskunst,’ ‘Lagerleben im Freien,’ ‘Kraft und Ausdauer,’ and ‘Vaterlandsliebe’ (chivalry, the art of observation, camp life in the open, strength and perseverance, and patriotism). See A. Lion, *Jungdeutschlands pfadfinderbuch* (Leipzig, Otto Spamer, 1914). See also, F. Borinski and W. Milch, *Jugendbewegung: the story of German youth 1896–1933* (German Educational Reconstruction series 3–4) (London, 1945), p. 29; H. Wolf, ‘Von Wandervögeln, scouts und pfadfindern’, in *Jahrbuch des archivs der deutschen jugendbewegung, Band 3* (Burg Ludwigstein Witzenhausen, Stiftung Jugendbirg Ludwigstein und Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung Stiftung Jugendbirg, 1971), pp. 26–39.
- ⁴⁶ W. Riem, *Deutsches lagerhandbuch: gesamtband* (Vol. 1–3) (Potsdam, Der Weisse Ritter Verlag, 1926).
- ⁴⁷ For an interpretation of the youth movements’ *völkische* ideology, see G. Mosse, *The crisis of German ideology: intellectual origins of the Third Reich* (New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), pp. 171–90.
- ⁴⁸ Literally ‘equal switching,’ ‘bringing into line,’ *Gleichschaltung* is a Nazi term referring to the successive alignment of diverse groups and aspects of society into a totalization system of control.
- ⁴⁹ See M. Kater, *Hitler youth* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2004).
- ⁵⁰ ‘The biggest disadvantage of the Pfadfinder was its foreign origin. Uniforms, badges, greetings, it was all un-German.’ [‘Das größte Nachteil des Pfadfindertums war seine Herkunft aus dem Auslande. Uniform, Abzeichen, Grußform – das alles war undeutsch.’] In W. Hubben, *Die deutsche jugendbewegung* (Germany Past and Present series) (The Cordon Company, 1937), p. 34.
- ⁵¹ ‘Jeder Jugendführer kennt die gemeinschaftsbildende Kraft des Lagers, er weiß, daß eine neuzeitliche Jugenderziehung im Sinne des nationalsozialistischen Reichsgedanken ohne Lagererziehung kaum denkbar ist.’ In: C. Dörner, *Freude zucht glaube: handbuch für die kulturelle arbeit im lager*, im auftrage der reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1937), p. 5.
- ⁵² ‘Muttersöhnchen lernen im lager selbständigkeit, schwächlinge werden gekräftigt: das lager ist der schönste traum einer jugend’, in B. Von Schirach, *Die Hitler-Jugend: Idee und Gestalt* (Berlin, Zeitgeschichte, 1934), p. 107.
- ⁵³ I have analyzed two official design guidebooks: C. Dörner, *Freude zucht glaube: handbuch für die kulturelle arbeit im lager*, im auftrage der reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1937) and Reichsjugendführung, *Vorschriftenhandbuch der Hitler-jugend* (January 1942) (2 volumes). The 1937 *Handbuch* describes the camp organization as well as the planned cultural and educational activities. It is referred to in the 1942 *Vorschriftenhandbuch*, which describes the bureaucratic organization of such camps: financing and cost analysis, site planning and policy. I have compared these guidebooks with documentation of actual camping events. See I. Mau and A. Oberstadt, Reichsverband für deutsche jugendherbergen, *Fahrt: erlebnisberichte deutscher jungen und mädels* (Berlin, Wilhelm Limpert Verlag, 1938); *Jungdeutschland im dritten reich, 2. Jahrgang, jahrbuch der jugend im neuen deutschland* (München, Verlag Krieb & Hornung, 1935); Reichsjugendführung, *Aufbau und abzeichen der Hitler-jugend* (Berlin, NSDAP, 1940). Apart from this documentation commissioned by the NSDAP itself, I refer to other documents such as: W. Kuhnt, *In pflicht und freude: das erlebnis Hitlerjugend, eine bildokumentation* (Leoni am Starnberger See, Druffel Verlag, 1988); K. Zisenis and G. Schmidt, *Unsere fabne flatter*

- uns voran... jugend im nationalsozialismus in bremerhaven und wesermünde (Bremerhaven, Wirtschaftsverlag NW, 1995).
- 54 The boys were grouped per twelve in a *Lagerkameradschaft*, four of which constituted a *Lagerschar*, which in themselves were part of a larger *Lagergefolgschaft*. Six of these *Lagergefolgschaften* finally, would make a camp or *Lagerbahn*. See Reichsjugendführung, *Vorschriftenbandbuch der Hitlerjugend – Band II* (January 1942), pp. 479–81.
- 55 Compare with: W. Riem, *Deutsches lagerhandbuch: gesamtband, vol. 1–3* (Potsdam, Der Weisse Ritter Verlag, 1926).
- 56 'Nichts ist für den geordneten Lagerbetrieb im großen Sommerlager lästiger, als dauernd zu allen passenden und unpassenden Gelegenheiten Zuschauer im Lager zu haben.' In C. Dörner, *Freude zucht glaube: handbuch für die kulturelle arbeit im lager*, im Auftrage der Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1937), p. 208.
- 57 'Wir müssen gleichartige Zelte in Gruppen zusammenfassen und durch Abtrennung, Krümmung der Fluchtlinien, Zusammenballung und Lockerung ein Gleichgewicht schaffen, in dem die Natur berücksichtigt wird.' In C. Dörner, *Freude zucht glaube: handbuch für die kulturelle arbeit im lager*, im Auftrage der Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1937), p. 15.
- 58 Cf. Dimendberg, who posits 'the highway as second nature' and Koshar's history of car culture in Nazi Germany. See E. Dimendberg, 'The will to motorization: cinema, highways, and modernity', *October* 73 (1995), pp. 91–137; R. Koshar, 'Cars and nations: Anglo-German perspectives on automobility between the world wars', *Theory, Culture & Society* Special Issue: 'Automobility', 21(4/5) (August 2004), pp. 121–44.
- 59 'Die Natur, der Wald, die Berge, also die natürliche Umgebung soll durch die Hellschimmernden Zelte, durch die Bauten des Lagertores und der Lagerumzaunung in ihrer Wirkung nicht gestört, sondern eher verstärkt werden.' In C. Dörner, *Freude zucht glaube: handbuch für die kulturelle arbeit im lager*, im Auftrage der Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1937), p. 11.
- 60 'Das Lager in seiner Gesamtheit und in all seinen einzelnen Dingen soll sich der gewachsenen Landschaft einfügen, soll sich mit ihr verbinden und eine Einheit ergeben, niemals aber als Fremdkörper beziehungslos dastehen.' In C. Dörner, *Freude zucht glaube: handbuch für die kulturelle arbeit im lager*, im Auftrage der Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1937), p. 24.
- 61 T. Lekan, *Imagining the nation in nature: landscape preservation and German identity 1885–1945* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2004).
- 62 'Intervening in nature has to be done with a lot of care, since our camps are only temporary things and inappropriate interventions can leave ugly traces after dismantlement' ['Das eingreifen in die natur hat überhaupt mit sehr viel takt zu geschehen, da unsere lager ja vorübergehende gebilde sind und ungeschickte eingriffe nach dem abbruch unschöne spuren hinterlassen'], in C. Dörner, *Freude zucht glaube: handbuch für die kulturelle arbeit im lager*, im Auftrage der Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1937), p. 17.
- 63 See for instance the chapter 'Platzreinigung' (cleaning up the traces after dismantlement), in Reichsjugendführung, *Vorschriftenbandbuch der Hitlerjugend – Band II* (January 1942), p. 495.
- 64 'Wir von der Hitler-Jugend haben nichts gemein mit jener Auffassung, die darunter nur ein Sichselbstleben, ein Genießen, eine romantischen Lebensart, ein stilles, weltfremdes und damit volksfremdes Dahinträumen verstand. (...) Das Wandern, unsere Fahrt, ist für uns ein Teil unseres HJ-Dienstes und damit Dienst am Deutschland. Damit ist unsere Fahrt zweckbestimmt und erdegebunden.' In I. Mau and A. Oberstadt, Reichsverband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen, *Fahrt: erlebnisberichte deutscher jungen und mädels* (Berlin, Wilhelm Limpert Verlag, 1938), first page of introduction (no page number).

- ⁶⁵ 'Die zukunftswichtigen Probleme des deutschen Grenzraumes werden der deutschen Jugend immer Theorie bleiben, wenn ihr das Grenzland nicht Erlebnis wird.' In I. Mau and A. Oberstadt, Reichsverband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen, *Fahrt: erlebnisberichte deutscher jungen und mädels* (Berlin, Wilhelm Limpert Verlag, 1938), introduction (no page number).
- ⁶⁶ See C. Dörner, *Freude zucht glaube: handbuch für die kulturelle arbeit im lager*, im Auftrage der Reichsjugendführung der NSDAP (Potsdam, Ludwig Voggenreiter Verlag, 1937), p. 38; Reichsjugendführung, *Vorschriftenhandbuch der Hitler-Jugend – Band II* (January 1942), p. 461.
- ⁶⁷ This resonates with Lorimer's description of the processes of learning geography and 'outdoor citizenship' in 1950s Scotland. See H. Lorimer, 'Telling small stories: spaces of knowledge and the practice of geography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28(2) (2003), pp. 97–217.
- ⁶⁸ S. Baranowski, *Strength through joy: consumerism and mass tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 226.
- ⁶⁹ See H.W. Koch, who was himself in the *Hitlerjugend* and writes also from personal memory. H.W. Koch, *The Hitler youth: origins and development 1922–1945* (London, Macdonald and Jane's, 1975).
- ⁷⁰ Early scholarly discussions of wilderness and the 'American idea of Nature', in the tradition of intellectual history, can be found in the work of Miller and Nash. More recent scholarship about the social and cultural construction of nature are for example the studies by Merchant, Cronon, and Spence. See P. Miller, *Nature's nation* (Cambridge, MA, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967); R. Nash, *Wilderness and the American mind* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1967); C. Merchant, *Ecological revolutions: nature, gender, and science in New England* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1989); W. Cronon, ed., *Uncommon ground: rethinking the human place in nature* (New York, Norton, 1995); M.D. Spence, *Dispossessing the wilderness: Indian removal and the making of the national parks* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999).
- ⁷¹ See W. Cronon, 'The trouble with wilderness; or, getting back to the wrong nature', in W. Cronon, ed., *Uncommon ground: rethinking the human place in nature* (New York, Norton, 1995); M.D. Spence, *Dispossessing the wilderness: Indian removal and the making of the national parks* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999).
- ⁷² See footnote 8, and also: H.W. Gibson, *Camping for boys* (New York, Association Press, 1911). Van Slyck describes the various kinds of camps developed in the United States: private camps for the upper-middle class, organizational camps sponsored by youth organizations (such as YMCA, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and so on), and agency camps sponsored by social service agencies aimed at the urban poor. See A. Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006).
- ⁷³ See 'Map of Stambauch scout reservation', Boy Scouts of America, *Camp site development plans* (New York, Boy Scouts of America, 1927), p. 5.
- ⁷⁴ These are annotated on the plan as 'stockades.' Note the military origin of this word: defensive barrier, fortification, enclosure or military prison.
- ⁷⁵ B.W. Maynard, "'An ideal life in the woods for boys': architecture and culture in the earliest summer camps', *Winterthur portfolio* 4(1) (1999), pp. 3–29.
- ⁷⁶ See A. Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006), p. 5.
- ⁷⁷ D. Macleod, *Building character in the American boy: the boy scout, YMCA and their forerunners 1870–1920* (Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).
- ⁷⁸ Van Slyck mentions that WWI undermined the direct appeal of militarism in US camps. The denial of militarism is also articulated in the official publications of the British Scout movement, which emphasized the non-military tasks and activities of the movement during the First World War. See A. Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006), pp. xxv and 19–22; E.K. Wade, *Twenty-one years of scouting: the official history of the boy scout movement from its inception* (London, C. Arthur Pearson, 1929), p. 160.
- ⁷⁹ See Boy Scouts of America, *Camp site development plans* (New York, Boy Scouts of America, 1927).
- ⁸⁰ See B.W. Maynard, "'An ideal life in the woods for boys': architecture and culture in the earliest summer camps', *Winterthur portfolio* 4(1) (1999), pp. 17–18.

- ⁸¹ J.P. Hantover, 'The boy scouts and the validation of masculinity', *Journal of social issues* 34 (1978), pp. 184–95; D. Macleod, *Building character in the American boy: the boy scout, YMCA and their forerunners 1870–1920* (Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); E.A. Rotundo, 'Boy culture: middle-class boyhood in nineteenth-century America', in M.C. Carnes and C. Griffen, eds, *Meanings for manhood: constructions of masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1990); E.A. Rotundo, *American manhood: transformations in masculinity from the revolution to the modern era* (New York, Basic Books, 1993), p. 251.
- ⁸² Despite the fact that gender-defined activities partly overlapped in interwar US youth camps, and were less sharply delineated than in contemporaneous Germany, they served the same role of reproducing gender roles. Van Slyck discusses the gender-specific recreation program in American camps, see A. Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006), pp. 89–90.
- ⁸³ Boy Scouts of America, *Camp site development plans* (Boy Scouts of America, New York, 1927), pp. 55–63.
- ⁸⁴ See Community Service (Incorporated), *Summer camps municipal and industrial* (New York, 1920); P. Sargent, *Handbook of summer camps: an annual survey* (Boston, 1924).
- ⁸⁵ Boy Scouts of America, *Camp sanitation: drinking water supply, sewage & refuse disposal, swimming pools, insect & pest control* (New York, Boy Scouts of America, 1928), p. v.
- ⁸⁶ See 'Chapter 5: Good and dirty? Girls, boys, and camp cleanliness', in A. Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006), pp. 147–67.
- ⁸⁷ United States National Park Service, *Park and recreation structures, Part III – overnight and organized camp facilities*, by Albert H. Good (Washington, Department of the Interior, US Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 1.
- ⁸⁸ See United States National Park Service, *Typical layout studies for an organized camp*, 1936; United States National Park Service, *Park and recreation structures, Part III – overnight and organized camp facilities*, by Albert H. Good (Washington, Department of the Interior, US Government Printing Office, 1938); Georgia State Planning Board in cooperation with the United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, *Report on organized camping in Georgia, Prepared as part of the Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Study*, February 1940, p. 41.
- ⁸⁹ See E.T. Seton, *The book of woodcraft* (Garden City, NY, Garden City Publishing, 1912). For an account of Seton and the Woodcraft Indians, see D. Macleod, *Building character in the American boy: the boy scout, YMCA and their forerunners 1870–1920* (Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 130–2, 147–51; P. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 95–111.
- ⁹⁰ This has been comprehensively examined by Van Slyck. See Chapter 6: 'Living like savages: Tipis, council rings, and playing Indian', in Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006), pp. 169–213.
- ⁹¹ C. Smith, *Games and recreational methods for clubs, camps and scouts* (New York, Dodd Mead and Company, 1930), respectively pp. 94 and 112.
- ⁹² C. Smith, *Games and recreational methods for clubs, camps and scouts* (New York, Dodd Mead and Company, 1930), p. 158.
- ⁹³ See P. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1998); S. Scheckel, *The insistence of the Indian: race and nationalism in nineteenth-century American culture* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1998); S. Huhndorf, *Going native: Indians in the American cultural imagination* (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2001).
- ⁹⁴ This corresponds with Carr's thesis, that in the early 20th century the Indian became attractive to modern Americans as a critique of capitalist America. See H. Carr, *Inventing the American primitive: politics, gender, and the representation of native American literary traditions, 1789–1936* (New York, New York University Press, 1996). Despite their prominence in 20th-century camp development, Indian themes were completely absent in early summer camps, which nevertheless featured similar

- social practices, like campfires. See B.W. Maynard, “‘An ideal life in the woods for boys’: architecture and culture in the earliest summer camps’, *Wintertbur portfolio* 4(1) (1999), pp. 3–29.
- ⁹⁵ ‘Chapter 6: ‘Living like savages. Tipis, council rings, and playing Indian’, in Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006), pp. 169–213.
- ⁹⁶ United States National Park Service, *Park and recreation structures, part III – overnight and organized camp facilities*, by Albert H. Good (Washington, Department of the Interior, US Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 4.
- ⁹⁷ United States National Park Service, *Park and recreation structures, part III – overnight and organized camp facilities*, by Albert H. Good (Washington, Department of the Interior, US Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 109.
- ⁹⁸ Van Slyck, *A manufactured wilderness* (2006), p. 206.
- ⁹⁹ Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for boys* (32nd Edition) (Boy Scouts of America, New York, 1925), p. 10.
- ¹⁰⁰ This adoption of values is clear when comparing the British publication *Scouting for boys* (1908) with the American *Handbook for boys* (1910).
- ¹⁰¹ Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for boys* (32nd Edition) (Boy Scouts of America, New York, 1925), p. 12.
- ¹⁰² Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for boys* (32nd Edition) (Boy Scouts of America, New York, 1925), introduction.
- ¹⁰³ See N. Rose, *Governing the soul: the shaping of the private self* (London, Free Association Books, 1989), pp. 123–4.
- ¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 2 in N. Rose, *Powers of freedom: reframing political thought* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 61–97.