

# Masculie spirit, Feminine Flesh: Women as Objects of Newspaper Gaze

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We have heard a lot about the body recently. The history of the body, once seen as a purely anthropological concern, is now used to help us understand the construction of insiders and outsiders, stereotypes, polarized differences and infringed boundaries – that is, much of the history of gender identity. In this article, I will investigate the gender implications of media’s treatment of the body. My specific examples are culled from my current study of pre-war Prussian media; but, as I shall indicate, the implications reach into modern media politics.

My analysis uses the body to juxtapose two worlds. One is abstract, masculine, and public; the other is embodied, feminine, and private. The first, I argue, belongs to the world of political media – the (supposedly) rational-critical editors, journalists, and reading public. The second belongs to the feminized, irrational, embodied world that is defined as belonging *outside* this self-constituted group of active, responsible citizens.

Many of these polarities were established during the Enlightenment. As has often been pointed out, Enlightenment thinkers gave men and women separate natures, and assigned them, accordingly, to separate spheres – men to the public, women to the private. The revolutionaries quickly established a political and legal apparatus that excluded women from public life. The attack on public women was, as Carole Pateman, Dorinda Outram, and others have argued, part of the backlash against the *Ancien Régime* politics of noble patronage, family, and status; a manly republic of equals was to replace the woman-dominated back-stairs and bedroom intrigues, the over-civilized *salons* and gallant flirtations, that supposedly made and unmade the fate of nations during the bad, old days of noble privilege.<sup>1</sup> As Jean-Jacques Rousseau so convincingly argued, the path forward was a return to a more natural order of things: and nature meant “woman” to be home. Her recent invasion of the political sphere had perverted both it, and her. Politics had become over-civilized, over-sexualized, and unmasculine; while woman, far removed from

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<sup>1</sup> See Dorinda Outram, “Le Langue mâle de la Vertu: Women and the Discourse of the French Revolution”, in *The Social History of Language*, eds. Peter Burke and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 120-35; Carol Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

her proper sphere of home and family, had lost her feminine essence. The result was a long, but ultimately successful, process of exclusion of women from open participation in politics. As the horrific account of the trial and execution of Marie Antoinette demonstrates, this attack on public women could be accompanied by public hysteria about how publicly active women actually *perverted* the state: the queen's prosecutor joined scurrilous Parisian newspapers in juicy descriptions of the national threat posed by the queen's bodily lusts, her sexual monstrosity.<sup>2</sup>

Media was affected by this division between public and private, for newspapers were given a special role in the new political republic. The media were part of a four-fold liberal vision. First, liberals fought for universal, secular education, which would endow its students with autonomy, reason, and true scientific knowledge.<sup>3</sup> This education would enable men to exploit the liberal economic system, which, free of patronage, guilds, and restrictive privilege, provided equal opportunity to prosper. These men would also be educated and independent participants in representative government, where they would meet their equals (for privilege of family and birth was to be abolished) in well-informed and disinterested discussion of the common good. All this, finally, presupposed freedom of speech and association; for just as labor-market competition rewarded the most talented and hard-working, so would competition in the market-place of ideas make evident the best arguments, the most rational truths.

This public discussion, of course, presupposed a public vehicle – print media. The political newspaper, with its self-declared mission of providing a forum for rational, well-informed discussion of public concerns, was born about the same time, and in the same spirit, as the ideal of the new republic. Media retained its essential role throughout the nineteenth century, as liberal economic, social and political reformers continued the European-wide struggle against “reaction”. Newspapers were one of their main weapons; in this respect, liberals long remained superior to conservatives. This powerful liberal media was – like the liberals' education, labor market, and government – inherently male.

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion, Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1988) and Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1994); for Marie Antoinette, Lynn Hunt, “The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution”, in *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> Much could, and has, been written about the gendering of this “universal” education. On the one hand, only boys really needed it, since only they were active citizens. But what about the mothers – surely they had to be able to teach the boys the facts of public life? The latter argument was soon picked up by advocates of women's education, and was one of the more powerful arguments for training women, as well, in the tenets of active citizenship.

These are the newspapers investigated in this article. Liberal, political newspapers were, of course, not the only media available; their competition ranged from scandalous penny-dreadfuls to the high-toned publications of churchmen. They were, however, among the most successful, for they had a ready-made audience of self-consciously liberal bourgeoisie, voluntary associations, “folk movements” and political parties. This liberal media also set the norms for the modern conception of *what newspapers should do* – a set of norms with impressive staying power. The discussion of how well media fulfills its liberal norms has survived to the current day, as media theorists join their Enlightenment forebears in coupling well-functioning, liberal-type media to the well-being of liberal citizenship. The media, then as now, is supposed to investigate, publicize, and inform; for the active citizen needs relevant information. How well does it do this? What facts, events, or processes are reported; and how does the choice of facts, the framing of the narratives, affect the information provided? Media, further, is supposed to provide an open forum for citizens’ objective, rational discussion. But is this discussion truly open to all comers? Are not certain groups excluded? If so, how is this done – by what rhetoric, slant, or unstated assumptions are the exclusions “naturalized”? In short, how does media contribute to creating an “in-group” of competent, normal political citizens, while putting others – say, women, the homeless, or *invandrare* – outside? And to what extent (one might continue) do such exclusions derive from, and reflect, implicit, and age-old, liberal assumptions about the gender of the public sphere?<sup>4</sup>

These are the questions I examine here, through a case study of a single, quintessentially liberal nineteenth-century newspaper. The *Danziger Zeitung*, the durable voice of that West Prussian harbor city, was founded and edited by Heinrich Rickert, a long-time leader of Germany’s left-liberal parties. Like most harbor-city newspapers, it defended secularism, free trade and parliamentary democracy, advocated peaceful, noncompetitive international relations, disliked Russia and admired New York and London, and was thus to the oppositional left of the Berlin government. It was very dull. Its refusal to indulge in political polemic, scandal, or patriotic exhortations, and its late, reluctant and sparse use of humor, literature and satire, coupled with its full-page, meticulous accounts of associational, party and legal doings – the activities, in short, of the liberal political sphere – made it a model liberal newspaper. In this article, I concentrate on an in-depth study of several weeks in 1862 and 1902 (using the “tableaux” methodology developed by Tom Olsson and Jan Ekecrantz).<sup>5</sup> My assumption is that the public sphere, together

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<sup>4</sup> For a collection of such analyses, see Madeleine Hurd, Tom Olsson and Patrik Åker, eds., *Storylines: Media and Power in Modern Europe* (Stockholm: Hjalmarsson & Högberg, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> For a sample of this method, see Tom Olsson, “The Right to Talk Politics in Swedish Journalism, 1925-1995”, in *Storylines*, op.cit.

with liberal, political media, were reserved to men. Given this, how did the *Danziger* deal with women – those quintessentially private persons? Where did they appear, and in which guise? What sort of company did they keep? Did their treatment resemble that of other “suspect” groups – ethnic minorities, criminals, drunkards?

Readers who would like an idea of the newspaper’s format might give Appendices I and II a glance. These provide translated summaries of two sample newspapers, which may prove useful in negotiating the discussion that follows.

## **Charting the Liberal Public Sphere in 1862**

The first thing that strikes one about the *Danziger* of October 1–7, 1862 is the *extensive* space given to public debates and speeches – the newspaper consists, primarily, of pages of painstaking, verbatim, speaker-by-speaker accounts of state, parliamentary, city council, and associational debates. This coverage often constitutes more than 50% of the newspaper – a single *Landstag* debate might take up an entire newspaper page, in an edition (morning or evening) consisting of 4 to 6 pages.<sup>6</sup> The remainder of the newspaper consists of extensive quotes from pamphlets, official laws, and parliamentary findings; “telegraphic dépêches”, coverage of stock market, shipping and financial facts; short notices of public doings and events; and a last page of advertisements.<sup>7</sup> But mostly, it is debate.

This is a newspaper, in short, that celebrates public speech. It is, moreover, the speech, not the speakers, that matters. This is not a world of media personalities. The speakers remain undescribed; the extensive accounts of debates give no debater more than his title and last name. To be sure, an audience can be recorded as showing “amusement” or interjecting “Hear!”, but the speakers themselves remain abstract. One receives no impression of their age, social standing, appearance, or behavior; the debaters’ political careers, future and past, are passed over in silence.<sup>8</sup> The provision – so popular today – of “candid” observations of unguarded moments, manners of speech, public appearance, at-home descriptions, mention of personal background, family or home, are altogether lacking. Nor are there any pictures in the newspaper, except among the advertisements. The speakers, despite the fact that they are all, obviously and implicitly, male, are disembodied.

This abstraction of speakers is continued by the newspaper’s editors and journalists. No articles are signed; editorial comments are indirect and

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<sup>6</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October 1862, evening edition, e.g., “Landtags-Verhandlungen”.

<sup>7</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October 1862, morning edition, e.g., Report on Berlin Budget-Commission.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*, editorial, “Berlin, 30 Sept.”

interjected. The editors prefer, indeed, to allow their opinions to appear by quoting what *other* newspapers have to say about this-or-that event, law or debate.<sup>9</sup> This was taking disembodied public discussion a step further: invisible parliamentary speakers were complemented by the disembodied voices of print. If one is to believe the *Danziger*; in short, the liberal public sphere performed as it should: arguments, not persons, are what matter.

Nonetheless, the *Danziger* seems to be closely associated with the persons and associations whose words it reports, and on familiar terms with its readers. The editor remarks, cozily, that “We will report more, later, about the eventual outcome of this, as well as other matters.” Public actors seem familiar: notices such as “We have heard that a meeting of liberal electors will take place within the next few days” or “Representative Dr. Gneist will shortly publish a brochure on this question” betray the editors’ personal anchorage in the world thus dryly reported.<sup>10</sup> To understand this simultaneous distance and familiarity, as well as the focus on abstract (male) speakers and speech, it helps to put the liberal newspaper in its local context.

During their nineteenth-century heyday, liberal newspapers were firmly anchored in, and functioned as an extension of, a pre-existing world of associational and debating politics. Editors and journalists provided a bridge between the reader and this world of liberal urban politics. The newspaper editor was himself influential in politics, even, often, a politician; he and his staff were closely involved in local liberal associations, petitions, elections, brochures, and political parties. This is one reason why the public speeches of liberal politicians formed the core of the liberal newspaper.<sup>11</sup>

This political environment not only influenced the newspapers’ subject matter; it also affected their form. First, of course, it mirrored a world that was “naturally” male. But second, it reflected a world whose participants consciously celebrated the preeminent importance of gentlemanly verbal exchange. Neither high birth, good looks, fine clothes, nor other bodily signifiers of status, wealth, or power, were to pollute this world of spoken (male) reason. Such things belonged to the old, outmoded, world of aristocratic and royal rule. For liberals, it was words, not persons, that mattered.

Let me illustrate this with a quote from an earlier and funnier newspaper, written at the inception of the Prussian public sphere. Danzig’s *Der Krakehler*

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<sup>9</sup> E.g., *Danziger Zeitung*, 2 October, 1862, morning edition, commentaries on “Die deutsche Abgeordnete-Versammlung in Weimar”.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October, 1862, evening edition: “Wir werden über den verlauf der angelegenheit, so wie einiges andere, später berichten”; for Dr. Gneist, *Danziger Zeitung*, 2 October 1862, morning edition.

<sup>11</sup> For examples of how both Hamburg and Stockholm liberal newspapers conformed to this pattern, see Madeleine Hurd, *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy: Hamburg and Stockholm, 1870–1914* (Anne Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2000).

(*The Trouble-Maker*) appeared in 1848, a time when a sudden lift of censorship encouraged a plethora of new left-wing, anti-authoritarian newspapers. *Der Krakehler* was a self-consciously pioneer attempt to create a Danzig and Prussian political public sphere. It used broad satire to define its audience and supporters. In one issue, the editor gives a long list of those who were no friends of the newspaper. These included the bureaucrat, who thinks that he, like a god, commands the world by raising an eyebrow; the “Stockphilister,” with his highly-beloved *Nachtmüsse*, whose thoughts are only on the next card game. The newspapers’ friends, by contrast, participate with eagerness and engagement in the (newspaper-dependent) public sphere. “Around tables laden with newspapers /.../ sit men and youths, powerful forms full of life and spirit.” These men speak with passion and spirit; but “if sometimes the bounds of the parliamentary are breached, this spirit still willingly immediately gives way to the opinion of the friend, when recognized as superior.” The debate goes unfailingly on: “all the questions of the present are handled without preconceptions, and spirit and wit make the hours into minutes.”<sup>12</sup>

The *Krakehler* is celebrating male, middle-class norms of language and interaction. Its manly conversationalists, however impassioned, argue as equals, without preconceptions, always ready to acknowledge superior reasoning; and although they may occasionally breach them, they acknowledge the bounds of the parliamentary. These all-male, middle-class, liberal norms of communication have been carried over into the liberal newspapers. It is important to note that these debaters – unlike the eyebrow-raising bureaucrat and the nightcap-loving philistine – are more or less disembodied; they are “forms”, “powerful”, with “life and spirit”. What is important is the discussion, the spirit of open, nonprejudiced, friendly debate. Their clothing, appearance, and body are invisible; they have no age, class, ethnicity, or family.

This fits with the universalism of the liberal public sphere; men were to be judged by their arguments, not by their relative looks, status, family connections, or wealth.<sup>13</sup> To mention any of this, or to bring up any symbolic representations thereof in clothing, fashion, or possessions, would mar the world of liberal debate. Such things belonged to the alternative, bad, old “representative publicness” of the *Ancien Régime* – when Kings displayed themselves to the multitude and aristocrats competed in finery and lace, when a gesture or a shoe-ribbon meant more than the logic and force of one’s arguments. This was all to be condemned. Those who chose to join these

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<sup>12</sup> *Der Krakehler*, 17 June 1848. For further discussion, see Hurd, „Reasonable Speakers, Those Who Can’t Talk“, in *Storylines*, op.cit.

<sup>13</sup> Newspapers that deviate from this disembodied ideal were publicly chastized: public figures are to be judged on their words, not their appearance or private lives. The *Krakehler* took its contemporary, *Die Wogen der Zeit*, to task for “daring” to discuss “not only the public, but even the private lives of generally respected persons”. *Der Krakehler*, 17 June, 1848.

“powerful forms” in debate would have, so to speak, to abandon such illicit means of influence – in short, abandon their bodies. But did all people have this option? What about women?

Women do not appear, in 1862, in the *Danziger*'s accounts of abstract speech; they seem to be irrelevant to liberal, abstract debate. But they are not altogether banished. They have no place, of course, in the extensive, dry “business section” – which consists primarily of lists of changes and movements in stocks, prices, goods, and finances. Similarly, only males appear in the notices of recent political appointments, visits and deaths. The short reports of Berlin horse-races are equally free of females. But they do appear in other, less central parts of the paper. They show up in the fairly long reviews of art, music, and theater; in short notices concerning police arrests and the movements of royalty; in notices of death, marriage, and engagements; and in certain advertisements.

The public circulation of art, music and theater critique had, as Jürgen Habermas pointed out, antedated the political public sphere. The language used here is very different from that of liberal politics. Actors and actresses, in both theater and opera, are given the kind of personal, detailed, critical, bodily scrutiny that is so conspicuously absent in the *Danziger*'s coverage of political speech. Actresses' and singers' voice, gestures, and general deportment are evaluated, painstakingly, in terms of their roles; their voices critiqued as too hoarse, shrill, or weak.<sup>14</sup> Art, too, often seen as bearing a social or moral message, is often described in terms of the clothing, behavior, and expressions of the persons portrayed.<sup>15</sup> In art, as in theater, it seems, the body still fulfilled its role as representing reality. Here, women had a place – and body.

But these are fictional women, or women portraying fictional characters. What about real women, being themselves? There is another world, besides that of art, where embodiment still seems natural: that of royalty. European royalty was still quite powerful, despite the efforts of liberal republicans; and it seems that “representational publicness”, that is, the public display and notice of royal bodies, lived on. Frequent notices on royal doings show royal men hunting, eating, playing, traveling, being rained on, and associating with women. Italian kings defy court etiquette, in order to meet their daughters at railway stations. Women even appear on their own: princesses, about to be married, receive formal congratulations from Workers' Associations.<sup>16</sup> This type of reporting survives, undiminished, for decades; it even increases. In 1902,

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<sup>14</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 3 October, 1862, evening edition, “Stadt-Theater”.

<sup>15</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 4 October, 1862, evening edition, “From Berlin”. “But also the two boys who are sitting on the floor [in the painting] are true types of the Polish-Semitic race”, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Father to railway station: *Danziger Zeitung*, 3 October, 1862, evening edition; princess receiving, *Danziger Zeitung*, 2 October, 1862, morning edition.

for instance, the *Danziger* tells of the Belgian queen, denied – despite her piteous, death-bed laments – the sight of her banished daughter. In 1902, such notices might be further embellished by *feuilletons* describing the dramatic past of the Prussian kings. “The Flight of the Prince of Prussia” (a supposedly historical account of the revolution of 1848) tells of women getting out of bed, half-dressed, to receive the child prince from his mother; she says, stretching out both hands, “I bring you the most precious that I own”.<sup>17</sup> Women, emotion, clothing, gestures, are all here. European royalty, in short, was far from being removed as an object of public scrutiny, embodiment and imagination (a *picture* of the Kaiser, or of the imperial family, appeared in every German classroom); “representational publicness”, the public display of royal bodies, lived on.

Embodiment, however, also seems the norm for persons on the other end of the social scale: impoverished criminals. Notices of arrests and trials also include women. Here, they keep more dubious company; the *Danziger*'s police reports mention women together with danger, illicit sexuality, drunkards, and bloody violence. The notice that tells of how the sailor Maatz was held down and *branntwein* poured into his eyes when he refused to join a fellow-worker for a drink, and describes the knife-stab that sent another worker, bleeding profusely, into the gutter, is followed by one mentioning the danger posed by a drunken crowd of workers to a “foreign woman”, walking along the street with her child on her arm.<sup>18</sup> Other women have been arrested for stealing clothes or jewelry (the latter, which ended up with a brother, the property of a “Jewish merchant”) or for killing their out-of-wedlock babies.<sup>19</sup> Women, here, keep company with Jews, drunkards, and the wounded; there is nothing abstracted here.

Marriage, engagement, birth and death notices constitute another deviation from the all-male impersonal. This is equally true of 1862 and 1902. Birth notices might give only cursory or indirect mention to women – in 1862, the mother might be altogether absent, notices being limited to lists noting “A son has been born to Herr X / A daughter has been born to Herr Y”. Sometimes, however, the women are active and in focus, in notices merely signed (prominently) by the men. On the whole, however, the women’s dynastic role is emphasized, as in the 1902 advertisement

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<sup>17</sup> Death-bed scene, *Danziger Zeitung* 1 October 1902, morning edition; *feuilleton* in *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October 1902, evening edition..

<sup>18</sup> Police reports from *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October 1862, evening edition; 2 October, 1862, morning edition (*branntwein* in the eyes).

<sup>19</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 4 October 1862, morning edition.



A daughter has been born to  
**Dentist Fechner**  
and his wife, née Mestwerdt,  
on October 7, 1902.<sup>20</sup>

Marriage, engagement, and death notices give women more formal treatment (they receive both first and second name). Here, indeed, as in the world of royalty, women matter. This is, again, according to a logic alien to the clear, open world of liberal publicity. We enter, here, the murky, body-infested waters of familial alliances, inheritances, and patronage that continue to surround (and undermine) the high, dry island of disembodied liberal discourse. The upper classes' power centers remain at least partially familial, and thus a matter – quite literally – of bodies; and this allows room for women.<sup>21</sup>

Women, finally, appear in advertisements. Not very many, to be sure: in 1862, the majority of advertisements address men (if one makes the – possibly sexist – assumption that the primary market for liberal newspaper subscriptions, horses and carriages, anthracite coal, large parties of turnips, insurance policies and railroad shares is male). Educational opportunities – stenography, the “Handels-Akademie” – are addressed specifically to men; so are most of the “help wanted” and “jobs sought” advertisements. Women appear on this public job market, if at all, as governesses, servants or wet nurses – dependent and familial positions. There is one exception. The pre-political public sphere of cultivated conversation and literature had survived, in Danzig, in English-speaking *salons*; here, women were still welcome. Hence, in 1862, Mrs. Taylor's advertisement inviting participation in “an evening circle for ladies”, to learn English, in her home; as well as another invitation, for Wednesday evenings, to “ladies and gentlemen /.../ for the purposes of conversation and the reading of Shakespearean tragedies”, signed “Friedländer”.<sup>22</sup> On the whole, however, women have, as yet, little part in the *Danziger's* public commercial and labor-market spheres. The advertisements are quite male.<sup>23</sup>

Women's appearance in this newspaper is thus highly regulated. They take

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<sup>20</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 8 oktober 1902, morning edition.

<sup>21</sup> One is reminded, here, of Walter Lippmann's classic analysis of media and politics. Much of international politics, he pointed out, was decided through familial connections and private socializing; a hostess's power over a guestlist had deep political consequences. He, also, was skeptical about the power of the liberal political sphere and its spokesperson, the media. As this analysis shows, the 1862 newspaper was not. The women, the familial, and the personal, were neatly relegated to the outside; the liberal public sphere belonged to the inner circle of talking men. Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1920).

<sup>22</sup> Ladies' circle in, e.g., *Danziger Zeitung*, 4 October 1862, morning edition; Shakespeare, *Danziger Zeitung*, 3 October, 1862, evening edition.

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October, 1862, evening edition.

no part in the main business of the paper – the nation’s business, formed by argument and debate. They appear, rather, in private circles, as servants – or, if ladies, family members, cultivated and respectable; in public, either as royalty, actresses, victims or criminals. But royal, respectable or thieving, they are grouped among those without a place in the liberal public sphere; they are purely incidental to the newspaper’s main aim of presenting abstract (male) political arguments.

This focus on parliamentary debate can be understood. The year 1862 was one of great liberal parliamentary activity: Prussia’s so-called “constitutional conflict”, which would determine the balance of power between Germany’s Emperor, and the *Reichstag*, had just begun. The Progressive Party was mobilizing its forces, not least through its many newspapers, against Bismarck. The fact that the *Danziger* was edited by one of the major liberal combatants in that struggle helps explain its preoccupation with (all-male) political matters, parliamentary speech, laws and petitions – and, hence, the marginalization of women. Like royalty, criminals, the dead and newly-born, women were seen as irrelevant to the battle for the liberal political and public sphere. Like royalty, families, drunkards and babies, they were often, moreover, embodied.

### **Forty Years Later: Women and the Liberal Public Sphere in 1902**

Had things changed by 1902? Heinrich Rickert had just died; the newspaper was now edited by a liberal consortium. Meanwhile, the Progressive Party had been definitively bested by Bismarck; it was still fighting for representative government and the free market, but as a fairly marginal force, squeezed between new, anti-liberal parties. The conservatives had entered the public sphere with force. Their newspapers were scarcely rational-critical; they were, rather, coupled to emotional, militarist rhetoric, well bolstered by public nationalist ceremonies. Most liberal-political newspapers faced further competition from papers with names like the *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten* – supposedly apolitical, and bent, primarily, on providing general, “objective” news.<sup>24</sup>

The past forty years had also seen significant advances by formerly marginal groups. Workers now had their own political organizations, consumption market and newspapers. The same applied to women. Powerful women’s organizations were demanding political influence, and themselves holding conferences, writing petitions, and publishing newspapers. They were

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<sup>24</sup> By the 1890s, the *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten*, which, although more right-wing liberal, was supposedly objective, had three times the subscribers of the *Danziger Zeitung*; for this, as well as a thumb-nail history of the *Danziger*, see Albrecht Wien, *Die Preussische Verwaltung des Regierungsbezirks Danzig 1870-1920* (Köln: Grote, 1974), 75; Erich Keyser, *Danzigs Geschichte* (Danzig, 1921), 95.

entering the better-paid labor market; a few had become professionals. Meanwhile, a female consumption and reading public had gained public recognition; there was a large, public traffic in goods, magazines and books aimed specifically towards women. To all this, the *Danziger* had had to adjust.

Nonetheless, the *Danziger* seems, in 1902, to be holding the liberal fort. Its editors still provide very substantial space to all-male debate, and the same rules apply: no personalities. The speakers, although wordy, remain abstract. They are, however, occasionally female. In 1862, there had been no female public speakers. In 1902, the *Danziger* covers the debates of local women's philanthropic associations and congresses. The female debater is, it seems, given the same treatment as the male. She receives only name and title; she is disembodied.

Well, not quite. Her title does provide information on her family status (Frau or Fräulein); and she is rendered more personal by the habit of giving both her first and second name (e.g., "Frau Helene Lange" as opposed to "Oberpräsident von Gossler"). Sometimes, also, the journalist goes further, as in: "This speech, which was proclaimed openly, courageously, and yet with much tenderness, was met with lively applause".<sup>25</sup> The speaker has, to be sure, urged mothers to give children sexual guidance. Nonetheless, this type of affective description, which allows one (however briefly) to *picture* the speaker, is, as far as I have seen, never accorded male speakers, even when discussing similar intimate things.

By 1902, however, verbatim reports of debates had been somewhat curtailed. Other, more colorful material was allowed to proliferate. The paper, in short, had begun to break free of the liberal associational-political world which once formed its hothouse. Notices of royalty and sport, art reviews, information on families and advertisements, were now complemented by descriptions of public events (funerals, festivals); an increased number of light and humorous notices of various kinds; the *feuilleton* (often, a sentimental novel, sometimes a historical description); and, on Sundays, a special insert for the farmer, housewife and hunter. Much of this, as can be imagined, is a departure from the hyper-abstract world of (all-male) rational argument. And, as in 1862, it is primarily here that one finds the women.

Women's advances in the formal economic sphere, both as workers and consumers, show (to begin from the back of the newspaper) in the advertisements. The advertisement section remains startlingly unchanged in format and appearance. The intrusion of women into the formal, individualized liberal employment- and consumption market has, however, left its mark. Some of the advertisements for educational and job opportunities now openly address women; while, to make another possibly sexist assumption, the advertisements

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<sup>25</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 6 October 1902, evening edition.

for sewing-patterns, perfumes and corsets probably address a female market. Some of the advertisements for clothes include *pictures* of women. Interestingly, however, in view of the modern advertising obsession with the female body, these pictures are the exception, even when advertising clothing. Shoes, for instance, are shown without the wearer. Further, when fashion pictures do appear, they are almost equally proportioned between men and women.<sup>26</sup>

The acknowledgement of women as a group with significant consumption power is evident, further, in special advertisements for women's non-fictional magazines and books. These even make it into the otherwise dry "business section" – as in the notice which very warmly recommends the unsubtly titled *This Magazine Belongs to the Housewife!* The editors are full of praise (did the newspaper own shares?) – "we are astonished by the number of practical articles, that cover the entire area of household and fashion and that constitute, when one includes the sections of entertainment and illustrations, not less than 1280 pages per year".<sup>27</sup> A four-page pamphlet insert, meanwhile, presents another women-friendly book, *The Woman of the Future*. The text begins by asserting that although women have advanced in many professions, they are still often treated as a "a piece of, more or less useful, more or less valuable, household goods". This is because of their ignorance – something this book will help cure. The work of Mrs. Doctor Anna Fischer-Duckelmann, it is written "not from a neutral, factual [*sachlig*] point of view, but rather from the standpoint of your personal, even *deep-reaching and exclusively personal*" concerns. "Relentlessly frank", it presents, "*as only one woman can express it to another woman*", "*the most secret concerns of the wife and of married life*". It provides chapters on health, including information on "the body, nutrition, clothing, housing, sexual life", as well as the "achievement and heightening of bodily beauty"; while the chapter on pregnancy and birth tells the reader "how one achieves children of spiritual and bodily beauty", and ends with advice on

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<sup>26</sup> Corset: *Danziger Zeitung*, 5 October, 1902. Pictures of two small girls, advertizing stockings, *Danziger Zeitung*, 3 October 1902; of a mustaschioed, well-dressed male contemplating fashion plates of suits, *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October, 1902, morning edition. Business school and dancing lessons for women, as well an additional picture of a woman, for fashionable outfits, *Danziger Zeitung*, 3 October 1902, morning edition. Business school for women and *Mädchen*, and Higher School for girls, *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October, 1902, morning edition. Women are becoming professional: A notice of "A daughter from our city, Miss Johanna Schwanan", has just graduated from a *Realgymnasium*; "the young woman" intended to study medicine (note the familiar, familial "daughter", the mention of her youth, and the nature of her title and name), in *ibid*; this edition's advertizements include "Sought for a local law firm, a lady" among the jobs offered.

<sup>27</sup> "Geschäftsteil", *Danziger Zeitung* 3 October 1902.

how to limit the number of one's children.<sup>28</sup> (The fact that the *Danziger* would include an advertisement for such a book demonstrates its relatively woman-friendly, progressive character.)

Otherwise, women are still most apparent in the worlds of family, art, and public appearance – in 1902 as in 1862. They are still prominent in notices about royalty, as well as of prominent people's marriages, deaths and births. This world of ritual and representation, family and female influence – the world of “representational publicness” the liberals were supposed to abolish – has survived, and even gained ground. It has even expanded (in the week I examined) to include what could be called public, urban rituals – parades, town festivities, and, above all, public funerals. In edition after edition one can read continued, detailed descriptions of the funerals of local notables or international stars (such as Oberpräsident von Gossler, or Zola), complete with full accounts of the illnesses that brought death, the results of the autopsy, and the appearance (usually, “peaceful”) on the face of the corpse. Women appear in these accounts, usually as wives of the deceased, whose physical condition in the face of the terrible event is often described in some detail.<sup>29</sup> The processions, the speeches, the church, the decorations, all are given. Rituals in public space belong, in short, by no means solely to the bygone world of royal absolutism, when the body of the King was the embodiment of power. The ritual of bodies (at least corpses) remains as an undertow, and one that includes woman; a complement to the formal, impersonal world of verbal male liberal politics, as shown by its unapologetic and complete coverage in even the driest of liberal newspapers.

The art and theater reviews remain, as well, and are done in much the same style and tone. These have been complemented, however, by an extensive use of *feuilletons*. These are sometimes historical accounts of major battles or national events (as in the “Flight of the Prince of Prussia”, cited above). More commonly, however, they consist of mushy novels. Openly sentimental, they often center on men's relationship to some lovely, high-minded young woman (complemented, often, by an attractive but worldly, superficial woman). The tone is intimate, the main concern is human relations (between young people, and in the family), and the mention of the females' physical attractions legion. The world of disembodied reason is left far behind. This is an arena for the free play of bodies.

Finally, there is the new section of Sunday entertainment. Here, of course, one finds women. “The Berliner. Here and There. From the Comic Theater” is a sort of *flaneur's* account of doings in the country's capital. The article begins

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<sup>28</sup> Italics in the original. *Danziger Zeitung* 4 October 1902, evening edition.

<sup>29</sup> Throughout the week of October 1–7, 1902; see, e.g., *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October, 1902, morning and evening editions.

with a comment on all the brightly-lit advertisements – “Our grandmothers knit the most intricate pieces by candle-light – our mondaine wives study the effects of electrical light on their toilettes and coloring and maintain, the highest illumination is scarcely light enough for the superficial productions of the times.”<sup>30</sup> Such pieces are complemented by another insert, *The West-Prussian Friend of Countryside and Household*, directed to the male and female farmer. The first two pages address the male. Starting with a poem which is a sort of miniature farmer’s almanac (“If the tree keeps its leaves for long, I fear the winter will be late”, and so forth), it provides two pages of practical advice on harvesting, etc. The third page is “For the Housewife”, and starts with a poem “For a *Mädchen*“. This reads, in part, roughly translated, “No, not with its fiery glow has love approached you; your blood, which pulses softly, did not want to run in wild floods /.../ The more lovely is, and should be, the mildness, that burns in the hearth of the house [*Herd des Hauses*]”. The housewife gets a page on processing food, getting rid of bats and rats, and the like. Finally, a splendidly illustrated page (of a rabbit in the woodlands) addresses the hunter and his concerns.<sup>31</sup>

Women, finally, appear in the expanded section dedicated to humorous notices and jokes. This has, in fact, been the case throughout, in all the newspapers examined. To be sure, there are also jokes about students, soldiers, peasants, drunkards, etc.; but the jokes about women tend to focus on “typical” gender attributes (rather than those of a particular profession, age, or mental state). Feminine clothing is a perennial subject of fun. In 1862, there were the usual, internationally popular humorous notices on crinolines.<sup>32</sup> In 1902, in “No more revealing *toilettes*”, we are told that “skin is no longer the fashion” at elegant American dinners, although due to the cold winter rather than from any “suddenly awoken sense of shame”.<sup>33</sup> Other humorous notices concentrate likewise on “typical” gender appearance and behavior. “A Comic Smuggling Affair” describes a “young, elegantly clad lady”, who tries to smuggle her fox-terrier through English customs as a baby. A paw sticks out; the terrier is sent back to Belgium, while the lady, “crying”, boards the train for London.<sup>34</sup> Frau Hilda v. Decker, dressed in short hair, a man’s hat and “reform clothing”, got herself manhandled and arrested in Wiesbaden; the police accused her of being a man impersonating a woman.<sup>35</sup>

These light notices emphasize women’s personal appearance, emotions, and

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<sup>30</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 5 October 1902, “Sonntagsblatt: Unterhaltungs-Beilage der Danziger Zeitung. Herausgegeben von E. Pely”, “Das Berliner Hin und Her. Aus den lustigen Theatern”.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, “Westpreussischer Land- und Hausfreund”.

<sup>32</sup> Crinolines: e.g., *Danziger Zeitung*, 7 October 1862, morning edition.

<sup>33</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 5 October, 1902, morning edition.

<sup>34</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 3 October 1902, morning edition.

<sup>35</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 8 oktober 1902, morning edition.

childish illogic. Women remain the objects of male gaze, as in the joke: “Judge: ‘You deny stubbornly, that you are the perpetrator, and yet the description suits you quite exactly: pretty face, youthful appearance, tender small feet’. The accused: ‘Herr Judge, I confess!’”<sup>36</sup> This is, it seems, only appropriate, as women themselves are primarily interested in appearance. They cannot, for instance, resist a man in uniform. In 1848, to step outside the *Danziger* for a minute, the *Krakehler* had joked, “Warning! Wives and maidens of Danzig, be on the look-out!” The Danzig militia had attained the right to wear its uniforms when off-duty – “Especially however you, pitiable, plagued married men /.../ be on your watch!”<sup>37</sup> In 1902, the joke is still going strong, as in the *Danziger* theater review of *In a Brightly Colored Coat*.

Yes, the bright coat! How it has it all over simple civilian dress! It not only strikes the eye of our German maidens... the ladies like to see “the officers” unusually well /.../ And the women, then, with their sympathy for the bright coat! Already for a generation the Berlin cooks have sung, “To swank on Sundays, *unter dem Linden*, with the slim military man...”

and so on.<sup>38</sup> Here, we have returned, via a roundabout route, to the world of public ritual. Women, it is assumed, are among the most eager spectators of that public spectacle, the military parade; here, far from the dry and logical world of public debate and reason, public appearance, along with women, finds its logical place.

I have quoted these sections at some length in order to illustrate my central point: that in 1902, women, despite entering the public sphere (as workers, as readers, as public speakers) were still treated differently from men. They remained, above all, *described*; one examined their dress, hair, skin, feet and tears. They are, in short, embodied. Indeed, it seems – on this admittedly slender evidence – that the more women enter the newspaper (in *feuilletons*, in advertisements for magazines and books, as the objects of *flaneur* gaze and comments, in humorous notices and in “housewife” sections), the more embodied they become. The *flaneur* discusses women’s reactions to the effect of electric light on their *toilette*; the theater critic, their love of a uniform. Women’s magazines, richly illustrated, are about private, household, and fashion concerns. Women’s books speak to them alone, woman-to-woman, and

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<sup>36</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 5 October 1902, morning edition.

<sup>37</sup> *Der Krakehler*, 15 Juli, 1848.

<sup>38</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 6 October 1902, evening edition. (This preoccupation with the superior sexual attraction of a uniform on display goes against the grain of the liberal conception of male virtue, incidentally highlighting the anomalous status of the army in a world of equal, reasoning males.)

discuss secret things, personal to them only, but which all have to do with the body (and, of course, its appearance). The farmer is addressed with a poem on the weather; the poem to his wife talks about her pulsing blood.

### **Tentative Conclusions: The Body and the Media**

The evidence is, of course, minimal; much further research is needed. But one can at least speculate on possible ways of understanding this increased mention of women and women's bodies. One approach would constitute a "sunshine story". The *Danziger Zeitung* was simply starting to include women in the public sphere, albeit on somewhat special terms – but you have to start somewhere, and women were thus set upon the path towards becoming fully respected public actors. The *Danziger* allows us to trace this progressive change. In 1862, its editors still believed that the world of debating males was the only world that mattered, or was worth covering in newspapers. In that exciting decade, when the economic and political control of Germany seemed to be within the liberal parties' reach, this all-male, exclusionary focus might seem natural. (Until quite recently, indeed, it was shared by most historians.) It was, of course, unfortunate for women that they were seen as too embodied, too illogical, too concerned with appearances and with family life to be allowed to participate. But this misconception was in the process of being corrected. In 1902, women were demanding, and getting, public sphere attention. Their economic and political power was such that the *Danziger*, like other newspapers, now turned to them as co-players, if not equals, in the public sphere. To be sure, they were still treated primarily as mothers and daughters, housewives, coquettes and comics; but this was at least a beginning. After all, the women's suffrage movement itself had recourse to arguments based on women's special nature and separate sphere. In both cases, it was a step in the right direction: women were at least beginning to be *seen* in the liberal public sphere.

Another, more pessimistic line of analysis would approach the evidence rather differently. It would focus on the fact that throughout these forty years, the *Danziger* had demonstrated the continuing public power of "representational publicness" – that is, the illiberal world of royal and family power, appearance, and ritual. The liberal public sphere was, in short, always surrounded by a sea of non-liberal power, in which public display and private, familial status still played a major role. And the tide was rising, as biologist racism, mass nationalism, military display, public ritual, celebrity and royal power began to swamp the liberal world of rational-critical debate. By 1900, liberal newspapers, once models of impersonal rationality, reflected this change. This explains how a newspaper which had once reported on the disembodied world of male speech became increasingly mired in the public display of bodies. According to this interpretation, then, the *Danziger's* increased attention to women – thoroughly embodied women – could be coupled to a *general* degeneration of the liberal public sphere.



This is, of course, an application of Jürgen Habermas's thesis of the progressive deterioration of the "bourgeois public sphere". According to Habermas, the media's rational, abstract discussion was supposed to replace the authoritarian and irrational "representational publicness" of the *Ancien Régime*. It had been able to do so only briefly, during the era of the political newspapers (of which the *Danziger* of 1862 is an excellent example). By the turn of the century, such newspapers had been replaced by commercialized bastardizations. They no longer represented political parties, they represented commercial interests; and what sold best was not rational-critical discussion, but scandal, crime reports, humor, descriptions of public ritual, royalty and celebrities. In short, to go a step beyond Habermas, the liberal newspapers gave up; they allowed their high, dry island of rational-critical discourse to subside into the ever-threatening sea of representational publicness. This general "re-embodiment" explains the increased discussion of and appeals to women. This was not an advance for women; rather, it was a symptom of the immanent collapse of rational-critical political discussion. *Of course* the women were embodied; so, increasingly, were the men. The inclusion of women was a stage in the re-establishment of anti-liberal, mystical, ritualistically embodied state authority, which should have culminated in fascist racism, but which, unfortunately, has lived on in the personal celebrity politics, pictures and rituals that dominate the "political reporting" of, e.g., modern television.<sup>39</sup>

Another, third, equally pessimistic assessment agrees with the perniciousness of women's continued embodiment, but puts it in the context of systematic gender inequality. This analysis is deeply skeptical of the universalist claims of the liberal public sphere, finding it suspect at inception; and it uses the example of *embodiment* to prove its point. It postulates that embodiment is an expression of basic power inequalities. Embodiment is a means to exclude women – along with other suspect groups (criminals, Jews, colonized subjects) – from full political citizenship.<sup>40</sup>

The dividing line between the media's accepted political actors, and those who were excluded from public sphere citizenship, was drawn, according to this line of reasoning, by the body. As Michael Warner puts it, liberal publications postulate abstract, generalized readers and authors. Newspaper readers see themselves as part of an anonymous public; editors and journalists affect an impersonal voice as more generalizable, and hence more authoritative.

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<sup>39</sup> See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989).

<sup>40</sup> For critique and discussion of the moral viability and actual performance of Habermas's "bourgeois public sphere", see the contributions to Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1992); the foremost feminist critic has been Nancy Fraser; see, e.g., her contribution to the volume. For a discussion of how "embodiment" affected socialist workers, Hurd, "Class, Masculinity, Manners and Mores: Public Space and Public Spheres in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Social Science Review* (Spring 2000).

This “strategy of impersonal references” is a necessary convention in public print culture. As a result, those included among the readers are disembodied. They have neither gender, ethnicity, nor race; they display no class signifiers. This in-group public had no body; it is “disincorporated” – as opposed to those who are the objects of gaze, described and discussed.<sup>41</sup>

This is wholly consonant with the public sphere’s ideal of universality: those who participate in public debate should transcend the particularities of their bodies, status, and life experiences. What matters is one’s argument, not one’s person. But, as Warner points out, not everyone has equal opportunity to abstract him- or herself in public discussion. Disincorporation comes most easily to those who are non-ethnic, male, propertied, and possessed of middle-class education, taste, and manners. Their bodily and private-life traits are considered normal and are, hence, invisible. Visibility is retained for those whose relationship to the public sphere is suspect. In the nineteenth century, as now, those who were female, lower-class or “ethnic” retained their bodies – unable to join in the select “us” group of the non-described and disembodied.

Indeed, to be described at all was to be rendered an outsider, suspect and odd. It was often enough to paint the person, to *envision* his or her body, clothing, house, etc. Royalty was thus excluded from the liberal in-group. Of course, given its centuries-long exploitation of public display, this might be a source of royal strength. But for non-royals, embodiment was a sign of inferior status. Indeed, given the modern, biologist preoccupation with the body, it could be doubly fatal. As David Green argues, media visualization allows people to locate social-cultural differences within the body, and to brand them innate and hereditary; the body identifies social-cultural differences and becomes “the totemic object, and its very visibility the evident articulation of nature and culture.”<sup>42</sup> Opening the doors to an envisioned body allows one to speculate on the outcast’s bodily functions, his or her lusts, habits, smells and appetites – all of which serve to lend them “humiliating positivity” while further excluding them from the realm of disinterested, disincorporated discourse.

Women inhabit the quintessential body. This is what made them so utterly unsuited for the liberal public sphere. Indeed, so embodied were women, supposedly, by nature, that simply associating with women embodied – feminized – the men, as well. Women, so to speak, became the virus in the

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<sup>41</sup> Michael Warner, “The mass public and the mass subject”, in *The Phantom Public Sphere*, ed. Robbins (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1993), 235–9.

<sup>42</sup> David Green, “Classified subjects: photography and anthropology – the technology of power,” *Ten/8* no. 4 (1984), 31–2, quoted and discussed in Stuart Hall, “The spectacle of the ‘Other’,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Hall (London: Sage, 1997), 244; see also discussion on the Other’s body and fetishism, disavowal, and pathologized differences, in *ibid.*, 264ff.

system. This is why they had to be relegated to the fringes of liberal discourse, to associate with royal families, criminals and babies. And this is why the terms used to discuss them were necessarily different from those used for men. Women were associated with the secret, on one hand, and appearances, on the other; they had special, private concerns, which, if given the chance, they would pursue in public – one of the many things that made them illegitimate political participants. Any article with a woman in it, any meeting or speech, was contaminated; women (as argued Marie Antoinette’s public prosecutor) perverted, sexualized, and particularized the public sphere.

The increased mention of (embodied) women in the *Danziger* of 1902 is thus, according to this line of argument, neither a sign of the advance of women, nor of any fundamental change in the liberal public sphere. The public sphere had always been hostile to women. At most, the increased mention of women shows an increase in hostility – perhaps (to climb still further out on this analytical limb) in reaction to women’s increased penetration of economic and political life. Such hostility might be manifested by a greater coverage of embodied women; liberal editors might find it natural to make women still *more* the object of male gaze, to “out” their bodies, so to speak – and thus demonstrate, repeatedly and aggressively, their non-membership in the in-group of “us”, the disembodied readers, the inhabitants of the high, dry island of normal and powerful citizens.

This may not be altogether far-fetched. There may be cycles in media’s representation of women’s bodies. One such was surely the proliferation of political pornography that presaged the French Revolution. The second may be the more “respectable” type of embodiment found in the 1902 *Danziger Zeitung*. Recently, Anja Hirdman has identified a similar increase in preoccupation with women’s bodies in contemporary Swedish media. In each case, the backlash was, arguably, after a period of advance by women; during the Enlightenment, to be followed by the execution of the queen, the outlawing of all women’s clubs, and the anti-woman Napoleonic laws; during the decades immediately before World War One, to be followed by the fascist backlash; and during the progressive 1970s, to be followed by the commercial, biologist backlash of the 1990s.

This is probably too simplistic, and certainly too much to read from the limited evidence at hand. But it is worth considering as a working hypothesis; and it might alert women to the media’s power. Being embodied is no joke. I do not want to give a false impression: women were not the only thoroughly embodied group to appear in 1902. They jostled elbows with other outcasts from the liberal public sphere, such as the inhabitants of colonized countries. In 1902, a lead article in the *Danziger* gave its dismissive opinion of the “indolent blacks” of German West Africa, with their air of “injured majesty”.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 8 October 1902, morning edition.

To end on a suitably macabre note, indeed, let me summarize the most body-ridden set of articles I found in the *Danziger Zeitung*.

They appeared in 1902, and concerned a trial. The trial concerned the *Staatsbürger Zeitung*'s libellous coverage of what it termed a "Jewish ritual murder". The editor stands accused of slander. First, the *Danziger* gives us background information. A piece of a young man's corpse had been found close to a synagogue (other pieces were found elsewhere). Many of the townspeople, incited by the openly anti-Semitic *Staatsbürger Zeitung*, believed that the student had been killed so that his blood could be used for Jewish ceremonies, and that the authorities were involved in a "philosemetic" cover-up. The whole ended with street riots; the guilty party was never found. Shortly thereafter, the Berlin authorities and a Jewish resident sued the *Staatsbürger* for slander. As libel could only be claimed if it could be established that the authorities had *not*, as the anti-Semitic newspaper claimed, run a cover-up in favor of the Jews, the German public was given ample opportunity to rehash the entire murder at length; for the *Danziger* followed its normal practice of reporting (in, perhaps, unnecessary detail) what everyone said.

No other articles feature bodies so heavily (and this includes descriptions of other murders and trials). Let us leave aside doctors' descriptions of the pieces of dismembered student, the fact that he had been proudly promiscuous and visited prostitutes, the fact that his pants were found with semen on them, the fact that the police assumed that he had been murdered while performing *coitus* – a *Lustmord*. The anti-Semitic editor's words are equally interesting. The cover-up originated (he argued) in familial relations, involved many women, and was caused by Jews' unusual relationship to Christian blood – or, possibly, by their desire to revenge "their" daughters' seduction by a Christian.<sup>44</sup> Women figure prominently. Thus, the key phrase, "Nothing is supposed to come out", was uttered by a wife of one of the investigators, whose own "philosemetic" tendencies were supposedly induced by his liberal, "philosemetic" father-in-law; while the Mayor of Konitz was influenced directly by his Jewish wife. The authorities had, in the face of evidence which pointed directly to Jews, proceeded instead against Christian suspects, the daughter of one of which had been forced to "expose" herself during a house-search. Most striking, however, was the behavior attributed to the "flat-footed Egyptians". It was one of these, the Butow merchant Grossman, who, according to a female servant, had returned from a trip with bloodied pants and a bottle of blood, which he showed to his wife while making many "suspicious remarks". The rumor was that the dead man had been drained, with the help of two men and a woman, of twelve liters of blood.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October 1902, morning edition.

<sup>45</sup> *Danziger Zeitung*, 1 October 1902, evening edition; *Danziger Zeitung* 2 October 1902, evening edition.

This was rhetoric typical of popular anti-Semitism. A recurring theme is the blending of secretive, female family influence and false, male public face; deception, the opposite of the liberal public sphere, could be called a feminine (or, in this case, feminized Jewish) trait. One has, further, the feminization of the Jews in the role played by evilly complicit or traitorous women (while the Christian women are sexualized victims); and the constant references to both sex and blood. The fact that this anti-Semitic rhetoric paralleled, in drastic and vile fashion, the mild “embodiment” which the *Danziger* visited on its own out-groups, shows how liberal prejudices drew at least part of their strength from illiberal wells. “Flat-footed Egyptians” was only one of many insults offered contemporary Jews; why the insult was rendered so much worse by the addition of “flat-footed” is part of what this article has been about. Embodiment, and its corollary, association with the female, is dangerous; it excludes its actors from the in-group realm of the abstracted, normal and rational; an exclusion which media has helped to maintain.

<p><b>Telegraphic News of the Danziger Zeitung.</b>                  Hanover, 4 Oct. Today's "Hannöversische Zeitung" declares, that the government has not turned down the German-French trade treaty; they stubbornly continue to hold to their earlier standpoint . . .</p> <p>London, 4 Oct. The report, that came with the "Australastan" from New York on the 23rd of this month, informs us that the rumor, that the Union Army had quickly passed the Potomac.</p> <p>From New York on the 24th of this month it is reported, that the Unionists have not managed to . . .</p> <p>[Etc: much information from New York, followed by interest rates from Paris.]</p> <p><b>Our External Relations</b>                  The situation is unchanged. The House of Representatives, assuredly with full justice, does not wish to curtail the power of the Crown, nor put itself in the place of the Monarch, but also does not want to give away, in this locked position, any of its own rights. Always ready to proffer the hand of peace, as soon as the government agrees to the well-known demands . . . [The article is a general commentary on the Constitutional Conflict, giving the reader background on the relationship between the "Prussian opposition" and the Prussian King. It then goes through what the newspapers in South Germany, France and England have to say about this internal Prussian political conflict; and the way in which Bismarck has allowed the "German people" to become dangerously isolated – a situation that will not be improved "because a Prussia, which is ruled by the party of the <i>Kreuzzeitung</i>" – a conservative, state newspaper – "is a <i>passive</i> Prussia, and that is why the situation appears to be threatening."]</p>	<p>[Critique of Bismarck, in eyes of world, cont'd]</p> <hr/> <p><b>Landstag-Debates.</b>                  55. session of the House of Representatives on 4 Oct.                  Commission-Report, on the petition of gymnastic organizations. The petition maintains that German gymnastics, as an integrated part of school instruction, be made obligatory. The reply of the Commission is thus: [quote agreeing, because of role of gymnastics in training soldiers, etc . . . ]</p> <p>Repr. Dr. Techow: He recommends the amendment: that the recommendation to the government to review this petition be accompanied by the House's judgment on the matter, which it has a right to. . . .</p> <p>Repr. Dr. Virchow: The House has already expressed its opinion of the role of gymnastics in the military . . . .</p> <p>Government-Commissioner:                  The government does not intend to make the introduction of gymnastics in the school dependent upon military gymnastics . . . [etc. etc.]</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p>	<p>[Landstag-Debate, cont'd; it is now a matter of church prerogatives]</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <hr/> <p><b>Germany</b>                  Berlin, 4 Oct. The Munich <i>Handelstags</i> and its preparation for the meeting of the Commission will further empty the already sparse rows in the House of Representatives. Today Behrend (Danzig) will travel to Munich, in a few days he will be followed by the representatives Michaelis, Becker, Müller . . . [Description of the election of Michaelis, without a special mandate, by the Munich assembly.]</p>
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– The Crown Prince and the *Frau Kronprinzessen* left Coburg early this morning and have started a lengthy journey towards Switzerland, Italy etc. The Crown-Prince children will arrive here, in the first days of the next week, with their *Ober-Gourverannte*, Miss Freein v. Dobeneck.

(R.Z.) [This indicates the newspaper, from which the news is taken. The notice is about the new Finance Minister v. Bobelschwingh, who had shown decisive opposition to the "demands of *Reaktion*".]

(B.u.H.Z.) [Ditto. The appointment of Herr v.d. Hendt to Minister of Trade.]

[And further small notices of this type; all political, mostly the doings or appointments of high politicians, and all taken from other newspapers; the news includes the notice that a new comic newspaper, *The Small Reactionary*, has been established in order to compete with the liberal *Kladderdatsch*. "The Independence has the following to say about the Budget and Gap theory of the *Sternzeitung*" . . . several Offenbach burghers have sent a petition to Garibaldi.]

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**England.**

London, 1 Oct. The "Morning Herald" says, in relation to the Prussian Constitutional Conflict: In the great question, which today has put all of Prussia in movement, the representatives are decisively in the right . . . . .

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**Russia and Poland.**

Warsaw, 8 Oct. We learn from Zamoyski that he had an audience with the Emperor the day before yesterday. His reception was portentous, and the Emperor said to the Baron: "I know the honorable nature of your character and now, that you are incapable of doing anything that is unright . . ." [The notice continues to discuss the political conditions in Petersburg and their relationship to Poland; of special interest, it is stated, is the desire to get members of different confessions to the *Staatrath*, which involves different religious swearing-in ceremonies for the Christians and the Jews.]

**Danzig, the 6th of October.**

The members of the Magistrat and the City Council gave a soupé to the visiting Government Council Herr v. Winter.

The meeting of voters called by Herr Dr. Liévin, on Saturday, in order to discuss the address to our representatives, was very well attended. After Herr Dr. Liévin had been elected chairman and the previously composed address had been read aloud, Herr Lawyer Lipke received the word, and described the reasons for the petition. When, a few weeks ago, the issue was raised, whether a petition of support would be advisable, the speaker had been against it; but he was now for it, because the situation had changed completely. [A long discussion of the Constitutional Conflict; defense, by various speakers, against the accusation of being disloyal to the King – "There is something called *Mannestreue*, but also the dog is loyal, who licks the hand that hits it. (Lively bravoos.)" And so on.]

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[The meeting on the petition to the House of Representatives, cont'd, including the petition itself, reproduced in full.

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End of coverage of meeting]  
– In the meeting of the local Association for Natural Science Research Dr. Liévin showed several very interesting artistic works from Japan. . . .  
– In yesterday's meeting of the Club for Gardening, which, as is always the case during the winter, was held in the *Gewerbehause*, many matters that had to do with next Wednesday's opening of the Franciscus-monastery's fruit and vegetable display were discussed.

<p>– The renovation of the interior of our Maria-Church...[cost, etc]          – The heating of larger churches, as been, for instance, common in Berlin, has been up to now impossible for our city. But within a short period . . .          – The leather merchant Rosenfeld has been declared innocent in today's trial, which had concerned his bankruptcy . . .          – Two workers were taken yesterday evening, towards 9 o'clock, by a tailor master in Röpergasse. They had wanted to steal various kitchen goods. The stolen things had, however, already progressed to a third, unknown hand, and are the subject of an investigation. – Half an hour later there was a fight in the bar of the pub owner H. at Olivaerthore, in which, among others, two workers employed at the hospital were also involved, of which one stabbed the pub-owner, who was attempting to intervene. [Etc: all crime notices in this issue involve workers.]          – A corporal, who had been fired from the military, knew how to get himself whole boots: in that he went to the quarters of a soldier he knew, sent the two soldiers who were there away, by giving them a silver groschen for schnapps, and then put on a pair of new boots, instead of his old ones, and left.          – Thorn, 4 Oct. We have finally received a definite answer in the matter of our bridge . . .          -----  <b>Stock-Exchange notices of the Danziger Zeitung.</b>           [Stock exchange notations from Frankfurt a.M., Paris, London, Petersburg, New York, in industries and in goods.]           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx</p>	<p>[Stock and trade exchange figures, international, continued]           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx   <b>Shipping News.</b>  <b>[Long list of ships, their destinations and cargoes.]</b>           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx   <b>Railway-Report.</b>          Berlin, 4 Oct. (B- u-H-Z.) The business was, this week, somewhat in decline . . . [A long paragraph giving details of what and how much was shipped.]           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx   <b>Product-Market.</b>          [The Danzig prices of various types of goods]           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx</p>	<p>[Additional financial information: the local stock exchange, the price of shipping to various countries]   <b>The Danzig Private-Stock-Bank.</b>          [Its establishment, charter, all announced by the government; this is an official notice, signed by State Commissioner Government Advisor v. Meusel, as well as the Responsible Director, Schottler. A lengthy legal announcement, in short.]           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx           xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx          xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx</p>
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<p>This morning at 4 o'clock our only little son John died, 1 year 14 days old, in gastric fever. Danzig, 5 October 1862. <b>L. Haberkant and wife.</b></p> <p>The death of our dear son Richard, on 3 October, 4 in the afternoon, we announce, very sadly, to our sympathetic friends and acquaintances. Lissau. Cremat and wife.</p>	<p>The Hamburg-American Packet-Ship-Stocks-Association</p> <p><b>Direct Post- Steamship Line between Hamburg and New York</b></p> <p>[A list of the ports of call; whom to contact, dates, etc.]</p>	<p>[Additional advertizements for</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– A public auction</li> <li>– Of a piece of farmland</li> <li>– Invitation to take out bank loans</li> </ul>	<p>[Additional advertizements for</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– restoration of sidewalks and gardens</li> <li>– "An elegant race-horse"</li> <li>– "Two elegant brown horses"</li> <li>– for cows</li> <li>– for "Strong Dutch Bulb-Flowers"</li> <li>– for Perl-Caviar</li> <li>– For dried cherries</li> <li>– For the Royal Lottery</li> </ul>
<p><b>Official Notice.</b> The bankruptcy proceeding of the fortune of . . . .</p> <p><b>Official Notice.</b> <b>The Granting of the Right to Serve Food for the 3rd Quarter... The Magistracy.</b></p>	<p><b>The Gymnastic and Galvanizing Heilanstalt of Dr. Lenz.</b> The rational treatment of such illnesses, which cannot or could not be cured through doctoring, such as . . . . Our methods of curing are, as indicated, medical gymnastics and the scientific use of different types of electricity . . . .</p>	<p>The undersigned allows himself in his travel through the city to make the honored public aware of the new invention of <b>Metachrome-Pictures.</b> [For a small sum, you can have your picture ready after 8 days . . . .]</p>	<p>An experienced governess, who has received instruction in all scientific areas, as well as music [seeks a position]</p>
<p>At the beginning of the new school semester we recommend, as used by local and non-local schools</p> <p><b>School Books, Atlases etc.</b> In long-lasting bindings and at the cheapest prices. <b>Léon Saunier</b> Book-store for German and Foreign Literature. <u>Danzig, Stetting and Elbing.</u> [Followed by three more bookstore advertizements]</p>	<p>[An additional advertizement for a bookstore, for school-books</p>	<p><b>SMALL PICTURE OF A PIG and Piglets</b></p> <p>A few, 1, 2, and 3 Prussian Lottery tickets . . . . are still to be bought cheaply. Stettin, G.A. Kaselow.</p>	<p>An unmarried, trustworthy brewer, who has a good understanding of beer brewing and can show satisfactory credentials . . . .</p>
<p>At <b>Th. Anhuth,</b> Langemarkt No. 10, has arrived: <b>The Prussian Constitution-Text,</b> published by the Association for the Friends of the Constitution of the Königsberg-Fischauer Electoral District. Price 3 Groschen.</p>	<p><b>The State of the Life-Insurance Bank of Germany, in Gotha</b> (An account of finance, dividends, capital, etc.</p> <p>[Notice of a public auction]</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p>	<p>"Mrs. Taylor has the pleasure of announcing that she continues to give English Lessons at her residence 82 Langasse. An evening circle for Ladies will be held once a-week. For particulars, apply to Mrs. Taylor . . . ."</p>	<p>A young man who is fully versed in accounting and in correspondence, with good letters of recommendation . . . .</p>
<p>[Private advertizement for sale of land, "to be sold as soon as possible because of family circumstances", signed A. Derzewski in Dameran by Elbing]</p>	<p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p>	<p><b>Stadt-Theater.</b> [Will show "Allessandro Stradell, romantic comic opera in 3 acts by Flatow...]</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p>	<p>Zuckau, the 9th of October. The General Meeting of the members of the <b>Danzig Racing-Association</b> Will take place on . . . .</p>
			<p><b>The Association of Young Merchants and Traders.</b></p>

<p><b>After the Opening of the Railroad in German-Southwest-Africa.</b> <b>From Windhoek,</b> at the end of August, one writes to us: Windhoek has, after the completion of the railway, taken on a substantially different appearance. Daily there come, from the side rails that branch off the main rails, mercantile goods . . . This means that our most debt-ridden native wagon owners have lost the possibility of paying their creditors by transporting goods. May the merchant look to getting his money back, the indolent black worries little about it. Calmly he mortgages his ox and wagon. The idea of seeking another "Paad" (line of work) than transporting goods from the coast to Windhoek appeals only to the fewest; they would prefer to remain, lazily, in their old line of work, selling one piece of property after the other and pulling, at most, their belt a couple of notches tighter, when hunger attacks too fiercely. The strong communism that rules in relation to goods and property means that the poor can simply demand his food from the well-to-do, and receive it also. Thus is ruin unavoidable; here helps no countermeasure of the government, nor the ideas of missionaries and such whites, even those brought up to sympathy; the well-to-do supports his poor relations and friends - until he one day himself has nothing more - in the secure prospect, that he then himself will find a helper. Finally, nothing else is to be done, than with a heavy heart, with an expression of insulted majesty, to do the most awful thing: to work! The worse case of this is among our dear Hereros; the Bergdamera remain always still our best workers, they have learnt to work under the heavy</p>	<p>forgets that he once possessed one hundred oxes, and always remains inclined, as servant of the whites, to pass his days in lazy nothing-doing. Both state officials and private people who have to depend on them for work material - the railway and the administration etc. of the Northern District - could sing a song about this. [Nonetheless, the building and administration continues satisfactorily; details.]</p>	<p>Saxon report, cont'd.]</p>	<p>[Frege-Weltzien, cont'd.]</p>
<p><b>Feuilleton.</b> The two gentlemen are alone. The Colonel, without knowing it, exhales, relieved. "No, but that girl was gotten one upset!" "How? Who?" asked Alfredo, surprised. yoke of the Herrschaft of Ramaquas and Hereros, and find out themselves about the difference in serving natives, and European masters. The impoverished Herero, by contrast, never</p>	<p>[Feuilleton, cont'd] It seems that his thoughts are somewhere else entirely."Well, Fedora", answered the Colonel, while lighting himself a cigar. "The girl has something mysterious, something fascinating, about her. Sometimes I am even frightened by her nature."</p>	<p>— <b>* Berlin, 7 Oct.</b> The "Berliner Tageblatt" reports from Norway: Our Kaiser enjoys the generally expressed Norwegians' truly sincere tendency towards, one can probably safely say, love. [He has donated money to finish Norwegian churches; other info.] <b>* On the Origin of the War of 1870/71</b> we find the published memoirs of the Admiral and General v. Stosch in the "German Review". [A letter is quoted, on how the General learnt of the war, what Bismarck was doing at the time, etc.] <b>* The Political-Economic Testament of the Representative Dr. v. Frege-Weltzien.</b> On Saturday the Leipzig Economic Society report on the parliamentary representative Dr. v. Frege-Weltzien on agriculture and tariffs. [A long quote. After the quote, a discussion of the man's influence on the conservatives; the fact that he is against tariffs should therefore weigh heavily - "What will his political friends and colleagues have to say to this?!"]</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p>	<p><b>* The Decline of Agriculture in Saxony.</b> In the year 1882 567500 persons were active in agriculture . . . [a long paragraph of numbers showing declining employment] The "Dziennik Poznanski" has turned, in today's editorial, against the planned Polish Congress in Lemburg. The newspaper warns, above all things, against the participation of Prussian and Russian Poles in this Congress. [The Galician Poles are planning to establish a committee; but the revolutions, rebellious actions, etc., that usually follow, have always been unrealistic and never benefited the Poles - argues the Polish editorial - which goes on to say that German anti-Polish newspapers in fact want this Congress to take place, for that reason. These newspapers will continue to be anti-Polish, even without an All-Polish Congress; but it would be as well not to give them additional excuses to be so.]</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p>
<p>44</p>		<p>[Feuilleton, cont'd] [The entire is a novel of parental love and Russian intrigue, on the model of Dostoyevski's <i>The Possessed</i>, although of course on a much lower, duller, more clichéd level. The main character is a woman.]</p>	<p>Feuilleton, cont'd]</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX</p>

Polish Congress, cont'd]

**Russia**  
**Petersburg, 4 Okt.** The tariff on beer, Porter and *Meth* will, according to a newspaper report, be increased . . .

**Special Telegraphic Service**  
**of the Danziger Zeitung**  
**The Kaiser in Königsberg and Cadinen.**

**Königsberg, 7 Oct.** The Kaiser, as we already reported in yesterday's evening edition, arrived here at 12:30 p.m. to the accompaniment of cannon salutes. [How the Kaiser traveled, the formal occasion of commemoration, how the military personnel shouted "Good Morning, Your Majesty", the jubilation of the population. "The weather is rainy."] ]

**C. Elbing, 7. Oct.** The Kaiser arrived here yesterday evening at 5:15, together with the court, in Cadinen, in rainy weather. . . Today the Kaiser remained in the castle.

**On the Question of a High School for Girls.**

Berlin, 7. Oct. Recently, newspapers have repeatedly reported the news, that the government has approved, in different places, the establishment of *Mädchengymnasien* or *Mädchenrealgymnasien*. [A report on what a newspaper has said about the structure of such a school - prerequisites, length of schooling, etc.]

**The Political Mistake at Wiesbaden.** On the arrest of a Berlin lady in Wiesbaden is further reported: Mrs. Hilda v. Decker of Berlin, participant of a Woman's Congress, was yesterday - on the open street - pulled by the arm by a policeman and ordered to accompany him to the police station. Because the lady had short hair, wore a man's hat and reform-clothes, the policeman had taken her for a man disguised as a woman. The lady has registered a complaint by the Director of Police.

**Conference on the Fight against Traffic in Girls.**

**Frankfurt a.M., 7 Oct.** At the conference taking place here, the German-National Preparatory Conference to the International Conference to Fight against Traffic in Girls, a resolution of Burgkhardt Berlin, was passed, which demanded the employment of a capable professional worker or agent for this national committee, with juridical or police schooling . . . Further, another resolution was passed, proposed by the State Under-Secretary D.v. Mayr, in the name of the Danish sub-committee . . . [The preparatory conference ended with a thanks to the Kaiser.]

**Berlin, 7 Oct.** The "Nordd. Allg. Ztg." confirms, that the notice [on tariffs, is incorrect]

- The second son of the Kaiser [will be arriving in Bonn to start his studies]

- The amount in the Charity Lottery [is x Marks]

--The *Eltestenkollegium der Kaufmannschaft* in Berlin [has come out against legal closing hours for shops]

- The Berlin *Handelskammer* [will ask the state to look into increased meat prices]

- The *Bezirksausschuss* [ruled against the local police, who had shut down of the play "Maria and Magdalena"]

- Hagen i.W., 7 Oct. The 15. General Congress of the Evangelical Association [was opened today . . . ]

- Meiningen, 7 Oct. [The appointment of a *Kapellmeister*]

- Paris, 7 Oct. [Which minister had met with the Siamese diplomat]

**Roosevelt's Health.**

London, 7 Oct. As the London newspapers report, one can see a slight worsening in Roosevelt's condition. The healing of the wound in the knee leaves much to be desired. The doctors have ordained for him, after the latest, work-heavy days, eight days of complete rest.

Danzig, 8 October.  
City Council Meeting of 7 Oct. Chairman Herr Keruth; from the Magistrate are present the Herren Lord Mayor Delbrück, Mayor Trampe, Council members Toop, Ehlers, Dr. Bail, Dr. Ackermann, Meckbath, Misslaff, Dr. Mayer [etc]. The council passed the several laws, after a short debate; long accounts of speeches which justify buildings, expenditures, a petition to allow the import

of Russian pigs to Danzig is explained, with reference to the coverage it has received in the newspapers; this petition is the subject of a very lengthy debate, where the resolution is supported and information on the increased cost of pork throughout the province discussed; some questions of form; the word-for-word account of this goes on for a long, long time.]

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The City Council and the pork petition, cont'd.]

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[The City Council, cont'd, now about building barracks, and the pension of a city administrator.]

**Testament of Herr v. Gossler. Through his will** Herr Over President v. Gossler has remembered the city in a touching way, and in a large-hearted way documented, how much he felt himself to be a burgher of Danzig... [bequeathed medallions, etc.]

**Promotion of Forest Creation.** The Prussian State Administration sees it as one of its duties, in the interest of the agrarian culture and provision of wood in the communally owned forests . . . [etc.; how many trees will be planted, etc.]

**Police Reports for the 7. Oct.** Arrested: 8 persons, whereof 2 persons for theft, one for personal violence, 1 person for resistance and 3 persons for drunkenness. - Homeless: 5. - Found: Military pass for Eduard Milenz, [etc.; many documents, a portmonnaie, etc. "Lost: 1 golden *Granat-bracelet*, etc.]

**The Drama of Konitz in a Berlin Court. (Fifth Day of Trial.)**

In today's trial appeared the co-complainant [Jewish] merchant Caspary from Konitz, a small, slender, pale man, who is, as is known, has been termed an accomplice in the murder of Winter by the accused. Further, the former Konitz Police Commissioner Bloch was called as a witness. [And other witnesses; doctors, etc., who give details on the color and condition of the corpse; the manner of death and wounds, in great detail. - It should be noted that Caspary is the only person described. - Next, the use made by the accused newspaper editor of various medical documents; verbatim questions and answers; including whether anyone mentioned any of the evidence leading to increased persecution of Jews; witnesses are heard, who tell of the authorities' negligent or disdainful reception of evidence against the Jews - but, the reporter interjects, "These witnesses' reports concerned, however, obviously, the earlier Konitz trial's already to satiation familiar *Klatschereten*." This is the only time

The journalist gives an open comment. - The accused reads aloud from his newspaper, where he had called for investigation of the murder as a ritual murder because, a) the manner of the murder, b) it had been Easter shortly before, c) the condition of the dismembered corpse, the similarities between this murder, and those in Danten and Skurz, and e) because many foreign Jews were, at this time, observed in Konitz. The various doctors and state lawyers disagree, and find little reason to assume a ritual murder in the evidence as it stands. The accused, however, answers that the official instructions given were to investigate all clues without prejudice. The whole thing will continue the next day, we are told.]

**Berlin, 7 Oct. (Tel.)** Berlin, 7 Oct. (Tel.) In the Konitz trial, today, the case of Matthäus Meyer was discussed. [He denied the accounts of the witnesses. "His daughters, also, Rosa and Franziska Meyer, termed the account completely untrue." The state prosecutor in Berlin then formally terminated the process against the Family Meyer for lying under oath. The termination report mentioned how unlikely it was that the Family Meyer, if they really had been co-witnesses of a murder plan against Winter, would have betrayed the carefully kept secret in their barn in the way described.]

**Agrarian Business. Turf Coal.**

(*Landwirtschaftliches* original correspondence of the "Danziger Zeitung") One has called the treasure of combustible material, stone-coal and brown coal, that lies in the lap of the earth, packaged sunshine, and this description is in certain ways just . . . [a long description thereof, with reference to the findings of geologists, etc.]

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[The report on turf and stone-coal, continued, including speculations as to business exploitation thereof. It is termed a question of great importance for Germany.]

**Variou.**

Hamburg, 6 Oct. The High Military Tribunal of the Ninth Infantry Division gave a verdict of guilty to the treasurer Horst, born in Berlin, Horst, from the Fusilier Regiment "Queen" Nr. 86 in Flensburg [2.5 years in Zuchthaus, etc.]

**Sport.**

[Notices from Berlin: the results of horse races. Long list of names of horses.]

**Shipping News.**

[News of ships: where they are bound, with what cargo, whether they got there, which have leaks, which have sunk and why.]

**Railway Shipping of Grain in Danzig.**

[Three lines giving what and how much.]

**Despatches from the Stock Exchange.**

[Stock exchange notations from Frankfurt a.M., Paris, London, Petersburg, New York, in industries and in goods.]

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[Stock and trade exchange figures, international, continued]

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**Raw Sugar.** [Private report by Otto Gerike, Danzig. Prices at various German harbor towns.]

**Starch.** [Prices and types - potato, etc - in Berlin, by Max Sabersky.]

**Wool and Cotton.** From Liverpool.

Responsible for the political part, literature and the "various", Dr. W Herrmann. - For "Critical Miscellany", feuilleton and provincial news, Eduard Winterfeldt. [Etc.]

**Most valuable nutrition for Kufeke Child-Flour Healthy and intestinal-ill Children**

**Family News**

The birth of a daughter took place to  
**Dentist Fechner**  
And wife born Mestwerdt  
Danzig, the 7. October 1902

**Official Notices**

[Notification of dispossession and auction of possessions of Fräulein Clara Johannsen – probably due to bankruptcy and non-payment of debts]

[Notifications of various business openings]

[Notification of bankruptcy proceedings of the bookseller Anton Berling of Danzig]

**Education**

**General Higher Education Business School for Mädchen**  
The instruction for this year's winter semester will begin . . . Includes 1. German (letter style), 2. commercial accounting, 3. book-keeping, 4. calligraphy, 5. instruction in typewriting, 6. drawing and ornamentation, 7. natural sciences, 8. trade geography, 9. stenography and 10. gymnastics . . .  
**The Director of the School, Miss Helen Farr**,  
[can be reached at certain hours . . .]

**Dancing Instruction**  
[starts at this time . . .]  
**Marie Dufke**, Teacher

**Miscellaneous**

[Small advertisement for ovens, with **PICTURES**]



[Large advertisement for "Force", the foodstuff, that is ALL nutrition, with **PICTURE of table, sun, harlequin, box of "Force"**]



**Shipping**

**To Stockholm**  
immediate shipping  
opportunity send notification  
of goods to  
**Wilh. Ganswindt**

New subscription available in all bookstores as of October 1902

**At Home**

[Very fancy frame and script]

A German Family Magazine  
Illustrated *Rundschau*  
From this time – for this time  
Novels and Novellettes  
[etc.]  
Artistic, Decorative Pictures  
Women at Home – House  
music – House garden –  
Children at Home – The  
Collector at home [details on  
subscription, etc]

Knitting-Wool Orderer  
"Always in Order"  
Great savings in knitting wool  
and time [etc, details]

[Advertisement for metalwork, fences, balcony decorations, etc.]

[Advertisement for Dr. Brehmer's famous, international curing-institution for tuberculosis, in Schlesine]

[picture for "Force"  
continues here]



**OPENING FOR BUSINESS**

I would like to inform my esteemed public in Danzig and surroundings, that I on  
Wednesday, 8 October  
[etc. will be open for business;  
for the occasion, a "Large Military Concern" will be on offer]

[This notice – of a restaurant/beer-house – has a large, fancy frame]

[Medium and small advertisements at a Sanatorium at Zoppot; a notice that Dr. Schröter is "Returned"; for the Royal, Prussian Lottery;

for a steam-laundry; for texts for every opera;]  
\*\*\*\*\*  
[a small advert for patterns for dresses, "Fertige Schnitte", with



**PICTURE** of woman [Fashionably, coquettishly dressed, holding up a pattern;]

[The advertisement and **picture** for "Force" continues here]

**City Council Elections in Danzig**

[Date, place, "The below-signed recommend that their honored co-citizens re-elect the existing City Council-members 1. *Obermeister* A. Illmann, 2. Editor A. Klein." Followed by a very long list of names, starting with R. Azt, Bookseller, Adolf Anker, Rentier, M. Baden, Kaufmann, etc etc.]

**Monetary Matters**

1000 Marks  
I seek for completely secure investment in town. Answer [postbox]

**Entertainment**

City Theater  
[what is being offered – "The Weapon Smith" – with list of characters, female and male]

\*\*\*\*\*  
**Kaiser-Panorama**  
[exhibition in Dusseldorf]

**Associations**

[Meeting of the Association for the Maintenance of Building- and Art-Heritage Monuments in Danzig, with details of what will be discussed]

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Die Danziger Zeitung enthält täglich, mit Ausnahme der Sonntage, ein vollständiges Verzeichnis der in Danzig eingewanderten Personen, und ein Verzeichnis der in Danzig Ausgewanderten.

Preis für Jedem 1 Thlr. 10 Sgr. viertel 1 Thlr. 20 Sgr. halbjährlich 4 Thlr. 10 Sgr. jährlich 8 Thlr. 10 Sgr. Einmalige Anzeigen zu besonderen Bedingungen. In Danzig: J. G. Neumann, Nr. 10. In Berlin: J. G. Neumann, Nr. 10.

# Danziger Zeitung.

## Verlegungsstelle Danziger Zeitung.

Verleger: J. G. Neumann, Nr. 10. In Danzig: J. G. Neumann, Nr. 10. In Berlin: J. G. Neumann, Nr. 10.

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**Handlungsbüro**

Am 1. Juli, nach 7 Uhr, wird die ...  
**Arthur Schubmann**  
 111 E. Friedrichstr.  
 Berlin, am 1. Juli 1902.

**Drax Helene Neufeld**  
 4% Bankguthabens ...  
 Berlin, am 1. Juli 1902.

**Haus-Verkaufungen.**  
 Bekannte Bauwerke, ...  
 H. Herrmann.

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**Wasserleitungs**  
**Schilling.**

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**Nach Putzig**  
 in Zwickau, am 1. Juli 1902 ...  
 Kaufmann A. Schmitt.

**Deutsche Anstaltungsbank zu Berlin.**  
 Auf Grund des ...  
 vom 1. Juli 1902.

**Deutsche Anstaltungsbank zu Berlin**  
 vom 1. Juli 1902.  
 Geheimer Anwalt, Jaroslansky & Co.

**Gardinen**  
 Stern, Rosengarten, ...  
 Ernst Crohn, Leipzig 22.

**Handgezeichnete ...**  
**C. Staudel**  
 Holz-Jalousien

**Neu eröffnet!**  
 Gr. Wollwebergasse 13.  
**Schuh-Industrie**  
 Berlin, Wien, Paris.  
 • Allerbeste Schuhwaren •  
 Walter Bahrendt.



**Jackey Club**  
 Bekannte ...

**Blaubeeren**  
 Kurthener Zoppel.

**Braunauer.**

**Handgezeichnete ...**

**Kurthener Zoppel.**

**Schall und Rauch**  
**I. Badefest**

**Kleiner Anzeiger.**

**Wauerlaten**  
 Bekannte ...

**Bankkulator**  
 Bekannte ...

**Wandverkleidung**  
 Bekannte ...

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45. Jahrgang. Donstag, 8. Juli Morgen-Ausgabe.

# Danziger Zeitung

General-Anzeiger für Danzig sowie die nordöstlichen Provinzen.

Nr. 313. 1902.

**Verhaftungen in Götterdämmerung.**  
In den Tagen der letzten 24 Stunden sind in Danzig mehrere Verhaftungen erfolgt, die mit dem Namen der Götterdämmerung bezeichnet werden. Die Verhaftungen erfolgten in der Nacht zum 7. d. M. in der Wohnung des Herrn Dr. ...

**Reisen nach Ostpreußen.**  
Die Ostpreußenreise des Herrn ... ist beendet worden. Die Reise verlief sehr angenehm und fruchtbar. Die Ostpreußen sind sehr freundlich und gastfreundlich. Die Natur ist sehr schön und die Luft ist sehr gesund. Die Ostpreußen sind sehr stolz auf ihre Provinz und sind sehr stolz auf ihre Provinz.

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**Deutschland.**

**Die Umwälzung des Reiches und die Reichsreform.**  
Die Umwälzung des Reiches und die Reichsreform sind die wichtigsten Ereignisse der letzten Zeit. Die Umwälzung des Reiches ist die wichtigste Aufgabe der Reichsregierung. Die Reichsreform ist die wichtigste Aufgabe der Reichsregierung.

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**Beniketon.**

Die zweite Stufe.

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