

Chapter 8

CLASS, YOUTH, AND SEXUALITY IN THE
CONSTRUCTION OF THE *LUSTMÖRDER*

The 1928 Murder Trial of Karl Hussmann

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In the early morning of 23 March 1928, two workers who were on their way to their shift discovered a body in front of the house at Schultenstrasse 11 in Gladbeck, a small town in the northern part of the industrial district of the Ruhr.¹ The men woke the physician Dr. Lutter, who lived close by. Dr. Lutter, after realizing that the person in question was beyond his help, went to his friend Adolf Daube, headmaster [*Rektor*] of the local *Lutherschule*, a protestant primary school, who lived at Schultenstrasse 11, and called the police. When Lutter and Daube stepped out to have a look at the body, Adolf Daube suddenly exclaimed, “But, this is my boy!”² The corpse was indeed that of Helmut Daube, Adolf Daube’s nineteen-year-old son. Police from Gladbeck’s criminal investigation department arrived twenty minutes later.³ Daube’s father knew that the night before his son had been out drinking with Karl Hussmann, a friend and former classmate. They had attended a recruiting evening [*Keilabend*] of the local branch of the right-wing student fraternity *Alte Burschenschaftler* in Buer, an hour’s walk from Gladbeck. After Lutter found out that Hussmann and Daube had left the pub and headed back home together, he called Hussmann.

Karl Hussmann answered the call rather quickly, given that he had been drinking the night before. Born in Guatemala in 1908, he was a half-orphan: his father had died on a journey from Guatemala to Germany in 1921. Therefore, Hussmann lived with foster parents, the family of the headmaster of a protestant school in Gladbeck-Rentfort, the Kleiböhmers. Hussmann considered himself Daube’s closest friend.⁴ Both young men had participated in a bible-reading

Notes from this chapter begin on page 219.

32. For a broader perspective, see Michel Foucault, "Lecture on 8 January 1975," in *Abnormal. Lectures at the Collège de France 1974–1975*, eds. Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni, trans. by Graham Burchell (London, 2003), 1–30.
33. See Dirks, "Ritual and Resistance," 488.
34. For a transnational perspective, see Daniel Siemens, *Metropole und Verbrechen. Die Gerichtsreportage in Berlin, Paris und Chicago 1919–1933* (Stuttgart, 2007).
35. Theodor Lessing, "Die Schüler und ihre Lehrer," *Prager Tageblatt*, 1 November 1928, in: Theodor Lessing, *Haarmann. Die Geschichte eines Werwolfs*, ed. Rainer Warwedel (Frankfurt a. M., 1989), 240–244, here, 244.
36. Ferdinand Bruckner, *Krankheit der Jugend. Schauspiel in drei Akten* (Berlin, 1928). See also Doris Engelhardt, "Ferdinand Bruckner als Kritiker seiner Zeit. Standortsuche eines Autors" (Ph.D. dissertation, RHTW Aachen, 1984), 56–86.
37. This theory was invalidated during the trial, which revealed that Günther Scheller had shot Hans and afterward killed himself.
38. For further details, see Siemens, *Metropole und Verbrechen*, 269–290; Heidi Sack, "'Wir werden lächelnd aus dem Leben scheiden.' Faszination Selbstmord in der Steglitzer Schülertragödie und in Diskursen der Weimarer Zeit," in: *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 34 (2009), 4, 259–272; Wolfgang Schild, "Berühmte Berliner Kriminalprozesse der Zwanziger Jahre," in *Rechtentwicklungen in Berlin. Acht Vorträge, gehalten anlässlich der 750-Jahrfeier Berlins*, Friedrich Ebel and Albrecht Randelzhofer, eds. (Berlin, 1988), 163–187; Thomas Lange, "Der Steglitzer Schülermordprozess 1928," in "Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit"—*Der Mythos Jugend*, Thomas Koebner and Rolf-Peter Janz et al., eds. (Frankfurt a. M., 1985), 412–437; Ernst Erich Noth, *Erinnerungen eines Deutschen* (Hamburg, 1971), 93–111.
39. Siemens, *Metropole und Verbrechen*, 272–282.
40. See, for example, Eduard Spranger, *Die Psychologie des Jugendalters* (Leipzig, 1924); Charlotte Bühler, *Über das Seelenleben der Jugendlichen. Versuch einer Analyse und Theorie der psychischen Pubertät* (Jena, 1922); Walter Hoffmann, *Die Reifezeit. Probleme der Entwicklungspsychologie und Sozialpädagogik* (Leipzig, 1921).
41. "Mordprozess gegen den Primaner Krantz. Erotik und Revolverschüsse," *Berliner Gerichts-Zeitung*, 2 December 1927.
42. Statement of Hussmann's schoolmate Erich Quaden, HSA Düsseldorf 299/822, 83.
43. Hearing of Karl Ernst August Hussmann, 23 February 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 299/822, 8–11.
44. Even more analogies could be found, which were seen and discussed by the contemporaries. See, e.g., the great number of letters written to the court included in HSA Düsseldorf 299/831.
45. Verhandlungen des Reichstages, III. Wahlperiode 1924, vol. 395, Stenographische Berichte (Berlin 1928), 12737, 12779–12780.
46. HSA Düsseldorf 6/755, 2–4.
47. See Robert Kuhn, *Die Vertrauenskrise der Justiz (1926–1928). Der Kampf um die "Republikanisierung" der Rechtspflege in der Weimarer Republik* (Köln, 1983); Daniel Siemens, "Die 'Vertrauenskrise' der Justiz," in *Die "Krise" der Weimarer Republik. Zur Kritik eines Deutungsmusters*, Moritz Föllmer and Rüdiger Graf, eds. (Frankfurt a. M., 2005), 139–163.
48. HSA Düsseldorf 299/831, 166–167.
49. Moritz Goldstein, "Vor dem Urteilsspruch," *Vossische Zeitung*, 28 October 1928 (HSA Düsseldorf 6/755 [newspaper clippings]).
50. See Daniel Siemens, "Explaining Crime. Berlin Newspapers and the Construction of the Criminal in Weimar Germany," *Journal of European Studies* 39 (2009), 336–352.
51. August Hermann Zeiz, "Belastungszeugen widerrufen," *Berliner Tageblatt*, 26 October 1928 (HSA Düsseldorf 6/755 [newspaper clippings]).

52. "Mordprozeß Hussmann," *Ruhr-Echo*, 16 October 1928 (HSA Düsseldorf 6/755, 29). For details concerning the *Stahlhelm*, see Volker R. Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm. Bund der Frontsoldaten, 1918–1935* (Düsseldorf, 1966).
53. Report from police district superintendent Mikfeld, HSA Düsseldorf 6/755, 87–89, here, 87. On the attitudes and political standpoints of Weimar juveniles, see the contributions in Wolfgang R. Krabbe (Ed.), *Politische Jugend in der Weimarer Republik* (Bochum, 1993); on the habitus of young right-wing activists see Peter Fritzsche, "On Being the Subjects of History: Nazis as Twentieth-Century Revolutionaries," in *Language and Revolution. Making Modern Political Identities*, ed., Igal Halpin (London, 2002), 161–183.
54. "Der Bibelkreis," *Rote Fahne*, 23 October 1928 (HSA Düsseldorf 6/755 [newspaper clippings]).
55. Report on the autopsy of the corpse of Helmut Daube by Dr. Marcks, 23 March 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 38–45, here, 41. The German term *Lustmord* stresses a murderer's alleged sexual motive, whereas the English term usually used for this category of crime—"serial killer"—refers to the repetitive character of the criminal acts. The German term as such cannot be rendered in English without a significant loss of meaning. (See Maria Tatar, *Lustmord: Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany*. 2nd ed. [Princeton, 1997], 7–8). Therefore, *Lustmord* will not be translated in this text.
56. Carl Grossmann, born in 1863 in Neuruppin, was arrested on 21 August 1921 in Berlin and was suspected of having killed several women who came to Berlin looking for jobs to support themselves in the economically difficult years after World War I. He committed suicide just before the end of the trial on 5 June 1922. For further details, see Sace Elder's chapter in this volume as well as Matthias Blazek, *Karl Großmann und Friedrich Schumann. Zwei Serienmörder in den zwanziger Jahren* (Stuttgart, 2009).
57. Friedrich (Fritz) Haarmann, who was born in Hannover in 1879, was found guilty of murdering twenty-four young men in a homosexual frenzy and sentenced to death on 19 December 1924. The death penalty was carried out on 16 April 1925. For further details, see Kathrin Kompisch, "Der Fall Fritz Haarmann (1924)," *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter* 55/56 (2001/02), 97–116, and Thomas Kailer, "Werwölfe, Triebtäter, minderwertige Psychopathen. Bedingungen der Wissenspopularisierung: Der Fall Haarmann," in *Wissenspopularisierung. Konzepte der Wissensverbreitung im Wandel*, ed., Carsten Kretschmann (Berlin, 2003), 323–359.
58. Kürten was born in 1883 in Mühlheim (today a municipal district of Cologne) and was arrested in Düsseldorf on 24 May 1930. He was sentenced to death for murder in nine and of attempted murder in seven cases (women, girls, and one man) on 22 April 1931 and was executed on 2 July 1931. The case of Peter Kürten inspired Fritz Lang's famous film *M—Eine Stadt sucht einen Mörder* (Germany 1931, English title: *M. (Murderer Among Us)*). For further details, see Karl Berg, *Der Sadist. Gerichtsärztliches und Kriminalpsychologisches zu den Taten des Düsseldorfer Mörders Peter Kürten. Mit zwei Artikelserien des Kriminal-Polizeirats Ernst Gennat und der Verteidigungsrede von Dr. Alex Wehner*, ed. Michael Farin (München, 2004); Elisabeth Lenk and Roswitha Kaever, eds., *Leben und Wirken des Peter Kürten, genannt der Vampir von Düsseldorf* (München, 1974).
59. The German penal code (*Reichsstrafgesetzbuch*, 1871) exempted the accused from full legal responsibility under the condition that he or she had been unable to exert his or her free will by mental disturbances (§ 51). The court could rely on expert opinions to determine the mental state of the person in question. See Ernst Traugott Rubo, *Kommentar über das Strafgesetz für das deutsche Reich und das Einführungsgesetz vom 31. Mai 1870 sowie die Ergänzungsgesetze vom 10. Dezember 1871 und 26. Februar 1876. Nach amtlichen Quellen*. Berlin 1879, reprint, ed., and intro., Werner Schubert [Frankfurt a.M., 1991], 114). The expert statements were prepared by the local forensic physician Dr. Teudt and dated 31 June 1928 (HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 58–74), Prof. Hübner, director of the mental asylum in Bonn and professor of psychiatric medicine at the University of Bonn and Prof. Müller-Heß, member of the Committee

- of Forensic Medicine of the Rhine Province (“Gerichtsärztliche Ausschuß der Rheinprovinz”). The written opinions of Hübner and Müller-Heß unfortunately are not included in the archival materials. Yet, their statements are extensively quoted in the verdict against Hussmann, which enabled us to reconstruct their positions (Verdict against Karl Hussmann, 30 October 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 299/829, 130–165).
60. See, for instance, Erich Wulffen’s seminal work on the sexual criminal (*Der Sexualverbrecher: Ein Handbuch für Juristen, Polizei- und Verwaltungsbeamte, Mediziner und Pädagogen. Mit zahlreichen kriminalistischen Originalaufnahmen*. 11th ed. [Berlin 1928], 305 and 454). According to the report of officer Pest, the criminal police in Gladbeck had an edition of Wulffen’s manual at hand (5 November 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 6/755, 89–97, here, 96). For the influence of the *Lustmord* cases on the construction of an aggressive and potentially dangerous male sexuality, see Hania Siebenpfeiffer, “Kreatur und Kalter Killer. Der Lustmörder als Paradigma männlicher Gewalt in der Moderne,” in *Gewalt und Geschlecht. Bilder, Literatur und Diskurse im 20. Jahrhundert*, Hanno Ehrlicher and Hania Siebenpfeiffer, eds. (Köln, 2002), 109–130; Michael Schetsche, “Der Wille, der Trieb und das Deutungsmuster vom Lustmord,” in *Serienmord. Kriminologische und kulturwissenschaftliche Skizzierungen eines ungeheuerlichen Phänomens*, Frank J. Robertz and Alexandra Thomas, eds. (München, 2004), 346–364.
 61. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis. With Especial Reference to the Antipathic Sexual Instinct. A Medico-Forensic Study*. trans. Franklin S. Klaf (New York, 1998), 53. In contemporary scientific literature, Krafft-Ebing’s explanatory model and terminology was not undisputed. Iwan Bloch and Caspar von Schreck-Notzing, for example, promoted the term “active algolagny” in contrast to “passive algolagny” (masochism) to emphasize that they believed the infliction and the experience of intense pain to be the motive of these activities, not, as suggested by Krafft-Ebing, the exertion of unlimited power (Iwan Bloch, *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur*, 2nd and 3rd expanded ed. [Berlin, 1907], 616, and Caspar von Schrenck-Notzing, “Beiträge zur forensischen Beurtheilung von Sittlichkeitsvergehen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Pathogenese psychosexueller Anomalien,” *Archiv für Kriminologie und Anthropologie* 1 [1889], 5–25, here, 25).
 62. Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 32.
 63. See, e.g., Schrenck-Notzing, “Beiträge zur forensischen Beurtheilung,” 18–19.
 64. Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1–3, 56–57.
 65. See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London, 1995), 36–41, and Sander L. Gilman, “Sexology, Psychoanalysis, and Degeneration: From a Theory of Race to a Race to Theory,” in *Degeneration. The Dark Side of Progress*, Edward J. Chamberlain and Sander L. Gilman, eds. (New York, 1985), 72–100, here, 73–75. For the influence of colonial racist thinking on the construction of the *Lustmörder*, see Eva Bischoff *Kannibale-Werden. Eine postkoloniale Geschichte deutscher Männlichkeit um 1900* (Bielefeld, 2011), 186–194, 200–210.
 66. See the correspondence between the inquisitor and the police in Baden (HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 53–54) and Teudt’s medical opinion on Hussmann, 31 June 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 58–74, here, 58.
 67. Medical opinion of Dr. Teudt, 31 June 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 58–74, here, 58.
 68. As referred to by the prosecution in its bill of indictment against Hussmann, HSA Düsseldorf 299/829, 1–18, here, 17. For the interdependency of nationalist and racist thinking, see Christian Geulen, *Wahlverwandte. Rassendiskurs und Nationalismus im späten 19. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 2004), and for the discussion on the degenerative effect of “inter-racial” marriages in Germany, see Fatima El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche. Der Diskurs um “Rasse” und nationale Identität 1890–1933* (Frankfurt a. M./New York, 2001).
 69. Medical opinion of Dr. Teudt, 31 June 1928 [sic], HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 58–74, here, 67.
 70. *Ibid.*, 67–68.

71. Hübner's expertise for example is called upon not only in the trial against Hussmann but also in that against Peter Kürten. (See Hübner's medical opinion on Kürten, 26 March 1931, HSA Düsseldorf 17/730). Prof. Strauch (Berlin), who prepared a psychiatric expertise on Carl Grossmann (see Medical opinion on Carl Grossmann by Prof. Strauch, 26 April 1922, LAB A 358-01/1522, vol. 4, 210–245), was involved in the Hussmann trial as well: the Berlin homicide squad asked his opinion on the question of how much blood would have been spilled on the murderer of Helmut Daube. In his answer, Störmer included speculations on the possible motive of the murderer. According to him, it most likely was jealousy, homosexual desire, or sadism. (HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 49–52).
72. Medical opinion on Peter Kürten by Dr. Raether, 2 January 1931, HSA Düsseldorf 17/731, 269.
73. Medical opinion on Carl Grossmann by Dr. Störmer, 20 May 1922, LAB A 358-01/1522, vol. 4, 246–266, here, 261–262.
74. Medical opinion on Carl Grossmann by Prof. Strauch, 26 April 1922, LAB A 358-01/1522, vol. 4, 210–245, here, 230.
75. Medical opinion on Friedrich Haarmann by Dr. Schultze, 1 October 1924, HSA Hannover Hann 155 Göttingen 864a: 106–130, here, 130.
76. See the description Wulffen gives of the “typical” *Lustmörder* “J.” (*Der Sexualverbrecher*, 478–482).
77. Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*, 341–342, 348–349. In medical opinions on convicted *Lustmörder*, however, these juvenile acts of aggression are explicitly stressed. See, e.g., the expert opinion on Peter Kürten by Prof. Sioli, in which Kürten's questionable accounts of his cruelties to dogs and his murder of a playmate at an early age were taken at face value. Moreover, Sioli referred to them to demonstrate that Kürten's perversion was already developed at an early age (14 November 1930, HSA Düsseldorf 17/728, 11 and 277).
78. See the expertise by Hübner and Müller-Heß as included in the verdict against Hussmann, 30 October 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 299/829, 130–165, here, 143.
79. Medical opinion on Hussmann by Dr. Teudt, 31 June 1928 [sic], HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 58–74, here, 70. Müller-Heß concurred with this assessment (see the verdict against Hussmann, 30 October 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 299/829, 130–165, here, 144) whereas Hübner distinguished between “normal” behavior and some single acts, which were unusual for pubertal sexuality (*ibid.*, 143).
80. For the construction of the “homosexual body,” see John C. Fout, “Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, 3 (1992), 388–421; Siobhan Somerville, “Scientific Racism and the Emergence of the Homosexual Body,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5, 2 (1994), 243–266; Jennifer Terry, “Anxious Slippages Between ‘Us’ and ‘Them.’ A Brief History of the Scientific Search for Homosexual Bodies,” in *Deviant Bodies. Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla, eds. (Bloomington 1995), 129–169. For views of homosexual male prostitution in the 1920s, see Martin Lücke, *Männlichkeit in Unordnung. Homosexualität und männliche Prostitution in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt a.M., 2008).
81. Eduard Spranger, *Psychologie des Jugendalters* (Leipzig, 1924, here quoted according to the 28th edition 1966). Spranger's book was considered the seminal study on the topic of adolescent psychology until the 1970s.
82. Medical opinion of Dr. Teudt, 31 June 1928 [sic], HSA Düsseldorf 299/826, 58–74, here, 69. See also Spranger, *Psychologie des Jugendalters*, 90–92, 94–97.
83. For Spranger, the “sound development of the soul” was at risk predominantly by the “repression of the sexual instinct” (*Psychologie des Jugendalters*, 128). Concerning male homosexuality,

he considered “enthusiastic and idealistic tendencies among young men to be a necessary phenomenon of growing up” (ibid., 115).

84. Verdict against Hussmann, 30 October 1928, HSA Düsseldorf 299/829, 130–165, here, 145.
85. See Christian Müller, *Verbrechensbekämpfung im Anstaltsstaat. Psychiatrie, Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform in Deutschland 1871–1933* (Göttingen, 2004), 156–158.
86. Karl Hussmann, *Das falsche Geständnis* (Kiel, 1935), 63.