

# Of “Manly Valor” and “German Honor”: Nation, War, and Masculinity in the Age of the Prussian Uprising Against Napoleon

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New work—new words. Thus *Wehrlieder*. In Old German, *Wehr* means a man who bears arms for his own honor and that of his people. (The terms) *wehrbar* and *wehrhaft* have always recalled this old form of manhood, which disappeared only for a time . . . *Wehrlieder* are the voices of the bards, songs of manliness, and a prelude to the new age, where every man will be a man once again, and the people no herd doing forced labor for foreign masters. No being of the male sex who is not a *Wehr* can be considered a man, but only a male, a manikin. *Wehrlos! Ehrlos!* (defenseless, honorless; emphasis in the original)<sup>1</sup>

THESE words introduced a collection entitled *Deutsche Wehrlieder für das Königlich-Preussische Frei-Corps* (German Military Songs for the Royal Prussian Volunteer Corps), that appeared in March 1813 immediately after Prussia declared war on France. It was not only in this songbook that the patriotic national<sup>2</sup> mobilization for the struggle against Napoleonic rule was closely linked to the propagation of “valorous manliness” (*wehrhafte Mannlichkeit*).<sup>3</sup> In the period of the Wars of Liberation

I would like to thank Karin Hausen, Manfred Hettling, John Horne, Lynn Hunt, and Jean Quataert for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper and Pamela Selwyn for her translation.

1. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, *Deutsche Wehrlieder für das Königlich-Preussische Frei-Corps herausgegeben*, 1st collection (Berlin, Easter 1813), 5.

2. Following Miroslav Hroch, instead of the concept “nationalist” for this early phase of German nationalism that is commonly used in anglophone countries, but that, at least in German understanding, is a judgmental term, I will use the word “national,” or more precisely “patriotic national,” which is more open and as guiding concept better captures the ambivalence and diversity of its perception at that time. Cf. Miroslav Hroch, “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe,” in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York, 1996), 60–77, 62.

3. Translator’s note: The German word “*wehrhaft*,” which is a central concept in this paper,

*Central European History*, vol. 30, no. 2, 187–220

between 1813 and 1815, the press and topical literature teemed with similar phrases and cultivated a veritable cult of manliness.<sup>4</sup> A new breed of "patriotically"-minded, "combat-ready" men was needed if, as intended, a "people's army" of conscripts was to fight a successful "national war" against France. This phenomenon has generated scant interest in the extensive historical literature about the time between 1806 and 1815, which is considered as the birth period of the German national movement.<sup>5</sup> The outstanding significance of gender images within the discursive construction of national ideologies, the formation of national movements, and the mobilization of national preparedness for war has generally received little attention in the historiography on German nationalism.<sup>6</sup> For this reason the strongly masculine connotation of everything national in the early

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means willing to and capable of bearing arms. The word "*Wehr*" means defense in modern German, and is used in many compound words such as *Wehrmacht* and *Wehrdienst* (military service). Both the older meaning of man/defender and the modern meaning of defense were present in the Old English word "were," which, in the sense of man, is preserved in modern English in the word "werewolf." For the sake of fluency, "*Wehrhaftigkeit*" has been translated here as "valor" and "*wehrhaft*" as valorous, but this is not a completely satisfactory solution, and the reader should keep in mind the more literal meaning as well. Note the spelling "*Männlichkeit*," which deviates from that of the usual German word for masculinity/maleness, "*Männlichkeit*."

4. Gerhard Schulz speaks of a "Männlichkeitsrausch," *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration*. Part II: *Das Zeitalter der Napoleonischen Kriege und der Restauration, 1806–1830* (Munich, 1989), 76.

5. For an overview of the literature on this period, see Elisabeth Fehrenbach, *Vom Ancien Régime zum Wiener Kongress*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1986); Bernd Sösemann, ed., *Gemeingeist und Bürgersinn: Die preussischen Reformen* (Berlin, 1993); Helmut Berding, "Das geschichtliche Problem der Freiheitskriege, 1813–1815," in *Historismus und moderne Geschichtswissenschaft: Europa zwischen Revolution und Restauration, 1797–1815*, ed. Karl Otmar Freiherr v. Retin and Gerhard A. Ritter (Wiesbaden, 1987), 201–15. For an overview of international research on nationalism, see Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, "Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation," in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Eley and Suny (New York, 1996), 3–37; Dieter Langewiesche, "Nation, Nationalismus, Nationalstaat: Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven," *Neue Politische Literatur* 40, no. 2 (1995): 181–236; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Charlotte Tacke, "Die Kultur des Nationalen: Sozial- und kulturgeschichtliche Ansätze bei der Erforschung des europäischen Nationalismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Kulturgeschichte Heute*, ed. Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, (Göttingen, 1996), 255–83. An overview on the German national movement is provided in John Breuilly, ed., *The State of Germany: The National Idea in the Making: Unmaking and Remaking of a Modern Nation-State* (London, 1992); Otto Dann, *Nation und Nationalismus in Deutschland, 1770–1990* (Munich, 1993); Ulrich Hermann, ed., *Volk—Nation—Vaterland* (Hamburg, 1996); Wolfram Siemann, *Vom Staatenbund zum Nationalstaat: Deutschland 1806–1871* (Munich, 1995).

6. An exception is the work of George L. Mosse. See his *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany, from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich*, (New York, 1975); *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York, 1985); and *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990). On the state of German research on nation and gender, see Langewiesche, "Nation", 216f; also, on the first half of the nineteenth century, Carola Lipp, "Das Private im Öffentlichen: Geschlechterbeziehungen im symbolischen Diskurs der Revolution 1848/49," in *Frauengeschichte—Geschlechtergeschichte*, ed. Karin Hausen and Heide

phase of “modern German nationalism”<sup>7</sup> has usually been overlooked.

In what follows, I shall take a closer look at the association between nation, war, and masculinity,<sup>8</sup> concepts which educated contemporaries encapsulated in the three terms “patriotism”—defined as spontaneous and self-sacrificing “love of country”—“valor” (*Wehrhaftigkeit*) and “manliness.” The focus will be on the example of Prussia, the center (after the devastating defeat by the Grande Armée in 1806) of ever more intense public discussions about the nation, the military, and the gender order that accompanied a broad journalistic campaign to mobilize men for the struggle against French domination. This discourse, which was largely conducted by so-called patriots<sup>10</sup>—enlightened aristocrats and educated bourgeois (including many civil servants and reform-minded military officers)—centered on the goal of shaping the Prussian monarchy into a “valorous nation,” which could lead the German liberation struggle against Napoleonic France. The main site of this discourse was a topical literature that encompassed not only newspapers and magazines, pamphlets, brochures, and appeals but also sermons, poems, and songs.<sup>11</sup>

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Wunder (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 99–118; Karen Hagemann, “Nation, Krieg und Geschlechterordnung: Zum kulturellen und politischen Diskurs in der Zeit der antinapoleonischen Erhebung Preussens,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* (=GG) 22, no. 4 (1996): 562–91; Ellen Spickernagel, “‘So soll Dein Bild auf unsern Fahnen schweben’: Kultur- und Geschlechterpolitik in der Napoleonischen Ära,” in *Kriegsbereitschaft und Friedensordnung in Deutschland, 1800–1814*, ed. Jost Dülffer (Münster, 1995), 155–69.

7. Following Dieter Langewiesche’s terminology, “modern nationalism” will be defined here functionally as “all behaviors” that have as their aim “the creation or preservation of a nation-state.” Langewiesche, “Reich, Nation und Staat in der jüngeren Deutschen Geschichte,” *Historische Zeitschrift* (=HZ) 254 (1992): 341–81, 341–42.

8. There has been little research thus far on the relationship between the military, war, and masculinity. On the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, see Ute Frevert, “Soldaten, Staatsbürger: Überlegungen zur historischen Konstruktion von Männlichkeit,” in *Männergeschichte-Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne*, ed. Thomas Kühne (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 69–87; Karen Hagemann, “‘Heran, heran, zu Sieg oder Tod! Entwürfe patriotisch-wehrhafter Männlichkeit zur Zeit der Befreiungskriege,” in Kühne, *Männergeschichte*, 51–68. On “men’s history” more generally see Thomas Kühne, “Männergeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte,” in idem, *Männergeschichte*, 7–30; Michael Roper and John Tosh, Introduction, “Historians and the Politics of Masculinity,” in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Roper and Tosh (London, 1991), 1–24; Tosh, “What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain,” in *History Workshop* 38 (Autumn 1994): 179–202.

9. “Patriotismus,” in *Conversationslexikon oder Encyclopädisches Handwörterbuch für gebildete Stände* (Altenburg, 1817), vol. 9, 306f. Cf. Rudolf Vierhaus, “‘Patriotismus’: Begriff und Realität einer moralisch-politischen Haltung,” in idem, *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert: Politische Verfassung, soziales Gefüge, geistige Bewegungen* (Göttingen, 1987), 96–109; Günter Birtsch, ed., *Patriotismus* (Hamburg, 1991).

10. On the significance of this self-description, which was extremely widespread in the literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Bernhard Giesen, *Die Intellektuellen und die deutsche Nation: Eine deutsche Achsenzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 122ff.

11. On topical literature in the period between 1812 and 1815 the best overview is still

Lyric poetry played a particularly important role in popularizing patriotic national ideas. In the years before and during the Wars of Liberation it became the most popular mass medium and, taking up the tradition of the heroic epic and military song, it was at the same time the most important site for the discursive definition of masculinity.<sup>12</sup> The deployment of poems and songs as journalistic media had a number of historical precedents reaching back to the period of the Reformation. The experience of the French Revolution, in which songs in particular had already proved a highly successful and widely effective means of propaganda was especially significant here.<sup>13</sup> Following this model thousands of patriotic national songs and poems were disseminated in Germany between 1812 and 1815 in the form of broadsheets and small pamphlets as well as in newspapers and magazines. They were generally printed without musical notes but often the melodies of well-known and -loved hymns and military as well as folk songs were suggested for them. Lyrics were composed for the most varied occasions and were generally intended to be read aloud or sung in groups. In this way, they not only could reach the less literate or even illiterate strata of the population, but could also facilitate collective self-reflection. Their intensive use in the army and within the framework of patriotic national celebrations and festivities in particular appears to have greatly enhanced their dissemination and popularity.<sup>14</sup> The authors were mainly younger, academically trained middle-class men from the most diverse walks of life. A large proportion of them fought as volunteers in the Wars of Liberation.<sup>15</sup> The most important function of those

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Paul Czygan, *Zur Geschichte der Tagesliteratur während der Freiheitskriege*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1909–1911); in general see Andrea Hofmeister-Hunger, *Pressepolitik und Staatsreform: Die Institutionalisierung staatlicher Öffentlichkeitsarbeit bei Karl August v. Hardenberg* (Göttingen, 1994), esp. 181–328.

12. See also in the following, Ernst Weber, *Lyrik der Befreiungskriege (1812–1815): Gesellschaftspolitische Meinungs- und Willensbildung durch Literatur* (Stuttgart 1991); Hasko Zimmer, *Auf dem Altar des Vaterlandes: Religion und Patriotismus in der deutschen Kriegsliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 1971). Both largely ignore the subject's gender dimension.

13. Cf. Dietz-Rüdiger Moser, *Verkündigung durch Volkslied: Studien zur Liedpropaganda und -katechese der Gegenreformation* (Berlin, 1981); Dietmar Sauermann, *Historische Volkslieder des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Volksliedforschung und zum Problem der volkstümlichen Geschichtsbetrachtung* (Münster, 1968); Adelheid Coy, *Die Musik der Französischen Revolution: Zur Funktionsbestimmung von Lied und Hymne* (Munich, 1978).

14. On patriotic national ceremonial culture, see Dieter Düding et al., eds, *Öffentliche Festkultur: Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Reinbek, 1988); Manfred Hettling and Paul Nolte, eds, *Bürgerliche Feste: Symbolische Formen politischen Handelns im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1993).

15. This conclusion is based on the analysis of biographical information on 209 male and 18 female authors of patriotic nationalist lyrics. Of the men, 14 percent came from the aristocracy and 59 percent were born after 1770. Their occupations at the time of the Wars of Liberation were as follows: 6 percent were landowners, 15 percent career military officers, 33 percent civil servants, 23 percent clerics and church officials, 11 percent teachers,

patriotic national songs and poems that mainly addressed men appears to have been to provide *Pathosformeln*—emotionally catchy images and stereotypes as well as symbolic words—for use in the process of collective self-understanding.<sup>16</sup> Because of their specific emotional impact, they were able to formulate a common patriotic project for a broader public than the other media of similarly oriented topical literature. By providing patriotic national models of feeling, conduct, and values they sought to convey a sense of national identity.<sup>17</sup> The *Pathosformeln* they offered were formulated throughout in gender-specific terms. Lyric poetry thus contributed significantly and lastingly to the cultural creation of a German national myth.<sup>18</sup> The most popular songs from the period of the Wars of Liberation were sung well into the twentieth century, not only in the schools and the military, but also in the middle-class national associational life of the male societies (*Männerbünde*)<sup>19</sup> formed by students, singers, gymnasts, war veterans, and marksmen.<sup>20</sup>

If, therefore, we are to focus not only on the carefully elaborated patriotic national discourse of contemporary “prophets,” such as Ernst Moritz Arndt, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, authors who are still well-known today, but also—as is my intention here—on the ideas of nation, war, and masculinity popular at the time, then lyrics are a central source. In the following I will begin by sketching, as the historical context of analysis, the basic characteristics of the patriotic national movement in the years of the uprising against Napoleon in Prussia, the main objective of which (in my interpretation) was the construction

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10 percent university professors, and 2 percent freelance writers. 39 percent fought in the Wars of Liberation as volunteers.

16. On the significance and construction of nationalist “pathetic phrases” (*Pathosformeln*) see Jürgen Link and Wulf Wülfing, eds, *Nationale Mythen und Symbole in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Strukturen und Funktionen von Konzepten nationaler Identität* (Stuttgart, 1991); Etienne François et al., eds, *Nation and Emotion: Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1995).

17. On the problem of the term “national identity” see Ronald Grigor Suny, “Rethinking Social Identities: Class and Nationality,” in Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford, 1993), 3–19; Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno, 1991); Katherine Verdery, “Whither ‘Nation’ and ‘Nationalism?’” *Daedalus* (Summer 1993): 37–46. See, more generally, Odo Marquard and Karlheinz Stierle, eds, *Identität* (Munich, 1979).

18. On the meaning and construction of national myths, see Wolfgang Frindte and Harald Pätzoldt, eds, *Mythen der Deutschen: Deutsche Befindlichkeiten zwischen Geschichte und Geschichte* (Opladen, 1994); Link, *Mythen*; and Wulf Wülfing et al., eds, *Historische Mythologie der Deutschen, 1798–1918* (Munich, 1991).

19. On the term “Männerbund” see Gisela Völger and Karin v. Welck, eds, *Männerbände, Männerbünde: Zur Rolle des Mannes im Kulturvergleich*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1990), vol. 1, xixff.

20. Cf. Friedhelm Brusniak and Dietmar Klenke, eds, “Heil deutsches Wort und Sang!” *Nationalidentität und Gesangskultur in der deutschen Geschichte: Tagungsbericht Feuchtwangen 1994* (Feuchtwangen, 1995).

of a valorous nation. In the subsequent attempt at interpretation I would like to elaborate the historical connections between nation, war, and the gender order. At the heart of the interpretation is the question of the specific interweavings of the social and cultural construction of nation and gender. Finally, against this background I will take a closer look at the formulations of the connections between nation, war, and masculinity in contemporary lyrics. My analysis, which looks at both commonalities and differences, will focus on the various models of patriotism, valor, and manliness.

### The Construction of a "Valorous Nation"

After the military debacle of 1806–07 an intense discussion about its causes began in Prussia.<sup>21</sup> A growing number of voices attributed the collapse of the traditional political and military order to the rigid corporate organization of the old Prussian state, but also to the "decay" of "German customs and morality," and to a "lack of religiosity." There was much lamentation about "citizens"<sup>22</sup> lacking a sense of "patriotic" responsibility toward society and the state and deficient understanding of "honor and valor." They had thus failed in their roles as "protectors of home and fatherland" and had therefore also "failed as men."<sup>23</sup> In accordance with this analysis, Prussian patriots believed that three problems had to be resolved if they were to attain their objective of turning the monarchy into a valorous nation.

First of all, a fundamental reorganization of the Prussian state and its military establishment was necessary. Among reformers, there was a broad consensus after 1806–07 that Prussia could only stand up to the French foe if the nation were militarized and the army "bourgeoisified" according to the French model. The goal was to introduce universal conscription. In order for this to occur, there had to be a rapprochement between the "citizens of the state" and the army, which enjoyed little favor among large segments of the population. To this end the Prussian military system

21. Cf. Rudolf Ibbeken, *Preussen 1807–1813: Staat und Volk als Idee und in Wirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1970), 50–61; Bernd v. Münchow-Pohl, *Zwischen Reform und Krieg: Untersuchungen zur Bewusstseinslage in Preussen, 1809–1812* (Göttingen, 1987), 31–89.

22. In the discourse of the early nineteenth century, the term "citizen" ("Bürger") essentially encompassed the private individual on the one hand and the public, political "state citizen" (*Staatsbürger*) on the other. Between the two was the "citizen of the state" (*Bürger des Staates*). It is also in this sense that I employ the terms. Cf. Manfred Riedel, "Bürger, Staatsbürger, Bürgertum," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (=GGr.) (Stuttgart 1972), vol. 1, 672–725, 700ff.

23. Cf. Karen Hagemann, "Heldenmütter, Kriegerbräute und Amazonen: Entwürfe 'patriotischer' Weiblichkeit zur Zeit der Freiheitskriege," in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert (Stuttgart, 1997), 174–200.

was recast during the course of army reform to make its organization correspond better to the notions of freedom and the political consciousness of citizens.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, reforms were begun in broad areas of society, the economy and the state in order to reduce the increasingly apparent modernization gap, to attain the levels of performance and efficiency of a power like France, and thus be in a position politically and economically to wage war successfully against the latter.<sup>25</sup>

Secondly, the “national spirit” and the “patriotic willingness to sacrifice” had to be strengthened. This required stabilizing the nation as a social community and thereby strengthening its sense of communal cohesion through the cultural construction of a national myth.<sup>26</sup> In this connection, Prussia was considered to be a monarchical nation,<sup>27</sup> part of a “German *Kultur*nation,”<sup>28</sup> whose unity rested primarily on factors considered as primordial, such as history, language, and culture. The central aim was the creation of a national identity, i.e., of a national unity understood and felt as a collective self, one that could be accepted by broad strata of the population.<sup>29</sup> In contemporary discourse, a “specifically *teutscher* national character” was posited as the core of this national identity, defined in both social and gender-specific terms. Outwardly, particularly toward the French foe, the “German nation” as a whole was described in terms of qualities such as “virtuous,” “sensitive,” “profound,” “loyal,” “simple,” “upright,” and “just,” but, above all, as “honorable,” (*ehrfhaft*)

24. On the reform of the Prussian military see Heinz Stübiger, “Die Wehrverfassung Preussens in der Reformzeit: Wehrpflicht im Spannungsfeld von Restauration und Revolution 1815–1860,” in *Die Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Erscheinungsformen und politisch-militärische Wirkung*, ed. Roland G. Foerster (Munich, 1994), 39–53; for a review of the literature, see Sösemann, *Gemeingeist*, 171–226.

25. On the Prussian reforms more generally, see Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Munich, 1987), 1:353–485. On the literature, see Sösemann, *Gemeingeist*.

26. Cf. Otto W. Johnston, *The Myth of a Nation: Literatur and Politics in Prussia under Napoleon* (Columbia, S.C., 1989).

27. “Monarchical nationalism” of the Prussian type was a specific variant of the generally more traditionally oriented regional-state patriotism (*Landespatritismus*). The Prussian monarchy was conceived of as a “nation-state” under which various ethnic groups in the population were subsumed. See Manfred Harnisch, “Nationalisierung der Dynastien oder Monarchisierung der Nation? Zum Verhältnis von Monarchie und Nation in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Bürgertum, Adel und Monarchie: Zum Wandel der Lebensform im Zeitalter des bürgerlichen Nationalismus*, ed. Adolf M. Birke et al. (Munich, 1989), 71–92.

28. Cf. to the history as well as to the contemporary understanding of the concept “*Kultur*nation” in addition to Reinhard Koselleck’s, “Volk, Nation, Nationalismus, Masse,” in *GGr*, vol. 7 (Stuttgart, 1992), 141–431, 315ff; also Hagen Schulze, *Staat und Nation in der Europäischen Geschichte* (Munich, 1994), 126–49 and 172–88.

29. Cf. Giesen, *Die Intellektuellen*, esp. 86–162; Giesen and Kay Junge, “Vom Patriotismus zum Nationalismus: Zur Evolution der ‘Deutschen Kulturnation.’” in *Nationale und kulturelle Identität: Studien zur Entwicklung des kollektiven Bewusstseins in der Neuzeit*, ed. Bernhard Giesen (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 255–303; Harold James, *A German Identity, 1770–1990* (London, 1989), chaps. 1 and 2.

and "valorous" (wehrhaft). In short, it was characterized by virtues attributed to and desired from male citizens. The French national character, by contrast, was presented as "superficial" and "facile," "refined" and "polished," "devious" and shallow," "sensual" and "unchaste," and thereby by characteristics usually considered effeminate (*weibisch*),<sup>30</sup> traits attributed to the court nobility. This picture greatly belittled the French enemy by its connotations, especially by denouncing him as "dishonorable" and "without virtue," "weak and unmanly." Inwardly, the model of a German "national character" was further differentiated according to gender, and the bourgeois-manly "national virtues" were joined by complementary female virtues, the most important of which were declared to be "solicitude," "domesticity," "religiosity," and "morality."<sup>31</sup> To be sure, these attributions took up traditional stereotypes, but they acquired a new quality in the changed context of the revolutionary age, with the notion of the "people" and the "nation" as active forces.<sup>32</sup>

Ultimately, intensive propaganda<sup>33</sup> was required in order to create a broad patriotic, national combat readiness, particularly among men who were to be mobilized for the first time as part of universal conscription. Because of the widespread exemptions contained in the cantonal regulations of 1792, these included not only aristocrats, civil servants, and members of the educated and financial bourgeoisie, but also the male inhabitants of entire regions and many cities. Thus only a segment of the male population of military age in Prussia, mainly men of the rural and urban lower classes, was required to perform military service under these cantonal regulations, which were not lifted until February 1813. Apart from these conscriptees, the Prussian army also contained a substantial number of mercenaries recruited in other German-speaking lands. During the cam-

30. Contemporary usage differentiated between the word "feminine" (*weiblich*) which had a more positive connotation, and the more negative term "effeminate" (*weibisch*). Cf. "Wahrheiten und Zweifel II," in *Tageblatt der Geschichte*, ed. Ernst Moritz Arndt, no. 51, 13 March 1815.

31. Cf. Hagemann, "Nation."

32. On the differences between early modern forms of national prejudice and modern national stereotypes, see Michael Jeismann, "Was bedeuten Stereotype für nationale Identität und politisches Handeln?," in Link, *Mythen*, 84–92; Michael Maurer, "'Nationalcharakter' in der frühen Neuzeit: Ein mentalitätsgeschichtlicher Versuch," in *Transformationen des Wirkgefühls: Studien zum nationalen Habitus*, ed. Reinhard Blomert, et al. (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 45–84; Winfried Schulze, "Die Entstehung des nationalen Vorurteils: Zur Kultur der Wahrnehmung fremder Nationen in der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (= GWU) 46 (1995): 642–65.

33. For the concepts of propaganda and state practice in the early nineteenth century, cf. Wolfgang Piereth, "Propaganda im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Anfänge aktiver staatlicher Pressepolitik in Deutschland (1800–1871)," in *Propaganda, Meinungskampf, Verführung und politische Sinnstiftung, 1789–1989*, ed. Ute Daniel and Wolfram Siemann (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 21–43.



paing of 1806–07 they still represented nearly one-half of all soldiers.<sup>34</sup> The Draconian punishments, force, and drill that dominated the everyday life of the old Prussian army meant that the reputation of the military was exceedingly poor, particularly in bourgeois circles.<sup>35</sup> If a successful “people’s war” was to be waged against France, this widespread rejection of all things military had to be overcome along with the many misgivings about the introduction of universal conscription. An important instrument here was patriotic national propaganda advocating “taking a bold, manly, and valorous stand” (*wehrhafte Ermannung*). In order to reestablish the sovereignty of the state, male citizens as private individuals belonging to a collective of subjects, now had—at least for the duration of the war in which the Prussian monarchy needed its people—to become citizens of the state with a sense of responsibility toward the nation, and, at the same time, “warriors” prepared to defend that nation’s interests. With the “universal militia” (*allgemeine Landwehr*), which was established in March 1813, initially only for the duration of the war, broad segments of the male population were affected by military service for the first time. The September 1814 law on defense introduced universal conscription without substitution for peacetime as well.<sup>36</sup> Some two-thirds of the fighting force in the campaigns of 1813 to 1815 were thus militia men and volunteers.<sup>37</sup>

This attempt to awaken a patriotic-national consciousness among broader segments of the population and to mobilize particularly in bourgeois circles the men’s *Wehrbereitschaft* (readiness to take up arms), appears to have been relatively successful, especially before and during the Wars of Liberation. A patriotic-national mobilization occurred first and most decidedly in Prussia, which began the struggle against Napoleon together with its Russian ally, and which remained one of the struggle’s driving forces. During the course of the Wars of Liberation, such mobilization spread over much of north-west Germany.<sup>38</sup> In the historical literature, the period of the uprising

34. Cf. Rainer Wohlfeil, *Vom stehenden Heer des Absolutismus zur Allgemeinen Wehrpflicht (1789–1814)* (Frankfurt a. M., 1964), 86–87 and 159ff.

35. Cf. Michael Sikora, *Disziplin und Desertation: Strukturprobleme militärischer Organisation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1996).

36. Cf. Wohlfeil, *Heer*, 102–53.

37. According to the official figures on the size of the Prussian army in August 1813, 107,800 men out of a total of 227,900 troops in the first line were militia men; 92,900 were soldiers of the standing army; 18,300 were volunteers in the detachments of riflemen; and 8,900 were members of various volunteer corps. Cf. *Das preussische Heer der Befreiungskriege*, pub. by the Grosser Generalstab, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung II, 3 vols. (Berlin 1912, 1914), vol. 2., 1914, 458–551.

38. Cf. Otto Dann, “Der deutsche Bürger wird Soldat: Zur Entstehung des bürgerlichen Kriegsengagements in Deutschland,” in *Lehren aus der Geschichte? Historische Friedensforschung*, ed. Reiner Steinweg (Frankfurt am Main 1990), 61–84; Dann, “Vernunftfrieden und nationaler Krieg: Der Umbruch im Friedensverhalten des deutschen Bürgertums zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Kirche zwischen Krieg und Frieden: Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen*

against Napoleon is therefore considered a decisive phase in the emergence of a patriotic national movement which encompassed large segments of the population for the first time in German history. The Wars of Liberation have been described as a "key event in modern German national history."<sup>39</sup> During these wars, the stratum of nationally minded educated men<sup>40</sup>—who had followed the discourse on patriotism among German intellectuals, which had been growing in intensity since the mid-eighteenth century—actively committed themselves to the "fatherland" on a large scale for the first time. Voluntary military service and "patriotic charity" for the "national warriors" and their families were the two most visible forms of a patriotic national commitment previously unheard of in German history, at least on the scale of 1813–15.

The volunteers' movement during the Wars of Liberation was primarily one of young men. The majority of volunteers, whose proportion in the Prussian army reached some 12 percent in the late summer of 1813, were probably between the ages of 17 and 30.<sup>41</sup> The patriotic mobilization was particularly successful among urban youth: a full 41 percent of all volunteers were urban artisans, 12 percent belonged to the educated classes, 10 percent were involved in commerce and 8 percent were middle and lower civil servants. 15 percent belonged to the better-off rural population and only 14 percent to the rural lower classes.<sup>42</sup> The degree of mobilization

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*Protestantismus*, ed. Wolfgang Huber and Jochen Schwerdtfeger (Stuttgart, 1976), 169–224; Johannes Kunisch, "Von der gezähmten zur entfesselten Bellona: Die Umwertung des Krieges im Zeitalter der Revolutions- und Freiheitskriege," in: Kunisch, *Fürst–Gesellschaft–Krieg: Studien zur bellizistischen Disposition des absoluten Fürstenstaates* (Cologne, 1992), 203–26. To the development of a patriotic-national atmosphere between 1806 and 1815 important for Prussia: Münchow-Pohl, *Reform*; also, Heinz Heitzer, *Insurrection zwischen Weser und Elbe: Volksbewegungen gegen die französische Fremdherrschaft im Königreich Westfalen, 1806–1813* (Berlin, 1959).

39. Dann, *Nation*, 71, see 56ff. On the distinction between "modern" and "premodern" nationalism, see Otto Dann, ed., *Nationalismus in vorindustrieller Zeit* (Munich, 1986), 7–10; Schulze, *Staat*, 172ff; Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990), chap. 1.

40. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, what contemporaries referred to as the "educated estate" (*Stand der Gebildeten*) encompassed both the educated middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*) in the narrower sense and also the educated aristocracy. The category thus included poor private tutors and successful university professors, Prussian lower civil servants and aristocratic authors. In terms of social origin, occupation, and income, the educated thus encompassed highly heterogeneous groupings. They were neither an "estate" in the eighteenth-century sense nor a "class" in the nineteenth-century sense, but rather a specific social formation of the transitional period. Cf. Hans Erich Bodeker, "Die gebildeten Stände im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert: Zugehörigkeit und Abgrenzungen. Mentalitäten und Handlungspotentiale," in *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, part IV, ed. Jürgen Kocka (Stuttgart, 1989), 21–52.

41. Generalstab, *Heer*, 2:458–551. On the volunteer movement more generally, see Peter Brandt, "Einstellungen, Motive und Ziele von Kriegsfreiwilligen 1813/14: Das Freikorps Lützow," in Dülffer, *Kriegsbereitschaft*, 211–33; Ibbeken, *Preussen*, 393–439.

42. Cf. Ibbeken, *Preussen*, 442–50.

was highest among university students and school pupils; more than 50 percent of the students at the North German universities signed up.<sup>43</sup> Their eagerness for military service was, without doubt, inspired to a not insubstantial degree by the laws of spring 1813 which reserved the prospect of state employment for those 17 to 24 year old men who had served at least one year in the army.<sup>44</sup> One should not, however, underestimate the effect of the general “patriotic national mood” among broad segments of the population, which presumably fostered the volunteers’ movement just as it did other forms of patriotic national commitment. On the home front, one of the most important opportunities for involvement was an extensive system of charity. Here, for the first time, women, particularly from the bourgeoisie and nobility, participated to an extraordinary degree. They founded patriotic women’s associations in 300 German cities which not only collected donations in cash and kind to equip the “defenders of the fatherland,” but also made bandages, took over the tending of sick and wounded soldiers, and organized relief for the impoverished families of disabled or fallen warriors. After the war most of the women’s associations gave up their relief work, which they had viewed primarily as a “patriotic labor of love” for the “national warriors” engaged in liberating the fatherland, a group that had also included many of their male relatives.<sup>45</sup>

In Prussia, as in other parts of Germany, this early patriotic national movement neither possessed a unifying national political program nor did it call for popular sovereignty. The “German nation” was conceived of quite vaguely as a “*Kultur-*” or “*Völkernation*.”<sup>46</sup> What the various models had in common was the implied idea of a specifically “German national character” which had been “ordained by nature.”<sup>47</sup> It was, however, precisely this persistent vagueness in conceptions of national politics that promoted their integrative and unifying effect, since it prevented the emergence of political controversies. In the years of the uprising against Napoleon, both central terms in the patriotic national discourse, people and nation, encompassed a wide spectrum of political ideas: regional-state patriotism (*Landespatritismus*), which conferred its loyalty upon the individual German

43. Cf. Peter Brandt, *Studentische Lebensreform und Nationalismus: Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Allgemeinen Deutschen Burschenschaften, 1771–1819/23*, (unpublished habilitation thesis, Technische Universität Berlin 1988), 178; see also Ibbeken, *Preussen*, 405ff.

44. See Generalstab, *Heer*, 2: 381–89.

45. See Hagemann, “Heldenmütter”; Dirk Reder, “Natur und Sitte verbieten uns, die Waffen der Zerstörung zu führen . . .: Patriotische Frauen zwischen Krieg und Frieden,” in Dülffer, *Kriegsbereitschaft*, 170–82.

46. See Koselleck, “Volk,” 315ff.

47. “Nation,” in Johann Georg Krünitz, *Ökonomisch-technologische Encyclopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats-, Stadt-, Haus- und Landwirthschaft, und der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1806), vol. 101, 393–415, 393.

state as a nation, remained much more widespread than the early models of a so-called modern German nationalism, with their goal of a unified German nation-state. Loyalty to the individual state certainly could correspond to a common German cultural ideal conceived in nationalist terms, but it could also be pitted against calls for national unification.<sup>48</sup> The Prussian brand of regional patriotism—religious, devoted to king and native soil and tradition-conscious—went, as mentioned, hand in hand with the vision of a German *Kultur*nation.<sup>49</sup> Only after the goal of military liberation had been achieved did a more precise definition of the terms “people” and “nation” begin in public discourse, parallel to the negotiations at the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), and it was accompanied by a rapidly growing opening up of political differences. The beginnings of a national political opposition movement directed primarily against particularism and neo-absolutism and demanding civil liberties were quickly and radically suppressed by the princely coalition of the newly established German Confederation. The activities of this movement, which had spread rapidly after the war through the gymnastic clubs (*Turner*), student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*), German Societies (*Deutsche Gesellschaften*) and the Committees for a National Festival (*Nationalfest-Komitees*) were halted, for the time being, by the Karlsbad Decrees of August 1819.<sup>50</sup>

The entire early phase of the “modern formation of the German state” was decisively influenced by French political hegemony and military expansionism.<sup>51</sup> The French Revolution and Napoleonic rule, which turned large sections of Germany into deployment, transit, and supply zones for the Grande Armée and brought with them the experience of extreme economic exploitation and permanent existential threat, left a lasting impression on broad segments of the population without which the intensity and breadth of patriotic national mobilization cannot be understood.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, they exerted an ambivalent influence over the content and form of the early national movement. On the one hand, this movement

48. Cf. Wehler, *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 1: 506ff; Robert M. Berdahl, “Der deutsche Nationalismus in neuer Sicht,” in *Nationalismus*, ed. Heinrich August Winkler, 2nd ed., (Königstein/Taunus, 1985), 138–54, 140.

49. Cf. Harnisch, “Nationalisierung”, 71–92.

50. On the development of the German nationalist movement after 1815, see Dann, *Nation*, 783ff; Dieter Düding, *Organisierter Nationalismus in Deutschland, 1808–1847: Bedeutung und Funktion der Turner- und Sängervereine für die deutsche Nationalbewegung* (Munich, 1984); Karin Luys, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Nationalbewegung von 1815 bis 1819* (Münster, 1992); Wolfgang Hardtwig, “Studentische Mentalität–Politische Jugendbewegung–Nationalismus: Die Anfänge der deutschen Burschenschaft,” in Hardtwig, *Nationalismus und Bürgerkultur in Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1994), 108–49.

51. See, in general, Dann, *Nation*, 71f; Helmut Berding et al., eds, *Deutschland und Frankreich im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989); Wehler, *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 1: 347–62.

52. Cf. Münchow-Pohl, *Reform*, 49–62.

attempted quite vehemently to distance itself in its substance from the French foe while, on the other, it adopted forms of political propaganda and action as well as symbols and rituals developed during the French Revolution.<sup>53</sup> This epoch was also marked by a permanent war of a new kind introduced by the French. In Germany, as in many other European lands, a “national war” waged by “people’s armies” decisively shaped the process of nation-building.<sup>54</sup> Only in such a war could national sovereignty be regained and defended.<sup>55</sup> German national identity was formed as a counterimage and -weight to the hostile neighbor. It was defined by means of a national image of the self, and the other, differentiated along national, social, and gender-specific lines. As shown above, these differentiations were, in turn, undertaken by means of characterizations of the self and others. From the beginning, the basic structure of culturally constructed national identity was thus not only dichotomous in several respects and thus at once inclusive and exclusive, but also chauvinistic and potentially aggressive toward both the “inner” and the “outer” enemy.<sup>56</sup> These specific historical conditions of the early phase of the modern German national movement shaped not only the *Pathosformeln* of the patriotic national discourse developed during this key period, but also the basic repertoire of national myths, symbols, and rituals which was created at the same time and used well into our own century.<sup>57</sup>

53. See Michael Jeismann, *Das Vaterland der Feinde: Studien zum nationalen Feindbegriff und Selbstverständnis in Deutschland und Frankreich, 1792–1918* (Stuttgart, 1992); Reinhart Koselleck and Rolf Reichardt, eds., *Die Französische Revolution als Bruch des gesellschaftlichen Bewusstseins* (Munich, 1988); Jürgen Voss, ed., *Deutschland und die Französische Revolution* (Munich, 1983).

54. For England, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992).

55. See Michael Howard, *War in European History* (London, 1981), 75–93; Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon* (Bloomington, 1980); T. C. W. Blanning, *The French Revolutionary Wars, 1787–1802* (London, 1996).

56. Cf. Hagemann, “Nation,” 572. It is for this reason that the attempt to construct a progressive, emancipatory, and democratic nationalism in the early period of the modern German national movement and a conservative, or reactionary nationalism in later years, especially during the time of the founding of the Reich, seems problematical. See among others Winkler, *Nationalismus*, 14ff. Modern nationalism, because of its basic structure in Germany—and as Jeismann demonstrates also in France—was from the very beginning both integrationist and aggressive at the same time. Cf. Jeismann, *Vaterland*, 11ff; and Barbara Vogel, “Vom linken zum rechten Nationalismus: Bemerkungen zu einer Forschungsthese,” in *Vom schwierigen Zusammenwachsen der Deutschen: Nationale Identität und Nationalismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. ed. Bernd-Jürgen Wendt (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 97–110.

57. The period of the Wars of Liberation seems to have had an impact on the development of the political national culture in Germany that was similar in importance to that of the French Revolution for France. Cf. Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984), esp. 19–122.

## Nation, War, and the Gender Order

Like much recent work on German national history, the above sketch of the early German national movement owes much to the perspectives of cultural history. In the past few years, research on German nationalism, long dominated by political and social history, has become more open to cultural historical and anthropological approaches. The nation is increasingly being viewed, to use Benedict Anderson's term, as an "imagined community," which is continually (re)producing itself by means of a pervasive sense of national cohesion.<sup>58</sup> To be sure, within the cultural historical approach, which investigates the cultural formation of national emotions and consciousness and thus places the problem of cultural and national identity at the center of its cognitive interest, it makes sense to integrate gender into our analysis systematically as a "sociocultural category."<sup>59</sup> After all, even a superficial look at the images and concepts surrounding the nation and national identity and the representation of the national in symbols and rituals makes obvious the significance of gender. Nevertheless, even the most recent mainstream studies on nationalism tend to treat the gender dimension only in passing.<sup>60</sup> In contrast the growing number of feminist works on nation and gender, which have appeared in the past few years particularly in the anglophone countries, suggest how closely the social and cultural constructions of the nation and gender are interwoven.<sup>61</sup> This becomes obvious if we understand gender, following Joan W.

58. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), 14ff. On the state of research on German nationalism from the perspective of cultural history, see Langewiesche, "Nation", 210–14; François, *Nation*, 13–38; Haupt, "Kultur."

59. Gisela Bock, "Geschichte, Frauengeschichte, Geschlechtergeschichte," *GG* 14 (1988): 364–91, esp. 373–78.

60. See as an example Charlotte Tacke, *Denkmal im sozialen Raum: Nationale Symbole in Deutschland und Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1995), who deals with the gender-historical dimension in a scant six pages (page 44–50).

61. For an overview of the international literature, see the special issues of the following journals *Feminist Review* 44 (Summer 1993): "Nationalisms and National Identities"; *Feminist Review* 45 (Autumn 1993): "Thinking through Ethnicities"; *Gender & History* 5 (Summer 1994) "Gender, Nationalisms and National Identities"; *East European Politics and Societies* 8 (Spring 1994): "Gender and Nation in East Central European Societies"; *Women's Studies International Forum* 18 (1995), no. 5/6: "Links across Difference: Gender, Ethnicity and Nationalism"; *Journal of Women's History* 7, no. 4 (Winter 1995) "Feminism and Nationalism." I have also found the following monographs and essay collections stimulating: Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London, 1986); Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Women-Nation-State* (London, 1989); Nancy Leys Stephan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, 1991); Andrew Parker et al., eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York, 1992). See for a first international comparison, Ida Blom, "Das Zusammenwirken von Nationalismus um die Jahrhundertwende: Ein Versuch zur vergleichenden Geschlechtergeschichte," in *Geschichte und Vergleich: Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 315–38.

Scott, as “knowledge,” i.e., the understanding produced by cultures and societies, “about sexual difference . . . Such knowledge is not absolute or true, but always relative. It is produced in complex ways within large epistemic frames that themselves have an (at least quasi-) autonomous history. Its uses and meanings become contested politically and are the means by which relationships of power—of dominance and subordination—are constructed.” This knowledge refers not only to ideas but also to institutions and structures, to everyday practices as well as specialized rituals, all of which constitute political and social relationships. In short, this knowledge is a way of ordering the world which is inseparable from political and social organization.<sup>62</sup> Gender is thus, like the nation, a constructed and contested system of cultural representations. Together, the two systems limit and legitimate people’s access to national movements and the resources of nation-states. As Anne McClintock, among others, has emphasized, nations, “despite many nationalists’ investment in the idea of popular unity,” have historically amounted to the sanctioned institutionalization of gender difference. “No nation in the world grants women and men the same access to the rights and resources of the nation-state.”<sup>63</sup>

This also holds true for Germany. Here, as in most, if not all nations, the process of nation-building was from the beginning dominated by men. Men from the educated strata, particularly the educated bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*), were the protagonists of the cultural construction of the “German nation.” Because of their educational and professional careers, which were oriented toward change and a high degree of geographical mobility, and their specific position within the traditional society of estates and orders, members of this social group, which had been growing rapidly since the eighteenth century, appear not only to have been predisposed to think in broader terms and in ways that transcended the particular interests of individual territorial states, but also to have been compelled to reflect upon issues of cultural identity and social position. The fears and desires, needs, hopes, and visions of these men shaped the patriotic national discourse and the forms of representation of the nation as well as the praxis of the national movement. They appear to have engaged so intensively in the search for new individual and collective models and values in no small part because, more than other social groups, they experienced the transformations in all areas of the economy, society, politics,

62. Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 2; see also idem “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” 28–50. For an overview of the various current approaches within women’s and gender history, see Joy Parr, “Gender History and Historical Practice,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 76 (Sept. 1995): 354–76.

63. Anne McClintock, “‘No Longer in a Future Heaven’: Nationalism, Gender, and Race,” in Eley, *Becoming*, 260–84, 260.

and culture, which were accelerated by revolution and war, as mental disorientation and sociocultural insecurity.<sup>64</sup>

An important area of change, which appears to have unleashed massive anxieties, was the gender order. Not only the economic and legal system of the household and family were undergoing changes, but also gender images and relations.<sup>65</sup> The French Revolution was extraordinarily significant here. It not only made it conceivable that men's demands for political equality and individual freedom could be extended to women as well, but it also demonstrated that women could intervene in the formation of public opinion radically, violently, and by force of arms, an arena of action and power heretofore connoted as genuinely masculine.<sup>66</sup> Women's demands and activities during the revolution were followed intently by educated men in Germany, who viewed them as a danger to their own gender order and the male predominance it secured.<sup>67</sup> Apart from the need for a broad mobilization of male preparedness for war already described above, this was probably another important reason for the striking development of the discourse on masculinity at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>68</sup> This discourse may thus be interpreted as the expression

64. See Bödeker, "Stände," Georg Bollenbeck, *Bildung und Kultur: Glanz und Elend eines deutschen Deutungsmusters* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), esp. 160–224; Ute Frevert, "'Tatenarm und gedankenvoll'? Bürgertum in Deutschland, 1780–1830," in Berding, *Deutschland*, 263–92.

65. See Reinhard Koselleck, "Die Auflösung des Hauses als ständischer Herrschaftseinheit: Anmerkungen zum Rechtswandel von Haus, Familie und Gesinde in Preussen zwischen Französischer Revolution und 1848," in *Familie zwischen Tradition und Moderne: Studien zur Geschichte der Familie in Deutschland und Frankreich vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Neidhart Bulst (Göttingen, 1981), 109–24; Dieter Schwab, "Familie," in *GGr.* (Stuttgart, 1975), 2: 253–301, 272ff.

66. See Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, 1988); Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Kabine, eds., *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992); Olwen H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992). For a review of the literature, see Claudia Opitz, "Auf der Suche nach den vergessenen Töchtern der Revolution: Neuere Forschungen über Frauen und Frauenrechte im revolutionären Frankreich, 1789–1795," in *Frauengeschichte: gesucht—gefunden? Auskünfte zum Stand der historischen Frauenforschung*, ed. Beate Fieseler and Birgit Schulze (Cologne, 1991), 146–63.

67. See Ulrike Greitner, "'Die eigentlichen Enragés ihres Geschlechts': Aufklärung, Französische Revolution und Weiblichkeit," in *Grenzgängerinnen: Revolutionäre Frauen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Weibliche Wirklichkeit und männliche Phantasien*, ed. Helga Grubitzsch et al. (Düsseldorf, 1985), 181–217; Peter Kuhlbrodt, "Die Französische Revolution und die Frauenrechte in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 38 (1990): 405–21.

68. Cf. among others the following contemporary publications: Karl Heinrich Heydenreich, *Mann und Weib: Ein Beytrag zur Philosophie über die Geschlechter* (Leipzig, 1798) (The author, contrary to the title, only deals with men.); Johann Ludwig Ewald, *Der gute Jüngling, gute Gatte und Vater, oder Mittel um es zu werden*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1804); Carl Friedrich Pockels, *Der Mann: Ein anthropologisches Charaktergemälde seines Geschlechts*, 4 vols. (Hanover 1805–1808); Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Fragmente über die Menschenerziehung*, parts 1. and 2. (Altona, 1805) (Arndt considers—again contrary to the title—in parts 1 and 2 only men.); Friedrich Ehrenberg, *Der Charakter und die Bestimmung des Mannes* (Elbergeld, 1822 (2)), 1st ed. 1806/09; also for an overview: Ute Frevert "Geschlecht—männlich/weiblich: Zur Geschichte der



of a cultural crisis of bourgeois male self-esteem in the transitional period at the turn of the century—a crisis presumably further intensified by the experience of military defeat in 1806–07. In spite of the fact that the responsibility for this debacle rested primarily with the aristocratic elites who headed the administration and the army of the Prussian state, it was nevertheless discussed in the daily press as an expression of a general “male failure.”<sup>69</sup>

Only against this background can we understand the specific construction of a “German national character” in public discourse between 1806 and 1815, which, as has already been suggested, was defined in terms of qualities associated with the middle classes and primarily connoted as masculine, the most important of which were honorability and valor (*Ehr- und Wehrhaftigkeit*). The counterimage of “Gallic national character,” which was developed at the same time, denounced the enemy as “dishonorable,” “bereft of virtue” and “weak.” These attributions were presumably intended not only to serve the purposes of patriotic national mobilization and to increase military fighting strength, but also to stabilize masculine self-confidence. The complementary construction of womanly “national virtues” must have had a similar function. Their significance for the German nation was acknowledged, in that women were declared the “preservers of morality and religiosity” and “priestesses in the Temple of Vesta.”<sup>70</sup> They were even entrusted with a patriotic task of substantial public significance, for as wives, homemakers, and mothers they bore responsibility for the family, now promoted to the status of “nursery of the nation.”<sup>71</sup> They were expected to perform this task, however, in the non-public space of the household. At the same time, women’s position in the nation remained subordinate to that of men, for the latter were dubbed the “protectors” of women—who were defined as “defenseless” (*wehrlos*)—and of the homes they maintained.

The construction of the German national character in gender- and socially specific terms was closely tied to the construction of a polarized notion of “sex-specific character.”<sup>72</sup> The two processes shaped and reinforced each other. To be sure, the dichotomous opposition of man and

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Begriffe, 1730–1990,” in Frevert, *Mann und Weib, Weib und Mann: Geschlechter-Differenzen in der Moderne* (Munich, 1995), 13–60.

69. Cf. Hagemann, “Heldenmütter.”

70. Elisabeth v. F., *Frauensteuer an der Wiege des wiedergeborenen Vaterlandes*, n.p. 1814, 56.

71. “Nation,” in *Rheinisches Conversations-Lexikon oder Encyclopädisches Handwörterbuch für gebildete Stände*, hg. v. einer Gesellschaft rheinischer Gelehrter, 12 vols., (Cologne, 1826), 8: 74–79.

72. See Karin Hausen, “Family and Role-division: The Polarisation of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century: An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life,” in *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in 19th- and 20th-century*

woman can be traced back to classical antiquity.<sup>73</sup> This opposition took on a new quality, however, in the context of intensive efforts at a redefinition of gender differences beginning in the late eighteenth century. Where previously gender differences had been largely understood as social differences, i.e., the differences between man and woman had been derived from their respective positions and their specific tasks within the structure of a corporate society,<sup>74</sup> they were now rooted in certain recently discovered biological differences between man and woman, above all in their different anatomies and functions in the procreative process. Dichotomous sex-specific characters were deduced from gender differences which, with the help of this paradigmatic anthropologization, were constructed as natural and hierarchical.<sup>75</sup> The central qualities now attributed to men were "aggressivity," "activity," "force," "creativity," "passion," "courage," "strength" and "gallantry." Women, in contrast, were assigned the character traits of "peaceableness," "solicitude," "the capacity for love," "passivity," "gentleness," "beauty," and "morality." This dichotomous and hierarchical view of gender, which claimed universality through its grounding in anthropology, provided an excellent basis for the political objective of militarizing concepts of masculinity, since the male canon of virtues was already essentially defined in terms of martial and active traits.<sup>76</sup> The female canon of virtues was its complement. With the militarization of the dichotomous and hierarchical view of gender, in turn, the notion of the polarity of the sexes was heightened. "Valor" became the masculine, and loving "morality" the feminine character trait.

The polarity and hierarchy of the gender order, and thus the male

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Germany, ed. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (London, 1981), 51–83. For a review of the literature, see Ruth-Ellen Boetcher-Joeres, "German Women in Text and Context of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Review Essay of Feminist Criticism," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der Literatur* (=IASL) 11 (1986): 232–63; and more general: Eda Sagarra, "Recent Feminist Scholarship in the Field of German Studies: A Review Essay," *IASL*, 3rd Special issue: Forschungsreferate 2. series (Tübingen, 1993): 113–58.

73. Cf. Brita Rang, "Zur Geschichte des dualistischen Denkens über Mann und Frau: Kritische Anmerkungen zu den Thesen von Karin Hausen zur Herausbildung der Geschlechtscharaktere im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Frauenmacht in der Geschichte: Beiträge des Historikerinnentreffens 1985 zur Frauengeschichtsforschung*, ed. Jutta Dalhoff et al. (Düsseldorf, 1986), 194–204.

74. Cf. Heide Wunder, "Er ist die Sonn.' sie ist der Mond"; *Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 1992), 261ff.

75. See Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); Elisabeth Stolzenberg-Bader, "Weibliche Schwäche—männliche Stärke: Das Kulturbild der Frau in medizinischen und anatomischen Abhandlungen um die Wende des 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert," in *Aufgaben, Rollen und Räume von Frau und Mann*, ed. Jochen Martin and Renate Zoepffel (Munich, 1989), 751–818.

76. See Ute Frevert, "Geschlecht—männlich/weiblich: Zur Geschichte der Begriffe, 1730–1990," in Frevert, "Mann," 13–60, 29ff.

predominance within the emerging nation, was further intensified by the circumstance that universal conscription became an important building block of the modern nation-state.<sup>77</sup> The status as a “full citizen” (*Vollbürger*) in the nation was tied to the bearing of arms. In contemporary discourse, only those men who were prepared to do their military duty were granted the potential right to “participation in the business of state.” They had, so to speak, to earn their eligibility for citizenship by military service. This line of argument was tied to the hope that, once the Wars of Liberation had furnished sufficient proof of the men’s worthiness, monarchs would grant “the people” more political liberties. As a result, when the promise of a constitution made by the princes was not honored, the disappointment after the end of the war was widespread, particularly in early liberal circles. In May of 1815, two months after the start of the second campaign against France, Friedrich Wilhelm III had also given assurances that a “representation of the people be formed,” because he wished to strengthen the condition of civil freedom and a just administration resting on order, and in general to further the cementing of harmony between ruler and the “Prussian nation.” The constitution of the Prussian Reich was to have been in the form of a written document, such as was used for constitutional states since the American Revolution.<sup>78</sup> Early-liberal hopes were tied to this vague promise, which in contemporary discourse was considered as recognition of military service already rendered by the male “citizens within the state” who had been subject to military duty.

For the early liberals in Prussia as well as in other parts of Germany it was a matter of course that only men could be afforded any kind of citizenship rights. Only they, after all, were granted the right, on behalf of their representatives and regulated by laws, to bear arms and to go to war. This coupling of military service with citizenship rights enjoyed the acceptance of the world of men across the borders of warring nations and ideological camps. As a consequence, women were denied political civil rights, initially by regulation in 1793 in revolutionary France.<sup>79</sup> Thus the exclusion of women from the political arena was assured under the altered political conditions of a bourgeois society with its concept of “individual

77. Cf. Samuel E. Finner, “State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military,” in *The Formation of National State in Western Europe*, ed. Charles Tilly (Princeton, 1975), 84–163, here 134ff.

78. Cf. Siemann, *Staatenbund*, 68ff and 36–56.

79. In France, at the end of October 1793, only two months after the introduction of the levée en masse, all political women’s clubs were banned. Cf. Claudia Opitz, “Der Bürger wird Soldat- und die Bürgerin . . . ? Die Revolution, der Krieg, und die Stellung der Frauen nach 1789,” in *Sklavin oder Bürgerin? Französische Revolution und neue Weiblichkeit, 1760–1830*, ed. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), 38–53; Darline Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, “Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris,” in Melzer, *Daughters*, 79–101; Hufton, *Limits*, 1–50.

citizenship" that was no longer tied to communities of estates, but was granted to individuals.<sup>80</sup> In Prussia this exclusion was explicitly formulated in Stein's city regulations of November 1808 whose aim was a "more effective participation of the citizenry in the administration of the polity." The regulation, which reinforced the corporate rights to self-government of urban communities and established, in the form of the assembly of the city council, a stable legislative power on the basis of a system of representation, granted all "citizens," for the first time as individuals, the active and passive voting right that was no longer tied to entities that up to now had been the authority, such as "orders, guilds, and corporations." Aside from women, only those men who had committed a punishable offense, had gone bankrupt, or whose income was below the census figure, were excluded.<sup>81</sup> At the end of February 1813 Friedrich Wilhelm III ordered, in addition to the mobilization law, that all men who had evaded military service would forfeit "for the rest of their lives" "any citizenship rights." Moreover, they were denied the honor of wearing the "*National-Kokarde*," the newly introduced symbol designating membership in the Prussian nation, and were no longer permitted to hold any public office.<sup>82</sup>

In monarchical Prussia, as earlier in revolutionary America and France, the modern nation was thus conceived of from the beginning as a male-dominated space shaped by military values.<sup>83</sup> The increasingly exclusive relegation of women to the "privacy" of household and family was only the reverse side of this exclusion from the armed community of "state citizens."<sup>84</sup> The image of the nation as a "folk family," which enjoyed

80. In theory, the "individuals rights of citizens" should have been granted all people, women as well as men. Cf. Ute Frevert, "Unser Staat ist männlichen Geschlechts: Zur politischen Topographie der Geschlechter vom 18. bis frühen 20. Jahrhundert," in Frevert, *Mann*, 61–132.

81. Cf. "Ordnung für sämtliche Städte der Preussischen Monarchie mit dazu gehöriger Instruktion: Behuf der Geschäftsführung der Stadtverordneten bei ihren ordnungsgemässen Versammlungen. Vom 19. November 1808," printed in *Quellen zum modernen Gemeindeverfassungsrecht in Deutschland*, ed. Christian Engeli and Wolfgang Haus (Stuttgart, 1975), 104–7; see in general, Frevert, *Staat*, 74ff.

82. Cf. "Nähere Bestimmung der Verordnung vom 9. Februar 1813, Breslau, den 22. Februar 1813," printed in Generalstab, *Heer*, 2: 388f.

83. For France, see Levy, "Women"; Opitz, "Burger"; for the US, Linda K. Kerber, "May All Our Citizens Be Soldiers and All Our Soldiers Citizens: The Ambiguities of Female Citizenship in the New Nation," in *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias (Bollman Place, Maryland, 1990), 89–103.

84. On the problem of the conceptual pair "public sphere" (*Öffentlichkeit*) and "private sphere" (*Privatheit*), see Leonore Davidoff, "'Alte Hüte': Öffentlichkeit und Privatheit in der feministischen Geschichtsschreibung," *L'Homme* 4 (1993): 7–36; Karin Hausen, "Öffentlichkeit und Privatheit: Gesellschaftspolitische Konstruktionen und die Geschichte der Geschlechterbeziehungen," in Hausen, *Frauengeschichte*, 81–88; Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, N.J.,

great popularity in Prussia, cemented and legitimized this hierarchical construction of the political gender order. This image helped solidify the gender-hierarchical division of labor by universalizing, in the image of the nation, the traits and spheres of action assigned to men and women in the family and society. Like the individual family, the imaginary “folk family” was male- and patriarchally dominated and, under the conditions of a national war with general mobilization, strongly shaped by military values. If the “fatherland was imperiled,” the entire folk family had to become a “military fighting unit” in which all members—young and old, single and married, women and men—had their specific patriotic duties. In this respect women’s patriotic charity during the Wars of Liberation did not contradict the model of a female national and sex-specific character. On the contrary, this work was highly praised in the topical literature of the day and interpreted as an extension of “natural” to “patriotic” motherliness.<sup>85</sup> Women’s activities in this marginal corner of the public arena, which were viewed as genuinely feminine, were not merely restricted to wartime, however, but also did nothing to alter the fact that the power centers of the nation—the state and the army—continued to be dominated by men.

The image of the nation as a folk family, which can be found in many national discourses,<sup>86</sup> performed a central function in the process of modern nation-building, since it integrated all social groups which were defined as belonging to it into the nation and at the same time very effectively established hierarchies in the social and political order. The notion of the state as a folk family was nothing new. Classical and Christian traditions, however, were now modified to conform to contemporary requirements and ideas. Thus, in Prussia, the old notion of a dualistic relationship, based on “fear” und “love,” between the sovereign (*Landesvater*) and his subjects (*Landeskinder*) was replaced by the idea of a relationship, based primarily on “love” and “loyalty,” between “royal parents,” i.e., the “Father and Mother of the Country,” and their children (*Landeskinder*). In this way, the modern, originally bourgeois ideal of the family that also found resonance in the educated aristocracy, like the new anthropologically justified dualistic and hierarchical model of gender relations, was

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1993); Carol Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1989).

85. See the parallels to the terms “republican” or “patriotic” motherhood used in the American and French contexts in Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780–1860* (Houndmills, 1985), 33–72.

86. Cf. Colley, *Britons*, 262ff; Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992); Monika Wienfort, *Monarchie in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft: Deutschland und England von 1640 bis 1848* (Göttingen, 1993), 183ff.

integrated into models of the nation. The accompanying emotionalization of political concepts was intended to help overcome the duality of monarch and subjects mentally and to integrate them into the "monarchical nation"—not least in order to motivate them to make the necessary wartime "sacrifice for the fatherland." What made the model of the folk family so widely attractive was its potential for connotations beyond the boundaries of estate and stratum, and its emotional content, which, proceeding from individual experience and Christian tradition, rendered it comprehensible to broad segments of the population.<sup>87</sup>

As a closer look at the intersections between the nation, war, and the gender order shows, gender functioned in patriotic national discourse, as in political, social, and cultural practice, in multiple ways. In conjunction with other factors such as class and stratum, ethnicity, marital status, and age as well as religion and ideology, gender

- shaped the culturally constructed images and concepts of the nation as well as the forms of representing the nation in symbols and rituals;
- defined the opportunities for and limits to participation in the political, social, and cultural practice of the nation, i.e., it determined, among other things, the patriotic national movement's forms and scope of action and the legal position and thus opportunities of access to the resources and institutions of the emerging nation-state;
- created hierarchical relationships within the nation in various ways, not only between men and women, but also, in interaction with other factors, within different groups of men and groups of women;
- also substantially influenced individual and collective identities and at the same time subjective perceptions of the nation.

The nation, nationalism, and the nation-state can thus only be appropriately grasped in their respective specific formations if gender is systematically integrated into the analysis. This is also demonstrated by a gender-specific view of the early German national movement: in the patriotic discourse of the years between 1806 and 1815, a discourse shaped by men, the nation was constructed as a male-dominated and genuinely male-connoted space. Masculinity was, accordingly, the central theme when contemporary topical literature reflected on the sexes. In this discourse, a model of masculinity was developed whose core was always defined as patriotism and valor. As a result of the interactions between the above-mentioned factors, however, the concrete elaborations of this model of masculinity

87. See Hagemann, "Nation"; on the history of the topos of the *Landesvater* (father of the country) more generally, see Paul Münch, "Die 'Obrigkeit im Vaterland': Zu Definition und Kritik des 'Landesvaters' während der frühen Neuzeit," *Daphnis* 11 (1982): 15–40; Gerd Frühsorge, "Begründung der 'väterlichen Gesellschaft,'" in *Das Vaterbild im Abendland*, ed. Hubert Tellenbach (Stuttgart, 1978), 110–23.

were quite varied, as the following analysis of songs and poems from the period will make clear.

### Images of "Patriotism," "Valor," and "Manliness"

In February 1813 there appeared in Königsberg, the center of the Prussian movement against Napoleon, an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Kurzer Katechismus für teutsche Soldaten, nebst zwei Anhängen von Liedern* (A Brief Catechism for German Soldiers, with Two Appendices of Songs).<sup>88</sup> The author was the historian and political author Ernst Moritz Arndt. Among the 29 poems in the appendix was the "Vaterlandslied," whose first stanza reads:

Der Gott, der Eisen wachsen liess,  
Der wollte keine Knechte,  
Drum gab er Säbel, Schwert und  
    Spiess  
Dem Mann in seine Rechte,  
Drum gab er ihm den kühnen Mut,  
Den Zorn der freien Rede,  
Dass er bestände bis aufs Blut,  
Bis in den Tod die Fehde.<sup>89</sup>

The God who once let iron grow  
Did not want us as slaves  
Twas for this reason that he gave  
    men saber, sword and spear  
Twas for this he gave men hearts so  
    bold and passion to speak free,  
That in battle they might hold their  
    own unto their last blood, unto  
    death.

In July 1812, Arndt had followed vom Stein, the former principal civil minister of Prussia, who was deposed in 1810 under pressure from Napoleon, to St. Petersburg and was commissioned by him to write propaganda material against the French emperor. The failure of the French campaign in Russia allowed Arndt and Stein to return to Prussia. When the two arrived in Königsberg in January 1813 a people's war against Napoleon, toward which Prussian patriots had been working for years, seemed within reach.<sup>90</sup>

Arndt sought to further this goal by all available means of propaganda. One of the numerous pamphlets he published to this end was the *Kurzer Katechismus*. Here Arndt developed a catalog of conduct for the soldier as a citizen in uniform who, bound to the bourgeois Christian code of ethics, fought for his fatherland and thus ultimately also for himself, his family, and his property. In this text, soldier and citizen appear interchangeable:

88. The first edition of the "Kurzer Katechismus," which Arndt had originally written for the soldiers of the "German Legion", had already appeared anonymously in Petersburg in 1812. See Czygan, *Geschichte*, vol. I, 143ff.

89. Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Werke, Auswahl in zwölf Teilen*, part 1: *Gedichte*, ed. August Lesson, (Berlin, 1912), 100f.

90. Cf. Ernst Müsebeck, *Ernst Moritz Arndt: Ein Lebensbild*, vol. 1, up to 1815 (Gotha, 1914), 337ff.

the soldier was to be a "valorous" citizen and the citizen a potential soldier. Both were sworn to defend the "German fatherland" and had to be prepared to die for the cause if necessary. As in other pamphlets from the spring of 1813—for example his own brochure *Was bedeutet Landsturm und Landwehr?* (What are the Reserves and the Militia?), which at 80,000–100,000 copies was extraordinarily widely distributed<sup>91</sup>—Arndt's catechism promoted the idea of universal conscription. All German men of military age should liberate the fatherland together, thereby proving their manhood.

The "Vaterlandslied," one of Arndt's most famous poems, was written in 1812 and soon gained great popularity. In this song, as in others printed in the appendix to the *Kurzer Katechismus*, which in the revised version of August 1813, the *Katechismus für den deutschen Kriegs- und Wehrmann* (Catechism for the German Warrior and Militia Man) reached an edition size of 60,000–80,000,<sup>92</sup> the relationship between patriotism, valor and manliness is created lyrically. The poem contains many images and metaphors typical of the patriotic national topical literature of the day. It was God's will that the German man be a "free," "bold," "valorous" man, devoted to his "sacred fatherland" with "love" and "loyalty," who marched off with his "brothers" from all parts of Germany to fight a war of vengeance against the "Gallic foe." This enemy had, after all, brought disgrace upon the German lands with his "un-Christian" and "immoral" way of life. All men who "dishonorably" continued to "slave" for the "Gallic tyrants" forfeited their manhood. They were considered "knaves" (the word *Bube* which was used here also means boy) and were to be ostracized. All "truly" German men were called upon to participate in the "sweet campaign of revenge." In old Germanic tradition, they should be prepared to die as "heroes for the fatherland" according to the motto "victory or death." Typical of Arndt's lyrics, on the one hand, is the historical and religious legitimization of the "struggle for liberty" and, on the other, the emphatically German nationalist sentiment accompanied by extreme Francophobia.

The "Vaterlandslied" was reprinted in numerous song collections of the time and developed into a prototype of patriotic national lyrics. In the years 1812–13, Arndt was one of the first to employ lyrics deliberately for the broad propagation of his political program. He demonstrated that songs and poems could be used to good and broad effect as a medium of individual or collective sentiment, opinion, desires, and action as well as to disseminate information about political and social processes. His lyric poetry, written in a religious and popular language, was addressed to all classes,

91. Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Was bedeutet Landsturm und Landwehr?* (Königsberg [February], 1813). Cf. Karl Heinz Schäfer, *Ernst Moritz Arndt als politischer Publizist: Studien zu Publizistik, Pressepolitik und kollektivem Bewusstsein im frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1974), 257.

92. Schäfer, *Arndt*, 256.



making use of collective knowledge and accepted norms. It provided a model for all subsequent writers of patriotic national lyrics, a genre that falls into three groups: German nationalist lyrics of the Arndtian type, “volunteers’ lyrics,” which were also largely of a German nationalist bent, and the lyrics of regional-state (*landespatriotisch*) patriotism.<sup>93</sup>

Volunteers’ lyrics may be regarded as the first response to Arndt’s poetry and songs by the young men who went to war in 1813. The first and most successful collection of such poems, written for and to a large extent also by volunteers, was *Deutsche Wehrlieder für das Königlich-Preussische Frei-Corps*, which was cited at the beginning of this paper.<sup>94</sup> Its editor was the political author, educator, and father of the gymnastics movement “Turnvater” Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, one of the founders and propagandists of the legendary Freicorps under the command of Major v. Lützow, a volunteer unit of men from the various German states who considered themselves the “germcell of a German national army.”<sup>95</sup> While traditional collections of soldiers’ songs (which continued to appear in the period between 1812 and 1815 and were directed primarily at soldiers of the standing army) still described the military as an estate, new collections of volunteers’ lyrics such as the *Wehrlieder* characterized military service for the threatened fatherland as the duty of every man who was capable of bearing arms (*wehrfähig*). Accordingly, their priority was to recruit volunteers and to “arm them mentally and morally” for the coming struggle. Thus the appeal “An die wehrbare Deutsche Jugend” (To German Youth Capable of Bearing Arms) by the Lützow volunteer Mill, which appeared in the *Wehrlieder*, begins:

Heran, heran, zu Sieg oder Tod!	Come on, come on, to victory or death!
Jugend! das Vaterland ist in Not.	Young men heed the fatherland’s distress!
Nie kommt ihm der Tag der Rettung wieder,	If you fail to vanquish the foe now
Kämpfst du nicht diesmal den Feind darnieder.	The day of deliverance shall never return
Jugend! mach gut, was die Alten versahn,	Young men make good what your elders neglected
Der Ehre Thor ist Dir aufgethan. <sup>96</sup>	The portals of honor stand open to you.

This appeal, like many other examples of “volunteers’ lyrics,” explicitly addressed young men, who made up the great majority of both the volunteers

93. Weber, *Lyrik*, 150.

94. Jahn, *Wehrlieder*.

95. See Brandt, “Einstellungen.”

96. Jahn, *Wehrlieder*, 11.

and the militia. To them fell the task of vanquishing the enemy and liberating the fatherland: a task, so the song suggests, that the "elders" had been incapable of accomplishing in 1806–07. Like this appeal, one may also read other poems in the genre as expressions of generational conflict. In the form and content of their songs the "young-manly" (*jungmännlich*) authors emphasized an emotionally vivid, enterprising, virile masculinity, deliberately distancing themselves from fathers they deemed "sluggish in thought" and "poor in deed." For them, there was no contradiction between this model of masculinity and "tender sensibility."<sup>97</sup> On the contrary, these young educated men appear to have regarded the two as reciprocal and mutually reinforcing. "Sensibility" (*Empfindsamkeit*) was found in the interior space of emotional relationships with like-minded men and women, in romantic relationships, and friendships. It was the necessary precondition for passionate, active, and "truly manly" behavior in the exterior space of the political sphere, since it made men more sensitive to the problems and needs of community and fatherland. It was, at the same time, the basis of "brotherly" comradeship in the patriotic national young men's associations such as the gymnastic clubs and student associations. The *Freicorps* and rifle detachments, as groups of volunteers, were repeatedly described in lyrics, as harmonious "bands of brothers."

The topos of the army as a "community of brothers," i.e., of men of similar origins and culture and close emotional bonds, whose "equality" was embodied in their "equal freedom" to die a "sacrificial death for the fatherland," was of great significance throughout patriotic national lyrics, for it promised all warriors the chance to rise to the status of heroes. Under the conditions of universal conscription, this democratization of a heroism previously reserved for the nobility was to be extended to all men prepared to fight and die in war. The anonymous collection *Schlachtgesänge und Vaterlandslieder für deutsche Jünglinge* (Battle Hymns and Songs of the Fatherland for German Lads), which appeared in 1813 in Berlin, made a correspondingly general appeal:

Auf Deutsche!—ein jeglicher reiche  
Zum Bunde dem Bruder die Hand!  
Im Kampfe—da Geb'es nur Gleiche!  
Da werd' man nur Bruder genannt!

Onward, Germans! let each man give  
His hand to the band of brothers!  
In battle—there are only equals!  
There, each is called brother!

97. On the meaning of the term "Empfindsamkeit" at that time, see Gerhard Sauder, "Bürgerliche' Empfindsamkeit," in *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, ed. Rudolf Vierhaus (Heidelberg, 1981), 149–64; Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum zwischen 1770 und 1840* (Göttingen, 1996); Trepp, "The Emotional Side of Men in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany (Theory and Example)," *Central European History* 27 (1994): 127–52.

Im Kampfe—da gilt es Ein Leben;  
 Da gelte für Alle Ein Recht!  
 Da binde Ein Wollen, Ein Streben,  
 Harmonisch das ganze Geschlecht!

In battle—there is but one life;  
 There is but one law for all!  
 One desire, one striving  
 Harmoniously binds the entire  
 generation!

Und wer für die Freiheit zu fallen,  
 Wer, siegend, zu sterben vermag—  
 Als Rittersmann gelt'er bei Allen,  
 Auch ohne den Weihenden Schlag!<sup>98</sup>

And he who can fall for freedom,  
 he who can die victorious,—  
 Will be deemed a knight by all,  
 Even without the sword's consecration!

Women were, to be sure, excluded from this patriotic martyrs' band of brothers, but it could not function without them. Even the modern hero depended upon the suffering, mourning woman who had the capacity to express and preserve the feelings he denied himself, thus permitting him to repress the reality of death on the battlefield and thus also his fear of dying, making combat possible. For that reason (and not only in volunteers' lyrics) women were universally assigned the patriotic duty of mourning the fallen heroes and preserving their glory. Like female care of wounded and sick soldiers, this was a prerequisite for the individual valor of men as well as the collective combat readiness of the nation under the conditions of universal conscription.<sup>99</sup>

The generation-specific model of emotionally vivid, enterprising, virile and—we must now add—brotherly, masculinity is particularly apparent in the many calls to arms directed at male youth, but also in the genre of *Jägerlieder* (riflemen's/huntsmen's songs).<sup>100</sup> which were particularly popular and correspondingly widely distributed among the volunteers. No fewer than five of the twelve poems in the *Wehrlieder* collection belong to this genre. The best-known of these was "Die Freischaar" (The Band of Volunteers) by Theodor Körner, a playwright from Saxony who served with the Lützow volunteers and fell in battle in August 1813.<sup>101</sup> Körner entered the annals of literary history as a youthful "heroic bard," of the Wars of Liberation. The first stanza of his song "Die Freischaar" reads:

Frisch auf, ihr Jäger, frei und flink,  
 Die Büchsen von der Wand!  
 Der Mutige befreit die Welt,  
 Frisch auf den Feind! Frisch in das Feld  
 Für's deutsche Vaterland!<sup>102</sup>

Step lively riflemen, free and bold  
 Take down your rifles from the walls!  
 The brave man frees the world,  
 On against the foe! On to the field  
 The German fatherland calls!

98. *Schlachtgesänge und Vaterlandslieder für deutsche Jünglinge* (Berlin, 1815).

99. See Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff and Almut Junker, "Vaterländische Frauentugend," in Schmidt-Linsenhoff, *Sklavin*, 584–604; Ellen Spickernagel, "Gross in der Trauer: Die weibliche Klage um tote Helden in Historienbildern des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *ibid.*, 308–25.

100. In German the word *Jäger* means both hunter and rifleman.

101. Weber, *Lyrrik*, 187ff.

102. Jahn, *Wehrlieder*, 12.

Körner's poems, like Arndt's, remained extraordinarily popular throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>103</sup> During the Wars of Liberation, his songs belonged to the daily singing repertoire of the volunteers. Like other songs, "Die Freischaar" painted a portrait of war and warriors that must have corresponded closely to the sentiments and notions of young volunteers. With the multilayered metaphor of the hunt, which was used similarly in many other *Jägerlieder*, Körner sketches an image of war as a sporting contest, a playful game. The enemy appears as a vanquished animal, "boldly," and "bravely" bagged by riflemen-hunters. In this way the horrors and dangers of war, and not least the risk of one's own death, were repressed, simultaneously banishing any ethical scruples about killing in battle. At the same time, this metaphor sketches the image of a freewheeling life in the field as part of a comradely male community. Voluntary military service was thus also portrayed as offering freedom from paternal control and domination and an escape from the rigid daily round.

To be sure, volunteers' lyrics constantly emphasized the "liberation of the German fatherland" and "revenge" for the "shameful" French "rule of tyranny" as motives for fighting. On closer inspection, however, the images and metaphors it employed also point to a number of personal motives that may have impelled young volunteers to participate in the "struggle for freedom." Alongside the desire for more political rights and freedoms, their call for liberty appears, not least, to have encompassed hopes for a wider individual scope of action. Young volunteers apparently considered military service as a sort of initiation period in which they could test and demonstrate their manliness and at the same time gain more personal freedom. Thus in fulfilling their "duty to serve" they did more than just prove their competence as "protectors of home and fatherland" and thus their marriageability, for it was a common opinion that only a man capable and willing of bearing arms would make a good husband. At the same time they acquired the right to participate in the community of adult male citizens. Read in this way, volunteers' lyrics reveal themselves as a generation- and class-specific young man's version of "modern German nationalism," one that differed in their verve and enthusiasm from Arndt's more patriarchal and popular stance.

Lyrics expressing regional-state patriotism were addressed to a similarly broad group as Arndt's brand of German nationalist lyrics. They were aimed primarily, however, at ordinary soldiers of the standing army and members of the militia and reserves, i.e., at men from the rural and urban

103. Cf. Erhard Jöst, "Der Heldentod des Dichters Theodor Körner: Der Einfluss eines Mythos auf die Rezeption einer Lyrik und ihre literarische Kritik," *Orbis Litterarum* 32 (1977): 310–40; Helena Szepe, "Opfertod und Poesie: Zur Geschichte der Theodor-Körner Legende, *Colloquia Germanica* (1975): 291–304.

lower and middle classes. More than in other versions of patriotic national lyrics, they invoke the image of the nation as a folk family, led by the monarch as the “Father of his Country.” As a result, “loyalty” to the king and “love” for the territorial state, here referred to as the “fatherland,” were the principle motives mentioned for participating in the struggle for liberation. The “Kriegslied beim Ausmarsch” (War Song for Marching Out) from the anonymous collection *Kriegslieder für die Königlich Preussischen Truppen* (War Songs for the Royal Prussian Troops) of March 1813 expresses it thus:

Wohlauf, Kameraden, ins Feld, ins Feld!	Boldly comrades, let us take to the field!
Dem König gehört unser Leben! Vertrauen und Liebe, nicht Gold und Geld,	Our lives belong to the King! Trust and love, not gold and silver
Beseeligt unser Bestreben! Dem König und Vaterland zugethan, So stehen wir alle Mann für Mann!” <sup>104</sup>	Inspire our resolve! Devoted to King and fatherland Man for man, here we stand!

At the same time, regional patriotic songs like this one were continually emphasizing that soldiers and warriors of the Prussian army fought out of conviction, not “contemptible greed”—creating a distance between them and the universally reviled mercenaries of the old princely armies.

Regional patriotic songs and poems called upon men to volunteer for military service, using different arguments, however, from those advanced in German nationalist lyrics. Volunteers should take up arms because the king called them to defend the fatherland. This position was formulated pointedly in the “Lied der Preussen” (Song of the Prussians) by Aulic Councillor Carl Heun, who wrote it on behalf of his monarch. This song, which became quite a popular ditty soon after its publication in May 1813, propagated the motto which Frederick William III had issued for the war: “Mit Gott für König und Vaterland” (With God for king and fatherland):

Der König rief und alle, alle kamen, Die Waffen mutig in der Hand Und jeder Preusse stritt in Gottes Namen, Für das geliebte Vaterland. Und jeder gab, was er nur geben konnte, Kind, Haab und Gut, Gesundheit, Blut und Leben.	The King called and all men came Arms courageous in their hands And each Prussian in God’s name Fought for the beloved fatherland. And all gave whate’er they could Child, property, health, blood, and life.
Mit Gott für König und Vaterland. <sup>105</sup>	With God for King and fatherland.

104. *Kriegslieder für die Königlich Preussischen Truppen vorzüglich den Jäger Detachements gewidmet: Beym Ausmarsch den 23, März 1813*, n.p., 7f.

105. *Lied der Preussen: Der König rief, und alle, alle kamen, mit Begleitung des Forte-Piano und der Guitarre* (Hamburg and Altona, 1813).

Regional patriotic lyrics frequently cited three further reasons for doing military service. Firstly, songs for soldiers of the standing army in particular, but also for militia men, emphasized the recapturing of old Prussian military glory and soldiers' honor. At the same time, as in patriotic national lyrics more generally, the "stalwart fighters" were promised immortality should they die a hero's death. The final stanza of the song "Der Landwehrmann" (The Militia Man) by the Prussian provincial council member Wachsmuth, which was disseminated as a broadsheet in Berlin in September 1813, for example, runs:

Heran, du Landwehrmann!	Forward, all ye militia men!
Der Tag des Ruhms bricht an!	The day of glory dawns!
Den Lorbeerkranz erkämpften deine Ahnen,	Your forefathers gained the laurel wreath,
Auf Rosbachs Auen, unter Friedrichs Fahnen.	On Rosbach's meadows 'neath Frederick's colors.
Die Schlacht beginnt! Zeig Dich der Abkunft werth,	The battle begins! Prove worthy of your blood,
Beschütz das Vaterland, den eigenen Heerd. <sup>106</sup>	Protect the fatherland and your own hearths.

Secondly, songs for members of the militia and reserves in particular, who were always considered and described as potential or actual fathers of families, mentioned the motivation of liberating one's own homeland and protecting home, farm, and family. An anonymous author wrote:

Wir kämpfen für der Eltern Ruh',	We fight for our parents' peace
Für unsrer Kinder Glück;	And our children happiness,
Für unsrer Brüder Sicherheit	For our brothers' safety,
Ist dieser Arm dem Schwerdt geweiht,	This arm is dedicated to the sword,
Wir weichen nicht zurück!	We shall not turn back!

Wir kämpfen für den eignen Herd,	We fight for our own hearth,
Für Obdach und für Brod.	For a roof and for bread.
Ach Brüder, keine Hütte stand	Oh brothers, not a hut did stand
Mehr sicher in dem Vaterland;	Safely in our fatherland;
Gross, gross war unsre Noth! <sup>107</sup>	How great was our distress!

The topos of the man as "protector" and "rescuer" runs through the entirety of patriotic national lyrics. What was behind this image, apart from the already mentioned motivations, were male fears that the French foe, whom they deemed immoral, had violent designs on the womanly honor of their sweethearts, wives, and daughters, and thus on the German manly honor which female virtue symbolized. A third important motivation is

106. Regierungsrath Wachsmuth, *Der Landwehrmann* (Berlin, 1813).

107. Cf. Rudolph Zacharias Becker, *Mildheimisches Liederbuch: Faksimiledruck nach der Ausgabe von 1815* (Stuttgart, 1971), no. 765, 508.

emphasized in the song cited above: resistance to the existential threat posed by the enemy. Here regional patriotic lyrics touched more closely than German nationalist lyrics on the personal motivations that may also have compelled men of the lower and middle classes to participate in the Wars of Liberation. For these men, the experience of collective exploitation and oppression during the period of occupation as well as the need to protect their homes and farms may well have been the primary factors that made participation in the war seem a sensible course. The anonymous song cited here was so popular that the well-known publisher and proponent of popular enlightenment Rudolph Zacharias Becker adopted it for the expanded 1815 edition of his *Mildheimisches Liederbuch*, which enjoyed extraordinarily wide distribution.<sup>108</sup>

During the years between 1812 and 1815, regional patriotic songs not only constituted the largest group of patriotic national lyrics with the broadest range of forms, but also enjoyed the widest geographical distribution. They seem to have been particularly popular in the Prussian army as well as with the other allied troops. There are many indications that regional patriotic songs corresponded most closely to the imaginative world of ordinary soldiers and militia men. More than German nationalist lyrics, the social and political vision of which, despite the hopes of their educated authors, probably spoke most directly to members of their own circles, and volunteers' lyrics, which were patriotic national young men's lyrics, regional patriotic poetry—God-fearing, loyal to the king, sentimentally devoted to the homeland (*Heimat*), and traditionally oriented—seems to have represented the thoughts and feelings of broad segments of the population.

Criticism of war and the military appears to have been voiced only rarely during the Wars of Liberation. At any rate very few songs critical of war and the military have survived.<sup>109</sup> One of the most broadly disseminated was penned by an anonymous Prussian militia man, and begins:

Holde Nacht, dein dunkler Schleier decket Mein Gesicht vielleicht zum letztenmal; Morgen lieg ich schon dahingestreckt, Ausgelöscht aus der Lebend'gen Zahl.	Lovely night, your dark veil covers My face, perhaps for the last time Tomorrow I shall already be laid low Struck from the list of the living.
Morgen gehen wir für unsre Brüder Und für unser Vaterland zum Streit;	Tomorrow we go into battle For brethren and fatherland;

108. Becker, *Liederbuch*, Afterword by Georg Häntzschel, 3–37. See Gottfried Weissert, *Das Mildheimische Liederbuch: Studien zur volkspädagogischen Literatur der Aufklärung* (Tübingen, 1966).

109. Cf. Wolfgang Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder demokratischen Charakters aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1955), 1: 315–499.

Aber ach! so mancher kommt nicht  
wieder,  
Wo sich Freund an Freundesbusen  
freut."<sup>110</sup>

But alas! many a man will not  
return  
To the place where friends embrace.

This eight-stanza-long song powerfully describes the darker side of war from the perspective of an ordinary soldier and his family: parting and death, mourning and hardship. To be sure, the final two stanzas emphasize the "sacred duty . . . boldly to oppose the foe," regardless of the risk of injury and death. But this appeal could not diminish the critical, and "morale-destroying" effect of the impassioned song, which seems to have been very popular, particularly among the Prussian troops. It was sung frequently and apparently affected the soldiers so deeply that the army command forbade its singing.<sup>111</sup> Any realistic description of the war in songs and poems was censored. Death was to be described and imagined only as a heroic sacrifice for the fatherland, for this myth was the working out of a reciprocal creation of meaning between death and the fatherland. The sacrifice of death confirmed the reality of the fatherland which needed to be liberated, or created in the first place. The fatherland, in turn, imbued death in battle with a higher meaning, sanctifying it and promising those who went to war prepared to fight and lay down their lives that their glorious memory would live on in those they left behind. It is no accident that the veneration and commemoration of heroes gained great significance at the time of the Wars of Liberation. The Prussian state responded to the general mobilization by introducing the "Iron Cross," the first medal to be bestowed upon men of all estates for military gallantry, and honorary plaques in all churches, which, in another innovation, were to bear the names of each fallen warrior.<sup>112</sup> Now that every man of military age was expected to be a "combat-ready defender of the fatherland" who might die in battle, death "on the field of honor" had to be made socially acceptable through an exaltation that incorporated all soldiers.<sup>113</sup>

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In the context of the changing structure of the military, the conduct of warfare, and the accompanying patriotic national mobilization for war against Napoleonic France, there arose, as part of the discourse on the nation, war, and masculinity, a new model of patriotic valorous manliness which centered on concepts such as honor, fraternity, love of freedom, piety,

110. Steinitz, *Volkslieder*, 442.

111. *Ibid.*, 440.

112. Generalstab, *Befreiungskriege*, vol. 2, 71ff.

113. See Jeismann, *Vaterland*, 95ff; Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann, eds., *Der politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne* (Munich, 1994).



trust in God, strength, military discipline, courage, glory, loyalty, and above all patriotism and valor. This model, in its multifarious incarnations, combined all the values of Prussian soldierly honor, aristocratic officer's virtue, and Christian bourgeois ethics with new notions of sentimental, heroic romanticism and masculine civic participation. In order to exercise the greatest possible influence among those circles of men previously exempt from military duty who needed to be won over to the idea of universal conscription and mobilized for the liberation struggle against Napoleon, the model was specifically adapted to different generations and strata among the male population.

Three main motifs, which transcended social and ideological differences, run through this new patriotic valorous model of masculinity, distinguishing it from earlier notions: firstly, it was heavily shaped by the idea that the willingness and capacity to bear arms (*Wehrbereitschaft* and *Wehrfähigkeit*) were prerequisites for the right of political participation, however defined. Under the altered political circumstances of bourgeois civil society, with its concept of individual citizenship, this new linkage ensured the continued exclusion of women from the centers of the political public sphere and thus, in the long term, cemented men's power in the rising nation-state. Secondly, the new model of masculinity shaped the image of the valorous man capable of vigorously protecting home and hearth as a truly manly and thus also truly German man whose sex-specific and national character was natural and God-given. What was new here was not the equation of the terms "valorous," "manly," and "truly German"—the three adjectives formed an inseparable conceptual complex in contemporary discourse—but rather their anthropological grounding and thus the extension of these character traits beyond social boundaries to all men. This construction naturalized and universalized qualities which were now expected of all men if a national war was to be waged successfully with a conscript army, and national sovereignty won or defended. At the same time, it provided an up-to-date legitimation of the supremacy of the male over the female sex. Thirdly, the new model of masculinity was dominated by the motif of the freely chosen "hero's death for the fatherland." The new element here was not the cult of heroes as such,<sup>114</sup> but rather its democratization and nationalization. With universal conscription, the veneration and commemoration of heroes also had to be universalized if the same willingness to fight and die was expected of all men.

In the years of the uprising against Napoleon, the central phase of an

114. See Cecil Maurice Bowra, *Heldendichtung: Eine vergleichende Phänomenologie der heroischen Poesie aller Völker und Zeiten* (Stuttgart, 1964); Ekkehard Mai and Anke Repp-Eckart, eds., *Triumph und Tod des Helden: Europäische Historienmalerei von Rubens bis David*, exhibition catalog (Cologne, 1987).

extremely accelerated process of upheaval punctuated by numerous wars, the basic outlines of a new image of masculinity, one which, for the first time, possessed universal validity and which corresponded to the altered political and military requirements of the emerging nation-state, were drawn. It integrated male citizens into the nation in a specific way and also ensured male dominance in the state under the emerging conditions of a "national society of citizens."<sup>115</sup> Recent studies of later German national history suggest that all three motifs exerted a lasting influence on notions of masculinity, at least among the educated strata, and contributed substantially to the valorization of the violent and martial aspects of masculinity.<sup>116</sup> This aggressive potential was to have long-term consequences for German history, above all in periods of war and national crisis.

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115. See Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, 1992), esp. chap. 1.

116. See Marieluise Christadler, *Kriegserziehung und Jugendbuch: Literarische Mobilmachung in Deutschland und Frankreich vor 1914*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1979); Dietmar Klenke, "Nationalkriegerisches Gemeinschaftsgefühl als politische Religion: Zum Vereinsnationalismus der Sänger, Schützen und Turner am Vorabend der Einigungskriege, *HZ* 260 (1994): 395–448; Daniel A. McMilian, "'... die höchste und heiligste Pflicht ...' Das Männlichkeitsideal der deutschen Turnerbewegung, 1811–1871," in Kühne, *Männergeschichte*, 88–100; Mosse, *Soldiers*.