Gender in Transition

Discourse and Practice in German-Speaking Europe, 1750–1830

Ulrike Gleixner and Marion W. Gray, EDITORS

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GENDER IN TRANSITION

Discourse and Practice in German-Speaking Europe, 1750–1830

EDITED BY ULRIKE GLEIXNER AND MARION W. GRAY

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This book is dedicated to Karin Hausen

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Preface

This book, *Gender in Transition,* grew out of discussions between the two editors during the summer of 1995, when we both were associated with the Arbeitsgruppe ostelbische Gutsherrschaft at the University of Potsdam. We were involved in separate projects dealing with rural women and rural gender norms in the late eighteenth century, and our discussions made it increasingly clear that we were part of a community of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic who were working in several disciplines to explore the major transformation of gender systems of German-speaking Europe during this era.

We reflected on the fact that this community was intellectually indebted to the pioneering work of Karin Hausen, former director of the Institut für interdisziplinäre Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung. Both of us were drawn to our topics in part because of Hausen's work. So had many other scholars, including some affiliated at that time with the institute she directed. Others, however, probably had only a vague sense of indebtedness to Hausen, but the paradigms she had articulated were evident almost without exception in the scholarship. The obvious fact was the existence of an ongoing drive to clarify the nature of the transitions in gender she had originally delineated.

Many of the same names came up again and again in our conversations, but the community we envisioned was more a construct in our minds than something its members perceived. There were intellectual connections and some personal contacts, but on the whole, minimal direct interaction occurred and no organizational ties existed. We thought that it would be positive to bring together, physically and intellectually, a group of such researchers, thereby providing an opportunity to take stock of the nature of scholarly inquiry into our subject. We believed such an encounter would produce a collaborative result that was more than the sum of its parts, an update on the state of research regarding gender at the turn of the eighteenth century in Ger-

man cultural areas. Hence, we set about contacting scholars whose work we knew to be relevant to our themes.

With the support of the Werner Reimer Stiftung, we held a workshop in Bad Homburg, Germany, in 1998 where sixteen scholars could directly engage each other. All participants had previously shared working drafts of essays, and we met to discuss them in detail. Out of this intense encounter grew the present volume. Every participant was challenged to rethink parts of his or her contribution in light of others' interpretations and of the ensuing discussions. We drew up a set of conclusions and circulated them in written form, and we remained in communication with one another via an electronic discussion list while the authors revised the essays, turning research drafts into the chapters of this book.

We do not in any way consider the contributors to this volume to be *the* community that possesses *the* definitive answers to questions about gender in the transition period. These essays are at best a small sample. Logistics and financial considerations necessitated that we keep the group relatively small from the beginning. We could not include some whose work is excellent but did not directly speak to our chosen themes. Several outstanding scholars had to decline participation for personal or professional reasons. We believe, however, that the participants in the Gender in Transition Project are representative of the interdisciplinary work being conducted around the theme of gender transitions in the period of change. We would be pleased if other projects develop to carry forward, augment, or challenge the work of this volume.

Acknowledgments

Only with the generous assistance of the Werner Reimer Stiftung of Bad Homburg, Germany, could this volume have become what it is. The foundation supported the Gender in Transition Project in its initial phase, making it financially possible for sixteen scholars from Germany, the United States, and Great Britain to convene in Bad Homburg. We came together in the comfortable and serene accommodations of the foundation to establish the discourse that shaped the book. We are indebted to the Werner Reimer Foundation for its dedication to the fostering of humanistic, creative scholarship.

The Burnham-Macmillan Endowment of the Department of History of Western Michigan University generously contributed essential support during the final phase of the Gender in Transition Project. We are grateful for the endowment's support of historical research.

Introduction

Gender in Transition

Ulrike Gleixner and Marion W. Gray

During the transitional era 1750–1830, the European gender system underwent a significant series of transformations. Cultural norms of the early modern era affirmed a multitude of differences within society—for example, in social, political, and juridical status. Gender therefore was part of a complex system of differences, although it was by no means the only such system. Modernity, however, was founded on the idea of equality, discussed as a universal maxim but applied only to white male citizens. Women, the poor, and nonwhites were excluded on the basis of the new discourse of differences: the dichotomies of gender, socioeconomic status, and race, all with social implications.[1] Law and science inscribed a new set of morals with gendered virtues and gendered social spheres. The new "sexual system" was produced by public discourse as well as by institutional and political change.[2] Masculinity and femininity came to be understood as opposites based in nature.[3] The transformed gender system constituted a major part of the social reordering of the epoch.[4] Gender itself lay at the core of the transformation of society.

This volume examines different scenes of social change between 1750 and 1830 in German-speaking Europe. Each chapter includes a case study that focuses on a different realm of gender-related change in society. Each author contributes to the question of how tightly the discourse of difference, the discussion of normative values, and sociopolitical and socioeconomic practice were related in the process of transformation. Did discourse and practice have a close and immediate interdependence, or was the connection more complex, depending on the context and the place in society?

Three decades ago, historian Karin Hausen first observed that "the

notion of *Geschlechtscharakter* [character of the sexes] emerged in the eighteenth century." Searching for the origins of the "sex-specific character traits of man and woman" that profoundly shaped people's lives in the nineteenth century, she concluded that the late Enlightenment acutely transformed gender definitions in German cultural areas, leading to a "polarization" of the sexes.[5] Enlightenment thinkers, educational theorists, philosophers, and publicists attributed gender distinctions to innate qualities, which they believed to be firmly rooted in nature. Hausen asked whether and how the normative values she documented were directly related to the experienced gender division of labor that has shaped human lives during the past two centuries.

Hausen's interpretation brought the subject of gender into a discourse that was already definitively establishing that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries constituted an era of far-reaching transitions in many sectors of society. In 1972, introducing a pathbreaking project in the social history of ideas, Reinhart Koselleck called the period from 1750 to 1850 the *Sattelzeit* (saddle era), with one stirrup in the estate-based society of the old regime and the other in the new regime of individualism and state citizenship.[6]

Since Hausen posed this question, significant research has demonstrated how the notion of gender difference has reoriented the scholarly understanding of the gender system as it has changed since the eighteenth century. One area of inquiry concentrates on the question of the decline or other alteration of women's position in the public sphere.

The participants in the debate over women's positions in the public sphere emphasize various themes, one of which is the changing place of women as a consequence of the French Revolution. Although women played essential roles in the revolutionary process—in the march to Versailles, through participation in clubs, and as pamphleteers—they were among the revolution's disenfranchised. They remained excluded from political participation in civil society, and only one single achievement of the revolution on behalf of women—equality of inheritance of sons and daughters—was retained in the *code civil.*[7] Scholars have commonly concluded that French revolutionary leaders insisted on the subordination of women to men through constitutional law and the regulatory mechanism of civil society.[8] Only men could be active citizens; women were passive citizens. Gisela Bock summarizes this shift: To the same extent that parliamentarism and representation were at the core of innovative political theories and became the concrete manifestation of the sovereignty of the people, the exclusion of women

became a key aspect of modern republicanism, democratic theory and practice.[9] Thus, one key concept of modernity is the exclusion of women from institutionalized republican political participation.

Some scholars emphasize the decline of women's public role. In her cultural history of the French Enlightenment, Dena Goodman shows that both men and women occupied space in the public sphere. She depicts those roles as they changed over time, from the origins of the Republic of Letters in the seventeenth century through the first years of the French Revolution: "The revolt against the monarchy in 1789 was prefigured by the revolt against salon governance in the 1780's, when young male citizens of the Republic of Letters formed their own societies based on a fantasy of masculine self-governance which displaced women from their central governing role and resituated them as the objects of male desire and male learning. After 150 years of female governance, the 'natural order' was restored in the Republic of Letters."[10] In a study of women's role in the literary world of the early Enlightenment, Katherine R. Goodman demonstrates that as early as the mid–eighteenth century, women of the German-speaking world met ridicule and exclusion when they gained public attention by publishing their work. They could achieve status, however, by presenting themselves as dutiful assistants or apprentices to their husbands and fathers.[11] A variety of researchers have demonstrated women's strategies of resistance against the new gender order that resulted in exclusion and disempowerment of women.[12] Authors such as Marie-Claire Hoock-Demarle (in her work on women authors) and Anne Fleig (in her book on women playwrights at the end of the eighteenth century) emphasize the public role women could hold in the cultural life of German society.[13]

For Jürgen Habermas, male intellectuals constituted the public sphere that became the foundation of modern political discourse.[14] The research of gender historians, however, shows that a plurality of public spheres has always existed and that in spite of the discourse of gender difference, women participated in the literary public sphere. The works of Barbara Becker-Cantarino and Gisela Brinker-Gabler also verify that women had access to the literary public sphere.[15] Ruth B. Emde demonstrates that until the end of the eighteenth century, actresses saw themselves as advocates of the Enlightenment. Only during the Restoration did their self-confidence, sexual charm, and attraction come to be viewed as unfeminine. Not expecting to assume the same status as male actors during their active years, they often wrote

their autobiographies at the end of their careers as a way of creating a heritage for themselves.[16] Deborah Hertz demonstrates a change in the position of Jewish women of high status in the public sphere in Berlin as the famous salons over which they presided disappeared around 1806. Not only the leadership of Jewish women in salon culture but also the salon as an institution declined radically after Napoleon conquered Prussia. Friendship within salon circles deteriorated into a one-sided antipathy on the part of aristocratic intellectuals and incorporated increasingly anti-Semitic sentiments. Part of the strong disposition against the Jewish salon culture was the misogynistic argument that the Jewish *salonières* sought to master high culture for the sole purpose of showing it off to men.[17] German intellectuals' new anti-Semitic mood was linked with criticism of the gender order. The *salonière,* who had been celebrated in the late eighteenth century, was now seen as immodest, arrogant, vain, and self-satisfied. Women and Jews were explicitly not part of the emerging *Tischgesellschaft* culture.[18] Women's opportunities changed in the public sphere. A new, compelling cultural emphasis on family and motherhood for the female half of the population meant that they could not be respected as intellectuals. Dagmar Herzog examines the views of religious conservatives, political liberals, religious dissenters, and activists on behalf of Jewish rights and women's rights in pre-1848 Baden, combining both religious and political history to reveal that Jews and women were denied political equality on the basis of the supposed differences from Christian male norms.[19] Hertz and Herzog show that within the context of the Enlightenment, changing religious values and new notions about culture, race, and ethnicity constructed gender differences and created exclusion of women and Jews.

Despite women's subordination to men, females found ways to acquire the capacity for self-constitution and for participation in public discourse after 1800. Jean Quataert shows that the separate spheres did not result in women's exclusion from the process of modern nation building in the nineteenth century. Women practiced nation building in the public realm in such fields as patriotic philanthropy and charitable activities. Dynastic-sponsored philanthropic associations, institutions, and ritual worlds reshaped the arenas of public and private, blurring the lines between charity and politics as well as those between religious and secular identities.[20] Carla Hesse clarifies how women, though defined as "other," participated in the philosophical awakening after the French Revolution, arguing that women wrote fiction to

probe philosophical issues and in so doing established themselves as morally autonomous subjects. Working outside the institutional structures of the professions and the academy, from which they were excluded, they utilized the realm of literature to command cultural activity and to carve out a space for their public self-constitution.[21] Bonnie G. Smith also reviews literary activities of women to analyze their attempt to create an intellectual realm for themselves.[22] Women seldom wrote historical works during the eighteenth century but began to do so increasingly in the first half of the nineteenth century. Women wrote primarily biographies, especially collective histories of English and French queens, as well as accounts of aristocratic and influential women. The authors were educated women who had been excluded from the professionalization process in civil service and the academic disciplines. They engaged in the productive collection of memories about admirable and influential women that in turn provided strength in the authors' lives. Smith argues that the amateur female historians' accounts of queens and noble ladies constituted a resistance against the personal experience of devaluation of female intellectual abilities as well as against the exclusion of women from the civil emancipation project of the nineteenth century, the legal basis of which was set in the *code civil* of 1804. Angelika Epple demonstrates that the polarization of *Geschlechtscharakter* is reflected even in the historiographical discourse between the Age of Enlightenment and the era of historicism. Historians largely negated women's discontinuous historical experience by assuming that women did not change and by failing to historicize female lives. Transformation, however, constituted a prerequisite for the presumed development into autonomous subjects of civil society as well as historicization. Breaks—the differences between past and present—constitute development. However, not only the biographies of female authors of historical narratives but also the life experiences of their protagonists contained discontinuities. Hence, women, although excluded from the discourse of history, experienced historical change.[23] Thus, most gender studies discussed here demonstrate that discourse and practice in the *Sattelzeit* do not coincide. In spite of a discourse of difference and exclusion, women did participate in the public sphere. Likewise, within the realm of middle-class family, discourse was not synonymous with practice.[24]

A second discussion is the new public-private division that structured nineteenth-century society. Recent gender studies reveal that early modern European states and societies considered the household

a part of the public sphere. Under this arrangement, while men and women were by no means equal, they nevertheless shared important responsibilities.[25] The husband was the head of the household, and the wife had to subordinate herself under his will. Marriage was constructed simultaneously as an institution of equality and inequality.[26] Nevertheless, married women in the eighteenth century were officeholders in their household positions. The housewife's responsibilities and labor were seen as part of a public duty. The public legal status of the household justified the intervention of the absolutist state in family and household affairs whenever the civil order appeared to face threats. However, as the economy became more capitalistic, middle-class husbands presided increasingly over the external world of business, while their wives became confined to a largely reproductive existence. Many women created a domestic realm according to their personal values and imagination.[27]

The Code Napoléon, which became the basis of new law throughout much of Europe, finally declared the husband's authority to be the constitutive principle of the family. The wife had no rights of disposal over family property, including the property that she brought to the marriage. She could undertake no legal transaction without her husband's authorization, and she could not appear in court.[28] The code strictly separated a female private sphere from a male public sphere in a way that had never before been known in European history.

Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall reveal that men and women of the English middle class adopted distinctly female and male versions of class identities and that the language of class formation itself was gendered. The acquisition of gendered subjectivity was a process that continued through the life cycle. Masculinity and femininity were not fixed categories acquired in childhood but were constantly tested, challenged, and reworked, both in imagination and in the encounters of daily life. In this process, linguistic, cultural, and symbolic representations of sexual differences played a vital part, as did social organization. All cultural and economic institutions were gendered, from family and kinship systems to chapels and corn markets.[29]

Isabel V. Hull has demonstrated how the new "sexual system" combined with the institutionalization of the separate spheres. Between approximately 1700 and 1815, a social discourse arose that established a new set of sexual behaviors with new meanings ascribed to them. This process contributed to the establishment of modern culture based on bourgeois legal codes. The state lost interest in the disciplining of

male sexuality, handing this responsibility over to the private and now self-determined realm of the male citizen. The newly established sexual code for women remained, however, a matter of public regulation. With the Code Napoléon, women became the property of male citizens. The dichotomy between private and public life in the redistribution of rights, privileges, and responsibilities rested on the new "sexual system."[30]

In her analysis of French feminism after the French Revolution, Joan Wallach Scott points out that the discourse of gender difference itself was a pitfall. For women to become involved in the discourse of difference, they were forced to engage in a discussion that accepted difference itself as a given, not as social construction.[31]

Scholars have shown with increasing complexity how the polarization of the sexes became institutionalized and practiced in society. Systems of difference—their functioning and their connection with one another—have become central points of historical inquiry. Class, race, gender, and sexuality are among the most important systems of difference. In practice, they are bound together in multifaceted ways and produce new differences, even within a given category.[32] Gender was not in every case the primary system of difference: race, social class, or other distinctions could prevail, including in the realm of gender relations. Each historical research problem has its own configuration of systems of difference. Perceiving the full meaning of the Enlightenment and the pre-1848 nineteenth century requires an understanding that society's metamorphosis into modernity is based on the production of differences and deduced exclusion. The interactions of race, class, and gender, of ethnicity and sexuality, produced complex inequalities. The historical interpretation of the Enlightenment is enhanced by insights recently developed in postmodern studies, postcolonial theory, feminist theory, and the history of sexuality. Hausen's specific interest in her 1976 article on the polarization of sexual stereotypes focused on the dissociation of the economic and domestic spheres. She challenged future researchers to ask whether the model of the polarized sexes had become entrenched in the social world and, if so, in what realms. Case studies that focus on the concrete social and economic transformations remain helpful in understanding the relationship between discursive, legal, and everyday practice of the transitional 1780–1830 era. This volume seeks to build on other scholars' work in contributing to the deeper understanding of the social change of the epoch. In this project we have attempted to examine varied local situations and diverse

realms of sociocultural change during the *Sattelzeit.* Thus, this project belongs to a larger scholarly search for a systematic analysis of the social history of the Enlightenment.[33] How, when, and where did the polarization of the sexes become established and imprint its particular hierarchy of characteristics in society?

The concept of sexual difference based in nature clearly became a normative model for social, legal, economic, and cultural change. While the late-eighteenth-century discussion of gender definitions was polyphonic, by the beginning of the nineteenth century the single notion of a dichotomous gender order had become a basis of social modernization. Social reforms that had their origins in the ideals of equality of the early Enlightenment and the French Revolution no longer prevailed, replaced by a firmly established gender polarity. However, the change did not result from a direct transformation of discourse into social practice. The process was often fraught with inner contradictions, and it frequently yielded unexpected results, different than would have been predicted on the basis of the social discourse.

The case studies collected in this volume contribute to at least two important historiographical discussions. First, they suggest new ways of conceptualizing historical change in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; second, they elucidate the complex relationship between social discourse and praxis.

In spite of the negative developments for women demonstrated by historians of gender, the general historical narrative regarding the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries frequently continues to represent the era as one of progress. Historians celebrate the separation of state and society at the end of the ancien régime without restrictions, along with related innovations such as the establishment of citizenship, with its rights and privileges. Many scholars regard the creation of the modern male citizen, educated and guided by reason and protected in private life by civil law, as a positive step in the process of modernization,[34] often overlooking the degree to which the formation of modernity is based on exclusion through class, race, and gender. Asking analytically for whom the changes were advantageous, one must conclude that although the old hereditary limitations, restrictions, and inequalities were indeed undergoing dissolution, new systems of boundaries and differences were being established. In this process, women as a category were disadvantaged because they lacked access to the possibilities of change based on equality of rights.[35] Recent postcolonial approaches, set in motion by intellectuals from outside Europe, have

clearly shown that the metamorphosis of modern Europe was rooted in the endeavors to consolidate the predominance of male, middle-class Europeans.[36] In an important discussion of the relationship between general history and women's history, Hausen recently advanced the argument that the accepted historical narrative—a cultural construct of the eighteenth century—should be replaced by a multitude of particular histories. She argues that hierarchy is an underlying categorical concept that continually privileges the dominant in society, and as long as it remains so, inequality and underprivilege will never have an equal place in the historical narrative. The gender systems that were established in the nineteenth century have overtly aimed to privilege the male sex. As a consequence, Hausen persuasively concludes, the history of the gender systems belongs to those themes that have been excluded from purported general histories.[37]

This volume comprises five parts. Part 1, "Law, Administration, Moral Discourse, and Gender," looks at the reorganization of the relationship between the center and the margins of society. This part explores the impact of bourgeois conceptualizations of femininity on women of the lower classes. Dietlind Hüchtker analyzes the practice and the debates regarding the implementation of municipal reforms related to the politics of poverty during the era of Prussian reforms (1809–19). She asks how changing, gendered understandings of poverty influenced the creation of modern social policy on poverty, in which the image of the deserving mother was transformed into that of the wretched prostitute. Kerstin Michalik explores changes in the judicial punishment for infanticide, asking why reformers separated it from other capital crimes by assigning to it a unique set of punishments. She questions why the legal system established harsher sentences for wives than for unwed mothers who committed infanticide. Like Hüchtker, Michalik analyzes these topics within the context of the emergent ideal of the middle-class family.

Part 2, "The Economy, the Public, and the Private," takes up individual studies of women and men coping with changing values and circumstances in evolving but not yet clearly defined gender spheres in society. Daniel A. Rabuzzi researches a situation of marriage, divorce, and remarriage in the changing socioeconomic conditions of a merchant city, Stralsund. Rabuzzi is interested in a cultural conflict between a notion of male honor and an oligarchic network's perceived right to establish rules governing private life. The case he investigates suggests a conflict between the privatization of marriage through the

legal option of divorce and the conception of marriage as an institution that served public interests above private ones. Eve Rosenhaft takes up an episode concerning new ideas and practices about providing security for middle-class widows: life insurance. In the debate over what to do about the collapse of two "widows' funds," Rosenhaft sees a male notion of scientific rationality pitted against the older, very material interests of wives and widows. Assessing the late-eighteenth-century debates regarding what to do about the failed institutions, she seeks to explain the gendered implications of rational, scientific thought and planning. Rebekka Habermas measures the experiences of everyday middle-class marital life against normative bourgeois ideals of polarized gender roles. Especially important in her investigation is education (*Bildung*), an arena in which marriage partners shared mutual responsibilities and activities, such as reading, memory work, and correspondence, which maintained ties of kinship and friendship. She asks whether these shared experiences sustained a mutuality between the sexes and potentially elevated women's role.

Part 3, "Religious Imagery and Spiritual Empowerment," explores the changing understanding of symbols, meaning, and agency of gendered religious life in the transitional era. Stefanie Schäfer-Bossert seeks meaning about gender change in the Lutheran Church's religious artistic representations of males and females. Having established that prior to the eighteenth century, feminine figures in the church space represented the virtues and were intended as models for all of society, she asks why this tradition changed dramatically by the nineteenth century, rendering the feminine either invisible or garbed in notions of domesticity, charm, and meekness. Ulrike Gleixner explores the interplay between Lutheran Pietistic forms of religiosity and the changing constructions of gender in the eighteenth century, when women within the inner churchly Pietistic movement were experiencing a relative decline in status. She reads closely the personal diary of a Württemberg Pietist to determine how the writer drew on her spirituality to gain agency in a marital conflict with her husband. Gleixner seeks to explain the relationship between the spirituality and agency.

Part 4, "The Late Enlightenment, Professionalization, and Exclusion," examines the intellectual work and practice of women in the context of Enlightenment ideals, seeking to interpret the relationship between discourse and exclusion in the process of professionalization. Ulrike Weckel analyzes the demise of the prolific work of female editors, bringing to an end a period in which women contributed substan-

tially to the literary marketplace. She asks what drove independent female editors out of business after twenty-five years of success and seeks answers in changing practices in the publishing business and new literary tastes. After documenting that a remarkable number of early modern women participated in scientific investigations carried on by male scientists, Beate Ceranski seeks to explain women's increasing exclusion from laboratories, reading rooms, and scientific discourse beginning in the early nineteenth century. She asks if this development was related to the establishment of a reformed and vigorous university system in Germany. The background for her study and a significant explanatory factor is the emergent bourgeois gender system. Ruth Dawson compares the autobiographical writings of a male and a female author from the 1780s against the backdrop of Kant's answer to his famous question, "What is Enlightenment?" She asks why the male writer possessed a significantly greater sense of entitlement than the woman did and looks for explanations in the material and ideological rules that governed women's and men's lives. Marion W. Gray seeks answers about female exclusion in the writing of two women who understood and protested the disempowerment of women in the late eighteenth century. He asks why, despite their fervent advocacy of women's inclusion, both ended up affirming rather than effectively challenging the Enlightenment's distinctions based on sex.

Part 5, "Conceptualization of Masculinity and Femininity," explores new ideals of gender differences, fears about cultural change, and an Enlightenment experiment designed to dissolve the barriers between the separate spheres. Teresa Sanislo employs the history of the body to answer questions about changes in gender and sexuality. Comparing ideals about physical education and gymnastics in Germany during the late eighteenth century with those of the Napoleonic era, she examines emerging programs designed to harden and discipline the male body in light of the military-political environment of the times, asking if rising ideals of masculinity were related to the emergence of a German nationalism. Katherine B. Aaslestad seeks in patterns of dress and consumption in early-nineteenth-century Hamburg an understanding of women's and men's changing place in society. She inquires why critics in the urban press claimed that new lifestyles emphasizing sexuality and materialism threatened Hamburg's traditional republican values. William Rasch probes the implications of the famous Enlightenment ideal of *Geselligkeit* (sociability), a concept that was supposed to allow the two sexes to join one another in intellectual dis-

course and thus break down the walls between them. Rasch seeks to know why the conscious experiment of a well-known male and female Enlightenment figure ultimately failed to achieve the ideals of *Geselligkeit.*

A New Structural History Based on Gender

The transitional epoch from the late eighteenth century to the mid–nineteenth century—marking the end of the early modern period and the beginning of the modern era—is associated in historical metanarratives with the Age of Reason, the Enlightenment, the end of absolutism, the middle-class revolution, and the rise of modern nation-states. We suggest following up with new metanarratives such as "sexual system," "gender system," and "sexual contract" that have the potential to demonstrate the link between gender and the overarching social transitions. Eras of change and transformation in history are expressed, practiced, and realized through shifting gender systems.

Historians who work with the methodologies of structural history and social history have in some cases accepted the category of gender as an additive, statistical variable relative to women.[38] But to develop an integral perspective of gender rather than approach it as an additive perspective, one must accept that each epoch is based on a specific structural gender system. Few examples still exist of the blending of general structural historical categories with gender histories or structural analyses. One of the early feminist structural-historical conceptualizations was that of patriarchy.[39] More recently, other structural historical models, especially that of separate spheres, have been used historically to explain gender.[40] Davidoff and Hall carried the analysis further with their conceptualization of a gender system,[41] while Carole Pateman coined the term sexual contract[42] and Hull employed the concept of sexual system to characterize the connection between sexual relations and the state.[43] Scott proposes analyzing gender as a "system of difference" that produces power relations and social hierarchy and asks how other differences are related to the gender difference in society.[44]

Like the Enlightenment, all such transitional areas as the Renaissance and the Reformation are based on shifts in the gender system. Joan Kelly-Gadol attracted much attention with her provocative question of the 1970s, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" She analyzed changes in Italy between 1350 and 1530, employing four categories of

analysis—regulation of sexuality, economic and political position, ideology about women, and sex roles—and found that the Renaissance brought no advantage for women of the influential urban middle classes and the aristocracy. In contrast, such women experienced a "contraction of social and personal options."[45] Lyndal Roper shows that the Protestant Reformation in the cities strengthened male interests in household governance. City and guild elites shared common interests in Protestant ideology that enabled sociopolitical changes to extend and stabilize the patriarchal household.[46] Also in the Catholic Reformation, state building was based on the extension of the patriarchal household and female subordination, as Sarah Hanley and Ulrike Strasser demonstrate.[47]

As Lynn Hunt concludes, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment, the industrial revolution, the rise of nationalism—in short, all of the epochal moments of the modernist teleology—have been shown to have negatively affected women's place in society.[48] This is true in spite of the fact that long-duration sociohistorical analyses demonstrate that women's life spans, economic possibilities, and chances for self-determination have improved in Europe during periods of both stability and instability.[49]

What conclusions, then, can be drawn from the pessimistic interpretation for the historicization of change? Kelly-Gadol called into question accepted schemes of periodization, and Gianna Pomata argues for a new chronology that describes the turning points of women's history. To simply insert women's history into the traditional chronology is to add information without taking into account its meaning.[50] Hunt insists that a failure to create new metanarratives only ensures the marginalization of the history of women and gender.[51] The interests of gender history are inseparably bound together with those of general history, she argues; they cannot be separated from one another. She appeals for a reexamination of the classic categories of the narrative of modernity, for a reperiodization to emphasize continuities rather than great political turning points. And finally she argues for consideration of non-Western histories that challenge the definition of modernity.[52]

Perceived Differences Shape Social Institutions

Gender in Transition is dedicated to an analysis of change that seeks to understand that historical transition is realized through changes in the current gender system. We seek to better comprehend and explain the

connection between discourse and practice. An example is found in the Prussian administrative reforms of the early nineteenth century. In the context of conflict of interests between municipal and state authorities, *poverty* and *the poor* were redefined through the language of administrative debates. Through gender dichotomies as well as regulated and unregulated gender relations, the lower classes came to be understood as a part of the newly conceptualized urban society. Institutional change rested on the redefinition of gender, and governmental reform was based on a new gender order (see Hüchtker, this volume). In the recodification of laws regulating illegitimate births and infanticide, transformations in the gender order not only preceded legal changes but also formed the basis for the statutory innovations (Michalik, this volume). In the realm of the economy, emerging modernity became connected with male expert knowledge. The restructuring of life insurance associations that had fallen into crisis at the end of the eighteenth century appears as a breakthrough of modern thought—abstract, general, and impersonal. Male experts became preoccupied with abstract actuarial data of female clientele (Rosenhaft, this volume).

Early modern models of female learning and scientific inquiry had disappeared by the nineteenth century. The new scientific and academic systems were exclusively identified with maleness. Although women could participate as invisible helpers, the connection between woman and science was undermined (Ceranski, this volume). However, in the discourse of the late Enlightenment, new literary possibilities for women did emerge. The new genre of the woman's journal evolved out of the "moral weeklies" of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Women edited the new journals and conceived them for a female readership with the purpose of combining useful information with recreational reading. However, changes in the literary marketplace at the beginning of the nineteenth century brought the journals to an end. The Enlightenment discourse had initiated the notion that women's writing was desirable and positive, but the new economy of the literary market became an insuperable barrier for female editors, and their journals vanished (Weckel, this volume).

One way to comprehend the anatomy of social change is through the study of subjective discourse contained in autobiographical and other personal writings. The friendship between Henriette Herz and Friedrich Schleiermacher reveals their attempt to establish—against the powerful backdrop of the discourse of gender difference—an ideal form of bourgeois sociability (*Geselligkeit*) that was platonic, intellec-

tual, and based on the standard of equality. The two friends strove to ignore but could not escape the pervasive discourse. From the beginning, they had to defend and protest the innocence of their friendship (Rasch, this volume). The self-conceptualization of the individual always depends on the discourse and cannot stand outside it. Autobiographical documents demonstrate the differing socializations of men and women of similar social standing who attempted to personify the principles of the Enlightenment. The autobiographies of Friedrika Baldinger (1782) and Melchior Adam Weichard (1784), both conceived in the tradition of the academic biography (*Gelehrtenbiographie*), exhibit completely dissimilar conceptualizations of the self. Baldinger portrays herself as an object of the Enlightenment, providing the context for her development of understanding and sentiment but with her husband occupying an overriding position as master teacher. In contrast, Weichard conceived himself as a subject of the Enlightenment: as a man and a physician, even if poorly trained as a student, he was empowered as an academic to write about himself and his life (Dawson, this volume).

The efforts of the Philanthropinists, educational reformers of the last decades of the eighteenth century, reveal that the transitions in the gender order involved not only new understandings of gender but also new physical ideals of masculinity and femininity. They strove especially to improve the young male body, which they saw as endangered by an effeminate culture. They sought a balance between the mental and physical elements of masculine character. By the nineteenth century, during the era of the Napoleonic Wars, these principles incorporated nationalistic and militaristic attributes and therefore aroused great interest in the context of new plans for the education of young males (Sanislo, this volume). The pedagogical discourse of the eighteenth century assumed an increasingly social relevance with the advent of nineteenth-century national movements.

The Limits of Discourse and the Diversity of Social Practices

New practices arose from the discourse of difference of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with its conceptualization of the "character of the sexes." The transformation of society into its modern middle class form was based on the relational model of gender difference. However, historical practices in the *Sattelzeit* were more diverse than the discourse would suggest. This was true not only because traditional ideas

and practice continued to exist alongside the new but also because syntheses often arose out of the commingling of the two. Discourse and practice do not interact solely in a simple cause-and-effect relationship. As the chapters in this volume demonstrate, discourse and practice are interwoven in varying ways, and only through the study of specific examples can the complexities of historical change become clear. The case of two female authors illustrates the imbedding of the discourse of difference in the debates of the Enlightenment. School director Amalia Holst and economics author Christine Gürnth hoped to ensure the inclusion of women in the educational project of modernity. Both sought to employ the vocabulary of the Enlightenment to this end but also brought notions of gender difference into their conceptions. They conceived of family and motherhood as the primary work of women and based their appeals for an improved and more complete female education on the argument that it would lead to a perfection of their given female roles (Gray, this volume).

Connections between discourse and practice are evident in the discussion about poverty among Berlin's administrative authorities, which led to new policies to regulate the lives of the poor. The new relationship between authorities and the poor in the cities rested on two well-known stereotypes: the innocent, abandoned mothers with children who had fallen into poverty through no fault of their own, and the dangerous, immoral poor who required police oversight. The combination of perceived material, sanitary, and moral endangerment in the discourse of the municipal administration led to a new practice of police control over the lower classes. Bourgeois civil servants' fears of a massive rise in the number of needy poor caused urban officials to envision a leveling of the old city regulations and their replacement by free markets, freedom of settlement, and a new governmental obligation to care for the poor. This change resulted in a new boundary between the perceived innocent poor and those who came to their condition through immorality (Hüchtker, this volume). The new regulation of infanticide through revision of criminal punishments was based on the conceptualization of innate female gender characteristics. The heterogeneous discussion of the eighteenth century, in which the improvement of the social conditions of the unwed mother—seen as a deceived and seduced woman—had played a leading role and in which claims against the father of the child were established in the Prussian General Law Code of 1795, came to a sudden halt in the nineteenth century. New psychological and biological arguments about "woman's

nature" led to a changed significance of the crime. The unmarried mother who committed infanticide had supposedly become a creature of lessened sensibility and was therefore less accountable than a married mother who committed a similar crime. The natural motherly instinct was ineffective in the unwed mother. In all reforms of the penal code between 1830 and 1860, the killing of illegitimate children became a unique crime, less severely punished than others. In a parallel revision of matrimonial and family law, the unmarried mother's claim of support was abolished with the argument that her situation was produced through wrong and that compensation would further encourage depravity (Michalik, this volume). The objective of social prevention shaped the discourse of the Enlightened eighteenth century and therefore the legal reforms derived from it.

New, polarized gender models were also established in the realm of religion. In Protestant churches, the pictorial and three-dimensional images of female spirituality, strength, and divinity as well as depictions of androgyny and gender crossing that were representative of the Baroque era were removed from churches on the grounds that they were offensive and shameful. These campaigns did not end in iconoclastic struggle but rather facilitated the replacement of the historical female images of the traditional virtues of antiquity—conceived as guides for both women and men—with those of middle-class domestic female virtues (Schäfer-Bossert, this volume). Microhistorical analyses based on autobiographical texts can demonstrate that the domestication of female spirituality did not occur without resistance. Pietist Beate Hahn refused to surrender her spiritual responsibility for the sake of marital obedience. Her status as a Pietist, inspired and called by God, enabled her to understand her life and family role as an overriding religious calling, even though this view led her to transgress the matrimonial command of wifely subordination. Her personal testimony shows, however, that she required great strength and energy to persist in view of these contradictory demands of religious responsibility and obedience. The discourse of the exclusive female virtues had replaced the individual spiritual agency of early modern women (Gleixner, this volume).

New Self-Consciousness through the Practice of Difference

In the educated middle class, the new polarized gender roles did not necessarily lead to master-servant relationships; such roles could also

establish teacher-student relationships, which, in turn, could become more companionable through shared concerns and mutual attractions of the partners. Middle-class women learned letter writing and literary interpretation from their husbands and within two generations demanded professional education (Habermas, this volume). Nineteenth-century women enjoyed little empowerment in their own right; however, when fathers and husbands conferred rights and offered participatory roles, women could take on responsibilities that transcended the domestic realm.

Other Systems of Difference Sometimes Prevail over Gender

The urban public sphere offers evidence that gender did not always constitute the prevailing system of difference. Questions of heritage, class, or republican conviction could in some cases be deciding factors. In the political economy of the commercial city of Stralsund, social climber Carl Ehrenfried Reimer could not prevent the remarriage of his former wife, Johanna Sophia Gebhard, daughter of one of the city's most important clergymen. She married Georg Emmanuel Charisius, a man of the old municipal elite. Reimer's honor was publicly injured through the divorce and remarriage, which the city saw as the consequence of his loss of control over his wife (Rabuzzi, this volume). In defense of republican values in the city of Hamburg, gender difference was not the decisive line of demarcation. Instead, a traditional understanding of republican patriotic culture struggled against a new notion of individualism and luxury imported from France. Fashion and lifestyle were themes in early-nineteenth-century occupied Hamburg, providing avenues for debates of change, republican virtue, and distance. In this process of negotiation, the traditional urban culture stood in conflict with the invasive foreign culture (Aaslestad, this volume). In this discourse, gender was a subordinate—but not irrelevant—category of difference. Numerous examples show that the anti-French rhetoric was bound up with antifeminist sentiment.

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Gender as a Medium of Change in Berlin's Politics of Poverty, 1770–1850

Dietlind Hüchtker

Gender is a discursive construction that can transform the order of society. In this chapter, I analyze changes in the poor relief system during the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries with gender as a factor of analysis. Evidence shows that these changes were rooted in discourses and conflicts in everyday activities relating to Berlin's politics of poverty during the *Sattelzeit* and that constructed notions of gender played a central role in structuring the reforms.

Historians have traditionally depicted changes in the poor relief system as top-down structural transformations—that is, as part of a state reform undertaken in response to socioeconomic conditions. Scholars have rarely examined the concrete ways such transformations resulted from the everyday politics of state agencies mandated to deal with poverty. Recent methodologies, such as those used in cultural history, have seldom been applied to research on poverty.[1] However, questions about the cultural practices of the politics pertaining to the poor promise new insight into the process of change, revealing, among other things, the relationship of such practices to shifting notions of gender and sexuality. One cannot speak simply of "old" and "new" gendered understandings of the poor. Evolving conceptions of poverty contained elements of premodern gender constructions as well as constructions that grew out of shifting cultural norms. Continuity and change existed side by side.

Social historians regard the elimination of legal distinctions between the urban and rural populace—thus creating one uniform category of subjects—as an essential prerequisite for the transformations in the management of affairs relating to the poor.[2] Many scholars maintain that the reform process in Prussia established a governmental adminis-

tration responsible for poverty that treated all subjects in the same way, regardless of their place of origin or place of residence. The reform goals included centralization of the state bureaucracy and the fostering of population mobility. According to this argument, the objectives were fulfilled in 1842–43, when Prussia enacted a regulation that based poor relief on place of residence, thus transferring the responsibility for public assistance for newly arriving impoverished Prussian subjects to the municipality where they resided. This terminated the old-regime practice of granting assistance according to the place of birth. Because indigence no longer provided grounds for sending the poor back to their birthplace, the municipality also lost the right to determine who could settle inside its limits. In 1871, the Prussian residence law was extended, with only minor changes, to all subjects of the new German Empire.[3]

Researchers who hold this interpretation believe that the changes in law resulted from a fundamental transformation of attitudes: prior to the Enlightenment, charity had been based on moral criteria, which held that support should be granted on the basis of both good conduct and the inability to work. During the Enlightenment, new "rational" standards took into account socioeconomic situations such as low wages and unemployment.[4]

This line of reasoning needs to be reconsidered on several grounds. First, it does not explain how changes in normative cultural values and legal reforms became a part of everyday practice. Second, it is an oversimplification to assume that alterations in attitudes toward the poor constituted a shift from moral to economic standards. Between 1770 and 1850, transformations in attitudes toward the poor emerged from the conflicts surrounding the reform of state laws. Ways of thinking, perceiving, and acting changed through an ongoing discourse, producing new images of poverty, city, and state. Authorities' conceptions of orderly and disorderly gender relations significantly shaped these shifts. The discourse served as a medium for a new way of understanding the urban social order. New constructions of gender were central in providing a basis for dealing with the urban lower classes. Authorities began to perceive an undifferentiated but socially marginalized lower class in which women and men played different roles from each other and required different actions on the part of government. This replaced the earlier legally founded and geographically based distinction between "justified" and "unjustified" poverty.

To demonstrate how these changes came about, I treat the dis-

courses and conflicts as social reality. Attitudes about poverty did not necessarily result from material conditions, and the conflicts surrounding the poor affairs system were not essentially related to fundamental structural conditions such as population growth or economic crises.[5] Poverty, like gender, must be analyzed as a complex and changing construction created by municipal policies, not as a historically defined existential condition. The municipal policies relating to the poor gave rise to specific understandings of male and female poverty. This approach stands in contrast to that of most German-language researchers, who have traditionally sought to answer questions about poverty by associating poor women and poor men with certain social and economic conditions and have failed to see these subjects as products of the gendered politics of poverty.[6] The city limits are a central factor of analysis in this chapter. The elimination of the distinction between city and country significantly impacted the poverty administration system.

The first part of the chapter examines how begging was treated in the city and its environs, based on jurisdictional quarrels over a royal park outside the city limits. The second section analyzes conflicts over early-nineteenth-century state reform policies driven in part by anticipated and dreaded migration to the city. The third section considers the urban-suburban problem of the "family houses," cheap tenements outside the city gates. The fourth part evaluates the significance of the Poverty Office's increased intervention during the 1820s in morality policies, which had traditionally fallen under police jurisdiction. The conclusion emphasizes ways in which viewing the poor through gendered lenses shaped ideas of social order. The constructions of poverty and gender intermeshed in the conflicts to create a new discourse on poverty.

Conflicts over Jurisdiction of the Tiergarten Park: "Whores and Beggars"

In 1783 the Kriegs- und Domänenkammer, the central administrative agency of the Kurmark province of Prussia,[7] instructed the Armen-Directorium, the royal bureau that provided care for the poor, to do something about the "beggars and other degenerate rabble" along the promenades in the Tiergarten. Formerly a royal hunting ground that extended up to Berlin's city gates, the Tiergarten had been converted into a public park in the first half of the eighteenth century.[8] A road

crossed the park, connecting the king's court in Berlin with the royal palace in the nearby residential town, Charlottenburg. Consequently, the royal family and other nobles frequently passed through the Tiergarten. The park also contained several restaurants with outdoor seating and dancing facilities frequented by the general population. Authorities treated the park as part of the municipality, although it formally fell under royal jurisdiction. According to the Poverty Ordinance of 1774, the park avenues were to be patrolled twice a week, and suspicious-looking people were to be arrested.[9] Officers of the Armen-Directorium, however, believed that this charge lay beyond their mandate and refused to do more than the absolute minimum. The royal provincial administration repeatedly issued instructions to arrest beggars in the Tiergarten, but to little avail.

On what basis did Directorium officials believe that they could ignore the recurrent directives from above? Differing conceptions of delinquency reflected jurisdictional conflicts between governmental agencies with respect to arrests of beggars, and the Armen-Directorium used these disputes to defend its position that such cases fell outside its area of responsibility. A gender-specific conception of the social order lay at the base of what became an argument over the nature of poverty and delinquency.

Official reports reveal conflicting positions regarding begging in the Tiergarten, and a key factor was the way in which various agencies distinguished between urban and provincial responsibility. On the one hand, although the policing agents of the royal government and the central administration of the Kurmark province reported regularly that begging in the city was increasing and decried the "disgraceful" and "intrusive" appearance of the poor, the Armen-Directorium seldom treated the mere act of begging as a criminal offense. Only beggars who were not needy or who were arrested on multiple occasions were punished. On the other hand, municipal agencies in principle considered beggars outside the city to be dangerous and illegal, as demonstrated, for example, by the joint raids conducted by the Berlin Police and the Poverty Office; nearly all of those arrested were punished as vagrants or "willful" beggars.[10]

These perspectives shaped the conflict over patrolling the Tiergarten as well. Although some accounts on begging in the park, like those in the city, simply mentioned the increase in impudent and shameless begging, most of the park reports tended to criminalize poverty in a gender-specific manner. In 1805 a police officer was instructed to be on the

lookout for "loiterers, beggars, vagabonds of every type and class, lewd women, bird catchers, and those who destroy trees and damage property." The accounts were full of descriptions of "beggars and degenerate rabble."[11] A 1790 report asked what the Armen-Directorium was planning to do to support the Mühlenhof district offices in "apprehending the whores and beggars" in the Tiergarten.[12]

The city reports of the period lacked such explicitly gendered language, even though municipal authorities were of course supposed to pursue "lewd women and loiterers." These latter terms could be read simply as stereotypes for delinquents of all kinds and as clichéd expressions associating women with prostitution. The listing of offenses for delinquents should not be understood as indicating a special degree of criminality outside the city; rather, the distinction in language reveals an interagency disagreement over responsibility for patrolling the park. The discourse, based on a constructed gender-specific order, was designed to determine which offices had jurisdiction over which people outside the city: "whores" or "lewd women" were the responsibility of the police, while "beggars" were the charge of the Poverty Office. The lists of offenses legitimized raids conducted jointly by the two agencies outside the city limits.

Reports generated by the police and the Kurmark administration were intended to enhance the effectiveness of the Poverty Office's monitoring of the Tiergarten to bring about more arrests. These reports clearly implied that the Poverty Office had jurisdiction over the park and was lax about fulfilling its responsibilities. The reports' use of adjectives such as *shameless* and *insolent* had less to do with the conduct of the beggars than with the alleged negligence of the Poverty Office. This agency, however, strove to limit its sphere of responsibility. It referred to beggars as "degenerate rabble" as a way of stressing the need for police intervention, since "the patrol officers of the Poverty Office, who have already been subjected to so many insults when arresting the beggars, cannot, in addition, be assigned . . . responsibility for hunting down thieves."[13]

The dispute over responsibility for the Tiergarten at the close of the eighteenth century sparked a discourse about groups of offenders, for which the legal boundary between city and outskirts represented a dividing line in perceptions. Beggars in the city were described as "dishonest" and "shameless," but other offenses were rarely attributed to them. Reports concerning delinquents outside of the city limits, however, regularly referred to "beggars and lewd women" or "beggars and

whores." The gender-specific polarization of the language and the stereotypical association of female delinquency with prostitution represented a concept of order that shaped the distinction between urban and rural competency and between the Poverty Office and the police.

Raids conducted at more or less regular intervals in the rural areas of the Kurmark province, in contrast, treated all offenders as criminals—beggars and vagrants, impoverished persons and whores, and peddlers without trading licenses. Interests and perceptions of various governmental authorities were thus closely linked to the practices of dealing with the poor within and outside the city limits. In the dispute over jurisdictional authority, the agencies knowingly or unknowingly established a discourse that labeled poor men as beggars and indigent women as whores. Alongside the criminalization of poverty developed the sexualization of female poverty. These categorizations, applied to the Tiergarten and the province, crept into the administrative discourse on the city as well.

Conflicts over the Right of Settlement and Freedom of Movement: "The Husband Who Abandons His Wife and Children"

Following a devastating military defeat by Napoleon in 1806, the Prussian government attempted to modernize its state and society through a series of reforms from above. In the course of debate over the restructuring of state and society, a new concept of gendered poverty became an established element of public discourse. The reform objectives included the elimination of the legal distinctions between urban and rural society as well as the establishment of the rights of Prussian subjects to assume residence wherever they wished. These reform efforts represented a major threat to municipal order. Berlin agencies complained of "the crowding of so many people, so many outsiders from all provinces of the state," into the royal capital. Officials alleged that many "large families" in Berlin "would go astray, some becoming impoverished."[14]

The Municipal Ordinance of 1809, a component of the state reforms, placed the poverty administration system under municipal control but left the police department a state agency in all major Prussian cities, including Berlin. With the reform era's introduction of freedom of trade and freedom to move and settle at will, the city lost its traditional privileged position as the royal capital. The reform integrated the

municipality into the state administration, effecting a goal that had been discussed since the late eighteenth century. Berlin could no longer shut its gates to outsiders or to workers who did not belong to a guild, resulting in the loss of the city's character as a closed, corporate society.

The poverty administration system became a battleground between the state reformers and the defenders of municipal privileges. Because the Municipal Ordinance transferred the Poverty Office from royal to local control and because the office was one of the most expensive areas of the municipal administration, great potential for conflict existed. To defend themselves against unfavorable consequences, urban leaders sought to play an active role in state reform politics by claiming that Berlin's privileges as the royal residence were inalienable. These officials feared that the reform legislation would encourage a rush of migration of poor and latent poor to the city. These fears had very little to do with the actual migration figures: in 1809, when the dangers were first evoked, the urban population had declined as a result of the Napoleonic occupation of the city. Only in the 1830s and 1840s would Berlin's population surge.[15]

These discussions regarding the relationship between migration and urban poverty were not new. Even some participants in late-eighteenth-century reform efforts had blamed increased indigence in the city on migration to the royal capital. Thomas Philipp von der Hagen, head of the Armen-Directorium, explained in a 1786 proposal to reform the poverty affairs system the perceived relationship between poverty and migration:

> The causes for [the increased number of poor and sick], aside from the luxury that has become a habit among all social classes, are:
>
> (a) Impoverished and ailing individuals and families . . . from the most remote areas, such as West Prussia, have come here and are a burden to the institutions for poor relief.
> (b) Many immigrant, pregnant women come here to deliver their babies because of the free maternity services at the Charité Hospital, and if they die the children have to be fed and raised.
> (c) Many young people from the countryside and small towns move here to become servants or workers. It is not possible for all of them to find employment, so they exhaust their limited resources and end up living wretchedly in poverty. This is true

especially of several hundred young unmarried women without master or mistress, who try to support themselves as best they can. If they become ill or pregnant, they have to be admitted to the Charité and later receive state support for the poor, and if they die, their children are raised in the orphanage.

(d) Toleration of the so-called spinning rooms, where the contractors who deliver the spun wool to the factories take in impoverished, desolate people of all kinds. The employers deceive them with a variety of promises, sometimes even with cash advances, so they work for a small wage. . . . Because they have received an advance and cannot pay it back, they are held in slavelike conditions. Most of the young women who are here on their own, having lost all their money in such spinning rooms and lacking the bare essentials, ultimately become a burden to the institutions for the poor due to illness, pregnancy, or venereal disease. . . .

(e) Large numbers must be treated for venereal diseases. Even if these people come here from other areas, they cannot be left without assistance, because otherwise the disease will infect others, becoming widespread.

(f) Because of the large garrison, many poor soldier widows must be supported by the poor relief funds. . . .

(i) Finally, as is known, this city has many small manufacturing establishments, and especially the wool and silk weavers are poor people who have to earn enough each week to cover their needs. If they fall ill or if there is not enough work, then they become a burden to the institutions for the poor.[16]

Although indigent females stand out as central in von der Hagen's depiction of the poor, he focused on members of particular groups who became destitute because of specific problems they experienced. With the possible exception of the wool and silk weavers, all of the impoverished were immigrants into the city. The "young women who are here on their own" had clearly migrated to the city from rural areas. Von der Hagen was especially concerned about the single women who became burdens to the Poverty Office after becoming ill or pregnant. A regulation designed to prevent infanticide that was part of Frederick the Great's population policy allowed single, pregnant women in Prussia to give birth at Charité Hospital at no charge.[17] "Colonists" (settlers

from villages and small towns) were brought to the royal capital in accord with mercantilist economic policies of the eighteenth century, and von der Hagen's report called this practice into question. He suggested that one cause of impoverishment was the lack of family bonds or corporate ties, as demonstrated by his reference to young unmarried women "without master and mistress." His reasoning was based on an urban corporate perspective, with which state policies came into conflict. Unlike officials of the early-nineteenth-century reform period, von der Hagen did not view the issue of poverty in gender-specific terms. He clearly did not intend to suggest that single women were a social problem solely on the basis of their gender.

During the early nineteenth century, officials continued to voice concern over what they saw as external problems brought into the city by immigrants from the countryside. However, new lines of conflict caused the focus to shift. One of von der Hagen's successors as head of the Armen-Directorium, Adolf Friedrich von Scheve, also enumerated "problem groups" in an 1809 report that advocated having the Berlin Poverty Office jointly administered by the state and the city as a means of giving a higher profile to the administration of poverty and securing state funding for such operations.[18] In contrast to von der Hagen, von Scheve did not represent impoverishment as a result of social and economic conditions that affected different groups in unique ways: he viewed all urban migrants without distinction as prone to poverty.

> [The outsiders] either become impoverished themselves or they leave behind widows or orphans needing assistance. The populous class of manufactory workers and weavers lose their jobs or abandon their wives and children because their trade begins to decline because of political trends or [economic] conditions. Moreover, poorly paid minor royal officials in Berlin agencies leave their widows and orphans in dire need when they die.[19]

Unlike von der Hagen, who understood indigence to be caused by group-specific conditions, von Scheve created a new, gender-based classification of impoverishment: abandoned wives and children, who were to be found in all kinds of problem situations. This subtle shift in focus allowed von Scheve to argue for increased funding for the poor relief system. Images of abandoned women and children and of their deserting husbands became very prevalent in the debates over poverty.

Both the Poverty Office and the police administration perpetuated this stereotype for decades.[20] As late as 1828, the Armen-Directorium echoed the familiar complaint:

> (a) . . . thousands of silk, cotton, and linen weavers who have previously moved here, not without state influence, and who presently live here, lose their employment because their trade stagnates for a period, because of political or other conditions not caused by . . . the municipality. Such heads of households, unable to support their wives and children, often abandon them, and the women and children then become a burden to the offices for poor relief.
> (b) . . . Recent legislation introduced freedom of trade, which makes it too easy for journeymen and young people, who often do not understand their trade, to establish a business. These people marry very early, produce children, and soon they have no work, and they abandon their families.[21]

Although the report cataloged the oft-repeated specific causes of poverty, its author sought less to register the potential for destitution in the city than to establish the state's responsibility to provide assistance for the poor by representing them as abandoned women and children. Recurring references, continuing over decades, to the feared process of impoverishment demonstrate the intensity of the jurisdictional battles between city and state over competence, power, and influence in municipal politics.

In the interval between von der Hagen's report and that of von Scheve, the images of women had changed. Reports of the reform era depicted two categories of poor women. First came the unmarried women who became clients of the Poverty Office because of their actions in moving to Berlin. Either they came already destitute, or they fell into hard times after their arrival. Second came mothers with children, who were depicted as passive victims of either conditions beyond their control or husbands who left them. In contrast to the single women in the capital as well as to the poor begging for alms, the abandoned mothers were characterized as passive and dependent. People who became impoverished through no fault of their own were considered model Poverty Office clients. While the accounts sought to demonstrate the negative impact of the reform legislation, in time the abandoned mother became a collective symbol[22] of impoverishment established in the urban rhetoric and employed repeatedly, long after

the reform period had ended. Descriptions of gender-specific poverty assigned responsibility to the state, for giving outsiders the right to settle in the city, and to the husbands, who took advantage of new freedoms and abandoned their families. The victims of social and economic changes were seen as women and children.

Conflicts over the Tenement Quarters at the City Outskirts: "The Circulating Masses"

Critical of the reform process and fearing its perceived dangers, city authorities associated urban migration and indigence with all sorts of interrelated and seemingly inescapable "vices." The municipal council alleged in 1817,

> These people are usually in a dreadful or even desperate financial situation of their own making, and they think they can find help here [in Berlin]. Some have never known a settled, productive life, and others have lost what they once had, having taken to drink, slovenliness, and other vices. Mismanagement, crude behavior, and excessive demands for wages have caused them to sink to low depths in their previous places of residence and to fall into wretched circumstances. Now they come here, not to start new, industrious, orderly lives, but because they hope to find greater possibilities for irresponsible and possibly fraudulent ways of earning a living.[23]

These vices included laziness, sensual pleasures, irregular work habits, and disorderliness. Berlin authorities blamed the migrants for their poverty and attributed the problems to all urban poor as a group. The "immigrant poor" became simply the "lower classes" in government officials' rhetoric.[24] As the poverty of the migrants crossed the city limits, it undermined the old-regime practice of distinguishing between needy almsmen and willful beggars. The rhetoric of poverty increasingly included the notion of immorality.[25]

The tenement housing in the poor suburban districts—the "family houses"—took on special meaning in this part of the discourse on poverty. Outside the city gates to the northwest, the king had established in the eighteenth century several settlements on undeveloped, sandy territory. In contrast to other settlements outside the city, these developments fell under the jurisdiction of the Berlin Poverty Office. The settlement on Brandenburg sands was not very successful, and by

the end of the century, the residents constituted a significant part of the impoverished urban population. An additional row of houses was built along the road between the city limits and the settlement, forming a suburb outside the city gates that by the 1820s featured cheaply constructed four- and five-story apartment houses with one- to one-and-a-half-room apartments. These new so-called family houses occupied the first area of Berlin inhabited exclusively by the poor.[26] These dwellings came to poignantly symbolize the dangers and the misery associated with poverty.

The family houses were the subject of endless debate among the public agencies. As soon as the first structures were completed, the government concerned itself with the negative impact of such a concentration of poor people. Also the literary and journalistic media reported frequently on the terrible conditions. An extensive report by the physician for the poor caused the police to order house owners to make structural improvements. The attention that the houses received caused the Poverty Office to demand new measures from the police and the interior ministry, such as increased patrols and a general prohibition on renting overnight sleeping quarters.

Descriptions of the poverty in the family houses typically referred to a wide variety of social, moral, sanitary, and medical situations, often emphasizing dirt and disease.[27] Authorities took particular offense at the undisciplined cohabitation of the sexes, which was ascribed to diverse notions of immorality. Berlin had several Armen-Commissionen (commissions for the poor), and the chair of the commission responsible for the family houses was one of the most outspoken in this regard:

> More and more often the weavers and other kinds of artisans and workers get together daily, with the likes of loose women, living in sin and begetting a crowd of children that become a burden to the city. In addition, the discharging of disabled soldiers from the battalion contributes to an increase in cohabitation and disorderly households. Lazy, slovenly, and highly immoral females take the opportunity to lustily grab some blind or disabled man. Indulging the man's physical desires is the women's way to an idle and happy life, for who would not generously give alms to a cripple who had become disabled in the service of the fatherland, and who supposedly does not receive enough from the state to support his family? The immoral mistress always acts as the wife [so] that both parents and children become accustomed to such unbounded depravity.[28]

The accusation of deception, already familiar from the campaign against begging, assumed a moral tone. Attributing the active role to the women was a salient characteristic of the discussion about the family houses. Women were portrayed as "lazy," "wretched," and "immoral," taking advantage of the "physical desires" of the disabled soldiers. The women's actions made the relationships indecent. Because the "slovenly mistress" personified the immoral living situation, she came to symbolize the lower classes' inescapable combination of vices.

These conditions were considered dangerous not only for the poor but for the city as well, since the poverty traversed the city limits. The Armen-Direction (formerly the Armen-Directorium) declared with alarm in 1824,

> In their hustling, the residents of the von Wülknitz houses circulate throughout the city. Thus as living carriers of one contagion or another, they are in a perfect situation to spread communicable diseases. Under these circumstances, there are many reasons to worry about the health of the Berlin residents.[29]

With such rhetoric, the Poverty Office created a new stereotype of the residents of the family houses: dangerous carriers of contagious disease that might spread throughout the city.

In a letter to the Ministry of the Interior, Direction officials expressed concern that the city was imperiled by the "circulating masses":

> It is obvious that the royal residence could have been dangerously threatened during the time when there was so much movement. Indeed, it continues to be threatened. If similar situations or other unfortunate circumstances should arise, the popular masses could be set in motion or incited to some excess.[30]

The "time when there was so much movement" refers to the French July Revolution of 1830 and the concurrent unrest in some German cities—that is, riots that threatened to spread to Berlin. Mention of this well-known set of events generalized the fear about the lower classes, adding a new concern. Berlin residents needed to worry not only about the dissemination of disease but also about the spread of revolution. A "mental infection" threatened the city.

The groups that came to the capital, with their particular reasons and interests, became indistinguishable masses that seemed to endanger the city. Like those arrested outside the city gates, all were perceived as foreign and therefore as dangerous, although those targeted usually were the urban lower classes residing in the suburbs. Their presence challenged certain established limits: the "disorderly masses" called into question the border between city and country; the "slovenly mistress" raised questions about the boundary between the sexes. The impoverished district where the family houses stood came to be viewed as particularly crass and embodied the misery and dangers linked to poverty.[31]

Regulations established in 1828 completely prohibited the renting of temporary sleeping space in the family houses. Police patrols were increased, and building owners were required to comply with safety codes for the sake of sanitation and fire prevention. The buildings became an emblem of poverty and immorality in Berlin, a situation widely discussed in entertainment literature and socially critical descriptions of the metropolis. The conflicts over freedom to choose one's place of residence and over control of migration into the city ended with a compromise set of laws enacted in 1842 and 1843.[32] According to the legislation, people could be refused the right to stay in a city or community if they were unable to support themselves, but suspicion that they might become impoverished did not constitute grounds to deny outsiders permission to settle. The city was not obligated to grant assistance to needy persons residing within its borders for less than a year.

The discourse on the rise in poverty in the city brought about new conceptualizations of the poor. Although early-nineteenth-century discussions grew out of the eighteenth-century practice of equating the poor outside the city with delinquency and linking immigration with poverty, the new discourse used old terminology to create new meanings. Poverty, foreignness, and immorality—especially female immorality—became irrevocably associated with one another, and the family houses outside the city became a common symbol for poverty. The conflicts between the municipal and state governments that grew out of the Prussian reform politics added to the old patterns of thought not only the new assumption that poverty itself was immoral but also the gendered perceptions of the abandoned wife and the entrapped man. These gendered images of poverty assumed great importance for policies pertaining to the poor for the remainder of the century.

Intervention of the Poverty Office in Police Morality Policies: "The Sad Circumstances of Cohabitation"

The discourse on the dangers of impoverishment was no mere abstract discussion disconnected from the everyday experience of the politics of poverty; indeed, it continuously shaped these politics. The perceived ties between destitution and immorality were reflected in the 1826 Poverty Ordinance, which abolished the requirement that authorities determine whether arrested beggars had received adequate assistance before they could be sent to the workhouse. In 1838, police received exclusive authority to arrest beggars, effectively making begging generally illegal.

In their attempts to retain as many prerogatives as possible and preserve their authority, municipal agencies not only sought to obtain state subsidies and to maintain jurisdiction over new urban migrants but also became involved in police work itself. Starting in the 1820s, "immorality" became a point of contention between the police and the Poverty Office. The subject was rooted in the context of a growing, pietistically motivated morality movement in the city. The Armen-Direction, the voluntary *Armen-Commissionen,* and ordinary citizens all demanded the closing of brothels and reported lower-class unmarried women to the police as prostitutes.[33] Authorities and citizens also began to call for Prussia to enact marriage restrictions such as those that existed in southern German states, thereby limiting the number of children and thus preventing the impoverishment of the lower classes.[34] In a related move, the Poverty Office initiated an all-out campaign against cohabitation of unmarried men and women.[35]

The eighteenth-century Prussian General Law Code did not prohibit extramarital intercourse and cohabitation between unmarried people (so-called concubinage), and Berlin ordinances allowed the police only to prohibit cohabitation of people subject to legal marriage restrictions—that is, blood relatives and persons already married to others.[36] However, the police were permitted to intervene in cases of public scandal, and on the basis of this provision, members of the Poverty Office reported instances of cohabitation to the police. In one case, for example, "Kohlen the mason slept with his woman in a rented bed for quite some time before the two were married . . . which is the main reason for all these sad circumstances"—the couple's sick child, a second pregnancy, and the man's alcoholism.[37] In relation to this report, the commission for the poor proposed establishing the rule that

"where women and men are sleeping together in rented beds one [person] be removed."[38] They were clearly using this case to establish a principle, since not the rented bed but rather the man's low income and/or alcoholism caused the misery, especially since the couple had already married. The commission's justification for seeking police intervention—that fathers were "not willing to marry the person"[39]—did not even apply in this case.

The unquestioned assumption that out-of-wedlock relationships were inherently immoral was widespread. In one case in which the Armen-Direction intervened with the police, agency officials alleged that the police had allowed parents with children born out of wedlock to go on "pilgrimages" to "morally corrupting pleasure spots." The Armen-Direction insisted that "regulations be imposed on smoking pubs and dance halls,"[40] including the provision that the establishments must refuse service to people accompanied by children. The immorality of sexual relations clearly represented a whole series of other indecencies.

The Armen-Direction not only assumed the task of improving "moral conditions" but also made itself the watchdog over the morals for all of the lower classes. In 1828, for example, the Poverty Office linked "cohabitation" with the controversial issue of prostitution, which fell explicitly under police jurisdiction. In a letter to police headquarters, the Direction urged the establishment of measures for the "improvement of the moral condition of the common lower class." Officials complained that "general legislation still allows brothels to exist and fails to address the issue of cohabitation between two people for whom there is no legal obstacle to marriage."[41]

The campaign against immoral lifestyles allowed the Armen-Direction to draw the police into the campaign to combat poverty and to assign to the police responsibility for the misery. In intertwining its affairs with those of the police, the office was attempting to elevate the issue of poverty in the city and thus enhance the office's role in municipal affairs. Accordingly, the Armen-Direction sought to ensure that all institutions, including the police, the municipal council, and the Ministry of the Interior, should act at the behest of the Armen-Direction, thus making it a leading force in the changing times.

The Armen-Direction did not succeed completely in its campaign against cohabitation, since Prussian state agencies viewed the freedom to marry—or to live together unmarried—as a civil liberty belonging to the private sphere and thus not subject to state intervention. How-

ever, in 1828 the Direction achieved a ban on renting beds to men and women at the same time.[42] In 1832, the Direction put into practice a rule that mothers cohabiting with men would forfeit their orphan benefits, since their "paramours" should help support their children.[43] The Poverty Office also used the threat of suspending payments to clients as a way of monitoring subleasing of living spaces.[44]

The Poverty Office was not the only agency to take up the themes of immorality and indecency. The police department also harbored those who shared the strong views on the immorality of the poor. Senior officer F. K. Merker distinguished himself by supporting intervention in the private lives of the lower classes despite reservations by police headquarters and Ministry of the Interior officials.[45] He described the vices of the lower classes—alcoholism, crime, and "immoral" relations between the sexes—among the ever-present problems causing decay of the social order. The term *immorality* gradually came to mean simply sexual relations.[46] This shift in vocabulary further legitimized the police intervention into the private affairs of the lower classes, a practice that became increasingly common in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Middle-class notions of the family with the husband-father as breadwinner thus came to shape the discourse on poverty. In the eyes of Berlin authorities, lower-class sexuality and sexual practices became increasingly responsible for the problem.

Creating Order: "Prostitution and Crime"

In descriptions of Berlin poverty, the related themes of the husbands who abandoned their wives, the circulating masses, and the sad circumstances of cohabitation established a connection between reform policies and threats to the municipal order. Images of women and of sexual relations not only signified the immorality of poverty but, like the dual concept of "whores and beggars" in the Tiergarten, also created the understanding that social order was based on governmental powers of regulation.

Differing interpretations of the same event can demonstrate how perceptions of poverty were instrumental in constructing order. In 1831, riots broke out in the family houses when the owner, Heinrich Ferdinand Wiesecke, evicted several families that had not paid their rent. Apparently having expected the tumult, Wiesecke attempted to convince the Armen-Direction to assume the rent payments as a pre-

ventive measure. He accentuated the dangers in a letter addressed to police headquarters and copied to the Direction.

> The outraged mob [will] go even further and demand high wages by rioting. One could already hear numerous terrible suggestions of this. There was talk of general rebellion, of all moving into the city and of inciting all workers to take up arms. There were complaints about the harshness of the factory supervisors who filled their pockets with the profits while wages were steadily declining and the workers were going hungry. They were shouting that no laws should be respected, for everyone had to die anyway, and it was hunger that caused cholera, and so forth.[47]

Wiesecke created an image of masses in revolt, spreading social and political demands throughout the city. He used the specter of cholera to epitomize the dangers threatening the family houses and linked it to the fear of revolution. In the late 1820s, a cholera epidemic threatened Berlin from the east, reaching the city and causing numerous deaths in 1831.[48] Wiesecke portrayed the poverty, hunger, and dirt of the family houses as the source of the inflammation. The dangerous thing about cholera, however, was not that it was a disease of the poor but that it crossed social boundaries. Both cholera and revolution were "contagious" and could quickly spread throughout the city.

In contrast, Mr. Bocquet, chair of the Armen-Commission, had a different perspective on Wiesecke's evictions:

> Your Honor, I must request speedy instructions on how to respond, since Herr Wiesecke evicted 15 to 18 families from their apartments early this morning and has locked all the doors. Some of these families owe 8 and some 10 to 12 Reichstaler. They are lying in the courtyard, and the inspector has demanded that I issue certification that everything has been paid before he unlocks the apartments. What should be done, since these generally large families need a roof over their heads and have nothing but the shirts on their backs? This is why they are storming my apartment and why there is already a major uprising in the family houses. Humbly yours.[49]

Bocquet represented the situation more or less as blackmail. No one knew where the homeless families should go, and the inspector respon-

sible for evictions demanded a certificate that the Poverty Office would pay the rent before he would reopen the apartments. Bocquet portrayed the protests themselves as rather insignificant. His reference to families lying in the courtyard contrasts sharply with Wiesecke's "mob," implying no particular threat to the social order. Bocquet gave no impression of immoral behavior between the sexes, unruliness, or danger but instead emphasized the evictees' distress. He even made the fact that they stormed his residence seem justified in view of their plight. The protesters met with some success, and the evictions were halted. However, Wiesecke did not convince the Armen-Direction to assume rent payments, although his description clearly impressed some of the staff, since this is one of the few examples in Direction records of intra-agency disagreement.[50]

Diverse positions on poverty and the family houses in these conflicts were responsible for the different perceptions of the protesting crowds and the evicted families. Whereas Wiesecke saw the crowd as threatening the city, Bocquet saw the families largely as passive. Bocquet also interpreted the situation to be manageable and orderly, even though there must have been between fifty and one hundred people in the courtyard. Bocquet's description supported the position held by most Armen-Direction officials, who downplayed the scenario of danger as a way to refuse to assume responsibility for paying the rent.

Not only the model of the orderly family, contrasted with the fear of the uncontrollable masses, but also gender-specific conceptualizations shaped the social understanding of poverty:

> Almost without exception, it is detrimental when girls who have been confirmed in the church are used to sell fruit, fat pine, chicory, matches, lighters, songs, and cakes and other baked goods, or to carry shopping baskets from the market, and thus become familiar with a sort of bustling idleness and the associated vices. [It is also harmful] when confirmed boys are used to sell cigars, sponges, lighters, and fruit, or to attend coaches and to open church doors and churchyard gates and thus become familiar early on with a vagrant lifestyle, gluttony, and loose living.[51]

This almost rhythmically parallel gender-specific categorization of offenses associated with poverty is epitomized by the expression "prostitution and crime," the nadir of the decline caused by misery and

immorality.[52] This expression clearly represented a variation of the "whores and beggars" theme used in connection with the Tiergarten and applied in a wider context.

The articulation of gender dichotomies enabled observers concerned about the lower classes to construct an order in the city.[53] In the face of immorality, such dichotomies represented an ordered and less dangerous poverty than the image of shuffling masses. A basic principle in this scheme was the family; another was a clear, gender-specific parallelism.[54] At the same time, these dichotomies created new images of poverty, including on the one hand the victims of circumstances (whether abandoned women and children or the passive families who constituted the model Poverty Office clientele) and on the other hand the danger and immorality that necessitated police intervention.

"Poverty" and "Gender"

Policy relating to Berlin's poor from 1770 to 1850 became an increasingly disputed issue, epitomizing the general controversy over the Prussian reforms and the relationship between municipal and state administrations in the royal capital. This conflict transformed the meaning of poverty. Collective symbols of orderly and disorderly gender relations both expressed and changed the relationship between the poor and the city. Consequently, the politics of poverty also changed in practice. Jurisdictional conflicts between different agencies in the Tiergarten concerning delinquency in the park established in public rhetoric gender-specific notions of the poor—that is, women as whores and men as beggars or criminals. At the same time, these conflicts emphasized the notion that the poor beyond the city limits posed a special threat. The municipal authorities incorporated this facet into their argument as they protested the loss of municipal privileges through the Prussian reforms. City officials envisioned immigrating masses who would become destitute in the urban royal capital. Early on, the image of the journeyman who could work independently of the guilds and who married too early and abandoned his wife and children after becoming impoverished was used to depict the poverty of the new arrivals to the city. Over time, this image became a collective symbol for the urban poor. Poverty from outside the city, like that of the Tiergarten, became associated with all manners of vices and delinquency. Individual social groups among the poor became a mass of dangerous lower classes. By the 1820s the poverty that threatened Berlin was positioned largely in

the family houses outside the city limits, and authorities began to demand increased police control over occupants' lifestyles. Regarding poverty and immorality as equivalent, Poverty Office administrators felt justified in repeatedly involving the agency in police morality policies. The authority to intervene followed from this agency's mandate to create order out of immorality and misery. This order included the gender-specific delinquency of "prostitution and crime," a threat to the concept of the bourgeois family. The mere act of describing the acute immorality conferred authority on the speaker. The Poverty Office's model clients were abandoned mothers and the passive, forbearing families.[55] In this case, the blame lay with the fathers, who failed to live up to society's ideal of the breadwinner-husband.

Changes in the politics of poverty resulted from continuity and discontinuities in the day-to-day interaction of patterns of thought and action of those involved. Not so much the individual perceptions of begging, poverty, and immorality were new but the context, the cultural practice in which these perceptions were articulated and in which they assumed new meanings.[56] Poverty, citizenship, and poor people's eligibility for assistance in their place of residence were cultural constructions with far-reaching material impact. Their cultural significance and their place in the municipal order derive, in large part, from the position that changing constructions of gender assumed in government agencies' management of poverty. As constructions of gender changed, a new image emerged of lower classes threatening the city, as did a new form of politics of poverty that made the lifestyle of the poor an object of politics.

Notes

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1. Roger Chartier, preface to *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations,* trans. Lydia Cochrane (Ithaca, 1988).

2. The most important reforms in this regard were the introduction to the 1791 Prussian General Code (Allgemeines Landrecht), which centralized and standardized law, and the edicts of Prussian reform that promoted mobility, especially freedom of movement, the elimination of hereditary dependence (1807–10), and the dissolution of peasant dependency (1811–16). See the extensive study by Reinhart Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung, und soziale Bewegung von 1791 bis 1848,* 3rd ed. (Munich, 1989); see also Antje Kraus, "Die rechtliche Lage der Unter-

schicht im Übergang von der Agrar- zur Industriegesellschaft," in *Vom Elend der Handarbeit: Probleme historischer Unterschichtforschung,* ed. Hans Mommsen and Winfried Schulze (Wuppertal, 1981), 243–58.

3. See Christoph Sachße and Florian Tennstedt, *Geschichte der Armenfürsorge in Deutschland: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, 1980), 195–210. Most regional and local studies of administration of poverty follow Sachße and Tennstedt's interpretation.

4. Volker Hunecke, "Überlegungen zur Geschichte der Armut im vorindustriellen Europa," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 9 (1983): 480–512; Helmut Breuer, *". . . und hat seithero gebetelt": Bettler und Bettelwesen in Wien und Niederösterreich zur Zeit Kaiser Leopolds I* (Vienna, 1996).

5. On this concept, see Dietlind Hüchtker, *"Elende Mütter" und "liederliche Weibspersonen": Geschlechterverhältnisse und Armenpolitik in Berlin (1770–1850)* (Münster, 1999), 9–23.

6. Of course, this does not mean that poverty was not an economic or material problem.

7. See [Magnus Friedrich Bassewitz], *Die Kurmark Brandenburg, ihr Zustand, und ihre Verwaltung unmittelbar vor dem Ausbruche des französischen Krieges im Oktober 1806* (Leipzig, 1847), 1:55–58.

8. Felix Escher, *Berlin und sein Umland: Zur Genese der Berliner Stadtlandschaft bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1985), 105.

9. *Königlich-preußische Verordnung wegen Verpflegung der Armen und des gänzlich abzustellenden Bettelns auf Strassen und in Häusern in Berlin* (December 1774), in Sachße and Tennstedt, *Geschichte,* 146–47.

10. For example, the Landesarchiv Berlin (Stadtarchiv) [State Archives of Berlin (city archives); hereafter cited as LAB (STA)], Rep. 03/357, bl. 152, 156–59 (1790); Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv [Brandenburg Main State Archives (hereafter cited as BLHA)], Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin A 371, bl. 9 ff. (1790).

11. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 7 Amt Mühlenhof 1876, bl. 34 (1788).

12. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/357, bl. 159 (1790).

13. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/358, bl. 17 (1805). The Armen-Directorium was responding to the instructions of the police authorities "to arrest . . . suspicious-looking people at the wood market" in the Tiergarten, since "soldiers' wives and their children" in particular were suspected of stealing wood; the police obviously saw this as the responsibility of the Poverty Office.

14. On the reforms in general, see Marion W. Gray, *Prussia in Transition: Society and Politics under the Stein Reform Ministry of 1808* (Philadelphia, 1986); BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin B 38, bl. 66 (1818).

15. See Karin Weimann, "Bevölkerungsentwicklung und Frühindustrialisierung in Berlin, 1800–1850," in *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der frühen Industrialisierung vornehmlich im Wirtschaftsraum Berlin/Brandenburg,* ed. Otto Büsch (Berlin, 1971), 150–90. These findings are not meant to imply any statistical connection between poverty and migration.

16. Thomas Philipp von der Hagen, "Plan zur bessern Einrichtung der Armen-Casse und der Vertheilung der Allmosen in Berlin," *Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie,* pt. 21 (1787), 455–57. Von der Hagen also wrote that the interest rates had gone down, causing the income of the state coffers to drop, and that the price of wood for heating had gone up.

17. On the prevention of infanticide, see Kerstin Michalik, *Kindsmord: Zur Sozial- und Rechtsgeschichte der Kindstötung im 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Preußen* (Pfaffenweiler, 1996), 210–58.

18. This mixed commission was established as a temporary institution; it existed until 1819, when the Poverty Office came under municipal control. On the conflicts over the reform of the Poverty Office, see LAB (STA), Rep. 03/130 (1809).

19. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/130, bl. 60–63 (1809).

20. S.G., "Zur practischen Armenpolizei," *Beiträge zur Erleichterung des Gelingens der praktischen Polizei* 13 (1835): 287; 14 (1836): 34.

21. Armen-Direction von Berlin, *Die öffentliche Armenpflege in Berlin: Mit besonderer Berziehung auf die vier Verwaltungs-Jahre 1822 bis 1825* (Berlin, 1828), 227–29.

22. On the concept of collective symbols, see Axel Drews, Ute Gerhard, and Jürgen Link, "Moderne Kollektivsymbolik: Eine diskurstheoretisch orientierte Einführung mit Auswahlbibliographie," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 1 (1985): 289.

23. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin B 54, bl. 5 (1817).

24. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin B 54, bl. 6 (1817).

25. On the growing moral judgment of poverty, see Ute Frevert, *Krankheit als politisches Problem, 1770–1880: Soziale Unterschichten in Preußen zwischen medizinischer Polizei und staatlicher Sozialversicherung* (Göttingen, 1984), 136–48.

26. The architecture and the name *family houses* were in keeping with prevailing housing policies for the poor. The style was modeled after the eighteenth-century barracks for soldier families to reduce the unpopular quartering in the houses of Berlin citizens. From the outset, the barracks thus housed primarily poor families, since the soldier families were generally poor. The houses fell under military supervision. By the end of the eighteenth century, the king had transferred two or three barracks no longer in use to the Armen-Directorium to provide housing for poor families in good standing. The lifestyles of the families were monitored, and occasional opportunities for employment existed. However, the families could be evicted for improper conduct. These barracks, which came to be called family houses, therefore provided an alternative to the workhouse. In contrast to these projects, accommodations in the family houses of the 1820s were rented on the "free housing market," without governmental supervision. See Johann Friedrich Geist and Klaus Kürvers, *Das Berliner Mietshaus, 1740–1862: Eine dokumentarische Geschichte der "von Wülcknitzschen Familienhäuser" vor dem Hamburger Tor,*

der Proletarisierung des Berliner Nordens und der Stadt im Übergang von der Residenz zur Metropole (Munich, 1980), 167.

27. See, for example, LAB (STA), Rep. 03/1055, bl. 77–78 (1827).

28. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/637, bl. 28–29 (1832).

29. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/1055, bl. 4 (1824).

30. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/1055, bl. 204 (1831).

31. The monthly bulletins of the Directorate of the Administration for the Poor (*Monatsblatt der Armen-Direction*), for example, regularly printed statistics on the poor district where the family houses were located. See *Monatsblatt der Armen-Direction zu Berlin* 4 (1834): esp. 2–6, 38–39. See also the statements by the head of the Commission for the Poor in the district with the family houses: [Krahmer], "Bemerkungen über das Armenwesen und die öffentliche Armenpflege in Berlin, gesammelt bei einer 13jährigen Ausübung des Amtes, als Vorsteher einer Armen-Commission," in J. P. Kux, *Berlin: Eine aus zuverlässigen Quellen geschöpfte genaue und neueste Charakteristik und Statistik dieser Residenz und ihrer Umgebung: Nebst einer ausführlichen Abhandlung über das Berliner Armenwesen und dessen Mängel, von einem vieljährigen Armenpfleger* (Berlin, 1842), 249–342.

32. The package included the Law on the Acceptance of Recently Arriving Persons (Gesetz über die Aufnahme neu anziehender Personen), the Law on the Obligation to Care for the Poor (Gesetz über die Verpflichtung zur Armenpflege), and the Law on Acquiring and Losing the Status of a Prussian Subject and on Entering Foreign Civil Services (Gesetz über die Erwerbung und den Verlust der Eigenschaft als Preußischer Unterthan so wie über den Eintritt in fremde Staatsdienste), all 31 December 1842, and the Law on Punishing Vagrants, Beggars, and the Idle (Gesetz über die Bestrafung der Landstreicher, Bettler, und Arbeitsscheuen), 6 January 1843; see *Monatsblatt für die Armen-Verwaltung zu Berlin* 6, supplement (1843): 26–37. On the nature of the compromise, see Dieter Langewiesche, "'Staat' oder 'Kommune': Zum Wandel der Staatsaufgaben in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 248 (1989): 628; Harald Schinkel, "Armenpflege und Freizügigkeit in der preußischen Gesetzgebung vom Jahre 1842," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 50 (1963): 459–79.

33. In 1846, the brothels in Berlin were closed; however, in 1852 the police reinstituted the policy of toleration (Dietlind Hüchtker, "Prostitution und städtische Öffentlichkeit: Die Debatte über die Präsenz von Bordellen in Berlin, 1792–1846," in *Ordnung, Politik, und Geselligkeit der Geschlechter im 18. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ulrike Weckel, Claudia Opitz, Claudia Hochstrasser, and Birgitte Tolkemitt [Göttingen, 1998], 345–64).

34. See Klaus-Jürgen Matz, *Pauperismus und Bevölkerung: Die gesetzlichen Ehebeschränkungen in den süddeutschen Staaten während des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1980).

35. Similar campaigns also existed at that time in other cities. See Karin Gröwer, "'Wilde Ehen' in den hanseatischen Unterschichten, 1814–1871,"

Archiv für Sozialgeschichte 38 (1998): 1–22; see also Helga Zöttlein, "'Unzüchtige' Frauen—'Unzüchtige' Männer: Nichteheliche Paarbeziehungen in der kurhessischen Landstadt Zierenberg im Vormärz," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 38 (1998): 23–40.

36. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/637, bl. 9 (1822). Not until the passage of the cabinet ordinance of 4 October 1810 were the police allowed to intervene in cases of extramarital intercourse and cohabitation (Carl Röhrmann, *Der sittliche Zustand von Berlin nach Aufhebung der geduldeten Prostitution des weiblichen Geschlechts* [1846; Leipzig, 1987], 22).

37. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/641 bl. 2 (1828).

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/357, bl. 2 (1821).

41. BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin C 16924, bl. 7 (1828). Police headquarters responded that everything the Direction of the Poverty Office proposed had long since been prohibited (BLHA, Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin C 16924, bl. 9 [1828]). The Direction's reference to "people for whom there is no legal obstacle to marriage" simply acknowledges that cohabitation was illegal for blood relatives and for individuals married to others.

42. See, for example, LAB (STA), Rep. 03/641, bl. 2–8 (1828).

43. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/637, bl. 30 (1832).

44. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/637, bl. 81 (1835).

45. F. K. Merker, *Die Hauptquellen der Verbrechen gegen die Eigenthums-Sicherheit in Berlin, mit Hindeutung auf die Möglichkeit der Verminderung derselben* (Berlin, 1839), 11–13.

46. See Isabel V. Hull, "Sexualstrafrecht und geschlechtsspezifische Normen in den deutschen Staaten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts: Von der frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart,* ed. Ute Gerhard (Munich, 1997), 225; see also Beate Harms-Ziegler, "Außereheliche Mutterschaft in Preußen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Frauen,* ed. Gerhard, 341; Dietlind Hüchtker, "'Unsittlichkeit' als Kristallisationspunkt von Unsicherheit: Prostitutionspolitik in Berlin (1800–1850)," in *Unsichere Großstädte—Vom Mittelalter bis zur Postmoderne,* ed. Martin Dinges and Fritz Sack (Constance, 2000), 175–96.

47. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/362, bl. 20 (1831).

48. Geist and Kürvers, *Berliner Mietshaus,* 150–63; Richard J. Evans, *Tod in Hamburg: Stadt, Gesellschaft, und Politik in den Cholera-Jahren, 1830–1910* (Reinbek, 1990), 294–329.

49. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/362, bl. 13 (1831).

50. LAB (STA), Rep. 03/1055, bl. 209 (1831).

51. *Bekanntmachung der Armen-Direction,* quoted in C.S., "Berliner Armenwesen," *Beiträge zur Erleichterung des Gelingens der practischen Polizei* 14 (1836): 287.

52. See the similar description by Krahmer, "Bemerkungen," 292–93,

which leads to the assumption that girls fall prey to prostitution and boys to theft. See also Ernst Dronke, *Berlin* (1846; Darmstadt, 1987); on the persistence of the stereotype, see also Walter Benjamin, *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert* (Frankfurt, 1991), 127.

53. On the dichotomy of the social order in general, see, for example, Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979), 3–7; Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London, 1986), 3–6.

54. On the family as an early modern principle of order, see Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1988), 1–7.

55. See, for example, Karin Stammler, "Die hilflose Frau: Die Neudefinition der Geschlechterverhältnisse in den Sozialreform-Diskussionen in Deutschland um 1850," in *Orte der Geschlechtergeschichte: Beiträge zur 7. Schweizerischen Historikerinnentagung,* ed. Franziska Jenny, Gudrun Piller, and Barbara Rettenmund (Zurich, 1994), 253–68.

56. See Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Gesetze, die nicht durchgesetzt werden—ein Strukturmerkmal des frühneuzeitlichen Staates?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 23 (1997): 647–63.

The Development of the Discourse on Infanticide in the Late Eighteenth Century and the New Legal Standardization of the Offense in the Nineteenth Century

Kerstin Michalik

The history of infanticide—the crime of killing newborn children—provides an important perspective on the transformation of gender that took place during the *Sattelzeit.* The ideological bases of the criminal standardization of the offense in the first half of the nineteenth century grew out of late-eighteenth-century precedents. The significant transitions in the laws governing the crime during the *Sattelzeit* had far-reaching consequences. Legal innovations concerning infanticide during this era were rooted in the discourse of difference and in particular in the changing constructions of the nature of man and woman and of their places in society.

The nineteenth-century changes had repercussions lasting until quite recently. Paragraph 217 of the German Criminal Code, which remained in force until 1 April 1998, was based on the Criminal Code of the Reich of 1871, which had adopted the exact wording of the Prussian Criminal Code of 1851. Paragraph 217 punished an unmarried mother who "kills her illegitimate child during or immediately after the birth" with a prison sentence of at least three years; less severe cases brought sentences between six months and five years. In contrast, a married woman who killed her newborn child was punished according to paragraphs 211 or 212 for first- or second-degree murder, which could result in a lifetime prison sentence.

The nineteenth-century law concerning infanticide thus differentiated significantly between legitimate and illegitimate children as victims of the crime. It punished perpetrators who killed babies born out of wedlock less severely than those who murdered babies born to married parents. In the first half of the nineteenth century, changes in the punishment for the crime reflect transitions in the gender order; such cases were argued on the basis of both the "nature of the female organism" and the contemporary understanding of the process of giving birth. The paragraph on infanticide led to judicial confusion, because the illegitimacy of the child had no connection with the official basis for the preferential treatment—the female organism. This chapter documents ways in which powerful late-eighteenth-century gender constructions became the foundation of nineteenth-century marriage and family law as well as the basis of jurisdiction in infanticide cases.

The chapter first summarizes the legal foundations for infanticide cases and outlines eighteenth-century public discussion about the crime. The research focuses on Prussia, where the most far-reaching legislative initiatives regarding the crime of infanticide were carried out under the Enlightenment absolutist regime of Frederick the Great. The shifts in sociopolitical thought that determined the approach to the crime in the late eighteenth century become especially clear in the context of the Prussian measures and their attendant discussions. Second, the chapter demonstrates the emergence of a new interpretation of child murder from a discussion about infanticide that culminated in the 1880s. With regard to the concept of the character of the sexes, this new view on child murder fostered not only a new regimentation of female sexuality but also the increased ostracism of single mothers. Third, by using the example of the revisions of the Prussian General Law Code, the chapter explains how ideological constructions employed in the reconstruction of gender in the nineteenth century influenced legal norms that remained definitive until the end of the twentieth century.

Legislation and Public Discourse in the Context of the Enlightenment: Infanticide as a Social Problem

Infanticide was a frequent offense in the early modern era. It accounted for almost half of all recorded crimes involving death in Prussia in the eighteenth century. Almost half of all executions involved child murderesses.[1] The basis for the jurisdiction in child mur-

der cases was the Penal Code of the High Court of Emperor Charles V (the Carolina of 1532), which called for the penalty of death through drowning for the killing of a newborn regardless of legitimacy.[2] However, punishment of the sword largely replaced drowning over the course of the seventeenth century.

By the late 1800s, governments had begun to seek means to reduce the number of infanticides. With this objective, Prussian authorities intensified the application of the death penalty for the "godless mothers" who committed the act and also made secret births subject to serious punishment.[3] The latter measure concerned only single women, who represented the majority of the perpetrators—"slovenly females" who became the object of lawmakers' special attention since the sin of extramarital intercourse was regarded as the main source of child murder. The law required parents, landlords, and employers to report unmarried pregnant women to the authorities.[4]

At the beginning of the century, Prussian lawmakers had regarded increases of penalty and arrests as suitable methods for deterring and preventing infanticide; however, the attempt to come to terms with the crime changed significantly under the influence of the Enlightenment. The misdeed was no longer considered solely a result of the free (but malicious) will of the perpetrator but instead came to be viewed as a result of social influences. With Enlightenment ideas impacting the theory of criminal law, efforts to prevent infanticides became increasingly based on new insights into the social causes of crimes. The idea of crime prevention assumed increasing importance. In the rhetoric of Enlightenment critics of the existing criminal law, this method replaced the older idea of deterrence through punishment. Accordingly, the punishment of crimes could be considered an act of justice only if lawmakers had done everything possible to eliminate the crime's social causes.[5]

In the context of eighteenth-century efforts to reform the criminal law system, infanticide in particular gained a central focus. Analyzing the motives of child murderesses, reformers concluded that most of the offenders had killed their newborn children either out of dread of the disgrace of extramarital motherhood or out of fear of poverty. Thus, the crime held special interest in treatises of the Enlightenment statesmen and philosophers who had wrestled with the theory and application of criminal law since the middle of the century. Frederick the Great had denounced as early as the 1740s the established punishments for extramarital sexual intercourse, believing that having "to choose

between the loss of their honor and their poor body fruit"[6] could lead women to the crime of child murder. Philosophers such as Beccaria, Voltaire, and Hommel declared themselves opposed to the discriminatory laws designed to punish "disgraceful women and whores" and demanded the construction of foundling hospitals to counteract the material motives of child murderesses.[7]

However, the prevention of infanticide was not an end in itself. The drive to find means to eradicate the crime was not based primarily on humanistic values. The crime aroused special attention in the age of mercantilism because of demographic concerns. The conviction that governments had a prime responsibility to foster population growth caused leaders to become increasingly alarmed at the killing of newborn children. Voltaire, who stigmatized the execution of an eighteen-year-old alleged child murderess as "inhuman" and "unjust" in view of doubtful legal bases, further argued that her execution resulted in the loss of a community member who still might have been able to bear citizens for the state.[8] While Enlightenment philosophers considered infanticide the leading reform issue in criminal law, as an economic and demographic problem it had already been the object of discussion among practitioners of the "state sciences" since the middle of the eighteenth century. In this context, relief actions for single pregnant women—such as the construction of birthing hospitals to enable discreet delivery of babies and preserve the mothers' honor—did not constitute primarily humanitarian gestures but instead were considered reciprocal compensation for the "contributions" that the women had made to the state.[9]

Thus, it was no coincidence that Frederick the Great of Prussia was especially interested in the calls for legal initiatives to prevent infanticide. He strove in particular to combat the social causes of infanticides. On the one hand, Frederick, one of the earliest representatives of Enlightened absolutism, showed himself especially open to the reform goals of the Enlightenment; on the other hand, the Prussian state was a model of mercantilistic population policy that fostered, for reasons of power politics, strong initiatives to counteract the perceived depopulation of the land. As the king of Prussia had already pointed out in his considerations of criminal law in the 1740s, it was most important to impede those "terrible Medeas" who suffocated the "next generation" because the crime robbed the state simultaneously of two subjects—the murdered infant and, in the case of a criminal capital punishment, the mother.[10] To avoid such population losses, reformers were

also ready to make certain far-reaching concessions with regard to moral policy. To eliminate the "completely unnatural prejudice of disgrace"[11] from the heads of single mothers, Prussia in 1765 abolished the sexual offense penalties for extramarital intercourse.[12] Furthermore, new laws provided that a wife who had committed adultery would be punished only on the explicit demand of her husband in the context of a petition for divorce.[13]

The Prussian General Law Code of 1794 (Allgemeines Preußisches Landrecht) further extended efforts to the prevent infanticides. This new code contained extensive civil regulations for the improvement of the legal and economic standing of single mothers and illegitimate children. Not only to ensure financial security but also, as justifications of the laws explained, to "weed out deep-rooted concepts of honor and disgrace,"[14] the code guaranteed women extensive reimbursement and maintenance claims against impregnators. For all unmarried women except prostitutes and adulteresses, compensation included the repayment of all costs incurred during the birth, the baptism ceremony, and the confinement as well as necessary expenditures during the pregnancy or after the birth (II, 1 §§ 1027–36). "Guiltless" women who had become pregnant under the promise of marriage were granted the name, the social standing, and all rights of an innocently divorced wife, including financial compensation and a legitimate status for the child (II, 1 §§ 1044–52). Even if the child had not been conceived under the promise of marriage, the woman was still entitled to a financial indemnification (II, 1 § 1073).

Furthermore, the law provided that every illegitimate child had a right to food and education supplied by its father, regardless of the mother's legal claims. The most important reform regarding the bases of legal proof in maintenance suits was made by the invalidation of the "manifold infidelity plea." In a reversal of common, established principles, the alleged father's objection that the mother might have maintained sexual contacts with other men neither freed the putative father of financial obligations to the mother nor made the maintenance claim of the child invalid. On the contrary: if evidence showed that the mother had had relations with several men, the child's state-appointed guardian could decide whether to hold the father named by the mother or her "pimps" collectively responsible for the payments (II, 1 § 1036; II, 2 § 619). To ensure support for the child, even the father's parents were held liable before the mother's parents (II, 2 § 628). Not only was the status of single mothers improved, but legal discrimination against

illegitimate children was at least diminished by the fact that the General Law Code contained reforms both in the law of inheritance and in the right of legitimacy (II, 1 § 1044; II, 2 § 592, 597, 651).

New research in legal history has interpreted the Prussian legal reforms, particularly the Edict of 1765, as a milestone on the way to a milder punishment of child murderesses.[15] The significant increase in penalties contained in the Prussian edict shows, however, that the discussion of the social causes of infanticide was not at all accompanied by a changed assessment of the wrongfulness of the deed or a demand for a milder punishment for child murderesses. Nor had Frederick the Great intended to make such changes. The death penalty by sword was maintained. Furthermore, several special regulations broadened the basis of evidence for cases of child murder, a development that ran contrary to common law principles, which had previously determined the interpretation of the law by Prussian courts. The death penalty could now be imposed in cases that had formerly been punished with prison sentences.[16] Until 1765 "extraordinary" penalties—as a rule, prison sentences of up to ten years but not the death penalty—were imposed if the death of the newborn had not been caused by direct violent actions but rather by neglect. Such cases previously had not been formally regarded as infanticide. The 1765 edict on infanticide explicitly negated the distinction between active killing and death by neglect and in both cases required the execution of guilty women.

Furthermore, the sentence for certain cases with weak evidence was intensified, usually imposing fortress labor for life instead of for up to ten years, as had been customary. These regulations sought to undermine all possible defenses, with the state considering this new severity justified because it had done everything possible to eliminate the causes of the offense. The Prussian General Law Code of 1794 was also based on this principle. It embodied only insignificant modifications with regard to the rules of punishment and contained customary harsh punishments explicitly justified by extensive preventative measures.[17]

Over the course of the eighteenth century, both the Enlightenment critique of criminal law and the concern about demographics contributed to a decidedly revised view of the perpetrators and the deed. The emphasis on the social causes of criminal offenses had led to a changed perspective on infanticide, which came to be regarded not as a result of individual sinful behavior but rather as a result of social and economic problems, the elimination of which were considered the state's duty. Unmarried pregnant women were looked on less as

"slovenly females" and more as potential mothers who not only should be shielded from punishment and public disgrace but who should, along with their children, become the object of state welfare. Although Prussia's more tolerant attitude toward single mothers and illegitimate children resulted mainly from an interest in increasing the population, the Enlightenment conception of marriage as primarily a contractual relationship constituted another important factor. Emphasis on reason and natural rights had brought about the secularization of marriage and prepared the way for a pluralistic, nonbinding moral philosophy that focused on the marriage law less from moral and ethical perspectives than from utilitarian needs of the state. Marriage was considered, above all, a means to serve reproductive goals, and this instrumental view also resulted in more liberal judgments of single mothers and illegitimate children.

The attitude toward infanticide that had formed under the influence of the Enlightenment would not last long, however. During the final decades of the eighteenth century, infanticide became the object of a broader public discussion that developed entirely new concerns.

Modesty and Bewilderment: New Interpretations in the Context of the Concept of the Character of the Sexes

The reduction of state sanctions for extramarital intercourse in Prussia by no means occurred without criticism. Church representatives had already begun resisting during the 1760s, concerned about the preservation of Christian sexual morality and regarding the elimination of the "disgrace" of unwed motherhood as a sin against both God and the sanctity of marriage. During the following decade, when circles of the educated bourgeoisie such as doctors, educators, theologians, civil servants, and jurists also began to occupy themselves with the subject of infanticide, widespread secular arguments appeared in opposition to the reforms designed to improve the situation of single mothers. The discussion then began to reach far beyond the confines of Prussia.[18] A catalyst for the broad debate was the publication of a prize-winning essay written in response to the question, "What are the most effective means of preventing infanticide?"[19]

As one may suspect from the wording, the prize question was not primarily focused on the goal of preventing infanticide. The author had already concluded that "all of these already known and unsuccessful means" for preventing infanticide "must be rejected, partly because

they are ineffective, partly because they are not philosophically sound, and partly because they are godless." Such measures ultimately "open the door to lewdness" and increase "attractions to illegitimate relationships." Because of these value-laden concerns, many authors were moved not by the goal of fighting the crime but rather by a growing anxiety about what they viewed as the accompanying harmful effects on morality and ethics in general. They were concerned with what they regarded as the dignity of marriage. The subject of infanticide became part of a broader discussion on the relationship between sexual behavior and societal well-being. Discussants also generally feared what they viewed as the inherent dangers of the Enlightenment-inspired reforms.[20] Nothing less than the foundations of state and society seemed to be in question, since observers feared in part that the "lessening, or complete abolition, of shame and punishment" as a method to combat infanticide "would be the same as if a patient were shot through the heart in order to make sure he was freed from his illness."[21]

A few respondents advocated strengthening the laws punishing sexual offenses and denounced everything that Enlightenment critics had advocated since the middle of the century, claiming that such changes encouraged infanticide. Most discussants, however, approved of the abolition or modification of church and state penalties for sexual offense and particularly of the spectacle of public humiliation and punishment. At the same time, many participants argued that while dispensing with the "arbitrary" and public disgrace remained appropriate, "social and moral" shame nevertheless constituted a "necessary corollary of the honor of matrimony."[22] Most commentators regarded this shame as an appropriate result of social norms but often justified the maintenance of legal sanctions on the basis of nature of the female sex. Critics claimed that disrepute arose either from a conception of honor rooted in an essential female modesty or from physiological reasons connected to the irrevocable loss of physical virginity.[23] Hence, these observers criticized the Prussian legislation for having clung to the illusion that it could save "the virgin honor . . . of the fallen maiden."[24]

The disgrace of extramarital motherhood, which Frederick the Great had characterized as an "unnatural prejudice," was now reinterpreted as an innate characteristic based on modesty, an "essential attribute of woman's nature."[25] This new interpretation not only was intended to invalidate the measures designed to prevent infanticide but also demonstrated the emerging interest in a fortified regulation of

female sexuality in the context of the emerging discourse on the character of the sexes during the last third of the eighteenth century.[26]

The interpretation of the problem of infanticide was thus based on two central conceptions: the decency and modesty of the female sex and the sanctity and dignity of marriage. The latter was rooted in a new late-eighteenth-century understanding of the nature and character of masculinity and femininity. Reformers hoped to utilize these concepts to establish the positions of men and women in social and political life. If, in the context of this new gender order, womanhood was defined by marriage, family, and propagation, then not only extramarital sexual intercourse but also illegitimate motherhood assumed new, negative connotations. Moreover, female "indecency" stood in extreme contrast to the normative ideals of woman's nature based on her sexual characteristics, including decency, virtue, and modesty.

Perhaps more than any other subject, infanticide generated a discourse about woman's vocation. Many observers blamed infanticide on "modesty that came too late"[27] or on a "false understanding of honor and shame."[28] Others argued that the crime would have disappeared had disgraced women behaved "in accordance with the destiny assigned by nature to the female sex."[29] Correspondingly, reformers urged that women be educated to be chaste, well mannered, and modest. Such measures would be more effective than would the abolition of penalties for sexual offense. The "dishonor" brought by the "loss of female virginity" should become an "inner embarrassment."[30] The "modern" civil variant of the regulation of sexuality was based on the internalization of a socially required sense of shame rather than on external regulations.[31] Demands for impediments to divorce or for more severe punishments for female adulterers[32] show how far some authors deviated from the real topic of the discussion.

The new political impetus, with its focus on morals and ethics, fundamentally changed the quality of the discussion on infanticide in the late eighteenth century and stimulated not only increasing opposition to measures for the prevention of infanticides but also discussion about the nature and details of the crime and its perpetrators. The pursuit of the real root of the crime—the rational search for social causes—began increasingly to fade, supplanted by objectives that were not based on the goal of social reform but instead worked against these ideals.

The "typical" child murderess, who in male imaginations of the last third of the eighteenth century wandered like a ghost not only through the works of the Sturm und Drang literary movement but also through

many publications devoted to fighting the crime, was innocent and had been seduced—a passive, weak creature. In her "defenseless innocence,"[33] she stood no chance of resisting the "active cunning"[34] of the male sex. The seduction motive explained the deviation from the desired norm and served as virtually empirical proof of the decency and modesty intrinsic to the female sex. Furthermore, the representation of child murderesses as mentally confused creatures who had acted without clear awareness of their actions followed the desire to bring the murdering mothers into harmony with the understood natural vocation of woman. Women of the 1780s who killed infants were represented as swaying between conditions of passionate excitement and complete unconsciousness. The fear of disgrace largely bore responsibility for this state, and the crime thus had not resulted from rational motives. Fright had prompted the mental confusion under which women, impregnated outside marriage and "almost against their knowledge and will," became murderers.[35] The substitution of social explanations for the crime with the idea of mental confusion explained why the natural inclination toward motherhood had so little effect in these circumstances and enabled observers to understand "how an otherwise compassionate and sensitive creature . . . could deliberately" take her child's life.[36] While most protagonists of this new version of the crime found the motives of the women at least recognizable—although only as the trigger of the dazedness and confusion—doctors developed a tendency to interpret infanticide as not only a psychological but also a physiological phenomenon. They concluded either that the birth pain was the decisive factor[37] or that the "true cause for the murder of one's own body fruit" was derived from the "physique and . . . the emotional state of the fair sex."[38]

The hope of preventing infanticide through legal reform was bound to diminish against the background of such psychological and biological interpretations. The new interpretation of infanticide was, on the one hand, the product of the contemporary concept of the natural characteristics of the sexes. On the other hand, this view could be used as an argument against changes designed to improve of the situation of single mothers. In light of the new notion of a woman's vocation as marriage, reform impulses encountered increasing resistance. Because infanticide was constructed less as a socially caused act and more as a deed with a definite motive and purpose, the prevention of infanticide by means of improved conditions for single mothers had to appear hopeless.

In the debate of the 1780s, the spectrum of the discussants still included both radical Prussian reformers and fanatical guardians of virtue. However, the interest in morality and ethics clearly gained a stronger and stronger position in the discourse and thus influenced the selection of the essays considered worthy of prizes. Supporters of Frederick the Great's policies of reform were losing ground. The side that in the end dominated, including the award-winning Professor Johann Gottlieb Kreuzfeld, was convinced that the consequences of the elimination of the disgrace of extramarital motherhood were "more terrible" for state and society "than the evils which were to be cured." Kreuzfeld and those who shared his view therefore preferred to tolerate a few "unnatural child murderesses" than to have many "whores" in the state,[39] thereby illustrating the nineteenth-century direction of movement for family and criminal legislation in the German states.

Civil Marriage and Family Law and the Flawed Reasoning of Unwed Mothers in Criminal Law

Although the debate of the 1780s proved to have little effect in terms of preventative measures, it did bring about other kinds of changes. The topic of the deterrence of infanticide had been disappearing slowly from public discussion since the late 1780s and had completely faded by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lawmakers' interests turned increasingly toward an entirely different goal by the turn of the century: the reform of criminal regulations, especially those aimed at moderating the threat of punishment for child murderesses. This topic had not appeared in the discussion resulting from the eighteenth-century essay contest.[40]

All criminal codes enacted between 1830 and 1860 recognized infanticide as a special situation and assigned substantially milder punishments to it than to other crimes of death. Deviating from all legal precedent, almost every new legal code limited the evidence to be considered in cases of death of illegitimate children. German common law had previously classified infanticide as a subcategory of "murder of relatives," without regard to the civil status of the child. The General Prussian Law of 1799 defined child murder simply as the "killing of a newborn child" (II, 20 § 887) and formally distinguished it from the first-degree murder of relatives, but the penalty remained execution by the sword.[41] The Prussian Criminal Code of 1851, which became the basis of the Criminal Code of the Reich of 1871, however, privileged the

deliberate killing of an illegitimate newborn child, establishing a punishment of five to twenty years of imprisonment, while the murder of a child born in wedlock still resulted in the death penalty.

The mitigation of punishment for the killing of illegitimate children that took place in the nineteenth century has been judged in legal history to be a triumph of enlightened humanism and a direct consequence of the insights about the social causes of the crime, which had grown out of the broad discussion of the Enlightenment. In this interpretation, sympathy for the single mother or the extenuating circumstances of the imputed motives for the crime—fear of the disgrace of extramarital motherhood or fear of poverty—resulted in the unique classification of infanticide involving illegitimate children.[42]

Sources of legal history for the first half of the nineteenth century show, however, that criminal law reform had causes other than the Enlightenment. The reason for the mitigation of punishment was a new construction of "the nature of the female organism and the process of giving birth"—that is, the alleged diminished mental state of the woman in the process of giving birth. For example, an 1828 Prussian bill declared that "the increased irritability of the mind, affected by the act of giving birth, and the diseased change, which was seizing the nervous system," had to be taken into consideration "as reasons for the milder view on infanticide," since doing so would "either produce the resolve to murder or enhance it."[43]

With the alleged diminished sanity of women in the act of childbirth an element of the debate on infanticide of the 1780s, the physiological explanation of the crime—at that time still a minority position—gained credence astonishingly quickly. This rationale for the mitigation of punishment had already appeared in draft reforms around the turn of the century,[44] although as late as the 1790s this interpretation had achieved no consensus. Not only jurists but also forensic doctors rejected such a view, remaining convinced that "consciousness and the ability to deliberate and make decisions, hence freedom of will and soundness of the mind," were not impeded in the process of giving birth and that infanticide "in general could not be excused by a condition of bewilderment . . . , which [some] wish to compare to a state of temporary insanity."[45]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, psychological interpretations of the crime replaced social explanations. This process occurred in the context of the growing acceptance of a new construction of gender difference that gained the status of scientific discourse.

A "psychophysiological" dualism of sexes[46] posited the order of the sexes in terms of physical anatomy and helped answer the question of how a woman could commit infanticide, an act that seemed contradictory to the natural female character as nurturing mother. The assumption of a physiologically reduced mental stability offered an explanation in anatomical terms for even the killing of one's offspring.

The physiological interpretation of the differentiation of sexes alone, however, does not suffice to explain the new criminal law regulations. How does one understand, for example, that all German criminal codes except those of Bavaria (1861) and Brunswick (1840) applied the physiological interpretation only in cases of unmarried women or of women who killed their illegitimate children?

The 1780s discussion of infanticide is central to an understanding of the special treatment of single women in criminal law. The new distinctions between types of infanticide were related to the ideological premises that had led to resistance to relief actions for single mothers in the late eighteenth century. However the unique historical context of the *Vormärz* era embodied a new concept of gender relations and a new bourgeois ideology of marriage and family that accompanied the development of civil society. The concept of marriage as a purely moral and virtually sacred institution—the essential basis of state and society—left no room for acceptance of illegitimacy and stood in sharp contrast to the Enlightenment era's secular, contractual model of marriage. A corollary of the bourgeois ideology of family was a renewed and intensified punishment for sexual relations outside of wedlock, which had ramifications not only for civil laws governing extramarital relationships but also in the realm of criminal law.

Changes in Prussian criminal statutes correlated with the new codification of the law of marriage and family of the French *code civil.* Under French law, the mitigation of punishment for killing children born out of wedlock occurred parallel to and in conjunction with the abolition of the regulations designed to prevent infanticide. After early-nineteenth-century revisions of the relevant laws—justified with the argument that they had brought about "very harmful consequences" and "tempted single women to impudence"[47]—a series of reversals followed. First in the 1820s but more decisively during the 1840s, changes in the statutes governing alimony and bastardy eroded the rights of single mothers and illegitimate children. The changes rested on the new understanding of the nature of marriage as an institution on which the state itself was based. Under the legal reforms of

C. F. Savigny, this notion became the basis of the marriage law, with decisive consequences for the legal position of single mothers and illegitimate children. Simultaneously with a conservative revision of the divorce law, reformers attempted rigorously to restrict indemnity and alimony claims, arguing that such changes would restore "morality in general and the . . . dignity of matrimony."[48] The alleged negative consequences of the Prussian Law Code's regulations for single mothers and illegitimate children provided the reasoning behind the reform of the bastardy law. Reformers not only claimed that the code undermined the "honor of the female sex" and "good morals" but also argued that the "almost exclusive" focus on preventing infanticide had "privileged lewdness by making it a lucrative trade for the female sex."[49]

To preserve the "honor of the female sex," "good morals," and the "sanctity of marriage," the law of 24 April 1854 abolished the Prussian General Law Code's regulations designed to improve the social and economic situation of single mothers and their children. In comparison to the regulations of eighteenth-century German common law, the new law brought about severe negative changes for mother and child.

The 1854 law limited indemnity payments only to impregnated women who were officially engaged (§ 2) or who were victims of criminal acts (§ 1). Furthermore, the women could no longer receive the rights of a guiltless divorced wife: their only possible claim was financial reimbursement, with the result that the child was no longer considered legitimate. The reforms abolished the Prussian General Law Code's provision of financial reimbursement for women who had not been promised marriage. Especially significant was the reintroduction of the "chronic infidelity plea" (§ 9/1), which, contrary to common legal practice, placed the burden of proof on the women. In addition, the new law allowed a "plea of bad reputation," a completely new concept. Women branded with chronic infidelity pleas and "persons charged with a bad reputation with regard to sexual relations" (§ 9/2) forfeited all rights of indemnification, including costs related to pregnancy and birth. All that was required to gain the "bad reputation" was the testimony of several men who would "boast the woman's inclination for sexual relations."[50] No proof was required. Furthermore, all mothers of illegitimate children—even those women who had become pregnant as a result of rape—were classified as having "bad reputations."

The abolition of the law code's financial and social security for single mothers directly affected the illegitimate children. The new law

allowed alimony claims only in cases where the mother was entitled to reimbursement (I § 13), which meant that a legal obligation to provide maintenance was restricted to instances in which the child had been conceived to an officially engaged couple or as a consequence of a criminal offense. Moreover, the father's parents could no longer be held liable for the child's maintenance, making it more difficult to collect on the claims. The new law still provided for the possibility of a father voluntarily accepting paternity, but in cases that would lead to a financial liability, a legal document was required (II § 13). Under the law, a child born outside of wedlock had no legal father even if proof of fatherhood existed.

The Prussian reform of the alimony law and the bastardy law represented but one example of a widespread phenomenon. As Isabel V. Hull points out, these legal reforms represented the consequences of a common set of new definitions of sexuality, gender, and private and public life that became the basis for Germany's emerging civil society.[51] The drafters of civil family law, who claimed to pursue their goals in the name of higher moral values, acknowledged that the aggravation of the social situation of single mothers in a time of pauperism and mass poverty could, in fact, encourage infanticide. During discussions on the planned amendment of the law in the Privy Council, however, these officials argued that such concerns should be subordinated to "higher moral perspectives," even if the restriction of support could lead to the "neglect of illegitimate children" and could "itself lead to child murder."[52] Since, from a moral political point of view, the killing of illegitimate children at least could now be tolerated, the child murderess could also be seen in a new light. With the notion that she killed her newborn out of shame rather than poverty, lawmakers were inclined to judge her as morally more tolerable than the "impudent prostitutes" who went to court to entangle respectable husbands and fathers in dirty maintenance suits.[53] In the debate over revision of the criminal law, the "modesty" and "decency" of child murderesses also served as grounds for the elimination of regulations designed to prevent secret pregnancies and births. Lawmakers had reached the conclusion that a concealed pregnancy itself was not suspicious but rather represented the expression of an honorable "moral urge to veil" on the part of the illegitimately pregnant woman. This characteristic, they held, had roots in the nature of female modesty.[54]

Multiple factors led to the creation of the special classification of the crime of infanticide, making it a less severe offense when committed by

single mothers. In addition to the moral understanding of women as modest rather than vicious, such factors included the abolition of maintenance claims for illegitimate children and the expressed fear that the "civil claims would perhaps seldom succeed against the illegitimate father."[55]

In this context, the eighteenth-century Enlightenment goal of reducing punishment for the perpetrators of infanticide went into effect under quite changed premises. Now, because measures for the prevention of infanticide for sociopolitical considerations no longer formed part of the discussion and because the abolition of unmarried women's claims against the fathers of their children was explicitly considered an instrument for disciplining the female sex, a milder punishment could appear justified as a compensatory means. While the eighteenth-century "discussion on prevention" still influenced lawmakers as they developed the special classification of the crime, the mitigation of punishment was rationalized by the revised understanding of the object of the crime—the child. Because of its illegitimate status, the newborn was considered less worthy of legal protection. Lawmakers used similar reasoning in relation to the discussion on abortion in the framework of the criminal law. They proposed milder punishments for the abortion of illegitimate children and argued conversely that a married woman "should be punished more strictly for also harming the rights of the legitimate father."[56]

Thus, the special legal status of infanticide that until recently remained a part of the legal code resulted from the early-nineteenth-century ideology of civil marriage and family, although sociopolitical issues in the context of excess population and pauperism may have played a part in the revised statutes on illegitimacy in the post-*Sattelzeit* era. The erosion of the status of illegitimate children under civil law and the corresponding mitigation of punishment for their killing should not be considered a sudden sociopolitical reaction to the *Vormärz* or to the social question of the nineteenth century. The ideas of the philosopher Immanuel Kant show, for example, that the ideological bases had already been articulated in the late eighteenth century as a part of the discourse surrounding the reformatting of the gender system. In his "Metaphysics of Morals" (1798), Kant had clearly summed up those elements of the debate of the 1780s that would prevail in the nineteenth century. He based his renunciation of the death penalty on the ineffectiveness of deterrence for unmarried child murderesses since the perpetrator had killed to preserve her honor. She had

been led to commit the deed by a sense of "true honor" that represented both a duty and a "natural state" for the female sex. Furthermore, legislation could not eradicate the ignominy of an illegitimate birth. Kant had already observed the inferior right of protection for the illegitimate child:

> The illegitimate child was born outside of the law (since legitimacy would require marriage) and thus [the child was] outside the protection [of the law]. It has illegally crept into society (like forbidden goods) so the community might ignore its existence (because it legally was not supposed to exist in this manner). [The community might] therefore also ignore its destruction.[57]

Conclusion

The redefinition of gender during the transitional era of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries contributed substantially to the new legal status of the crime of infanticide. Since the mid–eighteenth century, Enlightenment thinkers had sought ways to prevent the killing of newborn infants, but the emphasis in the discourse began to shift by the 1780s. In the late eighteenth century, the era of the polarization of the "character of sexes," a discourse among elites resulted in a revised interpretation of the crime that rested on a new construction of womanhood and a redefinition of family. The psychological and biological explanation of gender, based on the belief in a specific female nature, began to gain credence during the 1780s. By the first decades of the nineteenth century, this construction of femininity came to prevail in the context of an altered social order and a new, middle-class-defined gender system. As these values became institutionally embodied and contributed to the new legal establishment of the civil ideology of marriage and family, they also became the basis of the new codification of the civil and criminal laws governing extramarital intercourse and illegitimate children.

The discourse concerning the legal status of infanticide indicates the extent to which breaks, transitions, and continuities in the construction of gender transformed legal standards and daily life. Although the discourse about infanticide had, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, only minimally affected the legal situation, specific elements of the discussion from the late eighteenth century pointed the way for the laws that followed in later decades. The new, nineteenth-century

codification of the paragraph on infanticide, with its peculiarities and contradictions, can be explained only in the context of the evolving understanding of femininity, masculinity, and family during the *Sattelzeit.*

Notes

This article draws in part from Kerstin Michalik, *"Kindsmord": Sozial- und Rechtsgeschichte der Kindstötung im 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Preußen* (Pfaffenweiler, 1997).

1. See the tables and lists for the late eighteenth century in von Hymnen, *Beyträge zur juristischen Literatur in den preußischen Staaten* (Berlin, 1775–85), esp. vols. 1–8 (1775–85). On the frequency and development of infanticide in various imperial and Hanseatic cities since the late sixteenth century, see Richard van Dülmen, *Frauen vor Gericht: Kindsmord in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1991), 58–75.

2. *Peinliche Gerichtsordnung Kaiser Karls V. von 1532,* ed. Gustav Radbruch and Arthur Kaufmann, 6th ed. (Stuttgart, 1984), Art. 131, I.

3. Allgemeines Edict wegen des Kinder-Mordes, worin die Straffe des Sacks verordnet wird, 30 August 1720, in *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum,* ed. Christian Otto Mylius (Berlin, 1737–50), vol. 2, § 3, no. 42, cols.1 21–24.

4. Mandat, daß niemand liederliche Weibs-Personen hausen, und jeder Hauß-Wirth es anzeigen solle, wenn wegen Schwangerschaft lediger Personen Verdacht ist, 10 April 1710, in ibid., vol. 2, pt. 3, no. 25, cols. 39–42.

5. Highly influential in this context was the work of French Enlightenment author Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des Lois* (Geneva, 1748), which had a particularly strong influence on Frederick the Great. Another important work was Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti et delle pene* (Monaco, 1764).

6. Friedrich II, "Über die Gründe, Gesetze einzuführen oder abzuschaffen" (Dissertation sur les raisons d'établir ou d'abroger des lois) (Berlin, 1749), in *Die Werke Friedrich des Großen,* ed. Gustav Berthold Volz (Berlin, 1913), 8:34.

7. Cesare Beccaria, *Über Verbrechen und Strafen,* ed. Wilhelm Alff (Frankfurt, 1966), 128; Voltaire, *Commentaire sur le livre des délits et des peines de M. le Marquis de Beccaria,* 2nd ed. (London, 1773), 9; Karl Ferdinand Hommel, *Des Herren Marquis von Beccaria unsterbliches Werk von Verbrechen und Strafen* (Breslau, 1778), 29:168.

8. Voltaire, *Commentaire,* 9.

9. See, for example, Joseph von Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze der Policey, Handlung, und Finanz,* 5th ed. (Vienna, 1787), 1:91, 271; Johann Heinrich Gottlieb von Justi, *Gesammelte Politische und Finanz-Schriften über wichtige Gegenstände der Staatskunst, der Kriegswissenschaft und des Kameral- und Finanzwesens* (1766; Aalen, 1970), 3:395; Johann Heinrich Gottlieb von Justi, *Grundsätze der Policeywissenschaft,* 3rd ed. (Göttingen, 1782), 90.

10. Friedrich II, "Über die Gründe, Gesetze einzuführen," 34.

11. Friedrich II, "Letter to Voltaire from October 11, 1777," in *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand,* ed. Johann David Erdmann Preuß (Berlin, 1853), 23:410.

12. Edikt wider den Mord neugebohrner unehelicher Kinder, Verheimlichung der Schwangerschaft und Niederkunft, Berlin, 8 February 1765, in *Novum Corpus Constitutionum Prussico Brandenburgensium Praeicipu Marchicarum,* ed. Christian Otto Mylius (Berlin, 1751–1806), vol. 3, no. 13, cols. 583–96.

13. Ibid., vol. 4.1., no. 6, cols. 53–54; no. 65, cols. 511–12.

14. See Carl Gottlieb Svarez on the motives for the regulations on the "legal consequences of extramarital intercourse" (*Entwurf eines allgemeinen Gesetzbuches für die Preußischen Staaten* [Berlin, 1786], pt. 1, § 3, 150).

15. See, for example, Wilhelm Wächtershäuser's standard reference on the history of law, *Das Verbrechen des Kindesmordes im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Eine rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der dogmatischen, prozessualen und rechtssoziologischen Aspekte,* ed. Ekkehard Kaufmann and Heinz Holzhauer (Berlin, 1973), 3:141.

16. Edict of 1765, § 1, cols. 583–86.

17. See the annotations to § 720, infanticide, in Svarez, *Entwurf eines allgemeinen Gesetzbuches,* pt. 3, § 3, 338.

18. In most German states, the only reform until the late 1780s had been the termination of church penitence. In the area of punishments for sexual offenses, only a few states enacted very restricted modifications prior to the end of the eighteenth century. The only foundling hospital in German-speaking territory, established in 1763 in Kassel, was closed by 1787.

19. *Rheinische Beiträge zur Gelehrsamkeit* 2 (July 1780): 84–88.

20. Isabel Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, 1996), 215, 257.

21. [Wilhelm Gottfried Plouquet], *Nachtrag zu den Abhandlungen über die beste ausführbare Mittel, dem Kindermorde Einhalt zu thun* (Tübingen, 1785), 15.

22. See Johann Gottlieb Kreuzfeld's essay in *Drei Preisschriften über die Frage: Welches sind die besten ausführbarsten Mittel dem Kindermorde abzuhelfen, ohne die Unzucht zu begünstigen?* (Mannheim, 1784), 119.

23. See, for example, [Johann David Michaelis], "Des Herren Ritter von Michaelis Zusatz zu seinem Mosaischen Recht: Warum hat Mose in seinem Gesetz nichts vom Kindermord?" *Göttingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur* 4 (1785): 95.

24. Johann Georg Krünitz, "Kinder-Mord," in *Oekonomische Encyclopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats-, Stadt-, Haus-, und Landwirtschaft und der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1786), 37:787.

25. [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi], "Ueber Gesetzgebung und Kindermord: Wahrheiten und Träume, Nachforschungen und Bilder" (Frankfurt, 1783), in *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Arthur Buchenau, Eduard Spranger, and Hans Stettbacher (Berlin, 1930), 9:27.

26. Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century—An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life," in *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany,* ed. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (London, 1981), 51–83.

27. Franz May, *Vorbeugungsmittel wider den Kindermord. Für Seelsorger, Eltern und Polizeiverwalter, Wundärzte und Geburtshelfer* (Mannheim, 1781), 11.

28. Pfeil in *Drei Preisschriften,* 23.

29. [Karl Georg von Raumer], *Versuch über die Mittel wider den Kindermord: Auf Veranlassung der Mannheimer Preisfrage, von einem Kriminalrichter* (Berlin, 1782), 15.

30. Ibid., 53.

31. See Isabel Hull, "Sexualität und bürgerliche Gesellschaft," in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ute Frevert (Göttingen, 1988), 56.

32. See, for example, [Julius Friedrich Knüppeln], *Freymüthige Gedanken, Wünsche, und Vorschläge eines vaterländischen Bürgers über den Kindermord, und die Mittel, denselben zu verhindern* (Germania [Stendal], 1783), 60, 74.

33. Johann Caspar Velthusen, *Beyträge über Kindermord, Lotterieseuche, und Prachtaufwand* (Vienna, 1785), 31.

34. Karl Müller, *Mittel wider den Kindermord: Eine Beantwortung der Mannheimer Preisaufgabe* (Halle, 1781), 79.

35. *Fragmente über die Frage, welches sind die besten ausführbaren Mittel, dem Kindermorde Einhalt zu thun?* (Frankfurt, 1782), 14.

36. "Ueber den Kindermord: Von einem gelehrten und durch seine gemeinnützigen Schriften berühmten Arzt und Menschenfreund," *Gazette de Santé* 2 (1783): 306.

37. "Ueber den Kindermord," *Magazin für gerichtliche Arzneikunde* 1 (1782): 34.

38. Franz Heinrich Birnstiel, *Versuch, die wahre Ursache des Kindermords aus der Natur- und Völkergeschichte zu erforschen, und zugleich darauf einige Mittel zur Verhinderung dieses Staatsverbrechens zu schöpfen* (Frankfurt, 1785), 3.

39. Kreuzfeld in *Drei Preisschriften,* 107, 118.

40. Except for the fundamental discussion about the death penalty stimulated by the Italian criminal law philosopher Beccaria, which included consideration of infanticide, no voices advocated a milder punishment for child murderesses in the age of the Enlightenment. Some opposition to the death penalty had existed during the discussion on the prize question; however, the starting point for the criticism had been not the inadequacy but the ineffectiveness of the punishment. Where the death penalty had been abolished, alternative ideas about punishment were oriented not by humanitarian concerns but primarily by interest in deterrence.

41. The traditional legal position was also confirmed in principle in the law codifications of other late-eighteenth-century strongholds of the Enlightenment. Both the Josephine civil code and the Criminal Code for the Toskana of 1787 still regarded child murder as a type of first-degree murder of relatives or generally treated infanticide as premeditated murder.

42. See Wächtershäuser, *Verbrechen des Kindesmordes,* whose theses also were uncritically adopted by social historians.

43. *Motive zu dem, von dem Revisor vorgelegten, Ersten Entwurfe des Criminal Gesetzbuches für die preußischen Staaten* (Berlin, 1829), vol. 3, pt. 2, 179.

44. See, for example, C. U. D. Eggers, *Entwurf eines peinlichen Gesetzbuches für die Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein* (Kiel, 1808), §§ 605–7.

45. Georg Jacob Friedrich Meister, *Practische Bemerkungen aus dem Criminal- und Civilrecht durch Urtheile und Gutachten der Göttingischen Juristen-Fakultät erläutert* (Göttingen, 1795), 2:134.

46. Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaft vom Menschen und das Weib, 1750–1850* (Frankfurt, 1991), 199.

47. *Motive zu dem,* vol. 3, pt. 2, 169.

48. Beratungen der Gesetzes Kommission zu dem von dem Ministerium der Gesetz-Revision vorgelegten Entwurf betreffend die Folgen des unehelichen Beischlafes, 29 May 1845, in *Quellen zur preußischen Gesetzgebung des 19. Jahrhunderts,* ed. Werner Schubert and Jürgen Regge (Vaduz, 1987), pt. 2, 6/2:1233–43.

49. C. F. Savigny, *Motive zu dem Entwurf eines Gesetzes, die aus der außerehelichen Geschlechts-Gemeinschaft entspringenden Rechte und Verbindlichkeiten betreffend* (Berlin, 1845), 2.

50. Ibid., 18, 261.

51. Hull, *Sexuality,* 371–73.

52. Beratungen des Königlichen Staatsministeriums zu dem Entwurf zu dem Gesetze betreffend die aus einer unehelichen Geschlechtsgemeinschaft entspringenden Rechte und Verbindlichkeiten, 9 December 1845, in *Quellen zur preußischen Gesetzgebung,* pt. 2, 6/2:1257–61.

53. *Gesetz-Revision-Pensum XV: Motive zu den vom Revisor vorgelegten Entwurf des Tit. 1. Th. II. des Allgemeinen Landrechts mit Ausschluß des 7ten Abschnitts* (Berlin, 1830), 482–83.

54. *Motive zu dem,* 172–73.

55. Ibid., 174.

56. Theodor Goltdammer, *Die Materialien zum Straf-Gesetzbuche für die Preußischen Staaten* (Berlin, 1852), 2:30.

57. Immanuel Kant, "Rechtslehre," in Immanuel Kant, "Die Metaphysik der Sitten," in *Werkausgabe,* ed. Wilhelm Weischedel (Frankfurt, 1982), 8:458–59.

Gender and Control in the Merchant's World

Stralsund, 1750–1830

Daniel A. Rabuzzi

> Never let friendship become romanticized [*romanhaft*] and sentimentalized; do not let the pleasure of friendship cause you to neglect your position, your family, your public engagement, or your fortune.
>
> Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Handbuch der Moral für den Bürgerstand*

> Both Nature and Society agree that the man is the woman's protector and master, whereas the woman should cling to him as his lifelong companion and helpmeet—loyal, supportive, and grateful.
>
> Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter* (1789)

Despite his anguished protestations, the very wealthy Stralsund merchant and town councillor (*Ratsverwandte*) Carl Ehrenfried Reimer could not prevent the 1803 remarriage of his former wife, Johanna Sophia Gebhardi Reimer, to Georg Emmanuel Charisius, a lawyer and merchant. The case provoked a great deal of talk in the port city on the Baltic (population roughly fourteen thousand, including the garrison), involving as it did members of the elite, allegations of adultery, the virtually unprecedented occurrence of divorce, and most of the other dramatic ingredients necessary for a public scandal. Reimer seems to have lost control of his wife as well as of just about everything else: his composure, his honor, his household. In short, this is a tawdry fable, like something out of Boccaccio, the moral of which would seem to be the oft-told one in early modern times that a man who cannot control his wife deserves to lose her and his standing in the community.[1]

That conclusion, so baldly stated, may be accurate by eighteenth-century lights but nevertheless is incomplete. We know that both folk custom and learned opinion supported such a conclusion: the normative gender system[2] of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century

Germany,[3] as formulated ultimately by Kant, Campe, Hegel, Fichte, and many others, prescribed this summation. But not all the elements of the Reimer/Gebhardi/Charisius story fit the standard interpretation—the woman is rewarded, for one thing—and we do not know why the actors did what they did until we explore the context of their actions. Gender systems are not separate from the people who comprise such systems—that is, they are organic, mutable, and multivalent sets of relationships between real individuals, each of whom has a particular agenda and may or may not follow the supposed script. Gender systems are inscribed on and embedded within the concrete, the local, the personal: we need to understand how such systems operated and how individuals manipulated the world through them.[4] Interpretations of gender are time and place specific.[5] Reconstructing the tale of Reimer and his wayward wife—or, rather, the story of the bold new woman and her truculent husband—using contextual evidence will enable us to see how the ideology of gender informed and was informed by other personal considerations.

According to the Stralsund archives, Carl Ehrenfried Reimer (1744–1813) was one of the city's leading grain exporters, amassing a huge fortune between the 1770s and the Napoleonic occupation and serving as a member of the town council beginning in 1790.[6] In 1786, at the age of forty-two, he married for the second time. His new wife was Johanna Sophia Gebhardi, a Stralsund pastor's daughter who at between eighteen and twenty-five was much younger than her husband. It was her first marriage. In 1798, after the birth of three children, Carl and Johanna Reimer approached the consistory for permission to divorce.[7]

This request appears to have been one of the first divorce petitions in Stralsund's history.[8] Because marriage was not a sacrament in Protestant theology, divorce was theoretically possible in Stralsund and other Protestant territories. It remained difficult to obtain, however, at least in part because marriage and marital law remained largely under clerical jurisdiction until the mid- to late eighteenth century. The church's chief tool of authority was the consistory, a hybrid body with quasi-secular powers. Stralsund's consistory was typical of those elsewhere in northern Germany, with members taken equally from the town government and the ecclesiastical authorities. Stralsund's consistory included the head pastors from each of the city's three churches and three members of the town council (*Rat*). The consistories in northern Germany began to lose power from about 1750 onward as

secular authorities, particularly in Prussia and Saxony, increased state control over many social and familial matters. The state subsumed marital law within its civil codes, viewing marriage as a contract that, like all contracts, could be broken under certain circumstances. Little in the secondary literature examines how closely Swedish Pomerania tracked Prussia and Saxony in this regard, but it is reasonable to assume that Stralsund followed its neighbors' trends of increasing secularization of marriage and growing divorce rates.

Both Carl and Johanna Reimer took great pains to emphasize their regrets and to stress that theirs was to be an amicable parting, preferably obviating the need to go, as they put it, "en detaille" into the marriage's "sad, unhappy circumstances" and "futile efforts." Carl admitted that he and Johanna no longer shared either bed or board and that there was simply no more concord between him and his wife, "such that all his business suffered, and his days were filled with turmoil and dissatisfaction, while self-evidently—as one could plainly see—his health had been impaired." He asserted little need to investigate the cause of disharmony, since the brute fact of "the disagreement and disinclination between him and his spouse" was "already for a long time talked about by the community at large [*im Publico*], as is probably known to the reverend Consistory and in particular to each of its members."

The main sticking point for the consistory, in fact, was that neither party wished to give any grounds for the divorce besides a general and mutual "disharmony between our temperaments" and a loss of "all love and inclination toward one another." Unable to find specific grounds for the divorce, the consistory nevertheless granted one on the condition that Johanna Reimer not remarry. It is not clear whether Carl Reimer was similarly enjoined. He kept the children, repaid the dowry, and promised to pay his former wife an annuity, while she retrieved the physical belongings with which she had entered the marriage. The consistory's proclamation of the divorce expressly confirmed that the unhappy state of the marriage had been public knowledge for many years. Both Carl and Johanna strongly desired that there be no prying into the details of their marital breakdown, insisting with forced sincerity that they were not blaming one another for what had occurred. The divorce of a town council member and a pastor's daughter was sure to cause tectonic tremors throughout the mercantile edifice of honor, so the avoidance of disclosure was very important.[9] Reimer's public office made him exquisitely sensitive to

scrutiny, especially scrutiny of his former spouse: neither he nor Johanna wanted her thrust out of domestic privacy and into the public eye.[10] In 1798, the Reimers scrupulously maintained a facade that kept Stralsund's intrusive eyes away from any dirty linen.

But Carl Reimer breached the facade in 1803 when Johanna sought to remarry. Unable to contain himself any longer, Reimer erupted with a long diatribe against his ex-wife and asked that the consistory forbid her remarriage. The particular cause of his rage was her chosen husband, Georg Emanuel Charisius, a successful merchant and lawyer, scion of one of Stralsund's most venerable lineages, and related to still other *Ratsfamilien* via his mother. "As is notorious within the entire public here," Carl Reimer wrote, Charisius and Johanna Reimer appeared together constantly in public. Reimer would seek to document that the two had been carrying on an illicit affair even during the Reimers' marriage. (Charisius bought and moved into the house next door to the Reimers in 1788, two years after the couple married.)[11] Carl Reimer produced a March 1792 document (*Aufsatz;* it is not preserved in the archival materials) written in Johanna Sophia's hand that he claimed proved that at that time she was already infatuated with Charisius. Another of his prize proofs was a small, worn piece of paper with eight cryptic notations in faded pencil, each one beginning with a number, such as "287, themselves to weakness." The notations might be references to page numbers—perhaps to quotations from romantic novels such as might have had meaning to clandestine lovers. One of the lovers might have underlined passages in a *Roman* (in one of Stralsund's lending libraries or from his or her collection), made sure the book was available for the other's eyes, and then alerted the other via the note. This was, after all, the time of the "reading mania" (*Lesewut*) and of the search for sensibility (*Empfindsamkeit*). Whatever the truth of the matter, Reimer had for many years brooded over that note, a token of his bitterness.[12]

Charisius was "the real disturber of my domestic happiness," bellowed the old town councillor. Therein lay the crux of the issue: Reimer claimed not to object in principle to Johanna Sophia's remarriage but to oppose only the fact that she sought to marry Charisius, with whom she had consorted while she was still married to Reimer. Reimer asked the consistory to consider what had gone on in his house, what his children must have experienced as a result of their mother's misbehavior. He pushed very hard on the well-known trope of the dissolute household, of the wayward mother. His ex-wife had insulted

him, acting with "well-known *Effronterie.*" Worse, the "entire public" and at least some members of the consistory knew all about the matter. His accusations fell on deaf ears, however, and the consistory permitted Johanna Sophia Reimer and Georg Charisius to marry two months later. To add insult to injury, when Reimer died in 1813, Charisius replaced his wife's former husband on the town council.

Reimer lost honor because he lost control. He was aware of this danger in 1798, at the divorce proceedings, refusing to divulge any specific reasons for the request. He later explained that he had done so to maintain pride and face and out of "*Menagement* and great respect for our two families." The French word *menagement* (written in the Roman script reserved for foreign words, not in the standard German hand) meant not only "respectful consideration" but also "control, direction, and guidance" and was related to the French word for *household.* There is no way of knowing why this foreign word was chosen, whether Reimer or his interlocutor selected it, or what precisely it meant. However, a word encompassing concepts of respect, control, and domesticity was appropriate for Stralsund merchant families at home in the market. A Stralsund merchant's inability to manage, whether in keeping a wife or in keeping a bargain, impaired his honor. Honor was tied to competence, and the merchant going to market needed every scrap of both as he competed against the Charisiuses of the world.

How did Stralsund merchants generally think about honor?[13] Honor meant precedence, rank, and standing, but it also meant one's reputation for prompt payment and commercial competence. The merchant's honor was a matter of his (or, in some cases, her) creditworthiness; fellows had to honor bills so that a merchant could operate in the market. As the eighteenth century advanced, commercial ability appears to have mattered more and more in calibrating honor, eventually equaling (but never quite displacing) family connections, manners, and cultural refinement.[14] In other words, disputes over honor increasingly focused overtly on latent or obscured economic tensions. For example, the conflicts over precedence in church seating and chapel ownership—ostensibly pure manifestations of rank consciousness having little to do with commerce per se—seem to have become less heated and less frequent after 1750.[15] A decline also seems to have occurred in the number of people buried within the church, both in private chapels and under the floor stones, previously the prerogative of the elite who wished to make their presence and their family's influence visible even

after death.[16] (The decline may, of course, also have been caused by the growing sanitary concerns and increased olfactory sensibilities of the late eighteenth century.)[17] In 1733 the mercantile bylaws (*Kaufmannsordnung*) in neighboring Wolgast still included, "for the avoidance of all conflict over rank," specifications about precedence, but they were already based on the objective criterion of age rather than on the more nebulous and thus more arguable basis of innate quality.[18] Similar stipulations are missing altogether from documents one generation later.

Members of the later generation were not shy, however, about protesting their injured honor in other terms, especially when business reputation was at stake. In 1799, for example, Stralsund merchant J. G. Bevernis went to court to halt the circulation of an "insulting pamphlet" written against him by another merchant, C. C. Grimm.[19] The matter was pure commerce: Bevernis was the managing partner for a ship partly owned by Grimm, and Bevernis claimed that the entire partnership, including Grimm, had agreed to Bevernis's sale of certain goods brought via the ship from London at "then-current prices" (the unspoken but likely fact being that these goods had been sold at a loss, possibly because of damage caused through operation of the ship). Subsequently, however, Grimm not only ridiculed Bevernis's handling of the sale "at a large gathering" but also issued the offending document. Likewise, the *Stralsundische Zeitung* frequently ran personal announcements in which a merchant defended his honor against calumny and idle rumor.[20] J. F. Homeyer of Wolgast, one of Swedish Pomerania's most important grain exporters, felt compelled in 1801 to refute publicly the rumor, "spread by evil-minded people out of trickery and malice," that he was buying fresh grain in contravention of the law and offering inflated prices for it. In 1815, Stralsund merchant J. D. Gierow went to court to deny rumors of his insolvency, offering a large reward to anyone who could lead him to the origin of the slander. Merchants F. A. Spalding and J. F. Eggert, trustees of the von Wulfcrona bankruptcy estate, likewise felt forced to deny the rumor that they would close the estate's wine business. All of these quarrels or denials were matters of the purse, resolved through publicity, courts, and accounts rather than with pistols or rapiers.

The honor of male merchants qua merchants was sometimes indistinguishable from their honor as fathers and husbands: the respectability of their daughters and wives was something to be cherished as much as the coins and bills they kept locked in their strongboxes. The lan-

guage of eighteenth-century merchants reflected the proximity of commercial and familial or even sexual honor. When writing about financial difficulties, merchants typically used the term *Verlegenheit* (embarrassment or predicament, much as in modern usage). *Verlegenheit* could also apply to the wider spectrum of embarrassment, including most notably social and sexual matters. The dual application of *Verlegenheit* is not, of course, peculiarly German: it is mirrored in French and English use of *embarrass* and perhaps represents the middle-class fusion of money and sexuality that Freud, Simmel, and others have posited. The fear was that losing control over one's wife implied a similar lack of mastery over one's business affairs; in either case, a male merchant's masculinity became imperiled.[21]

Given such stakes, then, how could a man as rich and powerful as Reimer fail to block the remarriage of his ex-wife and thereby avoid public humiliation? Why could he not exercise the kind of oligarchic influence otherwise fairly commonplace in Stralsund and prevalent in similar small cities and towns? The question is not why Reimer felt himself dishonored and bereft, but why his fellow oligarchs were so singularly unmoved by his complaints. Why was Reimer doubly thwarted?[22] In this case, far from being blamed and punished, Johanna Reimer was in effect rewarded in a very public and unprecedented way. I believe that the consistory's refusal to grant Carl Reimer's wishes and the *Rat*'s co-optation of Charisius a decade later represented calculated efforts to humiliate first the man and then even his memory. Gaps in the sources preclude definitive statements, but enough oblique evidence exists to build a workable hypothesis. Gendered roles and gendered conflicts meshed with the wider social and economic environment.

The Reimer/Gebhardi/Charisius affair occurred during a tumultuous time in Stralsund. The city's economy depended almost entirely on the export of grain, and prices across Europe hit all-time highs around 1800 as population soared and English industrialization transformed markets, resulting in both tremendous opportunities and great misery. Large export volumes and the possibility of arbitraging prices between eastern European producers and western European consumers meant huge potential profits for merchants. Fierce competition occurred in all the Baltic ports, including Stralsund, during the 1790s and early 1800s—competition for grain supplies from the countryside; for buyers and brokers in Hamburg and Bremen, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, London and Liverpool; and for the shipping space, credit, and

insurance that made deals happen. In Stralsund, the newly heightened competition led to increased concentration in the market as small-scale merchants were squeezed out. In 1755, ninety-one merchants exported grain from Stralsund (overwhelmingly malt to Sweden), with the ten largest accounting for 30 percent of the total volume. In 1796, only fifty-seven merchants participated in a much larger trade (now including sizable wheat and oat exports to England and the Netherlands), with the top ten controlling more than 53 percent of the total volume.

The merchants' drive to export also meant fear of hunger among the local populace, however, sparking "moral economy" riots, mobilization of troops in response, and growing political unrest throughout Swedish Pomerania from 1795 on. Fueled by this fear and led by a renegade merchant named Gemeinhardt, Stralsund's disenfranchised shipmasters and artisans mounted a serious and very dramatic political challenge to the *Rat* between 1801 and 1804. Stralsund's elite closed ranks, concerned about infectious Jacobinism and about both the vagaries of an erratic King Gustav IV Adolf in Stockholm and the looming threat of Napoleon. The town council, consisting exclusively of merchants and lawyers, quashed the Gemeinhardt disturbance and even strengthened its position vis-à-vis the *Bürger* of Stralsund; though no violence occurred, much bitterness lingered on both sides.

Carl Ehrenfried Reimer's problem may have been that for all his wealth and his position as a town councillor, his place among Stralsund's elite was far from assured because he was a social climber, a nouveau riche. His father had been a customs official, a second-class *Bürger* within Stralsund's tripartite *Bürgertabelle,* socially far removed from the first-class merchants though well positioned to help launch sons into commercial careers. Carl's older brother, Joachim Hinrich, had become a Stralsund merchant at age thirty-six in 1763, suggesting a lengthy apprenticeship and accumulation of startup capital. Joachim died in 1787, leaving behind a son, who also became a merchant in Stralsund. Carl Reimer was somewhat younger than his brother—twenty-eight—when he acquired his *Bürgerschaft* as a merchant (*Kaufmann*), but he was still several years older at the time than was common for sons of established merchants. Marriage partners and godparent choices further illustrate Reimer's second-class (solid, respectable, but middling and modest) background. His first wife was the widow of a pastor in a small neighboring town and the daughter of a small-scale Stralsund merchant who was not native to the city and who began his career as a baker. Reimer's first mother-in-law also came from a fam-

ily of Stralsund bakers. Joachim Reimer appears to have married the daughter of an innkeeper, and his son married the daughter of a small-scale merchant in a neighboring town who had close family ties to leading Stralsund shipmasters (*Schiffer*). Based on this and a great deal more genealogical detail (especially valuable are the records of godparentage for children of the two Reimer brothers and their descendants, affines, and business connections), Reimer's social milieu can be characterized as being dominated by bakers and innkeepers—provisioning trades—as well as shipmasters and to some extent tenant farmers (*Pächter*) and plantation managers. These groups became increasingly wealthy in the late 1700s in Swedish Pomerania and increasingly agitated for greater political voice. Many had migrated to Stralsund from surrounding towns or resided in the countryside. In short, Reimer's people did not have deep roots in Stralsund, and they were born with at best pewter rather than silver spoons in their mouths.

Georg Emmanuel Charisius was accustomed to silver. Members of the Charisius family had served on the town council for at least seven generations. Georg Charisius's great-grandfather had served not only as Stralsund's *Bürgermeister* but also as a member of the provincial council (*Landrat*) for Swedish Pomerania. His grandfather had served as Stralsund's speaker of the Community Assembly (*Bürgerworthalter*) and treasurer; one great-uncle had served as *Bürgermeister* and on the *Landrat;* another great-uncle had been a royal chamberlain and was later ennobled; and an uncle had been a *Landrat* member and was ennobled. Georg Charisius's father was a medical doctor, one of the few first-class *Bürger* occupations besides those of merchant and lawyer, and had married (as had most of the male Charisiuses) into another *Ratsfamilie.*[23] Georg Emmanuel was, however, the first Charisius for at least a generation actively to engage in commerce. He may well have pushed hard to revivify his family's fine old tradition, and by 1809, he had become Stralsund's nineteenth-richest person. (Carl Reimer was fifth.)

Living next door to the Reimers gave Georg Charisius the opportunity to cross paths with Johanna Sophia Reimer. Socializing in the best circles enabled him to win support for his aggressive and almost certainly adulterous suit. Her father was a pastor at St. Nikolai, Stralsund's most important church, a grand structure towering over the Old Marketplace and connected to the *Rathaus.* (One of her brothers or a cousin became a doctor and had Stralsund's thirty-second-largest net worth in 1809.) Her father's superior was Archdeacon P. B. Droysen,

whose son also served as a pastor at St. Nikolai. Both Charisius and the archdeacon were members (although their tenures would have only barely overlapped during the late 1780s) of the most influential card game in town, a weekly game that rotated for years among five or six of the leading town councillors and top church officials and their wives. Records of this floating game survive in the form of accounting entries in the daybook of one of Stralsund's most important *Bürgermeister,*[24] and there is no way to know what sort of conversation flowed over hands of *l'hombre* and *picquet.* But the list of attendees is very grand indeed, representing Stralsund's bon ton, all of whom had deep roots in the city and whose families had ruled together for more than a century. And no one from Reimer's world ever attended.

In the end, family connections outweighed moral scruples. Johanna Sophia Gebhardi Reimer's father had sat on consistorial panels with Georg Emmanuel Charisius's great-uncle in the late 1750s.[25] Although her father did not sit on the panel convened to hear the Reimers' 1798 divorce petition, the consistory noted that she had conferred with her father and had received his approval for the divorce. All four of the men sitting on the consistorial panel reviewing the Reimers' petition were regular attendees at the exclusive card game. Many of those men or their protégés would be among those who voted Charisius onto the *Rat* as Reimer's replacement.

No definitive evidence shows exactly why Reimer ran afoul of his colleagues, but extant records suggest that he was considered a parvenu who outreached himself in his second marriage. Clear evidence from many other sources shows that Stralsund's old-line, dynastic merchants, forced to compete much harder in late-eighteenth-century grain markets, sought to thwart or contain the upward thrust of new men. Politics entered heavily into the struggle. The Gemeinhardt *Aufruhr* raged at its fiercest in 1803, the year Charisius married Johanna Reimer. As a town councillor, Carl Reimer was a target of Gemeinhardt's attacks, and there is no record that he ever supported the protesters' aims. Conversely, Reimer was not among the councillors who led the counterattack and did not countersue Gemeinhardt for libel and defamation of character. Gemeinhardt, so reviled by the old *Ratsfamilien,* may even have evoked at least a little sympathy from Reimer. Gemeinhardt was the same age as Reimer and like him was a first-generation merchant. The son of a cabinetmaker, Gemeinhardt had married the daughter of one of Stralsund's slightly faded old-line

families. If Reimer wavered in his solidarity with his new first-class confreres even for an instant, did the old families sniff that out and retaliate at a time when they were almost hysterically closing their ranks?

And what of Johanna Sophia Reimer? Ironically, she is almost absent from this account except as an objectified ideal to be sought after. The story smacks of Homeric warriors vying for honor, with a woman both as source of discord and as prize for the victor, families mobilized in support, and the public as chorus. Anthropological and historical research has long focused on women viewed by men as trophies, as tokens in a male-defined system of political economy.[26] Carl Reimer and Georg Charisius may indeed have perceived the struggle as primarily involving masculine prowess. What is far more difficult to ascertain—impossible, really—is how Johanna Reimer felt about the events, how she framed the issues in her mind. The difficulty stems from the sources themselves: we have nothing from her directly but only references in the consistorial report about what she stated to the panel.

I cannot imagine that she saw herself as a marker in a male contest of honor, though she may have manipulated masculine sensitivities to win her case. Her actions offer glimpses that she was a clever politician. To seek the hitherto unthinkable—divorce—from a town councillor and then to compound that with remarriage while swinging public opinion to her favor must have taken considerable social and political skills. She and Charisius worked patiently and carefully for years; the sub rosa negotiations with those whose opinion mattered must have been artful and intense. For Johanna Reimer, the conflict may have involved youth versus age, true love versus arranged marriage, free will versus social constraints. Her actions may symbolize the putative emergence among the *Bürgertum* of the affectionate, companionate model of marriage, with Reimer as patriarch representing an archaic form of household ideal. Heroine of the Romantic Age dethrones the old *Hausvater?* Johanna Reimer seems clearly to have subverted at least some gender expectations of the time and to have suffered no penalty for doing so. She and Charisius appear to have mounted their campaign with cool audacity, to have acted as rational merchants, whereas Reimer acted in a *romanhaft* fashion, passionately harping on his sufferings and displaying his wounds. In a resolutely commercial city, Johanna Reimer's controlled, calculating approach was more

appropriate than her former husband's uncontrolled and melodramatic fulminations. In the end, gender relations cannot be separated from other social and economic considerations.

Notes

1. Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993), 18–19, 252–55; Sara F. Matthews Grieco, "The Body, Appearance, and Sexuality," in *A History of Women in the West,* vol. 3, *Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes,* ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge (Cambridge, 1993), 81–82; Silke Lesemann, *Arbeit, Ehre, Geschlechterbeziehunge: Zur sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Stellung von Frauen im frühneuzeitlichen Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1994), 117–18.

2. "Gender system" is a difficult concept to define and is thus defined in a great many ways, some of them contradictory. (It is apposite to recall Benedick's plaint to Beatrice in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing:* "Thou hast frighted the word out of his right sense, so forcible is thy wit" [act 5, scene 2, lines 55–56].) I adhere to Joan Wallach Scott's twofold definition of gender as "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes" and as "a primary way of signifying relationships of power" ("Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* [New York, 1988], 42). For an excellent overview of how various social scientists define gender, see Mary Hawkesworth, "Confounding Gender," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 22 (1997): 649–85.

3. Karin Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere'—Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familieleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas,* ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart, 1976), 363–93; Barbara Duden, "Das schöne Eigentum: Zur Herausbildung des bürgerlichen Frauenbildes an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert," *Kursbuch* 47 (1977): 125–40; Ute Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte Zwischen Bürgerlicher Verbesserung und Neuer Weiblichkeit* (Frankfurt, 1986), 1, 3, 4. See also, more generally, Wiesner, *Women and Gender,* chap. 1; Sylvana Tomaselli, "The Enlightenment Debate on Women," *History Workshop Journal* 20 (1985): 101–24; Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Woman's Nature in the French Enlightenment,* trans. P. Selwyn (Oxford, 1995); Michèle Crampe-Casnabet, "A Sampling of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy," trans. A. Goldhammer, in *History of Women,* ed. Davis and Farge, esp. 328–31; Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, 1989), chap. 8.

4. I am heavily influenced by David Sabean's close reading of his Neckarhausen sources and by the work of J. F. Bosher and Jacob Price on the world of eighteenth-century merchants around the North Atlantic. Sabean, Bosher, and Price have taken genealogy out of the realm of the antiquarian and placed it at the service of analytical social science. My contribution is an

effort to help balance the situation Silke Lesemann identifies: "Overall, research based on normative/prescriptive sources [e.g., conduct books] predominates. In many cases, the archival sources for research into women's history remain undiscovered or unconsidered." (*Arbeit, Ehre, Geschlechterbeziehungen,* 3). For further considerations on method, see Sylvia Möhle, *Ehekonflikte und sozialer Wandel: Göttingen 1740–1840* (Frankfurt, 1997), 16–19; Stephan Buchholz, "Ehescheidung im späten 17. Jahrhundert: Marie Elisabeth Stoffelin und der Husar," in *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts: Von der frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart,* ed. Ute Gerhard (Munich, 1997), 105–7.

5. See Lesemann, *Arbeit, Ehre, Geschlechterbeziehungen,* 7.

6. Reimer was Stralsund's seventh-largest exporter by volume in 1778, third-largest in 1786, eighth-largest in 1796, and the sixth-largest in 1806 (calculated from data in the Stadtarchiv der Hansestadt Stralsund, 15-248, 251 *Schifferbücher* for 1786, 1796 [hereafter cited as SAHS]; SAHS 35-345, *Getreydebuch* for 1778; SAHS 35-481, *Zulageregister* for 1806–7). In 1809, when the occupying French extracted a large wartime tax, Reimer was the city's fifth-richest person (calculated from data in SAHS 33-1699, *Generalbüro/Die städtische Vermögenssteuer vom 22 März 1809*). Genealogical data is from the SAHS baptismal, wedding, and death registers and from Peter Pooth, *Mitglieder des Stralsunder Rats, 1800–1933* [Stralsund, 1939(?)]).

7. SAHS 3-7371, *Konsistorialgericht/Verhandlungen zur Aufhebung der Ehe d. Ratsverwandten C. E. Reimer mit J. S. geb. Gebhardi, 1798–1803.*

8. For divorce in Germany generally, see Dirk Blasius, *Ehescheidung in Deutschland, 1794–1945* (Göttingen, 1987); Luise Schorn-Schütte, "Wirkungen der Reformation auf die Rechtsstellung der Frau im Protestantismus," in *Frauen,* ed. Gerhard, 94–104. For secularization of marital law, see Dirk Blasius, "Reform gegen die Frau: Das preussische Scheidungsrecht im frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Frauen,* ed. Gerhard, 663–64; Möhle, *Ehekonflikte und sozialer Wandel,* 22–23, 31, 182; Marion W. Gray, "Men as Citizens and Women as Wives: The Enlightenment Codification of Law and the Establishment of Separate Spheres," in *Reich oder Nation? Mitteleuropa, 1780–1815,* ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Andreas Kunz (Mainz, 1998), 290. For consistory organization, see Tanya Kevorkian, "Piety Confronts Politics: Philipp Jacob Spener in Dresden, 1686–1691," *German History* 16 (1998): 151–52. I thank Tanya Kevorkian and Stefan Kroll for valuable suggestions on this section. For a bibliography on marital separation and divorce in early modern Europe, see Julie Hardwick, "Seeking Separations: Gender, Marriages, and Household Economies in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 21 (1998): 158, 180.

9. As Olwen Hufton has indicated about the early modern household, "smoothing the path by promoting the right public image of private solidarity, careful management or moral strength, was the job of the professional man's wife. The fitting management of the household defined its standing in the com-

munity. Apparent harmony in domestic relations mattered" (*The Prospect before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, 1500–1800* [New York, 1996], 155). For a similar perspective, see Michelle Perrot and Anne Martin-Fugier, "The Actors," in *A History of Private Life,* vol. 4, *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War,* ed. Perrot (Cambridge, 1990), 143–53.

10. See Karin Hausen, "Öffentlichkeit und Privatheit: Gesellschaftspolitische Konstruktionen und die Geschichte der Geschlechterbeziehungen," in *Frauengeschichte-Geschlechtergeschichte,* ed. Hausen and Heide Wunder (Frankfurt, 1992), 81–88; see also Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley, 1996), chaps. 6, 8, esp. 211–12. For a good overview of work on women in the public sphere in eighteenth-century Europe, see Lenard Berlanstein, "Women and Power in Eighteenth-Century France: Actresses at the Comedie-Française," in *Visions and Revisions of Eighteenth-Century France,* ed. Christine Adams, Jack Censer, and Lisa Jane Graham (University Park, 1997), 155–90.

11. Reimer lived at Badenstrasse 42, which he bought in 1772; Charisius was at Badenstrasse 43 (SAHS 33-260, *Cataster f. St. Nikolai Quartier,* 280, 282; SAHS 33-1655, *Steuer f. Bevorratung: Vier Steuerreg. 1808/St. Nikolai Quartier*).

12. Handling the note in the archives gave me the sort of melancholy frisson described by A. S. Byatt in her novel, *Possession.*

13. For European context, see Wiesner, *Women and Gender,* 34–35; Arlette Farge, "The Honor and Secrecy of Families," in *A History of Private Life,* vol. 3, *Passions of the Renaissance,* ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge, 1989), 579–607; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500–1800* (New Haven, 1995), chap. 6.

14. See Martin Dinges, "Die Ehre als Thema der Stadtgeschichte: Eine Semantik im Übergang vom Ancien Regime zur Moderne," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 16 (1989): esp. discussion of Weber and Bourdieu on 418–20; Klaus Schreiner and Gerd Schwerhoff, "Verletzte Ehre: Überlegungen zu einem Forschungskonzept," in *Verletzte Ehre: Ehrkonflikte in Gesellschaften des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit,* ed. Schreiner and Schwerhoff (Cologne, 1995), esp. 9–10, 18–28; Martin Dinges, "Die Ehre als Thema der historischen Anthropologie," in *Verletzte Ehre,* ed. Schreiner and Schwerhoff, esp. 48, 55.

15. Jan Peters, "Der Platz in der Kirche: Über soziales Rangdenken im Spätfeudalismus," *Jahrbuch fûr Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte* 28 (1985): 89, 77. Peters gives many examples from Swedish Pomerania. For examples involving Stralsund merchants, see also SAHS 38-766, Ratskirchenarchiv/Verkauf einer Kapelle in der Marienkirche an Fried. Stieveleben, 1733–1738; SAHS 28-946, Verkauf einer Kapelle in der St. Jakobi Kirche, 1760.

16. This statement is only impressionistic, based on unsystematic observations of church burial records and of remaining grave sites in St. Nikolai and St. Marien today. (St. Jacobi's ruined interior is closed to visitors.)

17. See, for example, "Die Begräbnisse in Kirchen," *Greifswalder gemeinnütziges Wochenblatt,* 4 October 1794, 137–40.

18. Johann Carl Dähnert, *Sammlung gemeiner und besonderer pommerscher und rügischer Landes-Urkunden, Gesetze, Priviligien, Verträge, Constitutionen, und Ordnungen: Supplement,* comp. Gustav von Klinckowström (Stralsund, 1799), 176.

19. SAHS 5-6585, Kammer/Klage d. Kfms. Bevernis g. Kfm. Grimm w. Herausgabe eine ihre beleidigenden Schrift, 1799. Unfortunately, neither the pamphlet/broadside nor the court's verdict has been preserved.

20. The following examples are taken from *Stralsundische Zeitung,* 5 September 1801, #107; 4 April 1815, #40; 9 December 1830, #147.

21. See Lyndal Roper, "Stealing Manhood: Capitalism and Magic in Early Modern Germany," *Gender and History* 3 (1991): 4–22; Toby Ditz, "Shipwrecked, or Masculinity Imperiled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Journal of American History* 81 (1994): 51–80.

22. As Anthony Fletcher remarks, "A woman's adultery dissolved the household order and thus the social order; cuckolding made nonsense of the gender order: the woman took the blame and was held responsible" (*Gender, Sex, and Subordination,* 101). Fletcher refers here to Tudor and early Stuart England, but his point also applies to eighteenth-century Germany.

23. Genealogical data from SAHS baptism, marriage, and death registries; Johan Albert Dinnies, *Stemmata Sundensis* (ms. compiled in the 1790s, held at SAHS); Stefan Kroll, *Stadtgesellschaft und Krieg. Sozialstruktur, Bevölkerung, und Wirtschaft in Stralsund und Stade 1700 bis 1715* (Göttingen, 1997), 133, 181, 209–10.

24. SAHS Hs III 234–35, Anschreibebücher D. L. Kühl, for example, in 234, p. 27, 110, for 1787–94.

25. SAHS 3-7344, Konsistorialgericht/Dispensation zur Heirat in verbotenen Verwandtschaftsgraden, 1752–71.

26. Lévi-Strauss was one of the most influential in this regard. For examples relating to early modern Europe, see Anne Deneys, "The Political Economy of the Body in the *Liaisons dangereuses* of Choderlos de Laclos," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic,* ed. Lynn Hunt (Baltimore, 1991), 41–62; Irene Fizer, "Women 'Off' the Market: Feminine Economies in Diderot's *La Religieuse* and the Convent Novel," in *Illicit Sex: Identity Politics in Early Modern Culture,* ed. Thomas DiPiero and Pat Gill (Athens, 1997), 89–108.

"But the Heart Must Speak for the Widows"

The Origins of Life Insurance in Germany and the Gender Implications of Actuarial Science

Eve Rosenhaft

This chapter analyzes the collapse of two widows' funds (*Witwenkassen*) in eighteenth-century Germany. The widows' funds were the precursors of modern life insurance, and their failure constituted a precondition for the creation of viable schemes based on the accurate calculation of risk—or, at any rate, provided evidence of the impossibility of operating a life-insurance scheme without the benefit of actuarial science.[1] The episode offers important perspectives on eighteenth-century middle-class life and particularly reflects the central place in modern society of the idea of insuring against risk and of the practice of assessing risk in terms of normative expectations derived from collective experience.[2] Viewed in historical perspective, the invention of life insurance schemes designed to cover large numbers of individuals represents a logical response to conditions of emerging modernity, since the purpose of such schemes is to counteract the insecurity endemic to an increasingly mobile and individualized society, while their operation depends on the displacement of trust from individuals to collectives, from local to remote, and from particular and experience-based to abstract or expert knowledge.[3]

It has become a commonplace among historians of gender relations that the emergence of such "modern" social and economic relations depended on the active exclusion of women from public life and civic or academic institutions. At the same time, scholars argue, the diffusion of characteristically modern forms of rationality required that qualities marked as feminine—the irrational, the particular—be deval-

ued or marginalized in favor of ways of thinking that relied on systematic generalization and abstraction. Mary Poovey has argued of double-entry bookkeeping, for example, that "in the translation of narrative into numbers, [its] apologists . . . effaced the contribution that women made to early modern business."[4] The crisis of the widows' funds provides an opportunity to reexamine the wider hypothesis, as it applies to the gendering of economic practices, in terms of the statements and actions of concrete individuals and the operation of social institutions.

The resolution of the crisis involved the implementation of a new way of understanding and describing the world of human relations: statistical thinking.[5] The success of the new and reformed institutions that emerged from the crisis depended on the public—or key sections of it—accepting that the calculation of risk on the basis of past experience could provide a firm (indeed, the only legitimate) basis for future action. This acceptance in turn implied a confidence in the authority of mathematics as a way of representing the world and in the credibility of those individuals—men—who adopted the title *mathematician.* And the object at the center of all the labors of the widows' funds was marriage itself, the touchstone for defining the respective needs, rights, and obligations of men and women, its contradictions thrown into relief by the practice of the widows' funds as the point at which love and money combined. The crisis of the funds thus precipitated both men and women into an extended reflection on the respective claims of mathematical rationality and obligation grounded in sentiment and/or inequality of power, under circumstances of considerable emotional and material stress. As a moment of institutional innovation in a period of shifting values, the story of the widows' funds is one in which discourse (in the limited sense of what people said about the world and their actions in it) and practice (in the limited sense of the actions they took) were continuously tested against one another.

The Crisis of the *Witwenkassen*

The widows' funds existed to provide pensions for surviving dependents on the death of an individual, with the pensions paid out of contributions made by living members of the funds. The earliest of these funds were founded in England and the Netherlands in the late seventeenth century, and a number of German funds were created at the beginning of the eighteenth century but disappeared by the 1720s. The

funds under consideration here belong to a second wave that began in the 1740s and intensified in the second half of the century. In the German lands, widows' funds always stood under state license, and many enjoyed the direct patronage of the *Landesherren.* Forward-looking but parsimonious princes saw in the funds an instrument for promoting marriage and population growth, guaranteeing the civic education of orphans, and/or providing death benefits for civil servants. Indeed, the widows' funds were designed expressly to meet the needs of respectable men who had an income but little or no property—that is, the urban professional and service middle class.[6] A key feature in the rise and fall of these funds was that they (unlike funds created by and for particular occupational groups) depended on the continuous recruitment of new subscribers (*Interessenten*) from the public at large.

Each of the widows' funds created at midcentury faced a crisis within twenty years of its founding, as the size of its pension commitments outstripped its income from subscribers' contributions. The first of the funds whose collapse is considered here is the Wittwen- und Waisen-Casse der beeydigten Christen-Mäkler, a fund for widows and orphans set up by a group of brokers on the Hamburg exchange in 1758. By 1777, more than 700 subscribers had been members at one time or another, but only 389 living *Interessenten* currently participated, and their contributions did not match the demands of the 121 living widows.[7] A second, better-known case is that of the Calenberg widows' fund (Calenbergische Wittwen-Verpflegungs-Gesellschaft), founded in 1766 and administered by a subcommittee of the Estates (the governing body) of the Hanoverian Duchy of Calenberg. The Calenberg was based in Hanover but recruited subscribers from all over Europe; in its first fifteen years, more than 5,000 subscribers passed through its ranks. When the crisis broke in 1779, the fund had had more than 3,700 living *Interessenten* (and their wives) on its books and owed pensions to 723 widows.[8] In terms of its scale, complexity, and geographical extent and of the range of social groups involved, the Calenberg case contrasts sharply with the Hamburg fund. In fact, however, the two cases were linked, sharing to some extent a cast of characters and played out in the pages of the pamphlet press, intelligencers, and the learned weeklies before a single national public. Moreover, the general patterns of the crises and the issues involved were very similar. In both cases, the crisis began with protests from subscribers as premiums began to rise. In both cases, fund administrators responded by seeking the advice of "experts" while entering into formal discussions

with subscribers, which spilled over into a wider public debate. And in both cases, what was at issue was the extent to which present and future subscribers (on the one hand) or the widows (on the other) could be expected to make sacrifices to get the fund back on its financial feet. In the end, both funds were reformed on the basis of arrangements involving severe reductions in the pensions of the living widows—60 percent, in the case of the Calenberg fund—as well as significant increases in premiums.

Mathematics and Masculinity

From the beginning, the public debate occurred among men, and the widows' fund project was marked in both style and content by the acting out of masculine agendas. The funds collapsed because their administrators failed to act systematically on a calculation of risk. All of these failures could not have been solved with mathematical expertise. To some extent indeed, the operation of the funds seemed designed to make advance reckoning unnecessary; however, some elements of risk management were involved. The funds generally excluded very old men and required proof of good health. The funds introduced a method of adjusting income to future commitments by scaling capital contributions and premiums according to a formula based on the ages of the husbands and the gap between the ages of husbands and wives. In the case of the Calenberg fund, the formula was based on estimates of life expectancy drawn from the tables of mortality drawn up by Johann Peter Süßmilch, and the founders of the fund also used census-based expectations about the maximum possible proportion of widows to subscribers to reassure themselves regarding the outside limits of their future commitments.[9] In short, although the founders of the widows' funds did not face up to the problem of creating a pension fund on sound actuarial principles, their half measures signaled the agenda for those with the courage to embark on such a project. Accurate and relevant vital statistics had to be collected, and on that basis fund managers could calculate how soon and for how long pension commitments would be incurred. These calculations in turn would form the basis for working out how much any individual *Interessent* would need to pay during his lifetime to cover his future widow's portion of the total pension bill.

The question of how to make the widows' funds work appealed to two key elements of the Enlightenment mentality. As an occasion for

collecting and analyzing vital statistics, the widows' fund provided a welcome test bed for those men who expressed their devotion to promoting civic well-being—their patriotism, in contemporary terminology—by amassing socially useful knowledge. At the same time, such funds offered a new object for the exercise of ingenuity in the solving of mathematical puzzles.[10] Almost as soon as the first funds were founded, a public exchange of treatises and polemics began, examining questions of principle and of information about the experiences of individual funds. Most of the best-known mathematicians of the 1780s were involved in some capacity in the crisis discussions, some in more than one capacity and in the service of conflicting interests.[11] In many cases, personal ambition fueled these conversations. The mathematics of widows' funds was a field of scholarly enterprise very much in the public view within a branch of learning that had yet to establish clear lines of disciplinary authority or a professional career structure. Some of the university-based mathematicians involved in the reform of the widows' funds were simultaneously engaged in an effort to transform mathematics from a mainly practical and vocational subject into a "scientific" discipline.[12] But while the boundaries between scientist and scholar remained uncertain, both academics and amateurs had something to gain from a debate about what was mathematically correct. Public scholarship of the kind on display in the pamphlet and periodical literature on the widows' funds offered an attractive way for an educated enthusiast to fulfill his intellectual and material aspirations. Johann Augustin Kritter, city treasurer of Göttingen, tirelessly promoted his statistical nostrums, producing dozens of articles and pamphlets and unsolicited reports from the 1760s onward. He began as the most acerbic critic of the Calenberg fund, having predicted its downfall as early as 1768; by the mid-1780s, the Calenberg administrators were paying him a generous retainer for his advice.[13]

The widows' fund project offered scope for self-realization and public achievement, thereby making it attractive but also stressful and resulting in more or less permanent controversy. The public discussion revealed very little agreement among the would-be experts about how to proceed at any point in the construction of a pension scheme. Moreover, the tone of the debate ranged from sardonic to irritable to positively abusive.[14] Participants at times ritually disclaimed any intent to provoke controversy. In this spirit, the honesty, honor, personal integrity, and civility in debate of those involved were often invoked as criteria for evaluating the policies of the fund administrators or the

arguments of the experts.[15] Honor and civility belonged to the vocabulary of masculine self-legitimation, and the same kind of rhetoric was mobilized in the crisis. *Interessenten* expressed their self-reproach in terms of men's obligations to exercise rational judgment under conditions of free association: "Who forced us to join the society? Weren't we free, before we bought in, to do the calculations for ourselves, and to stay out if we discovered errors?"[16]

At the same time, the basis for intellectual consensus about methods clearly was weak in Germany, in spite of the fact that workable techniques for calculating pensions had for decades been in circulation elsewhere on the Continent and notably in Britain.[17] The lack of disciplinary coherence among university-trained experts was answered by ignorance of matters mathematical among the general public, even among those who were enthusiastic about the widows' fund project.[18] But the difficulties of persuasion faced by the advocates of a new, statistical approach to the calculation of pensions reveal a more deep-seated problem. A gap existed between mathematics as a way of representing and managing reality and the way that most people understood the world. In the early years, widows' fund organizers tried to assess how many widows a fund could expect to have to support by looking at the number of widows in various recorded populations and asking which population most resembled the membership of a fund.[19] As time went on, some observers, most prominently Kritter and Oldenburg civil servant Georg Christian von Oeder, began to insist on proceeding probabilistically. Instead of looking for comparators, they treated the members of the widows' fund as a microcosm of a global population subject to universal laws of motion. Age-specific life expectancies derived as averages from past experience (as represented by mortality tables) could then be used to predict not only how long husbands or wives would live but also how long the marriage—the point at which the life risks of both partners and the financial risk of the fund coincided—would last.[20] This change of approach set the discussion on the path toward modern actuarial accounting and hence toward life insurance proper, though problems of information and method remained. But the probabilistic approach met with resistance from those who simply could not accept the value or possibility of calculating the future. Oeder's and Kritter's arguments were brushed off with a combination of optimism (or faith in the notion of growth) and fatalism, the conviction of the inherent unpredictability of natural processes and the ineffable uniqueness of human experience: "Say what you like

about the certain calculation of the possible number of deaths, in the end . . . the whole business by its nature rests on uncertainty."[21] A shift in mentality would be required to close this gap and to establish the authority of mathematicians to make meaningful statements about everyday life.

"The Howls of the Widows": Fantasy Females and Real Women

The masculinity of the protagonists in the public debate was thrown into relief by the presence of women at its center. Wives and widows were objects, both of the concern for their standard of living that actuated the creation of the funds and of an intensive public conversation about their life histories. For example, anyone with a widow to support needed to know how long she would remain a widow. The question of when and under what circumstances a widow might remarry was material to the design of the funds and to all attempts to explain why so many more widows existed than had been anticipated.[22] The question of how long a widow would live—or sex-specific life expectancy—was also relevant to this discussion. This question was not answered by Süßmilch's tables, on which all the widows' funds relied and which made no distinction between men and women. But nearly all observers agreed that women lived longer than men, and even if the task of quantifying the difference seemed too difficult, commentators speculated at length on the reasons for it, offering treatises on the costs and benefits of spinsterhood, childbearing, breast-feeding, and menopause.[23]

In mathematicians' conversations, then, women provided the point of reference for arguments about particularity and difference and how they could be accommodated within the project of accounting for humanity in abstract and general terms. Oeder displayed an almost postmodern awareness of this issue when he faulted Kritter for an attempt to update Süßmilch's mortality tables. Kritter had introduced a calculation for female mortality alongside the original figures; Oeder argued that Kritter ought to have produced a new calculation for men as well.[24] As Oeder's comment suggests, however, difference itself was not necessarily a problem for the overall statistical project. The terms in which the more self-conscious innovators dealt with the problem of incorporating women into a general account of humanity illuminates what is most characteristic in their approach to statistics: the attempt to maintain a dialogue between the "ordinary experience" observable in everyday life

and subject to commonsense explanation and the representation of general processes in numbers and tables, or "collected experience."

The outbreak of the crisis generated a rhetorical arena in which women were increasingly located in opposition to the project of mathematical rationality. In the pamphlet and periodical literature of the crisis years as in the files of the funds, the widows to whom pensions were owed appear as an anonymous mass, numbered, sorted, and subjected to various kinds of hypothetical calculations. Like characters in a fairy tale, the Calenberg administrators were haunted by the complementary nightmares of an army of widows and the "many casks of gold" that the government stood to lose as a result of the fund's misadministration.[25] Here women represent a threat to be overcome: they embody the fact of failure and everything that threatens future success. This vision was anticipated as early as 1766, when Johann David Michaelis, professor and secretary of the Göttingen Scientific Society, warned against the overly ambitious scope of the proposed Calenberg fund. Should the fund fail, he said, "all the widows could join together and enter into a common suit against the Estates." Although he thought it unlikely, the possibility that the widows might win their suit conjured up a vision of general disaster: the "total ruin" of cities forced to raise taxes to cover the compensation claim as well as of any well-meaning city father who had approved the fund and of his sons.[26]

In this early text, Michaelis offered another image—the picture of the young wife or couple—that formed an important component of public understanding of the widows' funds even before the crisis. For Michaelis, young love militated against the success of the fund: too few young, healthy men were likely to join because "a young husband rarely gives any thought to death, and it would seem like a lack of delicacy and decency or the tenderness of young love if [his bride] urged him to join. And she rarely knows the state of his accounts."[27] Michaelis's statement implies that an older and better-informed wife would encourage her husband to buy her a pension, and that supposition became explicit during the crisis. In one of his treatises, Kritter cited a letter he had received from one of the members of the Hamburg brokers' fund:

> If a woman heard that her best friend, neighbor, sister-in-law, etc. was in the brokers' fund, she gave her husband no peace until he, too, joined. . . . [W]ho can resist the entreaties of a beloved wife? I joined the society against my better judgment.[28]

Kritter's wheedling wife and doting husband seem to have stepped out of the pages of a contemporary tract against luxury consumption, and the message appeared quite explicitly in a commentary on Süßmilch published shortly after the crisis had blown over. According to the author, the passion for widows' funds quite simply represented a symptom of the taste for "luxury and the tyranny of fashion."[29] There is good reason to see the buying of widows' pensions as a form of consumerism that followed the rhythms of fashion. But in the context of the crisis, the figure had a clear rhetorical function: The image of woman as the embodiment of or spur to folly was clearly related to the shame and embarrassment suffered by male *Interessenten* who knew they should have known better. More particularly, the association set up between transgressive femininity and the old widows' funds can be read as a discursive strategy directed at legitimating the project of "rational" reform.[30]

The rhetoric of luxury or feminine excess was problematic because it clashed with the key legitimating image of the funds: the figure of the poor widow. Every project for the establishment of a widows' fund had started from the presumption that in the absence of organized provision, middle-class widows were doomed to destitution. In his handbook for the founders and administrators of institutions for the support of widows, Carl Daniel Küster painted in the gloomiest colors the situation of the army of underpaid civil servants destined to tremble in horror at the prospect of death, "which will surrender [their] loved ones to poverty, expose them to contempt and make them prey to the sorry insufficiency in which [the servant] daily sees widows and orphans helplessly sighing."[31] During the crisis, this image was overshadowed in the rhetoric of *Interessenten,* resentful of being asked to pay more to keep the funds afloat, by the picture of widows grown rich on their "excessive" or "disproportionate" pensions: "Let us say now and never again, with a pity completely unsuited to the times, the poor widows. . . . It is precisely in the advantage enjoyed by the earlier widows [those in the first cohort of *Interessenten*] that the damage lies which touches the society so nearly." Even these men, however, strove to retain the title of defenders of women by foregrounding their duty to their wives: "The poor widows, the poor widows! Well, to be sure, the poor widows, future ones as well as the present ones, and maybe the former more than the latter; [the wives] should join in the debate and try to secure some kind of sufficiency for themselves."[32] The vision of

the crisis as a conflict of interest between wives and widows is present also in the account of the reform of the Calenberg fund given by Kiel professor of mathematics and moral philosophy Johann Nicolaus Tetens, but in his hand it signals genuine ambivalence, because he was implicated both as an expert adviser and as spokesman for a large group of *Interessenten.*[33] For men suspicious of any reform, the threat to widows' livelihoods provided a persuasive moral argument that they did not hesitate to mobilize against the schemes of the mathematicians. In his account of the Hamburg brokers' fund, Kritter describes "the howls of the widows and the slanders of ill-informed citizens" as the chief obstacles to reform.[34] Experts such as Tetens were at a loss to respond to such reproaches, for their involvement placed them in a genuine dilemma: as men of reason, they found themselves called on to act against their duty and inclinations toward helpless women. "That is what justice strictly demands," Carl Chassot de Florencourt would write in his treatise on the calculation of annuities, "but the heart must speak for the widows."[35]

Even those men who admitted no pangs of conscience were apprehensive about the "ferment and . . . general excitement" that might be precipitated by the appearance of injustice to the widows. In March 1781, the secretary of the Calenberg administration reported that a suggestion for cutting pensions had met with approval among the Estates: however, "the only worry is that the widows will set up a mighty howl."[36] It was indeed to be expected that the widows would have something to say. In the Hamburg case, the fund administrators circulated the published reform plans to widows as well as *Interessenten* and encouraged the widows and other pensioners to take part in meetings regarding the various schemes. The Calenberg administrators made no such overtures but acted at each point on the prompting of *Interessenten* and publicly invited the widows to respond to decisions once made; unlike the organized *Interessenten,* however, the widows had no formal input into deliberations. But the response came uninvited. Within a week of the issuing of the notice that announced an initial one-third reduction in pensions, protests reached Hanover. The first on record came from Lüneburg over the signatures of Sophia Dorothea Boje, Lucia Margaretha Feise, Charlotte Justine Hartje, Catharina Regina Lamprecht, Freya Elisabeth Wilhelmina Sarnighausen, F. E. Reineke, and Magdalena Elisabeth Gaden. Over the years followed a series of petitions and lawsuits to which the widows, the fund administration,

and groups of *Interessenten* were party in various configurations.[37] As of 1789, when the last suit was still pending, 568 named widows or their heirs had empowered four lawyers to act on their behalf.[38]

With very few exceptions, the widows' submissions employed legal language and argued for the restoration of the pensions as a consequence of rights flowing from the contract between their husbands and the fund, a contract that they argued was equally binding on living *Interessenten.* The widows abstained from speaking for themselves, both in the sense that the arguments were probably—though not certainly (many of the women had been married to men with legal training)—formulated not by them but by their lawyers and in the sense that the rights they claimed derived from those of their husbands. Even the long-winded and Latinate lawyers' statements, however, contained justificatory statements about the women that echoed the widows' signed statements, and the documents employed rhetorical strategies that played on male interlocutors' anxieties and fantasies.

The widows' claims were calculated to reinforce the old funds' central legitimating arguments: at every opportunity, the women pointed out the hardships that they and their children were suffering or could expect to suffer. Unlike the founders of the widows' funds, however, the widows refused to present their poverty as a natural consequence of femininity. While invoking the moral power of the stereotype of the poor widow, they explained their predicament in terms of discriminatory social arrangements. They acknowledged that the living *Interessenten* and their wives had also made sacrifices and stood to lose still more but pointed out that male antagonists at least had the right and the opportunity to make up their losses by earning more money: "We are losing . . . our livelihood in the truest sense, which the strictest judge would not demand even from a malicious bankrupt but is due to be taken from us without any imputation of guilt."[39] A petition from four widows for the restoration of full pensions dating from some years after the crisis made the point that the women were living in poverty only because their husbands, having joined the fund, refrained from making the more conventional provisions for security on which the widows could otherwise have relied.[40] And finally the widows turned against the *Interessenten* the same reproach with which the men had castigated themselves:

> If the defendants . . . , before joining a fund of their own free will . . . , failed to undertake an examination of its operations them-

> selves, or—lacking sufficient knowledge—to arrange for an examination by experts . . . given that, by their own . . . account, the unsafety of the fund was being claimed in the public press before and soon after it was opened, . . . the loss they are suffering is the fruit of their own guilt.[41]

The nature of the crisis demanded that the widows take a position on the question of principle, the competence of the mathematicians, and the plausibility of their reform proposals. In practice, the question of how to treat the widows was one for the lawyers—a question of respective obligations—but the claims of the mathematicians were always implicated in the way in which justice was defined. The mathematicians placed themselves on the side of those arguing for a reduction in pensions by confirming retrospectively that the pensions had always been disproportionate or excessive (if in a strictly arithmetic rather than moral sense—that is, in relation to the premiums paid in). The mathematicians were also skeptical about any emergency measures that might rescue the widows at the expense of a long-term technical solution to the crisis. It was therefore easy to see the injurious features of the reform as the mathematicians' project, and it is not surprising to find widows describing the reduction of pensions as a consequence of the "stringency of correct mathematical principles."[42]

In other contexts, widows directly addressed the question of whether it was possible in principle to ground a fund on mathematical or scientific principles, apparently placing themselves on the side of the opposition. Arguments of this kind were adduced in connection with the concept of hazard, or a game of chance, already a key term in the emerging science of probability. The law defined games of chance as aleatory contracts, defined by the absolute uncertainty of its outcome. People entered into such contracts aware that each party might equally well gain or lose: the loser therefore had no legal claim in respect to his (or her) loss. Insurance contracts and other contracts whose outcome depended on the life or death of an individual were universally treated as aleatory contracts in law. The mathematicians aspired to reduce the impact of sheer chance (and the actual risk to both parties) by both developing an accurate calculation of life expectancy and distributing the risk over the largest possible number of individuals. Such was the promise of a properly operating fund.[43] In the crisis, however, this vision was overshadowed by the fact of the incompetence of the actual funds. Because the widows were perceived as the party that had gained

from this incompetence and that must lose by a reform, the notion of an aleatory contract or game of chance was almost always invoked in their favor. In support of the view that the widows should not now be penalized for the overly generous terms on which their husbands had joined, the Law Faculty at the University of Leipzig explained that a widows' fund depended "on the length of human life, and so on a completely uncertain outcome."[44] The widows' submissions became increasingly explicit and aggressive in using this argument, so that the latest one in the Calenberg files (dating from July 1789) reads as a frontal attack on mathematical probability: The *Interessenten,* the widows argued, "knowingly entered into an insecure transaction," for the Calenberg is "an essentially insecure enterprise . . . because everything depends on the calculation of mortality."[45]

From Widows' Funds to Life Insurance: The Emancipatory Potential of Numbers

The attitude adopted by articulate women in the crisis thus appears to confirm a paradigm in which the discourse of scientific rationality reduces women to the embodiment of unreason. Hardly silenced, women were nonetheless maneuvered into a rhetorical position from which they could speak only against reform. A closer look at the institutions themselves—and at some of the ideas surrounding them—suggests a more complicated and ambivalent gender politics. In the widows' funds of the 1750s and 1760s, women were objects rather than subjects. The ulterior purpose of the funds—explicit in the case of the Calenberg and still apparent in Küster's work of 1772—was not to meet the needs of the widows but to guarantee the peace of mind of husbands and thereby serve the public good. The pension essentially embodied the extension of the husband's will and the guarantee of his ethical interest after his death. Accordingly, only married men could be *Interessenten,* and only married women could be pensioners, while *Interessenten* enjoyed rights of disposition over their interests in the fund that widows were denied. From this point of view, the widows' funds were patriarchal institutions in the classic sense. At the same time, the particular vision of the helplessness of middle-class women deployed to legitimate the funds can be seen as a manifestation of the neopatriarchical ideology of the nuclear family. The claim that any middle-class widow was poor unless actively assisted depended on naturalizing the presumption that middle-class women could not earn liv-

ings for themselves. Repetition then turned this presumption into fact.[46]

The contemporary reception of the widows' funds had utopian elements, however, that point to an awareness that the technology of insurance had the potential to release individuals from ascribed social roles and relationships based solely on economic dependency. In a humorous 1772 essay deploring the fact that spinsters had nothing like a widows' fund to save them from humiliating dependency on unwilling relatives, essayist and civil servant Justus Möser presented a cheerful updating of cameralist logic: according to his female speaker, people insist that widows' funds encourage marriage because they make it possible for good men without property to find happiness in love matches.[47] However satirically, Möser was signaling a process whereby capital, in the liquid form of cash payable in installments, was loosed from its function as the material foundation for patriarchal power relations and permitted to be invested at will in new kinds of relationships.[48]

The actual theme of Möser's text—for whom do the widows' funds exist?—was eagerly discussed at every stage in the history of the funds. In the 1770s, a number of funds began to allow men to insure their lives for the benefit of women other than their wives.[49] A critical step toward genuine democratization of the funds—as well as the first step in the institutional development of modern life insurance—came out of the crisis in Hamburg. In 1778, the Hamburgische Allgemeine Versorgungsanstalt (HAVA) opened for business. Created under the auspices of the Hamburg Patriotische Gesellschaft, an association that represented a coalition of members of the Hamburg patriciate as well as intellectuals, professional men, and jobbing scholars such as Johann Georg Büsch (an *Interessent* active in the Calenberg case), the HAVA was not only uniquely successful but also unique in offering a range of services for people of all classes.[50] More particularly, any individual, regardless of sex, who could pay the premium could contract for a pension for himself or herself or for anyone else, and even people with dangerous occupations could be taken on under the secure umbrella of a calculated risk adequately distributed.

This system was the work of Georg Christian von Oeder. As his published and unpublished notes make clear, his scheme for the HAVA reflected a combination of faith in systematic calculation and a critical approach to gender relations. He claimed that by the 1760s, he had begun to wonder why only married men could be insured, though

he did not dare to mention his doubts outside a very limited circle until the 1780s and never published them. In his notes for the HAVA, he was quite insistent that a fund armed with reliable mortality data and an accurate table of premiums need have no interest in any aspect of an individual's life or character except the capacity to sign a contract.[51] In 1781, Oeder set up a life annuity scheme as an extension to the widows' fund that he had previously created for his employer, the Duke of Oldenburg. This scheme was designed to help the needy—in particular, respectable women, of whom Oeder wrote perspicaciously that they were at risk of poverty because "to be sure they may be healthy and capable of earning a simple living by work, but according to our constitution they cannot take up that kind of work."[52]

Oeder told the duke that in response to a request from a widow, he had decided to propose the extension. This widow represents a positive counterpart to the critical and satirical figures of women cited earlier in the chapter. Read against the grain, the starry-eyed bride, wheedling wife, and worried spinster of male fantasy can stand alongside this widow as evidence of the way in which women's demands for services fueled innovation in this sphere and were perceived as doing so. Similarly, when real women took action to obstruct reform of the old widows' funds, they were defending an innovative institution that had served their needs, sometimes granting them a degree of independence not envisaged by the funds' founders.

Oeder's new foundation provoked a comment from one of his better-known contemporaries, historian and publicist August Ludwig von Schlözer, whose work represents another point of contact between mathematical politics and gender politics. Life annuities—pensions purchased by individuals for themselves during their lifetimes—were morally controversial in a way that widows' pensions were not. Most critics saw life annuities as a temptation to selfishness and luxury, a means of diverting to one's own enrichment resources that ought to be devoted to the support of a family. Schlözer also disapproved, but his critique bore a peculiar emphasis. In illustration of the dangers, he adduced the example of a man whose purchase of a life annuity had undermined family life. He could now afford to pay strangers to care for him in times of trouble, but he had to rely on their services, because in translating his capital—a potential inheritance—into a pension, he had also alienated the affections of his nieces: "The fine capital leaves the family, and the man is dead to his relatives." In a negative version

of the process satirically celebrated by Möser, the cash flow had washed away the amalgam of love, duty, and material interest that held together the patriarchal household.[53]

Schlözer's emphasis on the degenerative rather than the liberating features of this development bears some relation to the position he held in the developing controversy about the proper shape and uses of statistics. In Germany, this dispute would come to a head at the turn of the century between a group of "university statisticians" and the representatives of a "tabular statistics" based mainly in state administrations. The university statisticians, who preferred to gather qualitative data and compile narrative descriptions, accused the "common tabulators" of being soulless and mechanical in their approach. In the wake of the French Revolution, the tabulators perceived this charge as a reproach to the democratic spirit. They saw quantitative representations of social reality—numbers—as universally accessible and therefore politically empowering. For their part, the tabulators accused the statisticians of elitism and of being subject to arbitrary manipulation (*Willkür*) in the interests of despotic regimes.[54] Schlözer was one of the founders of university statistics, and his resistance to the individualizing effects of new insurance technologies in the 1770s seems to anticipate the conservative integralism of 1800.

Conclusion

To some extent, the democratization of the pension funds, with its capacity for empowering women, represented an artifact of immature actuarial technology. Ascribed functions—wife, daughter, widow—that constrained women's opportunities for self-development disappeared when people became numbers, and the larger the numbers employed to derive (for example) average life expectancy, the less important differences among individuals became. The only variable that remained relevant was physical constitution: age and health. But this in itself meant that in the longer term, actuaries would have to turn their attention to identifying distinct risk groups within the population. As early as the 1780s, the discussion about the differences in life expectancy between men and women, married and single, was beginning in earnest. In practice, the modern life insurance operations that became firmly established in Germany from the 1820s on cultivated a patriarchal vision not very different from that of the widows' funds.

These insurance schemes directed their publicity at anxious husbands and fathers, although they never again excluded women from buying pensions in their own right solely on grounds of sex.

It would therefore be an exaggeration to argue that life insurance liberated women. In any case, a generation's feminist critique of Enlightenment individualism has taught us to be wary of promises of emancipation held out by institutions or forms of representation that deny the power and meanings of difference. A system that denies the relevance of ascribed differences can prove unresponsive to real needs that grow out of those differences. The crisis of the widows' funds exposes the late eighteenth century as a critical moment in the formation of both class and gender consciousness but also makes clear that many aspects of experience and mentality were simultaneously in flux and that a range of outcomes remained possible. What emerged from the ferment was often unexpected and always ambiguous. The defining feature of the period is the way in which a combination of changing lifestyles and Enlightenment thinking made new social arrangements conceivable. The widows' funds were new in their time, a bold experiment in providing a new answer to an old problem. The emergence of the first life insurance scheme represented a step down the road toward modernity that involved a self-conscious move away from the endorsement and reproduction of historic forms of patriarchy. In the thinking of a consistent *Aufklärer* such as Oeder, this suggested the option of political and social individualism and allowed for the application of new technologies that in principle accorded women a new status as active agents rather than simply objects of policy. The more familiar story is the one in which historic patriarchal arrangements were replaced by the new patriarchalism of the nuclear family based on an essentialized polarity of sexual characters. The rhetoric surrounding the widows' funds bears evidence of an interplay between the old and the new patriarchy as well as of the ways in which the notion of marriage based on affinity or sentiment could ally with utopian visions of self-fulfillment in a money economy. How women were placed or placed themselves in relation to the multiplicity of visions on offer always constituted a function of circumstance as well as ideology. But the noisiness of the debate over the reform of the widows' funds suggests this generation's willingness to consider how circumstances might be transformed if people could dare to rethink the relationship between past and present and seek ways of taking power over the future.[55]

Notes

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1. Peter Borscheid, *Mit Sicherheit leben: Die Geschichte der deutschen Lebensversicherungswirtschaft und der Provinzial-Lebensversicherungsanstalt von Westfalen* (Greven, 1989), 1:13.

2. Space does not permit a full accounting of the recent historiography on life insurance, most of which focuses on the British case. Key works covering this period include Lorraine J. Daston, *Classical Probability in the Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1988); Lorraine J. Daston, "The Domestication of Risk: Mathematical Probability and Insurance, 1650–1830," in *The Probabilistic Revolution,* vol. 1, *Ideas in History,* ed. Lorenz Krüger, Lorraine J. Daston, and Michael Heidelberger (Cambridge, 1987), 237–60; Geoffrey Wilson Clark, *Betting on Lives: The Culture of Life Insurance in England, 1695–1775* (Manchester, 1999).

3. For a recent definition of modernity in these terms, see Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1990).

4. Mary Poovey, "Calculating Merchants: Accounting, Civility, and the Natural Laws of Gender," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 8.3 (1996): 1–19. See also Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact* (Chicago, 1998), chap. 2. The literature on gender and modern science, including that on women and mathematics, is now extensive: see Ceranski, this volume.

5. Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820–1900* (Princeton, 1986), focuses on the British and French cases. For the peculiarities of German statistical practice in the nineteenth century, see Theodore M. Porter, "Lawless Society: Social Science and the Reinterpretation of Statistics in Germany, 1850–1880," in *Probabilistic Revolution,* ed. Krüger, Daston, and Heidelberger, 351–75; Ian Hacking, "Prussian Numbers, 1860–1882," in *Probabilistic Revolution,* ed. Krüger, Daston, and Heidelberger, 377–94. In practice, the German experience of successful life insurance schemes mirrored that of other countries in that the advantages provided by refined actuarial techniques were hedged by extreme caution in amassing and managing the capital fund. For the British case, see Daston, *Classical Probability,* 180–81; Theodore M. Porter, "Precision and Trust: Early Victorian Insurance and the Politics of Calculation," in *The Values of Precision,* ed. N. M. Wise (Princeton, 1995), 173–97.

6. Bernd Wunder, "Pfarrwitwenkassen und Beamtenwitwen-Anstalten

vom 16.–19. Jahrhundert: Die Entstehung der staatlichen Hinterbliebenenversorgung in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 12 (1985): 429–98; J. C. Riley, "'That Your Widows May Be Rich': Providing for Widowhood in Old Regime Europe," *Economisch- en sociaal-historisch jaarboek* 45 (1982): 58–76.

7. *Sammlung verschiedener Aufsätze die Hamburgische beeidigte Christen-Mäckler Wittwen- und Waysen-Casse betreffend zum Besten sämmtlicher Interessenten und Pensionisten zum öffentlichen Druck befördert von den jetzigen Vorstehern gedachter Casse* (Hamburg, 1777). See also William Boehart, *Nicht brothlos und nothleidend zu hinterlassen* (Hamburg, 1985).

8. The most detailed account of these events in the literature is provided by Reinhard Oberschelp, *Niedersachsen, 1760–1820* (Hildesheim, 1982), 1:230–37. The records are deposited in Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover (hereafter cited as HStAHann), Dep. 7B (Landschaft Calenberg).

9. For a detailed account of the operation of the Calenberg fund, see Eve Rosenhaft, "Did Women Invent Life Insurance? Widows and the Demand for Financial Services in Eighteenth-Century Germany," in *Family Welfare: Gender, Property, and Inheritance since the Seventeenth Century,* ed. David R. Green and Alastair Owens (London, 2004), 163–94.

10. On the contemporary interest in vital statistics, see Herwig Birg, *Ursprünge der Demographie in Deutschland* (Frankfurt, 1986). On the eighteenth-century uses of *patriot* and *patriotism* and on the development of what would become the social sciences in this context, see most recently Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment* (New York, 2000); esp. 129–31.

11. The following men with reputations for mathematical expertise or who published mathematical works have so far been identified as being involved: Philip Peter Guden (1722–94), Johann Augustin Kritter (1721?–98), D. Leporin (dates unavailable), Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–99), Georg Christian von Oeder (1728–91), Matthias von Drateln (1742–1802), Johann Nicolaus Tetens (1736–1807), Thomas Bugge (1740–1815), Christian Carl Lous (1724–1804), Abraham Gotthelf Kästner (1719–1800), Andreas Böhm (1720–90), Wenceslaus Johann Gustav Karsten (1732–87), Carl Friedrich Hindenburg (1741–1808), Carl Chassot de Florencourt (1757–90), and Leonhard Euler (1707–83).

12. Herbert Mehrtens, "Mathematicians in Germany circa 1800," in *Epistemological and Social Problems of the Sciences in the Early Nineteenth Century,* ed. H. N. Jahnke and M. Otte (Dordrecht, 1981), 401–20.

13. Kritter to Calenberg administration, 17 December 1787, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 359:49. On Kritter, see Bernhard Fabian, ed., *Deutsches biographisches Archiv: Eine Kumulation aus 254 der wichtigsten biographischen Nachschlagewerke für den deutschen Bereich bis zum Ausgang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts,* Microfiche-Edition (Munich, 1982–86), fiches 215–31; Hans-Jür-

gen Gerhard, *Diensteinkommen der Göttinger Officianten, 1750–1850* (Göttingen, 1978).

14. See the comment of Ng [pseud.] in a review of P. P. Guden's *Gründliche Theorie und practische Vorschläge zu Witwen-Cassen* published in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 54 (1783): 221–24.

15. See, for example, Georg Christian von Oeder's "admonition to tolerance" in his reply to Kritter, "Erinnerung, veranlasst durch Herrn Kritters Aufsätze im Göttingischen Magazin," *Göttingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Literatur* 3.4 (1783): 487; *Sammlung verschiedener Aufsätze,* 70, 92–93. On civility as a touchstone for credibility among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars, see Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth* (Chicago, 1994); Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven, 1995).

16. *Sammlung verschiedener Aufsätze,* 95–96. See also the shamefaced comment of Johann Georg Büsch, *Allgemeine Uebersicht des Assekuranz-Wesens,* in his *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Vienna, 1813–15), 5:327. This is the only reflection in all of Büsch's published work on the Calenberg episode, although he was deeply involved at every stage in the fund's development and crisis.

17. Johann Nicolaus Tetens commented on this phenomenon in *Einleitung zur Berechnung der Leibrenten und Anwartschaften, die vom Leben und Tode einer oder mehrerer Personen abhängen* (Leipzig, 1785–86), 1:ix–xi. Tetens exaggerated the backwardness of his compatriots in comparison to the English: only during the 1760s did a British life insurance firm, the Equitable, adopt mathematical calculations as the basis of its actuarial practice, and only in 1769 were the principles on which it operated published (Richard Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments* [London, 1769]).

18. On mathematical education in the eighteenth century, see Gert Schubring, *Die Entstehung des Mathematiklehrerberufs im 19. Jahrhundert,* 2nd ed. (Weinheim, 1991), 27–33. For examples of and comments on mathematical naïveté, see *Sammlung verschiedener Aufsätze,* x; Tetens, *Einleitung,* 1:xvii.

19. See, among many examples, Johann Augustin Kritter, *Sammlung von dreyen Aufsätzen über die Calenbergischen, Preussichen, und Dänischen Wittwenversorgungsanstalten* (Hamburg, 1777), 18–42.

20. See [J. A. Kritter], *Prüfung einer neulich herausgekommenen Schrift des Herrn Philip Peter Guden in Hannover von Witwen-Cassen* (Göttingen, 1771). The concept of average duration of marriage was current in France and the Netherlands in the 1760s and even before. An early (and perhaps the first) appearance of the term in print in German was in a translation of Daniel Bernoulli's work of 1768: "Herrn Daniel Bernoulli Abhandlung von der mittleren Dauer der Ehen," *Hamburgisches Magazin* 9.49 (1771): 484–86. See also Huib J. Zuidervaare, "Early Quantification of Scientific Knowledge: Nicolaas Struyck (1686–1769) as a Collector of Empirical Data," in *The Statistical Mind in a Pre-Statistical Era: The Netherlands, 1750–1850,* ed. P. M. M. Klep and

I. H. Stamhuis (Amsterdam, 2002), 143. For a general account of statistical probability in relation to life expectancy and the calculation of annuities drawing mainly on English, French, and Dutch sources, see Daston, *Classical Probability,* chap. 3. On Oeder, see C. Haase, "Georg Christian von Oeders Oldenburger Zeit," *Oldenburger Jahrbuch des Oldenburger Landesvereins für Geschichte, Natur- und Heimatkunde* 64.1 (1965): 1–58.

21. *Sammlung verschiedener Aufsätze,* 97. For the idea that long-term expansion would overcome all problems, see J. A. Kritter, *Beweis, daß die Männer bei einer Wittwencasse 135 Jahre alt werden* (Göttingen, 1769), 18.

22. See, for example, Kritter, *Beweis,* 10; J. A. Kritter, "Unvorgreifliche Gedanken über den von Hochlöbl: Calenbergischer Landschaft publicirten Plan einer Allg. Witwen Pflegschaft" (1766), HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 327I:179–203; letter of the administrators of the Calenberg to King George III, Hanover, 11 July 1781, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 339:S.58–65; [G. C. von Oeder], "Prüfung des Plans der in der Kayserlichen Freien Reichs Stadt Hamburg zu errichtenden allgemeinen Versorgungs-Anstalt," 4 October 1777, Firmenarchiv der Hamburg-Mannheimer VersicherungsAG Hamburg, Altbestand HAVA (FAHM), F0001–19, bd. 3, eb. 2, no. 13; Leonhard Euler, "Des Herrn Leonhard Eulers nöthige Berechnung zur Einrichtung einer Witwencasse," *Neues Hamburgisches Magazin* 43.2 (1770): 5.

23. See, for example, G. C. von Oeder, "Theorie zu Witwenkassen und Versorgungsanstalten überhaupt," *Deutsches Museum* 2.8 (1779): 125–26; P. P. Guden, "Vom längern Leben des weiblichen Geschlechts in Vergleichung mit dem männlichen," *Leipziger Magazin zur Naturkunde, Mathematik, und Oekonomie* 2 (1781): 432–47; J. A. Kritter, "Untersuchung des Unterscheides [*sic*] der Sterblichkeit der Männer und der Frauen von gleichen [*sic*] Alter," *Göttingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Literatur* 2.2 (1780): 229–58.

24. Oeder, "Erinnerung, veranlasst durch Herrn Kritters." The article in question was Kritter, "Untersuchung des Unterscheides."

25. See, for example, memorandum by Otto von Münchhausen, 29 March 1781, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 339:7–12.

26. Johann David Michaelis, *Einige Zweifel und Erinnerungen, so mir bey der Calenbergischen Witwenpflegegesellschaft beygefallen sind,* in *Vermischte Schriften* (Frankfurt, 1766–69), 2:173–77. Michaelis envisaged problems for city administrations because the Calenberg Estates included representatives of the territory's principal cities.

27. Ibid., 163.

28. J. A. Kritter, *Sammlung wichtiger Erfahrungen bei den zu Grunde gegangenen Witwencassen* (Göttingen, 1780), 6–7.

29. Johann Peter Süßmilch, *Die göttliche Ordnung in den Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts, aus der Geburt, dem Tode, und der Fortpflanzung desselben erwiesen,* ed. Christian Jacob Baumann (Berlin, 1787), pt. 3, 465–66.

30. I discuss the themes of consumerism and fashion in the pension market at greater length in Eve Rosenhaft, "Thrift as Consumption: The Origins of

Life Insurance in Hamburg and the Uses of Money in Middle-Class Culture (1750–1790)," in *Wealth and Thrift: Paradoxes of Bürger Culture in Hamburg, 1700–1900 / Reichtum und Sparsamkeit: Paradoxien in der Bürgerkultur Hamburgs, 1700–1900,* ed. Frank Hatje and Ann LeBar (Hamburg, 2006). The rhetorical association of women with financial speculation was well established in Europe by the 1770s and had some basis in women's participation in the stock markets of the period; see, for example, Catherine Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1998), esp. 17–39. The literature on luxury and consumption in the eighteenth century is extensive, though scholarly discussion of the German case began relatively late; see the contributions in Reinhold Reith and Torsten Meyer, eds., *Luxus und Konsum: Eine Historische Annäherung* (Münster, 2003); Michael Prinz, ed., *Der lange Weg in den Überfluss: Anfänge und Entwicklung der Konsumgesellschaft seit der Vormoderne* (Paderborn, 2003).

31. C. D. Küster, *Der Wittwen- und Waisenversorger, oder Grundsätze, nach welchen dauerhafte Wittwen- und Waisensocietäten gestiftet werden können* (Leipzig, 1772), 3–4.

32. [August Georg] Uhle, pastor of St. Aegidius in Hanover, to Calenberg administration, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 371:51–54. See also the memorandum of Land-Syndicus Meyer, secretary of the Calenberg administration, 10 November 1781, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 368:3–4.

33. Tetens, *Einleitung,* 2:235–36.

34. Kritter, *Sammlung wichtiger Erfahrungen,* 11.

35. Carl Chassot de Florencourt, *Abhandlung aus der juristischen und politischen Rechenkunst* (Altenburg, 1781), 191.

36. J. H. Meyer to Georg Büsch, 21 March 1781, HStAHann, Dept. 7B, 370:n.p.; see also the minutes of a meeting of the Schatz-Collegium, 22 November 1781, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 369:2–7.

37. Copies and originals of the protests and depositions appear in HStAHann, Dep. 7B, vols. 372, 374, 379.

38. *Replicae, nisi quid novi, submissivae cum petitis an Seiten der in actis genannten Wittwen, Klägerinnen wieder die in actis des Herrn Syndicus Stambke gegen löbl: Cal. Schatz-Collegium genannte, dem Vergleiche vom 14ten May 1783 nicht beygetretenen Mitglieder der Cal. WPGes, Beklagten, in puncto implementi,* 26 March 1789, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 360:222–45.

39. Charlotte Justine Hartje and seventeen others to Königliche Regierung, 17 June 1783, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 379:3–5. See also Magdalena Elisabeth Gaden geb. Tom and sixteen others to Landschaft, Land- und Schatzräte, Schatz-Deputierte, 10 June 1783, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 379:25–34.

40. Maria Elisabeth Petersen geb. Eyllern et al. to Calenberg administration, Rostock and Güstrow, 22 February 1791, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 362II:211–12.

41. *Replicae, nisi quid novi,* 234–35.

42. Maria Elisabeth Petersen geb. Eyllern et al. to Calenberg administra-

tion, Rostock and Güstrow, 22 February 1791, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 362II:211–12.

43. See, for example, Tetens, *Einleitung,* 1:iv. On the relationship between mathematical probabilism and jurisprudence, see Lorraine J. Daston, "Mathematics and the Moral Sciences: The Rise and Fall of the Probability of Judgments, 1785–1840," in *Epistemological and Social Problems of the Sciences,* ed. Jahnke and Otte, 287–309. The contemporary point of reference for legal opinion in this context was Samuel Pufendorf, *Lex Naturae et Gentium* (1682), book 5, chaps. 5 (on aleatory contracts), 9 (on the purchase of prospects).

44. Report of Leipzig Law Faculty, November 1781, HStAHann, Dep. 7B, 342:43.

45. *Replicae, nisi quid novi,* 233.

46. This argument is developed in detail in Rosenhaft, "Did Women Invent Life Insurance?"

47. Justus Möser, "Schreiben einer betagten Jungfer an den Stifter der Witwenkasse zu **," in *Patriotische Phantasien (Justus Mösers Sämtliche Werke II)* (Berlin, 1842), 184–86.

48. The difference in social valence between money and the possessions it represents in exchange transactions is persuasively argued by Georg Simmel in his *Philosophie des Geldes* (Leipzig, 1902). See also Nigel Dodd, *The Sociology of Money* (Cambridge, 1994), chap. 3; Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry, eds., introduction to *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge, 1989), 1–32.

49. Rosenhaft, "Did Women Invent Life Insurance?" 184. Where it was possible for men to buy pensions for women not their wives, the presumption was that the beneficiaries were relatives who had no other means of support, but proof of relationship was not generally required.

50. *Anordnung der in der Kays. freyen Reichs-Stadt Hamburg errichteten allgemeinen Versorgungs-Anstalt* (Hamburg, 1778). On the creation of the HAVA, see Eve Rosenhaft, "Secrecy and Publicity in the Emergence of Modern Business Culture: Pension Funds in Hamburg, 1760–1780," in *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society,* ed. Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost (Leiden, 2004), 218–43. On the activities of the Patriotische Gesellschaft, see Mary Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers: Hamburg, 1712–1830* (Oxford, 1990).

51. "Anmerkung über die neue Königlich Preußische allgemeine Wittwen-Verpflegungs-Anstalt," Staatsarchiv Oldenburg, best. 31, no. 2-46-41, pp. 418–23; "Consideranda wegen einer zu errichtenden allgemeinen Wittwen-Casse," FAHM, F0001–19, vol. 3, ea., no. 1.

52. "Unterthänigstes Pro Memoria," September 1781, Staatsarchiv Oldenburg, best. 31, no. 2-46-41, p. 81; "Verordnung wegen Erweiterung der Witwen- und Waisencasse auf Leibrenten," *Schlözers Stats-Anzeigen* 2 (1782): 38–42.

53. *Schlözers Stats-Anzeigen* 2 (1782): 40. A major figure of the North German Enlightenment, Schlözer is better known to students of gender history for having educated his daughter to be the first woman in Germany to be awarded

a doctorate; see Bärbel Kern and Horst Kern, *Madame Doctorin Schlözer: Ein Frauenleben in den Widersprüchen der Aufklärung* (Munich, 1988); Ceranski, this volume.

54. On this *Statistikerstreit,* see Karin Johannisson, "Society in Numbers: The Debate over Quantification in 18th-Century Political Economy," in *The Quantifying Spirit in the 18th Century,* ed. Tore Frängsmyr, J. L. Heilbron, and Robin E. Rider (Berkeley, 1990), 343–61; Sybilla Nikolow, "'Edle Statistiker' gegen 'gemeine Tabellenmacher': Der Streit um die statistische Methode um 1800 in Deutschland," unpublished manuscript, 1994; Andreas Hoeschen, "Die aufklärerische Universitätsstatistik und ihre romantischen Gegner," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 20.2 (1995): 56–74. *Willkür,* a term with very powerful political connotations for the Enlightenment generation, was also commonly used in the widows' fund debate to disparage "unscientific" method: see, for example, an anonymous review of the 1776 edition of Süßmilch, *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 34.2 (1778): 473–76. Oeder had lost an earlier position in the service of the Danish crown partly because of his espousal of a scheme for liberating the peasantry.

55. Lucian Hölscher, *Die Entdeckung der Zukunft* (Frankfurt, 1999) dates the discovery of the future as a characteristically modern notion from the 1770s. His study is based largely on philosophical and literary texts rather than everyday practices.

Master and Subject, or Inequality as Felicitous Opportunity

Gender Relations of the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class

Rebekka Habermas

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, basic questions of gender formed a crucible of intense debate. How should the new man and the new woman of the emergent middle class be constituted? Such questions were basic to middle-class self-construction. Answers were sought in countless philosophical tracts, in novels and plays, in medical treatises, and in popular journals. Despite innumerable differences of detail, the intellectual elites who set the tone of these debates swiftly established a normative framework.[1] They attributed gender distinctions to specific qualities, which they constructed as rooted in nature. To summarize the newly formulated gender order, which Karin Hausen characterized as a "*Polarisierung der Geschlechtscharaktere* [polarization of the sexes]," women should be passive, religious, emotional, and dependent, and their proper place was the home. They were supposed to have the particular ability of being "natural"—as Gellert had put it, for example, in his famous and most influential theory of letter writing. Men should be active and independent, committed to reason and science, and fashioned for public life. Relations between the sexes should be based on love within marriage and should resemble the bond between master and subject. This is, for example, the gist of Friedrich Schleiermacher's sermons, and such ideas also appear in numerous other texts from the turn of the nineteenth century.[2]

However, this discourse of gender difference took place not only within the new reading clubs and in journals and books but also in

middle-class households.[3] Furthermore, a precise reconstruction of gender relations as practiced within marriage demonstrates that the cohabitation of the new man "of sense and moderation"—as Isabel V. Hull describes him[4]—and his spouse shows that many men and woman especially of the Protestant educated middle class were almost obsessed by questions of gender difference. How was the gender system constructed, tested, challenged, and reworked, both in imagination and in daily life? How were femininity and masculinity simultaneously fixed and challenged within the couple? How did middle-class spouses read the debates on gender systems? People interpreted and wielded these debates in very diverse ways; moreover, the discourse could at times develop special dynamics of its own. This chapter will explore these dynamics and thereby the question of how the gender relations were remodeled in turn-of-the-nineteenth-century middle-class circles, using the example of the matrimonial life of Friedrich and Käthe Roth, a married couple who belonged to the Protestant educated middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*).

Käthe Roth was born in 1792 in the free imperial city of Nuremberg, the eldest daughter of a wealthy merchant and his wife, who also originated from merchant stock. In 1806 she met Friedrich Roth, who had been born in 1780 to a Stuttgart teacher and now served as a public counsel. They married in 1809 and moved a year later to the Bavarian capital city, Munich, where Roth served initially in the Ministry of Finance and later as the most senior state official for affairs of the Protestant Church. Between the ages of eighteen and twenty-seven, Käthe gave birth to six children, five of whom reached maturity. Thanks not least to Käthe's dowry of ten thousand guilders and her share in her parents' business, the Roth family lived in affluence in the Maxvorstadt, Munich's finest residential district. From its origins on the drawing board at the start of the nineteenth century, this quarter rapidly became the favored district of financial and court aristocrats and of senior Bavarian officials. The Roths circulated in this milieu, particularly among the "Protestant northern lights" of the educational establishment: professors, college presidents, royal tutors, and ministry officials.[5] How did this educated middle-class couple construct their married life?

I.

Shortly after their wedding, Käthe Roth called her husband "the happiness of my life."[6] Even fourteen years later, she wrote to Friedrich,

"Oh, how I look forward to your return, my most beloved; I cannot contain my yearning much longer."[7] At around the same time, Friedrich Roth similarly declared his love: "You, my dearest possession . . . we [are] as one, and that surpasses everything in the world. You belong to me and I belong to you as to no other. And of that I am so certain and so assured that I need neither suppress nor constrain that affection."[8] Several years earlier, he had thanked God for "this highest and finest gift, that we are of one mind and one heart, ever closer each day. You have given me wonderful guidance and many great things, yet this is the greatest and most complete, indeed, the core of my life."[9] Heartfelt affection or love were certainly not portrayed in every relevant document of the time, nor is there any basis on which to claim that in the majority of cases married life was shaped by love. However, Friedrich and Käthe Roth clearly portrayed their marriage as a love match. In this they conformed to much of the discourse that held that the new middle-class marriage should involve love, not merely, as frequent criticism contended, a contract of convenience.

The Roths described themselves, however, as less representative of a second and no less central criterion that was repeatedly expressed in the relevant debates. Their relationship was in no way constructed as one of master and subject, as Schleiermacher put it and as it was invoked by the normative framework of the time. The Roths certainly were an unequally related couple, a couple of difference: one was more "natural," the other more "rational." Inequality and hierarchy however, do not necessarily imply a master-subject relationship. On the contrary, this inequality was constructed in the countless letters and diaries as the fortunate opportunity of a lifelong Bildungsroman. Inequality did not necessarily imply unhappiness or suffering, victim or perpetrator, as is widely and too quickly assumed. Rather, it could be described—and to some degree perceived—as a positive difference that begets a unique quality.

What comprised Käthe and Friedrich Roth's lifelong Bildungsroman? An important component consisted in the unequal exchange of education (*Bildung*) on the one hand and of morals and manners on the other. The husband provided education and in return received morality and religion, which the wife cultivated in the domestic sphere.[10] This was an unequal relationship for the simple reason that women were barred from institutionalized education.[11] Their access to schooling occurred exclusively through the mediation of brothers, fathers, or

spouses.[12] Acquisition of the rudimentary skills of, for example, foreign languages as well as knowledge of the cultural canon were thereby largely denied to women, while their attainment of the central cultural techniques of writing and reading was rendered substantially more difficult. The first hesitant attempts to establish girls' schools commenced at the beginning of the nineteenth century: Nuremberg's first private educational institution for girls opened its doors in 1811, and a state girls' school followed in 1823. These institutions emphasized religion and needlework and ignored subjects such as Latin and Greek that were studied at the boys grammar school. Objections raised against unequal access to educational establishments were only very sporadic. Neither Käthe Roth nor women such as Therese Huber or Johanna Schopenhauer, who had sought to bring about equality in education, demanded expanded formal schooling opportunities for women. On the contrary, these women unanimously affirmed that equality achieved by these means would be dangerous. It would necessarily lead to women becoming transmuted into the monstrous figure of the educated female and, as Schopenhauer put it, one's "dislike of the prospect of being considered a female scholar" was great indeed.[13] Ultimately, no one wanted to be perceived, in Huber's formulation, as "unlovable and unnatural."[14] Caroline von Schlegel's critique of Dorothea Schlözer, who, thanks to her father's instruction, had become a learned woman, is also typical: "It is true, Dörtchen is blessed with infinite talent and intellect, but this is to her misfortune. For given these abilities and her father's bizarre projects, which are bound to kindle the utmost vanity, she can expect neither true happiness nor respect. A lady is valued only according to her qualities as a lady."[15]

Although women were excluded from public education, they could create a new informal educational environment within the matrimonial world. Moreover, through the unequal exchange of educational skills within marriage, the kernel of a quintessentially middle-class sensibility could develop—that is, a consciousness of gaining admission to a higher realm of the sublime. The couple's educational intercourse generated the intimate cultural environment that was to become the prime credential of middle-class identity construction. Furthermore, the next generation, which, as is well known, included the founders of the middle-class women's movement, drew on what their mothers had learned in this educational environment to launch a renewed discussion of the

gender regime and to demand vociferously female participation not merely in the cultural domestic sphere of their mothers' generation but also in official educational institutions.

II.

What was the nature of the cultured couple's informal conjugal world of education, this essential element of the emergent gender order of the early nineteenth century? At its heart lay the two core cultural techniques of writing and reading.

Husbands assisted their spouses in what was termed good writing, which primarily signified stylistically meticulous letter writing. Given that women were usually less well educated in this skill, which numerous school curricula expressly required, learning from their husbands in a sense completed women's instruction in letter writing.[16] At first glance, the instruction of wives by their husbands appears paradoxical, if one considers the fact that women were "the real letter writers and we men . . . only dabble," as Schleiermacher put it—after apprising his betrothed of his concept of the structure and contents of an accomplished letter.[17] Since the 1751 appearance of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's informative book, *Letters, with a Practical Discussion of Good Taste,* women had been viewed as the more gifted—indeed, exemplary—letter writers. Gellert's norm-setting reformulation of the content and function of letters contended that they were, like speech, the expression of natural beauty and should impart the "authentic imprint of the spontaneous phrasing of each individual's thoughts and utterances"[18] rather than amassing a series of artificial and polite phrases in the pursuit of excessively strategic aims, as had previously been the custom. If one accepts Gellert's equation of femininity and naturalness—"My principle has always been that ladies who write well surpass us in naturalness," he wrote[19]—it follows that women were the superior letter writers. The seeming implicit paradox—that men privately tutored their wives in the skills of writing—disappears with the obvious assumption that a masculine complement was required to discover this special feminine talent. Women's writing may by nature be more spontaneous and genuine, but these characteristics must first be brought to light. The husband uncovers and nurtures what lies dormant in his spouse and consequently takes his place in the honorable tradition that began with Gellert, encouraging "the lady in particular to write in a natural style."[20]

The new model of letter writing formulated by Gellert and others set a standard for Käthe and Friedrich Roth as they endeavored to write "natural" letters. Thus, a series of correspondence from the early period of their marriage concerns the husband's instruction of his spouse in letter writing. In one of his first letters to his wife, Friedrich critically commented on Käthe's style and orthography: "You are becoming ever more skilled, dearest one—Everything in your letter is good, both narrative and response. Not anywhere in the text is there a period missing."[21] For their part, wives settled into their positions as pupils, troubling their husbands with anxious questions about the merits of their letters.

Notwithstanding the ambivalence with which this peculiar matrimonial relationship may be judged, there is no doubt that, through the process of learning and teaching, married couples developed a greater mutuality, their inequality lessening to the extent that the wife's style faithfully acquired Gellertian naturalness. Käthe Roth became not only an equally valued correspondent but also an equal conversation partner on matter of letters. Educated middle-class couples frequently conversed about the form and content of letters, discussing the merits of this or that depiction. Käthe Roth declared her astonishment that she "could write so many and such long letters" and hoped that her husband would "praise" her.[22] Friedrich Roth then commented on his wife's progress in the composition of her letters: "In the greater formality and the power of your narration I notice with pleasure the positive results of your studies. . . . I know that I could not expect this if you did not hold me dear."[23] Thus, one sees the connection between letter writing and the conjugal bond. In short, correspondence provided a theme in common, forming a new mutuality for the couple.[24]

Not infrequently these discussions about letters would quickly give way to a new imbalance, only in this case, of course—with reference to Gellert—to the husband's disadvantage. Käthe Roth was perceived before long as highly competent if not superior to her husband in the skill of letter writing. This competence was unquestionably double edged, for she received considerable recognition as a letter writer while simultaneously confirming her position within the region of naturalness; she thus fixed her own narrow borders and reinforced within them a specific gender system.

As a primary means of middle-class self-presentation, letters were held in special esteem. Using Gellert's conception, their form and style expressed changes to the self-construction of the middle class, fashion-

ing a direct counterposition to the affectation and artificiality ascribed to the aristocracy. "The immediate, just as it reaches my pen,"[25] was dramatized here; everything "that touches me, myself,"[26] Friedrich Roth averred, was written down, "directly as it strikes me."[27] Letters were to be the bearers of authenticity, of naturalness, and of individuality—qualities perceived as middle class rather than aristocratic.[28] In short, letters—especially those written by women, who were accorded a unique competence in the realm of naturalness and authenticity—represented the expression and means of middle-class self-construction and self-presentation, whatever their actual naturalness and however much they may have concealed rather than revealed the ever-acclaimed self.[29]

Friedrich Roth liked to read aloud his wife's letters, demonstrating both the extent to which her writing was esteemed and the gratification she could draw from her skill.[30] He regularly shared Käthe's correspondence not only in the family circle but also at the homes of close or even distant acquaintances—that is, in the cultural middle class's public spaces of the private sphere. Domestic social gatherings frequently included readings from contemporary literature and from treatises from Roman and Greek antiquity—highly esteemed in these circles—as well as personal correspondence. If the context of their reception indicates the high regard in which letters were held, audience members' comments on Käthe Roth's letters demonstrate that they were manifestly accorded an aesthetic quality. Lotte Jacobi, sister of Friedrich Jacobi, the president of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, said of one of Käthe Roth's letters that "it is as if engraved on copper."[31] On another occasion, Lotte Jacobi was so enthused by one of Käthe Roth's literary portrayals that she copied the relevant section of the letter, causing Friedrich Roth to wonder, "With what literary purpose in mind?"[32] This was no mere idle question: letters were frequently copied and even published, often without the author's knowledge.[33]

One of Käthe Roth's letters describing the Christmas festival at Nuremberg was read out not only at the Roths' home but also at those of Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer, a Bavarian school reformer, and of Friedrich Jacobi. Jacobi's comment that "Kant was correct to seek to know foreign lands through travel literature rather than through one's own voyages"[34] emphasizes the fact that letters were viewed as literary exercises and even as literary texts. This is by no means surprising if one considers that the period around 1800 represented the heyday of the epistolary novel and that private correspondence often provided

the basis of such novels. Those written after Richardson's *Clarissa,* Sophie von La Roche's *Fräulein von Sternheim,* and Goethe's *Werther* may not have been great, but they were read just the same. Contemporaries treasured the reading aloud of epistolary novels, both printed and unpublished. The letters of Marie de Sévigné, Louis Adelgunde Victorie Kulmus, and Meta Moller have retained their fame to this day, and to complete the circle, Moller corresponded with Richardson. As this list indicates, the Gellertian thesis of woman's peculiar relationship to the letter played a significant role in the fact that many women excelled in this field.

The writing of letters not only represented the product of a successful transaction of educational goods between the Roths but also opened a door from the private domain into the public literary world. The letter, even if unprinted, was one of the most promising means by which women could reach the literary public, as the example of Fanny Lewald demonstrates.[35] In contrast to scientific prose, drama, or poetry, women were by no means underrepresented in the field of published letters. Käthe Roth and several other women thus experienced marital inequality not just as an opportunity for a lifelong Bildungsroman but also as the chance to move beyond that sphere into the wider, public world.[36] Some women exploited these extradomestic opportunities and, supported by Gellert's thesis of women's specific naturalness, could even earn money, despite the opprobrium such activities attracted for middle-class women. Among the most famous of these female authors were the romantics.

III.

An additional field in which the domestic world of education could engender new arrangements and unleash new dynamics that pointed far beyond marriage was opened up by the second important cultural activity, reading. Friedrich and Käthe Roth spent a striking amount of time reading together.

Their reading must be seen in the context of the so-called reading revolution of the eighteenth century. From the mid-1700s onward, middle-class women and men devoured increasing numbers of books, and reading became a distinguishing feature of a new sui generis middle-class social life. Hardly a soiree, a visit for tea, or a "comfortable gathering" occurred without some sort of reading—a play, poetry, a philosophical treatise, or even an entire novel as well as smaller pieces

such as letters, travel reports, or short works of prose composed by the participants or by others. The Roths and the educated middle class of which they were a part developed a regular obsession with this form of cultured social gathering, and alone and in company they read far more books than had their parents or grandparents.

What form did this communal reading and discussion of one's reading experience take? The literary canon received by Käthe and Friedrich Roth consisted to a large degree of contemporary German literature. They also frequently read the writers of antiquity, who were at that time highly esteemed in neohumanist circles. The couple discussed Herder's writings; Oliver Goldsmith's novel, *The Vicar of Wakefield;* the works of Lady Montagu; Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa;* Schiller's poetry; the writings of famous eighteenth-century art historian Johann Joachim Winkelmann; and the legendary poet Ossian, whom they read in the original Gaelic.[37]

Friedrich Roth had hardly arrived in Munich when he described to his wife, still residing in Nuremberg, his new acquaintanceship with Friedrich Jacobi, whose writings he recommended to her. Käthe Roth replied that Jacobi's novel, *Woldemar,* was "well known." She continued, "I would naturally prefer to read it in your company, . . . for now and again, when I come to places that are obscure to me, the elucidation you give would be much appreciated."[38] Käthe Roth also told her husband that she would like to hear his opinions of Goethe's autobiography.[39] However, the Roths' reading material did not consist solely of belles lettres—a genre increasingly read by women[40]—but also included nonfiction. When they did not have the chance to read pieces together, they nevertheless discussed them, exchanging impressions from their reading of newspapers such as *Minerva,* the *Rheinischen Merkur,* the *Nürnberger Correspondenten,* and the *Nürnberger Anzeiger* as well as a number of literary magazines.[41] Religious literature also appeared on the Roths' reading list, including Luther, sermons, and even hymnals.[42]

The Roths' reading material thus corresponded to what was prevalent at the time and more particularly to the canon recommended by the writers of etiquette books as suitable for women. Moreover, the conjugal catalog of works corresponded to the books that Bavarian educational reformers Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer and Friedrich Wilhelm Thiersch recommended for German lessons in grammar schools—that is, works otherwise reserved for males, including Geßner, Schiller, Goethe, the Nibelungenlied, Klopstock, Jacobi,

Lessing, Winckelmann, and Herder.[43] Reading at home provided women with a means of gaining what they missed from German lessons at school. The parallel with the case of marital writing lessons is obvious. Thanks to their husbands' instruction, women were introduced to literature that they would otherwise have been unable to read.

The question of what was read leads directly to the question of how. As in the case of writing, the couple's transactions with respect to reading occurred, at least early in the marriage, with the husband acting as private tutor and thus as an unequal partner.[44] This dynamic changed, however, over time as Käthe and Friedrich gradually developed modes of receiving and methods of discussing reading matter that went beyond that of the teacher-pupil relationship. To the degree that discussion centered not so much on questions of which authors should be read but rather on the content and meaning of what they had read—the "joint working through of the reception experience"[45]—a new mutuality developed between Käthe and Friedrich Roth. In the sense described by an acquaintance of Käthe Roth's father, Goethe, when a text is critically enjoyed and joyfully criticized, "a new work of art" is born.[46] In the Roths' discussions about a series of articles in the *Rheinischen Merkur,* for example, the husband was by no means the teacher of his wife.[47] Reading thus became a new foundation for their marital relationship—and indeed for all those who had correctly understood the legendary cry of Goethe's Lotte, who needed only to utter "Klopstock!" to communicate her feelings to Werther.

This unequal intellectual exchange produced more than a compensatory education for the wife and more than a new footing for the couple. As in the case of letter writing, women's intellectual activity revealed new possibilities, pointing far beyond the gender regime of difference and thereby alarming many contemporaries. For reading is not simply a receptive act but always also a productive act of appropriation in the sense that readers, within certain bounds, determine anew the meaning of what they read. All her husband's suggestions notwithstanding, Käthe Roth could interpret *Clarissa* in her own way. If the absence of possibilities for controlling the practice and results of reading in general posed a threat, in the case of novels it was a positive danger, and precisely this hazard received wide discussion during the reading craze. After all, questions of gender relations lay at the heart of the novel of the period: as a contemporary put it, novels are "fictitious stories of the events of love . . . for love must be the novel's actual content."[48] Each novel thus invited Käthe Roth and her friends to give

renewed thought to relations between the sexes, thoughts that could lead in their own directions and, if contemporaries are to be believed, at times even to outlandish fantasies that targeted the passions, becoming ever more "tempestuous" and threatening to tear down all defenses against "the force of the sex instinct."[49] Through reading—especially of novels—a threatening "sentimentality and ecstasy"[50] was said to arise, releasing an absolute frenzy of feelings and desires. And this sentimentality in turn threatened to make female readers "distanced and indifferent . . . toward the ordinary affairs of domestic life."[51] Observers feared that the intense toil of domestic work would slacken, the household's peace would be disturbed, and ultimately the entire domestic arrangement would fall to ruin, all because reading novels led the lady of the house to neglect her business.

And indeed, insofar as reading offered a pleasurable space for fantasy, these contemporaries were right. On the one hand, fantasizing could be frightening;[52] on the other hand, it could lead to everyday responsibilities simply being forgotten. Moreover, by proffering role models that contrasted with readers' experiences, novels stimulated women to reflect on how they might reshape their lives, as Lotte in Goethe's *Werther* did for sections of a generation of women.[53] Reading can serve as a "medium of self-understanding."[54] It can set in motion a process of reflection that goes beyond direct attempts at imitation and in the course of which alternative roles and social identities are discovered.[55] The scenes, characters, and ideas depicted in literature may inspire individuals to reconsider the course of their lives.

Just as letter writing expanded horizons and afforded a path of entry into the public world, reading doubtless meant far more to Käthe Roth, who had seen little of the world beyond Nuremberg, Stuttgart, and Munich, than to her husband, who had visited Paris as a youth. Also in the metaphorical sense, literature expanded the horizons of women whose days were spent primarily with housework, needlework, and raising children and who would otherwise rely on conversation with maids, relatives, and friends as the source of news. Perhaps Käthe Roth fared similarly to the pedagogue Caroline Rudolphi, who wrote, "Everything around me remained bleak" until she became acquainted with "worldly books"[56] as a consequence of her husband's suggestions about literature.

No one could block these unintended expansions of horizon generated by the couple's joint educational experience. These experiences were full of contradictions—for example, that between reading that

was determined and supervised by the husband and the possibility, inherent in every act of reading, of autonomous interpretation. A contrast exists between two possible effects of reading. On the one hand were the readings that centered on the couple in its intimate domestic sphere, the ulterior purpose of which, if one considers its subject matter, was to equip readers for the polarized roles within the gender regime that had been formulated so clearly by Schleiermacher. On the other hand, reading created possibilities of challenging, reworking, or escaping from that same gender system, even if only in one's own imagination. In the subsequent generation, this incongruity became openly articulated, as Käthe Roth's daughters expressed. In the context of the emergent women's movement, their generation demanded improved access for women to the educational institutions of the nondomestic sphere and reflected aloud about alternative gender regimes. This next cohort of women did not seek to expand educational horizons merely within the realm of the married couple but also beyond, demanding training colleges for female teachers, debating the issue of higher education for girls, and founding women's educational associations.[57]

The conjugal relationship founded on the basis of unequal educational exchange was a novelty in comparison with the previous generation of the *Arbeitspaar,* the couple whose relationship was based on economic roles.[58] Of course, the new conjugal model did not always function as smoothly as it apparently did with the Roths. The few relevant extant sources suggest that Käthe Roth's sister, Elise, whose husband was likewise a member of the educated middle class, appears to have been less content with the educational transaction. Hilde Herlemann's experience is also germane. She writes that "the wife's necessary continued education is the husband's business; in this way he is always assured of his superior position."[59] Nevertheless, within this transaction a new conjugal bond was formed for that generation, and this bond led to what Heide Wunder has shown to be the replacement of the "working couple" by the "educated couple."[60]

For all the possibilities that this educational transfer opened up for Käthe Roth and many other educated middle-class women, it became perhaps more important for the subsequent generation, where an autonomous dynamic developed. Much evidence indicates that wives in this later generation sought to do more than merely further their education within the conjugal sphere. Indeed, their demand for improved education for women also included the goal of widening the scope of extramarital education. The contradiction between the open-

ing of educational opportunities within marriage and the closure of the same in public appears to have been experienced more acutely by Käthe Roth's daughters, who, with redoubled energy, endeavored to open up alternative professional paths through education. Training colleges for female teachers were set up, the issue of higher education for girls was no longer merely debated, and women's educational associations created opportunities for self-help. In 1861 Mathilde Planck from Württemberg became the first woman among the Roth family's acquaintances of the generation following Käthe Roth to pass the qualifying examinations to become a teacher. Planck went on to become a cofounder of the association of Württemberg women's associations.[61]

This leads us back to the starting point—the question of the remodeling of the gender order, which was posed again and with renewed force in the continued process of formation of the middle class through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The relevant texts of Schleiermacher, Gellert, and many other prominent writers as well as the debates of middle-class circles show that women were required to be passive, emotional, gentle, and modest and that marriage was to be constituted as a master-subject relationship. This suggests that the remodeling of the gender order was indeed characterized by a polarization of gender characteristics and the subjection of the wife to the husband, a suggestion that is highlighted by the practices of middle-class couples. However, couples also found rather different answers to the question of how to constitute a new and authentically middle-class gender order, as is apparent from the sketches of the Roths' everyday marital life. Instead, a new mutuality of the sexes developed through the exchange of education that occurred within marriage. New opportunities thus arose by which married women could compensate for their inadequate education. Finally, this new conjugal cultural transfer also ushered in the demands made by Käthe and Friedrich Roth's children and grandchildren that education (*Bildung*) should also be available for the female sex outside the domestic sphere. Thus, the marital life of the educated middle class formed the central site in which by way of education the couple developed a gender system of difference and inequality. Second, education offered the female sex that which it was otherwise denied. Third, foundations were laid for an expansion of horizons that enabled the growth of the demands of the women's movement.

Notes

Translated by Gareth Dale. This article was written in 1999 and is based on Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)* (Göttingen, 2000).

1. Ute Frevert, ed., *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1988); Karin Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der Geschlechtercharaktere—Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas,* ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart, 1976), 363–93; Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaft vom Menschen und das Weib* (Frankfurt, 1991); Pia Schmid, *Der Beitrag der Padägogik bei der bürgerlichen Geschlechterlehre* (Siegen, 1993); Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *Das moralische Geschlecht: Theorien und literarische Entwürfe über die Natur der Frau in der französischen Aufklärung* (Weinheim, 1987).

2. See Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher, "Predigten über den Hausstand" (1920), in *Werke: Auswahl in vier Bänden,* ed. Otto Braun and Johannes Bauer (Leipzig, 1927–28), 3:223–398. Some researchers have inferred the reality of gender relations from the framework proposed in such debates and have concluded that the bourgeois woman was unable to live her own personality (Ute Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte: Zwischen bürgerlicher Verbesserung und neuer Weiblichkeit* [Frankfurt, 1986]) but was instead condemned to life as an egoless individual (Barbara Duden, "Das schöne Eigentum: Zur Herausbildung des bürgerlichen Frauenbildes an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert," *Kursbuch* 47 [1977]).

3. Research on this subject concerning the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German-speaking middle class has been sparse with the exception of Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum, 1770–1840* (Göttingen, 1996). For the British case, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London, 1987); Karin Hausen, "'. . . eine Ulme für das schwanke Efeu': Ehepaare im deutschen Bildungsbürgertum: Ideale und Wirklichkeiten im späten 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger,* ed. Frevert, 85–117. See also Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)* (Göttingen, 2000), esp. chap. 3; Rebekka Habermas, "Der bürgerliche Wertehimmel: Frömmigkeit," Vortrag gehalten im Zentrum für interdisziplinäre Forschung, Bielefeld, June 1997; Rebekka Habermas, "Selbstreflexion zwischen Erfahrung und Inszenierung: Schreiben im Bürgertum um 1800," in *Der Bildungsgang des Subjekts: Bildungstheoretische Analysen,* ed. Sonja Häder and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Weinheim-Basel, 2004), 30–47.

4. Isabell V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, 1996), 227–57.

5. For example, Friedrich Wilhelm Thiersch (1794–1860), Heinrich

Gotthilf von Schubert (1780–1860), Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer (1766–1848), and Friedrich Heinrich von Jacobi (1743–1819).

6. Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 10 November 1810, Nachlaß Roth, no. 51, Evangelisches Landeskirchenarchiv Nuremberg (hereafter cited as EKN).

7. Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 17 September 1823, Nachlaß Roth, no. 57, EKN. Several years earlier, she had revealed to him, "Yours is my fatherland's finest love" (Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 26 January 1818, Nachlaß Roth, no. 56, EKN).

8. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 15 October 1823, Nachlaß Roth, no. 43, EKN.

9. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 6 November 1817, Nachlaß Roth, no. 42, EKN.

10. A second sphere, which I do not discuss here, was that of *Erziehung.* [Translator's note: Erziehung also means education but connotes upbringing or breeding, whereas *Bildung* connotes culture or civilization.] See Habermas, *Frauen und Männer,* 365–71.

11. See James C. Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1988); Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz, eds., *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung,* 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1996).

12. Exemplary here are such sibling relationships as those between Cornelia and Wolfgang Goethe, Knebel, Schleiermacher, Hegel. The Schlözer father-daughter relationship is legendary in this regard (Bärbel Kern and Horst Kern, *Madame Doctorin Schlözer: Ein Frauenleben in den Widersprüchen der Aufklärung* [Munich, 1988]). Therese Huber lucidly summarized the educational situation of her childhood, which was characterized by family circumstances: "I heard my father talk on archaeology, Blumenbach on natural history, my brothers on anatomy and medicine, my uncle Brandes on government and political history" (Therese Huber to Karl August Böttiger, 10 January 1816, in *Therese Huber: "Die reinste Freiheitsliebe, die reinste Männerliebe": Ein Lebensbild in Briefen und Erzählungen zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik,* ed. Andrea Hahn [Berlin, 1989], 159).

13. Johanna Schopenhauer, *Ihr glücklichen Augen: Jugenderinnerungen, Tagebücher, Briefe,* ed. Rolf Weber (Berlin, 1978), 81.

14. Therese Huber, "Über die Ansprache des weiblichen Geschlechts zu höherer Geisteskultur," in *Therese Huber,* ed. Hahn, 151.

15. Caroline Michaelis [Schlegel] to Luise Gotter [late October 1781], in Caroline Schlegel, *Briefe aus der Frühromantik nach G. Waitz vermehrt,* ed. Erich Schmidt, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1913).

16. See Bruno Richter, *Der Brief und seine Stellung in der Erziehung und im Unterricht seit Gellert* (Leipzig, 1900), 16–100. For letter writing, see the standard text, Georg Steinhausen, *Geschichte des deutschen Briefes: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes* (1889–91; Berlin, 1968); see also Reinhard M. G. Nickisch, *Die Stilprinzipien in den neuen Briefstellern des 17. und 18.*

Jahrhunderts (Göttingen, 1969); Angelika Ebrecht, Regina Nörtemann, and Herta Schwartz, eds., *Brieftheorie des 18. Jahrhundert: Texte, Kommentare, Essays* (Stuttgart, 1990). On gender and letter writing, see Reinhard M. G. Nickisch, "Die Frau als Briefschreiberin im Zeitalter der Aufklärung," *Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung* 3 (1976): 29–65; Anita Runge and Lieselotte Steinhauer, eds., *Die Frau im Dialog: Studien zu Theorie und Geschichte des Briefs* (Stuttgart, 1991); Marianne Schuler, "Aus den Tagen Briefe: Meta Klopstok," in *Frauen in der Ständegesellschaft: Leben und Arbeiten in der Stadt vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit,* ed. Barbara Vogel and Ulrike Weckel (Hamburg, 1991), 265–84.

17. Friedrich Schleiermacher to Henriette von Willich, 14 December 1808, in *Schleiermachers Briefwechsel mit seiner Braut,* ed. Heinrich Meisner (Gotha, 1919), 251.

18. Karl Phillip Moritz, *Anleitung zum Briefschreiben* (1783), VIII, cited in Nickisch, *Stilprinzipien,* 196.

19. Cited in Schuler, "Aus den Tagen Briefe," 271.

20. Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, "Briefe, nebst einer Praktischen Abhandlung von dem guten Geschmacke in Briefen, Vorrede und Abhandlung" (1751), in *Brieftheorie,* ed. Ebrecht, Nörtemann, and Schwartz, 58.

21. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 12 December 1810, Nachlaß Roth, no. 37, EKN.

22. Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 23 November 1810, Nachlaß Roth, no. 51, EKN.

23. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 3 July 1813, Nachlaß Roth, no. 38, EKN.

24. In this respect, sister and brother Cornelia and Wolfgang Goethe formed a similar pair. As he wrote on 6 December 1765, "Write your letters upon a divided sheet and I shall respond and comment beside it. . . . Note this: write as simply as you would speak and then you will write a fine letter" (cited in Ulrike Prokop, *Die Illusion vom großen Paar: Weibliche Lebensentwürfe im deutschen Bildungsbürgertum, 1750–1850* [Frankfurt, 1991]: 2:110). A little later, he wrote, "I am enchanted by your letter. . . . I behold a mature mind. Your simple perception, your uncommon sincerity, your naïveté; these conquer your brother's intellect, worldly knowledge, and criticism" (11 May 1776, cited in Prokop, *Die Illusion,* 121).

25. Henriette von Willich to Friedrich Schleiermacher, 17 November 1808, in *Schleiermachers Briefwechsel,* ed. Meisner, 210.

26. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 24 July 1816, Nachlaß Roth, no. 41, EKN.

27. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 13 November 1810, Nachlaß Roth, no. 51, EKN.

28. Cf. Karin Sträther, *Frauenbriefe als Medium bürgerlicher Öffentlichkeit: Eine Untersuchung anhand von Quellen aus dem Hamburger Raum in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1991), 17–30.

29. Richter, *Der Brief,* 14, observes that during this period, "one's reputation with 'society,' one's recognition by the cultured classes, one's external happiness and inner peace directly depended on the capacity to provoke admiration through the style of one's correspondence." On the postulate of the naturalness of letters, see also Sträther, *Frauenbriefe,* 17–30.

30. In this connection we may draw attention to the letter's impact on the female culture, the spatial scope of which was much more constricted than that of the male. First, correspondence enabled women to initiate social contacts that immobile women would otherwise have been unable to create. Second, letters offered an opportunity for intellectual discourse. Thus, Henriette Feuerbach wrote to her brother, Christian Heydenreich, "So, dear Christian, your letters are my sole intellectual nourishment" (26 May 1841, in *Henriette Feuerbach: Ihr Leben in ihren Briefen,* ed. Herman Uhde-Bernays [Berlin, 1912], 53–54). She also wrote, "Now I wish to write to you because I feel so completely alone and abandoned and have nothing but the longing for a lively intellectual life . . . so I cling to your genius" (38). Third, letters provided a means of engaging in private intercourse with friends, which was particularly important where the oppressive constrictions of the woman's situation were felt most grievously—for example, for Fanny Lewald during the transition between childhood and adulthood: "This correspondence was my real life at that time" (Lewald, *Freiheit des Herzens: Lebensgeschichte, Briefe, Erinnerungen,* ed. Günter de Bruyn and Gerhard Wolf [Berlin, 1992], 133). Fourth, women's correspondence entailed the special function of managing the "extension and upkeep of the network of social contacts" (Sträther, *Frauenbriefe,* 123).

31. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 9 July 1813, Nachlaß Roth, no. 38, EKN.

32. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 11 July 1813, Nachlaß Roth, no. 38, EKN.

33. Johanna Schopenhauer to Arthur Schopenhauer, 28 November 1806, in *Die Schopenhauers: Der Familien-Briefwechsel von Adele, Arthur, Heinrich Floris, und Johanna Schopenhauer,* ed. Ludger Lütkehaus (Zurich, 1991), 122.

34. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 17 December 1817, Nachlaß Roth, no. 42, EKN.

35. Lewald's literary career began when her uncle published one of her private letters to him in the magazine he edited, *Europa,* without informing her. See Lewald, *Freiheit,* 155–60.

36. See esp. Silvia Bovenschen, *Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit: Exemplarische Untersuchungen zu kulturgeschichtlichen und literarischen Präsentationsformen des Weiblichen* (Frankfurt, 1979).

37. Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 12 July 1815, Nachlaß Roth, no. 54, EKN; Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 7 December 1817, Nachlaß Roth, no. 56, EKN; Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 15 December 1817, Nachlaß Roth, no. 56, EKN; Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 17 December 1817, Nachlaß Roth,

no. 56, EKN; Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 5 August 1816, Nachlaß Roth, no. 55, EKN; Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 6 December 1810, Nachlaß Roth, no. 37, EKN; Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 5 August 1816, Nachlaß Roth, no. 55, EKN.

38. Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 23 November 1810, Nachlaß Roth, no. 51, EKN; Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 1 December 1810, Nachlaß Roth, no. 37, EKN.

39. Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 30 May 1814, Nachlaß Roth, no. 53, EKN. Lily Parthey also describes this work being read: see Parthey, *Tagebücher aus der Berliner Biedermeierzeit,* ed. Bernhard Lepsius (Berlin, 1926), 80.

40. Erich Schön, *Der Verlust der Sinnlichkeit oder Die Verwandlung des Lesers: Mentalitätswandel um 1800,* 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1993), 182, speaks of a regular division of labor between the sexes.

41. Käthe Roth to Margarete Merkel, 14 April 1824, Familienarchiv Merkel im Stadtarchiv Nuremberg 1380; Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 27 May 1814, Nachlaß Roth, no. 53, EKN; Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 4 April 1828, Nachlaß Roth, no. 45, EKN.

42. Käthe Roth to Friedrich Roth, 5 August 1816, Nachlaß Roth, no. 55, EKN. Roth admired Luther very much and published a selection of Luther's texts.

43. On Thiersch's reading plan, see Elma Schwinger, *Literarische Erziehung und Gymnasium: Zur Entwicklung des bayerischen Gymnasiums in der Ära Niethammer und Thiersch* (Bad Heilbronn, 1988), 241–50; on Niethammer's canon, see 105–6.

44. On the husband as reading tutor, see Erich Schön, "Weibliches Lesen: Romanleserinnen im späten 18. Jahrhundert," in *Untersuchungen zum Roman von Frauen um 1800,* ed. Helga Gallas and Magdalena Heuser (Tübingen, 1990), 20–40.

45. Schön, *Der Verlust,* 208.

46. Cited in ibid., 209.

47. Friedrich Roth to Käthe Roth, 28 May 1814, Nachlaß Roth, no. 39, EKN.

48. Pierre Daniel Huet, "Von der ächten Beschaffenheit, Bestimmung, und Werth der Romane und das Vergnügen, welches aus Lesung derselben Entspringt," in *Vermischte Beyträge: Zur Philosophie und der schönen Wissenschaften* (Breslau, 1762), vol. 1, pt. 2, 222–42, 323, cited in Schön, *Der Verlust,* 37.

49. Johann Georg Heinzmann, *Über die Pest der deutschen Literatur: Appell an meine Nation* (1795), 450–51, cited in Alberto Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek: Geschichte einer literarischen Institution (1756–1914)* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 15.

50. Aloys Bauer, ed., *Die Jungfrau im häuslichen und öffentlichen Leben* (Stuttgart, 1830), 193.

51. J. H. Campe, *Von den Erfordernissen einer guten Erziehung von Seiten der Eltern vor und nach der Geburt des Kindes* (Hamburg, 1785), 176, cited in Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek,* 17. On Campe's cautions against the reading craze, see also Dagmar Grenz, "Von der Nützlichkeit und der Schädlichkeit des Lesens: Lektüreempfehlungen in der Mädchenliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Schiefertafel* 4 (1981): 75–92.

52. That seems to have been the case with Amalie Sieveking, who contends that one should not read too many novels because of their "emotional" effect, which is accompanied, "almost always, by embarrassment, anxiety, oppression." See Emma Poel, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben von Amalie Sieveking in deren Auftrag von einer Freundin derselben verfaßt, mit einem Vorwort von Dr. Wichern* (Hamburg, 1860), 102.

53. The degree to which the pathways between reality and reading have been subject to radical displacement since the eighteenth century has been demonstrated, using the example of the fictive and the real Lotte from Goethe's Werther, by Eckhardt Meyer-Krentler, "Die Leiden der jungen Wertherin: Weibliche Sozialisation durch Literatur im späten 18. Jahrhundert," in *Zwischen Aufklärung und Restauration: Sozialer Wandel in der deutschen Literatur (1700–1848),* ed. Wolfgang Frühwalt and Alberto Martino (Tübingen, 1989), 225–40. In similar vein, Lewald, *Freiheit,* 144, recounts reading the writings of Rahel Varnhagen: "The bequeathed letters of this woman were a revelation and a salvation for me. Rahel Levin . . . had endured everything that can crush humans the most, and thanks to the power residing within her, survived triumphantly." Similar thoughts were expressed by Henriette Feuerbach in a letter to her brother, Christian Heydenreich, on 28 December 1841: "Now I must tell you something in confidence," she wrote. Although embarrassed by the perception that "in Rahel . . . this leads to the ruination of her femininity," Feuerbach admitted that "in my manner of thinking I feel kinship with Rahel" (*Henriette Feuerbach,* ed. Uhde-Bernays, 71).

54. Pia Schmid, *Zeit des Lesens—Zeit des Fühlens: Anfänge des deutschen Bildungsbürgertums* (Berlin, 1985), 110.

55. Gerhard Sauder, "Gefahren empfindsamer Vollkommenheit für Leserinnen und die Furcht vor Romanen einer Damenbibliothek," in *Colloquium der Arbeitsstelle Achtzehntes Jahrhundert, Gesamthochschule Wuppertal, Leser, und Leserinnen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1977), 82–89.

56. Caroline Rudolphi, *Schriftlicher Nachlaß* (Heidelberg, 1835), 15.

57. See Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick, 1994).

58. Heide Wunder, *"Er ist die Sonn, sie ist der Mond": Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 1992).

59. Hilde Herlemann, *Die Frau als Erzieherin in der Sicht des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1934).

60. Wunder, *"Er ist die Sonn, sie ist der Mond."*

61. See Juliane Jacobi, "Zwischen Erwerbsfleiß und Bildungsreligion—Mädchenbildung in Deutschland," in *Geschichte der Frauen,* ed. Michelle Perrot and Georges Duby (Frankfurt, 1994), 4:267–81. On Planck, see Adolf Palm, "Mathilde Planck: Wegbereiterin der Frauen- und Friedensbewegung aus Baden-Württemberg," in *Lebensbilder aus Baden-Württemberg,* ed. Gerhard Tadden and Joachim Fischer (Stuttgart, 1994), 18:418–46.

The Representation of Women in Religious Art and Imagery

Discontinuities in "Female Virtues"

Stefanie Schäfer-Bossert

In the process of conducting research for a cultural-historical museum exhibit, "Spirituality and Piety of Protestant Women in Württemberg,"[1] I discovered a tradition of powerful, symbolic images of women, designed as models of strength and virtue, that was prevalent in Protestant traditions until the eighteenth century. This evidence challenges reconsideration of a widely held conviction that female figures appeared in Christian art and imagery only in pre-Reformation times or in Catholic settings. Even more important for the purpose of this study is the fact that by the eighteenth century, strong female images began to disappear. By the mid–nineteenth century, women either had become either invisible or, where their images still existed within the church, were diminutive, domestic, or angel-like. Why did the strong and established cultural and religious tradition of female strength and virtue disappear?[2] Neither the scholarship of theology nor that of church history offers an explanation; however, gender studies and the recent scholarship on the Enlightenment provide insights into this unexplored subject. Historians have established that a rational, scientific discourse transformed the accepted understanding of human society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including the normative ideals of femininity and masculinity.[3] Theological discourse also formed a part of this cultural shift of the *Sattelzeit.* The changes in the representation of the feminine in religious art, then, must constitute a part of the overarching discontinuity in society and culture of this era, a profound shift in gender values.

This chapter is based on a case study of Protestant religious artifacts

from Württemberg and consists largely of an analysis of allegorical representations of the female body and of female figures in the religious realm. After having depicted the prevalent, affirmative use of the female body in the religious art of the early modern era, I shall describe two developments that helped account for the dramatic change. The first was an iconoclastic early-nineteenth-century campaign to "cleanse" the church that resulted in the intentional removal and destruction of female images. The second was the drive of church leaders of this period to influence the depiction of the female figures in domestic settings so that they would conform to the mores of the day.

As the term is used in this chapter, an allegory is a symbolic representation of an abstract concept.[4] Scholars in gender studies have sometimes asserted that historical allegory is not representative of life and is therefore not to be used as a concrete source for understanding human experience. Sigrid Weigel, for example, concludes, "The allegorical picture is devoid of feeling and life, for it does not refer to a concrete woman."[5] Writing about the classical art of the late eighteenth century, Gisela Kraut argues that one must take seriously the two completely different representational modes of males and females. One depicts the male in the historical present and legitimizes him through his profession and his social prestige; the other makes women appear ahistorical by means of mythological metaphor.[6] These scholars have searched, without great success, for social historical evidence in literal images of the pictures. In contrast, this chapter focuses on "mythological metaphor" and seeks to interpret constructions of sex and gender found in symbolic church discourse.[7] The connections among historical allegory, concrete images of women, and human experience should not be underestimated.

Before analyzing the allegorical figures, for the sake of context, we will examine some images from illustrated Bibles, especially the emblematic Bibles that were very popular beginning in the mid–seventeenth century and generally contained two illustrations for each biblical theme. Following a Reformation-initiated tradition of emphasizing the literal message of the biblical text, illustrators placed at the top of a page a concrete historical scene depicting a biblical event. The lower half of the page contained symbolic and allegorical representations, often depicted in baroque splendor. Although few women appeared in the "historical" pictures, the elaborate illustrations lower on the page were rich with female figures.

The literal scenes reflected a cultural blindness toward the real

women of the Bible and obscured the variety of female life roles portrayed there.[8] Conversely—and scholars have largely overlooked this fact—in the symbolic pictures, the female embodies spirituality and is used to both describe and prescribe the divine and the holy. This strongly contradicts the cultural assumption that women are fundamentally unable to embody the divine. Scholars of theological gender studies, however, reject the "unholy alliance" between maleness and divinity and assert "that the invisibility of woman in the divine symbolism conforms to and thus normalizes her social marginalization, her dependent, second-place status."[9] Female symbols of the divine are largely absent from modern Protestantism and are sometimes considered to violate Christian traditions; until the eighteenth century, however, female figures of the divine were common. This chapter will offer some explanations for their disappearance.

What did not disappear were female images represented in biblical figures and depicting two opposite types. First was Eve, signifying the essence of woman as inferior to man because of her seductiveness and her susceptibility to temptation. Second was Mary—in reality three Marys, the mother of Christ, Mary Magdalene, and Mary of Bethany. They appeared as icons of humility, the opposites of Eve, often kneeling before the Lord or standing under "their cross." Thus, the illustrated Bibles and artistic depictions of biblical figures in churches[10] clearly differentiated between good and bad in femininity. The negative images contained women who appeared upright, prideful, and powerful. Good women appeared kneeling, bowing, gracefully bending their bodies, and caring for children. In the pictures they appeared physically lower than men. Thus, biblical illustrations, both on paper and in murals, mainly depicted stereotypes of women's roles and behaviors, the Eve type with a demonized body and the Mary type as an asexual being.[11] Thus, the biblical figures were not empowering to women viewers,[12] and the most marginalizing aspect of these media is the vastly disproportionate number of male images.[13]

Female Figures as Representations of Spiritual Power

In spite of the relative scarcity of female biblical images, historical women had the opportunity to see depictions of their sex in religious art both in churches and in illustrated Bibles. Strong traditions had existed since antiquity of allegorical images and depictions of the virtues as females. Such images appeared in metaphorical texts and

allegorical imagery, often associated with mystical movements, as spiritual expressions of connectedness with God or at least with prosperity. In these traditions, all society's welfare depended on observance of the cardinal virtues (Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice) and the theological virtues (Hope, Faith, and Charity), which stood above all others in Christian tradition.[14] All of these virtues were depicted in human form. Prudence was connected with Sophia, the wisdom of God, and so was related to the divine trinity.

Prior to the eighteenth century at the latest, the Holy Spirit appeared as the mother of the virtues, the daughters whom she bore and in whom she was present. The terms *Charity, Holy Spirit,* and *Mother* were often used interchangeably.[15] Christianity's three cardinal virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, were frequently depicted as the three figures of the trinity in an interchangeable hierarchy of order. In Protestantism as well as in Catholicism, they could appear as an effect, an attribute, or a personification of God. In figure 1, taken from the illustrated Bible *Heilige Augen- und Gemüthslust* (Augsburg, 1706), Charity appears in the midst of eight named Virtues. As she is not subsumed into the constellation of the eight but rather is placed as the ninth figure, she personifies the Holy Spirit, who also appears as a dove.

The virtues were also used to illustrate the Lord's Prayer, with a female figure representing each sentence.[16] Allegories were fundamental in the work of Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), a well-known Württemberg theologian whose ideas later helped inspire the development of Pietism. In 1617 he had eighteen allegories painted on the walls of a church in Vaihingen at Enz. The virtues also appeared in his written works, with both the ethical and mystical aspects emphasized.[17]

The appearance of these spiritual figures, however, contrasts strongly with the depiction of biblical women. Allegoric women were usually portrayed upright, with self-confidence, and sometimes fully or partially unclothed but without shame or embarrassment and without being demonized like the Eve type (figure 2). Fortitude could carry heavy temple columns on her shoulders as casually as the mythical biblical hero Samson could.[18]

Faith, the most commonly portrayed allegorical virtue, appeared in every imaginable situation. She was often painted on church walls, and she appeared in epitaphs (figure 2). She was represented pictorially as a statue and in print media in both theological and nontheological texts. She could be seen giving advice to politicians. On a copper plate cre-

Fig. 1. Charity as Holy Spirit, surrounded by eight virtues as her daughters. Heilige Augen- und Gemüthslust, Augsburg, 1706. © Landeskirchliches Museum—Museum der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg

ated for the dedication of the City Church of Ludwigsburg in 1726, she and an androgynous angel instruct Duke Eberhard Ludwig to build the church (figure 3).

Faith adorned Christian households as well—for example, in the form of bas-relief metal plaques used as wall hangings (figure 4) or as decorations on stoves. She appeared in a variety of poses and with various symbolic attributes. In these pictorial traditions, characteristic symbols or attributes were used to identify the depicted persons, and the symbols indicated abstract meanings. But the abstractions often related to more than one allegory, making clear distinctions between the virtues difficult. Many different ones could accompany Faith: the cross, the lamb, the cup and host, a palm branch (the tree of life), a veil, a book (also signifying Wisdom/Prudence), and the tables of law (figure 2).[19] All of these symbolic attributes could also be associated

Fig. 2. Two images of Faith. Originally the frame of an epitaph (lost). Stiftskirche Herrenberg, seventeenth century. © Landeskirchliches Museum—Museum der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg

with the allegory Ecclesia. She represented the church, mainly in Catholic settings, and was often connected with iconographies of the Mother Mary.[20] Thus, Protestantism perpetuated many symbolic traditions, especially those of Mary/Ecclesia,[21] at times as scriptural representations when biblical women, primarily Mary and Mary Magdalene, came to be identical with the allegory Faith as a representation of a believing soul. The humility associated with female biblical figures was thereby infused into the proud figures of the allegories. The prevailing female gender role influenced the strong female image, although Faith was supposed to be a model for men as well.

An extraordinary altar is hidden in a little church in the Black Forest village, Bad Teinach. The altar stems from a conceptualization of Princess Antonia of Württemberg und Teck (1613–79), the well-educated sister of Duke Eberhard III. She worked with four important theologians, including Johann Valentin Andreae, to develop the plans

Fig. 3. Faith instructs Duke Eberhard Ludwig to build a church. Copper plate, 1726. © Landeskirchliches Museum—Museum der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg

for the altar, which allows some insight into how allegorical expressions influenced women and into how women influenced art. The outer altarpiece shows ninety-four allegorical and biblical women climbing a hill toward Christ.[22] The first four women are allegories. Shulamite as the beloved or the bride,[23] crowned by Christ, comes first, and Faith, Hope, and Charity follow her. All are actually portraits of historical women. Antonia is Shulamite, and Hope and Faith are her two sisters, Anna Johanna and Sibylla,[24] thus presenting evidence of women's identification with the allegorical figures.

The inner altarpiece shows a large tower in a garden as a vision of wholeness and salvation. The garden, the tower, and even the heavens are adorned with countless symbolic figures, including persons, animals, and plants. It is a Christian adaptation of the Jewish mystical tradition of kabbalah. Kabbalism is a universal and holistic view of the world inspired by God's blessing and power of creation, extending to

Fig. 4. Winged Faith as an iron bas-relief plaque for the Christian home. Ca. 1860. © Landeskirchliches Museum—Museum der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg

all known arts, technologies, and sciences, all of which were considered to be pointing to God. The theological basis of this philosophical system is the ten *sephirot* (shinings), which inhabit every sphere of the world and constitute the manifestations and emanations of God.[25] In both Christian and Jewish kabbalism, the figures are male when depicted in human form. The exception in some cases was the tenth *sephira,* Shechina, God's presence on earth, who could be female. The first three *sephirot,* placed at the top of the system, sometimes are understood as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

However, Princess Antonia's altar completely changed the roles: The tenth *sephira* is portrayed as Christ, and all nine of the others are female, including the figures of the divine trinity. Charity, portrayed with a burning heart, occupies the role of Father. Faith, carrying the cup and host and embodying images associated with Mary, including her role as queen of heaven, represents the Son. In the Holy Spirit with

tongues of fire around her head, Hope can be recognized, with the anchor as her attribute. Prudence/Wisdom also appears, with her characteristic mirror and snake. In the altar scene, Antonia is walking into the garden as an exemplary believer, carrying symbols of Faith, Hope, and Charity: the cross, anchor, and heart.

Although scholars have analyzed in detail the meanings of this work, they have largely overlooked the female portrayal and imagery of the divine. Both female and male scholars have described the altar as a unique work conceptualized by an exceptional woman. Such interpretations marginalize it and diminish its place in scholarly discourse. My research into baroque traditions leads me to conclude that although this work of art is unusual, it is nevertheless firmly rooted in the allegorical tradition. The allegories not only were intended as models for women but also represented virtues whose ideals addressed both sexes. Men's as well as women's souls were considered to be female, and every human soul was preordained to be the bride of Christ. Death sometimes was represented as the female soul leaving a man's body. The religious arts and images of the early modern era embodied what could be termed spiritual gender crossing.

The Church of St. Barbara in Holzkirch contains a little eighteenth-century oil painting (figure 5) that depicts a vibrant, unclothed woman. The text admonishes, "Renew yourself, become Christ-like."[26] The mirror in her left hand is the well-known attribute of Wisdom, who has traditions reaching back to biblical times and has many connections and similarities to traditions relating to Christ. The female figure's reflection in this mirror is the head of Christ. The cross and cup in her right hand allude to Faith. A veil flows out of the cup, encircling her body and covering her hips. Between her bare breasts is a red heart on which "Jesus" is written. In the background a large serpent wearing a golden crown, again symbolizing Wisdom, crawls through two rocks. This female imagery was intended to portray the message, "Become Christ-like."[27]

In Matthäus Merian's popular illustrated Bibles, published in multiple editions in the seventeenth century, the angels in Jacob's vision of the ladder to heaven are unequivocally female. One caption reads, "He sees the angels ascending and descending. This spiritual symbol signifies the incarnation of Christ."[28] This illustrates that angels, the images of power emanating from God, were often depicted with sexual qualities,[29] although theoretically they fell outside the realm of sexuality or they were drawn androgynously. In Württemberg's Protestant

Fig. 5. "Renew yourself, become Christ-like." Church St. Barbara Holzkirch, eighteenth century. © Landeskirchliches Museum—Museum der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg

churches, baroque female angels appeared in important and powerful roles. For example, female figures support the pulpits in the churches of Altheim and Langenau. In a 1734 painting in the church of Hürben, the judges who decided between heaven and hell in the Last Judgment were women angels. Such figures were female in sex but not in gender. Spiritual power in the early modern era was less gendered than in the modern era. Even warrior angels were generally androgynous in appearance; seldom were they male.

Thus, female forms played an important role in the theological and spiritual art and imagery of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The female sex was not as a rule excluded from the divine sphere, which could also be depicted with the female body, including the unclothed body. The polarized "character of the sexes" that would develop by the *Sattelzeit* and be established in the nineteenth century thus did not constitute a part of this early modern culture. Although

the biblical images conveyed the notions of female meekness, self-sacrifice, and rejection of the body, the powerful representation of femininity in the allegorical figures counterbalanced this phenomenon.

The Enlightenment and Discontinuity: Images of Female Domesticity

It is well documented that ideals of the Enlightenment included the objective of rationalizing theology and religion. Many church leaders believed that Christianity could endure the scrutiny of rational questioning and advocated that Christians become more "enlightened." The effects of this development lasted long beyond the traditional periodization of the Enlightenment era but are firmly rooted in it. This transition in religious life may help answer the sociohistorical question raised but not answered by Karin Hausen: "How and with what success" did the bourgeoisie bring about a "popularization of this code of values?"[30] The artistic representation of human forms is a significant vehicle of discourse in which to identify changes in the "character of the sexes." Many examples of artistic representation demonstrate the realization of Enlightenment goals. Additional research is needed in this realm, but two major themes will be discussed here: the "cleansing" of the churches and the drive to change domestic life.

In 1837 Albert Knapp, a theologian influenced by Pietism, formulated and put into practice a principle for verbal representations in hymnals. Although he was referring to music and word, his rule exemplifies many authorities' position on all types of imagery: "A truly . . . tasteless picture is to be either deleted or replaced by a better one. . . . When it . . . deviates too greatly . . . from the biblical norm, [it] should be reduced to the simple biblical norm."[31] Theologians less oriented to Pietist tradition, such as Ignaz von Wesenberg, criticized religious art in the name of reason: "Religious imagery must not contain anything that offends the sense of shame, that drives away moral grace, that hurts decency, that is ridiculous, ignoble, low, or trivial."[32] Working with the assumption that art and religion were sisters, authorities waged a battle against "wrong" and "unworthy" religious representations and regarded these efforts as a battle for morality. Secular as well as religious authorities engaged in moral campaigns of this sort. The goal was to remove everything that was not rationally explainable, including all mystical, symbolic, and allegorical images. Authorities suspected these types of images of evoking dark emotions and foster-

ing superstition, thereby preventing logical understanding. They worried about the emotional images cultivating sensual passions instead of encouraging morality and decency. During the 1780s, authors visited various churches and then wrote numerous tracts on the improvement of religious art.[33]

In 1817 the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior issued a circular ordering "the improvement of churches in preparation for Reformation Day." "Because of the decisive influence of church exteriors on the propriety of church services," the authorities ordered "the removal of everything that offends the eye and the senses."[34] Church officials decreed[35] that improper art must be reported to the local authorities for confiscation.[36] These impulses were popular among the clergy, who understood pictures and sculptures as vehicles for either hindering or promoting true Christian belief. Authorities alleged that images that might have been "an annoyance to the educated" could arouse pure superstition among those with less schooling.[37] The bourgeois elite condemned any picture not conforming to their standard, including paintings by uneducated artists and those subject to symbolic interpretation. Paradoxically, one of the ideals was that artistic expression should be inspired by antiquity yet should not show nude bodies. The allegories of the virtues, which of course did not conform to the new values, came under attack.

New print technology played an important role as church and lay leaders intensified their campaigns to influence religious artistic expression. The technique of reproduction made low-priced oil prints and chromolithographs available to a wide public for the first time, and their popularity rose. The market for illustrated Bibles also grew substantially. By the middle of the nineteenth century, authorities began to take an interest in these works and to try to ensure that "good" art spread among the people. Beginning in 1847, the Protestant Society of Stuttgart launched a campaign to distribute—and sell for profit—its "devotional miniatures," which contained biblical scenes intended to replace "immoral" pictures. The Elbersfelder Church Congress of 1851 admonished Christians to display good art. In 1854, graphics, primarily etchings, were brought into circulation. In 1857, Carl Grüneisen, who for many years had favored replacing any art with a "perfection of scriptural research and a rational perspective," founded the Society for Christian Art in the Württemberg Protestant Church. (He later became a prelate.)[38] The charter of the new organization established one of its main objectives as the distribution of good Christian art in

schools and homes. The other was the "appropriate decoration of church spaces." The society grew steadily in influence, and by the end of the nineteenth century, nearly 60 percent of parishes and 65 percent of the clergy had become members.[39] The "ideal artistic taste" became a strong socializing norm.

The gender values associated with the movement to purify religious art are evident in the early editions of the publication *Christliches Kunstblatt für Kirche, Schule, und Haus* (Christian Art Journal for Church, School, and Home). One of its authors, Heinrich Merz, praised "the feminine" in art for its "tenderness, sincerity, mildness, and lyric." Female representation depicted "the most heartfelt devotion and adoration, the most humble joy in God; heavenly beauty contained in the bounds of earthly form to create an un-self-conscious noble sweetness, biblical simplicity bound with the self-limitation characteristic of the mastery of ancient classical art."[40] Coeditor Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, usually admired for upholding the new standards, came under criticism for a picture of Mary of Bethany anointing Jesus: "The maiden is depicted in disproportionally enlarged body size, standing before her seated Lord and bowing to him in an imposing stance, not like a humble female disciple [*Jüngerin*] but rather like an exalted priestess, as if she were the protagonist of the picture."[41]

The images were supposed to serve the desired morality, and so they depicted domestic gender roles that were proclaimed to be biblical and rational. Scholars who have examined this issue from perspectives other than gender studies have not explained why the female images changed so fundamentally—indeed, these scholars have not even noticed that female images previously had been used in the symbolic discourse describing God and the divine. However, the ideals of femininity that emerged from the *Sattelzeit* and became firmly established by the 1860s clearly served as criteria for the acceptable images of womanhood. Although many pictures displayed among the ordinary public would not have met critics' ideal standards, the female images now were based on nineteenth-century norms of femininity.

Pictures of the mid- and late nineteenth century also dealt frequently with virtues, but they no longer depicted the allegorical women. An 1860 lithograph, *Symbol of the Christian* (Sinnbild des Christen), printed in Stuttgart by Renz, became very popular. In it, Faith, Hope, and Charity appear only as written words in the trunk of the Tree of Virtues. Other words are literally printed in the crown of the tree. Two androgynous angels are watering the tree and driving away the devil. A

Fig. 6. "A Christian's Path and Goal." Lithograph by Damel, Stuttgart, ca. 1830. © Landeskirchliches Museum—Museum der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg.

Stuttgart lithograph by Damel from approximately 1830 shows "a Christian's Path and Goal" (figure 6). On this path, a female-like angel prevents the Christian man[42] from going to a seductive woman, represented by the Eve type. Another angel, less female in appearance, offers the communion cup beneath a crucifix. The caption to the picture makes it clear that the message addresses only males as Christians, and they must choose between Eve and the angel. Although the female sex is not directly addressed, Eve and the angel represent their gender. Thus, in these nineteenth-century images, females could not be human

Fig. 7. "Domestic Virtues." Chromolithograph for the Christian home, about 1880. © Landeskirchliches Museum—Museum der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg.

in the same way that males could: Eve's sinful nature was lower than human, and the angel belonged to the higher spheres.

In the course of the nineteenth century, angels became more and more a part of private religious art. Like Faith in early modern times, the angels signify a Christian household and home; some of them appear like housewives with wings. A color lithograph dating from approximately 1880 (figure 7) names the "domestic virtues":

The home's beauty is cleanliness,
The home's honor [is] hospitality,
The home's blessing [is] piety,
The home's fortune [is] contentedness.[43]

Images of this sort became very numerous in the second half of the century and decorated many media—for example, porcelain dishes. Combined with the important word *Haus* (home, in its nineteenth-century usage, also meaning household) and often with a female angel, these icons depict women's Christian labors. In place of the earlier female figures of Christian virtues that represented norms for the whole community—male and female—the new spiritual images of women represented a specific, ideological gender role. The moralizing ideals of bourgeois domesticity had supplanted female spiritual images, especially those of the virtues.[44] These messages venerated the angel-like mother, wife, and housewife. The virtues of Wisdom, Fortitude, Justice, and Temperance had disappeared from the discourse describing and prescribing femininity.[45]

Conclusion

The disappearance of divine female images is rooted in the *Sattelzeit.* Spiritual gender crossing vanished during this period. The early-nineteenth-century movements to extirpate images that did not directly conform to prescribed social reality eliminated the power of transcendence from female images. They could not compete with the normative limitations of changing gender ideals. Instead, they served as religious authentication and glorification of the "character of the sexes."

The anthropomorphic virtues disappeared during the era when bourgeois economic ideals were replacing older notions of sustenance and common good[46] that were represented by Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence/Wisdom, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice. In the early nineteenth century, collective civic identities in German-speaking territories were changing. For example, Hamburg's "traditional republican concept of the public good"[47] could be identified with those virtues that adorned the sepulchres of many rulers. Both the virtues and their representation in the allegorical female figures were eliminated. The female body had come to be associated with weakness; it had become taboo to associate it with strength or other "male" attributes.[48] Even the angels of the nineteenth century were not allowed to appear androgynous. The normative alliance of maleness and divinity was enforced.

Notes

1. The exhibit was shown at the Landeskirchliches Museum Ludwigsburg in Württemberg, 16 May–8 November 1998. This was the second part of a two-

year project, with the first part a sociohistorical exhibition that opened in May 1997. The exhibit is depicted in two catalogs: *Herd und Himmel: Frauen im evangelischen Württemberg* (Ludwigsburg, 1997); *Weib und Seele: Frömmigkeit und Spiritualität evangelischer Frauen in Württemberg* (Ludwigsburg, 1998).

2. Visitors and journalists at the exhibit called every female figure an angel, regardless of whether it had wings, illustrating the modern popular association between angels and femininity, which contrasts with early modern practices.

3. In the scholarship of theology and church history, the era 1750–1830 is not well researched, although abundant primary sources exist. See Karin Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere'—Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas: Neue Forschungen.* ed. Werner Conze, (Stuttgart, 1976), 363–93.

4. For a common definition, see Lore Kaute, "Allegorie," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Freiburg i.Br., 1974), 1:97: "Darstellungen, die einen komplexen gedanklichen Vorstellungsgehalt in bildlicher Umschreibung durch sogenannte allegorische und symbolische Figuren zur Anschauung bringen."

5. Sigrid Weigel, *Topographien der Geschlechter: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zur Literatur* (Reinbek, 1990), 170.

6. Gisela Kraut, "Weibliche Masken: Zum allegorischen Frauenbild des späten 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Sklavin oder Bürgerin? Französische Revolution und neue Weiblichkeit, 1760–1830,* ed. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff (Frankfurt, 1989), 348.

7. I mean this in a double sense, both architecturally within the church and within the realm of the church's influence on daily life. The theological aspect rarely is considered, not even in Marina Warner's opulent *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London, 1985).

8. These books, with their emphasis on Old Testament themes, depict an even greater variety of women and female roles than the paintings in the churches, which illustrate primarily New Testament themes.

9. Silvia Strahm Bernet and Doris Strahm, "Gott/Göttin: Systematische Theologie," in *Wörterbuch der Feministischen Theologie,* ed. Elisabeth Gössmann, Helga Kuhlmann, Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel, Ina Praetorius, Luise Schottroff, Helen Schüngel-Straumann, Doris Strahm, and Agnes Wuckelt (Gütersloh, 2002), 244–47.

10. The fundamental literature for pictures and other artistic media in the churches of Württemberg (although these works fail to address gender issues) includes Martin Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder: Studien zu Intention und Funktion des Bildes in der Frömmigkeitsgeschichte vornehmlich des schwäbischen Raumes* (Stuttgart, 1968); Reinhard Lieske, *Protestantische Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der kirchlichen Kunst des Herzogtums Württemberg* (Munich, 1973).

11. Exceptional women—for example, militant viragos such as Judith,

Yael, or Deborah—could be seen up to the seventeenth century. They subsequently either were interpreted as *männermordend* (murderers of men, "man eaters") in an erotic sense or had disappeared.

12. Other than a spiritual empowerment that hardly can be proved.

13. Church illustrations more often portrayed scenes of Jesus' life, usually dealing with men and the Marys, sometimes fitting other women into the Eve type. They also continued the apostle series and prophet series. I found only one female collection of prophets in the little village of Pappelau. It has not yet been precisely dated and may stem from the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

14. The imagery is not limited strictly to the seven virtues; others could be added in pictures as well as in spoken or written discourse.

15. See Verena Wodke-Werner, "Heiliger Geist oder Heilige Geistin im Trinitätsfresko von Urschalling?" in *Die Weiblichkeit des Heiligen Geistes: Studien zur feministischen Theologie,* ed. Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel (Gütersloh, 1995), 77–114.

16. See, for example, the drawings on the wall in the church of Untertürkheim dating from 1656.

17. See, for example, his utopian ideal of a Christian society with Christ as a center, "because he is the most perfect exemplification of the sum of all virtues" that should be imitated. As I discuss later in this chapter, in Andreae's era, it was not regarded as inconsistent to combine female figures with Christ; see Johann Valentin Andreae, *Reipublicae christianopolitae descriptio* (Straßburg, 1619), 158; translated from *Christianapolis,* ed. Richard van Dülmen (Stuttgart 1972), 170.

18. See Judges 16:29.

19. In later times, she occasionally also appeared with wings, possibly portending the transition to angels.

20. These are attributes of Mary as well as Religio. The palm branch was a common allegorical symbol. It is also often seen with angels.

21. I believe that the commonly held thesis that Protestantism had eliminated all holy and saintly female images should be reexamined. The saints were supposed to have been deleted from Protestant churches but often were not. Many functions and elements that formerly had belonged to the saints became associated with the allegories. Thus, for example, Protestant *Heiligenpfleger* (administrators) at Holzkirch ordered a new picture of their old patron, St. Barbara, in 1764: With her attributes, the cup and the host, there is no visible difference between her and a representation of Faith.

22. See the depiction of the altar in Otto Betz's richly illustrated *Licht vom unerschaffnen Lichte: Die kabbalistische Lehrtafel der Prinzessin Antonia in Teinach* (Metzingen, 1996). Further literature can be found there, but Betz does not discuss the allegories. The altar was discussed in Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel, "Ein Altar weiblicher Heilsschau," in *Wenn Gott und Körper sich begegnen* (Gütersloh, 1989), 88–107.

23. See the biblical Song of Solomon, which was interpreted in an allegorical sense.

24. Scholars have not yet identified Charity.

25. See Gershom Sholem, *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik,* 3rd ed. (Frankfurt, 1981); Gershom Sholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit: Studien zu Grundbegriffen der Kabbala* (Frankfurt, 1973). For the adaptation in the Teinach altar, see Betz, *Licht.*

26. "Erneüret Eüch Werd Christo gleich." This picture is one of a pair. The other portrays Eve, Adam, the tree, and the apple and is captioned, "The bite from the apple is the cause of all of this [Der Apfel Biß Bracht alles diß]."

27. Longing for a utopian androgyny may have been one of the reasons for such concrete drawings of gender crossing. Groups such as the Sozietät der Mutter Eva indeed practiced a very liberal sexuality about the time this picture was crafted. See, for example, Willi Temme, *Krise der Leiblichkeit: Die Sozietät der Mutter Eva (Buttlar'sche Rotte) und der radikale Pietismus um 1700* (Göttingen, 1998).

28. See Genesis 28. The caption in Merian's Bible reads, "Die Engel er darauff uff und ab steigen sicht / Christi Zukunft in Fleisch bedeuted diß geistlich Zeichen."

29. This may stem from Renaissance traditions; however, the tradition of the allegories undeniably constitutes an influence.

30. Hausen, "Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere,'" 381. The quotation is taken from the English version: Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century—An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life," in *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany,* ed. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (London, 1981), 72.

31. M. Albert Knapp, *Evangelischer Liederschatz für Kirche und Haus: Eine Sammlung geistlicher Lieder aus allen christlichen Jahrhunderten, gesammelt und nach den Bedürfnissen unserer Zeit bearbeitet* (Stuttgart, 1837), 1:xx.

32. Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg, *Die christlichen Bilder: Ein Beförderungsmittel des christlichen Sinnes* (Constanz, 1827), 2:47. See also Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder,* 49.

33. See, for example, [Carl Ludwig Junker], *Meine Reise nach Carlsruhe und Stuttgardt* (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1786); [Michael Dietrich], "Ulmer Albwanderungen im 18. Jahrhundert: Auszüge aus alten Briefen," *Blätter des Schwäbischen Albvereins* 25 (1913): 11–18, 39–44, 69–72, 121–26.

34. Theodor Eisenlohr, ed., *Sammlung der Württembergischen Kirchengesetze,* pt. 2, Vollständige, historisch und kritisch Bearbeitete Sammlung der Württembergischen Gesetze, ed. A. L. Reyscher (Tübingen, 1835), 9:383–84.

35. See "Entleerung von edlem altem Schmuck," in *Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1893), 604. It would be profitable to study original documents—for example, the protocols of church visitations. In research for the museum exhibit, we found many of the removed paintings in attics or learned that they had only recently been rehung in the church.

36. Ludwig Anton Haßler, "Ueber den Einfluß religiöser Gemählde auf die Sittlichkeit: Wohlgemeinte Winke für den Seelsorger," *Archiv für die Pas-*

toralkonferenzen in den Landkapiteln des Bisthums Konstanz, 1806, 358, cited in Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder,* 45.

37. Wessenberg, *Die christlichen Bilder,* 41, cited in Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder,* 44.

38. Carl Grüneisen, *Ueber bildliche Darstellung der Gottheit: Ein Versuch* (Stuttgart, 1828); Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder,* 45.

39. Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder,* 70.

40. Heinrich Merz, "Die neueren Bilderbibeln und Bibelbilder: Eine Ueberschau," in *Christliches Kunstblatt für Kirche, Schule, und Haus,* ed. C. Grüneisen, K. Schnaase, and J. Schnorr von Carolsfeld (Stuttgart, 1860), 2:121, 138.

41. Ibid., 106.

42. Such pictures often came in pairs, each addressing one sex. Here, however, I have no knowledge of a counterpart addressing women, and I cannot imagine that one exists.

43. "Des Hauses Zier ist Reinlichkeit / des Hauses Ehr [ist] Gastfreundlichkeit / des Hauses Segen [ist] Frömmigkeit / des Hauses Glück [ist] Zufriedenheit."

44. See Paul Münch, *Ordnung, Fleiß, und Sparsamkeit: Texte und Dokumente zur Entstehung der "bürgerlichen Tugenden"* (Munich, 1984).

45. The angels are a culminating point in the discourse. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, female angels became prevalent. They were displayed not in churches but rather in print. Their role was almost exclusively caring for children, and they did not display any other divine qualities. Most instructive is a fact that can be deduced from drawings or photographs that commemorated the confirmation day. The same girl occurs twice: first as a pious believer, second as a lovely angel. On the photographs, since 1890 widespread throughout Germany and often originating from Berlin, a single model portrayed both roles, which were combined by a montage effect. Boys rarely were represented in the angel pictures. One exception, however, is a painted postcard from 1905 that shows a boy's angel wearing a long robe but with the same adolescent facial hair as the boy. The spiritual gender crossing was no longer extant. The image of the female angel has changed from an external transcendental power to an alter ego, an idol of woman's gender role. Mighty and powerful angels in the nineteenth and even twentieth century had become gendered males.

46. Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment* (New York, 2000).

47. See Aaslestad, this volume.

48. See Sanislo, this volume.

Spiritual Empowerment and the Demand of Marital Obedience

A Millenarian Woman and Her Journal

Ulrike Gleixner

The significance of religion in women's lives in the early modern period is uncontested. Confessional and religious institutions reached far into women's experiences—not always to the advantage of the women. Rather than emphasizing the negative factors of these relations, as many scholars have done, I will use a case study to show how in the beginning of the nineteenth century a woman could use her pietistic spirituality as a means of self-empowerment and thus circumvent temporal laws of subordination. The journal of Beate Hahn Paulus (1782–1842) shows how this Pietist, a minister's wife, used her religion not only to resist her husband's designs for their life and family but also to carry out her plans for the family. Her spiritual journal, in which she depicted her husband as unjust and impious and herself as a fighting Pietist and a mother willing to make sacrifices, was necessary for this endeavor. With regard to the three authorities on which her belief was focused (God, her descendants, and her self-interpretation), this textual subject position as a devoted Pietist allowed Hahn to legitimize her marital disobedience, which she regarded as necessary to continue the Pietist heritage in her family.

Hahn's religious experience and empowerment refers to the early modern era, in which women in religious groups characterized by practice rather than dogma could employ their spirituality to transgress certain gender boundaries. Pietistic beliefs and practices enabled Hahn to expand the familial realm into a religious realm encompassing public and social spheres. While the Christian notion of spiritual equality of the sexes before God had no implications for the worldly social

order, in the pious movements—which included groups outside of state-supervised religious institutions such as Pietists, Quakers, and other Protestant and Catholic dissenters—women could, under certain conditions, transgress valid limitations within the familial, economic, and political realms.[1] But the concept of spiritual equality never in principle changed society's gender order. Spiritual equality never lead to the Pietistic demand for civil equality. Nevertheless, women could justify attempts to transcend certain gender boundaries and gain access to new spheres of activity with the religious explanation that God had called on all people to follow him. Women often used the writing of religious journals to initiate God into their problems and to justify their positions.[2]

In a parallel development, beginning in the mid–eighteenth century, Enlightenment societies comprised exclusively of male members as well as informal social circles that included women took to discussing rational theology and piousness. Their discussions criticized on the one hand belief in miracles and ecstatic forms of religion and on the other hand confessional dogmatism and fundamentalist world explanations, which were ascribed to an irrational, unenlightened past.[3] By the end of the Enlightenment period, this striving toward emancipation from the structures of inherited religious traditions had eroded early modern female spirituality but had not created a new space of spiritual agency within the family for women. New possibilities for education arose outside of the household, and, in the course of professionalization, new work possibilities arose outside of the family. In Protestantism, for example, women's religious clubs and the institutionalization of deacons provided new opportunities.[4] Nonetheless, with regard to the social sphere of the family, the female religiousness at the end of this period was implicated in the new system with its ideology of separate spheres and thus was diminished as a resource of empowerment of the subject position. In the formation of the middle class beginning in the last decades of the eighteenth century, the relationships among religion, gender, and family became transformed.[5] Women's spirituality became much more confined within the limits of family. A subject position for women was denied because of their intellectual and emotional inferiority; they were entirely represented by family men—fathers, husbands, and brothers. The ideology of sexual difference codified by the language of economics,[6] popular novels,[7] religious and political debates,[8] economic and legal changes,[9] and scientific arguments[10] defined the nature of woman within the world of domesticity. In the

ideology of separate spheres, woman's true nature could find expression only in the intimate realm of the family. Within this space, women embodied virtue and morality set against the amoral world. Loving and caring for one's children and husband inside the domestic sphere came to be seen as woman's true vocation. Although women of the established Protestant and Catholic churches became more intimately connected with religious institutions than their husbands,[11] the possibility of their spiritual self-empowerment had been diminished. Nevertheless, Pietist Beate Hahn had still in the nineteenth century a spirituality at her disposal, thereby allowing her to create a subject position in opposition to her husband. During the transitional era (1750–1830), with all its implications for a new gender system, social practices continued to exist that referred to the early modern period. Discourse and social transformations are not in any case congruent. Looking through the lens of early modern religious practice at the Lutheran Pietist reform movement, it becomes apparent that social change took place hesitantly and with delay. From the point of view of the creation of modernity, Lutheran Pietism, with its intensive autobiographical writing culture, provided women with new possibilities for saying *I*. A third position may integrate both perspectives. Spiritual empowerment by women as an early modern cultural praxis was integrated in Pietism, which—as a sophisticated culture of self-reflection—referred to modernity.[12] The self-centered piety of the Pietist movement made it possible for women at least in the first decades of the nineteenth century to create a subject position through their spiritual strength that banished the new middle-class culture with the new household order and the public/private split.

Pietism and the Production of the Self in Württemberg

German Pietism was part of the Protestant evangelical awakening in Europe and the American colonies in the last decades of the seventeenth century.[13] As a Protestant reform movement within the churches of Württemberg, Pietism was first associated with the academic middle class. The Pietist network was based on family, kinship, and group culture. This was an educated group, consisting predominantly of families of high officials, ministers, doctors, pharmacists, and teachers as well as some tradesmen. Pietists were characterized by endogamous marriages: cousins often would marry.[14]

Pietism opened up new forms of self-construction to women as well

as to men. Philipp Jakob Spener led the movement in Germany. His reform program, *Pia Desideria,* drafted in 1675 and addressed to an academic audience of theologians, as well as his popular 1676 devotional text, *Das Geistliche Priestertum,* called for a new religious responsibility on the part of the laity and explicitly included women. Autobiographical evidence documents women's response to this new religious offering. They attempted, through the practice of spirituality, to develop a subject position for themselves.

The Pietist reform movement sought to augment personal piety by placing the individual at the center of attention. Becoming more godly clearly defined the meaning of life and provided a yardstick by which a person's suitability as a model for the community could be measured. Pietist activities focused on the concept of the sanctification of life. Understanding Württemberg Pietists requires taking into account their strong millenarian perspective and its impact on their expectations of the future. Millenarianism—the vision of the second coming of Christ combined with the establishment of a thousand-year kingdom of God and his saints on earth before the Last Judgment, based on Revelation 20—served as the clandestine connecting thread for the awakened (*die Erweckten*). They saw themselves as having been chosen to play a special role in the realization of God's plan for his future kingdom on Earth.

The religious practices of the Pietists in Württemberg were based on oral communication, reading, and writing and included individual as well as family and group-related activities. In addition to reading the Bible and devotional literature, singing, and praying, either alone or with other household members, the Pietists gathered regularly in so-called conventicles for discussion and prayer. These activities shaped a new community culture. The most demanding individual religious exercise was introspection, which was seen as a means of acquiring self-knowledge. Through the close observation of one's own spiritual life and development, one was supposed to continually compare one's expectations with reality. In this way, any potential negative developments or dark side of the soul would be revealed. Pietists thus in a sense were required to spy on their own souls. The results of this self-examination—the recognition and naming of feelings—were recorded in diaries, in journals, and occasionally in letters.

The Pietist idea of a necessary permanent renewal of the soul was the basis for the goal of developing a self conceived through spirituality and independent of people and the world. In the interest of this self-

creation, Pietists made a radical separation between external, worldly developments and those that were internal or spiritual. Their idea of a religious but autonomous self contrasted with the narrow set of standards of accepted behaviors, outlooks, and feelings. But this kind of self-construction made it possible to acquire agency and to create for oneself a space in opposition to one's environment. Women exploited this potential to develop resistance. Their autobiographical writings can be understood as an act, a space in which to create subjectivity. As Natalie Zemon Davis's and Felicity Nussbaum's works have shown, the spiritual autobiographical writing of women must be understood as an attempt to create a gendered position and to express opposition.[15]

The strongly theological emphasis of previous historical research on German Pietism accounts for the almost complete disregard in existing historiography of the contributions of women to Pietism within the Lutheran church. Because women Pietists left behind hardly any theological writings and were not permitted to hold ecclesiastical offices, they have been left out of the history of the movement, and historians have ignored women's autobiographical writings. However, these personal writings attest to women's important family and group-related contributions to the Pietist movement.[16]

The Conflict in the Hahn-Paulus Marriage

Occupying the not very lucrative parish of Talheim, possessing little ambition, having integrated himself into life at the village inn, and enjoying good wine to an extent that overextended his budget, Karl Friedrich Paulus projects an image of personal resignation. Born into a well-to-do family of civil servants, he experienced his simple existence in a rural parish as a social step downward and was not prepared to sacrifice his few comforts for the sake of his five sons' education.

After the sons' financially motivated removal from school, it became clear that Paulus was making no effort to tutor them in the classical languages, the acquisition of which was a prerequisite for an academic education. When Beate Hahn realized this, she was infuriated. The idea that her sons were being educated beneath their station—were "being made into peasants," as she noted at one point—precipitated a crisis between her and her husband. According to his plan, one was to become a notary and the other a game warden, a notion that repelled her, for she associated both occupations with a sinful life. She was convinced that only with a university education

would her sons be able properly to serve the coming kingdom of God. This lending of a religious and millenarian tone to a family mentality must be understood against the background of the Pietist notion of the elite, within which the learned constituted an especially elect group working toward the kingdom of God. With the support of her relatives, she negotiated a financial plan with Paulus, according to which her mother, her brother, and his wife would pay for the maintenance of two sons, Wilhelm and Philipp, on the basis of the paternal inheritance, leaving her husband responsible only for supporting his oldest son, Fritz.[17] However, this plan broke down, apparently because precise financial arrangements had not been made for books, school fees, travel, and clothing. In addition, Paulus continued to refuse to contribute his share. Hahn's attempt to finance these expenditures through earnings from agricultural lands, which were normally leased out, was thwarted by her husband, who claimed that all of the income belonged to him. All transactions involving money and food had to be carried out behind her husband's back. In view of his constant threats to force his sons to return home, she hid from him any information about additional financial support she gave them. Despite all her calculations and economizing, money was always short, and Hahn was repeatedly obliged to borrow from wealthy innkeepers in the village against the proceeds of the next harvest. In the constant marital struggle over finances, her husband, as head of the household, had the stronger position, and she looked on helplessly as he conducted his business affairs according to his wishes. It was a very unequal fight because Paulus had legal control over the family income.

Organizing Opposition through Writing

Beate Hahn was born in 1778, the oldest daughter of Philipp Matthäus Hahn and his second wife, Beate Regina. A pastor, author of theological texts, watchmaker, and inventor, Philipp Hahn is remembered as a charismatic leader in the Pietist movement. His conventicles were known far beyond the central Neckar region and were attended by many people from outside the area.[18] Although merely the daughter of a rural pastor, Beate Hahn grew up with the consciousness of belonging to the Pietist elite. In 1800, after the death of her father, she entered into an arranged marriage with Karl Friedrich Paulus, a pastor fom a family of Stuttgart civil servants. Paulus, however, was not a Pietist,

and the spouses' differing conceptions of piety led them into considerable conflict. Beate Hahn began her so-called *Wochenbuch* (weekly journal) in 1817 and ceased writing in it after the death of her husband in 1829. During those twelve years she filled eight books, which together contain about a thousand manuscript pages and are now housed in the manuscript department of the Württemberg State Library. Her writings document the couple's marital conflict over the financing of their sons' formal education. She began writing when her husband, against her will, planned to take the two eldest of their five sons, Fritz and Philipp, out of the Latin School in Leonberg to spare the expense of their tuition and maintenance. He did so in 1818.[19] It is significant that her text ends with her adversary's death.

Beate Hahn wrote on Saturdays or Sundays, at times twice a week, usually one or two pages at a time but often much longer passages—some as long as twenty pages. When time was lacking—for example, during the harvest or the children's vacations—she occasionally broke off her writing. Between 1817 and 1824, she occasionally used two books at the same time. She did not intend to produce a chronological documentation, which explains why she did not date her entries. For Beate Hahn, the act of writing was of primary importance, enabling her at times of crisis to create for herself a mental space for resistance. The introductory passages usually mark situations of acute stress: "Again I found it so hard"; "I'm so discouraged because I don't see a way out because of the money"; "Woke up with a heavy heart."

Beate Hahn's reflections on her restricted situation as Paulus's wife occupy a good deal of space in her journal. The years up to 1824 are particularly marked by desperation. During this period, she wrote most prolifically, and her descriptions of her marital conflicts are most vehement. Self-abnegation and longing for death alternate with long passages in which she begs God to help her. These in turn alternate with attempts to lend meaning to her suffering by seeing it as a special trial from God. In the winter of 1820, after a long journey, she writes of praying for her husband for the first time in years.[20]

Her Gendered Position

The positions of daughter, wife, mother, and maidservant legally subjected women to male control. Thus, in a certain sense, women's attempts to develop a subjective selfhood stood in contradiction to

their social position. Beate Hahn describes the structure of her gendered status and her role as a victim within it by emphasizing her husband's transgressions of proper boundaries:

> Then I became angry and said he was lazy and sighed. Oh, if only I were delivered of such a wastrel of a husband, he never does anything. In the evening he and I were quiet again, but when he returned home drunk from the inn a storm brewed. He reproached me for saying, "If only I were free of this squanderer of a husband," and said I should go away and then I would be free. I said I only said it because of Philipp, because it is so hard for me that he isn't in school and the other children as well, but it was no use. He became so incensed that he chased me around the attic with a walking stick and said his brother told him if I fought back he should strike me in the ribs, but the walking stick was much too good for that. I finally managed to get down from the attic, full of fear, and he didn't hit me too many times. And I went into the street among friends and thought he could do nothing there. He called to me, but I did not go back in until I heard that his rage had cooled somewhat. Then I recalled the proverb, "Here is the patience and faith of saints," and thought I mustn't do anything any more but must submit patiently to my lot, come what may, and mustn't open my mouth. I will obey from now on. But it shocks me the way my relatives treat me and that they tell my husband to strike me, the mother of eight uneducated children, in the ribs. Now I see that they are set against me, and it is very hard for me, so that I can scarcely do anything. I am so sad.[21]

Beate Hahn's lamentations illustrate a dilemma specific to Pietist wives: she was not obligated to obey her non-Pietist husband in contradiction to God; rather, as Philipp Jakob Spener outlined in great detail in his catechism, she must patiently and gently try to win over the unjust husband who is behaving in error.[22] Literary researchers have recently pointed out this fundamental contradiction in marriage documents of the early modern period.[23] Although the concept of the "spiritual priesthood" certainly allowed for the inclusion of females, in practice this spiritual autonomy for women—as seen in the case of Beate Hahn—could lead to problems with other temporal and spiritual mandates.

Her writing concentrates on descriptions of situations and the

analysis of her feelings of unhappiness but avoids judgmental conclusions, so that any condemnation of her husband is left to the reader. She invalidates his relatives' judgments of her by noting that her husband had told them lies. However, she completely represses the fact that her family also at times doubted that her husband was solely to blame for the emotional and financial breakdown of their marriage.

In entries in which she notes that her husband has much better food than she and the children and that sugar, coffee, fruit, and meat were reserved exclusively for him, her sacrifices have a martyrlike quality. Her husband's behavior oversteps the boundaries of the permissible. She cites occasions when he deploys his "male force" against her as evidence of her oppressed state. Her enumeration of situations in which he intrudes into her sphere of responsibility as materfamilias and thereby subjects her to public humiliation serves as further proof of his transgressions: at times he forbade the village tradesmen to sell goods to her without his permission, and he tried to undermine her authority over the servants by ordering them to stop obeying her.[24] Paulus told the wealthy of the village not to lend Hahn any more money, for he would not pay it back. She wrote in response, "No husband does that to his wife," expressing the full weight of his transgressions.[25]

Hahn's descriptions are grounded in a domestic and marital order that her husband had wrongfully violated. His offenses rendered her a victim and legitimized her chosen position as a disobedient wife. Her objectified status as an injured party is the necessary precondition for her resistance, but it describes only one element of her constructed personality.

Sanctification, Consolation, and Devotion

Beate Hahn's introspection was combined with self-criticism. She knew that her accusations enraged her husband, and she constantly admonished herself to remain calm and to bear everything with silent humility. Like Jesus, she wanted to suffer all insults in silence.[26] The thought that Jesus and his disciples had also remained silent just prior to his arrest strengthened her resolve not to reproach her husband.[27] She repeatedly tried to invest her struggle with a spiritual meaning, "because all suffering brought upon us has as its object our sanctification."[28]

The separation of the world into two spheres, one outward and secular and the other inward and spiritual, enabled her to banish the accu-

sations made against her to this external, evil world. She regarded her in-laws' unjust reproaches and the value placed on bourgeois luxury in her environment as misguided, worldly attitudes. Her religious devotions helped her to endure her humiliations. She comforted and fortified herself with prayer and with hymns recorded in her diary: "Walked around all day singing and felt most joyful: Joy, joy upon joy, Christ endures all suffering; delight, delight upon delight. He is the sun of mercies."[29]

The Pietist assurance that joy in Christ transforms all suffering into bliss helped her to distance herself from earthly humiliations. The hymn "A Lamb Goes Carrying the Guilt of the World"[30] lent a spiritual meaning to her suffering by equating it with that of the lamb. Her father's sermons had a special place in her devotional practices, offering her spiritual instruction and comfort. She even wrote parts of her diary in the half-filled notebooks he had used to draft his sermons. Even if we consider that paper was expensive at the time, her taking up where his theological writings had literally left off must have been motivated by more than mere thrift. In so doing, she inscribed herself into her father's tradition and took up his spiritual legacy. She was committed throughout her lifetime to seeing his sermons published and, in the autumn of 1820, visited Pietist friends and theologians to facilitate the project. In the summer of 1824, she arose daily at four o'clock in the morning to spend the hours until eight neatly copying out one of his sermons for the printer.

The Elected and Spiritual Priesthood

For Pietists, election meant possessing God's particular grace and serving the kingdom of God in an exemplary fashion. Beate Hahn assures herself of belonging to the elect. She mentions several times that even in her earliest youth she had felt drawn to God, thereby affirming a Pietist pattern of religious awakening during childhood.

Intertextual references are a consistent stylistic device in her text. Her equation of herself with biblical figures—primarily the great men of the Old Testament—provides the biblical authority for her struggle. She repeatedly equates her own unfulfilled plea that her sons should receive an academic education and become good Pietists with Abraham's long-unfulfilled request for male offspring. In fear for her sons' future, she derived from this identification the comforting assurance that her prayer, too, would be heard. Her situation, like those of Abra-

ham and Job, represented a special trial. This equation bestowed a spiritual meaning on her suffering as a mark of distinction and election. Like David and the people of Israel, she and her children had been chosen to fulfill God's mission.

She identifies with Rachel, who wept for her children and would not be comforted because they were far from home. Here Hahn again indirectly marshals comfort and hope. The passage, in which she refers to Jeremiah 31, continues, "Keep your voice from weeping and your eyes from tears; for your work shall be rewarded, says the Lord, and they shall come back from the land of the enemy."[31]

As a means of self-suggestion, these biblical references were highly strengthening. Several characteristics were always present in Hahn's comparisons: the positive outcome in the future, the imbuing of her suffering with meaning, the encouragement to continue the struggle, and the certainty that she was among the elect.

Moses' mother tried to evade the Pharaoh's order to cast all of the newborn sons of the Israelites into the Nile by laying her infant son in a papyrus basket among the reeds on the riverbank, where the Pharaoh's daughter found him while bathing. Out of pity for the whimpering creature, the princess took him in. Through the clever mediation of her maidservants, Moses' mother was employed as the infant's wet nurse (Exodus 2). Beate Hahn discussed the story of Moses' rescue with her Sunday school class. It is obvious why this story was, as she noted, "particularly important" to her. As in her own case, the means of rescue employed by Moses' mother was a deceptive ploy. The instructions of a husband possessed of all authority, whether as head of household or as Pharaoh, were rendered powerless through female trickery. Describing her position, justified through this story, she simultaneously revealed her husband's reprehensible position. Her argument is again symbolic and indirect. By depicting the biblical stories as analogous to her own situation, she enabled herself to reflect on the latter. Not she but the Old Testament justified her conduct. Her virtuoso deployment of these references necessitated an impressive expertise in the Bible. Pietist biblical studies, often dismissed as a relatively simplistic practice of piety, take on a more complex psychological dimension in light of Hahn's utilization of them for self-explanation, self-fortification, and absolute justification.

On feast days she recorded her religious thoughts and reflected on her father's theological writings, his interpretation of John's Revelation, and the Pietist circulars that she found among his papers. She was

deeply distressed by the dancing, drinking, and games in which the youth of the village indulged. Pietism had attempted to eradicate these forms of popular cultural expression through pastoral care and, where it enjoyed state support, through prohibition. Here again it is plainly implied that her husband, as village pastor, is to blame. Every holiday she bemoans the fact that the congregation has not been prepared in a truly pious fashion to receive communion:

> Went to God's table. This time I had the distinction of being united with Christ, and because I was united with him, he could give me our congregation, particularly because I have to see it thus, like sheep without a shepherd, and can contribute so little to its salvation, however much I might want to.[32]

Firm in her identity as a Pietist leader, she held devotional hours on Sundays during which she read her father's sermons. On Saturdays she led a Bible study for children and confirmation candidates. She visited the pious in their sickbeds, and the mentally ill were brought to her to be cured—tasks that her father had performed in his capacity as a Pietist pastor. In these activities, she radicalized the responsibility for spiritual priesthood among the laity, transcended the boundaries of her female role, and even assumed duties of an ecclesiastical official.

The necessity for sons to receive a formal education was legitimized by religion. They were supposed to become "workers in the Lord's vineyard" and to help realize God's kingdom on Earth. This passage from the New Testament, which derives from Matthew 28:1–16, is central to her father's eschatology and represents the special calling to work toward the millennium. The goal of establishing the thousand-year kingdom of God on Earth connects Beate Hahn to the future of her family. The plea for God to accept her sons and make of them "useful workers in his vineyard" occupies significant space in the journal. As theologians and university graduates, they would be involved in a special way in the realization of the millennium. On this point, her gendered position is also very clear: as a woman, she and her daughters cannot serve the kingdom of God (they, therefore, are hardly ever mentioned in the diary). Work in the service of the kingdom of God is the professional work of men with university degrees. Hahn's contribution was to do everything possible to place her sons in such a position.

Conclusion

The narrative of Beate Hahn's journal is implicitly rather than explicitly constructed. The language often reads less like a private diary than like a text composed for others. In the depictions of the conflicts with her husband, her documentation has a strong structure of confession and justification. Her emotionally laden and desperate style and the events she describes verify that she experienced herself as a victim. In placing herself in the role of a martyr, however, she could simultaneously assume the role of a saint.

In reproaching Karl Friedrich Paulus as a husband, father, and pastor, she justified her resistance. In drawing parallels between herself and biblical mothers and fathers who suffer and take responsibility for their children, Hahn justifies both her overstepping of boundaries and her role as a disobedient wife and furthermore sanctions her larger plan. Her objectives stem from her consciousness of being among the chosen. She assumes religious responsibility for the community and especially for her children. In light of the religious significance attributed to it, the status-appropriate education of her sons took on a particular urgency.

Hahn's journal opened up a space in which she could reflect on her gendered position. Her writing became the basis for her opposition as well as a place in which to regenerate her psychological energies. Her self-healing through spirituality gave her great powers of resistance and self-assertion. The often-repeated self-affirmation that she was among the elect enabled her to hope for the future. Her optimism was justified, for all of her sons eventually completed their studies.

Hahn's defense in her journal of her worldly disobedience, legitimized in Pietist terms, required an enormous leap of argumentation on her part—that is, the abrogation of her duty to be obedient. The attempt to create a textual subject position for oneself is made significantly more difficult in an environment where the social pendulum swings forcefully toward the duties of obedience. The irresolvable conflict between the duty of subordination and the resistance required of the Pietist is transferred to one's inner self, and this ambivalence becomes part of her text. Through her spirituality and her writing, however, Hahn resolved in favor of resistance the conflict between being a good Pietist and being a dutiful wife.

Why could Beate Hahn act in this manner as late as the beginning of

the nineteenth century and well after the late Enlightenment, when women's opportunity for self-assertion had become very limited? Reinhart Koselleck answers this question in terms of the asynchronous nature of change in history.[33] Not all parts of society experienced the Enlightenment in the same manner or simultaneously. The Pietistic community was isolated from the rest of society, and general developments thus came much later to the Pietists. Perhaps more significant in this regard is the fact that, simultaneous with the de-Christianization process, the European Enlightenment movement brought forth its own processes,[34] including a re-Christianization that also became part of modernity. Hahn's Pietism gave her an internal strength that allowed her to quietly but powerfully resist some of the most confining features of the new middle-class construction of gender.

Notes

1. See Keith Thomas, "Women and the Civil War Sects," *Past and Present* 13 (1958): 42–62; Jean Delumeau, *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1971); Hartmut Lehmann, *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus: Gottesgnadentum und Kriegsnot* (Stuttgart, 1980); Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge, 1987); Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing, 1649–88* (London, 1988); Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley, 1992); William Reginald Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992); Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500–1720* (London, 1993); Edith Saurer, ed., *Die Religion der Geschlechter: Historische Aspekte religiöser Mentalitäten* (Vienna, 1995); Mary Wiesner, *Gender, Church, and State in Early Modern Germany* (London, 1998), 21–29; Ulrike Krampl, "'Par ordre des convulsions': Überlegungen zu Jansenismus, Schriftlichkeit und Geschlecht im Paris des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Anthropologie* 7 (1999): 33–62.

2. John A. Newton, *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism* (London, 1968), 71; Sara Heller Mendelson, "Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs," in *Women in English Society, 1500–1800,* ed. Mary Prior (London, 1985), 181–210; Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe,* vol. 1, *1500–1800,* (London, 1995), 410–23; Katherine M. Faull, *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse, 1997), 107.

3. Anne Conrad, "'Wir verplauderten die Zeit recht angenehm, sprachen von Geistersehern, Ahnungen und dergleichen': Religion als Thema der aufklärerischen Geselligkeit," in *Ordnung, Politik, und Geselligkeit der Geschlechter im 18. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ulrike Weckel, Claudia Opitz, Claudia Hochstrasser, and Birgitte Tolkemitt (Göttingen, 1998), 203–26.

4. Rebekka Habermas, "Weibliche Religiosität—oder: Von der Fragilität

bürgerlicher Identitäten," in *Wege zur Geschichte des Bürgertums,* ed. Klaus Tenfelde and Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen, 1994), 125–48. For the development of religion in the nineteenth century more generally, see Wolfgang Schieder, ed., *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1993).

5. See Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850,* 3rd ed. (London, 1992).

6. See Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment* (New York, 2000).

7. Ibid., 149–92.

8. See Dagmar Herzog, *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden* (Princeton, 1995).

9. See Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, 1996).

10. See Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Wissen, 1750–1850* (Frankfurt, 1991).

11. See Hugh McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit—männlicher Unglaube? Religion und Kirchen im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ute Frevert (Göttingen, 1988), 134–56; Lucian Hölscher, "Die Religion des Bürgers: Bürgerliche Frömmigkeit und protestantische Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 250 (1990): 595–630; Edith Saurer, "'Bewahrerinnen der Zucht und der Sittlichkeit': Gebetbücher für Frauen—Frauen in Gebetbüchern," *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 1 (1990): 37–58; Rudolf Schlögl, *Glaube und Religion in der Säkularisierung: Die katholische Stadt: Köln, Aachen, Münster, 1700–1840* (Munich, 1995).

12. For an analysis of the auto/biographical culture in Württemberg, see Ulrike Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum: Eine Historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit* (Göttingen, 2005).

13. See Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening.*

14. See Hartmut Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1969).

15. See Felicity Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, 1989); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, 1995).

16. For the English Protestant reform movements, the Puritans, the Quakers, the Methodists, and other dissenters, the contributions of women are much better documented. For these groups, published autobiographical writings by women exist: see Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject.*

17. Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart (hereafter cited as WLB), Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 10, 20–24. Pietist friends in Stuttgart later agreed to take another son, Christoph, in without charge, and another son, Immanuel, lived at minimal expense with his brother in Tübingen.

18. See Martin Brecht, "Philipp Matthäus Hahn und der Pietismus im

mittleren Neckarraum," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 77 (1977): 101–31.

19. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 6, 37.

20. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 10, 18. However, in the years preceding his death, she frequently included him in her prayers.

21. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 5, 52–54.

22. Philipp Jakob Spener, *Schriften,* vol. 2, pt. 2, *Kurtze Catechismuspredigten* (1689; Hildesheim, 1982), 725–47.

23. See Kathleen M. Davies, "Continuity and Change in Literary Advice on Marriage," in *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage,* ed. R. B. Outhwaite (London, 1981), 58–80; Rüdiger Schnell, ed., *Text und Geschlecht: Mann und Frau in Eheschriften der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1997); Rüdiger Schnell, *Frauendiskurs, Männerdiskurs, Ehediskurs: Textsorten und Geschlechterkonzepte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1998).

24. WLB Cod. Hist. quart. 370, 8, 77.

25. WLB Cod. Hist. quart. 370, 8, 138.

26. WLB Cod. Hist. quart. 370, 8, 140–42.

27. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 10, 77.

28. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 6 pp. (1).

29. WLB Cod. Hist. quart. 370, 8, 89–90. These lines are from the Christmas song "Freuet euch, ihr Christen alle!" in *Württembergisches Gesangbuch* (Stuttgart, 1786), 387.

30. Title and beginning lines of a Passion song in ibid., 27.

31. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 10, 27–28; Jeremiah 31:16.

32. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 5, 165–66; for a similar testimony, see pp. 10–11.

33. Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt, 1989), 125–29.

34. Hartmut Lehmann, ed., *Säkularisierung, Dechristianisierung, Rechristianisierung im neuzeitlichen Europa* (Göttingen, 1997).

The Brief Flowering of Women's Journalism and Its End around 1800

Ulrike Weckel

"The project of founding a journal for women failed owing to unknown obstacles,"[1] noted the biographer of actress, reciter, and author Elise Hahn Bürger, who as a divorcée needed to earn her own living. We do not know precisely when she planned such a journal project—sometime in the late 1790s or the first two decades of the nineteenth century—and even her 1868 biographer could not discover what factors ultimately thwarted her undertaking despite access to a manuscript diary now lost. All we know is that in 1804–5, Elise Bürger published two annual volumes under the title *Mein Taschenbuch, den Freundlichen meines Geschlechts geweiht* and that a new edition and a second printing appeared in 1809 and 1811.[2]

This footnote to the history of women's literature might not appear particularly remarkable were it not indicative of a significant trend: in the eighteenth century, the new genre of the women's journal emerged out of the moral weeklies, which had expressly addressed women readers and frequently fabricated fictitious female contributors.[3] Such periodicals obviously found an audience. Throughout German-speaking regions, new if often short-lived moralizing literary weekly, monthly, and quarterly magazines for women were constantly springing up. In keeping with the late Enlightenment, they sought to combine usefulness with diversion. Between 1779 and 1796, after the genre had become established, at least seventeen women entered the literary market by editing and publishing ten different journals for their sex.[4] There was, however, no continuous increase in either the number or the longevity of these periodicals. In fact, the opposite was the case. The tradition did not even survive the turn of the century. After 1800, women attempted only occasionally and with little success to establish jour-

nalistic enterprises.[5] They were most likely to succeed—and in this Elise Bürger is also typical—if they compiled and edited annual anthologies.[6] Such richly illustrated and often gilt-edged ladies' pocket books and almanacs, with their dainty formats and elaborate bindings, clearly corresponded to contemporary taste around 1800, and they made perfect New Year's gifts. In addition to the lyric and epic poetry and short essays on various branches of learning that the women's journals before 1800 had also offered, most provided calendars, tables for household bookkeeping, genealogies of the European noble houses, fashion advice, embroidery patterns, and sometimes concrete tips and instructions for housework and care of the body. Like the women's journals, which were founded far more rarely in the early nineteenth century, and the entertainment and fashion magazines directed at both sexes, which clearly lured customers away from the women's journals, the most popular of these almanacs were also edited almost exclusively by men.[7] Women were now involved in these periodicals only as authors, albeit in increasing numbers. Only the Revolution of 1848–49 brought several female editors back into the literary arena, but their journals faded away during the subsequent period of restoration.[8] A durable women's press developed only after 1865 with the establishment and diversification of the women's movement. These new periodicals had quite a different character, however, from the women's journals published by female editors a hundred years earlier. Although the later publications printed the occasional novella or poem for a bit of variety, the moral lectures of their predecessors had given way to discussions of the controversial "woman question" [*Frauenfrage*]. The women's journals of the late nineteenth century usually served as the organs of women's associations or their umbrella organizations. These publications represented the positions of the various wings of the movement on women's education, employment, suffrage, the sexual double standard, peace politics, and socialist theories of emancipation and reported on activities and congresses.[9]

For activists in the women's movement it probably went without saying that they would publish their journals themselves and fill them with contributions by mainly female authors. In the late eighteenth century, however, this practice had not been nearly as self-evident for women. Women editors of the period usually went to great lengths in their prefaces to justify their daring act of speaking out publicly, if only to their fellow women. Almost without exception, they professed that they would not allow such an unusual enterprise to stand in the way of

their domestic duties, nor should reading the journal encourage other women to do so. The conviction that "woman's calling" was to be a wife, housewife, and mother, which was widespread in the educated strata in that era, may well have kept some women from entering the public arena—for example, by publishing diaries, novels, or periodicals. Most educated elite women probably were not hindered by time-intensive and laborious housework—servants would have taken care of most of those tasks. A far greater obstacle was the view that a virtuous woman should find her sole fulfillment in tirelessly caring for her loved ones and thus that journalistic ambitions suggested a lack of female vocation and a morally suspect thirst for fame. At the same time—and this may sound paradoxical—the restrictive discourse of a "female calling" also helped pave late-eighteenth-century women's way into the (literary) public sphere.[10] Since it was almost universally accepted that the two sexes had very different tasks to perform in society and that nature had wisely equipped them with opposite character traits, women logically might be able to inform their female compatriots of their duties more competently, sensitively, and above all effectively than men, who were so very different.[11]

The turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, with the gradual transition from an estate-based society to bourgeois civil society, from the late Enlightenment and classicism to romanticism and the historical school, did nothing to change the premise of the polarized characters of the sexes and the attribution of gender-specific duties and fields of activity. Indeed, theories of equality grounded in natural rights even declined in influence. Thus, one might assume that a further need existed for "experts" on the interests of the female sex and that women would have continued to write and publish women's journals. The striking fact that such was not the case provokes the question of what made it so difficult or unattractive for journalistically ambitious women between 1796 and 1830 to publish their own journals for the female reading public, which was continually expanding.[12] In this chapter, I will look for some answers to this question. Of course, methodological problems arise in studying the history of nonexistent journals, especially since the sources rarely document the reasons why plans for publication were never realized. A few detours consequently are necessary. I proceed from the proposition that the women's journals edited by women in the late eighteenth century were by no means so rebellious or radical that men powerful in the literary market would have felt compelled to silence such publications. To bolster my thesis, I

will begin by comparing the journals edited by women with women's periodicals of the same era edited by men as a way of showing that men by no means invariably created more repressive images of femininity than women did. Only a very selective comparison is possible here, and I will concentrate on the particular theme of statements about female scholarship. Later in the chapter, I will examine why the two most successful women founders of journals in the eighteenth century—Sophie von La Roche and Marianne Ehrmann—gave up work on their periodicals. Finally, I will investigate what distinguished the enduring journalistic projects from the short-lived ones and the women's journals of the early nineteenth century from those of the late eighteenth century. The recipes for success point to an incipient commercialization of the press and an ongoing professionalization of editing and publishing that apparently had negative consequences for women's participation in journalism.

Cautiously Maneuvering Women and Valiant Male Advocates for the Female Sex

At the end of the eighteenth century, female authors in Germany by no means vigorously demanded equal participation in the new opportunities of the increasingly mobile society. While in France Olympe de Gouges set her *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* article by article alongside the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen,* and in England Mary Wollstonecraft presented the public with her *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,* in Germany it was a male author who sought to apply the promise of equality derived from the ideas of the Enlightenment and natural rights to gender relations.[13] Literary critics did not doubt that the anonymously published polemic *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber* had been written by a man, whom they soon discovered to be Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel. Some observers, to be sure, wondered at first whether the work, with its daring argumentation and numerous, sometimes strange, references and interpretations from mythology, anthropology, the Bible, and poetry, might not be intended as a whimsical satire. Moreover, Hippel's critics often maintained that his recommended "improvements" went too far—particularly his argument for admission of women to all professions and political offices.[14] Neither the confusion about his ideas nor the polemics of the critics prevented public discus-

sion of Hippel's work; indeed, both served to make his views more widely known.

None of the German women's journals of the late eighteenth century can be characterized as protofeminist in the egalitarian sense.[15] They were largely literary and sought to provide moral instruction and cultivated entertainment in agreement with the prevailing notion that the two sexes had complementary roles to play. Since women derived from this concept permission to speak out yet were also eager to disperse any suspicions that they might be bad housewives, their forays into the public sphere were far more defensive than those of male authors, whose right to express themselves no one disputed.[16]

Given the ever-present danger of being ridiculed as a "female scholar [*weibliche Gelehrte*]" when presuming to know more than was regarded as proper, all female editors did their best to distance themselves demonstratively from any claim to "scholarship," although what this might have meant for a woman was not clearly defined.[17] The young Ernestine Hofmann was particularly rigorous in her rejection of "excessive" education for women. Her reputation was not even at stake here, since she edited the weekly magazine *Für Hamburgs Töchter* for a year in 1779 under the guise of a fictitious elderly man. She nevertheless had the old man admit that although he did not precisely hate learned females, he was not fond of them and could not bring himself to consider them as part of the female sex. In his eyes they constituted "a sort of hermaphrodite."[18] Marianne Ehrmann adopted quite an ambivalent stance. In her confrontational "inaugural address" as editor of *Amaliens Erholungsstunden,* she argued against the inflationary use of the derogatory term *female scholar,* since she thought that it hindered young girls in their virtuous pursuit of education. Such insight did not, however, prevent her from viciously caricaturing in her journals women obsessed with learning[19] or from taking the occasional swipe at "pedantic female scholastics [*pedantische Schulgelehrte*]."[20] She needed this technique above all as a foil to define its opposite, her educational ideal of the "thinking woman [*Denkerin*]," with a noble heart, a practical understanding of human nature, and firm moral principles.[21] Sophie von La Roche, in contrast, so deftly staged the obligatory denial of learning that she nevertheless managed to hint with a certain pride at her own extensive knowledge. For example, she demonstratively broke off a list of ancient historians with the remark that she did not wish to give herself the appearance of a scholar, thus

subtly demonstrating that her knowledge was by no means exhausted.[22] Another technique was to have fictional characters express the suspicion that La Roche was doubtless a learned woman, only to correct this "misunderstanding" in a not very convincing manner.[23] Whatever strategies female journalists chose for dealing with the topos and whatever their view of the proper latitude for women's education, all of them asserted that the duties of a wife, housekeeper, and mother took priority. The female editors publicly confirmed for their audience the mainstream discourse while in practice moving beyond the prescribed female sphere. We can only speculate whether some female readers learned the lesson of this paradox that women could do and study much more as long as they also gave credit to the prevailing idea of a virtuous woman and as long as they avoided being caught in the act of violating it.

The late-eighteenth-century women's journals edited by men took similar positions in regard to female education and erudition. The difference was that men's authority and masculine honor did not depend on what scope they allowed to women. Thus, some male editors—at least in their general public statements—expressed a certain chivalrous acknowledgment of women's outstanding past and present achievements.[24] Christian Gottfried Schütz, who edited the *Akademie der Grazien* from 1774 to 1780, believed that only rational women of the upper ranks should be allowed to read and that even among them it should not become a "chief pastime." He nevertheless dispensed with the popular bugbear of the bluestocking: the few "learned ladies" whom one encountered from time to time were admittedly not models to be emulated but deserved unconditional respect, since they proved by their example "that great intellectual gifts are not the sole province of male persons."[25] How women were to discover and cultivate their intellectual gifts when thorough and systematic reflection was unsuitable for them was clearly a matter to which Schütz, for his part, had not devoted much thought. David Christoph Seybold, who was present on the market of women's journals from 1782 to 1791 with his *Magazin für Frauenzimmer* and *Neues Magazin für Frauenzimmer,* gently pointed out to the opponents of women's learning a minor weakness in their argument: despite claims that learned women could not be good housekeepers or mothers, he declared, learning in itself surely would not keep women from their female duties; on the contrary, it encouraged their fulfillment. Many women, moreover, also woefully neglected their proper sphere without any distraction whatsoever from reading.[26]

The harshest critic of the enemies of so-called learned females was the editor of the *Museum für das weibliche Geschlecht,* August Heinrich Lafontaine. As he noted in 1792, such men all too often denounced an intelligent woman as learned simply because she did not appreciate their shameless jokes and foolishness or did not take part in the vicious gossiping of their fellow females. The polemic was misdirected, "since our ladies do not often tend to indulge in excesses of learnedness." In view of the fact that most women of the higher ranks delegated their housework to servants and instead played cards and engaged in superficial conviviality, they should be encouraged to regard the "most mature education of the mind" as "a natural duty of the female sex."[27]

One could cite differently accentuated and even opposing statements from the same journals and the same authors. Feminist scholars have tended to cite statements by women that sounded emancipatory and misogynistic proclamations by men. I intend not to replace such a selective reading of the sources with one of a different bias but rather to point out the multivocal and ambiguous nature of the discourse. This complexity demonstrates that simplistic conspiracy theories as well as claims that men deliberately pushed women editors out of their positions are untenable.

Ousted by Men? The End of Two Female-Edited Women's Journals

Two such theories have grown up around the end of *Pomona* (1783–84), edited by La Roche, and *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* (1790–92), edited by Ehrmann. According to Barbara Becker-Cantarino, La Roche's former fiancé and literary mentor, Christoph Martin Wieland, supported her women's journal only halfheartedly and—after he noticed the growing demand for women's literature—even conceived the project of a competing periodical. Becker-Cantarino points to a February 1785 letter in which Wieland informed his old friend in passing that he, as she might have discovered from public advertisements, had taken over the editorship of a forthcoming German translation of the *Bibliothèque universelle des dames.* He hoped that this enterprise would not conflict with her *Bibliothek der Lina.*[28] Becker-Cantarino comments on Wieland's letter briefly but significantly, "Sophie's planned 'Bibliothek,' a continuation of *Pomona,* never appeared, and the lucrative trade in ladies' calendars, women's magazines, and pocket books for ladies was undertaken by

others."[29] She implies that La Roche abandoned her plans after Wieland's announcement. However, does such an interpretation correspond to the verifiable facts?

In the period that followed, the trade in almanacs was indeed all but monopolized by men. The age of women's journals with female editors was, nevertheless, not in the slightest terminated, nor did La Roche stop publishing altogether. Following the example of *Pomona,* various women, alone or in groups, founded seven new women's periodicals. As for La Roche, in the tradition of the moral weeklies, she had written the contributions to *Pomona* largely on her own. When she decided to establish the journal, a number of edifying "Letters to Lina" had already been composed, along with various moral tales. Now, however, she had to write more of them each month, along with instructive articles, essays on nature and cultural history, reports on European countries, and replies to readers' letters, which together with a few poems and shorter contributions by outside authors filled nearly one hundred pages in octavo format. After seven issues had appeared, she confessed to a friend, "The daily work on my *Pomona* is becoming somewhat more laborious, because my stock of random ideas is no longer so rich."[30] The following year, another factor entered the picture. La Roche spent several weeks traveling through Switzerland, considerably delaying her editorial work. More importantly, however, she had been bitten by the travel bug. The end of *Pomona* enabled her to engage in foreign travel several times in the years that followed. She eventually processed her impressions in a series of weighty travel tomes: because writers were paid by the printed sheet in those days, these works were probably more lucrative than a self-published monthly magazine. La Roche also brought out several different editions of her collected moral tales and "Letters to Lina" from *Pomona* and published excerpts from her travel accounts in various periodicals.[31] However, plans for a *Bibliothek der Lina,* devoted to the education of daughters and composed of individual volumes, and a periodical, *Briefwechsel der Pomona,* that would have continued the popular public correspondence with readers and that Johann Georg Hutten, La Roche's assistant in the business side of self-publishing, announced in the final issue of *Pomona,* never came to fruition.[32] It seems far more plausible that instead of retreating in resignation, La Roche simply changed her plans and chose forms of publication that were easier to combine with her other activities.

Wieland indeed distanced himself over the years from the friend of

his youth and from her literary production. He had initially encouraged La Roche's writing and edited and published her first novel. Even then, however, his at times rather sarcastic remarks betray a certain inner reserve toward what he saw as her excessive moralizing.[33] By emphasizing that the same strict standards of literary criticism should not be applied to women's literature and female authors, he helped La Roche's novel to be well received. Nevertheless, Wieland himself soon lost interest in such female writings. Despite her requests, he never commented in detail on La Roche's subsequent publications but rather passed them on to his wife and daughters, as he noted in his letters. He collected subscriptions for *Pomona,* but he did not review the journal regularly in his *Teutscher Merkur.* Only once did the issues of the second volume receive a brief announcement in his journal.[34] As for even this rather laconic notice, he informed the disappointed La Roche that friendship had caused him to "set the tone somewhat higher than cold justice would have."[35] La Roche continued to write in the style of sentimentalism and felt bound by the precepts of female virtue. Wieland, in contrast, had quickly passed through this phase and showed himself more liberal in moral questions, which was naturally easier for him as a man, although it gained him the reputation among many moralists of being an excessively easygoing and frivolous author. The estrangement between the two, however, by no means thwarted La Roche's literary career.[36] Her 1771 novel, *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim,* had helped establish a market for literature by and for women that flourished for a good ten years after the demise of *Pomona* and in which La Roche, while appearing increasingly old-fashioned, remained the most celebrated female author.

The case of Marianne Ehrmann and the end of *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* in autumn 1792, after three years of publication, is more complicated. A violent dispute arose between her, or her husband, and publisher Johann Friedrich Cotta, who had taken on the monthly journal in 1791, and his partner, Christian Jakob Zahn. The matter ended with the dissolution of their business partnership, after which each party entered the market with a new journal for women. Ehrmann edited *Die Einsiedlerinn aus den Alpen,* published by Orell, Geßner, and Füßli in Zurich, for another two years, and Cotta continued with the publication of *Flora* under various male editors until 1803. For some time, feminist scholars have been largely unanimous in their interpretation of the situation: the influential Tübingen publisher of classical works sought to silence an early feminist and a valiant critic of men.

According to this view, business differences over the low number of subscribers and the slow flow of manuscript pages merely represented an excuse on Cotta's part: the real bone of contention was the magazine's contents.[37] Ehrmann's bitter complaints about "masculine despotism" and her ridicule of the "oh-so-wise little band of men [*hochweise Männervölkchen*]" and of effeminate dandies in the first two years of *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* are usually cited as evidence and are contrasted to the bland literary program of *Flora,* which aimed only to entertain. Helga Madland points in particular to an article, "Schönheit über Geist [Beauty over Mind]," which appeared immediately after Ehrmann left her post as editor and which declared men's preference for outward charms to be a timeless natural instinct. This piece, Madland claims, should be read as a spiteful swipe at Ehrmann and her educational goal of the "thinking woman."[38]

A thorough reading of all three journals shows that the matter is not quite as clear-cut as might first appear to be the case. Certainly, Ehrmann sometimes used her journals for vigorous attacks on men and their seductive arts, and she repeatedly made fun of unmanly males who succumbed to fashion mania or puttering about in the kitchen. Much more frequently and with at least as much vehemence, however, she criticized her sex, accusing women of being gossipy, envious, vain, and complacent. And as I have already shown, she was not above lampooning "female scholars." Caricature, negative example, and drastic language were her trademarks and didactic strategies. Bearing in mind that her polemics against effeminacy did not attack hierarchical gender relations but rather painted the dangers of blurring the lines of gender difference, the interpretation of Ehrmann as a sort of early feminist appears a bit hasty. Thus it seems to me virtually symptomatic of the selective reading of her journals by feminist scholars that Edith Krull mistakenly cites an article by Ehrmann as an example of how Cotta sought through outside contributions to undermine the journal's "women's rights" approach.[39] Madland, for her part, does not mention that "Schönheit über Geist" was sharply criticized in a total of three articles that appeared in the next volume of *Flora,* with one of the critics considering the anti-intellectual statements a parody, which he however found all too easily misconstrued and therefore unsuccessful.[40]

Because both parties carried their dispute into the public arena, several published accounts of the situation exist. The contract with two amendments as well as a letter from the editor's husband to the pub-

lishing company have also survived, enabling at least the partial reconstruction of the end of the business partnership.[41] According to the documents, the conflict involved both financial matters and the contents and style of the journal. The Ehrmanns[42] denied neither that the number of subscribers was smaller than had been assumed when the contract was signed nor that it was falling. Instead, they tried to explain the reasons for decline in subscriptions and to compensate by working for a lower fee. The publisher's accusation that the editor had provided fewer sheets of manuscript than agreed by contract was also not unfounded, since Marianne Ehrmann was ailing and never disputed that she had initially welcomed the publisher's recruitment of outside contributors.[43] Disagreement did arise over the extent of such contributions by authors whose work Cotta published anyway in most cases and about their publication in the journal without first consulting the editor. Ehrmann distanced herself especially from the lengthy book reviews[44] and endless serialized novels. Her part in the journal diminished continuously beginning late 1791, but open conflict apparently did not erupt until Zahn rejected some of her contributions. Because the publishing company refused to return sole editorial responsibility to her, a parting of the ways resulted.[45] Their reciprocal public accusations served not least the struggle over subscribers, in which Cotta was clearly in a better position since he had organized the distribution of *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* and could simply send his *Flora* to the addresses on his subscription list just as if it were the old journal's legitimate successor.[46] Cotta thus jettisoned Ehrmann, but far from giving up, she returned with a new journal and a new publisher to her original concept of a "moral journal for women [*moralische Zeitschrift für Frauenzimmer*]."[47] That this new enterprise lasted only two years was a consequence of Ehrmann's failing health and her death in 1795.

I consider it highly improbable that the publisher was offended by the few verbally radical critiques of men in Ehrmann's articles. If even contemporary literary critics, who were not exactly gentle in their treatment of so-called women's literature, utterly ignored these polemical attacks while almost universally noting with relish Ehrmann's satirical jabs at her own sex, it is unlikely that Cotta took a harsher view.[48] If, however, Ehrmann was apparently not regarded as a pugnacious critic of men in her time, it was doubtless mainly because she, too, assumed that woman was "destined by nature" to be a wife, housekeeper, and mother and supported clearly separate spheres of activity for the two sexes. Here she followed the line of the dominant

discourse, and she could have reached a quick agreement with Cotta in this matter if the publisher had shown any interest in such positions within the gender debate. As I see it, the publishing company's primary concern was to produce a lucrative literary magazine with many (of its own) well-known authors that would offer readers primarily entertainment and suspense rather than information or moral polemics and thus keep them coming back for more. Because Ehrmann was not only a little-known author but one given to frequent moralizing as well as crude and exaggerated language and was willing to sacrifice reading pleasure to harsh admonition, she was only too dispensable as an editor and contributor.[49]

Changes in the Literary Market

Cotta's successor magazine, *Flora,* represents the prototype of a successful women's journal at the end of the eighteenth century. It survived the turn of the century, which marked a sharp caesura for female editors. With numerous contributions by a wide variety of authors, this monthly already had the character of a magazine and no similarity whatsoever with the eighteenth-century moral weeklies.[50] In that journalistic genre, which was widespread in the German-speaking region between 1725 and 1765, generally one fictitious (or real) author chatted familiarly with the readership in contributions that were rarely divided into separate articles, with the objective of instructing them in a playful manner on various questions of middle-class everyday life. In 1779 and the years that followed, the first female editors again took up this genre; however, the concept was already outdated. Literary journals had replaced it, and moral edification had gone out of fashion, at least among the male reading public. Instead of always the same tone and a quasi-familial relationship between the author figure and his readers, the more experienced public now demanded variety in literary forms, language, and contents. Magazines that assembled diverse contributions corresponded far better to the taste of the times and the growing anonymity of the literary market. The reading public and along with it the number of periodicals had grown. Potential buyers now made their choice by surveying the expanded offerings in retail bookshops, where prominent authors and well-known publishing houses functioned as marks of quality. It therefore became an increasingly hopeless undertaking to self-publish a journal via personal subscriptions based on

advertisements (let alone to secure the financing through prepaid subscriptions) and to distribute it through the post office. Women initially succeeded to a certain extent through this model. They were newcomers to the literary business, and female readers in particular gave women's works attention and trust.[51] In previously unheard-of numbers, women signed their own names to subscriptions for journals edited by women. On the printed subscription lists, they were visibly assembled as both an educated female public and a collective patron of the female editor.[52] However, the professionalization and commercialization of the book trade—which in general increased the number of women authors[53]—ultimately affected female editors adversely. The single-author journal became less common, and women writers more frequently banded together to begin journalistic projects. With time, all of them accepted growing numbers of contributions from outside authors and sought to bring more variety into their publications. It is striking, however, that female editors continued to give their journals a more personal tone than the nonfictitious male editors of the eighteenth century ever had. Female editors now, too, looked for publishers who could finance illustrations and sheet music inserts if necessary. Only under such conditions could a monthly hope to compete with showy pocket books and almanacs.

Amaliens Erholungsstunden (1790–92), *Die Einsiedlerinn aus den Alpen* (1793–94), and *Unterhaltungen in Abendstunden* (1792–93) by Katharina von Hesse and her collaborators already show elements of a magazine character. When it came to this form of journal, however, the working conditions for women were far less favorable than for men. Female authors were not as well known and were not considered suitable for all literary genres. Moreover, they exercised less influence over style and the canon. They also generally had fewer contacts with other writers from whom they could solicit contributions as well as with publishers. Despite her serious disputes with the Cotta publishing house, Marianne Ehrmann at least succeeded in establishing herself as an editor for five years. She was also the only woman who tried again after the failure of her first journal project, as almost all male journalists did. Most of them stayed in the business for many years—often all their lives—founded several periodicals, formed new editorial staffs, and passed flourishing journals on to other editors when necessary. No comparable network developed among women writers in either the eighteenth or the early nineteenth century. To be sure, individual

women editors helped female colleagues and beginning writers by publishing texts in their periodicals, but they could never do as much for them as a famous male editor could.[54]

After the almost total disappearance of female editors from the periodicals market, women remained in demand as contributors, particularly to women's journals, if only for the sake of variety. Thus, for example, after the break with Ehrmann, *Flora* at first had tried to attract the public by mentioning only the best-known male contributors who had promised to write. Just two months later, however, an advertisement appeared in which the publisher assured readers that apart from the male authors mentioned, "some ladies of wit had also agreed to contribute," and *Flora*'s editors hoped "in every respect to *earn* the good reception" that *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* had once enjoyed.[55] The publisher apparently assumed that the female segment of the public in particular appreciated women authors and was eager to read what they wrote.

The motivations that brought together Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, Christoph Martin Wieland, Johann Gottfried Seume, and Friedrich Schiller as editors of the *Journal für deutsche Frauen* in 1805–6 remain somewhat obscure. The title page of the first issue carried the subtitle "written by German women," and in fact during the first year nearly all of the contributions (generally published under cryptonyms or female first names) came from women authors.[56] The male author of a marginal piece expressly justified his exceptional "penetration" of the circle of women.[57] Surprisingly, the editors felt moved to comment neither on the exclusive collection of texts by women nor on the fact that they were all men and that not long before, women had run this business for themselves.[58] The men dispensed with any demonstrative paternalistic gesture of "helping the ladies" and in a preface compared their journal to a well-mannered, trustworthy male companion: one might desire a bit more from him but would never be offered anything undesirable. The editors promised to remove this companion from society the moment he no longer accomplished what they expected of him.[59] In the name of continual improvements, at the end of the first year the editors assured readers that after their "first attempt" the journal would become better and more varied, with more contributors and more "edifying and decorative" engravings.[60] What they did not say was that they had abandoned the plan of publishing only female authors. In 1806, again without any explanation or justification,[61] the subtitle "written by German women" disappeared, and thereafter the over-

whelming majority of texts in the journal appeared under the names of more or less famous male authors, particularly that of coeditor Rochlitz. The copperplate engravings—mainly images of the constellations—became an occasion for educated men to convey basic information about the planets, stars, and seasons to female readers. The journal thus quietly relinquished its specificity. If the publisher is to be believed, the female readership responded positively to the changes. In a late 1806 announcement that the journal could continue in such uncertain times only if subscribers paid in advance, the publisher emphasized that there had been no lack of acclaim from the "truly admirable part" of the public, "to work for whom is a pleasure for any man of wit and heart." Only "political circumstances and their inevitable consequences" made such advance payment necessary.[62] The demand apparently existed: from 1807 to 1808, Rochlitz edited *Selene,* whose contributors were largely the same overwhelmingly male authors and which, logically enough, having dispensed with the word *journal* now had the character of a pure literary anthology.[63] Apart from the eponymous Selene, described in the introduction as the "serious, chaste goddess" who sought to shine only with a "silent light" and gladly promoted domestic happiness, a female public was not explicitly addressed.[64]

The fact that this rather undistinguished literary anthology managed to survive for four years appears to indicate that women readers took no offense at the expansion of the circle of collaborators to include men or at the ensuing male dominance. Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker was even more successful with the continuation of his *Leipziger Monatsschrift für Damen* after two years as a quarterly under the title *Erholungen.* In the latter guise the journal ran from 1796 to 1810. Here, too, no trace of the women's journal remained except perhaps for the fact that, as the preface noted, the periodical excluded "anything political or scholarly" and thus differed from others of its kind.[65]

Although political and scholarly matters were considered dispensable in broad segments of popular journalism in the early nineteenth century, a certain emphasis on current issues seems increasingly to have been expected. The previously described journals had largely done without any contemporary focus and showed at most the rudiments of recurring rubrics. In contrast, the semiweekly *Allgemeine deutsche Frauenzeitung* (1816–18) and the *Damenzeitung: Ein Morgenblatt für das schöne Geschlecht* (1829–30), four pages in quarto published daily, were clearly presented in magazine style. The *Allgemeine*

deutsche Frauenzeitung was compiled by Erfurt bookseller-publisher Friedrich Keyser and J. M. Laubling and after 1817 by Friedrich Gleich. The editors, who had more the quality of entrepreneurs than of authors, were clearly trying to ride the wave of new patriotic journalistic projects. According to their declaration, they sought to provide a forum for the patriotic women's associations that had formed during the Napoleonic Wars and to preserve a patriotic and "better spirit of the times [*einen vaterländischen, besseren Zeitgeist*]."[66] Doubtless not least because most of these organizations ceased their activities in peacetime, the reports of local associations became ever more rare. Here, as in the later *Damenzeitung,* female authors remained clearly in the minority. The *Damenzeitung,* edited by Carl Spindler, was firmly devoted to entertainment. As was clear not merely from its title (Ladies' Newspaper) but also from such rubrics as the "Gallery of Remarkable Women and Their Times,"[67] however, the journal eagerly sought to attract female readers. Whether the editors of both magazines just happened to know and contact very few women writers or whether some of them refused to contribute because they preferred to publish in periodicals not devoted to their own sex remains unexplored, as does the matter of the preferences of early-nineteenth-century women readers. The trend from the edifying moral and literary journal to the entertaining magazine had essentially made it unnecessary to address women separately. Thus, around 1800, not only did female editors of women's journals disappear from the market, but literary women's journals themselves became rare.

If we can generalize from one of the few sources relating to the failure of a women's journal, it appears quite probable that early-nineteenth-century educated women may have rejected a special literature written for their sex. In 1821, Johanna Schopenhauer was asked whether she would accept the editorship of a planned journal for women. In her reply, the author expressed skepticism:

> The days are long past in which it made sense to write special books for women, as one does for children. The feminine mind now grasps every bloom in the realm of belles lettres, examines everything and keeps the best, with no less success and no less selectivity than the masculine mind, and the presumption of writing solely for women would frighten away from us the most educated and gifted female readers, for they would sense from afar the ennui and moral chatter that they have already experienced ad nauseam.[68]

She could imagine at most helping to found a journal that offered its readers cheerful, warmhearted, and intelligent diversion; that did not preach; and that bore the title of a women's journal only to the extent that it contained not a line that offended "women's sense of morality, propriety, justice, and injustice."[69] Schopenhauer made a number of concrete suggestions and sketched very matter-of-factly and self-confidently the possibilities of a business agreement with the publisher, but the plan never came to fruition. Her distaste for a separate niche may seem understandable, especially in retrospect with the knowledge of its traps. However, Schopenhauer overlooked the fact that a special literature for the female sex had offered eighteenth-century women writers opportunities in the literary marketplace that disappeared immediately with the ostensibly gender-neutral press of the early nineteenth century.

Historians of the German press have not viewed the abrupt end to the early flowering of women's journalism as a loss. Rather, it appears as part of the irresistible march of progress: periodicals became more diverse and current and reached a constantly growing reading public with increasing speed. The work of editing, publishing, and distribution was more and more specialized, developing into separate professions that offered livelihoods to larger numbers of people. The transformation of the literary market was precisely not channeled or justified by enlisting gender stereotypes (as the case studies in this volume document for other areas of society). In fact, the opposite held true. The previously common, deliberate gender segmentation of the public was relinquished in favor of a permanent expansion of the target group. In practical terms, journalism thus increasingly became the domain of male professionals, and it remained so for a long time.

Notes

Translated by Pamela Selwyn.

1. Friedrich W. Ebeling, *Gottfried August Bürger und Elise Hahn: Ein Ehe-, Kunst-, und Literaturleben* (Leipzig, 1868), 206.

2. The second edition appeared under the title *Mein Taschenbuch erwachsenen Mädchen und jungen Frauen gewidmet* (Pirna, 1809–11).

3. Wolfgang Martens, *Die Botschaft der Tugend: Die Aufklärung im Spiegel der deutschen Moralischen Wochenschriften* (Stuttgart, 1968); Regina Nörtemann, "Schwache Werkzeuge als öffentliche Richterinnen: Zur fiktiven weiblichen Herausgeberschaft in Moralischen Wochenschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72 (1990): 381–403.

4. Ulrike Weckel, *Zwischen Häuslichkeit und Öffentlichkeit: Die ersten*

deutschen Frauenzeitschriften im späten 18. Jahrhundert und ihr Publikum (Tübingen, 1998). See also Edith Krull's pioneering "Das Wirken der Frau im frühen deutschen Zeitschriftenwesen" (PhD diss., Universität Berlin, 1939). On the better-known periodicals, see also Ruth P. Dawson, "Women Communicating: Eighteenth-Century German Journals Edited by Women," *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique* 54 (1983): 95–111; a shorter version appeared in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century,* vol. 216, *Transactions of the Sixth International Congress on the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1983), 239–41; Ulrike Böhmel Fichera, *Kein Werk des Zufalls: Frauen als Herausgeberinnen von literarischen Frauenzeitschriften im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Naples, 1990); Helga Neumann, *Zwischen Emanzipation und Anpassung: Protagonistinnen des deutschen Zeitschriftenwesens im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert (1779–1795)* (Würzburg, 1999).

5. Amalia Bernhardt allegedly edited the weekly *Die Beobachterin an Spree und Havel* from 1819 to 1820. The name may well have been a female pseudonym for the male editor of the *Beobachter an der Spree,* however, which appeared at the same time. In 1820, Helmina von Chézy and Fanny Tarnow lent their names to an Association of German Female Authors, which published the journal *Iduna: Writings by German Women, Dedicated to Women.* Only two issues appeared. The most successful of the women editors was Louise Marezoll, otherwise a complete literary unknown. In the years before the Revolution of 1848, she edited first the *Frauenzeitung,* an "Entertaining Paper by and for Women [*Unterhaltungsblatt von und für Frauen*]" that appeared three times a week, and then the quarterly *Frauen-Spiegel.* See Ulrike Weckel, "Öffentliches Räsonnement über die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Frau: 'Frauenzeitung' und 'Frauen-Spiegel,' 1838–1841," in *Frauen und Öffentlichkeit: Beiträge der 6. Schweizerischen Historikerinnentagung,* ed. Mireille Othenin-Girard, Anna Gossenreiter, and Sabine Trautweiler (Zurich, 1991), 161–83.

6. Between 1798 and 1800, Sophie Mereau edited the first three volumes of the *Berlinischer Damenkalender.* Then, independently of a publisher, she tried her hand at an anthology of her own, *Kalathiskos,* one volume of which appeared in 1801 and 1802. (The anthology was reprinted with an afterword by Peter Schmidt [Heidelberg, 1968].) Therese Huber initially participated in editing the *Taschenbuch für Damen,* which was published by Cotta beginning in 1798. In 1801, Eulalia Gutwill compiled a *Neuestes Taschenbuch für Frauenzimmer edlerer Bildung,* and from 1800 to 1810, Johanna Caroline Wilhelmine Spazier was responsible for a *Taschenbuch* "dedicated to love and friendship."

7. See Maria Gräfin Lanckoronska and Arthur Rümann, *Geschichte der deutschen Taschenbücher und Almanache aus der klassisch-romantischen Zeit* (Munich, 1954), esp. 59–79; York-Gothart Mix, *Die deutschen Musenalmanache des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1987); Pia Schmid, "Hausfrau, Gattin, Mutter: Zur bürgerlichen Definition von Weiblichkeit um 1800 im Spiegel einiger deutschsprachiger Zeitschriften," in *Die ungeschriebene Geschichte: Historische Frauenforschung: Dokumentation des 5. Historikerinnentreffens in*

Wien im April 1984 (Vienna, 1985), 169–86; Pia Schmid, "'O, wie süss lohnt das Muttergefühl!' Die Bestimmung zur Mutter in Almanachen für das weibliche Publikum," in *Tugend, Vernunft, und Gefühl: Geschlechterdiskurse der Aufklärung und weibliche Lebenswelten,* ed. Claudia Opitz, Ulrike Weckel, and Elke Kleinau (Münster, 2000), 107–25; Helga Madland, "Three Late Eighteenth-Century Women's Journals: Their Role in Shaping Women's Lives," *Women in German Yearbook* 4 (1988): 167–86.

8. Of the four journals edited by women, only one was clearly intended for a female public. Mathilde Franziska Anneke did call the paper she edited *Frauen-Zeitung* but emphasized in the preface to the first issue that this was a probably not very promising attempt to continue the recently banned *Neue Kölnische Zeitung,* which she had produced together with her husband and another male fellow democrat. In fact, the third issue of the paper was confiscated. *Der Freischärler: Für Kunst und sociales Leben,* in which editor Louise Aston commented on the stance of the democratic women's clubs but otherwise dealt with the political, social, cultural, and military situation without a gender-specific slant, survived a mere six weeks. Louise Dittmar's monthly journal, *Soziale Reform,* also was not directed primarily at women. Only the longest-lived of the four journalistic projects, Louise Otto's *Frauen-Zeitung,* targeted a female readership. Otto encouraged her readers to intervene politically and promote their rights since they could not expect men to do so. See Ute Gerhard, "Über die Anfänge der deutschen Frauenbewegung um 1848: Frauenpresse, Frauenpolitik, und Frauenvereine," in *Frauen suchen ihre Geschichte: Historische Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Karin Hausen (Munich, 1983), 196–220; Ulla Wischermann, "'Das Himmelskind, die Freiheit—wir ziehen sie groß zu Haus': Frauenpublizistik im Vormärz und in der Revolution von 1848," in *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung,* ed. Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz (Frankfurt, 1996), 2:35–50; Ulla Wischermann, *Frauenpublizistik und Journalismus: Vom Vormärz zur Revolution von 1848* (Weinheim, 1998).

9. See Ulla Wischermann, "Die Presse der deutschen Frauenbewegung, 1848–1918: Anregung zur Erforschung einer fast vergessenen Öffentlichkeit," in *Presse und Geschichte,* vol. 2, *Neue Beiträge zur historischen Kommunikationsforschung,* ed. Elger Blühm and Hartwig Gebhardt (Munich, 1987), 349–63.

10. Using a quotation of Olympe de Gouges for her title, Joan Wallach Scott understands the "paradoxes" of feminists in a different way: "In order to protest women's exclusion, they had to act on behalf of women and so invoked the very difference they sought to deny" (*Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminsts and the Rights of Man* [Cambridge, 1996], x). The German female editors of women's journals took another approach. Far from denying difference and asking for equal rights, they took the discourse of difference as an invitation to participate in it, often by publicly praising the value of female domesticity.

11. For evidence of such argumentation in prefaces by women journal edi-

tors and in contemporary reviews of their periodicals, see Ulrike Weckel, "Lehrerinnen des weiblichen Geschlechts: Die ersten Herausgeberinnen von Frauenzeitschriften und ihr Publikum," in *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung,* ed. Kleinau and Opitz, 1:428–39.

12. As in France and Great Britain, the number of female German writers increased remarkably with the expansion of the literary market. Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern* (Princeton, 2001), has pointed out that in France, in spite of tendencies to exclude women from the Enlightenment project, women did participate in the new commercial public as authors. This chapter, however, focuses on one specific genre—women's journals—which in Germany opened ways for female authors to become published and even to appear as independent editors. At the turn of the century, this genre was on the decline. Unlike in France and Great Britain, where female journalists did not choose to write primarily for their own sex, the end of the women's journals in Germany made it very difficult for women to establish themselves in journalism.

13. These three authors also by no means supported their demands for equal rights for women solely by noting that men and women belonged equally to the human race and thus possessed the same potentials and capacities. Rather, at different points in their arguments, these authors cited women's particular qualities. On Olympe de Gouges, see Ute Gerhard, "Menschenrechte—Frauenrechte 1789," in *Sklavin oder Bürgerin? Französische Revolution und Neue Weiblichkeit, 1760–1830,* ed. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff (Marburg, 1989); Scott, *Only Paradoxes,* 19–56. On Mary Wollstonecraft, see Claudia L. Johnson, *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender, and Sentimentality in the 1790s: Wollstonecraft, Radcliffe, Burney, Austen* (Chicago, 1995), 23–46. On Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, see Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, 1996), 323–32.

14. On contemporary audience receptions to both Hippel and Wollstonecraft in Germany, see Ulrike Weckel, "Gleichheit auf dem Prüfstand: Zur zeitgenössischen Rezeption der Streitschriften von Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel und Mary Wollstonecraft in Deutschland," in *Tugend, Vernunft, und Gefühl.* ed. Opitz, Weckel, and Kleinau, 209–47.

15. In this judgment I differ from Ruth Dawson. She also sees that German "eighteenth-century protofeminism rarely explicitly argued that men and women, equal as persons, should have equal rights," but she distinguishes between objection to oppression and objection to subordination. In her reading, German "protofeminists" (in which she includes journal editor Marianne Ehrmann in particular) objected to male oppression but not to female subordination. See Ruth P. Dawson, *The Contested Quill: Literature by Women in Germany, 1770–1800* (Newark, 2002), esp. 274–85.

16. The prefaces make this obvious. While female authors used this obligatory genre for an explicit justification of their literary work, male writers generally felt no need to comment on their appearance before the public, instead

proceeding immediately to explanations of journal titles and agendas. On prefaces by female novelists, see Magdalene Heuser, "'Ich wollte dieß und das von meinem Buche sagen, und gerieth in ein Vernünfteln': Poetologische Reflexionen in den Romanvorreden," in *Untersuchungen zum Roman von Frauen um 1800,* ed. Helga Gallas and Heuser (Tübingen, 1990), 52–65.

17. See Susanne Kord, "Die Gelehrte als Zwitterwesen in Schriften von Autorinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts," *Querelles: Jahrbuch für Frauenforschung* 1 (1996): 158–90; Ulrike Weckel, "Der Fieberfrost des Freiherrn: Zur Polemik gegen weibliche Gelehrsamkeit und ihren Folgen für die Geselligkeit der Geschlechter," in *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung,* ed. Kleinau and Opitz, 1:360–72.

18. *Für Hamburgs Töchter* 1 (1779): 3–13.

19. See esp. the short story that appeared in the successor journal, "Der Schuzgeist: Eine italienische Geschichte," *Die Einsiedlerinn aus den Alpen,* 1.2, no. 4 (1793): 3–38. An abridged version of the journal, edited by Annette Zunzer, has recently been reprinted (Berne, 2002). As usual in this controversy over "female scholars," the "Lady Biankini" is equipped with masculine attributes as a sign of her assault on a male monopoly. She stubbornly disputes male colleagues, shouting them down in her insatiable ambition, becoming red and blue in the face and gesticulating with her arms, hawking in their faces, and even sinking her teeth into their necks. She does not have a beard like the usual caricature of a bluestocking, but her nose is crooked and coal black from taking snuff (13–14).

20. The polemic against so-called female scholars was not simply part of the critique of "dry scholasticism" common in educated circles in the eighteenth century. Male pedants or armchair scholars (*Schul- oder Stubengelehrte*) were accused of being withdrawn, unworldly, and misanthropic. Female scholars, in contrast, were described as constantly annoying their companions at parties with pretenses of book learning.

21. See Ulrike Böhmel Fichera, "'Keine eigentliche Schulgelehrsamkeit': Marianne Ehrmanns Begriff der 'Denkerin,'" *Querelles: Jahrbuch für Frauenforschung* 1 (1996): 142–57; Heide von Felden, "Marianne Ehrmann und die Bildung der Frauen durch Schriften im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert," in *Frauen in pädagogischen Berufen,* ed. Elke Kleinau (Bad Heilbrunn, 1996), 1:39–55.

22. She decided confidently which were the "most excellent" among the historians and explained to her female readers who Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch, Pausanias, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, Sallust, Julius Caesar, Polybius, and Tacitus had been; what works they had written; and why they remained of interest for the present. Then she paused for a moment: "There are many other famous names, but I would appear too learned." After this gesture of apparent modesty, she proceeded coolly to introduce the prominent historians of her own day ("Von der Geschichte," *Pomona* 1.7 [1783]: 658–64).

23. See "Veranlassung der Pomona," *Pomona* 1.1 (1783): esp. 14–15; "Briefe an Lina 22," *Pomona* 2.10 (1784): esp. 931–32. A female reader who suspected with some justification that La Roche was avoiding merely the appearance of being learned, received the published reply that the editor by no means claimed the dignity of learned men. She had mastered neither the most important disciplines nor the ancient languages. Then, however, La Roche admitted that "if what one means by *being learned* is that one knows more than one was required to, then I am almost learned—but, oh, how far removed from the shining, glorious goal of true manly learning, which, if everything is to be in order, is not, and cannot be, our affair" ("Noch zwei Fragen," *Pomona* 1.10 [1783]: 924–25). On La Roche's educational vision in *Pomona* and her cunning hints at her broad knowledge, see also Dawson, *Contested Quill,* 122–31.

24. Such public appreciation was in the tradition of the profemale party in the *querelle des femmes* as well as of the male authors of lexicons of famous women. See Katharina Fietze, "Frauenbildung in der 'Querelle des femmes,'" in *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung,* ed. Kleinau and Opitz, 1:237–51.

25. They should be regarded as "heroines" who exceeded their "true calling . . . to do honor to their entire sex" ("Vorläufige Tractaten mit unsern Leserinnen," *Akademie der Grazien* 1.1 [1774]: 11–12).

26. "Biographische Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Frauenzimmern," *Magazin für Frauenzimmer* 2.1 (1783): 47.

27. "Vorerinnerung für die Leserinnen dieses Magazins," *Museum für das weibliche Geschlecht* 1.1 (1792): 4, 12.

28. "Hoffentlich wird diese Entreprise nicht Ihre *Bibliothek der Lina* croisieren?" Christoph Martin Wieland to Sophie von La Roche, 16 February 1785, in *Neue Briefe Christoph Martin Wielands vornehmlich an Sophie von La Roche,* ed. Robert Hassenkamp (Stuttgart, 1894), 277.

29. Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "'Muse' und 'Kunstrichter': Sophie von La Roche und Wieland," *Modern Language Notes* 99.1, no. 3 (1984): 586. This thesis is adopted almost verbatim in Ingrid Wiede-Behrendt, *Lehrerin des Schönen, Wahren, Guten: Literatur und Frauenbildung im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von Sophie von La Roche* (Berne, 1987), 256.

30. Sophie von La Roche to Elise zu Solms-Laubach, 2 August 1783, in *"Ich bin mehr Herz als Kopf": Sophie von La Roche: Ein Lebensbild in Briefen,* ed. Michael Maurer, 2nd ed (Munich, 1985), 255.

31. Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Sophie von La Roche (1730–1807): Kommentiertes Werkverzeichnis," *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert: Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts* 17.1 (1993): 28–49.

32. "Anzeige an das Publikum," *Pomona* 2.12 (1784): n.p. Instead of continuing her correspondence with real readers, in 1791, after a considerable time lapse, La Roche published *Briefe über Mannheim,* in which she once again turned to the lively "Karoline," a fictional character whom La Roche had

made an occasional collaborator on *Pomona.* The letters describe the events of the winter season of 1784–85, which La Roche's family had spent in the princely residence and theater city of Mannheim. La Roche claimed that Karoline had requested the letters as a replacement for the journal, which had ceased publication. The author's travels and travel accounts apparently prevented an earlier publication date.

33. See Guy Stern, "Wieland als Herausgeber der Sternheim," in *Christoph Martin Wieland: Nordamerikanische Forschungsbeiträge zur 250. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages 1983,* ed. Hansjörg R. Schelle (Tübingen, 1984), 195–208. See also Wieland's letters concerning the novel *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* in *"Ich bin mehr Herz als Kopf,"* ed. Maurer, esp. 114–15.

34. "Anzeige der Pomona," *Der Teutsche Merkur (Anzeiger)* 1 (1784): xv. This notice stated that *Pomona,* with which La Roche "had won all the love of Germany's daughters that an excellent and tender mother could earn," was now appearing in the first issue of the second and unfortunately probably last volume: "Need I say more to those who subscribed to the first volume?"

35. Christoph Martin Wieland to Sophie von La Roche, 29 February 1784, in *C. M. Wieland's Briefe an Sophie von La Roche, nebst einem Schreiben von Gellert an Lavater,* ed. Franz Horn (Berlin, 1820), 250–51.

36. Only widowhood and the political upheavals of the revolutionary wars brought an end to her wealth and optimism. See Michael Maurer, "Einleitung: Sophie von La Roche—Leben einer empfindsamen Aufklärerin," in *"Ich bin mehr Herz als Kopf,"* ed. Maurer, 29–33.

37. Krull, "Das Wirken der Frau," 236–76, esp. 252–66; Sabine Schumann, "Das 'lesende Frauenzimmer': Frauenzeitschriften im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Die Frau von der Reformation zur Romantik: Die Situation der Frau vor dem Hintergrund der Literatur- und Sozialgeschichte,* ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Bonn, 1980), 158; Helga Madland, "An Introduction to the Works and Life of Marianne Ehrmann (1755–95): Writer, Editor, Journalist," *Lessing Yearbook* 21 (1989): 171–96. In her subsequent monograph, Madland modifies her radical thesis, noting that "financial considerations undoubtedly were an issue in the Ehrmann-Cotta debacle" (Helga Madland, *Marianne Ehrmann: Reason and Emotion in Her Life and Works* [New York, 1998], 220); Böhmel Fichera, *Kein Werk des Zufalls,* 107–8, 115, 138; Lisbeth Herger, "Frauenpublizistik am Beispiel von Marianne Ehrmann (1755–1795)," in *Alltag in der Schweiz seit 1300,* ed. Bernhard Schneider [Zurich, 1991], 192). A work that provides abundant quotations from the sources but little precise interpretation is Britt-Angela Kirstein, *Marianne Ehrmann: Publizistin und Herausgeberin im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1997), 91–111. Becker-Cantarino mentions the end of *Pomona* and *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* in one breath, without explanation, declaring both editors to have been the victims of the same triumphal march of the popular almanacs and their "famous male authors, including Wieland, Goethe or Schiller" ("'Muse' und 'Kunstrichter,'" 586).

38. Madland, "Introduction," 185–86. See Antinoa, Syndicussin der Schö-

nen, "Schönheit über Geist," *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* (hereafter cited as *AE*) 3.12 (1792): 201–4.

39. Krull, "Das Wirken der Frau," 254, cites from the second installment of "Gedanken über den Umgang eines bürgerlichen Frauenzimmers mit einem Offizier," which urgently admonished young women not to give military men the impression of consent (*AE* 2.8 [1791]: 123–29). The first installment (*AE* 2.7 [1791]: 31–38) was signed with the shorthand for Ehrmann's name.

40. Philonous L., "Venus Urania oder Giebt es Schönheit ohne Geist? Ein Traum: An Antionoa," *Flora,* 1.3 (1793): 73–92. The other two rebuttals were Lps, "Geist über Schönheit," *Flora* 1 (1793): 209–15; Yz, "Ein Wort an die Schönen und Nichtschönen," *Flora* 4 (1793): 175–78. Dawson discovered some occasional "protofeminist voices" even in *Flora* (*Contested Quill,* 278–81).

41. For a detailed account with numerous citations from primary sources, see Weckel, *Häuslichkeit und Öffentlichkeit,* 282–305.

42. The husband's involvement throughout this business conflict resulted from the editor's limited legal responsibility as a married woman. Hesse (*Other Enlightenment,* 56–78) has argued that in France this sort of legal situation obstructed married women's access to the literary public—publications required a husband's permission, and husbands were entitled to publish wives' works without their consent. Comparison with Germany is difficult because laws varied among the hundreds of small states. Nevertheless, I would argue for not overestimating the power of a legal situation, since laws do not necessarily determine what people actually do. In this case, for example, Theophil Ehrmann seems not to have used his legal entitlement against his wife's business interests; indeed, he shared them. Conversely, some women may well have been reluctant to publish their texts under their husbands' family names although legally allowed to do so without the husbands' permission.

43. After Ehrmann left the editorship, Cotta's publishing company quoted from a letter by her in the October 1792 issue of *Amaliens Erholungsstunden.* The tenor of the quoted letter is substantiated by an open letter defending her as editor. J. G. Cottaische Buchhandlung, announcement in *AE* 3.4, no. 10 (1792): 104; Meiburg, "An die Leserinnen des Journals Amaliens Erholungsstunden betitelt. Eine Notwehr für die boshaft angegriffene Verfasserin und ihren Gatten," in Krull, "Das Wirken der Frau," 260–65.

44. Marianne Ehrmann, "Erklärung," *AE* 2.3, no. 8 (1791): 173–74. In the studies mentioned earlier, Ehrmann's disapproval is traced mainly to the limited reading program that the reviewer had assigned to women in the month before this declaration. However, this perspective overlooks the fact that Ehrmann's own recommendations were also restrictive. See, for example, Marianne Ehrmann, "Kurze Bücheranzeigen," *AE* 2.3, no. 7 (1791): 80–86; Marianne Ehrmann, "Über die Lektür," *AE* 1.1, no. 1 (1790): 12–29. It is at least equally probable that Ehrmann objected to the bias of the reviewer, who, until Ehrmann's complaint, had disproportionately discussed and praised books published by Cotta. The book reviews also marked the beginning of the

publisher's unauthorized editorial interventions, which also could explain Ehrmann's explicit distancing of herself from the journal's content.

45. Kirstein shows on the basis of previously unknown sources that the Ehrmanns broke with Cotta only when they had an offer from a new publisher (*Marianne Ehrmann,* 102–11, esp. n. 140).

46. The publishing house claimed that it had essentially already borne sole responsibility for the journal throughout 1792 so that the subscribers would continue to receive what they had clearly approved. Allegedly to avoid confusion, in November and December Cotta titled the journal *Amaliens Erholungsstunden nicht von Marianne Ehrmann oder Flora* (Amalia's Leisure Hours not by Marianne Ehrmann, or Flora). Some eighteenth-century literary observers criticized this unusually brutal practice. Madland's interpretation of this as an "exorcism" seems to be going a bit too far, however ("Introduction," 183).

47. Marianne Ehrmann, "Vorrede" and "Einleitung," *Die Einsiedlerinn aus den Alpen* 1.1 (1793): 15.

48. See esp. the review of *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* 2.1–6 in *Oberdeutsche allgemeine Litteraturzeitung* 1.2 (1792): 25–28. On contemporary reviews of Ehrmann's two journals as well as *Flora,* see Weckel, *Häuslichkeit und Öffentlichkeit,* 429–38.

49. The new editor, presumably Zahn, made no bones about this in his preface to the first issue of the journal now called *Flora: Amaliens Erholungsstunden* was now a closed chapter. Consequently, Ehrmann, who had provided far fewer contributions for the last volume than her contract stipulated, would write "not one line" in the new journal: "It is wholly up to my lovely readers to judge the extent to which this is your loss" (editor's preface, *Flora* 1.1 [1793]: 10).

50. Thus, Ehrmann's successor no longer signed himself as the author (*Verfasser*) but rather as the editor (*Redakteur*) (*Flora* 1.1 [1783]: 10). On *Flora,* see also Madland, "Three Eighteenth-Century Women's Journals."

51. For this reason, several late-eighteenth-century men assumed female pseudonyms as authors or editors. They presumably also hoped for gentler treatment at the hands of critics.

52. In the subscription lists of journals edited by women, the proportion of female names generally topped 50 percent, far higher than the tiny percentages of women who usually appeared as subscribers in the second half of the eighteenth century (Reinhard Wittmann, "Subskribenten- und Pränumerantenverzeichnisse als Quellen zur Lesergeschichte," in *Buchmarkt und Lektüre im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Beiträge zum literarischen Leben, 1750–1880* [Tübingen, 1982], 46–68).

53. See Sophie Pataky, ed., *Lexikon deutscher Frauen der Feder,* 2 vols. (1889; Pforzheim, 1987); for figures of French and British women writers, see Hesse, *Other Enlightenment,* 37, 39.

54. See Ruth P. Dawson, "'Der Weihrauch, den uns die Männer streuen': Wieland and the Women Writers in the *Teutscher Merkur,*" in *Christoph Mar-*

tin Wieland, ed. Schelle, 225–49. Dawson, *Contested Quill,* 131–41, rightly emphasizes that La Roche motivated several women to send contributions to *Pomona* (mostly letters to the editor and poems, as mentioned earlier) and that the journal fostered communication between readers and contributors. However, I cannot see what one gains by labeling this phenomenon a "literary group." I have analyzed it as a "female public" that gathered around the journal (Weckel, *Häuslichkeit und Öffentlichkeit,* 213–56, 318–454).

55. J. G. Cottaische Buchhandlung, announcement, *AE* 3.4, no. 12 (1792): 291.

56. *Journal für deutsche Frauen, von deutschen Frauen geschrieben: Besorgt von Wieland, Schiller, Rochlitz, und Seume,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1805–6) (hereafter cited as *JfdF*). The only women who signed contributions with their full names during the two years the journal appeared were Louise Brachmann, who published several poems, and Karoline Stosch, Julie von Bechtolsheim, and Karoline Woltmann, who published one prose text each. The three-part series on female education ("Über weibliche Erziehung") was by Karoline Rudolphi, as a comparison with the (identical) text of her 1807 book, *Gemälde weiblicher Erziehung,* shows. See Elke Kleinau, "Pädagoginnen der Aufklärung und ihre Bildungstheorien," in *Tugend, Vernunft, und Gefühl,* ed. Opitz, Weckel, and Kleinau, 309–38.

57. "The ladies will forgive a friend of that excellent man for bursting in on them and bringing a small wreath of forget-me-nots" (*JfdF* 1.1 [1805]: 160). The reference here is to an obituary for the author Christian Felix Weisse. The first volume also contained a poem by Seume on his late fellow editor, Schiller.

58. The concept of a periodical literary anthology with texts only by women authors had already been the basis of the 1790 *Museum für Frauenzimmer,* "by some of their co-sisters." The quarterly journal, whose editors remained anonymous, ran for only four issues. Rochlitz, Seume, Wieland, and Schiller also did not see fit to elucidate the fact that the journal was addressed patriotically to "German" women from "German" women.

59. "An die Leserinnen," *JfdF* 1.1 (1805): 3–4.

60. "Nachschrift," *JfdF* 1.12 (1805): 127–28.

61. Somewhat misleadingly, the "Nachschrift" announced that in the next volume, two clever "German ladies" currently residing in Paris would be reporting on the "feminine world of that imperial city" (ibid., 128).

62. Georg Joachim Göschen, "Nachricht wegen der Fortsetzung des Journals," *JfdF* 2.12 (1806): n.p.

63. *Selene: Zugleich als Fortsetzung des Journals für deutsche Frauen,* ed. Friedrich Rochlitz, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1807–08). The only identifiable woman contributor again was Brachmann.

64. "She . . . steps amiably, bringing delight into the homes of humanity. . . . She loves the maiden, warns the wife, is helpful to the expecting mother, protects the infant, and preserves for the man of the tribe honor and the joy of life" ("Selene," *Selene* 1.1 [1807]: 3).

65. "Vorbericht," *Erholungen* 1 (1796): n.p.

66. "Weihe," *Allgemeine deutsche Frauenzeitung* 1.1 (1816): 2–3. See also the advertisement in *Zeitblüthen* (1815): 343, quoted in Alfred Estermann, *Die deutschen Literatur-Zeitschriften 1815–1850: Bibliographien, Programme, Autoren* (Nendeln, 1978–81), 2:56–58. On this journal, see Dirk Alexander Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation: Patriotische Frauenvereine in Deutschland im frühen 19. Jahrhundert (1813–1830)* (Cologne, 1998), 364–66, 470–75; Karen Hagemann, "*Mannlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre": Nation, Militär, und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens* (Paderborn, 2002), esp. 389–90.

67. On women's contemporary attempts to write women's history, see Angelika Epple, *Empfindsame Geschichtsschreibung: Eine Geschlechtergeschichte der Historiographie zwischen Aufklärung und Historismus* (Cologne, 2003).

68. "Die Zeiten, wo man für Frauen wie für Kinder eigene Bücher schreiben durfte, sind längst vorüber. Der weibliche Geist ergreift jetzt jede Blume im Gebiet der schönen Literatur, betrachtet alles und behält das Beste, mit nicht minderen Gelingen und nicht minderer Auswahl als der männliche, und schon die Anmaßung, nur für Frauen schreiben zu wollen, würde die gebildesten und geistreichsten Leserinnen uns verscheuchen, weil sie schon von weitem Langeweile und zum Überdruß wiederholtes moralisches Geschwätz zu wittern glauben würden" (Johanna Schopenhauer to an unnamed privy councilor, 2 December 1821, in *Damals in Weimar! Erinnerungen und Briefe von und an Johanna Schopenhauer,* ed. Heinrich Hubert Houben [Leipzig, 1924], 141–42).

69. Ibid.

Transition toward Invisibility

Women's Scientific Activities around 1800

Beate Ceranski

> Kein Frauenzimmer muß eine Gelehrte von Profession werden. [No woman needs to become a professional scholar.]
>
> *Der Gesellige,* 1748

Science, of course, constituted women's business neither before nor after 1800. Indeed, the exclusion of women from regular university attendance and academic careers is one of the fundamental continuities in the social setting of science in the early modern as well as the modern period up to at least the 1880s. Yet a marked difference exists between the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries on the one hand and the nineteenth century on the other. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, quite a remarkable number of women throughout Central Europe participated in science. In the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the diversity and intensity of female involvement with science suffered a considerable decline in the German states.[1] Conversely, the first half of the nineteenth century brought to German science what has been called the "great transition" from poor dispersed scholars to a vigorous university system with a strong research ethos and a scientific level soon considered the best in Europe.[2] It is therefore tempting to examine if and how these two developments are connected to one another and to the greater sociopolitical changes of that period of transition. Indeed, I will show that in some instances, a direct causal relationship exists between the two; in other respects both processes are deeply informed by the overarching changes connected with the emergence of the *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* between approximately 1780 and 1850.

To understand better what occurred in this period and disentangle the different strands that contributed to the changes in female participation, this chapter will first examine the eighteenth century, providing

a rough survey and classification of the opportunities open to women in Central Europe who wanted to become acquainted with science. In the second part of the chapter I will consider how in the German-speaking area these forms of participation were affected by the political and cultural changes of normative discourses and social practices around 1800. Finally, I will formulate some conclusions as well as new questions. The changes around 1800 resulted in science being virtually free of any visible female participation (not only on a professional level). Furthermore, science became related to masculinity in a much closer way than had previously been the case. Thus, although the exclusion of women from the professional pursuit of science represents the fundamental continuity, the new intensity in the gendering of science might represent a transition so decisive that the question of continuity or break remains very open to debate.

In this chapter, *science* is used in a broad sense of "natural science," including theoretical medical disciplines as well as (natural) philosophy. I will deal neither with the academic professions, law, divinity, and medicine (with one exception) nor with literature and the arts. "Scientific participation" is conceived as including all forms of social intercourse and human behavior bringing people into contact with science. The term may include reading a popular scientific book as well as detecting a new plant or writing (or reading) a mathematical treatise. Finally, for the sake of brevity, I will often refer to "Germany" rather than to what should be called more appropriately the German states.

Models before the "Great Transition": Visible Female Participation in Science in the Eighteenth Century

The Artisan Model: Working Together

Participating in the family business probably was the most important way into science for women outside the nobility. In some cases, such activities even led to salaried positions or to private enterprises that brought some cash. At the same time, however, institutional professionalization was already beginning to result in the exclusion of women. Astronomy provides examples of both phenomena, as Londa Schiebinger has demonstrated, pointing out the unusually high percentage of female practitioners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] Schiebinger attributes this finding to the close connection with medieval guild tradition, but it may also result from the fact that astro-

nomical activities generally require the collaboration of at least two persons for the uninterrupted observation of the skies. Astronomy was also the subject of one of the first German scientific instructional texts written in the vernacular, Maria Cunitz's *Urania propitia* (1650).[4] Most interesting and somewhat puzzling, this comparatively early work represents one of the very few examples of German scientific texts by women. Another woman, Caroline Herschel (1750–1848) from Hanover, is also said to have been the most gifted observer of comets in early modern astronomy. She was the sister of William Herschel, who had moved to England to pursue a career in music. At William's request, Caroline went to assist him as a singer. He subsequently changed his profession to become an astronomer, and he trained her to help him in his new occupation.[5] From 1787 onward, the English king assigned her a personal pension, independent of her brother. Such a "career" occurred within a patronage-dominated system—both brother and sister were paid directly out of the royal purse—and would not have been possible in Germany, where astronomy had already been institutionalized. Berlin astronomer Maria Winkelmann (1670–1720) demonstrates precisely how the traditional artisan patterns of female participation and responsibility for the family enterprise had to recede before the institutionalization of science. Winkelmann, who had been trained as an astronomer by a neighbor, married the astronomer Gottfried Kirch and thus secured the opportunity to continue her association with the science. For decades she shared the work of her husband, who became the official astronomer of the Scientific Society of Berlin. Moreover, the couple's children of both sexes were also instructed in astronomical observations and computations. When Gottfried died, Maria asked the society to assign to her the preparation of its calendar, but after much discussion—in which Leibniz, among others, spoke for the widow—society officials decided that they did not want to expose themselves to ridicule by having their calendar prepared by a woman. Maria and her daughters returned to work for the society only several years later, when her son, Christfried, became the society's astronomer.[6]

Although astronomy probably is the most striking example, other branches of science also had women become involved via their families. Interestingly, these are often fields with strong artisanal or artistic connotations, which may speak for the guild tradition. The best-known German woman certainly is entomologist Maria Sybilla Merian (1647–1717) from Nuremberg. The daughter of the famous copper-

plate engraver, Matthias Merian, Maria became a successful freelance observer and scientific illustrator of plants and insects and undertook a research trip to Suriname with her daughter.[7]

The Aristocratic Model: Protecting, Decorating, and Seldom Participating

In the early modern society of estates, noble women had their own opportunities to gain access to scientific conversation and instruction. They could act as the hostess or patroness of one or several scholars and thus trade high social status for access to knowledge. Such women thus generally did not come into contact with science and scholarship until adulthood. To become actively involved with scientific research was, however, decidedly outside the scope of the patroness; rather, it was her role to select and promote young—male—clients on their way to scientific as well as social achievement. Scientific societies elected female members mainly as a means to enhance social status or to ensure local patronage. The women thus honored usually did not even participate in a single session of the body to which they gave prestige and legitimation, although their names appeared publicly on membership lists. Christina of Sweden (1626–89), who not only induced Descartes to come to her court at Stockholm (and thus bore responsibility for his premature death, as many later said) but also conducted a thriving salon at Rome after her abdication, may be regarded as the archetype of this kind of female involved with science.

In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some princesses of German states became involved in various ways with the protection or institutionalization of science. Prussian Queen Sophie Charlotte (1668–1705), for example, served as an important patron for Leibniz and became instrumental in the foundation of the Scientific Society of Berlin. However, her early death hindered her from sharing the fruits of this enterprise.[8] When the University of Erlangen was founded in 1743, the erudite Markgräfin Wilhelmine von Bayreuth (1709–58), sister of Friedrich II, organized a debate that earned her the title "bayreuthische Pallas."[9] As was expected of a patroness, Wilhelmine formulated the theses and determined the participants of this disputation—she did not speak herself!

These conventions of passive protection rather than active participation notwithstanding, some women with high social standing did not confine themselves to the passive role of patroness. In undertaking research or publishing scientific books, such women clearly trans-

gressed the boundaries of their role. This is perhaps best illustrated by Emilie Du Châtelet (1706–49), the hostess of Voltaire. She published her first treatise anonymously and clandestinely conducted research at night for a scientific prize competition in which Voltaire was also participating.

The relationship between women of high nobility and science (as incarnated in scientific organizations) was highly visible from the outside—indeed, visibility was an instrumental feature of the patroness role. However, from the point of view of those who actually did the scientific research and teaching, both female and male patrons were completely invisible.

The Humanist Model: Displaying Unusual Female Erudition

Whereas the role of patroness was open only to women from the nobility, the prodigy child approach also included women from the upper bourgeoisie, such as families of merchants or academic professionals. Like the artisan model, the prodigy child role was one of long standing and had flourished during the era of Renaissance humanism in Germany and Italy. Children were carefully taught in classical as well as modern languages and/or philosophy and were then displayed as wonders of learning—for example, by having them recite poems before princely or royal guests. Although this role was open to boys and girls alike, the girls frequently created more excitement than the boys since female displays of erudition were much more rare.[10] Despite the public success, this model implied severe problems for the girls, the most important of which was its limitation to a comparatively short period in life: Even a child prodigy had to grow up at some point. When that role was finished, the only two options were *maritar o monacar*—marrying or entering a convent.[11] Yet in Renaissance humanism as well as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this model also brought unique public visibility to female erudition. It therefore plays an important part in the history of learned women although it certainly represented a very mixed blessing for the girls and women concerned.

The close relationship between the prodigy model and public acknowledgment is highlighted by the fact that virtually all early modern academic degrees conferred to women went to young women with child prodigy careers. For example, at the age of thirteen, Anna Christina Ehrenfried von Balthasar (1737–1808) from Greifswald obtained a baccalaureate degree from the local university for her recital of an erudite and much admired speech at the birthday celebra-

tion of the local prince.[12] The first doctoral degree ever given to a woman went to Elena Cornaro Piscopia (1646–84), a Venetian noblewoman who was thus honored by the University of Padua in 1678.[13] Like so many other women with similar biographies, Cornaro Piscopia refrained from scholarly activity after the conferral of the degree, marrying shortly thereafter and dying only a few years later. If Cornaro Piscopia is the first female child prodigy with a doctoral degree, Dorothea Schlözer (1770–1825) from Göttingen may be regarded as the last one. Her biography as a whole is very much that of a woman in times of transition and will be revisited in the second part of this chapter.[14] She received her degree in 1787 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the university of Göttingen. Her father, a well-known professor there had taught her a large number of subjects and had engaged some colleagues to instruct her in other areas. Dorothea appeared at the oral exam in a white gown, echoing the traditional connection between female scholarship and virginity. As with Cornaro Piscopia, Schlözer's scientific career had thus reached the summit. According to parental wishes, she married well four years after receiving her degree, and records reveal only sporadic involvement with science during her later life.

The Enlightenment Model: Women as the Audience

The Enlightenment brought a particular new opportunity for a wider circle of women, who were discovered as audience for the dissemination of scientific knowledge in both written and spoken form. One of the founders of Enlightenment thought, Descartes, dedicated his epoch-making treatise *Principia Philosophiae* (1644) to Elisabeth of Bohemia. In his correspondence with her as well as with other contemporaries, he repeatedly asserted that the female sex was both capable and worthy of dealing with philosophical subjects. Although Descartes did not publish a work specifically addressed to women, he thus encouraged a whole industry of treatises on astronomy, experimental philosophy, and other subjects specifically for women. The most successful, *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes,* was written in 1686 by Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, the secretary of the Académie des Sciences in Paris. The book was composed as a series of conversations between a philosopher and a marquise whom he taught, mainly about astronomical subjects. With this social setting, Fontenelle revived the patronage model and gave social legitimation to women following the example of his marquise. Fontenelle was translated quickly and fre-

quently: the numerous German translations included versions published in 1698, 1726, 1730, 1738 (the last three by Johann Christoph Gottsched).[15] The popular moral weeklies recommended Fontenelle in their bibliographies for women, the "Frauenzimmer-Bibliotheken." His book also set the tone for numerous similar works, some of which, however, had poor scientific standards and rather represented collections of gallantries.[16] Nevertheless, this widely read genre of popular scientific literature presented the connection of women and science as natural part of learned culture.

Alongside this rationalist direction of Enlightenment culture there stood another, physicotheology, which facilitated women's access to scientific knowledge. Physicotheological literature aimed to demonstrate the wisdom and goodness of God by the purposefulness of creation and was often explicitly addressed to both women and men. Physicotheology had its origins in England but gained momentum in both Germany and France. Among the German-speaking authors, Johann Jakob Scheuchzer from Zurich was one of the most prominent. In addition to his famous tract, *Physica Sacra* (1731–35), and numerous other treatises on natural history and theology, he published a comprehensive philosophy textbook, the *Physica oder Natur-Wissenschaft* (1703), which addressed itself directly to "women who want to know [*wissens-begierige Frauen-Zimmer*] and who have so far been virtually excluded from this science."[17]

The flourishing literary genre was enriched by a host of experimental demonstrations on various subjects such as astronomy, optics, pneumatics, and electricity. Like the books, these presentations explicitly included or addressed women on the stage or in the audience.[18] Thus, women were presented as a collective audience and sometimes as participants in the dissemination of scientific knowledge.

The Enlightenment Model Enlarged: Teaching the Audience

Considering the strong impetus of the early Enlightenment to provide instruction as comprehensive as possible, it is fairly logical that women soon began to take an active part in the further dissemination of what they had learned from philosophers. The women who engaged in such enterprises often had gained their access to the required competence either by transforming a prodigy career or by making use of their social role as hostess and patron of scientific guests.[19] These women translated and explained scientific treatises or wrote comprehensive summaries of the state of knowledge in mathematics, chemistry, and a host of other disciplines. This form of literary activity could be justified by

referring to women's particular responsibility for the instruction of their families, thus fitting their actions into both the traditional female role and women's newly stressed responsibility for their children. This kind of publishing took place mainly outside the German speaking area—the sole notable German text is Cunitz's *Urania propitia.* This bilingual introduction to astronomy fit well into early Enlightenment endeavors to make science accessible to a greater public, for it translated astronomical technical terms and facilitated astronomical calculations by providing new tables that Cunitz had calculated. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, Cunitz was criticized for having neglected her household duties.[20] Perhaps this early condemnation of a woman writer provides part of the explanation for the almost complete absence of any further German scientific texts written by women in the Enlightenment, a circumstance that surely merits further research. The situation is different for many other European countries, where this form of female participation was quite well developed. Yet although writing expository scientific texts could be justified within prescribed female roles, it nevertheless supported the argument that even the most gifted women could understand and reproduce the achievements of male scientists but remained incapable of creative research.

The Exception: Doing the Same as the Male Colleagues

Rich and varied as these experiences and contributions to science may have been, one model has been conspicuously missing: that of a woman collaborating with a group of male colleagues and making a living through professional scientific practice. To my knowledge, two such examples exist: Italian physicist Laura Bassi (1711–78) and German physician Dorothea Erxleben (1715–62). Bassi gained access to scholarship through the child prodigy model and then forged a unique career within the scientific institutions of her hometown, Bologna. Papal patronage, the support of a loyal and scientifically trained husband, and the specific Bolognese scientific culture constituted the key ingredients of this unique biography, which served as a model for other women scholars well into the nineteenth century. Erxleben, of Quedlinburg, was introduced to Latin, scientific knowledge, and medicine by her brother's teacher (who encouraged her to follow Bassi's example and take a doctoral degree) and by her father, a physician. Erxleben's initial plan to study with her brother at the University of Halle could not be fulfilled for reasons of war. She married, published a treatise on the factors that prevented women from academic study, and worked as

a physician. After male colleagues at Quedlinburg tried to prevent her from further medical activity, she secured the patronage of the enlightened prince (who was also the bishop) in pursuing her medical degree, thus legitimizing her practice. Both Bassi and Erxleben highlight the possibilities occasionally available to women in the Enlightenment, but these two women also demonstrate the dependence of these exceptions on external circumstances and to a considerable degree on the luck of having supportive patrons and husbands.

The "Great Transition" toward Invisibility: How Women's Models Changed or Disappeared

The Segregation of Household and Work

The segregation of work and domestic life into two separate spheres and the assignment of the former exclusively to men was one of the central socioeconomic transformations around 1800. In science, which is in this respect like any other work, the site of experimental research, for example, changed from the private household to the university. Many private laboratories were acquired by universities and scientific institutes and thus transformed into institutional facilities. Although the private laboratories and study rooms generally had been situated apart from the living quarters of the house, the removal of experimental facilities from the scientist's home constituted a fundamental change. Maria Kirch provides an early example of the consequences of this development: When the observatory was removed from the attic of the Kirchs' house to the newly built observatory of the Scientific Society of Berlin, her participation at astronomical work became visible and was publicly—and unsympathetically—noted. The creation of special sites for scientific research effectively terminated the informal, unpaid, but highly skilled collaboration of the wife (and children) of the family.[21]

Ideologically, femininity and family became an antidote not only to the fragmented modern world but also to the burdensome pursuit of scientific activities. This process was reinforced by the tumultuous political situation between 1790 and 1815. Scientists tended increasingly to separate rather than integrate their private and professional lives.

The Administrative Class

The emergence of a powerful caste of civil servants replacing princely favorites is one aspect of political modernization that contributed to

the confirmation of science as a male enterprise. With their rise to power, the members of the administrative elites became patrons both to individual scientists and to the abundant civic and scientific societies. The latter thus no longer elected women from the local nobility as honorary members but chose instead influential civil servants. The same holds true for the dedication of scientific treatises. This change contributed to the complete disappearance of women from scientific activity. Finally, although the patronage model had not necessarily implied deep scientific involvement of the patronesses, it had provided one way of access to science, as the cases of Emilie Du Châtelet and several others illustrate.

Not only did the transition from noble female to professional male patronage have significant consequences for women's visible—albeit not functional—involvement with science, this change also involved considerable risks for the clients as well. As the Hessische Gelehrte Gesellschaft at Giessen (founded in the 1760s) learned, for example, politicians ran special risks. The society chose as its main patron chancellor Friedrich Karl von Moser, not, as might have been the choice some thirty years earlier, the Große Landgräfin Henriette Caroline of Hessen-Darmstadt (1721–74). This learned society could not survive Moser's fall into disgrace.[22]

The Invisibility of Female Erudition

Probably the most radical disappearance was that of the model of the learned female child prodigy. Even in the best of times, learned women were subjected to a strong norm of female virtue and above all modesty. This was fulfilled by the ritualistic *captationes benevolentiae* in letters, prefaces to books, and so forth. If convention was thus satisfied, extraordinary female erudition could become the object of pride and honor of a city or university. In the nineteenth century, however, no form of public display of female learning was celebrated or even found tolerable. Profound scholarship by a woman could no longer be balanced by her virtues and modesty but was to be rejected entirely since it transgressed the boundaries of the female roles as wife, housewife, and mother. In this respect, a marked break occurred between the early and the late Enlightenment, manifesting itself in pedagogical treatises as well as in the scientific literature for women.[23] Dorothea Schlözer's 1787 doctoral degree represents an offspring of the late Enlightenment: a number of its features point to the accompanying considerable public unease, which makes this degree different from those conferred in

the earlier Enlightenment. As in previous cases, the event was duly reported to the world, and celebration poems were written. But in marked contrast to the cases of Dorothea Erxleben and Laura Bassi, the exam was held in a private residence and, most importantly, Dorothea Schlözer was not present publicly at the official conferral of the degree: she watched the solemn ceremony through a window from an adjacent room. Thus, a young woman was openly honored for her learning but remained invisible. This contradiction reflects the various strands of Enlightenment attitude toward female learning coexisting at Göttingen in the 1780s. The liberal position of August Ludwig Schlözer, who rejected differentiation in the instruction of boys and girls and educated his daughter as a living example of what girls could achieve if suitably instructed, represented the minority position. The girl's remarkable progress was an object of concern rather than pride to her friends, which shows that female erudition could not go unquestioned. Considering the doubts of her sympathetic friends, it is perhaps not surprising that Schlözer's degree also earned her some harsh, unprecedented contempt.[24]

On a more practical level, the opportunities for girls to enjoy such an education diminished considerably with the changes in the secondary school system in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The introduction of the *Abitur* and of a compulsory exam for gymnasium teachers made the thorough instruction of boys a matter of public concern. In contrast, the education of girls remained a family responsibility. With a high level of instruction at school, however, boys no longer needed private tutors, which meant that girls could no longer gain education by accompanying their brothers to lessons. Apart from those public lectures open to girls, reading thus became their main source of knowledge.

Thorough Instruction Thoroughly Concealed

My observations here are drawn from recent studies of popular chemistry books and should be compared to evidence from other scientific disciplines,[25] although little research has occurred on nineteenth-century German popular scientific literature. As discussed earlier, the tradition of popular scientific literature had begun in the early Enlightenment and persisted through the nineteenth century. An analysis of the books published between 1780 and 1830 reveals a profound tension between the prefaces and the content of the books. Virtually all authors declared in their prefaces that they wanted to teach women what they needed to know to lead their households, care for their fam-

ilies, and be agreeable wives and mothers. Authors frequently stressed that they did not intend for women to become professional scientists. This approach of course fell completely within tradition, since women never, even in the times most enthusiastic about female scientific instruction, had been intended to become professional scholars. Yet with their outspoken reference to the conceptions of femininity developed in the late Enlightenment by Campe, Pestalozzi, and others, these authors took great care to respect the newly developed conventional boundaries between male and female instruction. Prior to about 1850, however, the main text often failed to distinguish between knowledge useful for women and that for men in either the scope or the depth of issues covered.[26] This contradiction at times carried into the text—for example, when an author declared in his 1808 textbook that the description of strontium could be interesting only to the professional chemist since it was important neither for daily life nor for medical purposes. This statement, however, formed the introduction to an extended section in which he explained virtually everything about strontium.[27] Such contradictions are so numerous that they cannot be accidental. I believe that authors wanted to present their subject as fully and comprehensively as possible for whatever reasons. Their ritualistic declarations must then be read as the means to ensure that their work fitted into what was regarded as the binding concept of female learning. In other words, after the convention for gender roles had been satisfied (usually in the most prominent part of the book, the preface), the exposition was no longer gendered. However, this inconsistency would be seen only when the text was actually read, and perhaps it did not even strike most contemporary readers. Female scientific instruction could thus achieve the contemporary state of the art, but this achievement had to be carefully hidden. I find this attitude paradigmatic for the scientific participation of women in the nineteenth century in a broader sense. Women could involve themselves in science much more deeply than convention permitted as long as they did not become publicly visible. Any forthright display of their knowledge, however, was unthinkable.

Conclusions and Questions: Further Fundamental Transitions?

Returning to the question of whether and how women's scientific participation changed from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, one sees that underneath the continuity of institutional exclusion (from

university attendance, professorships, and so on), a profound if gradual break occurred as far as the less spectacular (yet real) female scientific practices and possibilities are concerned. Apart from private reading, the manifold possibilities of women's access to science that had existed in the eighteenth century disappeared around 1800. In most cases, such opportunities do not seem to have been abolished by design; rather, they vanished as consequences of major social and political changes such as moving laboratories out of houses and administrative modernization. Yet in some instances—for example, confining girls' education to the realm of the family—women's disappearance from scientific activities directly related to the new concepts of femininity developed by the spokesmen for a middle-class ideology who articulated the new social order of modernity.[28] The most conscious and most radical of the transformations discussed in this chapter—that is, the disappearance or at least the relegation to the realm of invisibility of female erudition—originated in mainstream Enlightenment philosophy, as Dorothea Schlözer's biography well illustrates.

These reflections bear directly on avenues for further research. If my conclusions are correct, then looking for women of science in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century is an inherently difficult task, since female scientific inquiry was possible only if it remained invisible. A possible avenue for further research would be the search for scientific couples and scientific households, which has been quite fruitful in the context of other countries but which is generally lacking for the German states.[29] On a more structural level, one could explore the allegedly important family dynasties in the early modern university system, which have never been studied in detail. This phenomenon retained considerable importance through the 1800s and represents a strong element of continuity between universities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, something often overlooked in the concentration on the emergence of the research university.[30] In this context, to point only to one issue, I would consider it worthwhile to contemplate the fundamental asymmetry between sons and daughters. Nineteenth-century families could influence a daughter's choice of a son-in-law with scientific abilities and ambitions, but a son could not be exchanged.

If, as we have assumed and in some instances have shown, Germany's new middle-class culture was formed basically by its concept of gender and if science became an integral and increasingly important part of this society's activities, then the gendering of science should be manifest not only in the exclusion of women but also in a positive depiction of science

as a masculine enterprise full of hardships and dangers and conquests—in short, an enterprise for heroes. This hypothesis opens up intriguing new questions and avenues for further research.

Notes

1. In this chapter, the "nineteenth century" refers to only the period before the beginning of female university education in the 1880s.

2. See Steven Turner, "The Great Transition and the Social Patterns of German Science," *Minerva* 25 (1987): 56–76.

3. See Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, 1989), chap. 3.

4. For an analysis of this text mainly from the point of language, see Ingrid Guentherodt, "Urania Propitia (1650)—in zweyerlei Sprachen: Lateinisch- und deutschsprachiges Compendium der Mathematikerin und Astronomin Maria Cunitz," in *Res Publica Litteraria: Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit,* ed. Sebastian Neumeister and Conrad Wiedemann (Wiesbaden, 1987), 619–40.

5. See Ian Hacking, *Representing and Intervening: Introductory Topics in the Philosophy of Natural Science* (Cambridge, 1983), 180–81. For Herschel, see Schiebinger, *Mind Has No Sex?* 262–63; Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie, *Women in Science: Antiquity through the Nineteenth Century: A Biographical Dictionary with Annotated Bibliography,* 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1993), 96–99.

6. Londa Schiebinger was the first to discuss the case of Maria Kirch in "Maria Winkelmann at the Berlin Academy: A Turning Point for Women in Science," *Isis* 78 (1987): 174–200. For a new approach to this family of male and female astronomers, see Monika Mommertz, "Schattenökonomie der Wissenschaft: Geschlechterordnung und Arbeitssysteme in der Astronomie der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Frauen in Akademie und Wissenschaft,* ed. Theresa Wobbe (Berlin, 2002), 31–63.

7. For an introduction to Merian, see Schiebinger, *Mind Has No Sex?* 68–79; see also Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, 1995), pt. 3; Helmut Kaiser, *Maria Sibylla Merian: Eine Biographie* (Düsseldorf, 1997).

8. See Gerda Utermöhlen, "Die gelehrte Frau im Spiegel der Leibniz-Korrespondenz," in *Res Publica Litteraria,* ed. Neumeister and Wiedemann, 603–18.

9. Renate Wittern, "Wilhelmine von Bayreuth und Daniel de Superville: Vorgeschichte und Frühzeit der Erlanger Universität," *Erlanger Universitätsreden* 46 (1993): 16. Wilhelmine is also credited with having contributed considerably to the foundation of the university.

10. For German humanism, see Heide Wunder, *"Er ist die Sonn, sie ist der Mond": Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 1992), 64, 206–15. For Italian humanism, see Margaret L. King, *Le Donne nel Rinascimento* (Rome, 1991), pt. 3.

11. Patricia Labalme, introduction to *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past,* ed. Labalme (New York, 1980), 4.

12. See Beatrix Niemeyer, "Weiblichkeit und Wissenschaft–Zur Entstehung eines Widerspruchs am Beispiel von Anna Christina Ehrenfried Balthasar (1737–1808)," in *Frauen in pädagogischen Berufen,* ed. Elke Kleinau (Bad Heilbrunn, 1996), 1:127–39.

13. Although Cornaro Piscopia was well beyond the age of a prodigy child when she received the degree, her biography fits into this model. Moreover, negotiations about the degree had taken several years. See Lucia Toschi Traversi, "Verso l'inserimento delle donne nel mondo accademico," in *Alma Mater Studiorum: La presenza femminile dal XVIII al XX secolo* (Bologna, 1988), 15–37.

14. Bärbel Kern and Horst Kern, *Madame Doctorin Schlözer: Ein Frauenleben in den Widersprüchen der Aufklärung* (Munich, 1988).

15. See Karin Reich, "Nachwort," in Bernard LeBovier de Fontenelle, *Dialogen über die Mehrheit der Welten* (1780; Weinheim, 1983), 409–62.

16. For French popular scientific literature of the Enlightenment, see Andreas Kleinert, *Die allgemeinverständlichen Physikbücher der französischen Aufklärung* (Aarau, 1974).

17. Johann Jakob Scheuchzer, *Physica oder Natur-Wissenschaft* (Zurich, 1703). Scheuchzer polemicizes against those authors who obscure physics by using complicated concepts and difficult Latin language.

18. A strong desideratum exists for research on popular scientific culture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, notably in the German-speaking area. For England, see Patricia Phillips, *The Scientific Lady: A Social History of Women's Scientific Interests, 1520–1918* (London, 1990); for France, see Jeanne Peiffer, "L'Engouement des Femmes pour les Sciences au XVIIIe Siècle," in *Femmes et pouvoirs sous l'Ancien Régime,* ed. Danielle Haase-Dubosc and Eliane Viennot (Paris, 1991), 196–222.

19. The former holds for mathematician Maria Agnesi, who wrote the first comprehensive treatise on calculus; the latter holds true, for example, for Émilie Du Châtelet, who wrote both a synthesis of Newtonian and Leibnizian philosophy and the authoritative French translation of Newton's *Principia matematica.* For further analysis of their careers, see Beate Ceranski, *"Und sie fürchtet sich vor niemandem": Die Physikerin Laura Bassi (1711–1778)* (Frankfurt, 1996); Beate Ceranski, "Wunderkinder, Vermittlerinnen, und ein einsamer Marsch durch die akademischen Institutionen: Zur wissenschaftlichen Aktivität von Frauen in der Aufklärung," in *Tugend, Vernunft, und Gefühl: Geschlechterdiskurse der Aufklärung und weibliche Lebenswelten,* ed. Claudia Opitz, Ulrike Weckel, and Elke Kleinau (Münster, 2000), 271–92.

20. Johann Eberti, *Eröffnetes Cabinet des gelehrten Frauenzimmers* (Frankfurt, 1706).

21. It is no accident that the vast majority of examples for marital scientific collaboration in the nineteenth century come from field sciences such as

botany or anthropology, not from laboratory sciences such as physics or chemistry.

22. Volker Press, "Die Hessische Gelehrte Gesellschaft: Das Gießener Akademieprojekt im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Academia Gissensis: Beiträge zur älteren Gießener Universitätsgeschichte,* ed. Peter Moraw and Press (Marburg, 1982), 313–59.

23. For a survey on normative texts on female education and erudition, see Ulrich Engelhardt, "'. . . geistig in Fesseln'? Zur normativen Plazierung der Frau als 'Kulturträgerin' in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft während der Frühzeit der deutschen Frauenbewegung," in *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert,* pt. 3, *Lebensführung und ständische Vergesellschaftung,* ed. Rainer Lepsius (Stuttgart, 1992), 113–75. This article also cites the pertinent older literature.

24. [Wilhelm Friedrich August Mackensen], *Letztes Wort über Göttingen und seine Lehrer: Mit einem Nachwort und Erläuterungen von Ulricht Joost* (1791; Göttingen, 1987).

25. I am indebted here to Ildikó Szász, *Chemie für die Dame: Fachbücher für das "Schöne Geschlecht" vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Königstein, 1997). Szász, however, does not interpret the contradictions inherent in her material. See also Barbara Orland, "Chemie für den Alltag: Populäre deutsche Chemiebücher, 1780–1930," *Mitteilungen der Fachgruppe Geschichte der Chemie der Gesellschaft Deutscher Chemiker* 13 (1997): 39–74.

26. The women's chemistry books grew considerably narrower—more focused on household chemistry—and more superficial in their treatment of chemistry after approximately 1850.

27. See Szász, *Chemie,* 227.

28. Ute Frevert, "Bürgerliche Meisterdenker und das Geschlechterverhältnis: Konzepte, Erfahrungen, Visionen an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert," in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert,* ed. Frevert (Göttingen, 1988), 17–48.

29. Pnina Abir-Am, Heleny Pycior, and Nancy Slack, eds., *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (New Brunswick, 1996).

30. Peter Moraw makes this point in "Humboldt in Gießen: Zur Professorenberufung an einer deutschen Universität des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 10 (1984): 47–71.

"Lights Out! Lights Out!"

Women and the Enlightenment

Ruth Dawson

Women and the Enlightenment? Is that a variant of "men and the Enlightenment," extracting one subset of participants from a major eighteenth-century movement to see what their specific contributions to the movement and their benefits from it were—although of course not all men of the time could or did join? Or is it more like "peasants and the Enlightenment," identifying a population that existed at the same time as this literary, philosophical, and broadly cultural undertaking and was one of its occasional targets but whose members were not really participants? Feminist scholars in recent years have frequently examined what Enlightenment men said, directly and indirectly, about women. Jane Flax, for example, concentrating on Kant's "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?" argues that Enlightenment depends on the unspoken occlusion of women, especially as mothers and caregivers, and that it assumes women to be absorbed in the work of maintaining, reproducing, and serving bodies, thereby allowing men to think of themselves as having pure, disembodied, noncontingent access to reason. Furthermore, with Kant's opening and repeated invocation of Enlightenment as the departure from childhood and arrival at autonomous adulthood, the world of childhood and family—the realm allotted to women's attention—is implicitly consigned to the zone of the unenlightened, where fear and cowardice allow tyranny to reign (to employ some of Kant's terms).[1] In his essay, Kant especially ignores the institution that confines women and that he in other writings describes as a contract requiring women's subordination: marriage. My question is not so much about the philosophical implications of Enlightened men's thought as about the texts and lived experiences of eighteenth-century German women who

belonged to the classes where Enlightenment was cultivated. As the gender system and its accompanying institutions such as marriage and education changed in the second half of the eighteenth century, in what ways did the interaction of gender and Enlightenment wedge windows and doors open to the light differently for men and women?

Could women have an Enlightenment movement corresponding to the movement of scientific, philosophical, literary, and civil discourse and activity that educated middle-class and aristocratic men enjoyed throughout most of the eighteenth century? And if women could, did they?[2] The cultural situation of eighteenth-century German women differed significantly from that of men from the same few educated and leisured groups. (The majority of the population, consisting of rural peasants and urban underclasses, only rarely had the chance to be anything other than the occasional targets of Enlightenment projects.)[3] As is increasingly recognized, the prevailing ideology about women—the general buzz that formed the context of Kant's published comments—can be briefly summarized: it too was androcentric and misogynist. Consider, for example, the commonplace equation of maleness with humanity[4] and the exclusion of women from key situations, including from universities and most reading societies. Yet the abstractly universalizing rhetoric of the Enlightenment often seemed to readmit the spurned sex (and, in the cases of certain philosophes, especially Helvetius, Condorcet,[5] and Hippel,[6] explicit argumentation did so as well). What has not yet been adequately acknowledged is the almost complete success of the exclusionist faction in stifling women, preventing them from moving beyond the mute role of audience into unmuffled roles as Enlightened speaker, Enlightened writer, or Enlightened thinker. Recent scholarship on the Enlightenment often mentions some instance of women's exclusion but fails to note that over the course of the hundred or so years[7] that the period lasted, the minuscule number of women actively and openly participating in this supposedly emancipatory Enlightenment never increased.[8] Women were not just excluded from one opportunity or another and not just written about in a masculinist way. With great consistency, ideological pronouncements permitted women only the roles of (improvable) object[9] or facilitating hostess,[10] not that of agent, of subject, or, to use the term Kant treats with special privilege, of scholar. And, more important, with rare exceptions, women in Germany were unable to evade the proclaimed embargos and subordinate assignments. Women were excluded from full participation in the German Enlightenment, and

even the vast majority of the women who most aspired to participate were seldom allowed more than supporting roles.

My argument depends on understanding the Enlightenment—specifically, its rationalist strand—as only one thread of intellectual and cultural discourse occurring in the eighteenth century.[11] As the period proceeded, two movements branched off within the Enlightenment: first came the *Empfindsamkeit* (Sensibility), which becomes discernible as a separate movement shortly before midcentury; then, in Germany, came the Sturm und Drang, which is usually dated to approximately 1770–84. Scholars in the past twenty years have shown the gendered qualities of these two branches, with *Empfindsamkeit* accepting women's participation as writers and as readers and Sturm und Drang a decidedly masculinist movement in its membership and themes. But while both *Empfindsamkeit* and Sturm und Drang are today usually sited within the broader term of German Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*), it is that specific movement—that is, the form of Enlightenment that was little affected by either of the submovements within it—with which I am here concerned. Women could not participate fully in the non-*Empfindsamkeit* versions of the Enlightenment.[12] In short, during the period when Enlightenment values and efforts reigned among Germany's powerful cultural and intellectual elite, women were overwhelmingly limited to the role of wards, often charming, often difficult, and sometimes dangerous. Those women who insisted on speaking parts could perform them in the zone of *Empfindsamkeit,* not *Aufklärung.*

In the first part of this chapter, I concentrate on women's relation to the Enlightenment by putting three documents into dialogue with each other: Kant's essay defining Enlightenment, Friderika Baldinger's autobiographical sketch (written in 1782 or earlier, published posthumously in 1791), and Melchior Adam Weikard's account of his life (written and published in 1784, the same year in which Kant's essay appeared).[13] The three documents, of course, are themselves parts of larger conversations of the period.[14] Also, although Kant's essay is a canonical text (then and especially now), it is by no means a complete description of what the Enlightenment meant in the eighteenth century. And, taken alone, neither Weikard's nor Baldinger's autobiographies can be understood as a transparent account of a man's or a woman's experience of the Enlightenment period, but the broad similarity of genre (scholarly autobiography) of these two texts offsets some of the limitations or peculiarities marking each because of its

form. Similarities in the social and cultural positioning of Weikard and Baldinger (class status, parents' education, geocultural setting of their childhoods, marginality of their educations) also make them a good pair, and the closeness in dates of composition of all three pieces helps to make them functional for a synchronic analysis. Furthermore, the small-town and village childhoods of Weikard and Baldinger match them with a large portion of the best-known representatives of the German Enlightenment, as do their adulthoods in the proximity of universities.

The second part of this chapter examines the economic context of women's Enlightenment positioning, again concentrating on Baldinger in terms of Kant's formulations. To offset the dangers of overreliance on the texts of Baldinger, Kant, and Weikard, the final, much briefer part of this chapter shifts to broader terrain, exploring what a closer examination of the roles available in the Enlightenment shows about women's exclusion.

I.

Kant's essay opened with a succinct and emphatic formulation:

> Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's own understanding without the guidance of another. This immaturity is *self-incurred* if its cause is not lack of understanding [*Verstand*], but lack of resolution and courage to use it without the guidance of another. (54)

He continued soon thereafter with the statement, "For enlightenment of this kind, all that is needed is *freedom*" (55). Yet Kant was cautious about freedom and quick to make distinctions, identifying one kind of limitation of freedom that provided an obstacle to Enlightenment and another kind of limitation of freedom that promoted it. He went on to describe how certain influential and pernicious people persuade others to accept harmful limitations: "The guardians who have kindly taken upon themselves the work of supervision will soon see to it that by far the largest part of mankind (including the entire fair sex) should consider the step forward to maturity not only as difficult but also as highly dangerous" (54). Considering his sarcastic tone in this description of the self-appointed guardians, the notion of positive limitations of freedom is at first unexpected. Before elaborating on it,

Kant clarified the kind of unlimited freedom that the Enlightenment process required: the freedom to make public use of one's reason. "But by the public use of one's own reason I mean that use which anyone may make of it *as a man of learning* addressing the entire *reading public*" (55).[15] The area in which freedom could be limited was that of "private" use, which meant, as he clarified later, in various civil posts or government offices (57). With this definition of a private zone in which freedom need not be available, Kant said nothing about the sphere in which almost all women of the social strata where Enlightenment was being practiced spent almost all of their lives, the sphere of the home. Perhaps because Kant said the only place where freedom was necessary to propagate Enlightenment was the public sphere of a scholar and his readers, unfreedom in the home was not a problem. If so, the supposedly self-imposed immaturity of the "whole beautiful sex" was insignificant for Enlightenment, because women were absent from both the public and the private areas that Kant discussed. Indeed, perhaps women's failure to attain Enlightenment cannot be considered quite so self-incurred after all, given that they generally lacked access to the only spaces where Enlightenment was practiced.

Friderika Baldinger's self-narrative is a fascinating document in this context. It is not an explanation of why Baldinger had failed to become Enlightened or a defense against charges such as those implied by Kant with his accusations of laziness and cowardice (which he called "the reasons why such a large proportion of men, even when nature has long emancipated them from alien guidance . . . , nevertheless gladly remain immature for life" [54]).[16] On the contrary, the text exudes pride, even if that pride is cloaked in modesty. Baldinger titled her piece "Essay about the Education of My Intellect: To One of My Friends" (Versuch über meine Verstandeserziehung: An einen meiner Freunde) and explained this conjoining of reason with education in the opening short paragraph: "I am supposed to write the history of my intellect [*die Geschichte meines Verstandes*]? As if I had so much intellect that it would be worth the effort to trace its path. I am not writing this in that way but as a contribution about my education to the extent that it had an influence on my whole character" (15). *Verstand* (understanding, reason, intellect) of course constituted a key term in Kant's essay as well, since using one's own intellect without supervision was essential to Enlightenment, but Baldinger maintained that the history of her reason was insufficiently important by itself, combining it

instead with the story of her education and with the impact of both education and reason on her character.

Remarkably, Kant did not raise the issue of education in his essay. He simply assumed an educated and financially secure public, including members who did not bother to become enlightened: "If I have a book to have understanding [*Verstand*] in place of me, a spiritual adviser to have a conscience for me, a doctor to judge my diet for me, and so on, I need not make any efforts at all. I need not think, so long as I can pay" (54). The opening and closing terms of this description strongly suggest that Kant's first-person sample of an unenlightened person was male, for not only were men the most likely owners of books (just as they were most likely to have money to pay) but they also had the autonomy within the family to decide which book they might chose to follow and how they would spend their money. Kant's speaker was not taking into account the wishes, demands, claims, and limitations imposed on most women readers by their spouses or parents or children. This may be Kant's example of a person not using his reason without supervision, but, as Baldinger's autobiography strongly suggests, far more basic forms of control, dependence, and limitation affected girls and women before they could even reach the level of self-imposed immaturity that Kant scorned.

Thus, Baldinger described growing up in a household in which the first of Kant's conditions even for an unenlightened person—that of relying on a book to "to have understanding in place of me"—was possible only if the book was a Bible. Baldinger's father, whom she called "by all accounts [a] very wise and reasonable man," had died while she was young, and she was raised mainly by her mother. "She raised me according to her views, pious and Christian. But I could summarize all her teachings in the following words: *Pious* and *chaste* is what you must be" (15). Kant discussed at length the situation of pastors and the requirement that they preach doctrine to their congregations, even if they had doubts about it, but he insisted they must also have freedom to take on the role of scholars and write about their doubts for the public forum; according to Kant's terminology, the relation of a pastor to his flock was private and thus not free. What Baldinger described was the outcome of pastors' doctrinal conformity, especially as simplified to and then by women. Baldinger's mother, if she followed the precepts of self-limitation that she taught her daughter, would remain quite unaffected by scholarly disputes about religious issues since she

confined her reading to the Bible and the hymnal and thus would not read the "public" arguments of pastors. Indeed, it becomes clear that the same pastors who in their role as scholars might have qualified as agents of Enlightenment by Kant's standard would in their "private" roles serve as precisely the kindly guardians who could make the independent use of one's reason seem dangerous and misguided.

In addition to being spiritually and sensually self-limiting ("*pious* and *chaste*") in a manner reinforced by their influential pastors, many eighteenth-century German women like Baldinger's mother also lacked the money that Kant had blithely assumed for his example of unenlightened thought. The daughter explained, "My mother lost all her fortune in the war—she could therefore spend nothing on my education" (15). And she continued with a note perhaps of bemusement, perhaps sarcasm, "Experience tells how much the intellectual powers *gain* under such oppressive circumstances" (15, emphasis added). Fortunately, Baldinger had a paternal aunt who "had much intellect [*Verstand*] and also wit." The aunt and niece read the books of the aunt's husband, a doctor: a collection of ghost stories, dialogues of the dead, and the like. He also subscribed to scholarly news periodicals, including the *Göttingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen.* Comparing the reporting there of details about the lives of scholars with the reports in a popular newspaper about the lives of kings and kaisers, Baldinger got her "first sense of respect for scholarliness, because scholarly men received just as much honor as did the potentates of the earth" (16). She concluded, "I wanted so badly to become learned and was exasperated that my sex excluded me from that" (16). She did not elaborate on how this exclusion was conveyed to her or how it was justified. Evidently she was sure that there was no need to offer such details since her readers would not doubt that indeed her sex excluded her from scholarliness.

Based on the unsystematic and mostly informal educational system for girls and on the life histories of many eighteenth-century women, it was clearly almost impossible for a girl of the educated middle class or lower aristocracy to become scholarly according to the standards of the time. Indeed, women were members of the "educated" middle class only in the sense that they had close family connections to men whose education usually included at least some time at a university, although the women themselves could have any level of learning, even down to minimal literacy. Given the Enlightenment emphasis on a trained intellect, women's hindered access to learning constituted an impediment to their participation in the movement (although the university curricu-

lum for men was primarily intended as job training, not as an opportunity for versatile intellectual growth).[17] In the context of Kant's essay, the argument was repeatedly made that although people might have had no freedom to think or to disagree with prevailing ideas in their private (work-related) roles, they had complete freedom of thought and argument as scholars. Indeed, based on "What Is Enlightenment?" it was scholars, broadly defined, who practiced Enlightenment. Thus, a soldier had to obey orders, even those he considered mistaken, but "as a scholar," he could subject those orders to written scrutiny and in this sense resist them. And a citizen had to pay taxes, even if he considered them unjust, but "as a scholar" he could discuss the propriety of any levy he wished. Likewise "a clergyman is bound to instruct his pupils and his congregation in accordance with the doctrines of the church he serves. . . . But as a scholar he is completely free as well as obliged to impart to the public all his carefully considered and well-intentioned thoughts on the mistaken aspects of those doctrines" (56). If women could not become scholarly, could they have—and, more to the point, did they have—the tools to practice the freedom to write "as a scholar" and to publish the results? Alternatively, if women could not be soldiers or full-fledged citizens or pastors or professors, could they be "scholars"? Kant's one explicit reference to women in his essay occurs parenthetically, in the passage about how for "the largest part of mankind (including the entire fair sex)," the fear of taking steps toward intellectual autonomy had been implanted by various kind guardians. In the rest of the essay, Kant discounted and disqualified all women who might have been exceptions by simply omitting them, formulating all his many examples and hypotheses about men—soldiers, bureaucrats, princes, and, ironically, pastors, the group of men who in their professional lives had the largest influence on women but who, if they followed Kant's advice, did little or nothing to help women intellectually.

Still, Kant's remark about the difficulty and danger women perceived in moving toward Enlightenment raises the question of whether, by Kant's standards, Baldinger and other women like her too easily surrendered their desire for scholarliness. Discouraging circumstances of course existed—comparative poverty, lack of sufficient reading materials, lack of schooling,[18] and the informal "ideological exclusion" of women from advanced learning.[19] The token public endorsements of a few scholarly women that had been proclaimed by the supposed champion of women's education, Johann Christoph Gottsched, in his

early Enlightenment heyday had never extended far beyond university towns, and efforts by a few bold women to extend women's rights and privileges were ending just when Baldinger was born.[20] "*Sapere aude!*" Kant had exhorted. "Have courage to use your *own* understanding" (54). But still, was Friderika Baldinger's apparently quick acceptance in her youth of the exclusion of women from scholarliness an example of women's failure to dare?

The answer is not obvious. Kant was arguing for autonomously thinking adults, but Baldinger faced the key obstacles to her goal when she was a child. As a young adult, she confronted new difficulties. When she was twenty-two, her brother, the only male in her immediate family, died. The autobiography refers to this death as her mother's loss of anticipated financial support and as Friderika's loss of an intellectual kindred spirit, although the brother was replaced to some degree by the new pastor who lent her books and allowed her to listen to scholarly conversation. Perhaps admitting his flock to his informal deliberations represented more than one pastor's solution to the problem of preaching a doctrine with which he disagreed.[21] Friderika Baldinger, as will be seen, depicts the opportunity to listen to discussions conducted by her friend, Pastor Johann Wilhelm Kranichfeld, as intellectually invaluable. At age twenty-five she married twenty-four-year-old Ernst Gottfried Baldinger; four years later he was a professor at the University of Jena and probably had already started collecting the books that were the source of part of his later fame. In her autobiographical sketch, she offered a condensed account of her husband's impact on her intellect and marriage: "To this man, whom I respect above everything, to whom I am so very attached, I owe all the development of my soul's powers. He cultivated my intellect and improved my will and my heart. In his company I have read very much and from his conversations enjoyed the excerpt of more than a thousand books."[22] In fact, in discussing her marriage, Baldinger blandly stated her distaste for sexuality and posited her efforts to educate her "head" as a compensation for it, summarizing, "My love of learning grew the more I became acquainted with it. I believe I would have become a scholar if providence had not destined me for the cooking pot, and I still find that one can use the understanding of men in their books when doing women's work" (22). She gave no examples. Indeed, her tone hinted at paid work's devaluing effect on unpaid work—typically, domestic labor performed by women. The work of educated middle-class women, signified by the cooking pot, seems to lack respectability

compared to the intellectual and implicitly income-generating work of male scholars.

By 1772, after eight years of marriage, Friderika Baldinger had five children. The following year, one died and another was born. In 1774, two more died. In the sketch—I use that term because of the extreme brevity of the piece, eight pages in modern print—she wrote only this: "Six childbeds have contributed more than a little to the growth of my knowledge, for I have often started to read again in the first moments after I was released from the hands of the midwife. And these six childbeds, when I could read undisturbed, were for me in many ways recuperation for my soul" (22). Here Baldinger repeated her fondness for learning and asserted that in the midst of raising a family, she continued her devotion to reading. Thus, after her marriage, she seems to have had and used vastly improved chances for education. In the process, Baldinger reinterpreted childbirth not as a relation to immature children but as a time for self-education. She thus obscures what is usually taken as a key instance of sexual difference between men and women—women's ability to give birth—and describes it in terms of an activity that was, at least in the abstract, not gender specific: reading.

Did Friderika Baldinger attain the special degree of autonomous thinking that Kant stipulated as the mark of the Enlightened person? With all her reading and with her relatively good opportunities as the wife of a professor, living in various university towns, and friendly with free-thinking professors such as essayist, aphorist, and physicist Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–99) and mathematician and epigrammist Abraham Gotthelf Kästner (1719–1800), perhaps she did. However, the degree of indebtedness to her husband that Baldinger found it necessary or prudent to express and the extent to which that material seems to displace other material from her brief text cause me to doubt it.[23] What is definite is that she turned down apparent opportunities to contribute to public discussion of the kind that Kant ratified: she refused to write for publication despite invitations to do so and decided against seeing her self-narrative into print.[24]

Friderika Baldinger was born in 1739 in a village in Thuringia; Melchior Adam Weikard was born three years later in a Frankonian village. His self-narrative, written about two years after Baldinger's, addressed remarkably similar issues in distinctively different ways. To begin with the relationship of autobiographer to audience, Baldinger indicated in her subtitle that she was addressing her sketch to a friend. Weikard wrote to the general public and wrote from the safe distance

of St. Petersburg, far from family and most acquaintances. Distance and the absence of personal connection, reinforced by means of the literary marketplace, insulated him from the constraints that seemed to hold Baldinger back from critical comments regarding any living person and pushed her instead into almost obsequious praise. But Weikard also adopted a breezy attitude toward his readers and his text. His preface reads,

> For a long time scholars have been accused of preferring to write about themselves. I will not be an exception to the rule here and have therefore made the decision to deliver to the public my own biography, a history that to be sure is the most indifferent and most insignificant thing on God's earth for most people and that has the sole good quality that no one is required to read or believe it who has no evident desire to do so. ([3–4])[25]

Conversely, in a prefatory letter to her husband, Baldinger wrote,

> When I had to write down this essay about the education of my intellect at the request of one of my friends, you had the wish that it might be printed for you and our children.
>
> I properly declined, because I considered it of too little importance and I consider it so still. But should I deny myself the joy of leaving even one of your wishes unfulfilled, if it is possible for me to fill it? (14)

In her representation of extreme humility, she evidently became confused—a Freudian slip?—expressing pleasure at leaving one of her husband's desires unmet. Then, however, she further pondered the question of publication and wrote another letter, published as another preface, explaining her ultimate decision not to publish.

> The attached pages I originally intended to have printed and thereby to please you, because they once had the good fortune of giving you pleasure. But I changed my mind, partly because I did not know whether you would like to read the dedication to yourself and partly because to the world I am myself a far too insignificant creature as to be demanding anyone should read about the education of my intellect in print. (11)

Friderika Baldinger had originally thought that the request topos,[26] amplified by the note of marital obligation and the established reputation of E. G. Baldinger, would suffice to justify publication despite her lack of public importance. But then she reconsidered, unsure of her husband's approval and even more fixated on her own unimportance. She lacked Weikard's insouciance. First, although she followed the conventions of the scholarly biography as he did, as a woman she lacked scholarly credentials and thus could not simply announce, as Weikard did, that she was joining an established trend, a trend automatically available to him as a university-educated man. She could use the conventions of the scholarly self-narrative but could not claim to be a scholar. And while Weikard also considered himself unimportant and even said so in a phrase very similar to hers (he called his history "the most indifferent and most insignificant thing [*Ding*] on God's earth"; she called herself "a far too insignificant creature [*Ding*]"), he simply turned the fate of his account over to the public to read or not. Baldinger evidently feared not that she would be ignored by the public but that she would be condemned. In short, Weikard, as a man, could have a relation to his audience that differed distinctly from the relationship Baldinger expected as a woman. The literary marketplace as a general mechanism separating writer from reader helped to create the public freedom on which Kant insisted in his repeated examples of what men in various professions could do in their roles as scholarly authors. When the author was a woman, however, the protection melted. Women writers were automatically subjected to personal, moral scrutiny of their right to write, scrutiny that made it much less likely that they would take the easygoing attitude that Weikard assumed.

Weikard's confidence is all the more striking because he explained so convincingly the several ways in which he felt inadequate, insecure, and poorly educated—somewhat resembling the sense of inadequacy, insecurity, and poor education of women well exemplified by Friderika Baldinger. Weikard, nearsighted and physically deformed since childhood, had missed two years of schooling and was socially inept. When he returned to school, he had ignorant teachers, so that what he learned was long since out of date. At the university, matters were hardly better; indeed, he had no chance at all to study several important areas of learning—specifically, German grammar and orthography. When people heard he had studied medicine at Würzburg rather

than Göttingen, his qualifications were immediately questioned. And he strongly agreed, citing miserable instruction by reluctant professors. In short, even young men who attended schools and universities could be very poorly educated—perhaps as poorly as many of their unschooled sisters. Yet meager education at an inferior university did not intimidate Weikard. Why not? In addition to the general privileging of his gender, the obvious reason is one of men's specific privileges: no matter how little a man had learned or how weak the university, formal attendance there mattered most, and formal attendance was effectively reserved for men. In the context of Weikard's biography, the experience of a poor education gave him a platform for a critique of schools and universities in small Catholic states. He described his university education in detail before making an important point: "In such little states the first step toward having more diligent people would therefore really be to eliminate the universities" (30). He argued that Catholic states gave professors such low pay and so little freedom that good instruction could not be expected; furthermore, because universities in small states were so conveniently located, parents sent their sons, unprepared, unworthy, and disinterested though they might have been. Better, Weikard argued, to improve the local preparatory schools and then send talented, motivated boys (no mention of girls) to good universities elsewhere rather than continue the operation of mediocre universities everywhere. In short, Weikard used his experience to take a stand and make a public argument "as a scholar."

Why did Baldinger not do something similar? There are the grains of several such possibilities in her text. For example, she described a hypocritical Pietist:

> My mother's brother was a Pietist, a rich miser, who, praying, deceived everyone who had anything to do with him. His home was in Halle, and he counted himself among the very most pious sect of those well-known head hangers. This man also lived with us half a year because he wanted to consolidate his fortune in Thuringia and cheat his poor relatives in Halle out of it so that the wealthy Orphan's Home [a famous Halle institution] could inherit it. (17)

The text alludes to hypocrisy among Pietists and to philanthropy occurring at the expense of poor relatives, but Baldinger's text developed none of these ideas into a broader insight or critique.

Another opportunity her text skipped concerned education for girls.

Baldinger explained that she could have learned much from her brother had her "good mother" not believed that reading any books other than the Bible and hymnal was a deadly sin for a girl, sometimes locking away the books and sending the daughter to the spinning wheel. The mother was concerned that the girl was being spoiled by her brother and "would never marry a professor anyway" (18). Friderika Baldinger's mother was articulating a powerful control mechanism over women in the eighteenth century: if a thorough and extensive education diminished a daughter's marriage chances or too narrowly defined her list of possible husbands, then education was in fact a dangerous thing for girls, given that the lives of single women were typically (though certainly not invariably) difficult.[27] As long as men of the educated middle class demonstrated a preference for marrying relatively uneducated women, they signaled to all women both the likely waste and the possible danger of devoting educational resources to girls. Education for girls is a topic that comes up throughout the sketch, of course, but nowhere did Baldinger analyze her experience or offer a critique of the social exclusion of girls and women from more than basic education or spell out how marriage calculations constrained girls' chances to learn. She said clearly that she thought her mother was excessively cautious in this matter and even claimed near the end of her piece that women could use the "reason of men from their books" while doing women's work, but she did not explain, failing to update the reasoning that Christiane Mariane von Ziegler had made in 1739 (when Baldinger was born) about women and learning or that Dorothea Christiane Erxleben had written a little later.[28]

A third possible topic for argument raised in Baldinger's brief self-narrative concerns the meaning of marriage for women. Baldinger sarcastically referred to the possibility of securing her happiness by marriage, if, she immediately noted, "one secures one's happiness by selling one's body for life to a man whom one cannot love in order to get food and drink" (21). Again, she did not augment her critical statement with argumentation—what Kant called "räsoniren." In this instance, Baldinger's text resembles Weikard's: both self-mockingly record stressful attitudes toward sexuality and marriage in their youth and changes as they approached marriage. Baldinger commented about her younger self, "I wanted never to marry because I had a feeling of disgust about all physical love; I had all the talents for being a saint, I was pious, a vestal, I was gushy; the only thing I could not do was perform miracles" (21). Weikard wrote of himself at approximately the same

age, "More than once I was the biggest penitent there can be. I wept, raved, practiced all possible penitential acts, and was almost in despair especially because I had concluded from reading a religious book that I had lost my innocence. In reality I had no idea what the loss of innocence was" (24). Ignorance and religion were deeply intertwined with sexuality here, making little distinction between young women and young men or Protestant (Baldinger) and Catholic (Weikard). When marriage became a reality or a serious prospect, however, the self-satire ended. Weikard described himself as still innocent ("a chaste young man") but as a legitimately sexual being: "But now the example of others and my own warm temperament toward the other sex enticed me" (36). Baldinger, conversely, continued to reject sexuality in contorted grammar that suggests her discomfort: "Since the higher powers of my soul always outweigh everything lower, I do not know whether, considering me as a woman, [my husband] has always found me according to his wishes [*Da meine oberen Seelenkräfte immer das Übergewicht für allen Niedern behalten haben; so weis ich nicht, ob er sich, als Frau betrachtet, bei mir allemal nach seinen Wünschen gestanden hat*]" (22). A few lines later, she again became more direct: "I tried to correct my mistakes by cultivating my head more; I put friendship in the place of animal love, and I still believe that there can be no nobler [love] than ours because it is founded by both sides on respect" (22). Having described her first marriage offers as invitations to prostitute herself, Baldinger as a respectable and Enlightened woman represents her position in the marriage she accepts as asexual and antisensual. Why did she not use her view of women's side of marriage to formulate a larger critique?

Perhaps she did not want to find herself in a dispute about marriage with the men whose friendships she counted on as evidence that she was an intelligent and interesting woman. Near the end of her account, a scheme she proposed for a modest evaluation of her understanding shows how much she saw herself in relation to certain distinguished men: "If you look step by step from me to the heights where Kästner and Lichtenberg became my friends, I believe that even the dumbest person would gain from both with regard to understanding [*Verstand*]. Does it deserve admiration if I have become bearable through such good company?" (24). Her final sentence again picks up the motif of becoming bearable: "As a woman, I have become bearable; how little I would be however as a man! [*Als Frau bin ich erträglich geworden, wie klein würde ich doch als Mann seyn!*]" (24). The scale she used for

women was bearable to unbearable; for men, it was small to (implicitly) great. She previously described herself as "the wife of a scholarly and wise man who is satisfied with me" (19). Baldinger saw herself always in relation to notable scholarly men whose approval was the crucial measure of her worth. Baldinger's treatment of the exclusion of women from scholarliness as a matter that required no explanation, and her criticism of it only in the version promulgated by another woman—her mother—perhaps indicates that the certifiedly learned men around her did not wish to have her or any other woman or women in general admitted to their ranks. Because Friderika Baldinger's sense of self-worth depended so greatly on the approval of these men—and because writing an autobiography required self-esteem—Baldinger dared not risk losing their approval by making the outrageous argument that marriage, even to a man from their ranks, was a lopsided arrangement forced on women by gendered economic and cultural conditions or that women should have been allowed to study at universities (an argument that had already been put forward).

II.

Within the rationalist discourse widely used by the *Aufklärung,* admitting women to study would seem like an acceptable notion, both tending to equalize the economic roles of women and men and promising further developments congruent with the movement's universalizing rhetoric about human perfectibility. So why had this proposal not prospered, and why did Baldinger not pick up on it? Perhaps part of the answer is that better-educated middle-class women posed a potential threat to educated middle-class men's privileges in three respects: the men's recognized claim to jobs requiring good education could have been reduced if women acquired similar educations; in turn, men's superiority to women in the familial and societal hierarchy could have been at risk if women had independent incomes;[29] and finally, men's superiority in the privileged category of intellect might not have been so reassuringly evident.[30]

Much has been written about the effect on women of eighteenth-century changes in the family or household, which until then had been the chief structuring unit for the lives of both women and men.[31] The women whose lives were structured by a household were not just its wives and daughters but also unmarried aunts, various widows, and significant numbers of servants. As a new segment of the middle class

arose that was distinguished by its education (as put to use in income-generating professions), the traditional representations of the household and its functions became less useful: these new families resembled neither a country nobleman's estate writ small nor a city guildsman's house of family and apprentices all contributing to the family business. For the educated middle class, the function of the family was diminishing, no longer oriented either toward self-sufficiency in the manner of a country estate or toward production of goods in the manner of a craftsman's household; thus, the functional justification for the hierarchical superiority of the male head of household had eroded.[32] As a girl, Friderika Baldinger understood men's power over women to be based on a claim to superior reason that appeared to her unjustified.

> I was already beginning to find a great proportion of people unbearable to me, and especially men who were not scholarly. I had gotten an idea into my head: men must simply all be smarter than women, because they had claimed control over us; I found only the smallest number, however, who had a right to that based on superiority of understanding. This turned me against a whole sex, which I, ignorant girl, judged on the basis of the narrow circle where I lived. (18)

From the perspective of her youthful experience, she could have argued for the equality of men and women and pointed to the necessity of a considerable search to locate a man who was her intellectual superior; instead, she used the existence of intellectually superior men—of course inevitable given their exclusive access to education—to belittle her earlier analysis and to justify her husband's authority over her. She did not mention his far greater economic power or the weakness of his exclusive claim to that form of superiority.

During the eighteenth century, a substantial portion of the types of moderate- to high-status work that granted the ability to sustain oneself and others was organized in such a way that women could have performed it. The work of the educated middle class required schooling but did not demand physical strength and was in many cases even performed in the home. Under these circumstances, women of the educated middle class and above could have become important income producers, joining other women already in the labor force in substantial numbers—for example, as servants in houses and as peasants in fields. Educated women conducted significant parts of their husbands' work, as in the case of Luise Adelgunde Gottsched.[33] Baldinger, hav-

ing mentioned the "sustenance worries" (21) she had faced when her brother died and her painful efforts as an unmarried young woman to earn income in ways that were incompatible with her physical and intellectual being—perhaps various forms of textile work such as sewing, embroidery, and spinning—might well have thought about the attractions of practicing a profession. Few of the men around her would have agreed: they associated the word *profession* with women only in the cunning conception of (submissive, male-supporting) womanliness as itself a profession.[34] Doubling the population of the potential professionals, as the word was defined when associated with men, was not the goal of these kindly guardians, whose university educations and corresponding employment were assets most valuable while scarce. The possibilities of university educations and professional careers for women were on the table during the 1740s;[35] by the time Baldinger wrote her sketch, however, ridicule and silencing had restored these ideas to unthinkability.[36] Thus, an interrogation of women's economic roles shows women typically positioned as inferior and economically dependent on men.

Economic disadvantage supported the ideology of women's lesser understanding and hence intellectual dependence. Baldinger prided herself on recognizing her intellectual inferiority to men, as indicated by her final sentence about being bearable as a woman but insignificant if she were evaluated as a man and by comments in her few extant personal letters. This positioning as an inferior also decreased the likelihood that she would undertake an argument in her writing. If written argumentation was an act of the Enlightened scholar, then by not engaging in written argumentation, Baldinger could again demonstrate that she knew her place in the world.

All of this sounds very much like a lack of the courage that Kant deplored. It also suggests the presence of "the guardians who have kindly taken upon themselves the work of supervision," so that for most people the prospect of using reason independently appears "not only as difficult but also as highly dangerous" (54). Baldinger had a number of guardians who had ever so kindly undertaken to supervise her and to prevent her from taking the tumbles that Kant said were necessary if one was to learn to walk (and think) on one's own. But these guardians were not just supervising her thought and controlling her self-esteem. One of them—her husband—had far more power over the circumstances of her life. The notion of Friderika Baldinger freely writing her own thoughts about controversial ideas "as a scholar" is

ridiculous if these ideas differed from what her domineering husband thought. Even an eighteenth-century woman who had far more confidence in her learning and who was perhaps far more learned than Baldinger—the magnitude of her learning is impossible to evaluate given current documentation—would rarely or never have had independent intellectual space if she were married. Significant numbers of eighteenth-century women were fairly or even very well educated and were not intimidated by male learning but still, given their economic dependence and ideological inferiority, did not, in Kant's terms, "dare" to disagree. Operating within male-ordered dominant discourses, they adapted their overt behavior to fit men's claim to scholarliness: such women often concealed their knowledge. To avoid punishment for their trespass against men's scholarship, they diverted their skills away from the privileges of standard Enlightenment activity.

Because punishment indicates that a crime has been committed,[37] it is always important to watch for punishments. In the case of learned women, punishments were conducted not merely after the crime but quite vigorously in advance of it through the relentless pillorying of the learned woman, especially if her learning were productive, evident in writing.[38] It is thus no wonder that Baldinger, positing herself as a woman approved by men, wrote an essay about the education of her understanding that omitted any clue as to what fields of learning interested her. What were those thousand books about that she had discussed with her husband? Did they address medicine (his field), or science (Lichtenberg's), mathematics (Kästner's), literature, the arts, religion? Baldinger was a willing recipient of learning, an eager reader and listener, and thus a member of that public that Kant thought might join together to enlighten and free itself (55). Dependent on kindly guardians, however—not just for her education and self-esteem but also for her livelihood—Baldinger took no overt steps toward autonomy. Kant had written that even the person who, acting alone, threw off the leg irons of perpetual immaturity would still make an uncertain jump across the narrowest ditch (55). And if the jumper's legs were free but her breath were still pinched by a tight-strung corset, what then? In short, the often negative ideological assessment of women and their minimal economic options in Enlightened circles compared to men (added to both groups' lack of political power) left women weak. Their opportunities for changing the highly limited cultural roles assigned to women were very constricted. In the early part of the century, when egalitarian language about the sexes was most

prominent, Luise Adelgunde Gottsched evidently did not think in unison with her famous husband but, despite numerous publications, found the clearest possibility of signaling her disagreements in work she did not publish, letters to a woman friend.[39]

III.

My claim that women were directly and indirectly filtered out of full participation and shunted instead into a subordinate status or into a less rational, less critical strand of discourse has rested thus far on accepting male definitions of the Enlightenment. If the Enlightenment is instead defined functionally, based on the cultural roles it entailed, perhaps the assessment of women's status will be more positive. Perhaps a functional analysis will rebalance the complex inequalities of gender, race, class, and sexuality in the Enlightenment.

The most important cultural roles included serving as reader of contemporary scholarly and creative literature, discussant of one's reading and ideas, developer of one's reasoning and especially of one's areas of disagreement with prevailing discourse, and disseminator of that reasoning; these explicit roles presuppose more than a little education, formal or informal, and the availability of more than a little time and energy beyond survival activities. Evidence that fulfilling these roles differed for men and women or was difficult for men as well as women does not in itself support or refute my claim that women could not and did not participate fully in the Enlightenment: the issue is not ease or uniformity but rather accomplishment. Thus, access to books for reading posed problems for men as well as women, as Weichard attested (47); even though women were likely to face a stronger dose of moral surveillance, many women had and used good opportunities to read. Similarly, while women were excluded from many formal settings for discussion—scholarly societies, many reading groups, and most (but not all) Masonic lodges—they could often attend in informal settings. Baldinger mentioned regularly seeking out the company of the pastor Kranichfeld, whom she called her "intellectual father": "He often laughed, when, in a cloud of tobacco smoke, I sat beside him and listened with joy to what he was discussing with the others, while the remaining female company got aggravated about the eternal book jabber" (19). Negotiating between the aggressively anti-intellectual women of her town and its authoritative men speakers (both groups performing their normative gender roles), Baldinger described herself

as a listener, a female role accepted within Enlightenment terms but not approved by the "remaining female company." Women in more favorable circumstances moved beyond listening to speaking, as Sophie Reimarus demonstrated at her famous Hamburg tea table and as Sophie Becker practiced while traveling in the company of Elisa von der Recke.[40] Education, prosperity, and rank—or at least rich or powerful connections—contributed to the qualifications of these women. Furthermore, both men and women often performed the role of discussant through the medium of letters. Correspondence could offer a place for autonomous thought, and women were considered "natural" letter writers. Writing in adulthood, Baldinger mentioned that Kranichfeld had more than a thousand letters from her.

Under especially favorable circumstances, then, women of the emerging educated classes could indeed perform many of the cultural roles of the Enlightenment. The major obstacle even for privileged women was the dissemination of ideas: Could women publicize their reasoning, especially when that reasoning disagreed with prevailing thought? Letters, of course, constituted a quasi-public form of discussion, but as long as women's access to the institutionalized print forums of the Enlightenment was minuscule, they cannot be considered full participants because dissemination (followed by further discussion) was too essential a function to omit or to have in diminutive portions. In sum, the odds against women having the qualifications, motivation, intellectual space, and public access to fulfill all the cultural roles of Enlightenment participation, even in the homes of Enlightenment men, weighed strongly against women, and those who overcame these odds clashed with prevailing gender roles.

Of course it is also true that the cardinal cultural roles of the Enlightenment depended in turn on many other forms of work, including the most quotidian as well as the more specialized, and these invisible roles were often assigned to women. Living rooms were arranged for receiving guests. Tea was graciously poured. Children's lives were organized and supervised. Subscriptions were collected to support the publication of new books. Sophie Reimarus excelled at these tasks and also constantly prepared her doctor-husband for evening literary discussions by telling him about the latest publications and marking key passages for him to read.[41] This was a form of participation and influence, to be sure, but, as the scholarship has evaluated it so far, Reimarus's success depended as much on the facilitating and housewifely functions she performed as on her own (anonymously published) poems[42] or on her intellectual contacts with other culturally

involved people—principally men such as Knigge, Mendelssohn, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, with whom she corresponded. Just as women in their roles as mothers and caregivers were occluded from Enlightenment theorizing, so too as performers of the commonplace work necessary for conducting the Enlightenment project were they denied legitimacy.

Perhaps it is simply not possible to examine the Enlightenment without relying on the definitions of the men since without these men the movement did not exist. Friderika Baldinger had to deal face to face with Enlightenment men—with Lichtenberg, Kästner, and her husband, to name the three best known. In this confrontation, Baldinger had "only paradoxes to offer."[43] She longed for scholarship, including its privileges, at a time when women were defined out of scholarliness. She professed to accept her exclusion but did not stop alluding to her desire. She faced the structural and epistemological problem of women who were attempting to join existing discourses that had already developed around men: such women needed to address the sexual difference that those discourses highlighted and yet to position themselves so that they qualified for esteem within those discourses. Baldinger's attempted navigation is evident when, for example, she evaluated herself in one breath both as a woman and as a man and when she recast childbirth with books and without children. Ultimately, however, in part because the Enlightenment had little tolerance for paradoxes and ambiguities, she could not circumvent, ignore, or accept these paradoxes. She displayed this inability dramatically and painfully by falling silent. Her truncated self-narrative cannot be elaborated and cannot give more information without entangling the author in further contradictions between her illegitimate aspirations and her desire for recognition by a set of standards that denied opportunity to women like her. Given her goals and her context, Baldinger had to rely primarily on the discourse of Enlightenment to formulate her thoughts and experiences, but this discourse resisted her, as it resisted women in general, at every turn.

IV.

Women and the Enlightenment? From an early stage of experimentation with ideas of women's intellectual improvability until the end of the period when women's inferiority was generally treated as established, women of the educated middle class and aristocracy—with a few exceptions—could not be full participants in the Enlightenment

aside from the version of the movement leavened by *Empfindsamkeit;* the cloak of *Empfindsamkeit* enabled Sophie von La Roche to find a public voice as a novelist and later to edit and publish Friderika Baldinger's essay on the education of her reason.[44] The exceptions—the circle of women who had more complete involvement in the Enlightenment—were often unmarried, either because they were among the few who never married (poet Hedwig Sidonia Zäunemann or intellectual Elise Reimarus, sister-in-law of Sophie Reimarus and correspondent with Lessing) or because they were widows (another poet, Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, or classical translator Ernestine Reiske).[45] For some of the widows, the dangers (financial and emotional) of venturing before the reading public as scholars may have been less awful than the certainties of unsupported misery such as Friderika Baldinger's mother faced when her son died. Later in the century, after decades of living in an age of supposedly ongoing Enlightenment, the two women in Germany who came closest to full membership were divorced aristocrats of independent means, Emilie von Berlepsch and Elisa von der Recke.

High above the educated middle class and the lower aristocracy, the picture changed. Fewer kindly guardians supervised the thought of adult aristocratic women such as Friedrich the Great's insufficiently known sisters,[46] much less controlled a ruling woman, such as Catherine the Great of Russia, who was German by birth. Of all German women, those from royalty and the high aristocracy had the best chance to participate fully by Kant's standards, but these women too remained a tiny minority among the Enlighteners.

Although no middle-class profession provided the independence from guardians or the authority approximating that of a tsar, Friderika Baldinger's account of her youth indicates that the scholarly professions bore a detectable resemblance in prestige. Nor was Baldinger the only woman to realize that numerous benefits, including relief from economic dependence, could accompany the practice of a profession. Thus it was that as writing became a profession, German women began writing in growing numbers. Baldinger had barely begun to recognize the possibilities before her death in January 1786, when she was forty-six. The women who took up this option did not do so in the overt context of the Enlightenment.

The year after Friderika Baldinger's death, Christiane Sophie Ludwig (1764–1815) began her literary career with a collection called "Essays by

a Woman from the Country." Sometime in her old age she wrote briefly about the situation of intellectually active women:

> I am heartily glad that I am only lame in my foot and not in the upper story. But that is just between you and me, because you know very well that one dare not let much be heard from or out of the upper story because so many men . . . absolutely cannot stand to see lights on up there, and whenever someone tries something like that they shout at the top of their lungs, "Lights out! Lights out!"[47]

Women and the Enlightenment? Only when the shutters were closed, and by Kant's account that was not Enlightenment.

The Enlightenment occurred during a transformative period in Western history. Economic restructuring from agriculture to an industrial world was already under way in England. Political restructuring had erupted in France before the last decade of the century. Philosophical debates were refitting ethics and epistemology. In the midst of these changes, an increasingly educated and ambitious class of women was funneled away from technology and the sciences, away from universities and the professions (although one German woman, Dorothea Leporin Erxleben, succeeded in becoming a certified medical doctor and another, Dorothea Schlözer, passed university exams), away from the logic of personal autonomy. This diversion from the rationalist, critical strand of Enlightenment prepared women to be exemplars of the sex/gender characteristics that were codified toward the end of the eighteenth century and that had, as other chapters in this volume show, an important influence on women of all classes. The diversion made women less able to critique the medicalized and scientized explanations of sexual difference that were gaining sophistication and power as the nineteenth century began.[48] Exclusion from full participation in the Enlightenment specifically enlarged the uncertainties and vulnerabilities of women of the lower aristocracy and educated middle class and their dependence on men, factors that would impact their options and responses in the transitions yet to come.

Notes

1. Jane Flax, "Is Enlightenment Emancipatory?" in *Disputed Subjects: Essays on Psychoanalysis, Politics, and Philosophy* (New York, 1993), 75–91.

2. When Joan Kelly-Gadol famously asked, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" she identified four criteria "for gauging the relative contraction

(or expansion) of the powers of Renaissance women and for determining the quality of their historical experience." The four are the control of female sexuality, the economic and political roles available to women, their opportunities for cultural participation, and the gender ideology prevailing at the time. My analysis elaborates in particular on the last two of these criteria. See Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History,* ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston, 1977), 139–40.

3. Anthony J. La Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 1988), discusses academic and social mobility for men from the poorest levels of German society; he does not discuss women.

4. See Gray, this volume.

5. Helvetius and Condorcet are discussed in Michèle Crampe-Casnabet, "A Sampling of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy," in *Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes,* ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Frage, vol. 3 of *A History of Women,* ed. George Duby and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, 1993), 338–44.

6. Ute Frevert begins her analysis of "Human Rights and Women's Duties in the Late Eighteenth Century: Bourgeois Society and Gender," in *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (Oxford, 1989), 11–12, with a discussion of Hippel. See also Heide Wunder, *He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon* (Cambridge, 1998), 198–99; Ruth Dawson, "The Feminist Manifesto of Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel (1741–96)," in *Gestaltet und Gestaltend: Frauen in der deutschen Literatur,* ed. Marianne Burkhard (Amsterdam, 1980), 13–32; Ruth Dawson, "Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel und seine Schrift, 'Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber,'" *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik* 8 (1980): 65–69.

7. Peter-André Alt, *Aufklärung: Lehrbuch Germanistik* (Stuttgart, 1996), 7, proposes the dates 1680–1795 to include both the philosophical and literary elements of the Enlightenment; focusing on literature, I have elsewhere proposed 1725–1800 (Ruth Dawson, "Enlightenment," in *The Feminist Encyclopedia of German Literature,* ed. Friederike Eigler and Susanne Kord [Westport, 1997], 112–15).

8. In a comprehensive review of the period, Alt, *Aufklärung,* 340–48, registers approximately five hundred Enlightenment figures, only two of whom are German women (Adelgunde Gottsched and Karoline Neuber), but he never acknowledges this discrepancy. Alt names several other eighteenth-century German women, but all in his section about the family novel of sensibility (*Aufklärung,* 287–89). Sensibility (*Empfindsamkeit*) is, I argue, the necessary and permitted outlet for women's talents.

9. Good examples are the bureaucratic measures taken to control pregnant women as mentioned, for example, by Sabine Toppe, "'Polizey' und Mutterschaft: Aufklärerischer Diskurs und weibliche Lebensrealitäten in der zweiten

Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Ordnung, Politik, und Geselligkeit der Geschlechter im 18. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ulrike Weckel, Claudia Opitz, Claudia Hochstrasser, and Birgitte Tolkemitt (Göttingen, 1998), 303–22. For a discussion of the mania for making women honorary (nonparticipating) members of various German societies, see Katherine Goodman, *Amazons and Apprentices: Women and the German Parnassus in the Early Enlightenment* (Rochester, 1999).

10. Birgitte Tolkemitt, "Knotenpunkte im Beziehungsnetz der Gebildeten: Die gemischte Geselligkeit in den offenen Häusern der Hamburger Familien Reimarus und Sieveking," in *Ordnung, Politik, und Geselligkeit,* ed. Weckel et al., 183–202.

11. Nikolaus Wegmann, *Diskurse der Empfindsamkeit: Zur Geschichte eines Gefühls in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1988), 18–20.

12. I discuss the relation of German women writers to Sturm und Drang and to *Empfindsamkeit* in Ruth Dawson, *The Contested Quill: Literature by Women in Germany, 1770–1800* (Newark, 2002). See also Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib, 1750–1850* (Frankfurt, 1992), 31.

13. Immanuel Kant, *Kant's Political Writings,* ed. Hans Reiss, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge, 1970). Page numbers appear in parentheses in the text.

14. Volker Kaiser, "Poeticizing the Enlightenment: The Case of Richard Rorty and Kant's Question," in *Impure Reasons: Dialectic of Enlightenment in Germany,* ed. W. Daniel Wilson and Robert C. Holub (Detroit, 1993), 95, notes that the often omitted portion of Kant's title, "Answer to the Question," indicates its status as part of a conversation.

15. In the absence of contrary contextual signals, I am willing to read all of Kant's numerous references to men as generic rather than gender specific.

16. The translations of Baldinger's text are my own, with page numbers referring to *"Ich wünschte so gar gelehrt zu werden": Drei Autobiographien von Frauen des 18. Jahrhunderts.* ed. Magdalene Heuser, Ortrun Niethammer, Marion Roitzheim-Eisfeld, and Petra Wulbusch (Göttingen, 1994).

17. Beatrix Niemeyer, "Ausschluss oder Ausgrenzung? Frauen im Umkreis der Universitäten im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Geschichte der Mädchen und Frauenbildung,* ed. Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz (Frankfurt, 1996), 276–79.

18. Baldinger's lack of schooling is especially glaring in contrast to the education of her brother. Although her mother's loss of wealth supposedly eliminated the funds for the daughter's education, we find out a few pages later that her brother not only attended the Schulpforte academy for six years but then went on to the university (17). Of course it is possible that the brother's education was supported by patrons or charitable sources such as those La Vopa describes for the sons of poor pastors (*Grace, Talent, and Merit,* 19–58). Such options were not provided for daughters.

19. Niemeyer, "Ausschluss oder Ausgrenzung?" 294.

20. Goodman, *Amazons and Apprentices,* 268–69.

21. The Enlightenment consisted of a series of discourses, some perhaps

more receptive to women's participation than others. Religion, for example, seems to have offered women more opportunity for open discussion than might be expected. See Anne Conrad, "'Wir verplauderten die Zeit recht angenehm, sprachen von Geistersehen, Ahnungen und dergleichen': Religion als Thema aufklärerischer Geselligkeit," in *Ordnung, Politik, und Geselligkeit,* ed. Weckel et al., 203–26.

22. Rebekka Habermas points out that autobiographies such as Baldinger's short text cannot be read as giving simple documentary evidence about a period because they are inflected by the period, by language, and by genre. See Habermas, "Friderika Baldinger und ihr Männerlob: Geschlechterdebatten der Aufklärung," in *Geschlechterperspektiven: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit,* ed. Heide Wunder and Gisela Engel (Königstein, 1998), 242–54. In response to passages such as the one extolling Baldinger's husband, Habermas argues that the autobiography should be understood as being, among other things, in the genre of praises of men, *Männerlob* (246–50). Of course, it is thought provoking to consider why this genre would seem appropriate to women in the Enlightenment orbit.

23. La Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit,* 88, points out that the autobiographies of men from impoverished backgrounds also contain lavish expressions of gratitude toward their patrons, including "a degree of dependence and deference that might offend modern sensitivities," but he does not say that these passages of praise seem to cause the authors then to fall silent about themselves, as is the case with Baldinger.

24. See Dawson, *Contested Quill,* chap. 2, esp. 80–91.

25. Page numbers refer to Melchior Adam Weikard, *"Biographie" und "Denkwürdigkeiten,"* ed. Franz-Ulrich Jestädt (Fulda, 1988). The translations of Weikard's text are my own.

26. See Dawson, *Contested Quill,* 75–77, 147.

27. Because mothers might be especially aware of the difficult lives of unmarried women (Frevert, *Women in German History,* 42), the topos of motherly anxiety could represent care rather than resentment.

28. Both are cited at length in Niemeyer, "Ausschluss oder Ausgrenzung?" 280–81, 290–92. Erxleben's work was published in 1742 and 1749.

29. Cries of alarm were already being heard about the excess of university students when only men could study; see, for example, La Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit,* 230.

30. See also Crampe-Casnabet, "Sampling," 328–39.

31. Honegger, *Ordnung der Geschlechter,* 13–19.

32. Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres in the German Enlightenment* (New York, 2000), 164.

33. Gaby Pailer, "Luise Adelgunde Victoria Gottsched in der biographischen Konstruktion," *Studia Germanica Gedanensia* 5 (1998): 48–55.

34. Honegger, *Ordnung der Geschlechter,* 69, cites an example from Knigge.

35. Niemeyer, "Ausschluss oder Ausgrenzung?" 280–93.

36. Not until Hippel did the notion of women entering the professions receive serious mention again. Amalia Holst, writing in 1802, alludes to the problem of men's monopoly on good positions ("alle einträglichen Ämter und Gewerbe") but does not propose any change (quoted in Birgit Wägenbaur, *Die Pathologie der Liebe: Literarische Weiblichkeitsentwürfe um 1800* [Munich, 1996], 48).

37. Émile Durkheim cited in Judith Grant, *Fundamental Feminism: Contesting the Core Concepts of Feminist Theory* (New York, 1993), 163–64.

38. Ulrike Weckel, "Der Fieberfrost des Freiherrn: Zur Polemik gegen weibliche Gelehrsamkeit und ihren Folgen für die Geselligkeit der Geschlechter," in *Geschichte,* ed. Kleinau and Opitz, 360–72.

39. Goodman, *Amazons and Apprentices,* 196–224, shows several indications that Luise Gottsched's published works deviated from her husband's concepts, but J. C. Gottsched's claims to unanimity have generally prevailed in scholarship. Pailer, "Luise Adelgunde Viktoria Gottsched," also portrays Luise Gottsched as a far more independent person than her husband's representation suggests. Fascinating here is that one of the premier exponents of egalitarian gender relations so systematically depicted his wife as his creation and his assistant. Until Dorothea Runkel published her friend's letters beginning in 1771, this diminishing depiction of her prevailed. Goodman sees Luise Gottsched positioning herself as an "apprentice" to her husband, the scholarly master.

40. Conrad, "Wir verplauderten," 209–13.

41. Tolkemitt, "Knotenpunkte," 184–85.

42. Ibid., 186–88.

43. Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, 1996).

44. At the same time, the *Empfindsamkeit,* as Weckel, "Der Fieberfrost," 364, points out, posits a stark conflict for women between virtue and intellect.

45. Zäunemann, Ziegler, and Reiske are discussed in Goodman, *Amazons and Apprentices.* For Elise Reimarus, see Tolkemitt, "Knotenpunkte," 175–86.

46. Lovisa Ulrika (1720–82), for example, who married the heir to the Swedish throne and became queen of Sweden, was remarkable as a patron of literature, art, and science; see Merit Laine, "An Eighteenth-Century Minerva: Lovisa Ulrika and Her Collections at Drottingholm Palace 1744–1777," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31 (1998): 493–503. Another of Friedrich's sisters, Wilhelmine of Bayreuth, wrote an opera that is briefly discussed in Ruth P. Dawson, "Frauen und Theater: Vom Stegreifspiel zum bürgerlichen Rührstück," in *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen,* ed. Gisela Brinker-Gabler (Munich, 1988), 1:424.

47. Carl Wilhelm Otto August von Schindel. *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1823), 1:365.

48. Honegger, *Ordnung der Geschlechter,* 168–99.

Enlightenment Vocabulary and Female Difference

Two Women Writers' Search for Inclusive Language

Marion W. Gray

> Are we excluded from this civility? Are we excluded because we are women?
> Amalia Holst

The Enlightenment's philosophical reconceptualization of what it means to be human separated women and men by the physical characteristics of sex and affirmed maleness as the universal standard, thus relegating women to a category of difference. The maturation of the market economy by the end of the early modern era diminished women's productive economic role. Governmental reformers strove to create a civil society in which manhood was a prerequisite for citizenship. Pedagogical reformers built school and university systems designed to educate "productive citizens" and made the educational institutions the exclusive domain of men.

So universally accepted were the equation of maleness with humanity and the belief in female difference that to question these tenets would have required rebutting powerful normative values. Yet there was argument. The most well known writer in Germany who dared to challenge the gendered nature of the Enlightenment, Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel (1741–96), published his radical thought anonymously in *On Improving the Civil Status of Women* (1792). Hippel categorically included women in the classification of human and thus projected for them the benefits of the Enlightenment, including education, participation in the professions, political voice, and legal identity. After his death, Hippel's friends were incredulous when they heard allegations that he had been the author of such ideas.[1]

In recognizing the concept of female as a social construct, not a law of Nature, Hippel was nearly—but not entirely—alone. Two women

who courageously protested the Enlightenment's disempowerment of females were Amalia Holst (1758–1829), a Hamburg writer who passionately defended women's right to education, and Christine Dorothea Gürnth (1749–1813) of Silesia, who campaigned tirelessly for a dignified role for women in the changing rural economy.[2] Despite their fervent advocacy of women's inclusion in the intellectual and economic innovations of their day, both in many ways ended up affirming rather than challenging the Enlightenment's distinctions based on sex.

In searching for reasons why such was the case, I examine Holst's and Gürnth's writings as texts in the Enlightenment discourse about the redefinition of gender. When viewed in their historical context, they reveal much more than is contained in their literal meanings. The two women's publications belong to a debate—although one in which the two sides were categorically unequal—about the worth and the place of women in the emerging civil society and the market economy. Their work belongs to a body of thought that has been overlooked or trivialized in favor of male arguments about gender and status. A purpose of this chapter is to uncover and analyze some of the neglected rhetoric of the Enlightenment debate on gender.

The dominant position was so successful in this unbalanced controversy that it established itself as the accepted wisdom for the following century and a half. Stressing gradual change as "progress," it held that the *Sattelzeit* was an age of the extension of human and individual rights and that women benefited "too." If they emerged from the era more restricted in their options than men did, it was because they started from behind and had farther to come than men did along the path of progress.

During the past thirty years, many historians of gender have refused to accept the Enlightenment's definition of progress. They have analyzed Enlightenment ideas and practice to demonstrate that the era of great transition constructed new ways of excluding women from mainstream social, cultural, and political life. Scholars are engaged in the task of delineating ways in which the process happened and are examining social, political, and cultural effects on the gender system. An analysis of the texts of two contemporaries who understood at the time what scholars are now rediscovering will contribute to an understanding of the ways in which the arguments put forth by Holst and Gürnth had consequences that they did not foresee.

Why did Holst and Gürnth, both passionate advocates of female inclusion, affirm values that look much like those of nineteenth-cen-

tury bourgeois gender systems? This chapter will emphasize two possible explanations. First, both naturally sought to strengthen women's place in the realms where, according to their society's understanding, women had made their greatest contributions—maintaining the household economy and reproducing new generations of healthy, well-trained children. Second, both used the language of the Enlightenment, a paradigm that characterized people according to physical and even sexual characteristics. The vocabulary of both Holst and Gürnth represented reproduction as the defining attribute of women, in part because of the way in which Enlightenment thinkers posited Nature as the measure of all things and categorized maleness and femaleness as "natural" differences.[3] Thus, paradoxically, their arguments for inclusion helped strengthen the foundations of the sexual differences they sought to eliminate.

Amalia Holst: The Body Is Not the Mind

Amalia Holst must have had a difficult childhood as the daughter of a well-known Cameralist, Johann Heinrich Gottlieb von Justi. She was thirteen years old when her father, then an official in the government of Frederick the Great, died in Küstrin Prison, pleading his innocence against charges of misappropriation of royal funds. She may have been largely self-educated. She lived part of her adult life in Hamburg and supported herself as an educator and school director. She and Ludolf Holst married when she was thirty-four years old, and she became the mother of one son and two daughters. Her husband, educated in theology and jurisprudence, was an educator and later a business leader active in civic affairs. During the French Revolution, when excitement arose about social and political changes in Germany, she anonymously published her first book, *Commentary on the Mistakes of Our Modern Education* (1791). Just over a decade later, when Napoleon was changing Germany's political face, she published *On Woman's Destiny for Higher Education* (1802), this time under her own name.[4]

Amalia Holst warmly recommended Hippel to her readers.[5] Like Hippel, she refused to accept the Enlightenment's anthropological distinction between human and female. Because women were "thinking beings," they were humans, she insisted. Because they were human, they were perfectible (17). Saying she did not want to be a "preacher of revolution," she accepted as fact physical differences, including the idea that men were inherently stronger than women. This was her one

point of disagreement with Hippel, who "otherwise defends our rights with great acumen" (19). However, she retorted, "Is weakness of the mind a logical corollary to this? . . . Is our mind organized differently than that of men?" (19). Holst answered in the negative. She believed deeply in the Enlightenment notion of human cultural progress, and she based much of her thinking on the principle of the primacy of Nature.

> When humanity lay in the cradle of childhood, the mind slumbered in the embryo, and in this state physical strength determined the worth of the human being. It required unending exertion, the experience of several centuries, before humans learned to know, to value, and to order the surrounding wonders and the operations of Nature. (20)

However, she was outraged about males' misuse of the Enlightenment to exclude half of humankind. "J. J. Rousseau started it all off," she charged. He was a "charlatan who always mixes up Nature [the body] and culture [intellect]" (22). He and other "egotistical male scholars" bore responsibility for turning a potentially profound movement into a mere "pseudo-Enlightenment" (19) by using the standard of masculinity rather than humanity.

Holst's fundamental theme was the transformative power of learning. She was passionate about women's right to become educated. If the women of ancient Greece had not been excluded from intellectual development, she argued, the classical culture would have wrought even more wonderful achievements than it did under male leadership (30). The paramount reason women should be educated was because they were the teachers of "future citizens of the world [*Weltbürger*]." Through women's higher, nobler education, all of humanity would be elevated as these benefits were passed along: women's "accomplishments in the earliest education of humans not only affect the flywheels of the machinery of state but also powerfully influence the tone of society" (39–40).

According to Holst, women must have the right as individuals to intellectual development and to study in their fields of choice.

> The education of women must be completely free. Wherever our genius leads us, there we must be allowed to wander in the field of knowledge. The treasures of antiquity must stand open to us as well

> as to men, so that we also can become enriched by them. Likewise, we must not be forbidden to study philosophy, this branch of knowledge that inspires men with intelligence and order when they wish to . . . benefit humanity. [Philosophy] teaches us about our true relationships to the highest being, to ourselves, and to the external world. [We must have knowledge of] everything that interests humans as humans—our place of abode, the earth with its multiple revolutions, and their great leaders. All of Nature must be our museum in which we study the omnipotent father and where we research the limits of all finite things. No less should we concern ourselves with the history of humanity. From [history] we learn what humanity has been, what it is, and what it can become. (43)

Locking the doors of education to women had produced some unfortunate traits popularly associated with femininity, such as vanity and obsession with physical beauty. If women sometimes engaged in pettiness and if boredom drove wives to seek superficial company outside their households, Holst asserted, they did so because men had withheld from them the right to develop their minds (81), not because of innate female qualities.

Women must gain their education, she demanded, from original sources rather than from "books written for ladies, which treat us like children." Superficial knowledge imparts false pride, but fundamental knowledge makes one modest. "Our purpose is ennoblement of ourselves and participation in the great plan of the Creator of Nature" (43).

To refute any claim that women could not contribute to intellectual discourse, she offered pages of examples of accomplished female writers, ranging from Sappho of ancient Greece to Holst's contemporary, Emilie Berlepsch. As "living proof" that women, "in spite of their neglected education," could achieve distinction in all fields, she named female physicians, diplomats, painters, *salonières,* and musicians (45–52).

In response to philosophers such as Fichte and Humboldt who connected the alleged intellectual inferiority of women with a subordinate role in marriage, Holst held up an ideal of an equal and companionate marriage based on love, which was made possible by the fact that women were capable of education on an equal basis with men. Just as she refused to accept the axiom that Nature made women fundamentally different, she also rejected the notion of the sexes as polar opposites, instead envisioning females and males complementing one another through love. She lamented that she did not possess the lan-

guage to "accurately portray, with all the passion that I feel, how both sexes are so internally bound to one another, how powerfully they affect one another. They are destined to wander hand in hand harmoniously to perfection, [and] the ennoblement of the one is dependent on the ennoblement of the other." If men understood this, she believed, they would "offer us a friendly hand" so that women could "climb the great ladder in unison with them; and we would not shy away from any challenge, and we would all despise flirtation, which until now has chained and oppressed us" (42). Education made love possible, and love raised men and women to even higher planes of being.

Moreover, if one were to bring the "ridiculous" belief that women were created to serve men before the "judicial bench of rationality," the verdict would be "that each sex exists to promote the happiness of the other." Holst vehemently repudiated the idea that the Genesis creation story established female subordination. She categorized the biblical account as a "childish oriental fable" and expressed doubt that Moses had written this legend, speculating that it had been authored by men of later generations who had a "crude understanding of humanity" (57–59).

Marriage, then, was the contract that led to the highest fulfillment and the greatest perfection rather than a union of unequals. Because it fulfilled its purpose only if women were educated, it was in society's best interest to ensure them this right. Fulfillment of these conditions would transform woman into man's "deepest and truest friend" (82). Education and love worked hand in hand to bring the world closer to perfection.

Christine Gürnth: Economic Power for Women

Christine Dorothea Henschel Gürnth claimed for herself the role of economist for women. Often writing under the pen name Amalie, she published between 1790 and 1811 more than twenty books that she characterized as economic manuals for women. For a short period she served as coeditor of *Oekonomisches, moralisches, und gemeinnütziges Journal für Frauenzimmer* (The Economic, Moral, and Communally Useful Journal for Women). The wife of a pastor, Georg Samuel Gürnth, she felt called to help women find a respected place in the economy. Perhaps the economic hardships Gürnth had experienced at an early age following the death of her father contributed to her sensitivity to women's exclusion from economically valuable activities. She

explained to her readers that novelist Sophie von La Roche had inspired her to take up the pen. However, unlike La Roche, Gürnth did not write fiction. She saw herself as a successor to Christian Friedrich Germershausen, who a generation earlier had published popular manuals on the rural economy, including a widely reprinted multivolume guidebook for female managers of rural estates.[6] Her conception of the economy was rooted in the agricultural household. She believed that women were losing touch with their unique economic heritage. Some, she said, had nothing more to instruct them than a few notes inherited from their grandmothers. They needed training and would benefit from having it from a woman's perspective.[7]

Like Holst, Gürnth decried the exclusion of women from education. Gürnth's vision, however, was not a humanistic education for women, as Holst wanted, but rather professional training. Without access to knowledge and expertise, women would remain unequipped to function in the economy: "There are in our enlightened age movements to improve . . . the education and the schooling of the youth. However, these advancements are more concerned with boys than with girls," she said in a vast understatement. Moreover, the few extant girls' schools lacked appropriate curricula for women—that is, "economics, the most essential of all female knowledge." Women had no opportunity to gain the scientific and technical knowledge equivalent to that which young men learned in the Cameralist lecture halls of universities and the agricultural and economic institutes that were gaining popularity.[8]

Gürnth wanted to see the development of curricula that would prepare women to preside over agricultural households and estates.

> Several prerequisite skills and auxiliary subjects are . . . useful for girls' future careers. . . . I regard *natural science, natural history,* and *chemistry* as well as *technology* and *merchandising* as primary subjects for the female economy. Without these, it is not possible to become an enlightened household mistress. All of these are . . . tightly bound together with the household and the agricultural economy. . . . In addition, for the sake of her family's welfare and for the benefit of the household, every household mistress should understand *dietetics, nursing,* and, yes, even *veterinary medicine.*[9]

She insisted that mathematics and household bookkeeping become part of the female curriculum. Women should learn of the "the new discoveries, inventions, and improvements."[10] The female managers of estates should have instruction in moral philosophy.

Gürnth sought earnestly to respond to the structural economic changes that were undermining women's central role in the agrarian economy. Men were becoming professionals, while women were relegated to subordinate economic roles. Through her publications, she campaigned for the inclusion of women in mainstream changes of her day.

She sought to create spheres for women in the new ideals of nation and state. In 1807, when Napoleon's armies had overrun much of German territory, producing widespread economic crises, Gürnth published a book that instructed young "household mistresses of the middle class" on how to respond to the "austere times." Men had been called to war, and the countryside was threatened by foreign troops. Women needed to keep things running on the home front. She developed an "economic emergency plan" for the patriotic women to follow. Their economic responsibilities consisted of two rubrics: earning (*Erwerb*) and wise consumption (*gute Anwendung*). Under the heading of earning she emphasized what she believed to be an innate female quality, industriousness, and exhorted women to apply their skills in the garden and in the house: "I urge the young household mistress to produce the fruits of her own labor by making products which she might otherwise order from milliners, tailors, seamstresses, and other professionals." In the garden—the traditional female realm of agriculture—women must work with extra diligence and make informed choices about varieties of plants to cultivate. They must utilize homegrown products to the fullest extent. "Thus we will procure our household needs more cheaply and at the same time enhance the value of our harvested products and even earn more money."[11] Regarding consumption, the second rubric of the household emergency economic plan, Gürnth specified the guiding principle as "punctual orderliness [*pünktliche Ordnung*]": "Love of order helps us fulfill an obligation to our domestic profession, the strict control over our householding."[12]

Developing the realm of "female economics," then, would enable women to participate in the transforming events of their day. Trained and educated women would gain dignity as professionals and patriots, joining civil society in their own way by preserving their threatened homes and feeding society while men were at war.

The Ideal of Inclusion and the Vocabularies of Difference

Holst and Gürnth passionately criticized the categorical exclusion of women from intellectual, economic, and civil society. Yet both also

shared the notion that women were destined for a single proper place, the home and hearth. Neither writer advocated that other women should follow their examples, earning through authorship or directing schools. The idea of women in the domestic realm was fundamental to their arguments for women's education, training, and professionalization.

A major element in Holst's plea for women's intellectual development was the female role in the "sacred profession" of teaching.[13] Women should be schooled in natural science, languages, and history. Knowledge of the laws of Nature would enable women to move toward perfection and to perform their professional duties with dignity. Educated women would raise their children in a healthy manner, would avoid quack remedies, and would distinguish between professional and fraudulent doctors. Elevation of the mind would make women immune to the temptations of luxury and would thus prevent children from inheriting such addictions. Yet this language of intellectual independence and ennoblement also imparted a message of duty—the obligation of motherhood (105). "It is indeed a sacred charge of parents to deliver intellectually and physically healthy members to the state, and even more to humanity" (106). Parents had no choice in the matter, and the responsibility fell more to mothers than to fathers.

> One should look around in families and take notice: Are not knowledge, higher understanding, and morality imparted more by the mother than the father, and likewise, ignorance, base thinking, and immorality? This is very natural. The mother gives physically and morally more content to the education of the human being than the father does. (88)

The modernized conceptualization of women's role that Holst envisioned made them participants in the Enlightenment and ennobled them through a named occupation, "the profession of mother, the first educator of youth." Nevertheless, the reproductive role of women tied them to a single normative ideal against which men were not measured. Women were different because of their role in reproduction. Indeed, the body did determine who they were. Holst, herself a schoolmistress, identified women's profession as that of teacher, but only of their own children.

For Gürnth, female difference rested primarily in the fact that

women were destined to be near hearth and garden, away from the market. In her 1807 tract written for "austere times," she urged women to be good producers in their gardens, but she did not mention the field crops, the traditional male realm of agriculture, which in her day were increasingly harvested for market and for profit. She never proposed, even under the extraordinary circumstances of warfare, that women take charge of the production and sale of grain, the primary basis for the expanding rural market economy. Her main emphasis for women was consumption, not production. She presented wartime recipes and offered concrete suggestions about inexpensive cooking. She advocated the human consumption of products otherwise grown for animal feed and urged the gathering of wild fruits of forest and field. She suggested substituting maize for costly rye in the making of bread.[14]

Her *Economic Conversations for Ladies* (1810) suggests her vision of the female profession. In this instructional tract, Gürnth, writing in the first person under the pen name Amalie, introduced an upper-class lady, Auguste, to Sophie, "a wise and contemplative agriculturist and household mistress." The tract unequivocally stated that Sophie's success as an estate manager resulted from her membership in the industrious middle class. As a consequence of her social standing, Auguste had much to learn. Even though she had servants, she needed intimate knowledge of the rules of household economics so that she could supervise proficiently. Readers learned the principles of the female economy through the conversations among Amalie, Auguste, and Sophie on such topics as cooking; washing and bleaching; cultivation and spinning of flax; baking bread; churning butter and making cheese; harvesting and preparing wild greens, roots, and seeds; cultivating potatoes; fattening calves; managing the house apothecary; and raising turkeys, "the most noble fowl." Readers learned of many ways to economize in the household, such as Sophie's use of a mixture of peanuts and coffee beans to brew coffee. Erudite in her profession, Sophie explained that Native Americans used peanuts for multiple purposes and showed her guests how she cultivated the versatile legume in her garden. Her visitors were impressed with her knowledge of world agriculture systems, which could make households less dependent on costly imported goods. They praised her for patriotism and thrift, and she replied with appropriate modesty, "I do it because I like the taste." This educated professional thus made her contribution to the economy through rational cultivation practices and participated in

broad social goals through saving while producing products that promoted health. Yet female modesty would not allow her to take direct credit for these virtues.[15]

Women had but one prescribed profession, and this caused a potential dilemma for Gürnth, who clearly earned income from her writing. Was she violating gender norms by her authorship of books? She addressed the problem straightforwardly in a book published in 1801. Sophie had already challenged Amalie about the impropriety: "You must at least admit that writing books does not belong to our female profession." "Of course you are right, dear friend!" rejoined Amalie. "But if we . . . arrange our time so that our domestic responsibilities do not suffer, I do not agree that [writing] conflicts with our profession." Gürnth explained that she arose earlier in the morning than all other members of her household, thus extending her waking day. She completed her writing while others still slept. During the remainder of the day, she could be a household mistress in good conscience. Authorship, moreover, was a relaxation that made her more efficient in executing her household duties: "So if I write instead of idling my time . . . or playing games, I am by no means culpable." Writing, moreover, was an act of friendship that created bonds between women. "As a reward for this tiresome task, I often imagine myself at your side, or with one of my other friends, and picture that we are discussing some important matter." Her final defense of her other career was that she did not allow it to take her away from the womanly domain: in subject matter, "I never dare to venture out of my sphere of . . . economics and domestic ethics."[16]

Holst and Gürnth depicted women empowered as mothers and homemakers, yet the two authors' words make it clear that their envisioned professional women were economic subordinates to their husbands. A woman's role was largely that of consumer; her husband was the earner or producer. Holst described the educated household mistress as one who knew the prices of foodstuffs so that she could not be cheated and would always recognize a bargain. "She knows that what she saves is earning for her husband, for her children, and for the poor." Her virtues in the household are "orderliness, thrift, and purposeful activity." She must know enough about her husband's economic situation to adjust her side of things accordingly. She must be extra thrifty when her husband is experiencing difficulties. In such times, she "goes to work herself and does not fear dirtying her pretty hands."[17]

Gürnth was even clearer about the gendered roles of consumer and provider: "It is indisputable that the happiness of entire families often depends on the mistress. The husband, of course, must earn the living. But to enjoy the benefits of it, there must be good patterns of consumption."[18] She warned her readers not to equate the female profession solely with cooking, yet many of her economic manuals consisted largely of recipes. In their cooking, professional women should observe the domestic virtues of industriousness, thrift, and orderliness in the household.[19] Gürnth defended her role as author by subordinating it to that of homemaker. She did not see herself as a model for other women.

The Body as the Measure of All Things

In their campaigns to establish women's place in the Enlightenment, civil society, and the professions, both Holst and Gürnth ultimately confirmed the notion of women's difference and female subordination to men. Why was this so, when both started from the premise that exclusion was fundamentally unacceptable?

First, they were emphasizing the twin honored historical roles of women—that is, reproduction and wise management of the household economy. In cultural perception, perhaps the most important of women's labors was reproduction. As far back as memory reached, women had ensured the survival of families by bearing children, raising them to be healthy, and preparing them to take over the next generation. According to early modern norms, reproduction represented an economic duty.[20] It was a part of women's role in the economic institution of marriage, which began with a dowry-based contract that brought properties together to form the necessary capital to sustain a household. According to time-honored tradition, the woman's dowry was essential and was only the beginning of her gender-specific contributions to the household economy. She helped sustain the family through dutiful performance of her ordained role in the procurement, preservation, and preparation of food and the provision of clothing. Indeed, women's traditional economic role often involved consumption, just as Gürnth prescribed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is natural that Holst and Gürnth would highlight the activities that had brought honor and status to women, stressing the maternal values of nurturance and attention to education.[21] Nevertheless, the emphasis on a maternal ideology and a mother-centered household led

to the paradox of separating women's work from men's in the changing context of the growing market economy. In the attempt to highlight and restore women's contributive role, the two writers emphasized the unique, distinct, and respected role of women, thus stressing difference. Even though each in her own way argued for equality, it would never have occurred to either to argue for sameness of the sexes. The changing cultural context in which home, hearth, and nursery were declining in the value system of the male order, however, gave their emphasis on difference a meaning that Holst and Gürnth could hardly have understood.

Second, the rhetorical tools Holst and Gürnth possessed contributed to the notion of difference and exclusion. Believing in social progress, in the gradual ennoblement of humanity, and especially in education, Holst adopted the language of the Enlightenment. This vocabulary claimed universal applicability when its practitioners discussed human advancement, and Holst had merely to insist that the universality was indeed inherent: women were part of humanity. But this Enlightenment message always carried the counterbalancing notion, sometimes subliminal and sometimes explicit, that the measure of humanity was masculinity. Male philosophers justified this idea by referring to the human body and attributing female difference to Nature. When Holst tried to use the masculine language to argue women's case, she stumbled over this problem: Nature determined that women were mothers; reproduction made them different. Even though women would, under Holst's plan, master the world's scientific, technical, and humanistic knowledge, they were mothers and wives, which placed them categorically lower than men in a gendered hierarchy. She corroborated this belief when she venerated the world's great explorers and scientists for their enlightening discoveries and said women should learn of these breakthroughs to bequeath them to children.[22] Men generated knowledge, while women received it and passed it on. The Enlightenment conceptualization allowed no equality or mutuality, in spite of Holst's fervent optimism that marriages based on a love would ennoble both partners and lead to egalitarian female-male partnerships.

While Holst looked to the future and positioned herself in the most contemporary discourse, Gürnth chose models from the past, emphasizing themes of the household economy. The vocabulary she used had in an earlier context represented ideals of female empowerment. Like her predecessor, Germershausen, she believed that the economy was

centered in the domestic sphere and stressed the essential role of the female partner, who could enhance her place through scientific, technical, and professional expertise. Employing this rhetoric, Gürnth could hope to restore honor to women's economic activity. Yet her words had unintended meanings, because the household economy, whether or not it had ever existed in reality, was at best a disappearing feature of social reality in her day. She stressed the virtues of domesticity in an age in which men were devaluing the private realm precisely because it was a female sphere. Her intended message of female empowerment trivialized women's role even in her own time.

Holst and Gürnth grasped that events of the *Sattelzeit* were excluding the female half of the population and denigrating their status by relegating them to the roles of wife and mother while establishing the realms of the professions and civil society for men. The authors courageously resisted these developments by attempting to elevate motherhood and wifehood to the status of a profession. On the basis of private motherhood and wifehood, Holst and Gürnth claimed a place for women in public life. Through wise and frugal consumption, women could contribute to the patriotic goal of sustaining state and society during times of warfare. As educators (in their homes), they contributed to the wider sphere by preparing their children for citizenship in the state and the world. But within the paradigm of thought that characterized people according to physical characteristics, Holst and Gürnth possessed no language with which to describe women except words that represented reproduction as woman's defining attribute while holding up production as the key to humanity's future. Holst explicitly rejected a connection between body and intellect when she argued that physical weakness did not mean intellectual inferiority. But reproduction ultimately became the determining factor, putting women in the home while men were moving increasingly into the public realm.

Notes

1. Joseph Kohnen, *Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel: Eine zentrale Persönlichkeit der Königsberger Geistesgeschichte: Biographie und Bibliographie* (Lüneburg, 1987), 9–207; Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, *Über die Bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber,* ed. Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow (1792; Frankfurt, 1977); William Rasch, "*Mensch, Bürger, Weib:* Gender and the Limitations of Late 18th-Century Neohumanist Discourse," *German Quarterly* 66 (1986): 21–22; Ruth Dawson, "Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel und seine Schrift, 'Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber,'" *Jahrbuch für internationale Ger-*

manistik 8 (1980): 65–69; Ruth Dawson, "The Feminist Manifesto of Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel (1741–96)," in *Gestaltet und Gestaltend: Frauen in der deutschen Literatur,* ed. Marianne Burkhard (Amsterdam, 1980), 13–32; Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, 1996), 323–32.

2. Ruth Dawson, "'And This Shield Is Called—Self-Reliance': Emerging Feminist Consciousness in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social and Literary History,* ed. Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes (Bloomington, 1986), 157–74. Dawson points out that for a woman to take an openly feminist position in the eighteenth century would have involved significant risk (159–60). I do not mean to imply that Holst and Gürnth were the only women who advocated female inclusion. In addition to Dawson's article, see, for example, Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres, "'That Girl Is an Entirely Different Character!' Yes, but Is She a Feminist? Observations on Sophie von La Roche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim,*" in *German Women,* ed. Joeres and Maynes, 137–56.

3. The original work on the normative values of sex difference in the late eighteenth century is Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century—An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life," in *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany,* ed. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (London, 1981), 51–83. For a newer account that stresses the paradoxical implications of this idea, see Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, 1996), 1–56.

4. Amalia Holst [J. G. Müller, pseud.], *Bemerkungen über die Fehler unserer modernen Erziehung* (Leipzig, 1791); Amalia Holst, *Über die Bestimmung des Weibes zur höheren Geistesbildung,* ed. Berta Rahm (1802; Zurich, 1984); Carl Wilhelm Otto von Schindel, *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1823–25), 3:226–27; Elke Kleinau and Christine Mayer, "Caroline Rudolphi (1754–1811), Amalia Holst (1758–1829), und Betty Gleim (1781–1827)," in *Erziehung und Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts: Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung zur Bildungs- und Berufsbildungsgeschichte von Mädchen und Frauen,* ed. Kleinau and Mayer (Weinheim, 1996), 1:70–74; Elke Kleinau, "Amalia Holst, geb. von Justi," in *Demokratische Wege: Deutsche Lebensläufe aus fünf Jahrhunderten: Ein Lexikon,* ed. Manfred Asendorf and Rolf von Bockel (Stuttgart, 1997), 285–87.

5. Holst, *Über die Bestimmung des Weibes,* 16. Subsequent page numbers appear parenthetically in the text.

6. Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Development of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment* (New York, 2000), 191–201.

7. Schindel, *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen,* 1:178–83, 3:142; [Christine Dorothea Gürnth], *Gartenökonomie für Frauenzimmer: Oder Anweisung der*

Produkte des Blumen- Küchen- und Obstgartens in der Haushatung aufs manigfältigste zu benutzen (Züllichau, 1790), 1:2, 2:5–6, 9; [Christine Dorothea Gürnth], *Oekonomische Unterhaltungen für Frauenzimmer: Eine belehrende Lektüre, für Damen auf dem Lande, die ihrer Wirthschaft selbst vorstehen wollen* (Berlin, 1810), xv; Ulrike Weckel, *Zwischen Häuslichkeit und Öffentlichkeit: Die ersten deutschen Frauenzeitschriften im späten 18. Jahrhundert und ihr Publikum* (Tübingen, 1998), 160–64. Ulrike Weckel has kindly provided me with copies of her research notes and correspondence with libraries showing that no known copies remain of the *Oekonomisches, moralisches, und gemeinnütziges Journal für Frauenzimmer* (1794–95).

8. [Christine Dorothea Gürnth, pseud. Amalie], "Plan eines ökonomischen Instituts für Mädchen," *Schlesische Provinzblätter* 37 (1803): 546–47.

9. Ibid., 548–49.

10. Ibid., 549.

11. [Christine Dorothea Gürnth], *Rath für junge Hausmütter des Mittelstandes bei theuren Zeiten wohl hauszuhalten: Eine Sammlung von Haushaltungsvortheilen* (Leipzig, 1807), 3–5.

12. Ibid., 15–16.

13. Holst, *Über die Bestimmung des Weibes,* 93. Subsequent page numbers appear parenthetically in the text.

14. [Gürnth], *Rath für junge Hausmütter.*

15. [Gürnth], *Oekonomische Unterhaltungen für Frauenzimmer,* 2, 5, 6, 9, 15–29.

16. [Christine Dorothea Gürnth, pseud. Amalie], *Unterhaltungen für denkende Hausmütter über allerley Gegenstände der weiblichen Oekonomie* (Breslau, 1801), xiii–xiv.

17. Holst, *Über die Bestimmung des Weibes,* 124.

18. [Gürnth], "Plan eines ökonomischen Instituts," 548–50.

19. [Gürnth], *Unterhaltungen,* 2–12.

20. Gray, *Productive Men,* 63–65, 195.

21. The idea of the mother-centered household would become central to early feminist thought in the nineteenth century. See Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick, 1991), 1–131.

22. Holst, *Über die Bestimmung des Weibes,* 105–6.

Protecting Manliness in the Age of Enlightenment

The New Physical Education and Gymnastics in Germany, 1770–1800

Teresa Sanislo

In the last few decades of the eighteenth century, a small but influential circle of enlightened educational reformers known as the Philanthropinists began a campaign to improve the physical upbringing of the youth and bring back what they referred to as the lost art of ancient gymnastics. Between 1770 and 1793, the Philanthropinists published a series of texts calling for a hardy dietary regimen for children and the introduction of gymnastics or physical training into the schools.[1] They put their ideas into practice at their famous experimental boarding schools in Dessau and Schnepfenthal. By the end of the century, the Philanthropinists had convinced only a few school directors to follow their lead. Yet their writings and practical work had long-lasting significance. They helped bring the idea of a new physical education to the broader public and eventually had a profound impact on German gymnastics movement that emerged in the early 1800s. Among nineteenth-century German gymnasts and contemporary historians of education and sport, therefore, the Philanthropinists have become known as the founding fathers of German physical education and gymnastics.[2]

Why, centuries after the fall of Greece and Rome, did the Philanthropinists begin to call for a revival of ancient gymnastics? Why were they so concerned about health, physical fitness, and the training of the body? After all, the late eighteenth century is commonly referred to as the Age of Enlightenment, a time in which philosophers and proponents of reform praised the powers of rationality and the mind. Feminist historians have often portrayed the movement for Enlightenment

as one that privileged the mind over the body, reinforcing a gender coding of these terms and of masculine rationality over feminine embodiment. What does the discourse on the new physical education reveal, therefore, about gender ideals in this period?

The work of the Philanthropinists represents the beginning of a new valuing of the training of the body. It established a new significance of this theme for gender relations among the educated middle-class in the modern period. An analysis of their language and imagery demonstrates that gendered concerns lay at the heart of their project. The Philanthropinists designed the new physical education and gymnastics as a means of restoring masculine attributes for the next generation and protecting what they believed was a "natural" order among the sexes. They drew attention to the embodied nature of manliness and the necessity of achieving a balance between the mental and physical elements of masculine character. Their project suggests that new gender ideals were riddled with tension as competing notions of masculinity emerged in this period.

Gender and the Body in the Late Eighteenth Century

German feminist historians often refer the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as a transformative period for gender and women's history. Karin Hausen, Barbara Duden, Ute Frevert, and others argue that in this period the foundations for the construction of gender difference rooted in religious, social, and scholarly traditions of the early modern period were losing sway.[3] New gender ideals emerged based on the notion of the completely different yet complementary nature of man and woman. Recent literature on the history of the body, gender, and sexuality emphasizes the ways in which the "polarization of the sexes" and the notion of separate spheres were increasingly read into gendered bodies and grounded in biological difference.[4]

Feminist historians and political theorists also argue that masculine characteristics came to be privileged in the newly emerging public sphere and in politics. They point to masculine rationality and the image of the disembodied rational male as central elements of early citizenship ideals. A subtext within this literature focuses on the role that representations of women's bodies and embodiment played in their theoretical exclusion from the public and full civil status. Literature, philosophy, and political theory often represented women as more physical, more natural, and less rational beings and therefore relegated them to the private sphere.[5] This line of analysis has led to very fruitful

work in gender history and emphasizes a central feature of the gender dynamics of this period. Yet by focusing on the image of the disembodied rational male, feminist scholars have often overlooked the ways in which masculinity was at times portrayed and experienced in explicitly physical or embodied ways.

In the past few years, however, studies of masculinity have gained new importance. A wave of recent publications on manliness and the male body has emerged out of new work in gender studies, the history of sexuality, gay and lesbian studies, and even a new men's studies.[6] European and American historians have generated new narratives about masculinity grounded in physical strength, courage, self-control, and toughness, producing countless studies of rough, primitive, or muscular masculinity.[7] Yet in much of this new literature, feminist insights regarding the significance of masculine rationality and the relationship between manliness and the mind, culture, and civilization often fall into the background.

The dissonance between these two different strands within the historiography on gender and the body suggests that it is important to develop a concept of masculinity that recognizes competing notions of manliness. This perspective is essential for explaining the Philanthropinists' project to revive ancient gymnastics. One can really understand the emergence of the new gymnastics only by looking at competing visions of masculinity in the context of the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century and probing the tensions generated by different, possibly divergent, elements of "masculine character." Focusing on the problematic nature of masculinity helps explain why educational reformers suddenly found it necessary to devise a program that promised to build manly men and why physical culture took on such importance for ideals of manliness.

The idea of and urgency for a new gymnastics for young men emerged out of concern over divergent elements of masculinity. On the one hand is the man of strength, vigor, willpower, and courage; on the other is the civilized man, a rational, intellectual, and culturally refined being. One might argue that these two sides of man are not necessarily contradictory or in tension with one another, yet the Philanthropinists came to see them as such or at least as needing to be reconciled, balanced, or managed. The remainder of this chapter explores why the movement's proponents thought that rugged and heroic manliness was threatened in the Age of Enlightenment and how they designed a program of physical hardening and gymnastics to revive and protect it.

An analysis of the work of the Philanthropinists draws attention to

the connections between the interplay of gender ideals and practice. Much of the early feminist scholarship on the character of the sexes and male/female embodiment focused heavily on the formulation and spread of gender ideals and gender ideologies. More recent research in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century German gender history has begun to explore in greater detail the ways in which gender identities and relations are constructed in practice. Anne-Charlott Trepp's pathbreaking research on gender relations among men and women of the new middle class in Hamburg, for example, demonstrates that an analysis of the dominant gender ideologies of the period does not fully explain the range of options for the formulation of gender identities in practice. Her study reveals that men and women formulated alternative identities and practices that were very much in tension with the dominant gender ideals of the period.[8]

Trepp's study suggests that historians need to go beyond a discussion of the ideology of the "character of the sexes" to understand the complexities of gender relations of this period. However, her book did not explore the tension that her historical subjects must have felt in relation to contemporary gender ideals. Trepp leaves the impression that individuals in this period operated almost independently of the dominant gender codes.

My analysis of the Philanthropinist movement tries to bridge the gap between older research and more recent studies, like Trepp's, by examining the formulation of gender ideals, the tensions around them, and the efforts to maintain the "natural" gender order in practice. It explores the ways in which educated middle-class men dealt with the tension between the gender ideals that they propagated and the "real" male and female bodies that they encountered. Enlightened reformers recognized that not all bodies conformed to the "principles of nature." Rather than denying the idea of natural differences, they proclaimed their age "unnatural" and designed new programs aimed at restoring and maintaining what they deemed to be the natural gender order.

Gender and the New Physical Education

In their proposals for a new physical education, the Philanthropinists offered biting criticism of contemporary methods of child rearing and schooling. They argued that the physical upbringing of youth was marked by an unnatural softness (*Weichlichkeit*). In countless texts, they outlined the ways in which a soft lifestyle led to the physical

degeneration of the youth. *Weichlichkeit* encompassed a number of interconnected ideas. The Philanthropinists used this term to describe the physically degenerative effects of luxury, material comfort, overrefinement, sedentary lifestyles, and mental work or intellectual pursuits. They also used it to condemn the idea of spoiling or coddling the child. The Philanthropinists argued that parents were increasingly raising their children in soft or luxurious conditions and hence were hindering natural hardening processes that would toughen the body. With disdain, they described parents tucking children into soft feather beds, feeding them luxurious and spicy foods, keeping them indoors in heated rooms, dressing them in elaborate fashions, and encouraging them to sit still indoors on sofas.

All of the Philanthropinists agreed that modern schooling, which focused solely on the intellect and neglected the body, contributed to the problem of *Weichlichkeit.* They portrayed the classroom as unhealthy, emphasizing the extent to which it reproduced the soft conditions of the domestic sphere. The Philanthropinists warned of the consequences of locking children indoors in hot, stuffy rooms and forcing them to sit still for hours, bent over their books. School youth were deprived of the hardening effects of exposure to fresh air, movement, and exercise. It was no wonder, they argued, that schoolchildren became sluggish, weak, and sickly creatures. Drawing on the contemporary medical literature on the ill health of scholars, they also outlined the deleterious effects of intensive intellectual activity on the body of the child.[9] Given the conditions in the classroom and the schools, Peter Villaume asked, "do we really have to wonder about the weakness of the human race?"[10]

To counter the effects of *Weichlichkeit,* Basedow, Villaume, Gutsmuths, and others proposed a series of reforms allegedly grounded in the principles of nature and reason. Their proposals reflect a strong faith in the idea of a rational regulation of the body and preventative measures to maintain a healthy, strong physical constitution. The concept of *Abhartung* (physical hardening) was central to their program. They called for a more rugged, natural upbringing to toughen the body. They recommended that parents subject their children to an ascetic regimen, including cold bathing, simple foods and drink, hard sleeping surfaces, unrestrictive clothing, exposure to the elements, and physical movement. Finally, gymnastics exercises were necessary to give the body strength, firmness, and dexterity.

Gendered language and imagery were central to the literature on the

new physical education and gymnastics. An opposition between feminine softness and manly hardness lay at the heart of this discourse. The Philanthropinists set up gendered contrasts between a weak, soft, pampered upbringing and their rugged and more natural program. The terms *Weichlichkeit* and *Verweichlichung* invoked images of feminine softness, weakness, and sensitivity.[11] Many of the Philanthropinists also used more explicitly gendered language, employing words such as *feminine* and *effeminate* to describe softness in child rearing and schooling and the weaklings that it produced.

Johann Christian Gutsmuths, the gymnastics instructor at Schnepfenthal, used female imagery to convey the idea of physical degeneration and decline. His book, *Gymnastics for the Youth,* whose 1793 publication brought widespread fame to the new gymnastics, is saturated with gendered language. To generate a sense of urgency regarding the problem of *Weichlichkeit,* he described men becoming as soft, weak, and timid as women, plagued with feminine ailments. Gutsmuths painted a vivid portrait of what might happen to men of the upper ranks if they no longer tried to follow their natural drives for physical activity:

> Our distinguished men would soon become distinguished women; we would only see them at the dressing table, the drawing board, or at the piano. The constant female society of sisters, aunts, cousins, chambermaids, and girls, in which our distinguished boys grow up, rubs off like makeup, they soon adopt the most refined tone, begin to fear spiders and monsters, get cramps, sensitivity, vapors . . . and become used to an overly tender care of the body and health, which is in no way fitting for a man.[12]

His scenario describes a world turned upside down in which men have lost their manly strength and courage. Trying again to raise concern about *Weichlichkeit,* he stressed that any nation that wished to make claim to manliness must banish feminine softness from the education of the youth.

Gutsmuths and others were clearly anxious about the idea that the softness of women might rub off on men. Gutsmuths explained that "the exaggerated tenderness of the female sex" was bound to transfer "easily to the young male. He is the natural lover of this sex and models himself so easily and gladly after her, if the opportunity is there in their upbringing."[13] Villaume recommended that boys who had a ten-

dency for softness and sensitivity should spend less time in the company of women.[14] Johann Stuve was so concerned about the idea of feminization that he warned widows not to try to raise their sons alone.[15]

The Philanthropinists were explicit about their attempt to restore manliness and masculine virtues to the next generation. *Weichlichkeit* destroyed not only health, strength, and firmness of body—traits deemed specifically masculine—but also the foundations of masculine character. Weak, sickly, plagued by sensuality, and obsessed with physical comfort, men were no longer capable of demonstrating courage and firmness of character. By disciplining the body, building health, strength, dexterity, and a mastery over one's physical desires and capacities, a man could achieve presence of mind, independence, courage, willpower, and resolve. Gutsmuths explained the connection between physical hardening and training and masculine character:

> Let us *harden* the body, and it will maintain endurance and strength of nerves; let us *exercise* it, so that it can become powerful and active, then it will enliven the mind, and make one manly, powerful, unremitting, resolute, and courageous.[16]

The ultimate goal was to achieve a level of physical perfection through which one could unify "health with manly strength and firmness, endurance, courage, and presence of mind."[17]

While Basedow, Campe, Villaume, and Gutsmuths claimed that improved health and enhanced strength were essential for both sexes, they pointed out that boys and young men had a special responsibility to train their bodies to build manly character. Only then would they become protectors of their families, productive members of society, and sacrificing, patriotic citizens. Prescribing a series of "exercises for future manhood," including a program to harden the body, teach self-reliance, and build strength, dexterity, and courage, Johann Bernhard Basedow explained that "only in this way can we raise real men. My schooling and teachers did not teach me to become a man, but I hope that there will once again be men in the future."[18]

Despite the emphasis on the effects of *Weichlichkeit* on masculine character, the Philanthropinists did not completely omit girls from the new physical education.[19] Ironically, the discussion of restoring masculine attributes to the next generation opened up space for reforming the physical upbringing of girls and young women. The Philanthropinists

envisioned a new physical culture for women that emphasized health, strength, and natural beauty. These reformers were very concerned with the weakness of women, especially as it affected their ability to bear strong children and raise manly men. Many Philanthropinists argued that women passed their weakness on to the next generation and that physical hardening thus must begin with the body of the mother. Girls were to be raised in a hardier manner so that as women they could withstand the pains of childbirth and become capable housewives and mothers. Promoting an ideal of natural, simple feminine beauty, the Philanthropinists condemned unnatural and unhealthy fashions such as the corset. At the same time, they asked parents to include girls in the program of physical hardening and encourage them to practice more movement and exercise.

While the Philanthropinists agreed that women should develop a greater degree of strength, they were clearly uneasy with the idea of strong women and the threat that they might pose to the natural, harmonious gender order. The reformers clearly did not want to negate sex difference in the body or do away with the idea of the weaker sex. They sought to limit the degree of strength that girls and young women were to achieve. In *The Method Book,* Basedow claimed that women needed less strength than men. Both nature and society intended for women to be the weaker sex. It was natural and proper that the body, physical appearance, and movements announced sex difference. So while men must develop manly strength, women should focus on cultivating a pleasing, graceful feminine demeanor.[20] He sought a balance between extreme feminine softness and manly strength for women:

> From the exaggerated softness of the female sex comes the harmful weakness of ours. Women are not allowed to be as strong as men, but [they must be] strong for them, so that they may bear strong men.[21]

In *Fatherly Advice for My Daughter,* J. H. Campe told his fictive offspring to develop a hardy physical constitution. Yet he also warned that women should not step beyond the feminine sphere and take up manly physical exercises and training. This was not the way to achieve a woman's true calling as wife, mother, and housekeeper.[22] None of the Philanthropinists recommended that girls participate in intensive and formal physical training.[23] Rather, domestic labor, walks, and graceful

sports such as badminton and ice skating would be enough for girls and young women.

In general, the Philanthropinists focused primarily on issues of health when talking about a new physical education and culture for women. *Weichlichkeit* did not appear to endanger female character. In fact, they reinforced images of femininity associated with gentleness, sensitivity, willingness to yield, dependence on others, timidity, and lack of courage. They even suggested that intensive physical training for women might work against natural relations between the sexes. Basedow, Campe, and Villaume argued that the opposition between strength and weakness lay at the heart of the bond uniting the sexes: a man's strength in body and mind attracted the weaker and less capable woman. Invoking the image of the oak tree and clinging vine, Campe portrayed the relationship between the sexes as one of strength and protection on the one hand and dependence and loyalty on the other.[24] He agreed with others, therefore, that the physical upbringing of youth should occur in accordance with this simple law of nature and should reinforce sex differences in body and character.

Civilization and Its Discontents: *Weichlichkeit* and the Feminization of "Modern," "Civilized" Germans

The discussion of *Weichlichkeit* in the physical upbringing of youth was grounded in a cultural critique of the age. The Philanthropinists increasingly saw the eighteenth century as not only an Age of Enlightenment but also one of softness and weakness. Drawing on the writings of French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, they focused attention on the darker side of the civilizing process. As a subtext to the critique of child-rearing practices, they told the story of the physical degeneration and hence feminization of "modern" Germans. Comparisons between "civilized" Germans and other peoples from both the past and present played a key role in constructing this narrative. The Philanthropinists pointed to the health and physical prowess of the ancients and of "primitive" peoples across the globe. With awe they described the strength and manliness of the Greek youth working out at the gymnasium or the Native American, the epitome of the contemporary noble savage, making his way across the wilderness. They also referred frequently to the hardy physical constitution of the ancient Germans. Citations from Tacitus offered proof that Germans were naturally

strong, vigorous, courageous, and manly. In all these cases, they attributed the strength and manly character of these peoples to their natural, hardy upbringing. Living close to nature or in harmony with its principles, the Greeks, ancient Germans, and "primitive" peoples toughened their bodies through exposure to the elements, simple living, and physical exertion. The physical culture and strength of these peoples served as evidence of the advantages of the natural principles of *Abhartung.*

The Philanthropinists did not fail to point out that physical strength and training were important attributes for warrior societies. They often noted that Greek gymnastics fields produced not only strong scholars and athletes but also patriotic and heroic citizen-soldiers. The reformers drew attention to the importance of physical hardening for development of heroic virtues such as courage and the capacity for bold, principled, and patriotic action. The hero's body became a symbol of all that the new physical education stood for. The Spartan warrior and ancient Germanic hero trained his body and overcame both the slavishness of sensuality and physical pain. He was capable of sacrificing himself and using his body as a tool in a struggle for a higher cause.

Compared to the ancients and "primitive" peoples, "civilized" Germans appeared particularly soft and weak. Bemoaning the fact that modern Germans were only shadowy figures compared to their ancient ancestors, Gutsmuths described a scenario in which parents tell their children about their forefathers.

> We appear stiller and quieter than our ancient forefathers. We recognize that they are lively "natural men" whose physical strength is superior to ours, but they are people like us. We show our children their picture. They are pleased by these quick and lively German men, their courage, their strength and hardness. They ask us: why are we not like this?[25]

Gutsmuths and others argued that physical degeneration represented not an accident of nature but rather a direct result of the civilizing process and modernity. Stuve explained that "refined and civilized people lost physical strength and dexterity as they gained intellectual and cultural refinement."[26] "People of this age are weaker and softer than their forefathers," he declared, "so you need to work with greater energy today to ensure that children stay healthy and strong."[27] The Philanthropinists argued that luxury, material comforts, refinement,

sedentary occupations, and increased intellectual pursuits were markers of the modern age and the root causes of the weakness and ill health of modern, civilized Germans. They also pointed to the separation between the military and civil society as another factor contributing to physical decline. The Philanthropinists argued that standing armies had replaced citizen armies; hence, most modern Germans were no longer required to be fierce warriors and strong men.

The discussion of *Weichlichkeit* was grounded in a socially specific analysis. In the eighteenth century, civility, refinement, conspicuous consumption, leisure, education, and nonphysical labor were factors that marked social difference, marking boundaries not only between Europeans and "primitive" peoples but also between the upper and lower ranks in Germany. The Philanthropinists made it clear, therefore, that their program was directed primarily toward the soft upper and educated classes. An urban/rural opposition also lay behind this discourse. Cities and towns, the centers of civilization and refinement, were the seats of weakness, softness, and ill health. Idealized images of rugged, vigorous peasants who had retained elements of the natural lifestyle and physical constitution of their ancient ancestors abound in these texts. While some, such as Campe, offered biting critiques of the court and high society (*grosse Welt*), none of the Philanthropinists limited their discussion to the nobility. They all agreed that *Weichlichkeit* affected other wealthy, educated elites, all those, especially in the cities, who shared to some degree the attributes of modern, civilized humanity. The reformers focused, for example, on the problem of education and the intellectualism of the age. They were very concerned with the softening and feminizing effects of study, intense reflection, and scholarship. None of these men questioned the associations among manliness, rationality, and scholarship. While emphasizing that women, for reasons of health, should not engage in scholarship or authorship, Campe explained that men were the strong sex in both body and mind. Nature gave men a greater capacity for reason and abstract thought. A man's stronger physical constitution, moreover, enabled him to withstand the physical strains of intellectual activity and scholarship. Yet Campe and other Philanthropinists remained concerned that intellectualism and the unhealthy life of the scholar threatened masculine strength and character.[28] Next to the image of the dandy, the scholar emerged as a symbol of the softness, weakness, and effeminacy of the age.

The Philanthropinists expressed skepticism about the idea of

progress. Like Rousseau, they began to question the gains that civilization had made with the move out of the state of nature into civilized society. Focusing on the problem of *Weichlichkeit,* they drew attention to perceived negative consequences of the civilizing process in Germany. Cultural and intellectual refinement threatened to destroy some of the key elements of masculine character embodied in the ideal of rugged and heroic manliness. They argued that in an age in which so many had left behind the principles of nature, strong bodies, a masculine physique, and heroic character would not simply emerge on their own. A program of physical hardening and training was needed to counterbalance the weakness and softness of the age. "There is an art of building the body," Villaume explained, "and this art is necessary not in Kamtchatka, in Senegal, and Oronoko but in Europe, in Germany."[29]

At the heart of this discourse lay an effort to rework the cultural understanding of refinement. The Philanthropinists tried to break what they saw as a contemporary association between savagery and strength. They made it clear that they understood the value of culture and were not promoting a return to the state of nature. Yet they also insisted that physical strength should constitute an attribute of the truly cultivated man. Gutsmuths assured his readers that the new physical education did not represent a return to the wild roughness of the ancient Germans, maintaining that it was possible to unite physical strength, manliness, and culture.

> Your ideal cannot and should not be rough *Germanic savagery* but rather a unity of *Germanic physical firmness and strength, courage and manliness, and the cultivation of the heart and mind.* For the *former* you would need Germanic forests, rude ignorance, a nomadic life without culture, without grace or muses, the barbaric right of the strongest; for the *latter,* something that can be combined with the culture of your intellect with pleasant harmony; *the development and training of your physical capacities, manly aversion to effeminate softness.*[30]

Gutsmuths captured the sentiments of his contemporaries when he explained that he sought to fuse the positive elements of the different sides of man. "If we unify the physical perfection of natural man with the intellectual cultivation of the civilized, we will see the most beautiful ideal of our race, an ideal that sends our hearts racing."[31] The new

physical education and gymnastics emerged as a means of reaching this ideal and achieving a balance between nature/culture and body/mind. The Philanthropinists looked to the ancient Greeks and their physical training program as the model to unite *Kultur,* strength, and manliness.

Conclusion

The discourse on gender, physical education, and gymnastics prompts a reinterpretation of the standard assumptions about gender in this period. Feminist historians often point to a series of gendered oppositions (male/female, active/passive, rational/emotional, mind/body, culture/nature) as central to gender relations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[32] Within the Philanthropinists' texts, however, many of these gendered cultural codes were reversed. Nature, the body, and primitive humanity were associated with manliness or rugged, heroic masculinity. Femininity and effeminacy, conversely, were linked with civility, cultural refinement, intellectualism, and civilization. An analysis of the discourse on the new physical education suggests that it is important to recognize the multiple ways that gendered oppositions and meanings can be configured in a given historical context. Historians need to think in complex ways about the concept of the "character of the sexes." The Philanthropinists underscored the unstable or problematic nature of masculinity and masculine character, arguing that manliness was not inherent but rather had to be built. More importantly, they emphasized the problematic nature of masculinity in the modern age, the tensions between different sides of man, and the need to balance and reconcile them.

The trend toward valuing the training of the body and emphasizing its importance for gender relations continued and intensified in the early nineteenth century. The problem that the Philanthropinists defined haunted the imagination of a growing number of educated men.[33] Against the background of the Napoleonic Wars, concerns about the civilizing process, physical degeneration, and manliness became more widespread and intense. Prussian patriots and early German nationalists increasingly put their hopes for a victory over the French in the notion of the "nation in arms." Their propaganda, designed to stir patriotic sentiment and sacrifice, along with the Prussian king's call to arms in 1813, put heroic manliness at the center of the "liberation" project.[34] In this context, a growing number of educators, patriots, military leaders, and public officials began to promote the

new gymnastics as a training ground for manly citizen-soldiers and a cradle of patriotic sentiment. Between 1810 and 1819, a series of new gymnastic societies were founded across the German territories.[35]

As the discourse on gymnastics became more overtly nationalistic and militaristic, the links among physical education, physical training, and manliness tightened even further. National independence appeared to rest in part on training the male body, protecting masculine character, and cultivating patriotic bonds among men. The concern for stronger female bodies, which had been so significant in the Philanthropinists' texts, faded. The leaders of the new gymnastics movement no longer raised the patriotic significance of hardening and strengthening female bodies for motherhood. At the same time, repressing images of strong, warrior women that circulated during and after the wars, they ignored or rejected the possibility of training female "defenders of the fatherland."[36] Excluding women from the new gymnastic societies and fields, they began to construct a purely masculine patriotic space that would eventually come to play a large role in the German national movement and political culture of the nineteenth century.[37]

Notes

1. See Johann Bernhard Basedow, *Das Methodenbuch für Väter und Mütter der Familien und Völker* (1770; Leipzig, 1913); Johann Bernhard Basedow, *Elementarwerk* (1774; Leipzig, 1909); Christian Friedrich Gutsmuths, *Gymnastik für die Jugend,* 1st ed. (Schnepfenthal, 1793); Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, *Noch etwas über die Erzieung nebst Ankündigung einer Erziehungsanstalt* (Leipzig, 1784); Johann Stuve, *Über die körperliche Erziehung nebst einer Nachricht von der Neu-Ruppinischen Schule* (Züllichau, 1781); Johann Stuve, "Allgemeine Grundsätze der Erziehung," *Allgemeine Revision* 1 (1785): 235–328; Peter Villaume, "Von der Bildung des Körpers in Rücksicht auf die Vollkommenheit und Gluckseligkeit der Menschen. Oder über die physische Erziehung Insodernheit," in *Quellenbücher der Leibesübungen,* ed. Max Schwarze and Wilhelm Limpert (Dresden, 1948), 2:5–288.

2. See Karl Wassmanndorf, *Die Turnübungen in den Philanthropinen* (Heidelberg, 1870); Edmund Neuendorf, *Geschichte der neuren deutschen Leibesübungen* (Dresden, 1930), vol. 1; Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, *A World History of Physical Education* (New York, 1953).

3. Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century—An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life," in *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany,* ed., Richard

Evans and W. R. Lee (London, 1981), 51–83; Barbara Duden, "Das schöne Eigentum: Zur Herausbildung des bürgerlichen Frauenbildes an der Wende vom 18. zur 19. Jahrhundert," *Kursbuch* 48 (1977): 125–40; Ute Frevert, "Bürgerliche Meisterdenker und das Geschlechtsverhältnis: Konzepte, Erfahrungen, Visionen an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert," in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechtsverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert,* ed. Frevert (Göttingen, 1988), 17–48; Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (New York, 1989).

4. Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, 1989); Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Madison, 1989); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, 1990); Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib, 1750–1850* (Frankfurt, 1991).

5. For a review of feminist literature on citizenship from an interdisciplinary perspective, see Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (New York, 1997).

6. For an overview of this new area of study, see David H. J. Morgan, "Men Made Manifest: Histories of Masculinities," *Gender and History* 1 (1989): 87–91; Hanna Schissler, "Männerstudien in den USA," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 18 (1992): 204–20; Ute Frevert, "Männergeschichte oder die Suche nach dem 'ersten' Geschlecht," in *Was ist Gesellschaftgeschichte? Positionen, Theorien, Analysen,* ed. Manfred Hettling (Munich, 1991), 31–43; John Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994): 179–202.

7. Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger-Bürgertum Zwischen 1770 und 1840* (Göttingen, 1996).

8. George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison, 1985); George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 1996); Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, 1993); J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940* (Manchester, 1987); Kenneth R. Dutton, *The Perfectible Body: The Western Ideal of Male Physical Development* (New York, 1995).

9. S. A. D. Tissot, *Von der Gesundheit der Gelehrten* (Zurich, 1768); G. J. Ackermann, *Über die Krankheiten der Gelehrten und die leichte und sicherste Art sie zu Heilen* (Nuremberg, 1777).

10. Villaume, "Von der Bildung," 2:20–21.

11. Historians of science, gender, and the body frequently point out that physicians and natural philosophers often used the language of softness and sensitivity to describe the "female organism" (Jordanova, *Sexual Visions,* 28;

Schiebinger, *Mind Has No Sex?* 214–24; Honegger, *Die Ordnung,* 126–99; Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, "The Discourse on Medicine and Science," trans. A. Goldhammer, in *A History of Women,* ed. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot [Cambridge, 1993], 2:358).

12. Gutsmuths, *Gymnastik,* 1st ed., 13.

13. Ibid., 13–14.

14. Peter Villaume, "Über Weichhertzlichkeit: Eine pädagogische Aufgabe," *Pädagogische Unterhandlungen* 3 (1780): 547.

15. Stuve, *Über die körperliche,* 63.

16. Gutsmuths, *Gymnastik,* 1st ed., 86.

17. Ibid., 85.

18. Basedow, *Elementarwerk,* 1:35–37.

19. This is often overlooked by Mosse and many historians of education and sport, who assume that the new physical education and gymnastics were for men.

20. Basedow, *Das Methodenbuch,* 138–65.

21. Ibid., 141.

22. J. H. Campe, *Väterlicher Rat für meine Tochter* (Braunschweig, 1789), 10–12.

23. Basedow, *Das Methodenbuch,* 138–65; Campe, *Väterlicher Rat,* 20–27, 32–35; Peter Villaume, "Nachricht von einer Erziehungsanstalt für Frauenzimmer von gesittetem Stande und von Adel in Halberstadt," *Pädagogische Unterhandlungen* (1780): 354–410; Christian Andre, *Bildung der Töchter in Schnepfenthal* (Schnepfenthal, 1789); Christian Friedrich Gutsmuths, *Gymnastik für die Jugend,* 2nd ed. (Schnepfenthal, 1804), 508–10.

24. Campe, *Väterlicher Rat,* 21.

25. Gutsmuths, *Gymnastik,* 1st ed., 3.

26. Stuve, "Allgemeine," 272.

27. Stuve, *Über die körperliche,* 7.

28. Campe, *Väterlicher Rat,* 50–55.

29. Villaume, "Von der Bildung," 38.

30. Gutsmuths, *Gymnastik,* 1st ed., 41.

31. Ibid., 117.

32. For the discussion and debate on the specifically gendered opposition male/female and culture/nature, see Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" in *Woman, Culture, and Society,* ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lampshere (Stanford, 1974), 67–87; Carol P. MacCormack and Marilyn Strathern, eds., *Nature, Culture, and Gender* (Cambridge, 1980); Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (London, 1982); Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995).

33. For a detailed analysis of the politics of gender, the body, physical training, and nationalism at the turn of the nineteenth century, see Teresa Sanislo, "The Dangers of Civilization: Protecting Manliness in the Age of

Enlightenment and 'National Liberation'" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001).

34. For recent work on manliness and the Napoleonic Wars, see Walter Pape, "'Männerglück'-Lyrische Kriegsagitation und Friedensehnsucht zur Zeit der Befreiungskriege," in *Kriegsbereitschaft und Friedensordung in Deutschland, 1800–1814,* ed. Jost Düffler (Hamburg, 1994), 101–26; Hans-Martin Kaulbuch, "Männliche Ideale von Krieg und Frieden in der Kunst der napoleonischen Ära," in *Kriegsbereitschaft und Friedensordung,* ed. Düffler, 127–54; Karen Hagemann, "'Heran, heran, zu Sieg oder Tod!' Entwürfe patriotisch-wehrhafter Männlichkeit in der Zeit der Befreiungskriege," in *Männergeschichte-Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne,* ed. Thomas Kühne (Frankfurt, 1996), 51–68; Ute Frevert, "Soldaten, Staatsbürger: Überlegungen zur historisichen Konstruktion von Männlichkeit," in *Männergeschichte-Geschlechtergeschichte,* ed. Kühne, 69–87; Karen Hagemann, "Of 'Manly Valor' and 'German Honor': Nation, War, and Masculinity in the Age of the Prussian Uprising against Napoleon," *Central European History* 30 (1997): 187–220.

35. Dieter Düding, *Organisierter gesellschaftlicher Nationalismus in Deutschland (1808–1847): Bedeutung und Funktion der Turner- und Sängervereine für die deutsche Nationalbewegung* (Munich, 1984).

36. On the discourse on patriotic women and female fighters during and after the Napoleonic Wars, see Hannelore Cyrus, "Von erlaubter und unerlaubter Frauenart um Freiheit zu kämpfen: Freiheitskämpferinnen im 19. Jahrhundert und die Freie Hansestadt Bremen," in *Grenzgängerinen: Revolutionäre Frauen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,* ed. Helga Grubtizsch, Hannelore Cyrus, and Elke Haarbusch (Düsseldorf, 1985), 19–92; Mosse, *Nationalism,* 100–101; Karen Hagemann, "Heldenmütter, Kriegerbräute, und Amoazonen: Entwürfe 'patriotischer' Weiblichkeit zur Zeit der Freiheitskriege," in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ute Frevert (Stuttgart, 1997), 174–200.

37. For an overview of the history of the German gymnastics movement in the nineteenth century, see Dieter Langewiesche, "'Für Volk und Vaterland kräftige zu würken': Zur politischen und gesellschaftlichen Rolle der Turner zwischen, 1811–1871," in *Kulturgut oder Körperkult? Sport und Sportwissenschaft im Wandel,* ed. Ommo Grupe (Tübingen 1990), 22–61. For an analysis of ideals of manliness in the nineteenth-century gymnastics movement, see Daniel A. McMillan, "'Die höchste und heiligste Pflicht': Das Männlichkeitsideal der deutschen Turnbewegung, 1811–1871," in *Männergeschichte-Geschlechtergeschichte,* ed. Kühne, 88–100.

Sitten und Mode

Fashion, Gender, and Public Identities in Hamburg at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century

Katherine B. Aaslestad

"Whoever knew Hamburg before the French Revolution and sees it now," the journal *Hamburg und Altona* observed in 1801, "will hardly recognize it. The people and their manners, their lifestyle, their social tone, their tastes, their architecture, their homes, including their inner and outer decorations, have all undergone great changes."[1] At the turn of the nineteenth century, Hamburgers recognized that their republican city-state was in the midst of a serious transformation, one aspect related to new forms of consumption. The acquisition of material goods defined Hamburg's municipal culture in new ways. During the 1790s, increasing consumption encouraged new public behaviors among Hamburg's women and men that many observers believed posed a threat to the welfare of their republic. At the core of this transformation lay a distinct shift in civic morality in which a traditional concept of duty to the public good was replaced by a modern emphasis on individual gratification. For many contemporaries, clear evidence of the betrayal of communal republican virtues lay in the escalation of conspicuous consumption evidenced by society's embrace of fashion and luxuries.

Changes in Hamburg's political culture were influenced by an array of political, economic, and social events that also transformed much of the rest of Europe during the revolutionary decades of the late eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth century. This chapter examines the intersection of two historic trends: the emergence of bourgeois modes of consumption and new constructions of gender for women and men.[2] Until recently, scholars have read fashion in terms

of gender polarities. Studies on consumption and fashion associate women with frivolous conduct and vice but couple men with productive work and virtue.[3] The emphasis on women as consumers of luxuries overshadows most inquiries in the study of gender and consumption. Traditional feminist interpretations have identified commercial culture as an exploitative and repressive force that extends patriarchal economic power over the socially and politically subordinate female.[4] As passive objects of the market system, according to this interpretation, women were slaves of fashion. Historians recently have begun to reinterpret commercial culture and consumption as emancipatory, liberating women from the constraints of domesticity and empowering them in the market economy. Such new interpretations often emphasize style politics, through which women engage in the rituals of consumption either to flout or to reform traditional systems of authority.[5] Historians also have explored the relationship between men and fashion, emphasizing that particular attire and styles conferred political legitimacy on affluent men and excluded women and the poor.[6] As a presentation of the self, fashion highlights how individuals orient themselves toward the social world and therefore often provides insights into gendered constructions of femininity and masculinity. This is especially true in times of tumultuous change such as the turn of the nineteenth century.

The eighteenth century has emerged as the transitional period when commercial fashion steadily replaced sumptuary legislation in the determination of dress. Fashion, however, did not constitute uniquely an aesthetic quality; rather, it was understood as a social category. It was the adornment of the body with clothing as well as modes of conduct, hospitality, ceremony, and sociability. Thus, fashion, embodying new social values, emerged as a key site of confrontation between tradition and change.[7] Recent textual analyses that focus on the social practices and the changing meanings of consumption in the 1700s emphasize that contemporaries recognized both the dangers and potential of fashion and consumerism.[8] If dress operates as a cultural code marked by gender, did it define and reinforce a normative femininity and masculinity that bolstered the emerging gender polarity of the *Sattlezeit?* Or did fashion generate subcultures that provided women and men with opportunities to express new identities?

This study of Hamburg emphasizes that public attention to the rise of fashionable women and men reveals the emergence of multiple gendered identities and highlights the longevity and relevance of tradi-

tional culture, ideas, and practices that coexisted alongside new gender models. The exchange between Hamburg's consumers of luxury and their critics underscores the interwoven relationships among consumer culture, civic ethics, and public identities and emphasizes the uneven development of separate gendered spheres that seemed to characterize late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century society. In Hamburg, femininity and masculinity were unstable notions subject to redefinition as both women and men altered their private behavior and experimented with new public identities. Popular attention to fashion compelled publicists openly to define appropriate republican conduct for women and men. According to many contemporary observers, the prevailing interest in dress, consumption, and leisure was not based on gender or sexuality; rather, it demonstrated the choice of new lifestyles and values that asserted personal autonomy and satisfaction at the expense of traditional civic morality.

Between the outbreak of the French Revolution and Hamburg's annexation into the French Empire in 1811, the republic's popular press and pamphlet literature identified new public identities—associated with luxury and ostentation—as threatening to the existence of the city-state. In fact, popular press opinions on fashion, consumed in their day as food for public discussion, overrode former sumptuary legislation regulating dress.[9] Like sumptuary legislation, however, public opinion on fashion in Hamburg recognized the political and moral significance of personal judgment in attire.[10] As a cultural mirror that reflected and affirmed civic morality, Hamburg's popular press provides key insights into the contemporary meanings of fashionable lifestyles and codes of conduct.[11] For example, public debates on consumption in Hamburg went beyond discussions of debt and circulation of money as people recognized that acts of purchasing material goods could both defy traditional values and generate new social meanings. In the case of Hamburg, these new meanings associated with fashionable women and men did not break down consistently along gender lines, and they illustrate the complexity implicit within the changing gender system. The symbolic and social dimensions of consumption and fashion in Hamburg were closely related to the forging of new public identities for women and men, and critics of fashion document the challenges raised by modish lifestyles to conventional understandings of femininity and masculinity during this period of great experimentation in gender construction.

In Hamburg, public discussions about indulgence in ostentatious

consumption were framed in ethical and political terms. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Hamburgers confidently celebrated the fruition of enlightened utilitarian reforms designed to strengthen both the civic morality and economy of their republican city-state. As evidenced in the local press and civic associations, Hamburg's urban residents, especially the commercial and professional classes, proudly expressed their collective identity through horizontal networks that affirmed common values of hard work, modesty, and frugality—virtues deemed necessary for a self-governing republican polity.[12] Many Hamburgers believed that these virtues and their republican constitution distinguished them from their monarchical neighbors. In a city-state with neither legally defined social estates (*Stände*) nor a table of ranks, these values shaped political culture and social order. Of all civic virtues, patriotism—defined as the civic duty to voluntarily subordinate individual advantage to the common good—embodied the ideal nature of Hamburg's communitarian republicanism.[13] Women and men were expected to express these virtues in a society interconnected through mutual obligations. Industriousness and moderation practiced in the world of the countinghouse, workshop, or Civic Council also underpinned the household, the basic social unit of the republican community.[14] In fact, some contemporary women referred to the household as the *häusliche Republik,* illustrating that contemporaries understood it more as a part of a functional community than an autonomous, intimate domestic sphere.[15] If men served their community as patriots through commercial diligence, civic voluntarism, and associational activities, women exhibited their patriotism through loyalty and commitment to the integrity of the household and family. Implicitly recognizing the productive work of women and men, both sexes expected to embody and practice such republican virtues as thrift and moderation as a means of promoting the community's well-being. Hamburg's commentators explained frivolous consumption in other German cities as a consequence of the bad influence of the court or the nobility, but in a republican *Hansestadt* one expected a lifestyle that valued restraint and communal welfare. "Sober, temperate, and level-headed northerners," as one contemporary described his compatriots, should not fall prey to vain frivolity.[16]

Women and men expressed these virtues in the material world through clothing and decor. For example, the city's mercantile families traditionally dressed simply and practically, affirming the values of republican moderation.[17] Adhering to the adage that "He who wears

gold on his clothes has none in his pocket," they dressed in plain dark frocks and coats, donning lace and fine jewels only for special occasions.[18] In contrast to the multicolored splendor of fabrics and finery associated with aristocratic sumptuousness, Hamburgers, like their Dutch republican counterparts, generally clothed themselves in practical woolens and somber silks of black, white, blue, and gray that affirmed values of modesty, propriety, and thrift.[19] Functioning as a collective reminder, such modest attire represented a visual image of the republican community.[20] As natives and visitors alike noted, at home the wives of successful merchants dressed no better than their maids, and at the Exchange, "merchants, however rich, . . . dressed in the plainest manner."[21] Though Hamburg's elites were well known for extravagant entertaining, they were equally known for frugality at their own tables.[22] Travelers reported that unlike merchants in London, Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna, who resided in elegant homes, the majority of Hamburg's merchants lived in functional and sparsely furnished apartments adjoining their warehouses.[23] By 1800, values that supported this traditional lifestyle were revered as *althamburgisch* and as the repository of republican virtues.[24]

Unprecedented commercial prosperity in the last decades of the eighteenth century fueled Hamburg's public preoccupation with fashion. The revolutionary wars of the 1790s brought great profits to the city as the volume of trade in the harbor doubled and hundreds of new businesses flourished.[25] A successful mercantile republic, Hamburg was familiar with wealth and luxury, and material success naturally played an important symbolic role indicating social status in a community without a legally defined social structure.[26] But the republic's sudden affluence in the 1790s appeared distinct and ominous.[27] It generated new and dangerous economic practices; large amounts of money in circulation encouraged speculation, promoted an unstable commercial environment, and caused rapid inflation. Contemporaries complained that instead of being reinvested into trade, deposited into savings, or directed to civic programs, profits were wasted on slipshod schemes and frivolous luxury, often leading to financial ruin.[28] As a result of imprudent and reckless speculation, 152 trading houses fell bankrupt in 1799, evidence of what contemporaries referred to as foolhardy "profiteering craze [*Wuchergeist*]," distinguished from the traditional and steady "commercial spirit [*Kaufmansgeist*]."[29] Hamburgers' propensity to consume—and especially to consume luxury items—stemmed from much more than favorable economic conditions and an

age-old practice of social emulation.[30] Rather, the emergence of luxury consumption and fashionable lifestyles in turn-of-the-century Hamburg originated in a change in values and attitudes.

The Enlightenment's legacy of individualism may have contributed to attitudes that helped shape the consumer revolution and the celebration of material culture and leisure. On one hand, the Enlightenment in Hamburg was utilitarian and was manifested in the communal social activism of the Patriotic Society, the General Poor Relief, and the Society for the Friends of Local Schools and Education, to name only a few civic endeavors. On the other hand, it also encouraged self-improvement, new forms of leisure, and personal autonomy.[31] Emphasis on the uniqueness and autonomy of the self fostered an atmosphere that justified personal cultivation and acquisitions.[32] Paradoxically, therefore, the Enlightenment in Hamburg both supported communitarian values and provided the intellectual justification for individual expression and personal gratification found in the growing world of goods.

Many Hamburgers believed that their contemporaries had become too susceptible to unhealthy foreign attitudes and materialistic conduct. Between 1791 and 1800, the city experienced several waves of immigration that brought thousands of foreigners, the majority of them French, to the city.[33] The growing presence of the French émigrés and other newcomers strengthened local desires for all things foreign in this cosmopolitan city. French customs considerably influenced the republic's businesses and culture. Several French shops opened, specializing in luxurious fashions, perfume, and jewelry. The city also gained a French theater, numerous French restaurants and cafés, and French newspapers and fashion magazines. Most of these endeavors thrived, and by 1798 Hamburg observers could justly describe the city as "Little Paris."[34] Such restaurants, cafés, and dance halls altered Hamburg's urban space and public sociability by offering society new opportunities to indulge in corporal pleasures. Growing more prominent after 1799, British furniture, fashion, coaches, taverns, and bookstores also influenced the city's local culture. By 1801, one publicist described Hamburg's citizens as *britiannisirt.*[35] Hamburgers appeared intoxicated with the possibility of purchasing the "opulence of Versailles and the splendor of London" from immigrants eager to capitalize on the growing Hanseatic market.[36] The fault lay not with the foreigners, Hamburg's publicists argued, but with their compatriots' incessant imitation.[37] In the eyes of local critics, mimicking foreign

mannerisms and groveling over extravagant novelties perverted traditional values and embodied civic disloyalty.

By the turn of the century, publicists claimed that the rage for ostentatious mode had transformed the city into a "living boutique of all possible fashions [where] fur coats, muslin dresses, flower garlands, perfume, makeup, hair design, and beauty soap abound."[38] Visiting the city in 1797, one Englishwoman described crowded promenades with women adorned in colorful frocks and fanciful wigs, remarking that Hamburg's women were

> the most remarkable for their dress, and they are so preposterously fine: they scarcely can wear hats, but have their hair dressed in all the elegance of the first state of fashion and profusely with ornaments with beads, feathers, and artificial flowers. . . . [I]t is not easy to conceive the ludicrous figure of a woman in this ostentation.[39]

If publicists longed for a return to moderation in dress, natives and visitors alike commented on Hamburgers' imitation of extravagant and indecent fashions from France and Britain.[40] Plates that appeared in the city's fashion journal, *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* in 1802 illustrate the latest styles with breeches pulled over the stomach and necklines descending under the bosom (figures 1 and 2).

Discarding their plain Dutch overcoats, fashionable men adopted the fitted single-breasted frock or tailcoat, cut away at the front to emphasize artificially heightened shoulders and to reveal tight breeches (indecently so, according to some critics) and silk stockings.[41] At the extreme were the dandies of the late eighteenth century, Hanseatic *Incroyables* or *Elegants,* who wore enormous cravats wrapped elaborately to engulf the chin and sometimes the mouth and who invested much time tying the ultimate wrap to create the appropriate look with the stiff shirt collar turned inside the cravat, exposing its points against the jawline (figures 2 and 3).[42] Fashionable men displayed elaborate gold watches, silver cigar cases, and snuffboxes. Abandoning wigs and powder by the turn of the century, men grew sideburns and adopted the "Brutus style" natural hair, cut short and curled with hot tongs.[43]

Women's styles had changed considerably by the 1800s. Fashionable women in Hamburg welcomed the simple "Greek costume," forsaking enormous wigs and ostentatious hats of the 1790s for natural hair *à l'antique* (figures 4 and 5). This mode replaced frippery and petticoats with sheer short-sleeved Hellenic frocks that highlighted the long line

Fig. 1. Couple dancing. *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* February 1802. (Courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg.)

of the body. The absence of a corset accentuated and revealed the female torso. The Greek costume or chemise dress appeared to many observers more as undress than dress.[44] Critics considered the thin fabric, exposed bosoms, and bare arms not only too provocative but also impractical for Hamburg's cold, wet weather.[45] The gown's material was so sheer that flesh-colored tights often were worn underneath for the sake of decency.[46] In a northern city such as Hamburg, these gowns required such outer garments as the stylish Spencer, a short fitted single-breasted jacket from England that covered the bodice (figure 3). Like their fashionable male counterparts, women accessorized with an array of personal goods: hats, turbans, gloves, jewelry, reticules (small handbags), cashmere shawls, visiting cards, personal calendars, and handkerchiefs.[47] As objects of individual choice, such personal adornments replaced symbolic decorations identified with particular social groups and offered further opportunities for social display.[48] They also

Fig. 2. Woman reading in negligé. *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* July 1802. (Courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg.)

distinguished the wearers as members of the fashionable set. Along with the color and cut of gowns and coats, personal accessories constantly fluctuated in style, leading contemporaries to disparage the ephemeral nature of fashion—"the vortex of changing modes," as one observer put it.[49]

Women and men kept abreast of the latest modes from one of the most controversial new genres of popular culture in German-speaking Europe, the fashion journal, the best known of which was *Das Journal des Luxus und der Moden.* Although its critics regarded the fashion press as a pernicious and essentially French influence that fostered a new frivolity and aristocratic mannerisms, Hamburg's indigenous publication, *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* featured locally written articles as well as cosmopolitan fashion reports from all over Europe.[50] The journal, typical of promoters of fashion, sought to associate it with the productive expansion of industrial and art

Fig. 3. Couple on a promenade. *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* March 1802. (Courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg.)

trades.[51] Moreover, the journal answered its critics by pointing out that it did not champion luxury, which at any rate was hardly a new phenomenon; rather, the publication contended, it sought to educate respectable society about how to act and dress in public.[52]

The journal instructed and amused its readers with an array of articles and impressive fashion illustrations depicting the latest trends. The periodical highlighted recreational activities and, like novels, was produced for leisure time.[53] The women and men depicted in the fashion plates appear carefree, occupied in adorning themselves before a mirror or enjoying a concert, a soiree, a ball, or a promenade (figures 1, 3, 4, and 5). Indeed, the journal included reviews of plays and even sheet music for the latest songs. Obviously absent were representations of women and men at work in the home, market, or countinghouse as well as depictions of children or family life. The attire and bodily conduct depicted suggest emancipation from the productive but tedious

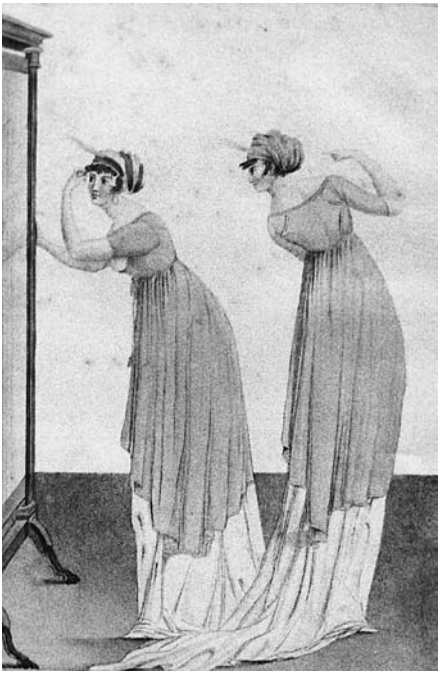

Fig. 4. Two women before a mirror, I. *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* February 1801. (Courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg.)

duties of daily life and the promise of self-improvement. These images encouraged the view that one could transform oneself through dress.[54] The new styles had a liberating ethos: "The gown encased her narrow hips and fluttered to her ankles. . . . [H]er shoulders were free and breast partially covered, fullness and freedom were noticeable everywhere, [and] her red delicate shoes radiated like American roses. . . . The shawl lay lightly around her shoulders and gave the white dress brightness and color."[55]

Not intended for women alone, the journal sought to promote fashion among men and depicted within its pages a range of masculine constructions: the stern moralist, the rakish dandy, and the devoted escort. Men's fashions were understood as novel and expressive and even personalized, like women's. For example, one article observed, "Today men follow women's lead in fashion and intersect so closely that [male and female] attires, despite the modifications necessitated by sex, share a unity and similarity in character."[56]

Fig. 5. Two women before a mirror, II. *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* March 1802. (Courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg.)

Contemporary critics found the modish attire featured in the journal less troubling than its close association with fashionable and unproductive lifestyles. The current nonfunctional apparel seemed to encourage new modes of public conduct. Leisure activities associated with women visually and textually in the journal highlighted the attraction and novelty of feminine amusements. Such images featuring new modes of expressive dress, preoccupation with the mirror, and playful leisure extended the realm of personal identity in new directions that seemed to challenge the prevailing virtues of moderation and community in the city's republican ethos.

The transformation in clothing from the traditional woolens and dark silks to elaborate fabrics, dresses, and wigs inspired by the émigrés in the 1790s to pale, lightweight, fragile, and classical drapes and chemise garments portrayed in the growing number of fashion journals in the early 1800s reflected a society in the midst of great flux. The

rapidly changing styles in attire and accessories brought novelty and variety to social life. In the simplicity of their style and sheerness of the fabric, the new fashions of the early 1800s emphasized female and male bodies and reflected a libertarian sprit. When considered against the context of traditional values that venerated moderation, frugality, and to a certain extent conformity, the new fashions provided Hamburgers with opportunities for self-expression and new forms of social conduct that featured leisure and pleasure. This focus on individualism and public display of sexuality troubled the majority of Hamburg's publicists. Contemporaries found disturbing not so much the clothing (or lack of it) but what the attire represented. Traditional moderation in dress venerated group cohesion, inducing the individual to share community values, whereas fashionable dress expressed diversity, novelty, and the individuality of choice.[57] If traditional clothing functioned as a visual means of social regulation, the new modes suggested self-indulgence. Fashion, therefore, appeared to offer many Hamburgers a new source of autonomy from traditional social mores that advanced the primacy of the community.

Fashion also intruded into the household. The fashionable lifestyle required appropriately stylish households, and observers bemoaned extravagant expenditures on houses, gardens, carriages, and servants as examples of personal vanity. Once designed for durability, family comfort, and usefulness in business, private houses of the commercial middle class increasingly were constructed outside the city as highly decorated miniature palaces filled with exotic carpets, ornate mirrors, alabaster tiles, and mahogany furniture and graced by gardens adorned with artificial mountains and grottos.[58] Ornate English carriages and cabriolets replaced the simple rented coach and carried more and more families to newly acquired summer homes along the Elbe.[59] Stables brimmed with more horses than their owners could ride.[60] The expansion of households also necessitated an increase in the number of servants. Footmen, liverymen, pastry chefs, parlor maids, valets, and dressing maids joined the traditional housekeeper.[61] Such servants were also necessary to assume the productive work of the household if the mistress pursued a fashionable lifestyle.

Fashion's influence resonated in public life. As the city replaced the court as the showplace of fashion by the early nineteenth century, modish leisure activities became increasingly associated with urban life. Growing affluent cities such as Hamburg provided a wide audience and a range of venues for the culture of display that highlighted

self-presentation, social recognition, and the consolidation of new forms of socialization.[62] By the early 1800s, utilitarian reading societies shifted their focus from the transmission of information to such recreational activities as concerts, card games, billiards, and dancing.[63] As the waltz gained popularity, dance clubs for all social classes became increasingly frequented, and dancing became more recreational and less instructive.[64] New restaurants, cafés, and taverns experimented with strategies to attract customers and presented their patrons with entertaining spectacles, including exotic painted panoramas, shadow plays, festive illuminations, fireworks, and live musical performances.[65] Opportunities for walking or promenading, recognized as the most common pastime for Hamburgers, expanded as the city's physical structure altered to accommodate growing numbers of social strollers. Promenaders enjoyed strolling the Jungfernstieg along the Inner Alster Basin as well as along the Wall, where the city's demolished fortifications were transformed into a park in 1804.[66] Urban public spaces, the site of eighteenth-century enlightened culture, ultimately became the nineteenth-century showcase for material goods and entertaining leisure that featured fashionable women and men on display. In the words of one contemporary, "Our streets have become a fashion show."[67]

In the press, commentators distinguished between two opposing kinds of urban sociability, one inspired by enlightened impulses associated with rational discourse and useful purposes and the other obsessed with aimless pleasure seeking, frivolous public conduct, and ostentation. In the eyes of contemporaries, "enlightened sociability" combined education with pleasure in reading circles and civic associations and supported communication networks among people who shared edified values.[68] Comparing the growing "sociability of amusement" to the utilitarian reading clubs and civic societies of previous decades, publicists feared that pure pleasure seeking had replaced a purposeful exchange of ideas.[69] Hamburg's fashion critics agreed that everyone had the right to comfort and pleasure and "to enjoy what is reasonable and rational as long as it doesn't impair one's duty to one's business or community."[70] Many people, however, interpreted this fashionable sociability, where faddish card games, ostentatious balls, and lavish banquets superseded reading, civic programs, and rational conversation, as a diversion from public duties and as a sign of civic indifference.[71]

Women in particular became increasingly visible in Hamburg's fes-

tive urban society—private and public, day and night—opening their homes to tea socials and lavish dinner parties as well as appearing along with their male counterparts at the theater, concerts, balls, restaurants, and city promenades.[72] One observer described opera and musical concerts as the "realm of women."[73] The Enlightenment in Hamburg generally had provided women and men with increased but unequal opportunities to participate in public life. Although excluded from formal politics and most civic associations, women developed their own social networks that featured enlightened sociability, philanthropic activities, and intimate circles of friends.[74] Fashionable lifestyles, however, seemed to offer women new avenues for social interaction and leisure activities that emphasized recreation rather than enlightenment. Leisure became an end in itself.

According to its critics, the fashionable life demonstrated a misdirection of personal priorities and a cavalier attitude toward private and communal duties. Fashion represented a waste of money and time as men and women spent more of both on their appearance. Dress and fashion seemed to reorient women's time toward their toilette instead of their familial and household responsibilities.[75] Critics condemned the new practice of donning negligees and morning gowns before noon, followed by elegant social attire for afternoon and evening activities.[76] One publicist suggested that women who pursued fashion also typically indulged themselves in reading romantic novels and participating in frivolous social events, leading ultimately to the mismanagement of their households and neglect of their children.[77] Another observer described fashionable women as having lost all sense of "serious business and diligence," while another claimed that what women gained in fine external conduct, they lost in inner virtues.[78] Hamburg's republican women traditionally dressed for public appearance to represent the social status of their households, whereas fashionable women, as contemporaries understood them, adorned themselves for public consumption as a form of self-expression. Critics maligned fashionable women as vain girls who danced their health away; fickle, disloyal wives who dismissed their husbands' honor; and uncaring mothers who neglected their children.[79] New forms of fashionable consumption appeared to draw women's focus away from the household's overall well-being and toward egocentric individual desires. Social critics, however, did not limit their condemnations to women. They did not feminize consumption as an innate gendered inability of women to control their behavior as consumers.

Concurrently, contemporaries judged men who dressed fashionably as generally having squandered their time riding, drinking, flirting, and gaming, neglecting both their families and their businesses.[80] A doctor and self-described *Patriot* contrasted the two opposing lifestyles: the traditional citizen rose early, worked until four, dined at home at eight, and retired at eleven, whereas his fashionable contemporary gamed until midnight, dined into the wee hours of the morning, and slept until midday. The writer denounced the latter lifestyle as dissolute and disorderly, arguing that it harmed both personal health and the general welfare of the community and that it was ruinous to the citizens on whose quality of work and civic activity the city depended.[81] In 1802, when one of Hamburg's leading citizens and the founder of the General Poor Relief, Caspar Voght, forsook his citizenship to assume an imperial title and established an "ornamental farm" following the English model outside the city, the local press responded with concern that "Baron von Voght would always honorably remain 'Free citizen Casper Voght' to his Hamburg peers."[82] Voght's high-profile example of evading civic duties in favor of individual ambitions appeared frightening to a generation of Hamburgers for whom civic responsibility formed the cornerstone of the republican ethos. Thus, fashionable lifestyles were understood to be dangerous in the economic, civic, and moral senses. According to contemporaries, such conspicuous consumption inevitably led to a range of negative consequences that included infidelity, bankruptcy, the neglect of children and families, the mismanagement of households and businesses, and ultimately the ominous decline in republican virtues and communal civic identity.[83] In critics' eyes, the consumer culture of fashion fostered private vices and public corruption in both sexes.

The departure of Hamburg's women and men from their traditional and modest lifestyle, combined with their preoccupation with fashion and frivolous leisure, suggested more than simply conspicuous consumption and social emulation of foreign manners. Contemporaries viewed fashionable lifestyles as based on new attitudes toward the self and on desires to seek novelty and pleasure. The intense individualism involved with self-fashioning a public identity demonstrated liberation from the community-oriented civic morality.[84] If fashion attracted some Hamburgers as an avenue for self-realization, critics were repulsed by perversions of femininity and masculinity that featured women disengaged from home and family life and men absent from work, home, and civic responsibilities. Hamburg's fashionable inhabi-

tants' attraction to modish dress related to an unwillingness to conform to traditional attire and was interpreted as rebellious by their peers. The evidence of fashion's critics clearly indicates that both men and women were attracted to modish lifestyles that defied the republican virtues they were expected to embody. By parading an alternative ethos, fashionable women and men attempted to shift the boundaries of acceptable norms of femininity and masculinity away from community mores and toward individual autonomy. Thus, according to contemporary sources, new, shared modes of conduct generated social disorder and moral corruption among members of both sexes.

These public criticisms of female and male consumers raise many questions about the assumed polarity of the gendered spheres. Public criticism of fashion was not directed solely at women. Modish women were not singled out as the only menace to social and moral order, and neither sex was openly accused of exhibiting sexual deviance. Male interest in attire and appearance was not denounced as unmanly or effeminate. If critics blamed women for abandoning their traditional roles in the home and men in business, these publicists did not employ gendered language to construct separate essentialist qualities of femininity and masculinity in their criticism. Rather than feminize consumption, contemporaries charged both sexes with selfishness, egoism, and betraying republican values and responsibilities. Both female and male consumers displaced the priority of the household in their pursuit of fashionable lifestyles. Inseparable from family needs, traditional consumption was organized around the requirements of the collective, not the individual.[85] Thus, publicists accused women and men of the same vices—frivolity, ostentation, and ultimately selfishness—and held both sexes accountable for disregarding the virtues of moderation, family, and civic obligations. These publicists believed that women and men attained self-worth and identity from their integration into the household and community, not from their individual appearance, conduct, or ambitions.[86]

In their criticisms of fashionable society, most publicists celebrated a vision of community made up of households rather than individuals. By emphasizing the active and responsible role of women's work in the home as essential for the fate of the family and the community, they upheld the feminine ideal of woman as responsible mistress of the household and contested a leisure- and consumption-oriented femininity. Women's sociable activities could be purposeful. For example, women enhanced the family business or promoted enlightened socia-

bility when they presided over and participated in dinner parties and teas.[87] As mothers and educators, they ensured the continuity of the family. Because saving money was as valuable as earning it, running a household economically was a valued skill handed down from mother to daughter through practical instruction.[88] Commentators reminded their compatriots that the household's economic viability and happiness depended on the serious duties of women as mothers and household managers in a culture that strove to sustain for the next generation what the present enjoyed more than it sought to amass material possession and wealth. This required devotion to the virtues of moderation and frugality—the same values exemplified by the modest gray and black woolens and silks Hamburgers remembered as their mothers' apparel.[89] Commentators were quick to point out that donning new, provocative, and self-indulgent styles related to forfeiting the responsibilities of household management and child rearing to servants. This could lead to long-term problems: unsupervised and spoiled youth would develop into egotistical young adults.[90] Publicists lamented that young women brought up with fashionable lifestyles emerged from childhood as "sofa puppets and fashion dolls," able to dance, sing, and paint but incapable of managing the household economy.[91]

Similarly, observers complained, young men appeared to have no interest in their city's constitution and little instruction in practical business skills. Ferdinand Beneke, a well-known social critic, described the youth of Hamburg as "wild, unmannered, uneducated, unrepublican" individuals who regarded their *Vaterstadt* with apathy.[92] Merchant John Parish admonished his sons and their generation of "gentlemen of pleasure" for squandering time on extravagance and deviating from the "true path of the merchant."[93] These youth, disinterested in the practical impulses of Hamburg's enlightened civic culture and the hard-nosed world of business, flaunted material goods and leisure in an alternative youth subculture.[94] These were disturbing signs for Hamburgers who viewed the future of their polity as dependent on bequeathing their republican identity and morality to subsequent generations.

The fear that luxury would debase republican culture was widespread throughout the eighteenth century, but Hamburgers had a tangible frame of reference, seeing evidence of these concerns in the disintegration of their civic infrastructure. As the middle classes reaped material benefits of commercial prosperity, the lower classes suffered a decline in their standard of living as a consequence of inflation and an

influx of cheap refugee labor.[95] With society increasingly stratified, displays of conspicuous affluence alongside growing poverty became commonplace, and many Hamburg republicans feared the loss of their cherished self-image as a community where distinctions of wealth and status were less manifest than in aristocratic and monarchical societies.[96] Critics noted that the more ostentatious the republic, the more divided the people.[97] Contemporaries pointed to declining support for the city's celebrated poor relief programs and general educational reforms, which had been central to Hamburg's civic agenda, as signaling the change in public priorities. Critics found it disgraceful that as Hamburgers increased their personal wealth, they neglected poor relief.[98]

These ominous shifts in public values moved contemporaries to publicize the dangers of materialism, to seek revitalization of traditional communal values, and to define the limits of public conduct by both sexes. Some publicists relied on moral exhortation to awaken republican virtues; others drew up specific guidelines for reshaping their compatriots' manners, morals, and behavior. One contributor pointed out that Hamburg was not a monarchy and thus could not forbid luxury; the reformation of manners consequently depended on inhabitants setting good examples for each other.[99] Only by returning to the virtues of their ancestors could Hamburgers regain their republican ethos. Journals instructed readers to accustom their children to simple lifestyles and to teach practical skills and sound values.[100] Some publications tried to be more specific, defining the simple lifestyle in case readers had forgotten. To avoid falling prey to fashion, for example, a proper republican should restrict his or her wardrobe to cotton; use jewelry and decoration in moderation; keep only useful furniture; discard fancy and/or foreign furnishings, saddles, and carriages; and limit the number of servants per household, discharging the footmen outright. Publicists encouraged Hamburgers to simplify their entertainment by serving guests only in-season food; limiting the meal to six dishes and two desserts; offering two rather than ten bottles of wine; restricting attendance at concerts, dinner parties, and the theater to no more than twice a week; and appearing at no more than two balls per season.[101] Far from being puritans or misers, critics of fashion did not condemn social interaction and pleasure but called for restraint and moderation.

The city's publicists explicitly compared what they perceived as traditional values with fashionable vices. For example, Christoph Suhr's

print, *Old and New Times in Hamburg,* depicts two female servants dressed very differently (figure 6). The traditionally attired servant stands next to her solid and unadorned clothing chest, which contains an orderly assortment of folded clothing and a Bible. Behind her is a simple, solid chair supporting her large sewing basket. She wears modest dark clothing, ready to begin the day's work. In contrast, in front of an elaborate chest displaying silk dancing shoes, a romantic novel, and unfolded personal articles, her fashionable counterpart leans on an ornate broken chair that supports a small sewing basket and a modish parasol. Her empire waist silk gown reveals more torso and leg than her neighbor's full linen or wool skirt. Unlike her counterpart, the fashionable servant is still occupied with her toilette and prepares to gaze, inattentive to her duties, at her reflection in the mirror to adorn her hair.[102] One publicist distinguished these two types of women as "housewifely [*hausfraulich*]" and "fancy [*feinfraulich*]."[103] As in the print, the anonymous author of a short article, "Elegant and Ordinary," contrasts traditional Hamburg attire, calico dresses, cotton stockings, and leather shoes with new modes, satin and taffeta dresses, silk stockings, and Moroccan shoes; traditional foods such as potatoes, turnips, and herring with exotic oysters, pineapples, and lobster; and traditional public behavior such as walking, punctuality in business, and timely payment with driving, negligence, carelessness, and debts.[104] Both the illustration and the article represent attempts at middle-class moral regulation that sought to redirect compatriots' private and public priorities.[105]

Fashion journals, especially the *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* generated images of gender that contradicted the republican ideal upheld by the critics. The journal's name, emphasizing fashion and elegance, celebrated the excess in consumerism that many publicists detested. Yet journal articles and fashion plates generated contradictory images of gender and projected an unfixed notion of femininity as old and new conceptions coexisted within its pages.[106] Illustrations of modish public women driving carriages, at the theater, and scolding their male counterparts celebrated unrestrained independent women (figures 7, 8, 9). In addition to the prints, the journal highlighted the social nexus of fashion and leisure with articles on balls, the theater, and festive parties. At the same time, however, the journal presented its readers with cautionary tales on the dangers of coquetry and idle leisure.[107] If it tempted women to identify with icons of independence and amusement, it also reminded them of the risks associated

Fig. 6. Christoph Suhr, *Old and New Times in Hamburg* (Die alten und die neuen Zeiten in Hamburg). (Courtesy of the Plankammer Staatsarchiv, Hamburg.)

with those images. In the journal's first issue, the editors assured the frugal and strict moralist that he should not worry about his wife and children "swimming playfully in the currents of luxury and modernity." The editors promised that their publication would "advise, warn, and shock as it instructs [women] to prefer good taste, fine morals, and a true philosophy of life [rather than] bad taste, irreligiousness, and aimlessness in life."[108] While the fashion plates associated women with appearance and leisure, the editors published articles and poems that warned of the vices of idle self-absorption associated with fashion and highlighted women's domestic responsibilities.[109] Thus, the journal illustrates the extreme tensions and fractures in gender constructions during this era of great experimentation.

Public exchange on fashion continued without any perceivable resolution. Not all affluent commercial families adopted the new modes of dress and behavior. For example, Johanna Margaretha Reimarus Sieveking, matriarch of a leading Hamburg family, continued to set a

Fig. 7. Woman openly scolding a man. *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* November 1801. (Courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg.)

proper republican example by entertaining guests at her summer estate on the Elbe while attired in a simple white cotton gown, but she never became a trendsetter among the population at large.[110] The cosmopolitan influences of consumerism and the fanciful ethos of fashion proved too strong to be subdued by models of republican moderation.[111] Moreover, the governing elites considered neither legal regulation nor increased taxation on luxury goods appropriate means of limiting consumption in a republic that thrived on free trade. Rather, outside forces suspended the moral dilemma centered on fashion and leisure when the French occupied the city in 1806 and annexed it into Napoleon's empire in December 1810. Stripped of wealth and independence and with free speech silenced under Napoleon's rigorous censorship, Hamburgers turned their attention to the day-to-day hardships associated with French military occupation and economic exploitation. Questions of civic and moral degradation associated with fashion

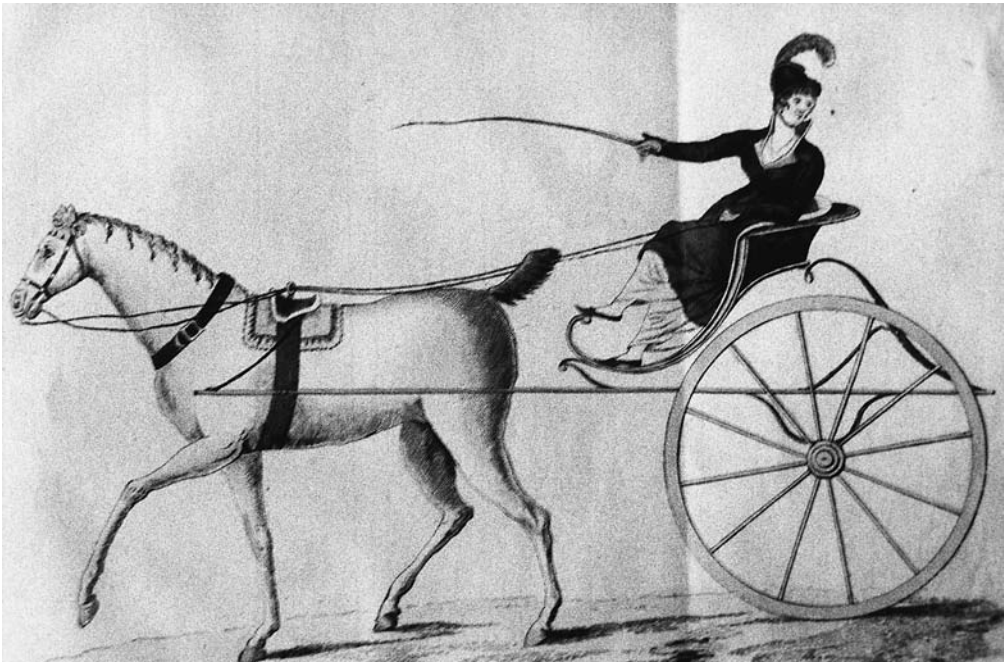

Fig. 8. Woman driving a carriage. *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* May 1802. (Courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg.)

and luxury nevertheless returned to the public forum after 1815 following Napoleon's defeat and the revival of the city's economy.[112]

The cultural code of fashion in turn-of-the-century Hamburg calls into question the interpretative paradigms associating fashion with gender enslavement and empowerment and elucidates the fluid and uneven development of gendered constructions of femininity and masculinity. Expressing alternative values through dress and conduct, Hamburg's fashionable inhabitants—both women and men—underscore the idea that contemporaries did not see the gendered private and public spheres as conceptual absolutes characterized by the rigid separation of the sexes. Women and men adopted fashionable and frivolous lifestyles in their homes and in public, and both sexes—at least according to critics—embraced individualism and betrayed the traditional values of their republican community. Furthermore, these public moralists held both women and men responsible for the upbringing

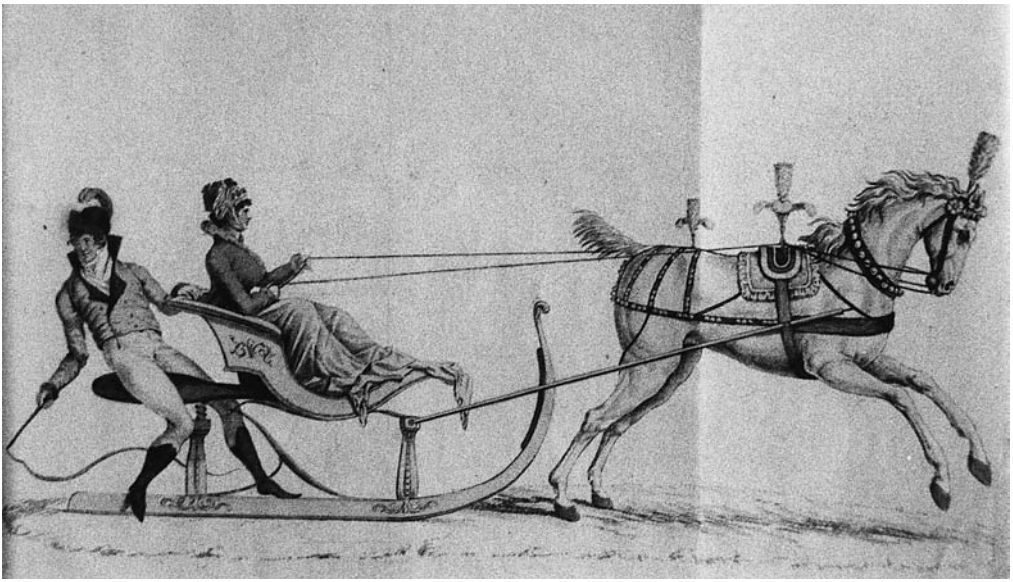

Fig. 9. Woman driving a sleigh. *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* January 1802. (Courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg.)

of their children and for the efficient management of their respective tasks in the home and in the countinghouse. If such criticisms present gendered roles for female and male productivity, their language emphasized what they understood as the shared goals and mutual obligations of women and men in the republican community, not innate or "natural" gender differences.

The polemics on fashion in Hamburg constitute a profound commentary on moral politics. Criticisms of fashion reflect a republican worldview that regarded public and private as fluid and overlapping and believed that both spheres had a vital influence on the common good. In the contemporary press, civic virtue constituted the prism through which Hamburgers evaluated their society. In the context of increasing external threats to the city's independence and integrity resulting from warfare and French expansionism, Hamburg's commentators regarded as lethal internal threats to their local republican ethos. Exhortations on the dangers of fashion revealed growing anxiety about the governability of an expanding urban society that increasingly disregarded the moral structure of the traditional republican

polity and advanced alternative models of femininity and masculinity in private and public conduct. Commentators interpreted these fashionable lifestyles as expressions of fundamental changes in civic culture. At the core of this transformation lay a distinct shift in civic morality in which traditional republican communal values fell prey to a modern emphasis on the individual. Far more than just frivolous materialists and prudish traditionalists, Hamburg's fashionable women and men and their critics reveal that the republic's civic culture was in the midst of a significant transformation. They demonstrate that public identities of both sexes represented important indicators of that transformation.

Notes

The author thanks John Lambertso for providing the photographs for this chapter. Figures 1–5 and 7–9 reproduced courtesy of the Kommerzbibliothek, Hamburg. Figure 6 reproduced courtesy of the Plankammer Staatsarchiv, Hamburg.

1. "Hamburg vor und nach der französischen Revolution," *Hamburg und Altona* 1 (1801): 33.

2. Victoria de Grazia, ed., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, 1996), 10–24. On the chronology of consumption, see also Peter N. Stearns, "Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 102–17; Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress* (Manchester, 1995), 112–23; Simon Gunn, "The Public Sphere, Modernity, and Consumption: New Perspectives on the History of the Middle Class," in *Gender, Civic Culture, and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800–1940,* ed. Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (Manchester, 1999), 12–29. On the emergence of gendered separate spheres in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century—An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life," in *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany,* ed. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (London, 1981), 51–83; Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (Oxford, 1988); Andrea van Dülmen, ed., *Frauenleben in 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1992).

3. In her review essay, Mary Louise Roberts asks, "Why are women identified as the primary consumers of Western society?" ("Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture," *American Historical Review* 103 [1998]: 819). See also Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (New York, 1995), 253; Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, 1996), 21. On classical sources relating

luxury to femininity, see Christopher Berry, *The Idea of Luxury* (Cambridge, 1994).

4. A range of examples includes Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1912; New York, 1972); H. Roberts, "The Exquisite Slave: The Role of Clothes in the Making of Victorian Women," *Signs* 2 (1977): 554–69; William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890–1925," *Journal of American History* 71 (1984): 319–42; Elaine Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York, 1989); T. Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle* (London, 1991). On feminist interpretations, see de Grazia, *Sex of Things,* esp. 7–9; Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (Berkeley, 1987), 12, 228–47. For a comprehensive overview of fashion and gender, see Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory* (Malden, 2000), 140–80.

5. See, for example, T. H. Breen, "The Meaning of Things: Interpreting the Consumer Economy in the Eighteenth Century," in *Consumption and the World of Goods,* ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London, 1993), 249–60; G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992); Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Sex of Things,* ed. de Grazia, 79–112; Erika Carter, *How German Is She? Postwar West German Reconstruction and the Consuming Woman* (Ann Arbor, 1997).

6. See David Kuchta, "The Making of the Self-Made Man: Class, Clothing, and English Masculinity, 1688–1832," in *Sex of Things,* ed. de Grazia, 54–78; Karin Calvert, "The Function of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America," in *Of Consuming Passions: Interests in the Styles of Life in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. Carry Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter Albert (Charlottesville, 1994), 252–83; Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion, and City Life, 1860–1914* (Manchester, 1999).

7. Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing, Dress, and Fashion in the "Ancien Regime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1994), 450–52.

8. Examples include Lynn Hunt, "Freedom of Dress in Revolutionary France," in *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France,* ed. Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg (Berkeley, 1998), 224–49; Erin Mackie, *Fashion, Commodity, and Gender in the* Tatler *and the* Spectator: *Market a la Mode* (Baltimore, 1997); Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997).

9. Sumptuary legislation had been vaguely conceived and weakly enforced in Hamburg after 1530. See Johann Klefeker, *Sammlung der Hamburgischen Gesetze und Verfassungen* (Hamburg, 1773), 498–501.

10. See Peter Goodrich, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Community, Identity, and a History of Sumptuary Law," *Law and Social Inquiry* 23 (1998):

707–28; Peter Albrecht, "Die Nationaltrachtsdebatte im letzte Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 10 (1987): 43–66.

11. Maxine Berg illustrates the importance of setting a history of consumer culture in the context of contemporary debates and views on consumption in "New Commodities, Luxuries, and Their Consumers in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650–1850,* ed. Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester, 1999), 68.

12. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* rev. ed. (London, 1991), 6–7. See also Joist Grolle, "Ein Republik wird besichtigt: Das Hamburg-Bild des Aufklärers Jonas Ludwig Hess," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 79 (1993): 1–36.

13. See *Der Patriot* 1 (1724): 331. Eighteenth-century regional, state, or city patriotism should not be confused with the chauvinistic and jingoist patriotism of the late nineteenth century. See Rudolf Vierhaus, "Patriotismus—Begriff und Realität einer moralisch-politischen Haltung," in *Deutsche patriotische und gemeinnützige Gesellschaften,* ed. Vierhaus (Munich, 1980), 9–30; Otto Dann, introduction to *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution,* ed. Dann and John Dinwiddy (London, 1988), 1–11; Katharine B. Aaslestad, "Old Visions and New Vices: Republicanism and Civic Virtue in Hamburg's Print Culture, 1790–1810," in *Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism, and National Culture: Public Culture in Hamburg, 1700–1933,* ed. Peter Uwe Hohendahl (Amsterdam, 2003), 143–54.

14. For understandings of patriotism among men and women, see Franklin Kopitzsch's work, esp. *Grundzüge einer Sozialgeschichte der Aufklärung in Hamburg und Altona,* 2nd ed. (Hamburg 1990); Mary Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers: Hamburg, 1712–1830* (Oxford, 1990); *Handbuch für das schöne Geschlecht zum Nutzen und Vernügen* (Altona, 1785); Joachim Heinrich Campe, "Vorschlag zu einer patriotischen Damengeselschaft, das so gut as eine Lesegeselschaft wäre," *Hamburgische Address Comtoir,* 13–18 January 1779; Oscar L. Tesedorf, ed., "Mittheilung aus dem handschriftlichen Nachlaß des Senators Johan Michael Hudtwalcker," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* (1894): 150–81; [August Friedrich Craus], *Ueber Stitten, Gebräuche und Gewohnheiten als drittes Schreiben an einem Freund in Berlin* (Hamburg, 1785), 23–24.

15. See Karin Sträter, *Frauenbriefe als Medium bürgerlicher Öffentlichkeit: Eine Untersuchung anhand von Quellen aus dem Hamburger Raum in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 90–96.

16. Johann Lorenz Meyer, "Skizzen zu einem Gemälde von Hamburg," *Hanseatisches Magazin* 3 (1800): 56–57. See also [H. C. Albrecht], "Ueber Kaufmanns-Geist und Adels-Geist," *Hamburgische Monatsschrift,* April 1791, 346–71.

17. See, for example, Christian Ludwig von Griesheim, *Verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage des Tractats: Die Stadt Hamburg in ihrem politischen,*

öconomischen, und sittlichen Zustände (Hamburg, 1760), 173–74; "Schreiben eines bejahrten hamburgischen Patrioten an den Herausgeber dieser Nachrichten," *Wöchentliche Gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 19 March 1796, 177–80; Johann Jakob Rambach, *Versuch einer physische-medizinsiche Beschreibung von Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1801), 199; "Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte von Hamburg im Siebzehnten Jahrhundert," *Nordische Miszellen,* December 1805, 358.

18. Johann Peter Willebrand, *Hamburgs Annehmlichkeiten von einem Ausländer beschreiben* (Hamburg, 1772), 62; Johann Anton Fahrenkrüger, "Versuch eines Sittengemäldes von Hamburg aus dem Jahre 1811," in *Aus Hamburgs Vergangenheit: Kulturhistorische Bilder aus verschiedenen Jahrhunderten,* ed. Karl Koppmann (Hamburg, 1886), 2:99.

19. See inventories listed in eighteenth-century wills, Erbschaftsamt, 232-2 D71, Staatsarchiv Hamburg. For example, the clothing inventory from the 1771 will of Frau Anna Plaehn geb. Tiedemanns included only brown silk, blue woolen, and gray and white silk dresses.

20. Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* 5–7; Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, "The Language of Personal Adornment," in *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment,* ed. Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz (The Hague, 1979).

21. *The German Spy; or, Familiar Letters from a Gentleman on His Travels through Germany to His Friend in England* (London, 1740). See also Fahrenkrüger, "Versuch eines Sittengemäldes," 99; Louis de Boisgelin, *Travels through Denmark and Sweden, to Which Is Prefixed a Journal of a Voyage down the Elbe from Dresden to Hamburgh* (London, 1810), 1:36.

22. *German Spy,* 258; Gustav Poel, ed., *Bilder aus vergangener Zeit nach Mittheilungen aus grossentheils ungedruckten Familienpapieren,* vol. 1, *Bilder aus Piter Poels und seiner Freunde Leben* (Hamburg, 1884), 144.

23. Willebrand, *Hamburgs Annehmlichkeiten,* 44; Joseph Marshall, *Travels through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Lapland, Russia, the Ukraine, and Poland in the Years 1768, 1769, and 1770* (London, 1773), vol. 2; *Briefe eines reisenden Handlungsbedienten über Leipzig, Hamburg, und Lübeck: An seinen Bruder in Sachsen* (1788), 5; Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany* (London, 1768), 1:35–37. See also Percy Ernst Schramm, *Neun Generationen: Dreihundert Jahre deutscher "Kulturgeschichte" im Lichte der Schicksale einer Hamburger Bürgerfamilie, 1648–1948* (Göttingen, 1963–64), 2:236; Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum zwischen 1770 und 1840* (Göttingen, 1996), 184–88.

24. See, for example, Rambach, *Versuch,* 188–99; Meyer, "Skizzen," 123–24; Jonas Ludwig von Hess, *Hamburg, topographisch, politisch, und historisch beschrieben* (Hamburg, 1810–11), vol. 2; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit: Eine Parallele (Fortsezzung)," *Hamburg und Altona* 2 (1803): 23. Steven Uhalde addresses the *althamburger* as an ideal type in "Citizen and World Cit-

izen: Civic Patriotism in Eighteenth Century Hamburg" (PhD diss., University of California, 1984), 313–15.

25. Carsten Prange, "Handel und Schiffahrt im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Hamburg im Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* ed. Inge Stephan and Hans-Gerd Winter (Hamburg, 1989), 42–56. See also Burghart Schmidt's statistical analysis of import trade in *Hamburg im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution und Napoleons (1789–1813)* (Hamburg, 1998), 1:745–50.

26. On earlier problems with luxury, see Joachim Whaley, "Symbolism for the Survivors: The Disposal of the Dead in Hamburg in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death,* ed. Whaley (New York, 1981), 80–105.

27. Contemporaries noted that between 1790 and 1800, Hamburg had significantly changed. See, for example, "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)"; "Hamburg vor und nach der französischen Revolution"; "Fragment über Hamburg: Erste Blicke in das Innere von Hamburg," *Nordische Miszellen,* February 1805, 81–86; "Ist noch Sinn für Bürgertugend in Hamburg?" *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 21 November 1801, 209–10; Rambach, *Versuch;* "Sonst und Jetzt, oder grosstädtische Kleinigkeiten, blos auf Residenzen passend," *Hamburgische-Address-Comtoir,* 24 January 1803, 1008–10.

28. See, for example, "Bemerkungen eines Hamburgischen über Hamburg," *Wöchentliche gemeinnütize Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 21 August 1799; [Jonas Ludwig von Hess], *Was darf und darf nicht in Hamburg geschehen* (Hamburg, 1799), 19; Ferdinand Beneke, "Briefe eines Hanseaten, Dritter und Vierter Brief," *Hanseatisches Magazine* 5 (1801): 257; Fahrenkruger, "Versuch eines Sittengemäldes," 105–9; Ernst Baasch, "Der Einfluss des Handels auf das Geistleben Hamburgs," *Pfingstblätter des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins* 5 (1909): 43.

29. Johann Carl Daniel Curio, *Hamburgische Chronik für die Freunde und besonders für die Jugend des Vaterlandes* (Hamburg, 1803), 404.

30. Scholars often have analyzed consumers primarily as pawns of new marketing techniques, social emulators, and status seekers. See Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, 1982).

31. See, for example, Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge;* Franklin Kopitzsch, "Aufklärung, freie Assoziation und Reform: Das Vereinwesen in Hamburg im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Das alte Hamburg, 1500–1848/49,* ed. Arno Herzig (Hamburg, 1989), 209–24; Herbert Freudenthal, *Vereine in Hamburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Volkskunde der Geselligkeit* (Hamburg, 1968); Joachim Whaley, "The Protestant Enlightenment in Germany," in *The Enlightenment in National Context,* ed. Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich (Cambridge, 1981), 106–17; Wolfgang Nahrstedt, *Die Entstehung der Freizeit zwischen 1750 und 1850: Dargestellt am Beispeil Hamburgs: Ein Beitrag zur Strukturgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1971); Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit.*

32. See, for example, Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumption* (Oxford, 1987), 20–28; Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington, 1990), 28.

33. Estimates of the number of French refugees range from ten thousand to twenty thousand in a city of approximately one hundred thousand inhabitants. See Garlieb Helwig Merkel, *Breife über Hamburg und Lübeck* (Leipzig, 1801), 232–33, 292; Phillipp Rudolf, *Frankreich im Urtheil der Hamburger Zeitschriften in den Jahren 1789–1810* (Hamburg, 1933), 4; Eckart Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1981), 312; Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers,* 52; Werner Matti, "Bevölkerungsvorgänge in den Hansestädten Hamburg und Bremen von Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgsiche Geschichte* 69 (1983): 106.

34. See "Fussbotenpost: Schreiben des Patrioten an den Herausgeber der Nachrichten," *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 14 March 1798, 165–67; "Eingang," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* January 1801, 2.

35. *Hamburg und Altona,* 1 (1801): 100. See also "Etwas über das Sitten-Gemälde der Engländer: Neue Moden," *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 13 May 1805; Rambach, *Versuch,* 185; Günter Grundman, *Hamburg Gestern und Heute: Gesammete Vorträge und Ansprachen zur Architektur, Kunst, und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt* (Hamburg, 1972); Anne D. Petersen, *Die Engländer in Hamburg 1814 bis 1914* (Hamburg, 1993), 36–48.

36. "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 223–26.

37. [Johann Arnold Minder], *Briefe über Hamburg* (Leipzig, 1794), 86–87; Meyer, "Skizzen," 6–7; "Hamburgischer Gemeingeist, kann man ihn in unsern Zeiten noch annehmen?" *Hamburg und Altona* 1 (1802): 209–17; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 152; Beneke, "Briefe eines Hanseaten," 252, 266.

38. "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 294–95. See also "Sonst und Jetzt"; "Vornehm und Gemein," *Hamburger Briefträger,* 27 June 1801, 39; Rambach, *Versuch,* 199; Merkel, *Briefe,* 231; Meyer, "Skizzen," 210–11; *Wahrheit und Licht: Ueber Leichenepränge und luxus Einkleidung der Todten in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1800).

39. Diary of an English governess, 24 July 1797, James M. and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. See also "Weiblicher Putz im Verhältniss zu weiblicher Schönheit," *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 1 September 1792; *Der unsichtbare Zuschauer: Oder Hamburger Allerley: Eine Wochenschrift,* 3 November 1794.

40. See [Minder], *Briefe,* 87; *Der tägliche Gesellschaftler: Ein Taschenbuch zum Nutzen und Vergnügen auf das Jahr 1801* (Hamburg, 1800), 59–61; "Hamburg vor und nach der französischen Revolution"; Rambach, *Versuch,*

199–200; Edith J. Morley, ed., *Henry Crabb Robinson in Germany, 1800–1805: Extracts from His Correspondence* (Oxford, 1929), 18.

41. See, for example, "Hamburg vor und nach der französischen Revolution"; Merkel, *Briefe,* 243; Rambach, *Versuch,* 199–200; [Minder], *Briefe,* 87.

42. "Modebericht," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* March 1801, 95–98; Rambach, *Versuch,* 194–202.

43. Rambach pointed out, however, that replacing the wig with natural hair promoted rather than hindered personal hygiene (*Versuch,* 198–200). See also "Modebericht," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* June 1801, 252.

44. See "Modebericht," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* March 1801, 95–98; Philippe Séguy, "Costume in the Age of Napoleon," in *The Age of Napoleon: Costume from Revolution to Empire,* ed. Katell le Bourhis (New York, 1989), 59; Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (Oxford, 1988), 40.

45. See, for example, Rambach, *Versuch,* 203–5; "Fragmentarische Bemerkungen über Gegenstände des Luxus, in Bezug auf Hamburg und Altona," *Hamburg und Altona* 5 (1806):16; "Ueber das Sittenverderbniss unserer und der Vorzeit: Eine Debatte," *Hamburg und Altona* 4 (1805): 335. For more on the relationship between fashion and health, see Roy Porter, "Consumption: Disease of the Consumer Society?" in *Consumption and the World of Goods,* ed. Brewer and Porter, 65–69.

46. Rambach, *Versuch,* 203–5; Meyer, "Skizzen," 6–7.

47. "Mode-Bericht. Hamburgische Mode-Neuigkeiten," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* January 1801, 11–16; "Modebericht," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* March 1801, 95–98; "Visitenkarten," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* April 1801, 86–87.

48. See Breward, *Culture of Fashion,* 131–36; Daniel L. Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance: Consumer Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Goethe* (Baltimore, 1998), 68. On handbags as personal accessories, see J. Anderson Black and Madge Garland, *A History of Fashion* (New York, 1975), 238–39; Ludmila Kybalova, ed., *Encyclopédie illustre du Costume et de la mode* (Paris, 1970), 481–83.

49. Merkel, *Briefe,* 233.

50. One publicist denounced the fashion journals as decadent and called on city authorities to forbid them: see "Freimüthige Gedanken eines ächten Patrioten über die Ankündigung eines neuen Mode-Journal für Hamburg, u.s.w.," *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 5 May 1798.

51. Purdy, *Tyranny of Elegance,* 19; "Ueber den Luxus, nebst einem Blick in die Vorzeit, und aus den Krönungs-Feierlichkeiten Friedrichs des Ersten, Königs in Preussen, 1701," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* November 1801, 452–63.

52. "Eingang."

53. Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800–1914* (London, 1996), 30.

54. Breward, *Invisible Consumer,* 14; Breward, *Culture of Fashion,* 132; see also Ellen McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines* (New York, 1993), 13.

55. "Die Mode," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* April 1801, 118.

56. Ibid., 122.

57. Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* 5–7, 41; John Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago, 1995), 125; Hunt, "Freedom of Dress," 241. See also Roach and Eicher, "Language of Personal Adornment," 20–21; Entwistle, *Fashioned Body,* 113–39; Mary Douglas, "Why Do People Want Goods?" in *Understanding the Enterprise Culture: Themes in the Work of Mary Douglas,* ed. Shaun Hargreaves Heap and Angus Ross (Edinburgh, 1992), 19–31; McCracken, *Culture and Consumption,* 61; Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher, eds., *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning* (Oxford, 1992); Breward, *Culture of Fashion,* 132.

58. "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 284–90; "Vornehm und Gemein"; "Etwas ueber die Hamburgischen Gärten nebst Ankündigung eines neuen Gärten-Almanachs als Anhang zum Hamburgischen Addressbuch," *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 30 March 1796; [Minder], *Briefe,* 63; Karl Gottlob Küttner, *Reise durch Deutschland, Dänemark, Schweden, Norwegen, und ein Theil von Italien* (Leipzig, 1801), 1:195–98; H. Mack, "Hamburg und die Hamburger im Jahre 1809: Briefe eines Braunschweigers," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgisches Geschichte* 21 (1916): 73; Peter Gabrielson, "Zur Entwicklung und des bürgerlichen Garten- und Landhausbesitzes bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Gärten, Landhäuser, und Villen des hamburgischen Bürgertums: Kunst, Kultur, und gesellschaftliches Leben in vier Jahrhunderten: Ausstellung 29. Mai–26. Oktober 1975,* ed. Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte (Hamburg, 1975), 11–18; Gisela Jaacke, "Landhausleben," in *Gärten, Landhäuser, und Villen,* ed. Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 24–52; Rolf Engelsing, "Lebenshaltungen und Lebenshaltungskosten im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert in den Hansestädten," *International Review of Social History* 11 (1966): 86–94. For expanding household expenses, see the accounts of the Parish family, 622-1, Familie Parish, vols. 1, 2, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

59. "Bemerkungen eines hamburgischen über Hamburg"; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 290–92; Küttner, *Reise,* 4:575; diary of an English governess, 23 July 1797, Osborn Collection. On summer homes, see also Boisgelin, *Travels through Denmark and Sweden,* 44; Fahrenkrüger, "Versuch eines Sittengemäldes," 101–14; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit,* 199–208.

60. "Die neuesten Moden," *Hamburg und Altona* 5 (1806): 22–23.

61. See, for example, John Owen, *Travels into Different Parts of Europe in the Years 1791 and 1792* (London, 1796), 2:557; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 292–93.

62. On the intersection of gender and the urban public sphere, see Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, 2000), 2–24; Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams,* 134–54; Gunn, "Public Sphere, Modernity, and Consumption"; Entwistle, *Fashioned Body,* 97–109; Breward, *Hidden Consumer.*

63. Marlies Prüsener, "Lesegesellschaften im 18. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 13 (1973): 526–29; Freudenthal, *Vereine in Hamburg,* 64–70.

64. Dance—in particular, the minuet—was a means to teach personal bearing and social conduct. See Heikki Lempa, "German Body Culture: The Ideology of Moderation and the Educated Middle Class, 1790–1850" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1999), 260–69.

65. A variety of announcements for these sorts of spectacles appeared in the press: see Barbel Hedinger, ed., *Rainvilles Fest: Panorama, Promenade, Tafelfreuden, Französischer Lustgarten in Dänischen Altona* (Hamburg, 1994).

66. On Hamburgers as great walkers, see Rambach, *Versuch,* 223. On the social importance of walking, see Gudrun M. König, *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Spazierganges: Spuren einer bürgerlichen Praktik, 1780–1850* (Vienna, 1996); Lempa, "German Body Culture," 344–82. Lempa points out that both dancing and walking were viewed as forms of social recognition and self-presentation. By the 1800s, they had become disassociated from earlier educational, health, or aesthetic motivations and were considered social ends in themselves.

67. Meyer, "Skizzen," 211.

68. Gustav Poel, ed., *Bilder aus Karl Sievekings Leben 1787–1847* (Hamburg, 1884–87), 2:12–13; Gustav Poel, ed., *Johann Georg Rists Lebenserinnerungen* (Gotha, 1880–88), 11:50; Küttner, *Reise,* 1:75–78; Birgitte Tolkemitt, "Knotenpunkte im Beziehungsnetz der Gebildeten: Die gemischte Geselligkeit in den offenen Häusern der Hamburger Familien Reimarus und Sieveking," in *Ordnung, Politik, und Geselligkeit der Geschlechter im 18. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ulrike Weckel, Claudia Opitz, Claudia Hochstrasser, and Birgitte Tolkemitt (Göttingen, 1998),175–94; Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge,* 707–8; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit,* 370–96.

69. See, for example, "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 133–36; "Ueber das Sittenverderbniss," 326–36; "Fragmentarische Bemerkungen über Gegenstände des Luxus in Bezug auf Hamburg, *Hamburg und Altona* 4 (1806): 15–22.

70. "Ueber Luxus, besonders in Beziehung auf Hamburg," *Hamburg und Altona* 5 (1806): 313–24.

71. "Ueber den Mangel an Geselligkeit in Hamburg?" *Hamburg und Altona* 5 (1806): 152–62; "Sind die Klagen über Mangel an Geselligkeit in Hamburg gerecht?" *Hamburg und Altona* 4 (1806): 24–37; "Fragmentarische Bemerkungunen über Gegenstände des Luxus in Bezug auf Hamburg," *Hamburg und Altona* 4 (1806): 15–22; "Fragment über Hamburg," 82; Meyer, "Skizzen," 25–27.

72. "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 132–36; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit: Eine Parallele (Schluss)," *Hamburg und Altona* 4 (1803): 260–64; Merkel, *Briefe,* 245–46; Rambach, *Versuch,* 211–29; "Sonst und jetzt"; "Ueber das Sittenverderbniss," 326–36; *Der Hansestadt Hamburg Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, und Zukunft: Mit Beziehung auf Lübeck und Bremen: Thatsachen und Erfahrungen guter und schlechter Zeiten* (Hamburg, 1808), 42, 50–52. See also Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit,* 370–98.

73. [Minder], *Briefe,* 73.

74. On women and the Enlightenment in Hamburg, see Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge,* 705–7; Sträter, *Frauenbrief,* 4–8, 55–80; Eva Horvath, "Die Frau im gesellschaftlichen Leben Hamburgs: Meta Klopstock, Eva König, Elise Reimarus," *Wolfenbüttler Studien zur Aufklärung* 3 (1976): 175–94; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit,* 265–83, 370–98; Tolkemitt, "Knotenpunkte," 167–202.

75. See, for example, Tolkemitt, "Knotenpunkte," n. 67; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 135; Merkel, *Briefe,* 242–43; "Warum werden so viele Mädchen alte Jungfern?" *Privilegirte wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 24 January–4 February 1795; Melesina Trench, *Journal Kept during a Visit to Germany in 1799 and 1800* (London, 1861).

76. "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 134–35.

77. Merkel, *Briefe,* 242–43, 251–54. See also "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 136; *Der tägliche Gesellschafter,* 59–61; "Ueber das Sittenverderbniss," 333–35.

78. See *Der tägliche Gesellschafter,* 62; "Warum werden so viele Mädchen alte Jungfern?"

79. "Warum werden so viele Mädchen alte Jungfern?"; *Der Hansestadt Hamburg.* Mariane Prell's memoir describes children left with servants while their parents partied through the night (*Erinnerungen aus der Franzosenzeit in Hamburg von 1806 bis 1814,* 3rd ed. [Hamburg, 1898], 8–9). See also Rambach, *Versuch,* 219.

80. See "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 136–39. On flirting, see also "Sonst und Jetzt"; on the general change in attitudes and behavior, see "Vornehm und gemein"; *Der Hansestadt Hamburg.*

81. "Ueber Gasterorien und Abendmahlzeiten, Ordnung, und Unordnung, Gesundsheitspflege, usw," *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 20 January 1798, 41–43. See also "Ueber Gastfreundshaft, Gastereyen, und Tafelfreunden: Drittes Sendschriften des bejahrten Hamburgischen Patriotien an den Herausgeber der Nachrichten," *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 18 May 1796, 311–14; "Ueber Luxus"; [Minder], *Briefe,* 76–77; Merkel, *Briefe,* 245–46. Cf. the breakdown of the merchant's workday in John Parish to John Parish Jr., 14 January 1804, in 622-1, Familie Parish, vols. 1, 2, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

82. Cited in Schramm, *Neun Generationen,* 299; Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 313–15.

83. "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)"; "Sonst und Jetzt"; "Vornehm und gemein"; *Der Hansestadt Hamburg;* "Ueber den Mangel," 152–62; "Ueber Luxus"; "Hamburgischer Gemeingeist."

84. Several studies examine the capacity of dress to contest or reinforce existing arrangements of social authority. See Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* 5–7, 41; Hunt, "Freedom of Dress," 241; Philippe Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1994), 13; Entwistle, *Fashioned Body,* 113–39; Harvey, *Men in Black,* 125; Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility,* 83; Barnes and Eicher, *Dress and Gender;* Wendy Parking, ed., *Dress, Gender, and Citizenship: Fashioning the Body Politic* (New York, 2002); Michael Zakim, "Sartorial Ideologies: From Homespun to Ready Made," *American Historical Review* 106 (December 2001): 43–66; Douglas, "Why Do People Want Goods?"

85. See Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 2000), 16.

86. See Heide Wunder, *He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1998), 203–7; Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment* (New York, 2000), 123–26.

87. [Minder], *Briefe;* Tolkemitt, "Knotenpunkte," 175–202; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit,* 388–90, 392–96; Ulrike Weckel, "A Lost Paradise of Female Culture? Some Critical Questions Regarding the Scholarship on Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century German Salons," *German History* 18 (2000): 322–23.

88. On mothers and daughters in Hamburg, see Willebrand, *Hamburgs Annehmlichkeiten,* 90–92; [Craus], *Ueber Sitten,* 23–24.

89. "Warum werden so viele Mädchen alte Jungfern?"; "Oft gesagte und beherzigte Wahrheiten: Insbesondre für Hausmutter von einen alten Hausvater," *Privilegirte Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 22 August 1795. One article even described mothers' wardrobes as the archives of old values and virtues ("Die Mode," 214).

90. Merkel, *Briefe,* 246–47, 257; Rambach, *Versuch,* 219; [Minder], *Briefe,* 102–4; "Ueber das Sittenverderbniss," 333; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 150–51; Georg Heinrich Sieveking, "Fragment der Luxus, Bürger-Tugend, und Bürger-Wohl für hamburgische Bürger, die das Gute wollen und können," *Verhandlungen und Schriften der Hamburgischen Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Künste und nützliche Gewerbe* 4 (1797): 163–82; Beneke, "Briefe eines Hanseaten," 252, 257, 266.

91. Merkel, *Briefe,* 246–47, 257; [Minder], *Briefe,* 102–4; "Ueber das Sittenverderbniss," 333; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Fortsezzung)," 150–51; Georg Heinrich Sieveking, "Fragment," 163–82; Beneke, "Briefe eines Hanseaten," 252, 257, 266.

92. Beneke, "Briefe eines Hanseaten," 252.

93. See John Parish to sons, 28 December 1801–14 January 1804, 622-1, Familie Parish, vols. 1, 2, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

94. Joachim Whaley, "The Ideal of Youth in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany," in *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany, 1770–1968,* ed. Mark Roseman (Cambridge, 1995), 47–68. See also Séguy, "Costume in the Age of Napoleon," 69; Lynn Hunt, "Freedom of Dress," 241. On fashion subcultures, see Amy de la Haye and Elizabeth Wilson, eds., *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning, and Identity* (Manchester, 1999), 1–5.

95. Engelsing, "Lebenshaltungen," 73–106; Bernhard Mehnke, *Armut und Elend in Hamburg: Eine Untersuchung über das öffentliche Amrenwesen in der Ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg, 1982); Schmidt, *Hamburg im Zeitalter,* 63–65, 96–97.

96. "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Schluss)," 276–77.

97. "Der Luxus und die Republik," *Hamburgischer Briefträger,* 25 March 1797, 166–67; Meyer, "Skizzen," 49–59.

98. "Wäre es nicht gut, wenn in Hamburg zum Besten der Armen Anstalt eine Thorsperre eingeführt würde?" *Wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg,* 18 July 1792. On the decline in support for civic programs, see Nicholaus Pehmöller, *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Armen Anstalt Hamburgs* (Hamburg, 1808); Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers,* 180–202; Stephan Pielhoff, *Paternalismus und Stadtarmut: Armutswahrnehmung und Privatwohltätigkeit in Hamburger Bürgertum* (Hamburg, 1999), 111.

99. Georg Heinrich Sieveking, "Fragment," 169–82; "Anrathung eines kleinen aber sicher mitwirkenden Mittels, den Patriotismus in Hamburg zu befördern," *Hamburg und Altona* 1 (1801): 327–34. "Edle Sparsamkeit," *Hamburgische Unterhaltungsblatt,* 21 June 1806; "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Schluss)," 260–85; "Ueber Luxus." Whaley, "Symbolism," points out that the same tactic was employed and failed during a similar public campaign to reign in the cost and ostentation of funerals.

100. See, for example, "Ueber Luxus."

101. "Hamburgs alte und neue Zeit (Schluss)," 278–85; "Ueber Luxus"; Georg Heinrich Sieveking, "Fragment ," 169–82; J. M. Hudwalcker, "Noch einige Frangmente über Luxus, Bürgertugend, und Bürgerwohl," *Verhandlungen und Schriften der Hamburgischen Gesellschaft zure Beförderung der Künste und nützliche Gewerbe* 4 (1797): 183–96.

102. For an another analysis of the print, see Dagmar Müller-Staats, *Klagen über Dienstboten: Eine Untersuchen über Dienstboten und iher Herrschaften* (Frankfurt, 1987), 92–94.

103. Merkel, *Briefe,* 333–34.

104. "Vornehm und Gemein."

105. Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge, 1999), 17. In the case of Hamburg, middle-class moral regulation did not target exclusively the lower classes but also middle-class peers.

106. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure,* 111; Beetham, *Magazine of Her Own,* 4–5, 30–35; Purdy, *Tyranny of Elegance,* 75–90, 147–79.

107. "Der Damenklub," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* January 1801, 3–10; "Zwei Tage aus dem Leben eines Mädchens nach der Welt, zur Warnung für ihre Schwestern aus ihrem Tagebuch mitgetheilt," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* March 1801, 81–86; "Cephise die gute Tochter," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* August 1801, 314–18, December 1801, 484–89; "Die Nähkästgen einer Kokette," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* December 1801, 501–4.

108. "Eingang," 1. See also Purdy, *Tyranny of Elegance,* 240.

109. See Merkel, *Briefe,* 333–34; "Welches sind die Besten Weiber," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* May 1801, 184; "Beruf der Weiber," *Hamburgisches Journal der Moden und Eleganz,* September 1801, 358.

110. See [Minder], *Briefe,* 76–77, 85; Tolkemitt, "Knotenpunkte," 192–201; Heinrich Sieveking, *Georg Heinrich Sieveking: Lebensbild eines Hamburgischen Kaufmanns aus dem Zeitalter der französischen Revolution* (Berlin, 1913), 466.

111. Albrecht, "Die Nationaltrachtsdebatte."

112. For an account of Hamburg during this period, see Katharine B. Aaslestad, *Place and Politics: Local Identity, Civic Identity, and German Nationalism in North Germany during the Revolutionary Era* (Leiden, 2005). After 1815, public criticism of luxury reemerges without the communal imperative; rather, it is associated with individual irreligiousness and "inner emptiness." See Pielhoff, *Paternalismus und Stadtarmut,* 142. Furthermore, many publicists after 1815 blamed Hamburg's fall to the French not on imperial military strength but on the internal civic and republican decline of the early 1800s.

Ideal Sociability

Friedrich Schleiermacher and the Ambivalence of Extrasocial Spaces

William Rasch

The Berlin salons of the 1790s have often been seen as idyllic places, almost as if they had transcended their physical locality and brought their participants to a realm in which normal social constraints and accepted segregations simply ceased to exist. Conducted predominantly by well-educated and intellectually active Jewish women such as Henriette Herz and Rahel Levin, these social gatherings brought together men and women, Jews and Christians, aristocrats and commoners in a setting where normal social conventions could be suspended, at least temporarily.[1] Here, young, cultivated women of the emerging Jewish middle class could converse with their male, Gentile counterparts as well as with more adventurous members of the nobility. Therefore, uncommon friendships could develop, such as those between Herz and brothers Alexander and Wilhem von Humboldt or between Herz and young philosopher and theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher. Moreover, if Cupid and fate happened to converge, the temporary suspensions of class and religious difference could also lead to more intimate unions, such as the affair and eventual marriage between young Friedrich Schlegel and Herz's childhood friend, Dorothea Veit,[2] for the salon served not only as a momentary respite from the affairs of business, state, and household but also as a site of illicit romance, legitimate courtship, and, perhaps most unlikely of all, lasting friendships between men and women. I will highlight this last category. Though most people at that time considered nonromantic friendships between the sexes to be impossible, Schleiermacher not only testified privately and publicly[3] to its possibility, referring to his

"nonpassionate" relationship with Herz, but also used male-female communicative interaction as a basis for theorizing a utopic sociability (*Geselligkeit*) that ironically could be found only outside of society.

Like Schiller, Schleiermacher imagined an extrasocial space in which the fragmented, functionalized citizen could be formed into the well-rounded human being. Schleiermacher wished to fashion a language—both a theoretical discourse about sociability and a form of dialogic communication that would serve as the medium for that ideal form of human intercourse—in which the occupational differences among men and the purportedly essential differences between men and women could be bracketed. He sought a common discursive ground based on nonspecialized knowledge accessible to all educated people who gather together for no other purpose than the self-enrichment that comes from the mutual exercise of the human being's intellectual and spiritual capacities. Though such a public, salon-based discourse of sociability aimed to heal the perceived wounds of modernity—including the wound that cleaved men from women by confining the latter to the household—the result was the solidification rather than the dismantling of essentialist distinctions. Instead of challenging the differentiation of a male public sphere from a female domestic realm, the discourse of ideal sociability served as a supplemental, not subversive discourse, an alternate but not alternative model of male-female interaction that underpinned more than it undermined the workings of the modern gender system and thus made its continuation possible. This claim does not concern intentions but a variation of Hegel's "cunning of reason"—a "cunning of discourse." That Schleiermacher's dream of unfettered sociability did more to confirm than contest naturalized gender roles remains one of the unfortunate and unintended consequences of a genuine attempt to evade constraints imposed by the late-eighteenth-century public discourse on the proper behavior of both men and women.

I.

From the beginning, Henriette Herz and Friedrich Schleiermacher defended and protested the innocence of their friendship. His family, their friends, and Berlin society at large voiced their concern so often that Herz and Schleiermacher felt compelled to turn their relationship into an object in need of philosophical reflection. "And so we often spoke at length about the fact," Herz writes in her memoirs, "that we

neither had nor could have any other feeling for one another than friendship, albeit of the most intimate kind; indeed, as strange as it may seem, we set down in writing the reasons that prevented our relationship from being other than it was."[4] Herz does not reveal the reasons why their relationship never became "passionate," but according to Schleiermacher at least, a lack of sexual attraction, despite Herz's undisputed beauty, apparently was among them. Indeed, both remark on the unconventional and thus comical oddity of their joint physical appearance—that is, "the contrast between me," as Herz puts it, "a statuesque and at that time still well-endowed woman, and the small, thin, not particularly well-built Schleiermacher."[5] Observers remained suspicious. Both Herz's lifelong friend, Dorothea Veit, and Schleiermacher's newfound friend, Friedrich Schlegel, were frankly jealous, as Schlegel readily admitted. Veit chastises Schleiermacher for depriving Schlegel of attention and support, and Schlegel voices his jealousy by complaining that Schleiermacher gives more of himself, more of his heart and soul (*Gemüt*) and not just his understanding (*Verstand*) and intellect, to Herz than he does to his friend, intellectual companion, and roommate, Schlegel.[6] While it is deliciously tempting to unravel (or simply make up) the strands of hetero- and homoerotic sexual jealousy and the "protest-too-much" self-deceiving sublimations that seem to be at play here,[7] I prefer blissful ignorance and would rather pretend that I have not been born and raised in the post-Freudian latter half of the twentieth century so that I might simply take their words at face value.[8] Indeed, to find only sexual jealousy here would be to lose sight of far more interesting anxieties concerning proper gender roles and the competition over intellectual playmates. So, let us for the moment assume that Herz and Schleiermacher were, as the rather demeaning phrase has it, "just friends." What did that friendship look like?

Schleiermacher's sister was uneasy about her brother's shenanigans, and on at least fifteen occasions he felt compelled to justify himself in writing to her. These letters are filled not only with reassurances and direct responses to criticisms—for example, that true friendship trumps that old prejudice, anti-Semitism[9]—but also with concrete depictions of what the two companions did together in their daily round. In this regard, the most interesting passage occurs in a 30 May 1798 letter. "For the most part," he writes, "I live with Herz," who was spending the summer in a small house in the Tiergarten, a wooded district on the outskirts of Berlin. Since she has no children and is

extremely efficient with regard to domestic affairs, she can devote nearly all her time to study and conversation. Thus, Schleiermacher makes it a habit to spend the entire day with her at least once a week. He learns Italian from her and teaches her Greek.[10] They share their knowledge of physics and nature and read Shakespeare or "this and that from a good German book." For relaxation, they take long walks together, and he can talk to her "right out of the depths of my soul . . . on the most important things," undisturbed by anyone. Though their "inner" differences match their outer ones, they understand each other perfectly—or, as Schleiermacher rather one-sidedly writes, "Herz treasures and loves me, as different as we are."[11]

The physical setting, as Schleiermacher presents it, is idyllic in its near-sylvan solitude. Though the encounter takes place in Herz's summer home, the scene and the sphere are far from domestic. Not only are there no children, there is no husband, no other man portrayed. Yet the male figure (Schleiermacher) enters the scene neither as a suitor nor as a sexual rival but as a friend and intellectual companion, a man who has more in common with women than with other men[12] and thus is capable of nonerotic friendship, to the chagrin and consternation of his contemporaries. Accordingly, the central female figure, Herz, appears as a full equal with the male, not only interacting symmetrically on a wide variety of intellectual topics but also teaching him as well as learning from him. We are in a realm of mutual complementarity, where differences are harmonized.[13] When we look at the topics of interest, however, we notice that they are restricted to literature (Shakespeare, German books), language, and the natural sciences. Schleiermacher gives no indication that "the most important things" in any way include topics such as law, economics, politics, or surprisingly even religion. The Tiergarten summer house, located in Berlin yet isolated from it, a place where the two conversationalists can remain wholly undisturbed,[14] does not constitute either the limited realm of hearth and home or the public sphere. No affairs from either domain penetrate their friendship or the sociability of their well-matched personalities, which, Schleiermacher feels, is the way it should be.

I have taken the time to rehearse these aspects of their friendship—and, to repeat, to take them at face value—because both what is included and what is excluded from this ideal depiction help us understand the limits of the notion of sociability that Schleiermacher develops in his 1799 essay, "Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen Betragens" (Attempt at a Theory of Sociable Conduct), especially with regard to

the generally accepted gendered division of the world into domestic and public spheres. The autonomous domain of sociability, where rank, religion, and gender play no role in determining a candidate's acceptability, is meant to be neither domestic nor public. Therein lies its charm as well as its problem, for just as Schleiermacher and Herz could ignore but not escape social reality, so the attempt to construct an idealized extrasocial space to compensate for what are seen as debilitating divisions of the modern world neither overcomes nor reconciles itself to those divisions but merely confirms and replicates them. In the end, the ideal realm of sociability does not represent an escape from the divisions of the modern world but a mechanism by which the limits placed on women's participation in it can be—intentionally or unintentionally—justified.

II.

I used the term *extrasocial* in the preceding paragraph to avoid the term *autonomy,* but the notion—or, rather, notions—of autonomy are central to this investigation and therefore need some preliminary explication. The modern understanding of autonomy, arising out of the Protestant Reformation and the political-philosophical reactions to the European religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, comes to full fruition in eighteenth century Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant.[15] Kantian moral law is neither laid down by a higher authority, whether divine or natural, nor derived from empirical knowledge of history or human nature. Rather, it first comes into being as the result of the free choice of an unencumbered subject. The individual conscience, no longer subject to an external authority (for example, the Mosaic law proclaimed by God), must assume both the roles of lawgiver and follower of the law and must therefore void itself of particular interests. Whatever physical, psychological, or social constraints may plague the individual as a moral agent, as an agent of a self-determined moral law his or her actions must make a claim to universal validity. The individual, in other words, must assume that for his or her action to be judged morally appropriate, it cannot be psychologically or historically situated but could be replicated at all times and by all persons without losing its claim to moral validity. If I lie to prevent what I consider to be negative consequences, then I must assume that lying is universally appropriate. If I cannot make that assumption, then I must refrain from lying, no matter the outcome. On this basis,

then, not out of a sense of personal inclination, one acts out of a sense of duty to a subjectively determined yet universally applicable law. I am not moral because I obey a predetermined moral law; I am moral because I am able, rationally and disinterestedly, to determine what that law is. This ability to recognize and perform one's duty in opposition to one's "natural" drives or desire for personal happiness presupposes the autonomous faculty of uncontaminated reason. Rational self-legislation, therefore, is the sign of a morally and politically *mündig* (mature) individual.

What remains interesting in Kant is not the notion of the autonomous, unencumbered subject, which has repeatedly come under attack by political philosophers of all stripes since Hegel, but rather what happens to the notion of the autonomy of reason. To save reason from the rationalist dogmatists, the skeptical empiricists, and the religious enthusiasts, Kant neatly divided it into two "autonomous" faculties, theoretical and practical. The faculty of theoretical reason is the realm of knowledge, the description of what *is.* The faculty of practical reason, conversely, is the realm of moral action and invokes the prescriptive language of what *ought* to be. By radically separating the *ought* from the *is,* Kant emancipates, so to speak, the freely posited (yet universal) moral law from the physically necessary laws of nature, for neither by empirical induction nor logical deduction can one move from the sensible, cognitive sphere of theoretical reason (by which we understand the natural realm of cause and effect) to the supersensible realm of freedom that is practical (moral) reason. In this way, Kant hopes to save a domain of human freedom from the determinate reductionism of science. Indeed, by insistently locating the causal law within the realm of theoretical reason alone, Kant necessarily denies a causal relation between the two spheres. That Kant posits a third faculty of reason, the faculty of indeterminate (aesthetic) judgment that is meant to mediate between theory and practice, does not ultimately solve the problem of their radical incommensurability, because the divisions of reason that Kant implements are soon seen to be not only independent faculties of mind but also accurate reflections of the divisions or differentiations of modern society as such. What results is not the autonomy of a unified reason but rather the autonomy of a series of system rationalities, each guiding the activities of the various "value spheres" (to use Max Weber's term)[16] of modern society. The autonomy of differing mental faculties becomes the autonomy of various forms of social com-

munication. In Jürgen Habermas's somewhat cautious rendering, the differentiated Kantian faculties of reason become institutionalized as cognitive-instrumental, moral-practical, and aesthetic-expressive forms of communicative rationalities, marked respectively by truth, normative rightness, and beauty.[17] Other, perhaps less inhibited, heirs to this particular aspect of the Kantian tradition chronicle the transformation of the once unified autonomy of reason into an unlimited number of autonomous and incommensurable rationalities located in correspondingly differentiated and self-replicating social systems.[18]

The autonomy of reason—or, as we have seen, the autonomy of an increasing number of system rationalities—takes on a dual aspect. On the one hand, there is what one might call a liberal or negative notion of autonomy characterized by an individual's freedom from social and governmental constraint; on the other hand, social constraint itself is said to result from an increasing differentiation of functionally autonomous spheres of social activity. The autonomy of the unencumbered subject, in other words, is posited as a response to and pitted against the developing autonomy of functionalized social systems. These two opposed realms—the liberal domain of *Bildung* (self-cultivation) and the functionalized domain of professional specialization—find their expression in the polemical *Mensch/Bürger* (human/citizen) distinction that played such a dominant role in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century neohumanist pedagogical discourse, with the harmonious *Mensch* remaining an extrasocial entity (despite having been molded to perfection in the newly reformed university), while the *Bürger,* invariably thought of as male, sacrifices his humanity in the daily grind of bourgeois economic, bureaucratic, and political life. Thus, the late-eighteenth-century response to the onset of modernity combines both aspects of autonomy in a way that has had lasting consequences. As a result of the religious civil wars and the European global expansion into the New World, Africa, and Asia, the political sphere (represented by the bureaucratized state) and the economic sphere (represented by the marketplace and incipient money economy) loose themselves from ecclesiastic and absolutist control. If one follows the evolutionary scheme advanced by Niklas Luhmann, the increasing independence and self-regulation of political and economic operations provide evidence for the transformation of European society from a stratified, hierarchical unity to a horizontal proliferation of functionally differentiated, self-organizing social systems, including politics,

the economy, the legal system, and many others.[19] This functional differentiation of incommensurable "value spheres" (Weber) or operationally closed social systems (Luhmann) is, in fact, the principle by which modernity has come to organize itself. Since the unity of this differentiation cannot be found in the partial and contingent perspectives of individual systems, modern society cannot see itself as a harmonious totality—cannot, as Luhmann says, see itself as if from the outside—because it lacks a position or normative standard from which the whole can be morally, politically, or otherwise judged.[20] Consequently, as Habermas acknowledges, "the fact that a modernity without models had to stabilize itself on the basis of the very diremptions [or divisions: *Entzweiungen*] it had wrought" is felt as a persistent "anxiety" that begs for compensation.[21] Ironically, functionally differentiated modernity, emancipated from moral and religious supervision, makes the enlightened critique of the rationally autonomous subject possible, yet this structure of differentiation becomes the impossible object of the critique that it makes possible.

The late eighteenth century massages this anxiety by creating anthropological solutions. The centrifugal "fragmentation" of society is said to jeopardize the "wholeness" and "harmony" of an essential human subjectivity. Within the realms of the state and the marketplace, the individual is stripped of his or her unity and reduced to the instrumentalized status of citizen and consumer. Friedrich Schiller's famous chronicle of the ills of fragmented modernity, taken from his sixth letter on aesthetic education, initiates a two-hundred-year German tradition:

> That polypoid character of the Greek States, in which every individual enjoyed an independent existence but could, when need arose, grow into the whole organism, now made way for an ingenious clock-work, in which, out of the piecing together of innumerable but lifeless parts, a mechanical kind of collective life ensued. State and Church, laws and customs, were now torn asunder; enjoyment was divorced from labour, the means from the end, the effort from the reward. Everlastingly chained to a single little fragment of the Whole, man himself develops into nothing but a fragment; everlastingly in his ear the monotonous sound of the wheel that he turns, he never develops the harmony of his being, and instead of putting the stamp of humanity upon his own nature, he becomes nothing more than the imprint of his occupation or of his specialized knowledge.[22]

To protest and protect against this perceived devolution of the fully human to the merely functional *Bürger,* the German (but not just German) liberal, humanist tradition champions the notion of autonomy. Here we speak not of the autonomy of self-regulating social systems but rather of autonomy from the limitations imposed by such mechanistic institutions. Faced with the threat of social fragmentation, the human subject preserves its integrity in realms that are not considered to be marked by social functionalism. Because human autonomy (as the harmonious development of all human powers—that is, *Bildung*) cannot be nurtured in the specialized spheres of social systems, extrasocial spaces must be posited as the site of activities that engage the totality of the truly human.

Again, Schiller provides us with an exemplary model. The chicken-or-egg aporia that confronts him takes the form of a question: To establish a free, democratic, and just society, populated by a fully mature humanity, what comes first, a political or an anthropological revolution? In other words, what comes first, the perfection of society or the perfection of humanity? Schiller clearly places his trust in the latter. But the problem then becomes how such a desired change in human nature is to come about in a decidedly imperfect environment. A political revolution will propose democratically reformed social institutions suitable for the free and equal exercise of human potentialities, but if the human has not achieved a certain level of maturity and responsibility, then democracy, as the French Revolution demonstrated, transforms itself instantaneously into tyranny and terror. Thus, if humans learn the ways of servitude in an absolutist state, and if a political revolution alone will not elevate them above their baser instincts, where is such a maturing process to take place? Or, in Kantian terms that Schiller historicizes, if, in the modern world, reason, which dictates adherence to the moral law strictly out of a sense of duty, stands in conflict with inclination, how is harmony—that is, the unity of duty and sensual inclination—to be reestablished? The alienated structure of the modern world clearly is not a necessary structure, for the perfect harmony of society and nature is known to have existed in ancient Greece (or so Schiller and his compatriots thought); but to effect a new synthesis that could stand as a functional equivalent (not a re-creation) of the ancient example, a modern model of harmony must be achieved, at least in idealized form.

Schiller believes that such a paradigm of harmonious totality lies within the aesthetic sphere. But if such is the case, the aesthetic domain

must exist outside of the ever-expanding realms of society. It must be autonomous from rather than within society if it is to serve as the institution in which an aesthetic education is to take place. Only after the human has achieved maturity within this protected sphere can permanent and lasting political change be effected, which is to say that the self-determination or purposeless purposivity of the work of art becomes both the model for the self-legislating autonomous subject and the space in which this autonomous subjectivity can be realized. This liberal notion of autonomy, derived from the idealist tradition, pits specific realms—ideally, art—against society. The emancipated self-determination of art and the artist is read as if the entire endeavor were somehow divorced from society and its petty day-to-day concerns. While others work within the fragmented spheres of the bourgeois world, serving an externally determined purpose, the artist—and let us go by the true name, the genius—creates (ex nihilo, as it were). What is true for art is also true for scholarship (and the domain of knowledge for its own sake, the university), morality (determined exclusively by the self-referential interiority of one's conscience), the household (a domestic sphere watched over by idealized femininity), and, as we shall see, the sociability of the salons. According to this view, autonomy means escape from the daily workings of the social world, escape from alienation, fragmentation, reification, modernization, functionalization, efficiency, performativity—in short, escape from the rationalized, administered society. We now return to one of these escape attempts and its attendant consequences: Schleiermacher's "Attempt at a Theory of Sociable Conduct" can be seen as an effort to raise the type of experiences he enjoyed with Herz and in the salon scene of the late 1790s to the level of theory—that is, a theory of utopic sociability designed to take place in an extrasocial space beyond both the public and private spheres.

III.

The first sentence of Schleiermacher's essay makes the claim that all educated (*gebildet*) people demand "free sociability, neither bound nor determined by any external purpose."[23] Later in the essay, he defines this free and purposeless sociability as a situation in which "several people should have an effect on one another, and . . . this effect should in no way be one-sided."[24] The emphasis is on the simultaneity of a plurality of perspectives, a *Vielseitigkeit* (many-sidedness), as a way of

correcting for the limited and limiting nature of the daily round. Tossed back and forth between the cares of the household and the business of bourgeois (*bürgerlichen*) society, we are diverted from our higher aspirations by the *Einseitigkeit* (uniformity) and *Beschränkung* (restriction) that result from the tasks of our occupations as well as by the limited horizons (boredom) afforded by the daily contact with the same few people doing the same few things in the domestic sphere. There must, therefore, be a condition (*Zustand*) that complements both spheres by allowing individuals to come into contact with others in their full diversity, allowing a glimpse "into a different and foreign world" that suspends all domestic and bourgeois constraints.[25] Whereas talk of an "other condition" that is only momentarily realized may seem to evoke a quasi-mystical indeterminacy, Schleiermacher locates this condition in a concrete physical space, even if that space can be defined only as the interaction between people. Sociability is a condition, a potentiality, a "moral tendency" that can be actualized wherever and whenever people are gathered, provided the gathering has only itself as its purpose.[26] Sociability—free interaction between people for its own sake—does not occur at the theater, in the lecture hall, or even at a ball.[27] "No particular activity should be collectively undertaken, no work collectively brought into existence, no insight methodically gained. . . . [T]here should, in other words, be no other purpose than the free play of ideas and impressions, through which all members stimulate and animate one another."[28] Sociability, in fact, does not happen in society at all but, like the activity in Herz's summer house, presupposes society as a means of hovering above, safely away yet immanently accessible.

What Schleiermacher describes as sociability in particular and *Bildung* in general is the absence of function. Paradoxically phrased, sociability's function is to create a functionless system within society so that the individual may remove him- or herself from both the functionalized public and domestic spheres. Thus, any activity that takes place in a function system—including art (unlike Schiller), science, and even entertainment (dancing)—cannot be the site of sociability, for in these areas one's attention is immediately directed and focused on a particular purpose or methodologically determined task. We see this purposeful avoidance of purpose in the rules that Schleiermacher sets up for acceptable conversation, rules that restrict what can be discussed. To be excluded are topics that exclude, topics that require specialized knowledge based on occupation, whether that occupation be

of the workaday world or in the home. We are advised that true sociability requires "that no topic should be broached that is not a part of the common sphere of interest."[29] If I touch on a subject about which another person knows nothing or if two of us discuss such a specialized theme, "the society ceases to be an integrated whole."[30] Here Schleiermacher wishes to avoid precisely what Schiller described—that is, the "ingenious clock-work" of modern society that makes of the individual "nothing more than the imprint of his occupation or of his specialized knowledge." With specialized discourse, the fragmentation of the outside world invades the space of sociability, separating women from men, doctors from scholars, and theologians from lawyers but also separating each individual from his or her truer and higher self.[31] Sociability is threatened, in other words, when "the members once again involuntarily crystalize, as if by chemical affinity, into small circles according to their social station, to the great detriment of sociability, which cannot, therefore, reach its ultimate goal of temporarily displacing people from their occupational perspectives."[32] In acceding to the demands of sociability, then, we are released from the functionalized depths of our specialized knowledge so that we may experience the full breadth of a harmonized individuality that need not eliminate but certainly must sublimate its contingent specificity to achieve the formal grace that marks total participation. "One characterizes a person not according to the substance of what he thinks or does but rather according to the way he treats that substance, how he establishes connections and develops and communicates his subject."[33] The "how" of an action replaces the "what" as defining human trait, because a unity of manner—the way in which one's originality is expressed in any situation—can compensate for the fragmentation of matter. *Versatility* is the term Schleiermacher uses for the ability "to adapt to every situation and yet maintain one's own identity no matter where one is, to stand and move about as one's innate self." Thus,

> the most versatile is one who is at the same time the most polymath and original, one who is prepared to engage in any subject matter, even the most trivial and unfamiliar, and still know how to express his own uniqueness in a variety of ways.[34]

If a differentiated society leads to a differentiated or "self-alienated" personality, then the ideal of a free and purposeless sociability becomes one of de-differentiation not of society, which can never return to any

purported premodern unity, but of the individual in his or her dealings with the functionalized world.

Here, then, Schleiermacher turns to women for help. Writing in 1799, while living in the Berlin of the Jewish salons, he cannot help but note that true sociability occurs "under the eyes of women." A certain necessity drives educated women to organize these ideal gatherings, for if their soirees were directed only to domestic concerns, they would be even narrower and deadlier than the male, professional-based salons. When men talk of their professions, Schleiermacher reminds us, they can at least be free of the domestic side of their personality. However, women's professional and domestic lives coincide; thus, women feel all the more fettered in a gathering in which only the domestic sphere of society is experienced.[35] And because they are excluded from the public sphere and the world of professions, they cannot partake of exclusive male discourse. Consequently, to escape their everyday world and still include men, they are forced to organize a type of sociable intercourse that presupposes only general culture (*Bildung*). Their desire to escape their domestic imprisonment, then,

> drives them into the company of men, among whom they can be the founders of a better society, because they have nothing to do with bourgeois life and are not interested in the affairs of state . . . and precisely because they have no point in common with [men] except that they are educated people.[36]

Schleiermacher could not be more direct. Unlike men, women cannot escape the domestic sphere by entering bourgeois society. They are excluded from formal education at the university and thus from professional occupations. As a consequence, women supposedly know and care little of the political world outside their direct orbit. To facilitate their escape from hearth and home, therefore, they must create a space that is neither domestic nor public, a space of formal *Bildung* and sociability. Accordingly, for Schleiermacher, "the point of origin for *freie Geselligkeit*" is not the family, as Ruth Drucilla Richardson claims,[37] but rather his "Platonic," passionless, nondomestic friendship with Henriette Herz.

How we evaluate Schleiermacher's construction of sociability and its implied solution to the anxiety caused by modernity depends, in part at least, on what consequences follow—not only for the men but also for the women involved. We might ask, Where does Schleier-

macher go on the days he does not visit Herz, and where does Herz go? We can only answer by saying that Schleiermacher ventures out into the "fragmented" world of bourgeois society, plying his trade as author, preacher, and theologian, while Herz remains quietly at home. The purportedly utopic and momentary release from the emerging divisions of modernity does nothing to alter the status of that modernity and thus does nothing to alter the concrete position of women in modernity. They are invited to initiate and choreograph an intricate and well-regulated interaction between cultivated minds for the sake of self-actualization in an imagined realm that disassociates itself from the intellectually limited and limiting duties of both men and women, but this invitation only marginally increases women's participation in society as a whole.

Again, a letter from Schleiermacher can help us visualize in concrete if anecdotal detail the dual fates of our two protagonists. Once again trying to reassure his sister that there are no improprieties in his relationship with his female friend, Schleiermacher begins by noting his natural shyness, remarking that Herz often chides him for being too introverted. By inclination, then, he is not the ideal candidate for the type of sociability that he theorizes. This admission serves as the preamble to a remarkable passage from a letter Herz wrote to Schleiermacher that recalls a particularly stirring evening in which friends gathered at her sister's home. In this letter (as cited by Schleiermacher in his letter to his sister), Herz places herself fully in the observer position, not only observing Schleiermacher and friends but also observing herself observing them. With great satisfaction, she watches but does not participate in the free exchange between Schleiermacher and a friend named Willich, observing the *Leichtigkeit* (ease) and *Offenheit* (openness) with which the former engages the latter. The sight of this uncharacteristic openness so fills her with emotion that she is rendered ecstatically mute even as the friends gathered to sing Schiller's "Ode to Joy":

> My heart was very full when you left; I watched with inner joy and emotion as you and Willich drew nearer during the singing; and if I did not join in the chorus, it was because of the impossibility of uttering a sound, since the movement of my heart stifled all words and sounds.[38]

Schleiermacher finally must leave to catch a late evening coach. All but Herz accompany him to the station, and when the others return,

Willich sits next to her. "[S]ilently and solemnly we celebrated your memory," she reports. "He told me in a quiet voice that he had never felt as religious as at that moment: I savored the harmony and remained silent."[39] He talks, he walks; she stays behind and remains silent. Schleiermacher carries his experiences and his facilities with him, while Herz—emotionally invigorated, to be sure—stays behind and sinks back into a warm and fulfilling but passive silence.

A mere anecdote? Yes, but also an emblem. Schleiermacher's "free sociability, neither bound nor determined by any external purpose," a form of endless and ends-less communication that can perpetually reproduce itself because it is not linked to a specific purpose, was purportedly developed to compensate for the effects of functional differentiation. The moment of achieved sociability, the moment observed between Schleiermacher and Willich, becomes a momentary act of de-differentiation and reharmonization (in song as well as being). Yet, as Jürgen Fohrmann notes, the form of sociable discourse also serves simultaneously as the motor for the temporalization of functionalized social systems. "A remarkable symbiosis takes place," Fohrmann writes,

> between formal and thematic de-differentiation on the one hand and social differentiation on the other. The circle of sociable people understands itself as the microcosm of humanity (society) and reunites in its structure of communication what in the framework of functional differentiation has already divided itself into the various individual logics of systems communication. At the same time, this communicative imperative is kept at such a formal level that it is reintegrated in the individual systems and used as program formulations (education of the individual in pedagogy, the seminar in the university, dialog of experts in science, sociable literary criticism in art, etc.).[40]

Thus, what starts out as the other of function in an autonomous, functionless realm finds itself firmly embedded as the motivating force for the evolutionary development of nineteenth-century social systems—indeed, as the formal mechanism of historical perfectibility (hermeneutical dialog with tradition) and scientific progress (indefinite conversation with nature that transforms untenable theories into stages on the way to truth).[41] The self-fashioning of a harmonious personality in the company of educated women becomes the honing of a

skill to be used in exclusively male occupational and professional domains. If women learn to refine these same skills, they must nonetheless reconcile themselves to the fact of a restricted application. When the sociable evening is over, women have nowhere to go except home.

IV.

This analysis is not meant to minimize the existential importance of the salons and the possibility of sociable discourse for educated women at the end of the eighteenth century. The ability to meet with one another and to meet, as intellectual equals, with educated men could be a many-faceted event leading to lasting intellectual and emotional friendships. As historian Deborah Hertz emphasizes, the Jewish salons in Berlin played an important role as a marriage market, bringing together cultivated, wealthy Jewish women with both ambitious middle-class men and the sons of the impoverished lesser aristocracy.[42] The salons also served as the site for developing long-standing female-female friendships and quite possibly homosexual liaisons.[43] This confluence of relative tolerance and social change certainly created possibilities of which some women (Herz, Rahel Varnhagen, and Dorothea Schlegel are among the most famous examples) were poised to take advantage. It is not that their education (conducted by tutors at home) made them eligible for a variety of careers but rather that their sociability (as well as that of their future husbands) allowed for a different quality in the one type of career for which they were preordained—that is, marriage, household management, and child rearing. However, the notion of sociability that could be located between the spheres of domesticity and society was a fiction, for the society in which this sociability took hold was more complex than such a scheme allows. The representation of modern society as divided into two spheres—one public, the other private, with the possibility of a utopic no-man's-land in between—was misleading, because what occurred at the end of the eighteenth century as functional differentiation affected the domestic sphere as much as it did the public, transformed the domestic sphere too into a function system. The differentiation of society into a plurality of subsystems, in other words, left no room for extrasocial spaces within society, no domestic sphere and no utopic projects of *Bildung, aesthetische Erziehung* (aesthetic education), or *Geselligkeit.* One can, with Habermas, call it "colonization of the lifeworld" if one likes,[44] but if one wishes to understand the often contra-

dictory attempts of men and women to refigure sexual and gender relations at this time, one will need to recognize the fundamental and paradoxical limitations inherent in any utopic project that operates only with one and not the other notion of autonomy. The terms *family, children, child rearing, intimacy,* and *sexuality* all mark the emerging objects of specialized and professional (clinical, medical, therapeutic, pedagogical) discourses during the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not realms of pre- or extrasocial life. The private, domestic sphere did not remain outside of society but was integrated into it by becoming functionalized as a subsystem. Thus, the banishment of women from the public sphere and their exclusive relegation to the domestic sphere might better be understood not as the result of a rigid distinction between the public and the private but as the restriction of women to just one realm or social subsystem of the all-encompassing public sphere called society. Contrary to the prevailing rhetoric of the time, women were not banished from functionally differentiated bourgeois society; they were just kept stratified, assigned one "natural" occupation, while their partners became agile and functionally flexible.

After phrasing them in this way, one can recognize that both the idealist and the Marxist critiques of bourgeois society as the locus of alienated and self-alienating labor have consistently worked against the interests of women, who have been historically excluded on the basis of purportedly natural distinctions. Consequently, the various projections of utopic spaces intended to compensate for the debilitating effects of a thoroughly administered society served in fact as mechanisms of this exclusion, not as blueprints for a better future in a sublated modernity. Eschatological hopes for radical transformation became thereby just another vehicle for an invisible continuity. When, as has traditionally been the case, the differentiation of modern society is looked on negatively as both the cause and manifestation of fragmentation and alienation, the urge to construct "nonsocial" spaces to serve as objects of utopic longing remains an ever-present temptation. Historically, such temptations have manifested themselves in depictions of women charged with overseeing these idealized domestic or sociable spaces and thereby credited with preserving some of the natural harmony and totality of personality that were said to be lacking in their professionalized male counterparts. Such representations seldom announced themselves as explicitly misogynist. After all, it is one thing to be explicitly restricted to only a highly limited number of social spheres—the home, the salon, perhaps a school for young girls—

because of one's natural inferiority and quite another to be praised for the undisturbed harmony of one's nature and therefore "spared" the trials and tribulations of a fragmented and unfulfilling social reality. Against the former thesis—one's natural inferiority—cogent liberal, enlightened arguments could be and were made at the time by Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, Mary Wollstonecraft, Olympe de Gouges, and others. But to argue against the latter claim—the one that purported to shield women from the psychic damage that men, of necessity, must endure as part of their anthropologically determined role in earthly affairs—was a good deal more difficult, especially if one shared the prevailing negative evaluation of modern society. Faced with the alternative of self-alienation in functionalized society and self-actualization at sociable evening gatherings, one would have been hard-pressed to choose the former. Or, put another way, alleviating the monotony of domesticity with the type of intense experience that Herz apparently enjoyed, however fleetingly and silently, in the company of her intellectual peers seemed preferable to escaping the prison of domesticity altogether for the sweatshop of bourgeois society. Perhaps this helps explain one of the more intriguing puzzles that surrounds the intense discussion of gender in Germany around 1800. For all the collaboration between men such as the Schlegel brothers and women such as Dorothea Schlegel and Caroline Schlegel-Schelling, and for all their derision of Goethe's and Schiller's idealization of passive femininity; for all of Schleiermacher's efforts to argue for and realize the possibility of equal, nonsexual, male-female friendship; for all the activism of women pedagogical reformers such as Betty Gleim and Amalia Holst; and for all the anger of a woman such as Rahel Varnhagen directed against the various social hierarchies that excluded women in general and Jewish women in particular from full participation in all aspects of the social life of her day—no one, it seems, could articulate his or her frustration and desire for change in a language that did not reinforce the prevailing anthropological discourse and thus the essentialized distinctions that that discourse established. Even the most utopian of projections only replicated the exclusions that these men and women sought to escape. One could desire emancipation around 1800, it seems, but one could not imagine it happening within society.

Notes

1. For an excellent account of the Jewish salons, see Deborah Sadie Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven, 1988). For a more com-

prehensive account of Berlin's nineteenth-century salon scene, see Petra Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahhundert (1780–1914)* (Berlin, 1989). See also Hartwig Schultz, ed., *Salons der Romantik: Beiträge eines Wiepersdorfer Kolloquiums zu Theorie und Geschichte des Salons* (Berlin, 1997), vol. 2, in which two essays are of particular interest here: Andreas Arndt, "Geselligkeit und Gesellschaft: Die Geburt der Dialektik aus dem Geist der Konversation in Schleiermachers 'Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen Betragens,'" 45–61; Konrad Feilchenfeldt, "Rahel Varnhagens 'Geselligkeit' aus der Sicht Varnhagens: Mit einem Seitenblick auf Schleiermacher," esp. 160–69.

2. Dorothea Veit, born Brendel Mendelssohn, was the daughter of the Enlightenment Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn and is better known as Dorothea Schlegel. Unhappily married to Simon Veit, a prominent Jewish banker, she met Friedrich Schlegel in Herz's salon in August 1797. See Henriette Herz, *Henriette Herz in Erinnerungen, Briefen, und Zeugnissen,* ed. Rainer Schmitz (Frankfurt, 1984), 53–61, for a description of an account of Dorothea Schlegel's divorce from Veit, her affair with Schlegel, and their eventual marriage. Herz also relates her husband's wish that she break off her friendship with Dorothea and refusal to do so. Friedrich Schlegel's philosophical novel, *Lucinde,* not only reflects their affair (to the embarrassment of their friends) but also gives a possible impression of the type of intellectual discourse that may have occurred in the salons. See Friedrich Schlegel, *Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde and the Fragments,* trans. Peter Firchow (Minneapolis, 1971).

3. Privately in the letters cited later in this chapter and publicly in his *Vertraute Briefe über Friedrich Schlegel's "Lucinde,"* written in 1800 and currently most readily accessible in Friedrich Schlegel, *Lucinde: Ein Roman: Mit Friedrich Schleiermacher's "Vertrauten Briefen über Friedrich Schlegel's 'Lucinde'"* (n.p., 1985). For Wilhelm Dilthey's still interesting evaluation of the significance of Schlegel's *Lucinde* and Schleiermacher's *Briefe,* see *Leben Schleiermachers,* vol. 1, ed. Martin Redeker (Berlin, 1970), 13:496–546.

4. Herz, *Henriette Herz,* 92. All translations of Herz and Schleiermacher are my own.

5. Ibid., 90. For both the lack of sexual attraction and the disparity in their physical appearance, see also Schleiermacher to sister, 12 February 1801: "Whoever understands anything about internal expression will recognize in her a passionless being, and even if I were inclined to succumb to the influence of external features, I find nothing appealing in her—though her face is undeniably very beautiful—and her colossal, majestic figure is so very much the opposite of mine that if I were to imagine that we were both free, and loved and married one another, I would always find something ridiculous and absurd in the situation that would only be outweighed by the most extraordinary of circumstances" (Herz, *Henriette Herz,* 330–31). The pertinent letters by Schleiermacher are reproduced in Herz, *Henriette Herz;* for the sake of convenience, all citations are from this volume.

6. Schleiermacher to sister, 30 May 1798, in ibid., 263.

7. Both Schleiermacher and his friends were aware of the possibility of sincere self-deception. See two remarks by Schleiermacher: "Both Schlegel and Veit were worried that I was deceiving myself, that passion was at the bottom of my friendship with Herz, that I would sooner or later discover this fact and it would make me unhappy" (ibid., 263–64); "Nothing passionate will ever develop between us; our relationship has already been thoroughly tested in that regard. Do not take the fact that I speak of this with such certainty as arrogance" (284).

8. For evidence to the contrary, see Schleiermacher to sister, 8 November 1798, in which he fantasizes about a marriage to Herz (ibid., 277).

9. Schleiermacher to sister, 26 October 1798, 23 March 1799, in ibid., 277, 285.

10. The reference to teaching Herz Greek comes from Schleiermacher to sister, 20 December 1800, in ibid., 325.

11. Ibid., 262–63.

12. See the often-cited line from Schleiermacher to sister, 23 March 1799: "It is deeply ingrained in my nature, dear Lotte, that I will always relate to women more closely than to men, because there is so very much in my heart that the latter seldom understand" (ibid., 284).

13. See Schleiermacher to sister, 23 March 1799: "I can complement her insights, her outlook, her soul, and she does the same for me" (ibid.).

14. "We have done so since the beginning of spring, and no one has disturbed us" (ibid., 263).

15. For a thorough account of this process, see J. B. Schneewind, *The Invention of Autonomy: A History of Modern Moral Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1997).

16. See, for example, Max Weber, "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," in Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York, 1946), 323–59.

17. Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity versus Postmodernity," *New German Critique* 22 (1981): 8.

18. I have in mind Niklas Luhmann, whose work informs the following discussion. For the most thorough discussion of the functional differentiation of modern society, see Niklas Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt, 1997), 595–865. In English, see Niklas Luhmann, "Differentiation of Society," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 2 (1977): 29–53.

19. Luhmann, *Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft,* 678–776.

20. Ibid., 86–91.

21. Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures,* trans. Frederick G. Lawrence (Cambridge, 1987), 16. The alternate translations of the German *Entzweiungen* are provided in the original.

22. Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man: In a Series of Letters,* ed. and trans. Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L. A. Willoughby (London, 1967), 324–25.

23. Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen Betragens," in *Schriften,* ed. Andreas Arndt (Frankfurt, 1996), 65.
24. Ibid., 70.
25. Ibid., 65, 66.
26. Ibid., 69.
27. Ibid., 70–71.
28. Ibid., 71.
29. Ibid., 74.
30. Ibid., 73.
31. "If I know that one person is a businessman, another a financier, and a third a landowner, then, of course, that which is common to all three occupations is easily found, but what I know of the talents, knowledge, and education of a person based on his bourgeois station is simply the bare minimum of what he can be—namely, what he is forced to be by his occupation. How much more additional knowledge and ideas might not these three people possess and exchange that have nothing to do with their profession?" (Ibid., 81–82).
32. Ibid., 82.
33. Ibid., 77.
34. Ibid., 80.
35. Ibid., 83.
36. Ibid.
37. Ruth Drucilla Richardson, *The Role of Women in the Life and Thought of the Early Schleiermacher (1768–1806): An Historical Overview* (Lewiston, 1991), 132. See esp. her brief discussion of the "Versuch" essay (129–32) and of *Die Weihnachtsfeier* (133–64).
38. Schleiermacher to sister, 1 July 1801, in Herz, *Henriette Herz,* 335.
39. Ibid.
40. Jürgen Fohrmann, "Gesellige Kommunikation um 1800: Skizze einer Form," *Soziale Systeme* 3.2 (1997): 358.
41. On Schleiermacher's hermeneutics as a translation of *Geselligkeit* from an oral to a written medium, see ibid., 359.
42. Hertz, *Jewish High Society.*
43. See, for example, Deborah Hertz's introduction to Rahel Varnhagen, *Briefe an eine Freundin: Rahel Varnhagen an Rebecca Friedländer,* ed. Hertz (Cologne, 1988), esp. 45–47.
44. Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action,* trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston, 1987), 2:303–403.

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Contributors

Katherine B. Aaslestad, Associate Professor of History, West Virginia University.

Beate Ceranski, ***Privatdozentin,*** Department of History of Science and Technology, Stuttgart University.

Ruth Dawson, Professor of Women's Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Ulrike Gleixner, *Privatdozentin,* Department of History, Technical University Berlin.

Marion W. Gray, Professor and Chair, Department of History, Western Michigan University.

Rebekka Habermas, Professor, Department of History, Georg August University, Göttingen.

Dietlind Hüchtker, W*issenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin,* Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, University of Leipzig.

Kerstin Michalik, *Juniorprofessorin,* Department of Education, University of Hamburg.

Daniel A. Rabuzzi, Director of Programs at the National Foundation for Teaching Entrepreneurship and Academic Historian, New York.

William Rasch, Professor and Chair, Department of Germanic Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Eve Rosenhaft, Professor and Head, School of Modern Languages, University of Liverpool.

Teresa Sanislo, Assistant Professor of History, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire.

Stefanie Schäfer-Bossert, Pastor and Academic Theologian, Evangelische Landeskirche Württemberg.

Ulrike Weckel, Marie Curie Research Fellow, Department of History and Civilization, European University Institute, Florence.