



Introduction

Does the Man Make the Motorcycle or the Motorcycle the Man?

Someone, or something, sowed the flaming desire in your young male heart to become a disciple of motor sport. . . . Your desire was initially borne of envy at the daily experience of seeing a friend race noisily by on his jalopy, while you must travel cumbersomely and slowly by foot. . . . The desire eats and gnaws and nourishes itself from thence on within your breast. . . . Fills all of your senses and thoughts. . . . Follows you in your dreams.

—Alexander Büttner, *Motorrad-Sport, -Verkehr und -Technik*

Loosely crafted in the form of a Bildungsroman, Alexander Büttner's short story from 1924 portrays a male protagonist in his journey from pedestrian to motorcyclist, culminating in his evolution into a "real man."¹ Sparked by an irresistible desire, the "motorcyclist's development" is punctuated by acts of consumption, first by ordering catalogs, then in purchasing a motorcycle. Once a motorcycle owner, a number of accessories suddenly appear indispensable to the rookie motorcyclist. "You mount the bike and race through the city . . . and all the while you notice that a hundred things are missing that you absolutely need: a gruff horn, an odometer, a speedometer, and especially electric lights, and good tires . . . spare parts and a well-sprung pillion seat."² Participation in consumer culture was a requirement for the overwhelmingly male owners of motor vehicles during the Weimar Republic. Yet most contemporary observations, as well as subsequent analyses, have consistently linked consumption to femininity, while studies of masculinity during the Weimar Republic have focused predominantly on militarized masculinity as the hegemonic form.³ Indeed, in Büttner's short story and in the discourse of motorcycling as a whole, proper masculinity was rhetorically disassociated from conspicuous consumption. The act of masculine consumption was concealed behind the twin pillars of modern manliness: production and possession. As the motorcyclist progresses through the stages from "novice" (intoxicated with speed until he crashes) to "connoisseur" (a gourmet of beauty in both landscapes

and motorcycles), he is not depicted as merely consuming passively. Instead, the motorcyclist is portrayed as mastering time, space, and the machine. The emphasis is on acquiring skills and knowledge, rather than new gadgets or accessories.

While the "motorcyclist's development" may appear idiosyncratic at first glance, the themes Büttner addresses are emblematic of modernity and masculinity in Germany during the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴ Although the dream world of mass automobility was in its infancy, increasingly affordable, domestically manufactured motorcycles swelled the ranks of German motorists. The number of two-wheelers, including two-stroke motorcycles with low engine capacity, steadily rose, surpassing the number of automobiles on German roads in 1926.⁵ By the end of the 1920s, with motor vehicle registrations totaling well over a million, motorcycles outnumbered automobiles by three to two.⁶ While individual automobile ownership continued to be a privilege of the upper classes, by the late 1920s the working classes were taking to motorcycling in droves.⁷ Skilled and unskilled laborers, alongside new white-collar workers so astutely analyzed by Siegfried Kracauer in *The Salaried Masses: Duty and Distraction in Weimar Germany*, were able to participate in motorization through buying mass-produced two-wheelers, sometimes making use of layaway plans or the extensive used-motorcycle market. This book explores how the everyday choices that men and women made expressed their desires to partake in the social and spatial mobility offered by motorization, and how their actions also produced and reflected anxieties about inhabiting an increasingly elastic and plastic world.

Possessing a dazzlingly seductive power over citizens of the new republic, motorcycles midwifed mass motorization in Germany. As one contemporary journalist put it, "it was then that the motor vehicle was 'performed,' it became fashion, a pipe dream, a great craving and desire for bourgeois ownership among thousands from all social strata."⁸ After World War I, the formal abolition of aristocratic privilege, the founding of a democratic republic grounded in a progressive constitution, and the granting of universal suffrage promised political and economic modernity for all German citizens. The degree to which a society was motorized was understood as an indicator of the ability of a society to fulfill the promises of consumer modernity, greater individual freedom, and increased mobility, both spatial and social.⁹ Above all in terms of how it altered both lived environments and social rhythms, motorization was a source of both enthrallment and anxiety.¹⁰ The dreams and fears generated by these freedoms are central to different interpretations of Weimar history, from those who celebrate it as a unique site of social

and cultural experimentation to those who demonize it as a precursor to the horrors of National Socialism.¹¹

Like their contemporaries around the globe, Germans during the Weimar Republic were fascinated by motorization and obsessed with technology, regardless of whether they embraced, condemned, or were ambivalent about these changes.¹² On a par and in step with radio, cinema, fashion, and sports, the “emergent culture” of mass motorization was an important terrain on which complex struggles over changes in gender and class relationships were played out.¹³ In a 1929 photo-reportage titled “Motorcycle-Radio Weekend,” for example, the author, a white-collar worker, described a motorcycle weekend getaway with a female friend to a lake on the outskirts of Berlin. His female companion, Hilde, a “lady’s helper,” at one point exclaimed excitedly, “We’ll have the radio waves, the waves of the lake, and my brand new permanent wave!” Once the radio was set up, the couple tuned into the following variety program: Sports news of the day, followed by a popular love ballad, a jazz song (a so-called “black bottom” which caused Hilde to dance “a little jig”), a Spanish one-step, a segment in which an elderly lady discussed meat prices and infant care, and a report on a “rationalized beauty regimen.” The end of the story described how “the two sit in the sunshine in front of their tent and listen, listen. On the headphones, Hawaiian songs are broadcast from the Savoy Hotel in London and frogs croak industriously in the reeds close by.”¹⁴ Steeped in a culture of consumption and leisure, these weekenders epitomized the “new man” and “new woman”—futuristic ideal-types of masculinity and femininity of a globally scaled, consumer-driven industrial economy. Furthermore, their casual relationship signaled the rise of new forms of heterosociality and sexual exploration. Because motorization facilitated spatial, social, and sexual mobility and flexible everyday rhythms for Germans, it represented both a social threat and a social boon.

Modernity, Mobility, Masculinity

The Devil’s Wheels explores how, in both tangible and intangible ways, motorization changed German society during the fifteen years of the Weimar Republic, visibly transforming cityscapes and landscapes, and intensifying and altering the patterns of circulation of people, goods, and capital.¹⁵ Although driving had not yet become routine for the masses, motorization was already influencing the experience of the everyday. As Kristin Ross has argued for the case of post–World War II France: “the centrality of the car . . . precedes the car’s becoming



Image 0.1. New Forms of Leisure. *BMW-Blätter*, cover July 1930. BMW Group Archive.

commonplace . . . As such the discourse, on the whole, is futuristic: anticipatory and preparatory in nature, fascinated or horrified, but generally permeated with anxieties."¹⁶ In fantasy and reality, the process of motorization shaped social relations, and motor vehicles served as carriers of multiple social meanings. In this book, the category of modernity is employed to express interlinked processes of accelerated social and physical mobility. It follows in the tradition of historians who view it as superfluous if not misleading to speak of modernity without speaking of the profound contradictions that modernity produces.¹⁷

With the physical and social world in upheaval during the Weimar Republic, many Germans were overwhelmed by the sense that they were living through times of perpetual political instability and chronic economic crisis in a society untethered from long-standing social truths, stable categories, and predictable life trajectories. A convergence of historical events and social processes made gender relations appear particularly precarious during the Weimar Republic. The first years of the republic were marked by the defeat of the military and the loss of Germany's overseas colonies. A series of political and social revolutions and counterrevolutions testified to the inherent instability of the republic. Following almost a decade of steadily rising inflation, the acute phase of hyperinflation in the early 1920s caused a massive redistribution of wealth. Creating new groups of the wealthy and the poor, hyperinflation partially eroded the social stratification that had defined imperial German society. During the period of so-called "stability," the expansion of rationalized industrial production gave rise to new types of both white- and blue-collar work, and continued the decline of traditional craft industries. Profound structural changes unfolded in the context of social and political upheaval, and were reflected in rearticulated categories of both femininity and masculinity. Attempts to construct a stable form of modern manliness appropriate to the altered conditions represented one strategy to counter the perceived loss of traditional anchors of masculinity. *The Devil's Wheels* shows that citizens of the nascent democracy did not react to the series of crises uniformly. Instead, contesting models for society and choices of lifestyle proliferated, if only briefly. When the World Economic Crisis hit Germany especially hard, it impacted all sectors of society, and politically polarized calls for alternate routes became more insistent.¹⁸

Philosophers, scholars, and theorists have marshaled motorized mobility to analyze changes in social and spatial constellations ever since the early days of motorization.¹⁹ In more recent years, cultural and social historians, sociologists, and geographers, united under the banner of mobility studies, have been building a growing body of

innovative interdisciplinary research around the concept of “automobility” and “automobilism.”²⁰ By examining how motorized traffic in everyday life transformed social and physical space in the United States and contributed to reinvigorating a national identity grounded in rugged republican selfhood, and by dissecting struggles over the governance of the new technology and its attendant infrastructures, scholars have demonstrated the high social and political stakes of automobility in the US.²¹ Fine-grained analyses of the intersections of class, gender, and motoring invoke the concept of “habitus” to show how the car both demarcated and blurred social distinctions.²² Mobility studies scholars have also probed identity formation within distinct user cultures, for example among “tinkerers” and early women motorists.²³ Other studies that explore novelties such as speed, risk taking, and their complementarities, safety and encapsulation, add to our understanding not only of the “timings and spacings” of motorized societies, but also of the sensation of driving as an “embodied sensibility” and of transformations in the sensual and haptic experience of motorized travel.²⁴ These scholars and many others have placed motorization and mobility firmly on the agenda of academic inquiry, and have created a rich body of evidence and analysis. By exploring the complex ways that motorization impacted the organization of everyday life, *The Devil's Wheels* engages with debates around the “social construction of technology,” drawing on insights developed in previous studies of motorized mobility.²⁵

With few exceptions, however, existing studies focus exclusively on the car and its uses, producers, and consumers.²⁶ The tenacious grip of the automobile on the historiography of motorization in Germany, and more globally, both signals and perpetuates the ideological dominance of the model of motorization based on Ford's Model T.²⁷ Thus, rather than reflect a normative bias towards a portrayal of economic and industrial development based on the exceptional situation of the United States (or of other settler colony settings including Canada, Australia, and South Africa), I narrate the emergence of mass motorization in Germany foremost from the vantage point and through the voices and actions of its primary objects and subjects—motorcyclists.²⁸ Due to constraints on the economy during the Weimar Republic, the German automotive industry never successfully manufactured or marketed an equivalent of Ford's Model T, a fact that can be attributed partly to inadequate capital investment.²⁹ Moreover, wartime inflation and the subsequent hyperinflation throttled the buying power of the middle classes. The uneven socioeconomic structure and the wealth gap influenced the pattern of demands, and contributed to the motorcycle industry gaining a competitive advantage.³⁰

Faced with seemingly insurmountable economic and political challenges to producing a Volkswagen, the German industry and press championed the two-stroke motorcycle as “the people’s vehicle” due to its affordability, its German production, and its lack of tax and licensing restrictions.³¹ In contrast, in the United States and in France the automobile was by far the dominant form of individual motorized transport. Even in Great Britain, considered the “motherland of motorcycling” during the 1920s, the transition to four-wheeled motor vehicle occurred earlier, allowing the German motorcycle industry to take over England’s position as the global leader in motorcycle manufacturing by the end of the Weimar Republic.³² In Italy, by the end of the 1930s, there was only one-tenth the number of motorcyclists there was in Germany, despite Mussolini’s personal passion for motorcycling and the motor-obsessed aesthetics of the Futurists.³³ Within the skewed competitive environment of the German automotive industry, motorcycle manufacturers took the lead in manufacturing affordable motor vehicles, partially through successfully adopting and implementing Fordist production techniques, such as the assembly line. Frank Steinbeck’s recent monograph delves into the details of how economic, political, and juridical factors coalesced to favor the expansion of motorcycling in Germany.³⁴

Yet the significance of the motorcycle cannot be completely understood through economic constraints or political interventions. Instead, as a “cultural commodity,” the motorcycle is saturated with meaning beyond “the thing itself.”³⁵ Martin Heidegger employed the motorcycle as a heuristic device on numerous occasions to explain his phenomenological philosophy to students at the University of Freiburg. In order, for example, to elucidate the concepts of “hearkening,” or the difference between “entities” and “beings,” Heidegger invoked the motorcycle as a peculiar object.³⁶

How does it stand with Being? Can we see Being? We see beings—the chalk here. But do we see Being as we see color and light and dark? Or do we hear, smell, taste, or touch Being? We hear the motorcycle roaring along the street. We hear the grouse flying off through the mountain forest in its gliding flight. Yet really we are only hearing the noise of the motor’s rattling, the noise that the grouse causes. Furthermore, it is hard and unusual for us to describe the pure noise, because it is precisely not what we generally hear. We always hear more [than the mere noise].³⁷

Heidegger presented the motorcycle, an everyday object, as possessing a form of existential authenticity comparable to a wild bird, verging on acquiring a quality beyond its lifeless materiality.

Motorcyclist and mobility scholar Jeremy Packer argues that motorcycling offers a "phenomenological validation," including its quality of appearing to provide an unmediated experience, "being in touch with the world around you, particularly the beauty of nature." Time appears compressed, in terms of "having a heightened sense of being in the moment – being 'more alive.'" The authenticity of the experience is augmented through "knowing and understanding one's machinery in a more intense and extensive fashion than the average motorist." And performance is key—"looking and feeling tough; being noticed and creating a scene; and certainly, not least of all, experiencing the thrill of speed."³⁸ In his classic essay on motorcycling as popular culture, John Alt writes that motorcycling fulfills "ambiguous social needs," combining "sensuous experiences (ecstasy, exhilaration, virility) and conceptual images (freedom, individualism) which are denied in everyday life, but which can be rediscovered and relived through a particular assemblage of metal, rubber, and plastic." Thus, as a "symbolic representation of the modern search for meaning and experience," the motorcycle is often imbued with mythical and metaphysical qualities.³⁹

Given its symbolic baggage, focusing on motorcycling thus offers new grounds for exploring how gender and class intersected. New forms of mobility were discursively and materially linked to new forms of consuming, with consumer culture increasingly organizing "structures of meaning and feeling."⁴⁰ While scholars of technology and of mobility have shown the automobile to be gendered in complex ways, when analyzed at all, the motorcycle has been coded as decidedly and aggressively masculine.⁴¹ Furthermore, although a rich body of historical studies on consumption and gender during the Weimar Republic exists, it focuses almost exclusively on constructions and representations of femininity.⁴² Although mass consumption had not fully arrived in Weimar Germany, consuming exerted a growing influence on the formation of modern subjects, disrupting relationships between class and gender.⁴³ Motorized mobility promised transformation, as Cotton Seiler and other scholars have argued, not only of women, but importantly also of men.⁴⁴ Thus, in *The Devil's Wheels* I hope to provide a contribution to understanding how consumption shaped not only constructions of modern femininity, but of modern masculinity as well.

Consuming, however, is never the only, or even the most significant act involved in producing and reproducing gender. Motorcycling masculinity combined consumption and production, aesthetics and technology. Multiple and relational, yet historically produced within concrete social contexts, masculinities (and femininities) are both "made" and "making."⁴⁵ During the Weimar Republic, economic and

political upheavals destabilized traditional sources of institutional and cultural power, threatening the smooth reproduction of "hegemonic masculinity" and thus challenging the gender order.⁴⁶ Struggles over definitions of normative masculinity reveal conflicts over the organization and regulation of social relations, for example in heated debates on technology, sports, and delinquency. Motorcycling, in the sense of Judith Butler's "doing and undoing gender," thus offers a site to explore enactments and embodiments of masculinities and femininities, of modern men and modern women.⁴⁷ When viewed through the lens of motorcycling, often-contradictory repertoires and representations of gender, and masculinity in particular, were made available through the emerging mass consumer society. On the one hand, motorcycling created spaces for masculine self-fashioning beyond an occupational or confessional basis; on the other hand, motorcycling was a practice that generally served to disguise acts of masculine consumption under a veil of masculine-coded skilled labor or the conquest of space, time, and women. And, as an icon of female masculinity, the figure of the active female motorcyclist challenged conceptions of proper femininity.⁴⁸

In the hierarchy of transportation vehicles, when compared to automobiles, motorcycles were inferior status symbols. The chorus regularly denouncing Weimar Germany's alternate path to motorization was large and loud. Industrial and political leaders, as well as everyday Germans, expressed negative attitudes towards motorcycles and motorcyclists, reflecting more general anxieties regarding the rise of the United States as an industrial powerhouse and the weakened position of Germany's economy and society after the defeat in World War I. Whether phrased in terms of rationalization, conspicuous consumption, crass materialism, or masculinized women, unease over social changes was often framed as a critique of "Americanism." To compensate for the motorcycle's inadequacy as a marker of social class status and national wealth, an image of the motorcycle as a marker of "iron-hard" masculinity became increasingly dominant, in part promoted by the motoring industry and press, and in part self-ascribed by motorcyclists. Similar to the way in which Weimar contemporaries saw "silk stockings and permed hair" as the modern woman's "weapons in the struggle for survival," the masculine motorcycling community evaluated qualities such as "risk-taking" and "weather-proofed" as necessary attributes for surviving the vicissitudes of modern life.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, the masculine world of motorcycling was a collective less adequately characterized by homogeneity than by its internal distinctions.⁵⁰ Although motorcyclists in Germany shared particular experiences and practices, a range of masculine "ideal types" existed for

Weimar-era motorcyclists to draw upon.⁵¹ Indeed, in contrast to David Gartman's proposal that the "cultural logic of car consumption" has progressed through the three stages of distinction, obscuration, and differentiation, I would argue that these three "logics" were at play simultaneously and in competition with each other within the motorcycling culture of the Weimar Republic. This reflected a more general expression of the lack of consensus around meaning-making through consumption.⁵² As the number of motorcyclists grew over the course of the 1920s, trade journals, clubs, and motorcyclists attempted to delimit the community by creating self-disciplining mechanisms and through circumscribing acceptable behavior. However, descriptions of motorcycle ideal types, such as the "Pure Unadulterated Sportsman," the "Grease Monkey," the "*Halbstarke*," and the "Leather Jacket," reveal deep schisms not only over which practices and behaviors were accepted as constituting appropriate masculinity within the motorcycling community internally, but also in the Weimar Republic in general.

The Devil's Wheels makes three discrete interventions in the historiography of the Weimar Republic—into the history of motorization, consumption, and gender. I do not limit my focus to militarized masculinity, nor do I look exclusively at femininity and consumption. Instead, the relationship of masculinity to consumption in a particularly masculine-coded milieu, motorcycling, is at the center of this investigation. By exploring representations and performances of gender and class in the "emergent culture" of motorization, and motorcycling in particular, I both extend and amend standard interpretations of class and gender in the Weimar Republic. With the destabilization both of class boundaries and the undermining of the naturalized equation of man as producer, consumption and leisure emerged as important practices in the construction and enactment of modern masculinity. The modern man participated in the emergent consumer society, and his masculinity was defined not only by what he produced, but also by what and how he consumed.

If "automobility" can be understood as a "forge of subjects," then this study hopes to contribute to comparative discussions of modern mobility and the fashioning of modern masculinity under historically specific material and social conditions.⁵³ In the United States, the case Cotten Seiler studied, driving an automobile facilitated a reconsolidation of republican individualism in the face of Taylorism and Fordism. Citizens of the newly minted Weimar Republic faced a different set of issues. Wracked with insecurities over the defeat in war and loss of status as an imperial power, they were filled with anxiety over the constant volatility of the economy and the tattered fabric of the nation.⁵⁴ On the one

hand, resentment over being excluded from full participation both in the ideal form of mass consumption symbolized by Henry Ford's Model T and on the world power stage dominated political debates during the Weimar Republic. On the other hand, deep unease over an uncertain present and future existed alongside tentative pride over manifestations of Germany's own modernity and great expectations for a technologically driven advancement of society. Exploring openings and obstacles, barricades and byways, *The Devil's Wheels* inquires into the reworking of relationships between class, gender, production, and consumption through the emergent practice of motorcycling during a period of acutely perceived social, political, and economic instability.

Sourcing the Fuel of History

Writing a history of motorization that accounts for the economic, social, and cultural context required consulting a broad archive of materials. First, the motor vehicle industry and the motoring clubs were the institutional pillars that produced and promoted the process of motorization. Sources from, and about, prominent manufacturers during the Weimar Republic offered material on the organization of production and the workforce, engineering and design, marketing and sales strategies, and the role industrial organizations and cartels played in state decisions on regulating the new technology. Motoring clubs, such as the Allgemeiner Deutscher Automobil-Club (ADAC) and the Deutscher Motorradfahrer-Verband (DMV), constituted an institutional factor crucial to popularizing motorization. Clubs, alongside industrial actors, exerted pressure on politicians to promote the progress of motorization and to forward the interests of motorists over other forms of transportation. On the consumption side, clubs published journals for their members, and offered insurance policies, maps, and international drivers' placards. In addition, sometimes together with industry, they sponsored races and rides. Above all, they provided an organized space of (homo) social consumption for their members.

Grounding this study sociologically also meant compiling ownership statistics. Registration records provided raw data on the sex and occupation of motorists, which were essential for evaluating the class and gender composition of those who had access to motor vehicles. A legal framework was constructed at the state and local level, albeit haltingly and unevenly, to regulate the process of motorization. Legal records provided evidence of struggles over uses of public space and private property, and the task of managing the social risk of motorization.

Differences in legislation and enforcement varied according to the type of motor vehicle, testifying to the class and gender biases of the emerging legal structure. Political, institutional, and industrial archives provided important insights into how motor vehicles came to dominate individual transportation in industrial societies.

Records left by government and other official institutions cannot, however, adequately capture "non-rational, symbolic, social or psychological choices."⁵⁵ In order to grasp how imaginations and emergent practices reworked understandings of class and gender through the intertwined practices of consumption, production, technology, and aesthetics, it was necessary to consult an archive of less-official renderings of the process of motorization in Germany. As symbols of modernity, the car and the motorcycle (often featured with a sidecar) became increasingly present in film and graphic representations, and in print media that represented different sectors of society and political directions. Indeed, the bulk of sources analyzed in this book were produced through the initiative of private individuals participating in the growing media sector, many of whom remain anonymous. The numerous journals for motorizing enthusiasts that flourished during the Weimar Republic show how motorization was being sold and consumed on an everyday level.⁵⁶ These journals, with their letters to the editor, travelogues, and advice columns shed light on everyday mentalities and routines, intimating at gestures and bodily practices, and illuminating the shadowy contours of social relationships, from class to gender and generation. Lively debates held on a wide range of topics, from the effects of motorcycling on women's health to the problems of youth, from acceptable levels of violence to who qualified as a "true" sportsman, testify to a culture of public discussion and social negotiation.

The social and material culture of the motorcycling milieu was also recorded in innumerable fictional sources published in motoring magazines during the Weimar Republic.⁵⁷ Short stories, jokes, poems, and song lyrics, all popular forms of literary expression in this period, enriched the social terrain of motorization. In addition, the "motorcycling" novels *Garage 13*, *PS-Narr*, and *Rennfieber* were serialized in the most prominent independent motorcycling magazine during the late 1920s.⁵⁸ Although demonstrating differences in style and interpretations of modern men and women, these fictional works often share a similar repertoire of preoccupations and presumptions about social identities, gender relations, and motorized modernity. They also provide rich material for exploring the figure of the engineer, the relationship between industry, sports, and the nation, and especially courtship and sexuality.

Signposting the Territory: Chapter Outline

To show how relationships between the state, economy, and society shifted during the Weimar Republic, the first chapter rides the bumpy but not uphill road on the German motorcycle industry's journey "From Pioneers to Global Dominance." During the fifteen-year span of the first German republic's often-tenuous existence, the economy was a fractured space, fraught with competing visions. The fortunes of the German motorcycle industry, for which I provide a chronological history until 1933, reflected the political, social, and economic turmoil of the era, whereby the motorcycle industry attained a relative advantage vis-à-vis the automobile industry. By tying consumption to production, the growth of the motorcycle industry can be understood through important changes in design and manufacturing that made motorcycles increasingly more affordable and reliable. Furthermore, the state was deeply implicated in the promotion of mass-motorized two-wheelers. By providing incentives, such as tax and licensing advantages, the state fostered an environment that helped to expand the domestic market for motorcycles.

The second chapter, "Engineering and Advertising a Motorized Future," probes the crucial role of engineers and advertisers in the production and consumption of motorcycles. The figure of the engineer, materially and intimately involved with both the production of the industrial economy and the nation, provides an example of the conflicts over modern masculinity.⁵⁹ Motorization, alongside industrialization and urbanization, enabled this new professional group to present themselves as the principal actors of modernity and the protagonists of the modern nation. Engineers positioned themselves as experts able to determine the proper relationship between culture and technology, and as arbiters between the German "spirit" and the material world. The second half of the chapter explores advertising—a growing profession central to creating a public image of both motorcycles and motorcyclists. It looks at advertising agencies and the establishment of customer service departments as well as at the spaces, techniques, strategies, and motifs of advertising the motorcycle and the sidecar. The shiny visions of a motorized society that advertisers often produced, however, rarely reflected the everyday difficulties of motorcycling or the often-harsh reality of economic and social instability in the Weimar Republic.

Through analyzing motorcycling as a distinctive yet variegated habitus, the third chapter, "Motorcycles and the 'Everyman,'" shows the motorcycling community during the Weimar Republic as a predominantly masculine collective replete with internal distinctions. Statistics compiled on motorcycle and automobile ownership (ridership inevitably remains

a gray area) uncover how the sociological landscape of the motorized changed over time. Motor sport clubs and the trade press were essential for constructing a motorcycling habitus. Sartorial fashioning, motorcycle touring, and tinkering were also central practices that shaped the motorcycling milieu. An analysis of competing ideal types of motorcycling masculinity, drawn from descriptions in motorcycling journals, demonstrates how acts of male consumption were incorporated into a repertoire of distinctly masculine practices and behaviors. Close readings of sources such as poems and short stories underscore my central argument that the modern man of the Weimar Republic can be firmly located within consumer society.

The field of sports exploded during the Weimar Republic. The fourth chapter, "Is Motorcycling Even Sport?," traces a particularly contentious debate within the motorcycling community. The discussion over the meaning and value of sports gave voice to both anxieties about and hopes for engineering individual bodies and reformulating the nation in the context of severe economic, political, and social ruptures. Sports provided a space for men to both assert their masculinity and create distinctions within masculinity. Competing visions of what defined a sport or a sportsperson provide insight into how motorcyclists attempted to negotiate their identities as modern men during a period in which the primacy of production was giving way to the growing importance of consumption. Germany's uneasy and partial transformation into a consumer-driven industrial capitalist society was reflected in manifold iterations of discomfort with materialism. The massive and seemingly uncontrollable social changes produced disruptions that Germans often countered by framing the contradictions and challenges of modernity within the realm of the spiritual. For example, motorcyclists attempted to veil their participation in consumer society through employing the concept of struggle to define sports, a struggle that was naturalized and envisioned as primordial. By invoking "iron-hard masculinity" as a marker of motorcycling, motorcyclists also sought a means to escape the feminization associated with consumption and to obviate the threat of being characterized as superficial.

Central sources of social conflict throughout the process of motorization, such as drunk driving, joyrides, violence, accidents, and noise, are the topic of the fifth chapter, "Deviant Behaviors." Public attitudes towards motorcyclists, and motorcyclists' reactions to the problems prompted by motorization, are explored by looking at how different social groups thought these conflicts could be managed and the risks be fairly distributed socially. Often-heated debates reveal contestations, both between the non-motorized and motorized, and within the

motorized community, over the right to define appropriate comportment in public spaces. For example, in 1928 another lively debate was held in *Das Motorrad* over whether it was appropriate or not to run over dogs. While no consensus was reached, the debate shows how motorization forced issues around acceptable levels of violence, and the relationship between ownership and violence. This chapter also deals with attempts on the part of the state, the police, and motoring clubs to mediate conflicts between the motorized and the non-motorized, as well as the motorcycle communities' own attempts to regulate motorcyclists' behavior. While problems with motorization were sources of strife in an ever-more industrialized, urbanized, and mobile mass society, the specific conflicts between motorists and non-motorists also served as a pretext for expressing anxieties over the instable social, economic, and political conditions during the Weimar Republic. Unevenness and abrupt shifts in the organization of the economy produced struggles around public and private; dynamics of inclusion and exclusion became increasingly relevant in a society that confronted democracy and consumerism with profound ambivalence.

"Motoring Amazons?," the sixth chapter, focuses on active female motorcyclists and female motorcycling authors by paying attention to their relatively scant voices in the pervasively masculine world of motorcycling. By looking at both fictional and factual examples of female motorcyclists, this chapter explores the strategies women employed in order to participate in the modern activity of motorization, as well as the challenges they faced in their attempts. An exemplary figure was Hanni Köhler, who not only raced alongside men and won competitions such as the North-South Race in 1924, but also undertook a nine-month 20,000 km motorcycle expedition from Sri Lanka to Germany in 1931, a remarkable feat for any person at that period of time. While her achievements were often celebrated within the trade journals, her insistence on active female motorcycling made her vulnerable to claims of not being properly feminine, of upsetting gender norms, and of being what motorcycle magazines called a "Motorcycle Amazon." Furthermore, the predominantly male-generated discourse around women and motorcycling was couched in terms of debates on women's health and on women's technological aptitude—or their ostensible lack thereof—and women encountered institutional obstacles when they took the steering wheel or handlebars. Nevertheless, although sexism was institutional and class and social rank were less important than gender when it came to driving motor vehicles, women motorcyclists found ways to assert their needs and desires, and ultimately transformed definitions of proper femininity.

Tracing the intricate webs of male–female sexual intimacy on and off the road, from mere voyeurism to tentative selection, taking a test drive and the rituals of purchase, and trading in the old for the new, the final chapter, “Sex and the Sidecar,” analyzes the ticklishness of gender, sexuality, motorization, and consumption during the Weimar Republic. The motor vehicle’s potential offer of (sexual) liberation was often portrayed as its greatest asset. In the mostly fictional sources analyzed in this chapter, the motorcycle usually occupies both a material and a symbolic role, as an instrument that facilitates sexual experiences on the one hand and as an enhancer of male sexuality on the other. Motorcycles, with their promises of freedom and mobility, represented a modern form of male-dominated sexually potent capital. The opportunities opened by motorized mobility were perceived, sometimes with great anxiety, as catapulting both men and women headlong into precipitous sexual intimacy and as accelerating sexual relations. For one side, it was an acute threat to marriage and the moral fabric of society; for the other, it was simply a new technology that produced new forms of age-old behaviors. This ambivalence mirrored the instability of economic and sexual relations during the Weimar Republic.

If the oft-invoked metaphor of a “laboratory of modernity” is a fitting vehicle to describe the Weimar Republic, then motorization was an important field of social experimentation. For many Germans during the Weimar Republic, motorcycling became a vehicle for negotiating the modern world. The motorcycle was a source of both fear and fascination: “When you curse the thundering cloud of dust kicked up through this land by the devil’s wheels, you feel that this eerie singing roar has something provocative, daring, yes seductive about it.”⁶⁰ Motorcycles propelled German men and women headlong into modernity. “The thundering motor is the heart of this new world, it shares its speed with the humans, and they test themselves against it.”⁶¹ Or, as one skeptical police captain wrote in 1931 to the Prussian Minister of the Interior: “Dear Honorable Minister! If one day a ‘necrology’ of these wonderful times are written, then it shouldn’t be forgotten that it was characterized by the ‘mellifluous’ motorcycle.”⁶²

Notes

1. Alexander Büttner authored motoring manuals and wrote a great number of articles for the motoring press: Alexander Büttner, “Motorradfahrers Werdegang,” *Motorrad-Sport, -Verkehr und -Technik*, no. 10, 1924, 11–13. This story was reprinted in *Das Motorrad*, 1925: 109–11.

2. Büttner, "Motorradfahrers Werdegang," 11–13. A similar story, "Werdegang," written in the form of a poem, also highlights the role of male consumption in becoming a motorcyclist:

"In a jiffy, you buy a leather vest,
 Racing helmet, crash helmet—should sit tight—
 Also long boots, gloves, goggles.
 And with a proud elation,
 In first-class gear you stand,
 You only have the best."

—Karo, "Werdegang," *Motorrad-Sport, -Verkehr und -Technik*, no. 25, 1928, 25.

3. Klaus Theweleit's classic, *Male Fantasies*, has long set the tone for inquiries into masculinity during the Weimar Republic. Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). George Mosse's work has likewise been very influential: George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). See also Todd Ettelson, "The Nazi 'New Man': Embodying Masculinity and Regulating Sexuality in the SA and SS, 1930–1939" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2002). Notable exceptions to the exclusive focus on the Männerbund and militarism are Jens Schmidt, *Sich hart machen, wenn es gilt: Männlichkeitskonzeptionen in Illustrierten der Weimarer Republik* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2000); Erik Norman Jensen, *Body by Weimar: Athletes, Gender and German Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Tanja Paulitz, *Mann und Maschine: eine genealogische Wissenssoziologie des Ingenieurs und der modernen Technikwissenschaften 1850–1930* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2012). One edited volume explores the construction of "hegemonic (white) masculinity," around 1900: Ulrike Brunotte and Rainer Herrm, eds., *Männlichkeiten und Moderne: Geschlecht in den Wissenskulturen um 1900* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2008), which focuses primarily, but not exclusively, on the constitutive relationship between militarization and masculinity in Germany. For a sample of literature on the Männerbund, militarism, and masculinity in modern Germany, see Thomas Kühne, "Männergeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte," in *Männergeschichte – Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne*, ed. Thomas Kühne (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Press, 1996), 7–30; Ute Frevert, "Soldaten, Staatsbürger: Überlegungen zur historischen Konstruktion von Männlichkeit," in Kühne, *Männergeschichte*, 69–87; Nicholas Sombart, "Männerbund und Politische Kultur in Deutschland," in Kühne, *Männergeschichte*, 136–55; Ute Frevert, *Mann und Weib und Weib und Mann: Geschlechterdifferenz in der Moderne* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1995); Bernd Widdig, *Männerbund und Massen: Zur Krise Männlicher Identität in der Literatur der Moderne* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992); Berndt Weisbrod, "Military Violence and Male Fundamentalism: Ernst Jünger's Contribution to the Conservative Revolution," *History Workshop Journal* 49 (Spring 2000): 68–94; Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, "Flying and Killing: Military Masculinity in German Literature, 1914–1939," in Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, eds. *HOME/Front: The Military, War and Gender in 20th Century Germany* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 205–32; Thomas Kühne, *Kameradschaft: Die*

- Soldaten des nationalsozialistischen Krieges und das 20. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006); Thomas Kühne, *Belonging and Genocide: Hitler's Community, 1918–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
4. Ilse Lundberg, a prolific female author, published a similar story, "When a Lady Rides a Motorcycle," about the development of a female motorcyclist. This story is discussed in Chapter 6, "Motoring Amazons?" Ilse Lundberg, "Wenn eine Dame Motorrad fährt," *Das Motorrad*, 1927: 527.
 5. Helmut Braun and Christian Panzer, "The Expansion of the Motor-Cycle Industry in Germany and Great Britain (1918–1919)," *Journal of European Economic History* 32, no. 1 (2003): 52; Heidrun Edelmann, *Vom Luxusgut zum Gebrauchsgegenstand: Die Geschichte der Verbreitung von Personenkraftwagen in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Verband der Automobil Industrie, 1989), 108, 126; Reiner Flik, *Von Ford lernen? Automobilbau und Motorisierung in Deutschland bis 1933* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), 81.
 6. *Tatsachen und Zahlen der Reichsverband der Automobilindustrie*, 1930.
 7. Wolf-Dieter Lützen, "Radfahren, Motorsport, Autobesitz. Motorisierung zwischen Staterwerb," in *Die Arbeiter: Lebensformen, Alltag und Kultur* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1986), 369–77. See also, Edelmann, *Vom Luxusgut zum Gebrauchsgegenstand*, 108.
 8. Bielefeld, "Krisis im Motorradgeschäft," *Motor-Kritik*, no. 3, 1931, 56.
 9. Consumption is a central element of twentieth-century citizenship. Cotton Seiler makes this point, for example, in regard to automobile ownership and African American claims to full citizenship. Cotton Seiler, *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 114–28. More generally, see Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt, eds., *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the 20th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), especially Part 3: "Empowering Women as Citizen-Consumers." Also see Kathleen Canning's overview in *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1–62, especially 29–32.
 10. Brian Ladd addresses the phenomena of "the love–hate relationship" with automobiles in *Autophobia: Love and Hate in the Automotive Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
 11. In a provocative essay, Adelheid von Saldern considers the Weimar Republic as period not only of economic crisis, but "one entailing a conflict of attitudes to culture in a phase of developing mass culture," exploring motorcycle racing as one terrain of conflict. See Adelheid von Saldern, "Cultural Conflicts, Popular Mass Culture, and the Question of Nazi Success: The Eilenriede Motorcycle Races, 1924–39," *German Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (1992): 317–38, here 317. Her analysis draws on Detlev Peukert's particularly astute analysis of the Weimar Republic, which above all stresses its profound contradictions; see Detlev J.K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989); Eric Weitz also foregrounds the "tension-bound world of modernity" in Eric D. Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 4.

12. See Bernhard Rieger's excellent comparative analysis of the relationship between technology and modernity in Germany and Britain from the end of the nineteenth century through the end of World War II. Bernhard Rieger, *Technology and the Culture of Modernity in Britain and Germany, 1890–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
13. The term "emergent culture," taken from Raymond Williams, denotes a space where novel representations and performances of gender and class are possible. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 121–27. See also, Rudy Koshar, "On the History of the Automobile in Everyday Life," *Contemporary European History* 10, no. 1 (2001): 149–50.
14. Isle Lundberg, "Motorrad-Radio-Wochenende," *Das Motorrad*, 1928: 466–68.
15. Decades before Jean Baudrillard asserted that everything you needed to know about the United States you could learn "from an anthropology of its driving behavior," Henri Lefebvre asserted that motorization was a key site of the "bureaucratic society of controlled consumption," and automobiles a "leading object" in his investigation of "everyday life in the modern world." Jean Baudrillard, *America* (London: Verso [1968] 1988), 54; Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, [1968] 1994), 103. For American case studies of the spatial and social transformations brought about by motorization, see Clay McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path: The Automobile and the American City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); and Peter D. Norton, *Fighting Traffic: The Dawn of the Motor Age in the American City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008). In his study of motorization in France, Germany, and Switzerland, Christoph Maria Merki considers the impacts of shifts from non-motorized to motorized traffic and travel. Christoph Maria Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug des Automobils, 1895–1930, Zur Motorisierung des Straßenverkehrs in Frankreich, Deutschland und der Schweiz* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002). See also Peter Kirchberg, "Die Motorisierung des Straßenverkehrs in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Die Entwicklung der Motorisierung im Deutschen Reich und den Nachfolgestaaten*, ed. Harry Niemann and Armin Hermann (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1995), 9–22. Moreover, *Atlantic Automobilmism*, Gijs Mom's recent expansive study and the first volume in this series, provides an analytically driven synthetic account of the first four and a half decades of car cultures within seven distinct national contexts, including Germany. Highlighting both differences and commonalities, Mom firmly positions the car as a cultural and technological commodity. Importantly, he reads the car and its antecessors, accouterments, and outgrowths (both material and immaterial) as something to be explained rather than as something that explains, thus, as *explanandum* rather than *explanans*. Gijs Mom, *Atlantic Automobilmism: Emergence and Persistence of the Car 1885–1940* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015).
16. Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 27.
17. Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); Harry Harootunian, *Histories Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Social Change* (London: Blackwell Publishers, 1989); Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the*

- Modernization of Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). I draw upon a number of methodologies, from historical anthropology and material culture studies to social histories of technology and the sociological concept of the habitus, in order to complicate simplistic gender and class readings of gender, motorization, and modernity in the Weimar Republic. My approach follows Arjun Appadurai's appeal to investigate "the social life of things." Appadurai calls for looking at the historical moments in the object's social life from "production, to mediation, to reception." Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). See also: Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1987); Daniel Miller, *Car Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1984); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Helmut Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
18. Eric Weitz provides an extremely good and readable overview of politics, culture, and society in the Weimar Republic. Weitz, *Weimar Republic*.
 19. A few prominent examples are Thorstein Veblen, Werner Sombart, Antonio Gramsci, Roland Barthes, Henri Lefebvre, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Herbert Marcuse, Pierre Bourdieu, and Jean Baudrillard.
 20. For a concise definition of "automobility," see Jeremy Packer, *Mobility without Mayhem: Safety, Cars, and Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2008), 293n4. For a sociological approach towards "automobility," see "Special Issue on Automobilities," *Theory, Culture & Society* 21 (October 2004), ed. Mike Featherstone, Nigel Thrift, and John Urry. On the concept of "automobilism," see Mom, *Atlantic Automobilism*, 37–38. For a critical account of the development of mobility studies, and the differences between "automobility" and "automobilism," see Mom, *Atlantic Automobilism*, 7–27.
 21. McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path*; Norton, *Fighting Traffic*; Seiler, *Republic of Drivers*; Packer, *Mobility without Mayhem*.
 22. Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*; Sean O'Connell, *The Car and British Society: Class, Gender and Motoring 1896–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998). Lewis S. Siegelbaum has also looked at role of "light vehicles" in the development of Soviet society: Lewis S. Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades: The Life of the Soviet Automobile* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).
 23. Kathleen Franz, *Tinkering: Consumers Reinvent the Early Automobile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (New York: Free Press, 1991); Georgine Clarsen, *Eat My Dust: Early Women Motorists* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2008).
 24. Kurt Möser's recent monograph on "driving and flying" probes what made "mobility machines"—cars and airplanes, but also bicycles, motorcycles, motor boats, canoes, skis, surfboards, sleds, and so on—the object of intense fascination from 1890 to 1930. Kurt Möser, *Fahren und Fliegen in Frieden und Krieg: Kulturen individueller Mobilitätsmaschinen 1880–1930* (Heidelberg: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2009). On "timings and spacings" and "embodied sensibilities," see Peter Merriman,

- Mobility, Space and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2012). On speed, see Paulo Virilo, *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1977); Mimi Sheller, "Bodies, Cybercars and the Mundane Incorporation of Automated Mobilities," *Social & Cultural Geography* 8, no. 2 (2007): 175–97. On discourses of safety, see Packer, *Mobility without Mayhem*. On encapsulation and cocooning, see Gijs Mom, "Encapsulating Culture: European Car Travel, 1900–1940," *Journal of Tourism History* 3, no. 3 (2011).
25. On the "Social Construction of Technology," see Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas Parke Hughes, and T.J. Pinch, eds., *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987).
 26. Gijs Mom recovered a less-known trajectory—once abandoned, but now again celebrated as a necessary alternative—of the electric vehicle for the history of motorization. See Gijs Mom, *The Electric Vehicle: Technology and Expectations in the Automobile Age* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2012). Through its broad interpretation of "mobility machines," Kurt Möser's *Fliegen and Fahren* represents an exception and Jeremy Packer has one chapter on motorcycling and another on trucking in his study, *Mobility without Mayhem*. Mom's *Atlantic Automobilism* also pays some attention to other forms of motorized transport, including the motorcycle.
 27. For academic literature on the automobile in Germany, see: Edelmann, *Vom Luxusgut zum Gebrauchsgegenstand*, 108, 126; Flik, *Von Ford lernen?*; Uwe Fraunholz, *Motorphobia: Anti-automobiler Protest in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002); Alexa Geisthovel, "Das Auto," in *Orte der Moderne: Erfahrungswelten des 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alexa Geisthovel and Habbo Knoch (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus, 2005), 37–46; Barbara Haubner, *Von Nervenkitzel zur Freizeitvergnügen, Automobilismus in Deutschland, 1860–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); Koshar, "On the History of the Automobile"; Rudy Koshar, "Cars and Nations: Anglo-German Perspectives on Automobility between the World Wars," *Theory, Culture & Society* 21 (2004): 121–44; Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*; Kurt Möser, "World War I and the Creation of Desire for Automobiles in Germany," in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the 20th Century*, ed. Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 195–222; Kurt Möser, *Geschichte des Autos* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002); Wolfgang Sachs, *For the Love of the Automobile: Looking Back into the History of our Desires* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Angela Zatsch, *Staatsmacht und Motorisierung am Morgen des Automobilzeitalters* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1993).
 28. While Frank Steinbeck's recent monograph, *Das Motorrad*, is an important exception to an exclusive focus on the automobile in the history of motorization in Germany and his research partly overlaps with the interests of the present book, his stated purpose is to provide an explanation for Germany's two-wheeled 'special path' (what he terms a *Sonderweg*) to motorization. His work, valuable in its own right, nevertheless pays very little attention to cultural or social conflicts, or to shifting understandings of class, gender, and sexuality. See Frank Steinbeck, *Das Motorrad: Ein deutscher Sonderweg in die automobile Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), here 9–11. A few articles have also been published on production and the economic side of motorcycling in Germany:

- Braun and Panzer, "The Expansion of the Motor-Cycle Industry"; Rainer Gömmel and Helmut Braun, "Aufstieg und Niedergang der deutschen Motorradindustrie," in *Struktur und Dimension. Festschrift für Heinrich Kaufhold zum 65. Geburtstag*, vol. 2, ed. Hans-Jürgen Gerhard (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), 167–94. Motorcycling culture in England has been given more attention by mobility and transport scholars. See, for example, Christopher Thomas Potter, "An Exploration of Social and Cultural Aspects of Motorcycling during the Interwar Period" (PhD diss., Northumbria University, 2007); Steve Koerner has also published a number of articles on motorcycling in England: Steve Koerner, "Four Wheels Good, Two Wheel Bad: The Motor Cycle versus the Light Motor Car 1919–1939," in *The Motor Car and Popular Culture in the 20th Century*, ed. David Thoms, Len Holden, and Tim Claydon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 151–76; Steve Koerner, "Whatever Happened to the Girl on the Motorbike? British Women and Motorcycling, 1919 to 1939," *International Journal of Motorcycling Studies* (March 2007), accessed 28 June 2007, http://ijms.nova.edu/March2007/IJMS_Artcl.Koerner.html. Indeed, a small, Anglo-American-dominated cultural studies subfield of "motorcycling studies" has been initiated by a group of interdisciplinary scholars. See the "only peer-reviewed journal devoted to motorcycling": *International Journal of Motorcycle Studies*, <http://ijms.nova.edu>. Two of the editors of the IJMS published a monograph on the motorcycle from a broadly conceived "object design" perspective: Steven E. Alford and Suzanne Ferriss, *Motorcycle* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007).
29. In fact at least two automobile companies, Opel and Hanomag, did implement partial assembly line production at their plants, but their cars were still too costly, especially in terms of operating costs, to be affordable to the masses seeking to motorize. On the efforts of rationalization in the automobile industry during World War II, see Anita Kugler, "Von der Werkstatt zum Fließband, Etappen der frühen Automobilproduktion," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 13, no. 3 (1987): 324–28.
 30. See Flik, *Von Ford lernen?*, especially 199–201, 221–29. Furthermore, the depressed real wages for workers in Germany impeded the implementation of a Fordist model of production based on mass consumption. See also Nolan, *Visions of Modernity*, 78–80, 162–65.
 31. "Zur Frage des Volksmotorrades," *Das Motorrad*, 1927: 372–73.
 32. The 1931 yearbook of the National League of the German Automobile Industry reported that, "already in 1928, the German motorcycle industry had moved up to the top position in world production of motorcycles with 162,000 units. In 1929, with the production of 200,000 units, the German motorcycle industry solidified its position as the global leader, responsible for more than a third of global production." *Jahrbuch der Reichsverband der Automobilindustrie*, 1931, 124–25; Braun and Panzer, "Expansion," 49–50.
 33. Andrea Rapini, "La Vespa: histoire sociale d'une innovation industrielle," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 4 (2007): 76. A 1932 article in *Das Motorrad* claimed: "Mussolini is himself an enthusiastic motorcyclist. It is not seldom that he roars out of the side gate of the Palazzo Venezia, rushing through Rome to take the street to Ostia in a record tempo – the relaxation and recreation of a dictator." G.R. "Italienischer Motorsport und italienische Industrie: Konzentration und Zusammenarbeit: ein Ziel aufs innigste zu wünschen – für Deutschland," *Das Motorrad*, 1932: 1250.

34. Steinbeck, *Das Motorrad*.
35. John Alt proposed reading the motorcycle as a "cultural commodity." While I do not apply a "culture industry" based reading of motorcycling to the Weimar Republic as he does in terms of motorcycling in the 1980s, many of the tropes Alt proposed were present already during the Weimar Republic. See John Alt, "Popular Culture and Mass Consumption: The Motorcycle as Cultural Commodity," *Journal of Popular Culture* 15, no. 4 (Spring 1982): 129–41.
36. See, for example, Martin Heidegger, "Von Wesen und Wirklichkeit der Kraft," in *Die Grundbegriffe der Metaphysik, Aristoteles: Metaphysik IX 1–3* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1981), 517.
37. Martin Heidegger, *Introduction to Metaphysics*, trans. Gregory Fried and Richard Polt (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 2000), 36. See also, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 454.
38. Packer, *Mobility without Mayhem*, 133.
39. Alt, "Popular Culture and Mass Consumption," 134, 138. See also the 1970s pop-philosophy classic, Robert M. Pirsig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance: An Inquiry into Values* (New York: Morrow, 1974).
40. See Victoria de Grazia's introduction to the *Sex of Things*. De Grazia and Furlough, *The Sex of Things*, 7.
41. As Judy Wajcman put it: "Even more markedly than the car, the motorcycle is a symbolic object that represents physical toughness, virility, excitement, speed, danger and skill. Their conspicuous bodywork and mechanics resonate with their original military use, and speak of aggression and virility. Along with leather jackets, riders wear grease-stained jeans to express their technical competence. The experience of riding a bike encapsulates the outdoor, roving life of the wanderer with no ties. It also symbolizes a form of man's mastery of the machine; a powerful monster between his legs which he must tame." Judy Wajcman, *Feminism Confronts Technology* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 134. Notable exceptions that look at the British case are Koerner, "Whatever Happened to the Girl on the Motorbike?"; and Potter, "Social and Cultural Aspects of Motorcycling."
42. "In Western societies, acts of exchange and consumption have long been obsessively gendered, usually as female." De Grazia and Furlough, *The Sex of Things*, 1. On gender, especially femininity during the Weimar Republic, see: Katharina von Ankum, ed., *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995); Patrice Petro, *Joyless Streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989); Jennifer M. Lynn, "Contested Femininities: Representations of Modern Women in the German Illustrated Press, 1920–1945" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2012); Nina Sylvester, "Das Girl': Crossing Spaces and Spheres: The Function of the Girl in the Weimar Republic" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2006). See also the global implications of the "new woman": Alys Eve Weinbaum et al., *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity and Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), especially the essay by Ute G. Poiger, "Fantasies of Universality? *Neue Frauen*, Race and Nation in Weimar and Nazi Germany," 315–44.

43. See also Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 1–2.
44. Seiler, *Republic of Drivers*, 54. On the gendering of technology in general, see Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun, eds. *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Technology* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998); Roger Horowitz, ed., *Boys and Their Toys? Masculinity, Technology and Class in America* (New York: Routledge, 2001). On the automobile, see, for example, Sachs, *For the Love of the Automobile*, 32–46; Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*, 257–64, 286–94; O'Connell, *The Car and British Society*, 43–76. On the motorcycle, see: Dick Hebdige, "Object as Image: The Italian Motor Scooter Cycle," in *Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things* (London: Comedia, 1988), 77–115.
45. "Gender is a political category, not only through the hierarchical difference between men and women, but also through the conflict-ridden rivalries between different imaginations of masculinity (and also femininities) – within one time, in one society, one man." Kühne, "Männergeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte," 19.
46. Although in decline during the Weimar Republic, older institutions, such as the church and the family, continued to assert considerable influence over gender norms, while militarization and labor became more important rhetorically as their position to materially reinforce normative masculinities in everyday life was weakened. See Raymond C. Sun, "'Hammer Blows': Work, the Workplace, and the Culture of Masculinity among Catholic Workers in the Weimar Republic," *Central European History* 37, no. 2 (2004): 245–71. On hegemonic masculinity, see R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995); and R.W. Connell, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 19.
47. On "doing and undoing gender," see Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (London: Routledge, 2004); also Ulrike Brunotte and Rainer Herrn, "Statt einer Einleitung. Männlichkeiten und Moderne–Pathosformeln, Wissenskulturen, Diskurse," in *Männlichkeiten und Moderne*, ed. Brunotte and Herrn, 9–24, here 11.
48. For a discussion of female masculinities during the Weimar Republic, see Katie Sutton, *The Masculine Woman in Weimar Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).
49. On the modern woman, see: Gabriele Tergit, *Atem einer anderen Welt: Berliner Reportagen*, ed. Jens Brüning (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1994), 46. On attributes of the modern man, see: "Öffentliche Meinung 216: Motorradfahren steigert das Allgemeinbefinden," *Das Motorrad*, 1929: 116. Kurt Möser argues that automobilism, both before and after WWI, provided a "conditioning for modern life." Kurt Möser, "The Dark Side of 'Automobilism', 1900–30: Violence, War, and the Motor Car," *Journal of Transport History* 24, no. 2 (2003): 243–46. See also, Joachim Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002).
50. Distinctions between different types of motorists, for example between motorcyclists and automobile owners, were created and perpetuated based on class and gender. For example, Heidrun Edelmann asserts that the automobile industry tried to maintain an elite aura, whereas with motorcycles, and especially smaller types, the "mass character" became a selling point. "Thus, the motorcycle, 'the motor vehicle of the working population,' for whom it was possible to 'do without individuality' (*auf Individualität verzichtet werden konnte*), rationalization of

- constructions and the production process progressed especially far." Edelman, *Vom Luxusgut zum Gebrauchsgegenstand*, 109.
51. My use of habitus draws upon both Pierre Bourdieu's formulation of the habitus as a "structuring structure," but also goes back to draw upon contemporary Weimar sociologist Theodor Geiger's concept of lifestyles and habitus. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 170; Theodore Geiger, *Die soziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes. Soziographischer Versuch auf statistischer Grundlage* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1932), III–IV, 13, 77–82.
 52. David Gartman, "Three Ages of the Automobile: The Cultural Logics of the Car," in *Theory, Culture & Society* 21, no. 4–5 (2004): 169–95. Although also structured in terms of "stages," the argument Gijs Mom offers in *Atlantic Automobility* supports a more complicated reading of car consumption during this period. See Mom, *Atlantic Automobility*, 647.
 53. Seiler, *Republic*, 60.
 54. On driving as compensation for a loss of individualism in the United States, see Seiler, *Republic*.
 55. Kurt Möser, "Dark Side of 'Automobility,'" 238.
 56. For the twentieth-century history of the motoring press in Germany, see Ulrich Kubisch, Andreas Curtius, and Joachim Dufner, *Das Automobil als Lesestoff: zur Geschichte der deutschen Motorpresse, 1898–1998*. Vol. 29 (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 1998).
 57. Gijs Mom also makes extensive use of fictional sources, a body of literature Mom terms "autopoetics," to trace the development of a "grammar" of automobility; see Mom, *Atlantic Automobility*, 133–204.
 58. Fred Petermann's *PS-Narr* was serialized in *Das Motorrad* in 1927, Julius Donny's *Garage 13* in 1929, and Fritz Pullig's *Rennfieber* in *Motorrad-Sport, -Verkehr und -Technik* in 1929–30. A further novel, Walter Julius Bloem's *Motorherz*, was published in 1927 and reviewed in motorcycle magazines. See Chapter 3 on the motoring trade press. For more information on the reading culture during the Weimar Republic, see: Gideon Reuveni, *Reading Germany: Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany before 1933* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006).
 59. Bruce Seely has explored the habitus of the US highway engineer. Bruce E. Seely, *Building the American Highway System: Engineers as Policy Makers* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987).
 60. "Auto oder Motorrad," *Auto-Magazin*, no. 8, 1928, 578–82, here 578.
 61. "Review of Walter Julius Bloem, *Motorherz*, Verlag Scherl, Berlin, 1927," *Der deutsche Motorfahrer*, no. 1, 1928, 24.
 62. As quoted in Paul Friedmann, "Pest von Vehikeln – Lärmritter der Straße!," *Das Motorrad*, 1931: 1767–68.