

The 'Whole Man': The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-Century Germany

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In 1842, Henriette Feuerbach, daughter-in-law of the jurist Anselm Feuerbach, criticised her husband, saying that he was physically and mentally an 'incomplete organism'. She acknowledged openly that her marriage failed to satisfy her both emotionally and sexually, arguing that this was a consequence of her own personality. She claimed that she was too independent intellectually to subordinate herself, but yet, while 'lacking entirely in sensuality', she still had a number of 'needs of the heart'. She described herself here in diametrical opposition to the dominant image that portrayed woman as sexualised and not intellectual, thus shielding herself from accusations of immoderate female desire.

Feuerbach went on, however, to locate the brunt of the problem quite boldly with her husband. She accused him of failing to make up for her own deficits because he was no better than her. The longer she knew him, the less she could '*look up to him*', wrote Feuerbach to Christian Heydenreich, and this she called her true misfortune. 'He is only the remnant of a human being, and what I need is something whole'.¹ Certainly, he was clever and learned, but hopelessly timid and vacillating, inwardly torn and unbalanced. Without freedom of the will and character, she considered him to be 'capable of great notions, but not great deeds', since he oriented himself solely toward external authorities.

The picture Feuerbach painted of her husband fell far short of the ideal of manliness that legitimised men's authority over women, and that might have made up for the absence of sexual pleasure. Precisely because she was not fundamentally questioning the relations between the sexes, she demonstrated more than how notions of gender determined everyday interactions between men and women. She also revealed what a man should be like: a 'complete organism', a firm character, learned or well-read to

be sure, but still mindful of both 'great deeds' and emotions, and for that very reason capable of demonstrating to her his superiority – the basis of his power in society and marriage.

This essay aims to illustrate how Feuerbach's critique was systematically meaningful in the negotiations of male subjectivity of the educated élite in nineteenth-century Germany. Her remarks are significant both for looking at normative models of a 'dominant' masculine identity and individual representations of masculinity in everyday life.² This contribution is intended as a think piece. It develops reflections that require further elaboration, but that are nonetheless illuminating for the analysis of constructions of masculinity in nineteenth-century German-speaking regions. The central hypothesis is that while on the one hand, the construction of masculinity by the educated élite always included a relational reference to femininity; on the other hand, in the model of the *ganzer Mann* (the whole, well-rounded, but also 'real' or 'proper' man), it ignored this relational character. It thus became possible to imagine a purely male world without the dependence upon femininity that the relational model necessarily implied. One could call this conception of the 'whole man' the rolling-into-one of 'the scientist, the artist and the warrior', although the reference was not to a man who actually worked in these regards, but rather to one who was educated yet sensitive, energetic yet passionate and capable of empathy. The model was the man who existed in the balance between practical rationality and emotionality. This was a man who created his own life 'freely', with disregard for the social rules and conventions around him – a man of the world who integrated the increasingly distinct spheres of work, family, private life and sociability. The following essay will be concerned with this model of an imagined masculinity, with all its contradictions and fragility.³

Gender, that is, the ways in which a society defines the meanings of femaleness and maleness and the relations between the sexes, is an inherently paradoxical phenomenon. Part of this paradox in the modern era is that male élites have conceptualised masculinity as purely rational within a polarised gender hierarchy, thus constructing femininity as purely emotional.⁴ At the same time, however, since the eighteenth century the very same groups have projected the image of a whole man who combines all of the qualities that are separated in the polarised gender model. The permanent dovetailing of the various faces of masculinity, which could be emphasised differently depending on a given situation, appears to me to have been important throughout the nineteenth century.

This bipolar quality of masculinity is connected, I believe, to the different ways in which (bourgeois) civil society was discussed and conceptualised. Carol Pateman and others have made it clear that debates about civil society took place on two levels simultaneously.⁵ The project of modernity

was based on the opposition between the public sphere and the private family, with the dichotomous notions of masculinity as public, political and rational versus femininity as private, apolitical and emotional.⁶ However, at the moment when the 'sexual contract' was incorporated into the social contract, the mode of argument shifted. Henceforth, the male élites – the practitioners of civil society, as Isabel Hull calls them – spoke only about the exclusively male sphere and tried to suppress that fact that there was an excluded Other. It was precisely this exclusion that defined the political, and determined civil society as a public masculine sphere. In this context 'public' now meant 'high' politics, while 'private' no longer referred to the family, but rather to men in (private) businesses or to male individuals who founded or joined Enlightenment clubs or associations. Following Pateman, one could argue that this particular discourse about civil society required an image of male subjectivity that suppressed the processes of exclusion that form the very foundation and constituents of modernity. In this sense – both in the model of subjectivity and in the assertion of an ability to integrate different aspects of life (*Lebenswelten*) – the man of the world or the whole man unified all of the central elements of humanness that were divided in the relational gender model between masculinity and femininity. Furthermore, he laid claim to the 'independence' that then justified the male right of dominance in politics and society.

In looking at concepts of masculinity since the eighteenth century, one is astonished at the apparent discrepancy between descriptions of modern society that emphasise the growing separation between life realms, and the simultaneous obsession with the unity of the male subject. This unity made it possible to conceive of modernity as a masculine world, whereas the polar gender model spoke to both the projection and the reality of a growing differentiation between spheres. As a heuristic model, one could say that the longed-for and postulated unity of the masculine subject, which bolstered men's claims to dominance, was supposed to be secured by the polar gender model. The polar model was meant to ensure that masculinity could always be an integral whole, because the model of masculine unity was destined, in the course of ongoing processes of differentiation, to become a fiction.

Isabel Hull has shown that in perceptions of masculinity in the eighteenth century, sexual, professional-societal, and political identities were intimately linked.⁷ It is likely that the essential linking of these identities was central in concepts of masculinity among the educated élites in the nineteenth century as well. Because this connection was so important, one could argue that the composite model of masculinity was doubly imperilled: on the one hand, because the assertion of wholeness demanded that all elements of the model be lived in order to bolster the autonomy of the masculine subject; and on the other because – as long as a claim to the

connection between bodily and socio-political identity continued to be made – criticism of even supposedly ‘private’ emotionality, sexuality or personal disposition could suffice to cast doubt at least implicitly on the more general claim to socio-political dominance. In conflicts, the supposed self-evidence of gender identities sometimes comes into view more clearly because those very identities are being defended. In other words, in reading conflict situations where representations of masculinity are criticised, one may be able to draw conclusions about ideal concepts of masculinity, while at the same time highlighting the instability of these concepts. In the nineteenth century, people were not simply contesting participation in the individual fields of education, the professions or politics. Rather, both women and men turned questions of personality, emotional life and sexuality – sometimes boldly named, sometimes subtly implied – into sites of conflict over masculine identity and gender relations. In this sense, Feuerbach’s above-cited critique gains in acuity.

In what follows, a longitudinal study from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century will show how the polar and integrated versions of the dominant construction of masculinity were linked throughout the period. Furthermore, I suggest that, over the course of the century, there was a shift of emphasis within bourgeois culture from the model of the man of the world to that of the ‘soldier of labour’. At the same time, however, the claim to wholeness with which the modern world could be conceived of as masculine was retained. The analysis is based primarily on etiquette books and autobiographies. Etiquette books were particularly important in the nineteenth century because the demise of the *ancien régime* meant the dissolution of clear guidelines for conduct, while promising a way of life that justified middle-class hopes of social advancement. In the role models that educated middle-class authors sketched in their advice manuals, they tirelessly popularised ideal models of masculinity and femininity. It is difficult to know how many people read these texts. More decisive, however, is the fact that the authors did not stop at moral commandments, but sought to develop practicable modes of behaviour that would help their readers of both sexes to attain social success and mobility in a society of conflicting social groups and norms.⁸ I have also consulted autobiographical texts, particularly those written by members of the educated Prussian Protestant élite, in order to filter out notions of masculinity. In using autobiographies we must keep in mind that they must be read as models of the self and constructions of the author’s own life.⁹ They create meaning in retrospect, establish continuity or emphasise discontinuity, and, to put it rather paradoxically, answer questions about gender identity that no one appears to have posed. Particularly when we read the sources in this light, we can ask how portrayals of work, time, sociability, emotions and agency helped to construct particular notions of gender identity.

In future research, these examples from a largely Protestant and educated middle-class élite would need to be compared systematically with other milieus. The topos of the whole man could certainly be found among the nobility as well, though doubtless with a different profile. The lower landed and military aristocracy referred to character rather than education, with a dig at the middle classes.¹⁰ With regard to the warrior role, an aristocratic officer still influenced by norms of courtliness became a subject of public controversy in the early twentieth century with the Eulenburg scandal; those who called for a 'whole man' in this context demanded of noblemen, in radicalised form, the very attributes of warrior masculinity that they themselves had earlier brought into society.¹¹ It would also be interesting to compare constructs of masculinity in the working class, middle class and aristocracy in light of the revaluation of work as a constituent of identity that crossed class lines. Strategies of distancing and distinction would then become visible not just towards women, but even more so within and between groups of men.¹² Wholeness or well-roundedness as a quality of distinction from other men was probably so relevant because masculinity had become the central category of reference for political participation, inclusion and exclusion, and thus even those men who, from the élite perspective, required further guidance from their 'betters', advanced to the status of political subjects. Moreover, in view of the mechanisms of exclusion that were central to the construction of masculinity, the relationship between specific constructs of masculinity and anti-Semitism is worth examining more closely.¹³ Jewish upper-class men sought to secure their place in bourgeois culture through a particularly high level of education and a demonstrative willingness to perform military service. Yet they were frequently accused of inner discord or conflict (*Zerissenheit*), or of being either too driven by physical urges or too intellectual, in other words, of having failed to achieve the ideal of balanced well-roundedness.

A comparison with early modern models of masculinity would also be a worthwhile area for further research. It could be interesting to ask whether the shift from the corporative pre-modern organisation of society to a modern social structure – arranged, among other things, along gender lines – led to the masculinisation once and for all of a model which may have been available to a handful of women before the late eighteenth century. More generally, an examination of holistic visions of masculinity should not lead us to assume the historical autarchy of such constructs, or to strengthen the impression that femininity should always be understood solely as reacting and relational. Women not only contributed to the construction of masculinities and femininities, but also realised diverse life projects that deviated from the polar pattern.¹⁴ At the same time, however, holistic masculinist visions, which underlined the analogy between male organisations and the state, succeeded in the Weimar period in

impeding the political democratisation of the gender order. Furthermore, they contributed to the continued functioning, even after the introduction of women's suffrage, of the double helix, that is, the maintenance of gender-specific power structures even as other hierarchies were shifting.¹⁵

During the late Enlightenment, members of the educated élite who engaged in intense discussions of morality, aesthetics, sociability and sexuality, spoke about the model of a (Protestant upper-class) man, who was not only educated but also passionate and sensitive, who lived out his sexuality within the orderly context of the family, and drew his strength for morally correct behaviour from the balance between mind, heart and body.¹⁶ This ideal of the harmonious or well-rounded man – or, to be more exact, the fear of failing to embody one of the elements and thus endangering men's claim to dominance – shaped normative conceptions about upper-class masculinity. A typical example of the Enlightenment moral discourse is Adam Beuvius, whose text *Das Eigensinn des Glücks* (The Capriciousness of Happiness) sketches the classic picture of an educated man, equipped with an excellent mind, a lively and relaxed wit, and good manners, but also a kind heart. Such men never allowed themselves to be dissuaded from proper conduct, even under the most difficult of circumstances. On the contrary, it was then in particular that they proved themselves unwilling to be paralysed by misfortune.¹⁷ The eighteenth-century discourse on aesthetics also pertained to the well-rounded man, to the extent that he must not heed his mind to the detriment of heart and body. This discourse referred not only to art, but to sensory experience more generally, to the body and everything beyond the purely rational. Aestheticians of sentiment considered art more effective than scholarship or education in awakening human emotions, which were necessary for action – and in order to be considered a man, one had to be capable of taking action.¹⁸ In reflections about sexuality as well, only the man who successfully combined reason with controlled passion could be taken seriously as a citizen and a political subject.¹⁹ Sexuality was a 'life force' and a source of creativity in the new world that was in the making.²⁰ Central to each of these lines of discourse was the view that, while the capacity for self-control was absolutely necessary, a man must never wholly suppress his passions, for to do so could mean paralysing his urge to act or failing to attain an ideal personality. By joining together sexual, social and political identities, those who reflected in this manner on reason, morality, the heart and the body also linked the individual, the society and the state.

Action and passion remained linked beyond the individual level as well, since action had acquired a decidedly military dimension since the Wars of Liberation. By 1800, national self-discovery and military force had become closely intertwined.²¹ At the same time, in the Napoleonic wars, readiness to fight and masculinity had been fused with passion.

Eighteenth-century critics of the standing armies of the absolutist state had remarked on their 'cold artificiality'.²² Images of war that arose during the Napoleonic period, in contrast, emphasised the passions that individual soldiers brought with them to defend their country,²³ in the manner that Clausewitz implied when he called for war to be carried into society. *L'homme machine* was to transform himself into an educated and active master of his passions – becoming the ideal, and a model for personality development. A man such as Theodor Körner, who began his university studies, then went off to war with passionate verve and glorified it in his art, embodied this ideal perfectly, all the more so after his death on the battlefield.²⁴

At least on the level of everyday advice literature, this passion for war retreated into the background somewhat after the Napoleonic wars. Particularly among the educated middle class, the universal conscription introduced during the Wars of Liberation was not immediately accepted as an important aspect of masculinity, but only gradually over the course of the century.²⁵ Into the 1830s, however, the prescriptive literature written expressly for men continued to address openly the concern that they might display too little emotion and sensitivity in sociable intercourse. In general, middle-class advice literature around 1800 encouraged behaviour that did not allow social contacts to 'dry out', but rather created natural and warm social relationships shaped by positive emotions.²⁶ Various authors explicitly warned men against concentrating exclusively on their professions or politics in conversation. In 1838, Johann Traugott Schuster declared that those who bored gatherings with 'dry learning, heavy-handed inquiries or tedious talk of politics and business' rather than being the sought-after 'light, quick-witted, merry' centres of attention, did not correspond to the manly ideal.²⁷ Doubtless such views also served to justify the exclusion of women from politics, the professions and scholarship. What was decisive for the model of masculinity, however, was that late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century advice literature still warned readers against adhering too slavishly to the new middle-class temporal norms; they should practice timeliness without becoming boring pedants.²⁸ In this period, men faced the devastating accusation of spreading ennui if they failed to entertain their listeners, that is, to meet the expectations of proper conviviality. Some authors explicitly focused attention on the body. Friedrich von Sydow, for example, who wrote several advice manuals for the middle class, expressly admonished men to remain physically attractive to their wives.²⁹ In this way they were to demonstrate in their everyday married lives the capacity to transform sexual lust into acceptable desire – an ability attributed to men and freely available to them, while women, in the diction of the gender discourse, remained subjected to their own sexuality.³⁰

Normative texts were not the only works that presented the ideal of the well-rounded man. Upper-class men also structured their autobiographies and letters according to specific models of masculinity. Most autobiographies followed the classic pattern of the *Bildungsroman* – a story of life-long self-cultivation within marriage and a successful career. On this level, the polar model came into play, either implicitly or explicitly, when these different realms (*Lebenswelt*) were set off from spaces connoted as female. When we examine how the authors compared themselves with other men, however, it becomes clear how effective the holistic ideal remained. It was crucial to present oneself as a man who pursued his profession purposefully and rationally, with an eye to a successful future, while still enjoying the present; who, emotionally involved, remained attractive to women and above all cultivated sociability alongside his work. Several recent studies have examined the central importance of sociability and personal contacts for the social formation of the educated strata around 1800.³¹ Even with the increasing separation between work and family, these social contacts remained important, as did the image of the man who could integrate the different worlds in which he lived.

Rudolf von Ihering (1818–1892) was one of the co-founders of the historical school of jurisprudence in Germany and a well-known jurist who taught in Basel, Rostock, Gießen, Vienna, and Göttingen after completing his studies. He married three times, had five children from his second marriage and – along with his work, which generally formed the focus of his letters – he expressly nurtured his sociability. He was considered an eloquent conversationalist, an image which he further expanded by routinely complaining that too many invitations wasted his valuable time. Ihering described himself as an artist who enjoyed success with the ladies and who, although a passionate scholar, knew how to transform essentially dry subject matter into lively art. In a manner typical of the autobiographical accounts of upper-class men, he explicitly portrayed himself as work-obsessed, but also as a *bon vivant* who enjoyed gambling.³² He distanced himself from his fellow law professors in Göttingen whom he referred to as ‘leathery’ arch-jurists and dry pedants, ‘icebergs’ with no comprehension of the arts and, he implied, no other passions.³³

The civil servant Rudolf Delbrück (1817–1903) pursued a different life pattern from Ihering in that he married at the age of 57, having concentrated until that point solely on his career. Employed at the Prussian Ministry of Trade since 1847, Delbrück was made president of the chancellery of the North German Confederation in 1867 and of the empire in 1871; as an organiser of the imperial administration, he was a close collaborator of Bismarck. More explicitly still than Ihering, he stressed the extent to which he had been able to live for the moment and to enjoy social life and the arts alongside his work, thereby defending himself

against the possible accusation that, as a bachelor, he had not lived up to the balanced masculine ideal. Looking back on his life, Delbrück emphasised, for example, that he had always found time, despite his consuming career, to read the latest books by the hugely popular mid-century novelist Ida Hahn-Hahn in order to be able to converse about them at parties (even if he did not like them – which may have had something to do with the unflattering portrayal of the German educated middle-class in her novels). Writing about his uncle, professor of Roman civil law Johann Friedrich Ludwig Goeschen, Delbrück noted, in contrast, that his hard work and scholarly thoroughness had harmed rather than helped his personal charisma. His mind was no longer 'fresh', and his horizons had narrowed, Delbrück claimed.³⁴ Felix Busch, born in 1871, also revealed the continuing importance in Imperial Germany of presenting oneself as well-rounded. After serving as a *Landrat* (administrative head of a district) from 1905–1907, he transferred to the Prussian Ministry of Finance, where he became a *Vortragender Rat* (councillor responsible for reports) in 1908. Three years later he left the ministry to serve as a *Landrat* again because he missed the independent practical work. Busch, too, not only stressed his own versatility but also referred to an important Hamburg merchant as one-sided because he had deemed all professions outside his own and, above all, all aesthetic pleasures, to be superfluous.³⁵

In comparison to the professional or social dimensions, it is difficult to assess how important the sexual aspect was in the self-understanding of these men. The value of various autobiographical texts as sources differs in this respect. Autobiographies often contain only covert references to sexuality, mainly in the form of offspring. In letters, in contrast, men sometimes mentioned sexual longings and desires more plainly, although rarely as openly as in the correspondence between Eduard and Therese Devrient. In 1836, the actor Devrient, son of one of the most famous theatrical families of the nineteenth century and later director of the court theatre at Karlsruhe, wrote to his wife, who was holidaying in Heringsdorf on the Baltic, that he would show her his love as soon as they were together again as 'one flesh'. At the moment, he wrote, he felt as if half of his soul and body were cut off: '... the hand-long wound fizzles painfully in the air'.³⁶ He then reacted with annoyance when he sensed that she did not respond willingly enough to his desires.³⁷ The pathologist and anatomist Jakob Henle (1809–1885) and his friend Karl Pfeufer (1806–1869), both well-known professors of medicine, peppered their correspondence as a matter of course with references to their sex lives. In November 1858 Pfeufer informed his friend that his daughter would probably give birth during the next two weeks and added (not without envy), 'And there you see how much more youthful you are than I; your

wife is giving birth, while in my case it is only my daughter'.³⁸ A year later he closed a letter in which he had written about a possible meeting with the words: 'Until next year, then. Be chaste and don't make preparations for another little baby'.³⁹ Conversely, both men and women had to explain the fact of their single or childless state.⁴⁰ In his autobiography published in the early nineteenth century, for example, Georg Friedrich Dinter, a well-known pedagogue in late eighteenth-century Königsberg, felt it necessary to excuse himself twice for his decision not to marry and his failure to provide children for his country. As a sort of self-imposed bachelor tax he adopted his assistant's first son and financed his medical studies.⁴¹ Delbrück, too, felt compelled to justify his long bachelorhood and late marriage in terms of his total devotion to state service.⁴²

The extent to which the links between sexual, social and political identities structured the self-image of educated men can sometimes be gleaned more from criticisms of the absence of one or more of these aspects than from the autobiographical texts themselves. Thus in marital conflicts a consciously ironic reflexivity could turn to rage when men felt their self-image wounded by commentaries on their sexuality. Childlessness could be bitter for both women and men. The literary historian Georg Gottfried Gervinus (1805–1871) was fifteen years older than his wife Victorie, who was sixteen when they married in 1836. In his autobiography he cemented her status as a child in their relationship when he admitted that he had seldom spoken seriously with her. He generally adopted an ironic or mocking tone with her, insisting that this was necessary because she was such a child.⁴³ Their marriage remained childless. As long as his wife was still young – and, one might add, as long as Gervinus led an active life as a university professor first in Heidelberg and then after 1836 in Göttingen – this fact had not bothered him much, he wrote. However, when his university career ended in 1853 with his second dismissal for political reasons, and his political hopes were dashed, this changed. He could see no future in children either, although he was scarcely fifty years old at the time. When his wife comforted him by reminding him of other 'childless liberators of the new world both North and South' and pointed out that he, too, belonged to the wider national family (thus possibly also rejecting any unilateral responsibility for their childlessness), his sarcasm suddenly turned to anger. He felt more than ever that he had aged and become 'inactive and powerless', ultimately ineffective, both politically and sexually. Their marriage, he noted in conclusion to the passage on their private life, had been transformed into a relationship of souls and minds only. At the same time, his open admission that he was 'morally compromised' served to demonstrate his sexual potency.⁴⁴

As long as gender identities were defined as non-negotiable, the association between the political, the socio-professional and the sexual

could be leveraged to present the picture of a balanced man and thus also to support his claim to a particular position within society. But this association could also be transformed into its opposite, a negative reflection of masculinity. As long as an automatic connection between these areas was assumed, the questioning of even such an allegedly private phenomenon as sexuality could suffice to challenge the image of the whole man and to make his claim to dominance appear in a less convincing light. Such critiques could be found in various contexts in the first half of the nineteenth century, whether highlighting absent social skills (which was grave indeed, given the importance accorded to sociability), or, at least in the period immediately preceding the Revolution of 1848, questioning the political competence of male elites. In her novels, the successful author Ida Hahn-Hahn (1805–1880), mentioned above, usually addressed her social criticism at the contemporary image of femininity.⁴⁵ Her 1840 novel *Faustine*, in contrast, commented acidly on the typical education of German boys and its effects on their personality. The heroine of the novel refuses to raise her young son in Germany because she does not want him to become a typical German man: pedantic, dull, awkward, meagre in body and soul, as disagreeable as reason personified – and all the while very proud of his negative development.⁴⁶

Numerous authors have shown how women used the discourse on femininity to expand their scope of action in the public realm.⁴⁷ What is so important about the criticisms of Hahn-Hahn or Henriette Feuerbach, however, is that these women specifically based their critiques on the discourse on masculinity sketched here. They referred to a harmonious model of masculinity, which they invoked positively rather than critically. If, as was repeatedly argued, 'woman' was capable of enthusiasm but not of consistent and decisive action, Hahn-Hahn wrote, educated men, for their part, had nothing in their heads but 'commonplaces, hypotheses, vague theories, sophisms: the whole baggage of the soldier at drill – reason', but not a spark of enthusiasm or the capacity to become excited about anything. Hahn-Hahn pointed out that the imperative of the polar image of masculinity, which referred to practical rationality and professional orientation, could kill personal charisma and lead to pedantic dullness.

In similarly ironic form, the writer Annette von Droste-Hülshoff also expressed how accusations of deficient *sociabilité* touched a nerve when educated middle-class men bent on their careers (and claiming the highest social status for themselves) lacked the qualities of the man of the world. In November 1835 she complained to her close friend Christoph Bernhard Schlüter about the male visitors to her house, arrant pedants who enjoyed high social esteem, but whose personalities in no way

resembled the ideal image of conviviality sketched and practised in writings and middle-class associations:⁴⁸

apart from the Thurn ladies no woman enters this house, only men, all cast in the *same* mould, antiquaries eager to sift through my brother-in-law's musty manuscripts, highly learned, highly respected, indeed renowned men in their fields; but dull as grim death, mouldy, rusty, prosaic as curry-combs; hardened disdainers of all recent art and literature. At times I feel as though I were walking amongst desiccated bean-pods, hearing nothing but the dry rattling and crackling around me, and such fellows cannot stop; one must sit with them at table for four hours while they incessantly thresh empty straw!⁴⁹

In Droste's protest, too, the decisive factor was that she proceeded not from the feminine, but from the masculine ideal. She ironically emphasised the feared loss of balance among educated men and deliberately spoke not of deviance, but of the highly valued polar form of masculinity – in which, however, the lively man of the world utterly disappeared. Understanding the art of sociability, as one did in the late Enlightenment, as a fundamental practice of new forms of society,⁵⁰ in Droste's eyes these academics did not count among the *élite*. By describing these educated men as desiccated bean-pods, and regretting that they crackled dryly instead of conversing elegantly, Droste-Hülshoff used the counter-metaphors to talk about sexuality, which frequently incorporated water metaphors.⁵¹ These men not only had no feeling for (her) art, but were generally passionless and sexually unattractive.

The linking of masculine identity with state-political identity on the one hand and with the cipher of wholeness on the other could prove a boomerang in familial and political contexts alike, especially when the power structure itself was not called into question. In the period before the Revolution of 1848 critiques of the ivory-tower character of educated men came together with politically flavoured attacks on philistines, in which a lack of well-rounded masculinity also had political implications.⁵² Just as men distanced themselves in their autobiographical writings from their allegedly one-sided colleagues, in political conflicts they also used the accusation of deficient wholeness as a political criticism. The literary historian and politician Johannes Scherr – a liberal and an anti-feminist, whose pan-German views forced him to flee to Switzerland after the Revolution of 1848, where he then became a professor in 1860 – elegantly and pointedly combined intellectual charisma, sexual potency and political action in an image of the manly hero. In 1844 he confronted those contemporaries whom he regarded as insufficiently active with the picture of Heinrich Heine, who had attacked the dull philistines, as a hero of love and politics, the 'Messiah', who 'has already kissed so many beautiful women and was wont in parliamentary struggle to pillory so cuttingly and victoriously the nullity of your half-men, your political reeds'.⁵³ While Heine

mocked the airy German realm of dreams, in which liberty had sprained its ankle,⁵⁴ these men were, according to Scherr's ironic assessment, vacillating and spineless, both as political beings and as men; they had lost their political dreams and future instead of shaping them. He celebrated the banned poet as a man of the world, a secular redeemer, who made politics out of art, inspired society and charmed women.

Emma Siegmund, fiancée of the Revolutionary poet Georg Herwegh, also appealed to the ideal of linking politics and passion. In 1842 she criticised the young men of the educated middle-class in the following terms: 'When I consider how few of our young men have any passion I frequently feel like weeping, so greatly does their listlessness pain me. How very rare it is to burn hotly for a great idea, and to sacrifice property and blood to it! Everything is a dry science to them.'⁵⁵ The lament that education and science did not inspire passion or political action was a classic criticism of the educated bourgeoisie in the period before the Revolution of 1848. Siegmund's emphasis was on passion, and it was precisely political passion and unruly temperament that she so prized in Herwegh – his impatience, his thirst for action, his combination of art and politics. He was a poet who fought for political objectives instead of wanting, like the 'Prussian bureaucratic souls', to pull a veil over the sun 'that its rays might fall moderately on their hunched backs': 'I desired such a man, and could, and do, love only such a one.'⁵⁶

Movement, new beginnings, and progress were the ideals that the new élites claimed for themselves. Siegmund's accusation that they would wait rather than fight for their political fortunes hit them all the harder since German political élites defined their identity not in terms of political institutions or a revolutionary end to the *ancien régime*, but in terms of cultural values and ways of life – and thus ultimately in terms of specific gender identities. Siegmund too, like the women we considered above, did not question the complementary gender ideology. However, when she gauged male behaviour against the discourse on masculinity, she noted a lack of well-rounded or integral masculinity, and also put her finger on the political impotence complex. Kathinka Zitz-Halein, who was active as a journalist during the Revolution in Mainz, also accused her contemporaries of acting like men only at social events, but not in politics. She deployed the strongest weapon at her disposal in order to discredit these men as political citizens, accusing them of having become womanish, of being mired in a 'morass of effeminacy' that resembled instability. In this, she claimed the role of reminding her contemporaries of their 'manly' duty to do justice to politics.⁵⁷ Politically active men and women, but also women authors with no further involvement in politics, thus accused the educated men of their age of having lost, in the dusty gravity of their books, the ability to rise above political reality and create an alternative

political vision. If one evokes the wider context of the meaning of gender identities, then, along with the potential to imagine, these men had also lost the right to control that they had claimed for themselves.

In the second half of the century, the emphasis in the normative presentation of masculinity shifted from the man of the world to the 'soldier of labour'.⁵⁸ The demands of family, sociability, and work had coexisted in a precarious balance since the eighteenth century. By the mid-1800s, however, a number of factors led to professional existence becoming more and more important in defining the social positioning of educated middle-class men: realms of family and work became increasingly separate, growing professionalisation required longer training periods, and the occupational system for university-educated men became more elaborate. The importance of professional life was evident both in biographical dictionaries, such as the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, and autobiographical texts.⁵⁹ Over the course of the century, middle-class education gradually came to revolve around teaching boys how to work, while glowing pictures were painted of their fathers' professions.⁶⁰ This increase in the esteem of middle-class men as workers was particularly evident in two types of prescriptive texts. First, from the 1860s (the period when the middle-class women's movement was beginning to regroup) advice books directed at women portrayed men almost exclusively as wrapped up in and drained by work, and thus dependent upon the classic family and the emotional work of women. These texts, which stressed the relational, complementary version of masculinity, transformed the dilemma of the incomplete professional man into the ever-more rigidly conceived notion that it was women's duty to render men whole. The pastor Heinrich Büttner and the writer Bogumil Goltz explicitly emphasised how work made men tired and boring, and how dried out their hearts and spirits were bound to become without the comfort of female emotion.⁶¹ In the period before the First World War, this ubiquitous semantics of an alleged loss of immediacy in an alienating modern world led all too often, as in the case of the publisher Wilhelm Langewiesche, to an 'appeal to Woman', which, he then claimed, echoed unheard because women were becoming 'unsexed' and trying to compete with men.⁶²

In a second type of text, in the wake of the Revolution of 1848/49, certain conservative commentators sought to divert male readers away from the political arena and towards work. In this arena as well, men came to be defined exclusively by their work. Thus Johann Eduard Erdmann, the anti-feminist and anti-Semitic Right Hegelian and professor of philosophy in Halle, attempted to discredit commitment to specific political interests by condemning it as a voluntary sacrifice of individuality to the 'masses'.⁶³ Erdmann was already developing a notion of individuality defined in terms of self-realisation within the collective under a strong leader, and

he contrasted hard work and a sense of duty with negatively connoted democratic commitment. According to him, true individuality was characterised by integration into the 'swarm' of dutiful and occupationally oriented men, whom he distinguished from the mass of potential democrats who lacked the right sort of leadership personalities. Only a determined orientation toward work, the professor of philosophy pronounced before a scientific society in Berlin in 1863, could preserve wholeness of personality. He disqualified political involvement that did not correspond to his political ideal as a commitment to divisive and disharmonious interests, a 'fracturing' of community and individual personality alike.⁶⁴ Erdmann combined all of the elements of the contemporary critique of civilisation – anti-Semitism, a hatred for 'divisive' democratic society and politics, and the holistic conception of the individual – along with a polarisation between work and democratic politics that remains to be studied from the perspective of a history of mentalities.⁶⁵ The historian Kurt Breysig, at least, accused many of his colleagues before the First World War of transferring this polarisation to the parliament, which they called the *Plapperment* (Blatherment), the place of those who were all talk and no action.⁶⁶

The focus shifted in autobiographical texts as well, although it is somewhat more difficult to pinpoint the changes. Throughout the period that interests us here, work and the longing for success certainly constituted a central element in the self-representations of educated men. In his annual retrospective in his diary, Ludwig von Vincke, *Oberpräsident* (highest administrative official) of the province of Westphalia from 1813, defined himself with respect to his sense of either 'moving ahead' or 'standing still', and he livened up at the thought of engaging in and representing active, forward-looking policies.⁶⁷ Eduard Devrient also presented himself as ambitious in the extreme. He explicitly portrayed himself as a man with an urge towards the future and ever-new successes in his profession, constructing femininity, in contrast, as persistence in the present.⁶⁸ Whereas in the early nineteenth century, family and working life were often described as intertwined, later in the century self-representations offered a far more hermetic image of the future-oriented, successful working man and tended to push the family out of the picture. Conversely, however – and this is the key point here – the ideal of the man of the world persisted, as the above-cited example of *Landrat* Felix Busch was intended to demonstrate. A typical self-representation included the presentation of professional success (which we see in Busch's case as well), with a certain fear of failure showing through, and then a relaxed emphasis on artistic leanings, well-roundedness and strong social skills.

During his law studies, the future diplomat Ludwig Raschdau (1849–1938) suffered from the fear, typical among young aspirants to a legal career, of ending up as an insignificant district judge in some small Upper

Silesian town.⁶⁹ His knowledge of Oriental languages took him first to Constantinople as an interpreter at the embassy in 1870. He then sat his law examinations in order to improve his career and ultimately served, among other posts, as vice-consul in Egypt and as consular representative in New York and in Cuba. He assessed the stages of his life according to his sense of getting ahead and the impression that he had been doing 'significant' work (which was by no means synonymous with a large amount of work).⁷⁰ The historian Kurt Breysig (1866–1940) was plagued not only by a longing for posthumous fame, but also by the feeling that time was increasingly short. When he was only thirty years old he noted that just a few years previously he had calmly chattered away entire afternoons, while now he marked time in hours. In 1915 he lamented 'this diabolical power of the demon work, driving me onward and ever onward'.⁷¹ In another example, the physicist Heinrich Hertz yearned for 'deeds and life and change' during his period as lecturer, before becoming a professor at the youthful age of twenty-eight.⁷² Only a few years later he found himself rushing back and forth between work and convivial gatherings; he noted in his diary not only the stress, but also the uplifting feeling of being a regarded authority despite his youth.⁷³

The physician Ernst von Leyden (1832–1910) particularly emphasised the future-oriented ambitious positioning of the professional man, describing his life with the motto 'standing still is a step backwards'. Looking back at his life to lend a certain coherence to it, he wrote that he had always had his eye on new objectives, emphasising his exorbitant workload and noting that professional recognition had even compensated for private crises.⁷⁴ It was important to him to present himself as not only an ambitious and successful man, however, but also as sociable and aesthetically sensitive. Thus he emphasised his ability to refresh his 'epicurean' spirit with conviviality and interactions with artists. Finally, the letters of the well-known surgeon Theodor Billroth (1829–1894) are particularly instructive, as they demonstrate how he strove for the ideal of wholeness, yet found it increasingly difficult to live up to (even taking into account his penchant for coquetry). Billroth was a pioneer in cancer treatment and a gifted musician, and also extremely ambitious. As his reputation and radius of influence grew he nevertheless watched with concern as his profession (and his longing for recognition) increasingly displaced other dimensions of his life and personality: 'I see my non-medical side falling away from me in pieces'.⁷⁵

To foreground the relational character of masculinity to such an extent was to raise the value of work and success as elements of hegemonic masculinity without, however, relinquishing the claim to wholeness.⁷⁶ Or, to put it better, without relinquishing the claim to conceive of the modern world as masculine even if the rapid social changes and increased diversity in life realms of the late nineteenth century made it difficult for an

individual man to fulfil the integral ideal. This claim to wholeness was, paradoxically, rendered more difficult to realise because advice books directed at women encouraged readers to perform their classic role, and plainly spelled out how dependent the complementary model of masculinity was on female emotions. We can locate many of the narrative and social practices that become evident in the second half of the century within this context.

First, as already described above, members of the educated élite tried to portray themselves as well-rounded individuals with lives beyond their professional successes. Second, like the advice literature, they emphasised women's function within the family, while clearly robbing them of their individuality. It is remarkable, for example, that women were mentioned increasingly rarely by their own names in memoirs, appearing only as wives, mothers or even, in one extreme case, as 'my granddaughter's grandmother' (as Heinrich Prince of Schönburg-Waldenburg wrote, admittedly referring to his ex-wife *after* their divorce).⁷⁷ Precisely because the image of men was shifting, both the dependence on the organisation of everyday life by concrete individuals, as well as the constitutive function of femininity (in its definition as emotional) for male subjectivity may have become more strongly concealed in self-representations.

Third, and finally, men continued to describe the arena of sociability as a public realm often outside the family. At the end of his memoirs, even the National-Liberal member of the Reichstag Ludwig Friedrich Seyffardt, who reported almost exclusively on his life in politics, briefly listed and checked off the social events he had attended and the journeys he had taken, neatly ordered by decade.⁷⁸ The cavalry officer Friedrich von Bernhardt also emphasised that he had been as jolly and sociable as he was hard-working during his time at the military academy in Erfurt.⁷⁹ The extent to which men feared that an increasingly professional orientation could lead to a loss of wholeness is further revealed by an epistolary guide of the 1890s. In one of the model letters a father advises his son not to concentrate solely on his studies and profession, but to seek the company of wise practical men with life experience in order to protect himself from developing an inwardly conflicted (*zerrissen*) identity.⁸⁰ A specific form of sociability that was simultaneously public and secret highlights that we are dealing here not simply with narrative strategies but also with social practices. The Masonic lodges, which witnessed a blossoming in the late nineteenth century, offered just such a homosocial space outside the family in which men could create personal ties with other men without the pressures of professional competition. In this purely masculine world, whose ceremonies were aesthetically structured down to the last detail, men emphasised and lived out their emotionality in a context where it was explicitly not provided by women.⁸¹

We might also consider whether in this period, in which it was becoming more difficult to live up to the model of wholeness, the central concept of work itself incorporated other elements of worldly well-roundedness. Through such an enhancement of the meaning of work, one could demonstrate in this single area quite diverse facets of masculine identity, not just professional but also military-national and emotional-sexual. After all, in the late nineteenth century work became a kind of national treasure,⁸² while descriptions of it were increasingly shot through with military imagery. For middle-class men, the period of military service was now considered a 'school of masculinity'.⁸³ Not only the industrious citizen but also the military man pushed the role of middle-class father and husband into the background.⁸⁴ What is important, however, is how the citizen in uniform united the dimensions of military preparedness and family-mindedness, devotion to duty and educational euphoria. Thus the theology student and military volunteer Friedrich Wilhelm Battenberg understood his participation in the war of 1870/71 as part of his education, referring to his commanding officer Moltke as the 'highly honourable Professor Moltke', from whom he had learned more than from any other instructor.⁸⁵ In Imperial Germany, civilian professions and the military were linked in the use of combat metaphors to describe everyday work routines. When he found his work difficult, the civil servant Adolf Wermuth spoke of it as an enemy that he had to 'wrestle to the ground' anew every day.⁸⁶ As an example of the dull routine of work the author Julie Burow cited an army in peacetime, which, if necessary, had to drill recruits for twenty years without ever experiencing war, or one could say, without attaining their actual professional objective.⁸⁷ Those who adopted the nationalisation and metaphorical militarisation of everyday life could view themselves as warriors of the quotidian. With their emotions stirred by talk of work, they would be spurred on by ambition and then, it was hoped, by success.⁸⁸

In individual experiences of crisis as well as in the collective rhetoric of crisis, we find indications that the physical may have been strongly connected to the socio-professional. Particularly for the period around 1900, it is worth exploring the connections between a critical experience of male 'productivity' and a correspondingly problematic perception of male sexuality. In the late nineteenth century the lines of gender relations shifted as women increasingly came to participate in certain functional areas of the modern world, above all in the educational system and the labour market. In the highly sexualised debate about identity at the turn of the century, this shift was experienced as an abandonment of existing codes.⁸⁹ For that reason, too, *body politics* became increasingly intense in Imperial Germany. Those who wished to maintain gender relations in the context both of these changes and of the ambivalence of the image of masculinity, were forced to accentuate the differences between men's and women's

work or to explain gender identities even more decisively in terms of different bodies. Politicians and academics alike deployed the imagery of the female body to essentialise social and political power relations.⁹⁰ The association of femininity with hysteria constituted only one part of this. In the second wave of industrialisation, the debate surrounding married women's employment was transformed into one over the female body, in which the élites invoked the decline of the female body and female morality as a result of factory work, which was regarded as analogous to the destruction of the family body and the 'national body'.⁹¹

One should not, however, apply *body politics* to women alone. When the assertion that men (and men alone) could be 'productive' and 'creative' began to waver, men's sexuality was potentially also in crisis. Put another way, the increased importance of publicly visible, successful, paid employment within the construct of masculinity could cause problems in the perception of other aspects of masculinity if work did not lead to success. We can find individual examples of this as well as more general commentaries about the social structure as a whole.

The scholar of Romance languages Viktor Klemperer revealed the close connections between sexual and professional identity, and the crises this link could cause when professional failure was experienced simultaneously with a perceived shift in gender relations. Even before his persecution under National Socialism, Klemperer had lived a sometimes precarious existence. He began his studies relatively late, was financially dependent for many years on his more successful brothers, and in 1914 completed his *Habilitation*, the academic degree necessary to become a professor. Even then he did not immediately gain a position – not least because of his Jewish origins, despite his conversion to Protestantism. Klemperer was highly ambitious, and during his many years of obscurity fought an internal battle against bitterness. He was thrown into a far deeper crisis, however, when his wife Eva continued her musical studies as an organist during the First World War, thus gaining access to an artistic arena that remained closed to him. She never took a job or played any sort of public role, but she proved 'creative' and 'capable of development', two dimensions associated with masculinity. This disturbed not only Klemperer's security within their relationship, but also his understanding of himself as a 'producer'. When Eva had copied his manuscripts, he could define the work as a 'joint' endeavour. To work the bellows for her when she played, however, without assuming a public position himself, was a deeply unsettling experience. This situation wounded him not only as a scholar, but as a man, and he longed to engage in 'productive' work again and not just act as a 'drayman'. As long as he had nothing to compare with her creativity – and for him, 'nothing' meant no position or public recognition – he felt that the war had not only 'impoverished' but 'sterilised' him.⁹²

The innermost core of his own sense of subjectivity was affected when, as Klemperer described it, the self-evident, everyday security of gender relations disappeared. If the body can become the prison of the soul, to paraphrase Foucault, then it becomes evident how the male body, coded as a site of power, could be experienced as the scene of powerlessness – especially when social and gender relations changed in such a way that they no longer appeared under the control of those who had heretofore possessed the power of definition. Among the many neurasthenics of the fin-de-siècle, for example, who were defined as feeling overwhelmed both professionally and sexually, the claim to be the productive sex both in work and sexuality (a claim that supported their dominance) became potentially pathological.⁹³ In Klemperer's case, his professional crisis and his at-times problematic marital relationship influenced his bodily experience.

Many popular authors writing on current affairs invoked the intersections among the political, sexual and gender orders and revealed how gravely a shift in gender relations endangered men's perceptions of personality and society. For the travel author Stefan von Kotze, the traditional social power structure went hand-in-hand with unwavering self-confidence and male sexual potency. He believed that male authority and sexuality would be threatened if women gained power: 'Should the present order of things change, and woman come to dominate through the generations, man's self-confidence and thus his potency will necessarily be alarmingly weakened'.⁹⁴ It was self-evident to him that the order of things meant a hierarchical relationship, and in this zero sum game peculiar to gender thinking he interpreted any change as an automatic increase in women's power and a corresponding reduction in men's.

The hack writer Dagobert von Gerhardt, in turn, documented how changes in gender relations could be read as endangering the economic and political situation. Up until now, he explained, German Idealism and German women had fulfilled the rational and emotional needs of male producers, thus ensuring their continued performance.⁹⁵ If women refused to carry out what was essentially a service to the nation, the economic productivity so important for national self-understanding threatened to decline, he argued.⁹⁶ In the spurt of industrialisation at the end of the nineteenth century, fears grew that individual and national productivity might be restricted.⁹⁷ Gerhardt asserted the analogy between man and the state in order to exaggerate the threat to male producers as a danger to the nation.

All of these fears – Klemperer's individual anxieties, as well as anxieties relating to society as a whole – reveal that the postulate and perception of masculine independence relied on femininity still being conceived of as dependent. This was particularly so when the image of masculinity shifted

towards the 'soldier of labour'. These texts are examples of a growing discourse around 'normal', heterosexual masculinity around 1900. Whether political participation, educational aspirations or artistic ambitions were at stake, many educated men, artists and politicians increasingly came to stress the masculine character of these realms. This occurred on the one hand because with the rise of the middle-class women's movement in the second half of the century, the model of femininity as 'dependent' could no longer go unchallenged. On the other hand, it was a response to how controversial models of masculinity had become, as we see in the criticisms of female authors and journalists in Imperial Germany. Writing about the lack of male completeness, they no longer emphasised sociability and politics, but rather work and the taboo subject of male sexuality. 'My God! How does his majesty look like! – Tired, bored, lackadaisical, sickly, full of cares, full of experience, – a little goodlooking, a little good, a little clever and a little – man'.⁹⁸ Written in 1899, this was the Austrian writer Else Kotanyi's sarcastic description of the men to whom women tied themselves, perhaps for a lifetime, because of wrong or involuntary matrimonial choices, condemned by bourgeois sexual morality. To protest women's lack of sexual freedom, Kotanyi evoked the sorry image of the 'soldier of labour' who had lost all of his warrior or passionate drive and now needed women's selfless emotionality to become 'whole'. In her view, the insistence on rigid gender identities produced a lifeless mediocrity that also marked male sexuality. Whereas there were veritable quarrels over the interpretation of sexual deviance in the late nineteenth century,⁹⁹ her discursive practice aimed to underline the dangers that 'normal' polar identity models posed for personality development.

The Austrian writer and painter Rosa Mayreder, a member of the radical wing of the Austrian women's movement and co-founder of the *Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein* (Austrian Women's Association), argued with similar sarcasm.¹⁰⁰ She was not the only one to point out the changeability of the coding of masculinity. She was more determined than others, however, in demanding that sex be dropped as a basic societal category because it stifled the infinite possibilities of subjectivity in an increasingly complex modern world with a rigid, dichotomous strait-jacket.¹⁰¹ Above all, she explained that precisely because of the dominant gender discourse all hopes of a well-rounded masculinity were doomed to remain utopian, and that, if one took the discourses seriously, only women were capable of developing themselves into harmonious wholes. After all, if women were truly emotional by nature, as the discourse proposed, then, Mayreder noted, participation in the professions, scholarship and politics could not take this away from them. In this way she implicitly sketched the picture of a woman of the world who integrated life's various aspects. A man, in contrast, Mayreder continued, if indeed intellectually

inclined 'by nature', was destined to remain a one-sided creature if he did not deliberately develop his emotional and sensual sides.¹⁰² Incorporated in the same way as women into the structures of the modern working world and the emerging social welfare state, the working men of the era – measured against the traditional ideal of the independent warrior – were half men at best: 'The office, the counting house, the lawyer's chambers, the workshop – each one a tomb of masculinity!'¹⁰³

The controversy became even livelier when some women, going beyond criticisms of masculine subjectivity and calls for participatory rights, turned the discourse on its head and appropriated the key elements of male subjectivity for a model of femininity.¹⁰⁴ They adopted not only the concepts and arenas of education and work (that is, of 'intellectualism' and 'productivity'), but also the notion of the future, the realm of sexuality, and above all art – that is, all those elements that belonged to the model of the man of the world.¹⁰⁵ Numerous journals in Imperial Germany engaged in an intense debate over the explosive relationship between art and ideal femininity. While Johanna Elberskirchen claimed aesthetics as a realm unbound by gender-specific categories in which women, too, had the right to define art and femininity and the relationship between them, male commentators squarely rejected the thesis that women were capable of producing true art.¹⁰⁶ Since art and the identity of an artist embodied subjectivity per se, women's access to the arts may have done even more to heat up the identity debate around 1900 than the controversy over higher education.¹⁰⁷

The longing for gender relations that were removed from the grasp of historical change was also articulated by Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, doyen of the conservative ideology of the family, when he confronted the acid-penned image of half-men with the tellingly named 1897 novel *Ein ganzer Mann*. In the character of Alfred Saß he portrayed a middle-class man of scholarly and artistic interests and commitments who was in every respect a model citizen of his small town, with only one flaw, the lack of a vocation: 'he had essentially nothing to do, yet he thirsted for action'.¹⁰⁸ Having inherited a business and two nephews upon the sudden death of his brother, he became transformed into an industrious professional man, while remaining 'a man of feeling, whose imagination continued to carry him through the sober present'.¹⁰⁹ He also finally succeeded in marrying, after proving himself a perfect patriot in the war of 1870/71. To be sure, the whole man now had a 'whole woman' at his side, who had up until then led a mobile and independent life, but the conclusion of the novel concentrated on praising the accomplishments of the protagonist who had proved himself so well-rounded.

Alongside this conventional literary rescue attempt, which united a holistic ideal of masculinity with the classic combination of profession

and family, the family physician Norbert Grabowsky revealed even more clearly men's fears of losing their dominant position. He argued that sexuality was a domain in which men and women had to relate to one another and in this sense, they were always dependent upon each other. Grabowsky's book *Die Zukunftsreligion und Zukunftswissenschaft auf der Basis der Emanzipation des Mannes von der Frau (The Religion and Science of the Future on the Basis of the Emancipation of Man from Woman)*, also published in 1897, shows how deep the claim to masculine 'independence' ran. Women's educational aspirations, otherwise a central theme for anti-feminists around 1900, did not bother Grabowsky at all; he even called for women to be trained as physicians so that they could treat other women, allowing men to devote themselves to 'more honourable' pursuits.¹¹⁰ What unsettled him was the fundamentally reciprocal character of sexual relations. He wanted to control this by limiting sexual contacts to certain times and insisted that outside of the designated periods for reproduction men should exercise asceticism. He regarded the option of gaining autonomy through sexual abstinence, traditionally practised by women, as the only chance to eliminate the last site of male dependency – and while it was the last site, he argued, it was one that affected man in his innermost being.¹¹¹

As I have argued here, the construction of masculinity in nineteenth-century German bourgeois culture was paradoxically Janus-faced: it interlaced the polar construct in the dichotomous relationship between the sexes with a holistic version, which combined all of the qualities otherwise divided between masculinity and femininity. In the course of the nineteenth century the educated élite came to place more value upon the image of the 'soldier of labour' as opposed to the holistic image of the man of the world, without relinquishing the aspiration towards the well-rounded man who united passion and rationality, hard work, sociability and sexuality. To the degree that gainful employment was revalued, the emotionalisation of work could help professional men, too, to correspond to the ideal of wholeness. Burdening the definition of work, however, made male subjectivity more vulnerable to crises when gender relations appeared to change in relation to the 'productivity' that men claimed for themselves, or when the desired professional success was slow in coming.

Both the significance and the endangered status of the holistic vision of masculinity become stunningly clear in criticisms that accuse men of failing to live up to the ideal – whether by not corresponding to the paradigm of sociability, not taking advantage of the political options of the revolutionary period, or remaining in some other way mired in the solely relational concept of masculinity. Such criticisms signify in a plethora of ways, however: they could support male domination with calls for the 'whole man', but they could also challenge it by stressing deficient

wholeness as a failure of men as political citizens. In the late nineteenth century such a critique became ever more dangerous. The shift in the construction of masculinity rendered the conventional relationship between the sexes – which was supposed to ensure man's 'wholeness' – even more important at the very moment when social change had affected the social positioning of the sexes so that women too were able to define their own subjectivity with greater determination.

The vision of wholeness is certainly not the only important one in the intense eruption of changes that occurred around 1900. Ideas of comradeship competed with a bitter defence of traditional hierarchies. Yet especially for the masculinist politics of the early twentieth century,¹¹² the notion of the whole man remained central. We might conclude that as individual models of subjectivity became increasingly problematic, visions of the creative man of the world became more necessary on another level: that of national action and national passion. When the myth of unification threatened to founder in the participation crisis that began in the 1880s, one of the most important myths to evolve was Bismarck's stylisation as *the* artist of politics and Goethe's stylisation as the Bismarck of literature. From that point forward, Bismarck and Goethe formed the dominant pair in the national system of myths.¹¹³ The nationalisation of work and the difficulty of living up to the model of the man of the world could result in the leader of the nation being assigned the office of an artist – a man who followed only his own laws.

Notes

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1. Fritz Böttger (ed.), *Frauen im Aufbruch: Frauenbriefe aus dem Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848* (Verlag der Nation, 1977), pp. 185–6 (italics in the original).
2. On the concept of a 'dominant masculinity', see Robert W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Stanford University Press, 1987), and *Masculinities* (Polity Press, 1995).
3. On the concept of competing models of masculinity, see Catherine Hall, 'Competing Masculinities: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and the Case of Governor Eyre', in her *White, Male, and Middle-Class* (Routledge, 1992), pp. 255–95; on the history of masculinity more generally see also Lynn Blattmann and Irène Meier (eds), *Männerbund und Bundesstaat: Über die politische Kultur der Schweiz* (Orell Füssli, 1998); Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (eds), *Theorizing Masculinities* (Sage, 1994); Mark Carnes and Clyde Griffen (eds), *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (University of Chicago Press, 1990); Walter Erhart and Britta Herrmann (eds), *Wann ist der Mann ein Mann? Zur Geschichte der Männlichkeit* (Metzler, 1997); and Thomas Kühne (ed.), *Männergeschichte – Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne* (Campus, 1996).
4. The classic essay remains Karin Hausen's 'Die Polarisierung der "Geschlechtscharaktere" – Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben', in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas*, ed. Werner Conze (Klett, 1976), pp. 363–93, esp. p. 377. It has been translated into English as 'Family and Role-Division: The Polarisation of Sexual

- Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century – An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life', in Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (eds), *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in 19th- and 20th-century Germany* (Croom Helm, 1981, trans. Cathleen Catt), pp. 51–83.
5. Carol Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford University Press, 1988); Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Cornell University Press, 1988).
 6. On discussions of the growing separation between the household, the market and gender models, see Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment* (Berghahn Books, 2000).
 7. Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Cornell University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 242, 248–9.
 8. On the discussion surrounding the relevance of etiquette books see Ulrike Döcker, *Die Ordnung der bürgerlichen Welt: Verhaltensideale und soziale Praktiken im 19. Jahrhundert* (Campus, 1994), pp. 19–69, esp. pp. 45–6.
 9. See, most recently, Dagmar Günther, "And now for something completely different." Prolegomena zur Autobiographie als Quelle der Geschichtswissenschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 272 (2001), pp. 25–61.
 10. Marcus Funck and Stephan Malinowski, "Charakter ist alles!" Erziehungsideale und Erziehungspraktiken in deutschen Adelsfamilien des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung*, 6 (2000), p. 83.
 11. Marcus Funck, 'Bereit zum Krieg? Entwurf und Praxis militärischer Männlichkeit im preußisch-deutschen Offizierskorps vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg', in Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (eds) *Heimat – Front: Militär und Geschlechterverhältnisse im Zeitalter der Weltkriege* (Campus, 2002), p. 82; an English edition is in preparation: *Homefront: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Berg Publishers, forthcoming); see also Marcus Funck and Stephan Malinowski, 'Geschichte von oben. Autobiographien als Quelle einer Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Adels in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik', *Historische Anthropologie*, 7 (1999), pp. 236–70.
 12. Martina Kessel, *Langeweile: Zum Umgang mit Zeit und Gefühlen in Deutschland vom späten 18. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Wallstein, 2001), pp. 211–12.
 13. On the parallels between anti-Semitism and anti-feminism, see Dagmar Herzog, *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden* (Princeton University Press, 1996), and Ute Planert, *Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich: Diskurs, soziale Formation, Mentalität* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).
 14. For examples see Bärbel Kuhn, *Familienstand ledig: Ehelose Frauen und Männer im Bürgertum (1850–1914)* (Böhlau, 2000), pp. 101–65.
 15. On the concept of the double helix, see Margaret R. Higonnet and Patrice L.-R. Higonnet, 'The Double Helix', in Margaret R. Higonnet et al. (eds.) *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 31–47; for more recent research on the period of the world wars see Hagemann and Schüler-Springorum (eds), *Heimat-Front*.
 16. On sexuality in the eighteenth century, see Hull, *Sexuality*; Graham J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (University of Chicago Press, 1992). Ann-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit, selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum zwischen 1770 und 1840* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), and Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999) emphasise the importance of empathy and sociability for middle-class men around 1800; on Trepp, however, see the critique in Günther, 'And now for something', pp. 41–6. On sociability, see Gudrun M. König, *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Spaziergangs: Spuren einer bürgerlichen Praktik 1780–1850* (Böhlau, 1996); and Dorothea Kühme, *Bürger und Spiel: Gesellschaftsspiele im deutschen Bürgertum zwischen 1750 und 1850* (Campus, 1997).

17. Adam Beuvius, *Der Eigensinn des Glücks in den ausserordentlichen Begebenheiten des Baron von T*** und seiner Familie* (Decker, 1775), pp. 4, 23.
18. A pivotal text is Jean-Baptiste DuBos, *Kritische Betrachtung über die Poesie und die Malerey*, trans. Gottfried B. Funk (Mumm, 1760–1761), especially the introduction, 'Abhandlung von der Notwendigkeit, beschäftigt zu sein, wenn man der verdrüßlichen langen Weile ausweichen will, und von dem Anzüglichen, welches die Erregung der Leidenschaften für den Menschen hat', pp. 5–12. The French original, *Reflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, appeared in 1719. On the tension between controlling affect and the longing for (controllable) passionateness, see Martina Kessel, 'Das Trauma der Affektkontrolle. Zur Sehnsucht nach Gefühlen im 19. Jahrhundert', in Claudia Benthien, Anne Fleig and Ingrid Kasten (eds), *Emotionalität: Zur Geschichte der Gefühle* (Böhlau, 2000), pp. 156–77.
19. Hull, *Sexuality*, esp. pp. 229–51.
20. Hull, *Sexuality*, pp. 248–9; Isabel V. Hull, 'Sexualität und bürgerliche Gesellschaft', in Ute Frevert (ed.) *Bürgerinnen und Bürger*, (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), pp. 49–66.
21. Michael Jeismann, *Das Vaterland der Feinde: Studien zum nationalen Feindbild und Selbstverständnis in Deutschland und Frankreich* (Klett-Cotta, 1992), esp. pp. 76–102; Thomas Lindenberger and Alf Lüdtke, 'Einleitung', in Thomas Lindenberger and Alf Lüdtke (eds) *Physische Gewalt: Studien zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, (Suhrkamp, 1995), pp. 11–12; for details see Karen Hagemann, 'Männlicher Muth und teutsche Ehre': Nation, Krieg und Geschlecht in der Zeit der antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens (Schöningh, 2002).
22. Johannes Kunisch, 'Das "Puppenwerk" der stehenden Heere. Ein Beitrag zur Neueinschätzung von Soldatenstand und Krieg in der Spätaufklärung', in his *Fürst, Gesellschaft, Krieg: Studien zur bellizistischen Disposition des absoluten Fürstenstaates* (Böhlau, 1992), p. 183.
23. Elmar Stolpe, 'Der Krieg als Drama der Leidenschaften. Paradigmawechsel in der militärischen Malerei des napoleonischen Zeitalters', in Ekkehard Mai (ed.) *Historienmalerei in Europa: Paradigmen in Form, Funktion und Ideologie*, (von Zabern, 1990), pp. 173–91.
24. The militarisation of this hero increased further in the course of the nineteenth century. Cf. René Schilling, 'Die soziale Konstruktion heroischer Männlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert: Das Beispiel Theodor Körner', in Karen Hagemann and Ralf Pröve (eds) *Soldatenfrauen und Nationalkrieger: Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterordnung im historischen Wandel* (Campus, 1998), pp. 121–44.
25. Ute Frevert, 'Soldaten, Staatsbürger. Überlegungen zur historischen Konstruktion von Männlichkeit', in *Männergeschichte*, pp. 69–87.
26. Döcker, *Ordnung*, pp. 45–6.
27. Johann Traugott Schuster, *Galanthomme oder Der Gesellschafter, wie er sein soll*, 2nd edn (Ernst, 1838), p. 42.
28. Kessel, *Langeweile*, pp. 161–2.
29. Friedrich von Sydow, *Der Juengling und der Mann in Beziehung zu sich selbst, wie auch zu Welt und Menschen. Auch mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anforderungen, welche der gebildete und bessere Theil des weiblichen Geschlechtes an das männliche macht* (Rein, 1839), pp. 2–4, 12.
30. Hull, *Sexuality*, p. 247; a representative example was Christian August Fischer's anonymously published text *Vanini, die Glücklichste und Unglücklichste ihres Geschlechtes. Oder: wahre Lebens-, Liebes- und Leidensgeschichte einer in Deutschland sehr bekannten Dame. Nebst der ausführlichen Beschreibung ihrer drey erlittenen Schiffbrüche: ihres Aufenthaltes im Serail des Groß-Sultans in Konstantinopel und ihrer zuletzt in Frankreich gehabten höchst tragischen Schicksale, bis zur Schlacht bey Austerlitz in Mähren* (The Hague and Leipzig: n.p., 1806).
31. Brigitte Tolkemitt, 'Knotenpunkte im Beziehungsnetz der Gebildeten: Die gemischte Geselligkeit in den offenen Häusern der Hamburger Familien Reimarus und Sieveking', in Ulrike Weckel et al. (eds), *Ordnung, Politik und Geselligkeit der Geschlechter im 18. Jahrhundert*, (Wallstein, 1998), pp. 167–202; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, e.g., pp. 372–90.
32. *Rudolf von Ihering in Briefen an seine Freunde* (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913), pp. 292–3.

33. Ihering, *Briefe*, pp. 20, 33–34, 103–5, 312.
34. Rudolf von Delbrück, *Lebenserinnerungen, 1817–1867*, 2nd edn (Duncker & Humblot, 1905), pp. 201, 60.
35. Felix Busch, *Aus dem Leben eines königlich-preußischen Landrats* (Nicolai, 1991), pp. 61, 113, 185.
36. '... die längelange Wunde verhaselt schmerzlich an der Luft', in Hans Devrient (ed.) *Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard und Therese Devrient*, (Carl Krabbe Verlag, 1909), p. 56. For further examples see also Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*, vol. 1: *Education of the Senses* (Oxford University Press, 1984) and vol. 2: *The Tender Passion* (Oxford University Press, 1986).
37. Martina Kessel, 'Balance der Gefühle. Langeweile im 19. Jahrhundert', *Historische Anthropologie*, 4 (1996), pp. 247–8.
38. *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Jakob Henle und Karl Pfeufer 1843–1869*, Hermann Hoepke (ed.) (Steiner, 1970), p. 129.
39. *Briefwechsel Henle und Pfeufer*, p. 141.
40. On the situation of unmarried people in the nineteenth century, see Kuhn, *Familienstand ledig*; on male sexuality, see esp. pp. 184–90.
41. Georg Friedrich Dinter, *Leben von ihm selbst beschrieben: Ein Lesebuch für Aeltern und Erzieher, für Pfarrer, Schul-Inspektoren und Schullehrer* (Wagner, 1829), pp. 324–5.
42. Delbrück, *Lebenserinnerungen*, vol. 1, pp. 202–4.
43. He freely admitted that she had not appreciated his attitude. Georg G. Gervinus, *Leben. Von ihm selbst* (Wilhelm Engelmann Verlag, 1893), p. 322.
44. Gervinus, *Leben*, pp. 325–6.
45. Gisela Brinker-Gabler et al., *Lexikon deutschsprachiger Schriftstellerinnen 1800–1945* (Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1986), p. 117; Daniela Weiland, *Geschichte der Frauemanzipation in Deutschland und Österreich: Biographien, Programme, Organisationen* (Econ-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1983), pp. 123–4.
46. Ida Hahn-Hahn, *Gräfin Faustine* (1840; repr. Bouvier 1986), p. 232.
47. For examples of charitable or religious activities, see Sylvia Paletschek, *Frauen und Dissens: Frauen im Deutschkatholizismus und den freien Gemeinden 1842–1851* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991); Catherine M. Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change: Religious Dimensions of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Women's Movement in Germany* (Greenwood Press, 1987); Dirk Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation: Patriotische Frauenvereine in Deutschland im frühen 19. Jahrhundert (1813–1839)* (SH-Verlag, 1998); and Iris Schröder, *Arbeiten für eine bessere Welt: Frauenbewegung und Sozialreform 1890–1914* (Campus, 2001).
48. On the ideal of sociability, see the contributions in Etienne François (ed.), *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse, 1750–1850* (Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1986), and in Weckel et al. (eds), *Ordnung, Politik und Geselligkeit*.
49. *Frauen im Aufbruch*, p. 93 (italics in the original).
50. On this see, for example, Norbert Schindler, 'Freimaurerkultur im 18. Jahrhundert. Zur sozialen Funktion des Geheimnisses in der entstehenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft', in Robert Berdahl et al. (eds) *Klassen und Kultur: die sozialanthropologische Perspektive in der Geschichtsschreibung* (Syndikat, 1982), pp. 205–62; for the nineteenth century see Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, *Die Politik der Geselligkeit: Freimaurerlogen in der deutschen Bürgergesellschaft, 1840–1914* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).
51. On the sexual meaning of water metaphors see Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Polity Press, 1994); and Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2 vols (University of Minnesota Press, 1987–1988).
52. In *Intimacy and Exclusion*, Dagmar Herzog shows that debates surrounding religion were always also debates about politics and masculinity.
53. Johannes Scherr, *Poeten der Jetztzeit in Briefen an eine Frau* (Franck, 1844), p. 102.
54. Heinrich Heine, *Deutschland: Ein Wintermärchen* (1844; repr. Reclam, 1979), p. 28.
55. *Frauen im Aufbruch*, p. 238.

56. Claudia Schmölders (ed.), *Briefe von Liselotte von der Pfalz bis Rosa Luxemburg* (Insel, 1988), pp. 36–7.
57. Stanley Zucker, 'Female Political Opposition in Pre-1848 Germany', in John C. Fout (ed.) *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History* (Holmes & Meier, 1984), pp. 133–50, here pp. 145–6.
58. For the term 'soldier of labour', see Alain Corbin, 'The "Sex in Mourning" and the History of Nineteenth-Century Women', in *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses* (Polity Press, 1995), pp. 71–83, quotation p. 80; for an account of the immense importance of the concept of work in the nineteenth century, which does not, however, address gender-specific distinctions, see Joan Campbell, *Joy of Work, German Work: The National Debate, 1800–1945* (Princeton University Press, 1989); on the twentieth century see Alf Lüdtke, *Eigen-Sinn: Fabrikalltag, Arbeitererfahrungen und Politik vom Kaiserreich bis in den Faschismus* (Ergebnisse Verlag, 1993).
59. Karin Hausen, "'... eine Ulme für das schwankende Efeu". Ehepaare im Bildungsbürgertum. Ideale und Wirklichkeiten im späten 18. und 19. Jahrhundert', in Ute Frevert (ed.) *Bürgerinnen und Bürger* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), pp. 113–15; Corbin, 'The "Sex in Mourning" and the History of Nineteenth-Century Women', pp. 78–80; see also the examples in Kessel, *Langeweile*, pp. 203–7.
60. Gunilla-Friederike Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben: Kindheit und Erziehung in deutschen und englischen Bürgerfamilien 1840–1914* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), pp. 114–16.
61. Heinrich Büttner, *Die Frau nach dem Herzen Gottes*, Berlin 1863, p. 80; Bogumil Goltz, *Zur Charakteristik und Naturgeschichte der Frauen*, 2nd edn (Janke, 1863), pp. 83, 101.
62. Wilhelm Langewiesche, *Frauentrost: Gedanken für Männer, Mädchen und Frauen* (Beck, 1902), pp. 29–32, quotation on p. 32.
63. Johann Eduard Erdmann, *Über Schwärmerei und Begeisterung: Vortrag gehalten im wissenschaftlichen Verein zu Berlin* (Wilhelm Hertz, 1863), esp. pp. 10–11, 31–3, 35–6. On the discourse on the masses, see Helmut König, *Zivilisation und Leidenschaft: Die Masse im bürgerlichen Zeitalter* (Rowohlt, 1992); and Sidonia Blättler, *Der Pöbel, die Frauen etc.: Die Massen in der politischen Philosophie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Akademie Verlag, 1995).
64. Erdmann, *Über Schwärmerei*; see also the same author's *Über die Langeweile: Vortrag gehalten im wissenschaftlichen Verein Berlin* (Wilhelm Hertz, 1852).
65. On the strong involvement in political activities on the local level after the 1860s, see Jan Palmowski, 'The Politics of the "Unpolitical German": Liberalism in German Local Government, 1860–1880', *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), pp. 675–704; on political involvement in the middle-class associations, see Andreas Daum, *Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert: Bürgerliche Kultur, naturwissenschaftliche Bildung und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit, 1848–1914* (Oldenbourg, 1998); on the dichotomous interpretive topos of 'Jewish non-work' versus 'German work' see Holger Schatz, Andrea Woeldike, *Freiheit und Wahn deutscher Arbeit: Zur historischen Aktualität einer folgenreichen antisemitischen Projektion* (Unrast, 2001).
66. Kurt Breysig, *Aus meinen Tagen und Träumen: Memoiren, Aufzeichnungen, Gespräche*, edited from his papers by Gertrud Breysig and Michael Landmann (de Gruyter, 1962), p. 13.
67. Ludger Graf v. Westphalen (ed.), *Die Tagebücher des Oberpräsidenten Ludwig Freiherrn von Vincke 1813–1818*, (Aschendorff, 1980), esp. pp. 61, 120, 217.
68. Martina Kessel, "'Der Ehrgeiz setzte mir heute wieder zu ...'" Geduld und Ungeduld im 19. Jahrhundert', in Manfred Hettling and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (eds.) *Der bürgerliche Werthimmel* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 145–6.
69. Ludwig Raschdau, *Wie ich Diplomat wurde: Aus dem Leben erzählt* (Mittler, 1938), pp. 6–9.
70. Raschdau, *Wie ich Diplomat wurde*, pp. 51, 55–6, 60–69, 92–5.
71. Breysig, *Aus meinen Tagen und Träumen*, p. 13.
72. Heinrich Hertz, *Erinnerungen. Briefe. Tagebücher* (Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, n.d.), pp. 152–3.
73. Hertz, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 215–23, 246.
74. Ernst von Leyden, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, 1910).

75. Theodor Billroth, *Briefe* (Hahn, 1910), pp. 86–7.
76. These brief remarks by no means exhaust the multifaceted understanding of work in Germany since in the mid-nineteenth century. In particular, frequent invocations of work should not automatically be taken to mean that the academic and bureaucratic élites were actually working with such extreme intensity. Kessel, *Langeweile*, pp. 211–17; see Habermas, *Frauen*, p. 131, for the early nineteenth century.
77. Heinrich Prinz von Schönburg-Waldenburg, *Erinnerungen aus kaiserlicher Zeit* (Koehler, 1929), p. 301. This also applies to aristocratic autobiographical texts more generally. Funck and Malinowski, 'Geschichte von oben', p. 250.
78. Ludwig Friedrich Seyffardt, *Erinnerungen* (Duncker & Humblot, 1900), pp. 582, 588 and 591.
79. Friedrich von Bernhadi, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben, nach gleichzeitigen Aufzeichnungen und im Lichte der Erinnerung* (Mittler, 1927), pp. 33–6.
80. *Briefe eines Vaters an seinen Sohn nach dessen Abgang auf die Universität* (Schlesische Buchdruckerei, Kunst- und Verlagsanstalt, 1895), pp. 39–40. On the longing of many sons of the industrial and mercantile bourgeoisie for a creative, artistic life, see Dolores L. Augustine, *Patricians & Parvenus: Wealth and High Society in Wilhelmine Germany* (Berg, 1994); Heinz Dieter Hellige, 'Rathenau und Harden in der Gesellschaft des Kaiserreichs. Eine sozialgeschichtlich-biographische Studie zur Entstehung neokonservativer Positionen bei Unternehmern und Intellektuellen', in Heinz Dieter Hellige (ed.), *Walther Rathenau, Maximilian Harden: Briefwechsel 1897–1920* (Müller, 1983), pp. 15–299.
81. Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, 'Civility, Male Friendship, and Masonic Sociability in Nineteenth-Century Germany', trans. Tom Lampert, *Gender & History* 13 (2001), pp. 224–48.
82. Frank Trommler, 'Die Nationalisierung der Arbeit', in Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (eds), *Arbeit als Thema in der deutschen Literatur vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Athenaeum, 1979), pp. 102–25; with an argument that extends into the National Socialist period, see Alf Lüdtke, 'The Appeal of Exterminating "Others": German Workers and the Limits of Resistance', in Michael Geyer and John W. Boyer (eds) *Resistance against the Third Reich, 1933–1990* (University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 53–74. On the aestheticisation of labour, a topic that could not be treated here for reasons of space, see Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts* (Princeton University Press, 1978); and Cup Friemert, *Produktionsästhetik im Faschismus: Das Amt der "Schönheit der Arbeit" 1933–1939* (Damnitz, 1980).
83. Ute Frevert, 'Das Militär als "Schule der Männlichkeit". Erwartungen, Angebote, Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert', in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Ute Frevert (ed.) (Beck, 1997), pp. 145–73; Ute Frevert, *Ehrenmänner: Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Beck, 1991).
84. Hausen, 'Ulme', p. 114.
85. For a vivid account see Frank Becker, *Bilder von Krieg und Nation: Die Einigungskriege in der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit Deutschlands 1864–1913* (Oldenbourg, 2001), p. 190.
86. Adolf Wermuth, *Ein Beamtenleben: Erinnerungen* (August Scherrl, 1922), p. 208.
87. Julie Burow, *Das Glück des Weibes: Ein Buch für Frauen und Jungfrauen*, 3rd edn (Louis Levit, 1863), p. 84.
88. On the value placed on male aggressivity as an impetus to work hard in the USA in the late nineteenth century, see Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (University of Chicago Press, 1986); on the militarisation of the habitus in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Norbert Elias, *The Germans*, Michael Schröter (ed.), trans. Eric Dunning and Stephen Mennell (Polity Press, 1996), esp. pp. 44–120.
89. Jacques LeRider, *Das Ende der Illusion: Zur Kritik der Moderne. Die Wiener Moderne und die Krise der Identität* (Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1990), p. 414; Planert, *Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich*; on fears surrounding homosexuality see John C. Fout, 'Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia', in John C. Fout (ed.), *Forbidden History: The State, Society, and the Regulation of Sexuality in Modern*

- Europe* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 259–92; Brigitte Kerchner, “Unbescholtene Bürger” und “gefährliche Mädchen” um die Jahrhundertwende. Was der Fall Sternberg für die aktuelle Debatte um sexuellen Mißbrauch an Kindern bedeutet’, *Historische Anthropologie*, 6 (1998), pp. 1–32.
90. On the increasing sexualisation of the category of women beginning in the late seventeenth century, see Denise Riley, ‘Am I That Name?’ *Feminism and the Category of ‘Women’ in History*, 3rd edn (University of Minneapolis Press, 1995).
 91. Kathleen Canning, ‘Social Body, Body Politics: Recasting the Social Question in Germany, 1875–1900’, in Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*, (Cornell University Press 1996), p. 221; on the term body politics see also Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, ‘The Body Politic’, in Elizabeth Weed (ed.) *Coming to Terms: Feminism, Theory, Politics* (Routledge, 1989), pp. 101–21; in the debate around married women working in factories, the polarised and holistic models fused at times in the image of the male breadwinner, who then became a ‘whole’ or ‘proper’ man if he succeeded in keeping his wife out of paid employment. Teresa Kulawik, *Wohlfahrtsstaat und Mutterschaft. Schweden und Deutschland im Vergleich 1870–1912* (Campus, 1999), p. 83.
 92. Victor Klemperer, *Curriculum vitae: Jugend um 1900* (Siedler, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 580–83, quotation p. 583.
 93. There are numerous examples in Joachim Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (Hanser, 1998), for example, pp. 71, 83, 99, 144–51; on sexual fears and images see, among others, Kathrin Schmersahl, *Medizin und Geschlecht: Zur Konstruktion der Kategorie Geschlecht in der medizinischen Diskussion des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leske & Budrich, 1998).
 94. Quoted in Planert, *Antifeminismus*, p. 40.
 95. Gerhard von Amyntor (pseudonym used by von Gerhardt), *Für und über die deutschen Frauen: Neue hypochondrische Plaudereien*, 2nd edn (Verlags-Anstalt, 1889), p. 209.
 96. On this issue, see Harold James, *A German Identity 1770–1990* (Routledge, 1989).
 97. Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (University of California Press, 1992). This fear combined with anxieties about the loss of sexual energy, which expressed itself in the compulsion to be sparing with sperm and feelings. See Alain Corbin, ‘Backstage’, in Philippe Ariès et al. (eds), *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, Michelle Perrot (Belknap Press, 1990), pp. 495, 591; Corbin, ‘The Little Bible for Young Marrieds’, in Corbin, *Time, Desire and Horror*, pp. 135–45.
 98. Else Kotányi(-Jerusalem), *Venus am Kreuz* (Meyer, 1899), p. 48, quoted (in English) in Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism: Women’s Movements in Fin de Siècle Vienna* (Yale University Press, 1992), p. 220.
 99. Kerchner, ‘Unbescholtene Bürger’, p. 20.
 100. On Mayreder, see Brigitte Spreitzer, ‘Selbstschöpfung – Fremdwerden. Weibliche Subjektivität als Vision und Aporie im Schreiben österreichischer Autorinnen um 1900’, in Lisa Fischer and Emil Brix (eds), *Frauen der Wiener Moderne* (Verlag für Geschichte und Politik u.a., 1997), pp. 137–53.
 101. Kessel, *Langeweile*, pp. 318–21.
 102. Rosa Mayreder, ‘Zur Kultur der Geschlechter’, *Frauenzukunft*, 1 (1910), pp. 77–83, esp. p. 82; see also Mayreder, ‘Von der Männlichkeit’, in her *Zur Kritik von Weiblichkeit. Essays*, 2nd edn (Diederichs, 1907), pp. 102–38.
 103. Mayreder, ‘Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit’, pp. 118 and 128–9.
 104. Michel Foucault, ‘Nietzsche, Genealogy and History’, in James D. Faubion (ed.) *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* (The New Press, 1998), pp. 369–91.
 105. For a more detailed account see Kessel, *Langeweile*, pp. 300–3. An overview of the different feminisms in Imperial Germany is provided by Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700–1950: A Political History* (Stanford University Press, 2000).
 106. Johanna Elberskirchen, ‘Die Stellung der Frau zur Kunst und zum – Mann’, *Die Gesellschaft*, 4 (1888), pp. 403–7; for opposing views, see Kurt Piper, ‘Die weibliche Kunstseele’,

- Die Gesellschaft*, 18 (1902), pp. 297–300; Richard M. Meyer, 'Die beiden Frauenideale der Germanen', *Westermann's Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte für das gesamte geistige Leben der Gegenwart*, 42 (1898), pp. 591–6; Hans Benzmann, 'Die deutsche Frauenlyrik in der Gegenwart', *Die Gegenwart*, 60 (1901), pp. 1221–5. For a collection of important primary texts, see Carola Muysers (ed.), *Die bildende Künstlerin: Wertung und Wandel in deutschen Quellentexten 1855–1945* (Verlag der Kunst, 1999).
107. On the hatred of women writers, see Peter Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred* (W. W. Norton & Company, 1993), pp. 327–30; Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Harvard University Press, 1995).
108. Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Ein ganzer Mann* (Cotta, 1897), p. 33.
109. Riehl, *Ein ganzer Mann*, p. 70. On the European dimensions of fears of a feminisation of culture, see Stefanie von Schnurbein, *Krisen der Männlichkeit: Schreiben und Geschlechterdiskurs in skandinavischen Romanen seit 1890* (Wallstein, 2001); and Anneliese Maugue, *L'identité en crise: Au tournant du siècle, 1871–1914* (Rivages, 1987).
110. Norbert Grabowsky, *Die Zukunftsreligion und Zukunftswissenschaft auf der Basis der Emanzipation des Mannes von der Frau: Zugleich ein unentbehrliches Handbuch für alle jene, die sich mit Fragen der Emanzipation des Weibes vom Manne beschäftigen* (Spohr, 1897), pp. 61, 72.
111. Grabowsky, *Zukunftsreligion*, pp. 23–6, 64. Not without defending himself elsewhere against accusations of homosexuality, Norbert Grabowsky, *Verkehrte Sinnesneigung: Eine wissenschaftliche Studie* (Spohr, 1904), pp. 35–6.
112. On male organisations, see Jürgen Reulecke, 'Ich möchte einer werden so wie die ...': *Männerbünde im 20. Jahrhundert* (Campus, 2001); and Lynn Blattmann, "'Lasst uns den Eid des neuen Bundes schwören ...'" Schweizerische Studentenverbindungen als Männerbünde 1870–1914', in Kühne (ed.) *Männergeschichte*, pp. 119–35.
113. Rolf Parr, 'Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust!': *Strukturen und Funktionen der Mythisierung Bismarcks* (Fink, 1992), pp. 102–11, 157–61.