A Vegetarian Re-Enchantment of the World
Subjective experiences, gender, and emotion in German vegetarianism read through the member magazines of the *Deutscher Vegetarier-Bund* 1895-1931

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**Abstrakt**

1. Introduction

The man depicted on the front page of this thesis was described as the embodiment of vegetarian ideals in 1908 in the *Vegetarische Warte*, the member magazine of the *Deutscher Vegetarier Bund*. Being a vegetarian then just as now was frowned upon by some and met with hurrahs from others. Food can be a necessity, a source of discipline and of enjoyment, it is a reoccurring practice packed with experience and subjectivity.

The alternative German movements at the turn of the 19th century has attracted attention in popular culture during the last years. Vegetarianism has been presented to the public through for example the documentary *Freak Out!* and the novel *Imperium*. The increased number of vegetarians during our own time can be a source of inspiration in popular culture but the field of academic research on vegetarianism has existed since the 1970’s. However, the subjective experience of being a vegetarian is overlooked in previous academic research. In this thesis, the vegetarian will be examined as a fluid subject constructed through characteristics, requirements, and envisioned promises, the three methodological concepts that will be used throughout this study. The temporal focus is on the period between 1895-1931. The *Deutscher Vegetarier-Bund* was founded in 1892 and published a member magazine each month, these are the primary source material for this study.

The vegetarian on the front page is sowing a field in the glistening sun. He is naked, with his feet securely positioned in the soil, a part of mother Earth. In the distant sits his family harmonically, with a lamb grazing next to them. He is stepping over the chains of industrialisation, disrupting the rationality of an increasingly objective modern society, one could even state that it is a re-enchantment of the world.

1.1. Historical background

1.1.1. A vegetarian diet before vegetarianism

During the 19th century vegetarianism became a movement with organisational character. The word *Vegetarismus* (which translates to vegetarianism in English. Throughout this thesis English translations of German words and quotes can be found in the footnotes) came into

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2 Christian Kracht, *Imperium,* (Frankfurt am Main 2013). It has been translated for example to both English and Swedish.
frequent use during the 1880’s in German.\textsuperscript{4} The definition derives from the Latin word \textit{vegetus}, which translates to invigorating, vigorous and energetic.\textsuperscript{5} This definition of a vegetarian diet reflects the health connotations connected to vegetarianism during the latter part of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{6}

A voluntary vegetarian diet had, however, existed prior to the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, then often described as a Pythagorean diet.\textsuperscript{7} Vegetarianism resurfaced after the Middle Ages among philosophers of humanism in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Michel de Montaigne, for example, praised nature and its beauty and argued for the protection of animals.\textsuperscript{8} The 17\textsuperscript{th} century saw the popularisation of the idea of nature as a place for healing and the arguments for a plant-based diet gained a therapeutic dimension.\textsuperscript{9} Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel argued that nature had healing elements and this aspect was reiterated by and expanded upon by German physicians who promoted a \textit{Naturheilkunde}.\textsuperscript{10} Diseases of the body was not the focus, but rather the whole person benefitted from the \textit{Naturheilkunde} and its medical and moral elements. Furthermore, Rousseau argued for a plant-based diet for children in his book \textit{Émile}, published in 1762, because meat dishes were described as having an unnatural character.\textsuperscript{11}

French writer Jean Antoine Gleizès was an early supporter of modern vegetarianism and with his book \textit{Thalysie: the New Existence}, published in 1841, he became a much cited figure within vegetarianism. Gleizès described the vegetarian diet as innocent and claimed that the killing of animals was the main source of errors and crimes.\textsuperscript{12} Furthermore, he perceived women to be innocent, pure, graceful, and beautiful, therefore, he believed that women were instinctively drawn to a vegetarian diet.\textsuperscript{13} The 18\textsuperscript{th} century arguments for a vegetarian diet also incorporated religious elements.\textsuperscript{14} During the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century the vegetarianism increasingly took on the

\textsuperscript{4} Baumgartner, “Vegetarismus” p. 128.
\textsuperscript{5} http://www.latin-dictionary.net/search/latin/vegetus (10.09.16).
\textsuperscript{8} Teuteberg, “Zur Sozialgeschichte des Vegetarismus”, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{9} Teuteberg, “Zur Sozialgeschichte des Vegetarismus”, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{11} Baumgartner, “Vegetarismus” p. 128.
\textsuperscript{12} Baumgartner, “Vegetarismus”, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{14} Teuteberg, “Zur Sozialgeschichte des Vegetarismus”, p. 43.
form of a movement and made a greater effort to influence the public through societies and publications.15

1.1.2. German vegetarianism

A German-speaking national state was founded in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian war and came to be known as the Kaiserreich. In the new national state, the Prussian king Wilhelm I of Hohenzollern was head of state. The German capital and power centre was Berlin, which together with Leipzig were the most important cities of the German vegetarian movement.16

The first German vegetarian society, Verein für natürliche Lebensweise, was founded on the 27th of April 1867 by free religious minister Eduard Baltzer.17 In 1892, Baltzer’s society was transformed into the Deutscher Vegetarier-Bund (D.V.B.),18 which is the society which will be studied in this thesis. In the tradition of Gleizès, Baltzer argued for a vegetarianism on ethical-moral grounds with many Protestant foundations.19 The vegetarian lifestyle was to be understood as ethically connected to nature, human nature according to the vegetarians was understood as an entity of body, spirit, and soul.20 The arguments were not only of an ethical nature but also followed the zeitgeist of the evolutionary scientific discourse, for example vegetarians argued, that mankind had evolved from frugivorous apes.21 Yet another argument for the vegetarian diet was that the first humans had only eaten milk, herbs, and fruits and they had never been ill, only with the change to a meat-based diet came the Fall of Man.22 Thus, the vegetarian diet was not only a healthy diet but also an attempt to resurrect a harmonic entity between nature and human.

1.1.3. Lebensreform

During the latter half of the 19th century the vegetarian lifestyle came to be increasingly intertwined with the growing Lebensreform.23 The Lebensreformers were worried about the ‘new society’ that took form and positioned themselves against perceived negative consequences of industrialisation and rapid urbanisation.24 The envisioned counter-society to

17 Baumgartner, “Vegetarismus”, p. 133.
18 Baumgartner, “Vegetarismus”, p. 134. The abbreviation D.V.B. will be used in this thesis.
23 Eng: “Life-reform”.
24 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 28-29.
the modern and urban was depicted as a healthy and perfect world. This new and modern society also brought with it new eating habits which included a higher meat consumption and the rise of artificial and chemically made products. Historian Judith Baumgartner has argued that the deep connection with the broader Lebensreform from the last years of the 19th century and onwards was a positive development for the vegetarian movement as a whole. Within the Lebensreform the vegetarian agenda and its values found a bigger audience and allies from other alternative movements. According to historian Florentine Fritzen the early vegetarians saw the vegetarian diet as something more momentous than just a rejection of meat, but rather as a part of a lifestyle with a naturgemässen Lebensweise at its core.

According to sociologist Eva Barölius’ statistical work the average vegetarian at the turn of the century was young (mostly between 22-32 when entering a vegetarian society), male, from northern Germany, and Protestant. Even though attempts were made the vegetarian message found no resonance among the working classes. Baumgartner has argued that the German vegetarianism was not a social movement, even though its members wanted to be perceived in that light. The vegetarian societies of the 19th century were mostly influenced by regionality rather than a national unity. It was firstly with the creation of the Deutscher Vegetarier-Bund in 1892 that the vegetarian German-speaking world united under the banner of one larger organisation.

1.1.4. War and the Weimar-republic

The First World War was seen as a healing catalyser and a chance for regeneration by many of the vegetarians and Lebensreformer. This was also the case in other parts of society, however, during the early war years the view of the war as regenerative decreased.

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25 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 184.
27 Baumgartner, ”Vegetarismus”, p. 129.
28 Baumgartner, ”Vegetarismus”, p. 130.
29 Eng: ”Natural living”.
30 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 41.
31 Baumgartner, ”Vegetarismus”, p. 137.
33 Baumgartner, ”Vegetarismus”, p. 136.
34 Baumgartner, ”Vegetarismus”, p. 136.
35 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 189.
36 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 190.
Reformhäuser rather than vegetarianism and the vegetarian movement lost its previously strong connection to the Lebensreform. The founding of the Weimar Republic in 1918 created a divide between the time before the war and after. As the Bauhaus architect Walter Gropius stated: “This here is more than a lost war. A world has ended.” This new beginning also called for a new modern body. The vegetarian movement was fractured in its aims. The D.V.B. decided to focus on the ethical aspects of vegetarianism, rather, than the hygienic dimensions. According to Fritzen the D.V.B. also became more esoteric and “religious”. When the National Socialists took power in 1933, the vegetarian movement was on its last leg. At first Hitler appreciated the movement, in part due to his semi-vegetarian lifestyle, but even so the vegetarian organisations were either abolished or incorporated in the National Socialist organisation Deutsche Gesellschaft für Lebensreform.

1.2 Previous research

The research concerning German vegetarianism can mostly be dated to the latter part of the 19th century and the early 2000’s. Most of the research on German vegetarianism has been positioned as a history of Lebensreform or Ernährung. Judith Baumgartner has emphasised that vegetarianism should not simply be understood as part of a reformed diet or as a movement within the Lebensreform. Positioning vegetarianism as dietary reform or as part of the Lebensreform is an analytical issue since the Lebensreform was a reaction to a very specific set of 19th century issues and because vegetarianism has longer intellectual roots.

The importance of individuality within vegetarianism has been emphasised by historians Hans J. Teuteberg and Rebecca Niederhausen, however, their accounts have not included an

37 Eng: “reform/health stores”.
38 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 49, 204.
41 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 205.
42 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 205.
43 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 209.
44 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 228.
45 Eng: “nutritions/diet”.
47 Baumgartner, “Vegetarismus”, p. 129.
explicit analysis of the historical subject. Instead they have perceived the individual vegetarian as a product or benefiter of vegetarianism. As I will further argue under research aims and method I will focus on the vegetarian experience rather than the vegetarianism as a structural system.

In 1974 historian Wolfgang Krabbe wrote an influential dissertation on the Lebensreform with focus on the motives behind vegetarianism. He described vegetarianism as being founded on hygienic, economic, and ethical arguments. The emphasis on hygiene, economy and ethics seems to have influenced later accounts of vegetarianism as well, historian Judith Baumgartner has for example stated that ethical-moral, religious, health and ecological motives were at the core of vegetarianism. While I do not disagree that these motives existed within vegetarianism they miss important reasons behind vegetarianism. I would argue that they to sharply focus on vegetarianism as a rational movement with clear objective motives and oversee the subjective and spiritual aspects. However, Krabbe has emphasised that nature was not only connected to a physical existence but also to a spiritual and moral world. I believe that the subjective experiences of being a vegetarian must be included in an account of vegetarianism.

1.2.1. Vegetarianism as a salvation

According to Teuteberg vegetarianism strived for an individual and societal cure, with a purity of the human body as foundation for salvation. Sociologist Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen and historian Albert Wirz has argued that the Lebensreform of the latter half of the 19th century was a “secular Protestantism” and means of purification. Yet, since their primary focus has been on medical history their analysis of healing has extended mainly to a hygienic understanding, with the term “secular Protestantism” primarily being an argumentative metaphor.

I would contend that the concept of vegetarianism as a cure can be extended outside a hygienic and physical understanding. Historian Florentine Fritzen has stated that the secularization of society during the 19th century led to a moral and religious vacuum, in which the Lebensreform-

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49 Wolfgang Krabbe, Gesellschaftsveränderung durch Lebensreform. Strukturmerkmale einer sozialreformerischen Bewegung im Deutschland der Industrialisierungsperiode. (Göttingen 1974).
50 Baumgartner, “Vegetarismus”, p. 130.
51 Krabbe, Gesellschaftsveränderung durch Lebensreform, p. 78.
52 Teuteberg, “Zur Sozialgeschichte des Vegetarismus”, p. 64.
movement and vegetarianism worked as a substitute religion, a secular salvation, and healing doctrine.\textsuperscript{54} However, her emphasis has been on hygiene and secularism, and not on subjective experiences and spirituality. Fritzen has also emphasised that the D.V.B. became increasingly esoteric and mystical during the 1920’s and 1930’s,\textsuperscript{55} a statement which she has not analyse in depth but stated as a fact.

In conclusion, the cure or salvation promised through vegetarianism had elements of hygiene, ethics, moral, and esotericism. However, the individual and subjective experience of salvation through vegetarianism has not been studied.

\textbf{1.2.2. Gender and vegetarianism}

Few scholars have included a gendered perspective in their analysis of vegetarianism, but as I will show in this thesis was gender central to the construction of the vegetarian and vegetarianism.

The male vegetarian and the masculine ideals connected to him has historically often been seen as the norm for vegetarians and implicitly equalized with the vegetarian regardless of sex. This aspect has been overlooked in previous research, Historian Rebecca Niederhausen has concluded in her study on vegetarianism in Zürich that vegetarianism was an excellent arena for the bourgeois, and especially the \textit{neue Mittelstand},\textsuperscript{56} to distinguish themselves from others within the same social group.\textsuperscript{57} Furthermore, she has argued that vegetarianism can be understood as a praxis-orientated control of the body, a body technique.\textsuperscript{58} However, she has failed to include a gender analysis, even though she implicitly has discussed specific \textit{masculine} middle-class ideals.\textsuperscript{59} In the same manner Florentine Fritzen has analysed the body within the \textit{Lebensreform} without a gender perspective.\textsuperscript{60} Another example, is Judith Baumgartner’s account of how sport and the physical capacity of vegetarians was used to propagate for a vegetarian diet.\textsuperscript{61} Her lack of a gender perspective is unfortunate since both sport and muscular strength was primarily perceived as masculine at the turn of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textsuperscript{54} Fritzen, \textit{Gesünder leben}, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{55} Fritzen, \textit{Gesünder leben}, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{56} No direct translation in English, but can roughly be understood as the new middle-class of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.
\textsuperscript{57} Niederhausen, “Sich bei Gemüse und Obst amüsieren”, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{58} Niederhausen, “Sich bei Gemüse und Obst amüsieren”, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{59} Niederhausen, “Sich bei Gemüse und Obst amüsieren”.
\textsuperscript{60} Fritzen, \textit{Gesünder leben}, p. 231-277.
\textsuperscript{61} Baumgartner, \textit{Ernährungsreform}, p. 95.
One of the few who has applied a gender-perspective is Ole Fischer, who has written an article on the link between meat and masculinity focusing mainly on health aspects.  He has regarded the masculine strategy of vegetarianism in an Anglo-Saxon context as a strategy of “muscular vegetarianism” and has emphasised that the cultural construction of gendered expectations in connection with diet. Fischer has briefly summarised the previous research on the link between meat-eating and gender, and has come to the same conclusion as I, namely that there is a wide research-gap.

The ethical-moral arguments for a vegetarian diet were, according to Fischer, more often put forward by women. In a German context, the founding of the Verein vegetarischer Frauen in 1910 in Dresden strengthens Fisher’s argument for an increased female presence during the early 20th century. He has further argued that the increase of moral arguments for vegetarianism led to a rise of female participants in the movement. In a German context, I wish to contest the correlation between female participation and moral arguments posed by Fischer. As Teuteberg has emphasised, mid-19th century vegetarianism was at its core characterised by religious-ideological arguments while at the same time being influenced primarily by men.

Furthermore, as Fischer has also stated, one of the most prominent figures for a moral vegetarianism during the turn of the century was Magnus Schwantje, who founded the Bund für radikale Ethik. The predominance of ethical arguments for vegetarianism cannot simply be connected to an increase in female participation but should rather be understood as an essential part of the construction of vegetarianism and the vegetarian subject which will be further examined in this thesis.

1.3. Research Aims

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the vegetarian subject and with a focus on subjective experiences explain the attractions and changes of vegetarianism between 1895-1931 in the member magazine of the Deutscher Vegetarier-Bund.

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63 Fischer, “Männlichkeit und Fleischkonsum”, p. 56-61.
64 Fischer, “Männlichkeit und Fleischkonsum”, p. 44.
66 Fischer, “Männlichkeit und Fleischkonsum”, p. 57.
67 Eng: Society for vegetarian women.
68 Fischer, “Männlichkeit und Fleischkonsum”, p. 57.
The primary focus on the *Lebensreform* in previous research has led to an exaggerated emphasis on the period before 1914, I wish to extend the analysis of vegetarianism to also include the period after the First World War and gain further insight on how the construction of the vegetarian subject differed over time. I further argue that this perspective is beneficial for the analysis since it sets primary focus on the process of doing the subject rather than studying vegetarianism as a structural phenomenon and the vegetarians as actors within the movement. Since this thesis focuses upon experiences and subjective states I would argue that the analytical emphasis must be on the vegetarian and not vegetarianism. Nonetheless, I also wish to claim that the analysis of the vegetarian subject can give insight about German vegetarianism as well. After all it was the vegetarians who constructed vegetarianism.

Subjective experiences will be understood through emotions, or a lack of them. The use of the theoretical framework of a subjective turn and a life-in and a life-as are of importance and will be expanded upon later under theory. The vegetarian subject is an abstract concept but nonetheless has bodily dimensions. The gendering of the vegetarian subject in terms of a social sex and a biological sex are important to the analysis. In sum the thesis should be understood as working with the tradition of social constructivist gender theory and the history of emotions. Consequently, gender and emotion will be emphasised in the process of doing the vegetarian subject, rather than writing a mental, political, or cultural history of vegetarianism or vegetarians.

### 1.4. Research Questions

The primary focus of the thesis is subjective experiences, which is a rather abstract concept. To be able to concretely analyse the experience I wish to examine the process of doing a gendered vegetarian subject. This will be done with three questions.

- What characteristics were the vegetarian subject ascribed in the member magazines?
- What requirements were demanded of the vegetarian subject in the member magazines?
- Which envisioned emotional and physical states were the vegetarian subject promised?
1.5. Theory
In this thesis, I wish to analyse the subjective experience of being a vegetarian. The theoretical basis for this thesis will be the subjectivization thesis with additional focus on gender and emotions.

1.5.1. Subjectivization
Max Weber summarized the increased rationalization and intellectualisation at the cost of loss of belief in mysterious forces at the turn of the 20th century as a disenchchantment of the world.71 Modern day social theorist Nicholas Gane, has claimed that Weber’s theory of rationalization is of “great contemporary significance.”72 The rationalization process centres around the notion that since the Enlightenment a devaluation or dis-enchantment of ultimate values and religious ethics has occurred in the Western world, which can be connected to “the loss of authentic meaning in modern life.”73

Various modern-day scholars have contested the dis-enchantment and rationalization-thesis and altered Weber’s term to a concept of a re-enchantment of the world.74 This theory also goes under the names the subjectivization thesis or the subjective turn. It described as major cultural shift from a life based on external authorities and duties to a subjective life with focus on a unique personal experience.75 Re-enchantment should be understood as a shift to mystery and wonder and has been summarized as: “a variety of secular and conscious strategies of re-enchantment, held together by their common aim of filling a God-shaped void.”76 Meyer-Renschhausen and Wirz, as well as Fritzen have argued that late 19th century vegetarianism can be described as a secular Protestantism or as a substitute religion of esotericism and mystique.77 Consequently, I would argue that vegetarianism could be understood as a secular strategy of re-enchantment and that this theory can aid the understanding of the subjective experience of the vegetarian subject.

73 Gane, Max Weber and Postmodern Theory, p. 2.
At the centre of the subjectivization thesis is the subjective turn which is a cultural shift from a life-as to a life-in occurring primarily from the 1960’s. Life-as is characterized by external factors and authorities where the individual is understood in terms of objective roles such as being a mother or daughter. Life-in is instead based on inner subjectivities with the goal of reaching “the good life” by living life in full awareness of one’s state of being. According to Heelas and Woodland the subjective life is connected to: “states of consciousness, states of mind, memories, emotions, passions, sensations, bodily experiences, dreams, feelings, inner conscience, and sentiments – including moral sentiments such as compassion.” As evident from previous research on vegetarianism a change to a subjective life-in can be ascribed to vegetarianism in the D.V.B. I contend that the secular Protestantism presented by Meyer-Renschhausen and Wirz, as well as the esotericism of the D.V.B., as presented by Fritzen, can be better understood with the framework of subjectivization. Furthermore, since this thesis focuses on the subjective experience of being a vegetarian the two different life modes will clarify the individual experience.

In this thesis, I will also examine the concept of re-enchantment as presented by Joshua Landy and Michael Saler:

If the world is to be re-enchanted, it must accordingly be reimbued but not only with mystery and wonder, but also with order, perhaps even with purpose, there must be a hierarchy of significance attaching to objects and events encountered.

Important to note is that the subjectivization thesis wishes to explain both secularization and sacralisation of the West on a high structural level with an aim to understand western culture and religion. I on the other hand aim to operationalize the concepts presented in the theory to analyse the vegetarian subject. Partridge has described the subjective turn as a: “purposive bohemian shift away from that which is expected of us in society, toward the subjective life and to the development of its potential.” As previously stated, has the 1960’s been emphasised as a turning point from a life-as to a life-in. However, Partridge has also stated that an early example of a life-in can be found in 19th century holism, alternative spirituality, and

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78 Partridge, The re-enchantment of the West, p. 7.
79 Heelas & Woodhead, The spiritual revolution, p. 2.
80 Heelas & Woodhead, The spiritual revolution, p. 4.
81 Heelas & Woodhead, The spiritual revolution, p. 3.
83 Partridge, The re-enchantment of the West, p. 7.
84 Partridge, The re-enchantment of the West, p. 6-7.
bohemianism. Following Partridge’s argumentation the concepts of life-as and life-in should have co-existed at the turn of the 20th century which is why both the concept of life-as and life-in are important to my thesis.

1.5.2. Gender

Not part of the original subjectivization theory but of great importance to this study are gender theories. I wish to include a gender perspective firstly, due to the earlier mentioned lack of gender awareness in the current stand of research on German vegetarianism. Secondly, I argue that the subjectivization thesis and the two modes of life can be better understood from a gender perspective. Life-as is focused on traditional, values, rationality, and duty, aspects I would argue are similar to turn of the 20th century masculinities. Life-in on the other hand is centred around emotions and passions, which in the same historical context had female connotations. I would consequently, argue that a life-as and a life-in can be better understood when combined with gender theories.

Since gender is of importance to this thesis I wish to make a few definitions of important terms. Both the social sex i.e. gender and the biological sex should be understood as social constructions. The biological sex does not exist a priori to gender, rather both should be understood as discursively produced and performed. According to Judith Butler the construction of gender and sex is done through repetitive speech acts which interpellates the individual into a sexual identity. Candance West and Don Zimmerman have stated that gender is not static but rather a process of a doing. This perspective will be used in this thesis, where the doing of the gendered vegetarian subject will be in focus. Gender should be understood as multidimensional, where there exists a plural of masculinities and femininities. Furthermore, the constructed and changing character of identity should be understood as existing within the subject. The individual writer in the member magazine should thus not be seen as a rational and objective actor who explicitly creates ideals but rather as part the construction.

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85 Partridge, The re-enchantment of the West, p. 7.
86 Comparisons can be made to the military masculinities presented in: Ute Frevert, A Nation in Barracks: modern Germany, military conscription, and civil society, (Oxford, 2004), and Mosse, Image of Man: the creation of modern masculinity, (1996 New York).
87 This separation is simplified and will be analysed in a more nuanced way in the study.
89 Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity [electronical resource], (London 1999), p. 43-44.
Since my primary source material is member magazines the main-focus of this thesis will be on language and not on practices. I will examine the process of doing a gendered vegetarian subject. The subjective nature of the source material has embedded for a splendid opportunity to study this process on how gender is negotiated, disciplined, and constructed.

1.5.3. Emotions

Since the aim of this thesis is to examine subjective experience of the vegetarian subject emotions will be central in the analysis. The history of emotion is a new field in history and within the field the theoretical concept of emotion is understood differently. I wish to clarify that emotion in this thesis should not be understood with natural scientific or psychological definitions. I concur with scholar Sara Ahmed’s definition that emotions are social and cultural practices rather than psychological or biological states.\(^\text{92}\) Theoretically, emotions are ordered hierarchically and some emotions gain a higher and more cultivated status than others.\(^\text{93}\) The hierarchy of emotion has a clear gendered dimension.\(^\text{94}\)

1.6. The vegetarian subject - method and concepts

The vegetarian subject is the methodological approach in this master-thesis. The vegetarian subject should be understood as existing somewhere in-between fact and fiction, it reflects a lived reality but should not be understood as a singular experience. Christopher Partridge has presented the concept of an embodied self which should be understood as a continuous process of development and idealisation, and as the site of spiritual transformation.\(^\text{95}\) Spirituality is a part of the subjectivization thesis and should be understood as an inner spiritual atmosphere and not as a product of organized religion, rather the subject creates its “own spiritual air to breathe in”.\(^\text{96}\) In this thesis, the concept of the embodied self is extended to also include the embodiment and performance of gender, consequently, it is rather an embodied gendered self that is analysed. I also wish to stress that the vegetarian subject should primarily be understood as an analytical tool for understanding the vegetarians and vegetarianism, consequently, different, and contradictory ideals, experiences, and feelings can co-exist.

To operationalise the vegetarian subject I will use the concepts of life-as and life-in presented by Heelas and Woodhead which I argue should be understood as ideal types. The two ideal


\(^{93}\) Ahmed, The Cultural Politics of Emotion, p. 3.

\(^{94}\) Ahmed, The Cultural Politics of Emotion, p. 3.

\(^{95}\) Partridge, The re-enchantment of the West, p. 4.

\(^{96}\) Partridge, The re-enchantment of the West, p. 6.
types are fruitful for the analysis since they enable an analysis of the otherwise abstract term of subjective experiences. Heelas and Woodhead has argued that a life-as and life-in are incompatibility\(^7\) which is an advantage to the analysis since the two different states of life can be clearly contrasted. Life-as should be understood as a life lead in obligation to external authorities such as organized religion or a national-state in which duty and obedience are of paramount importance. The good life or virtue are obtained through sacrifice and discipline, which Heelas and Woodhead exemplifies through the military. On the other hand, life-in focuses on the unique inner subjective experience and this very subjectivity is the source of authority. States of emotions, passions, inner consciousness, passions, bodily experiences, memories, feelings, and sentiments such as moral and compassion I have chosen to summarise under the term *states of being*. In the table below I the most important for the thesis are included. The good life or virtue is formulated in terms of being in full awareness of one’s state of being and through this be one’s own authority and not follow an established path. The vegetarian subject will be analysed in comparison between the two ideal types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life-as</th>
<th>Life-in</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Externally constructed or “objective” roles</td>
<td>• Unique inner subjective experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Duties and obligations</td>
<td>• States of being for example:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Obeying external authorities</td>
<td>emotions, passion, bodily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Good life and virtue = sacrifice and discipline</td>
<td>experiences, inner consciousness &amp;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>sentiments.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Individual subjectivity source of authority</td>
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<td>• Good life and virtue = full awareness</td>
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<td>of one’s state of being.</td>
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</tbody>
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Table 1: Ideal types Life-as and Life-in

The vegetarian subject will be studied through the concepts characteristics, requirements, and promises. The three should be understood as gendered and entwined, where for example a requirement is posed to the subject to reach a promised state. As will be presented under disposition the thesis will be structured in accordance with these three terms. Furthermore, I wish to argue that with these three terms I can analyse the life-as and life-in.

\(^{7}\) Heelas & Woodhead, *The Spiritual Revolution*, p. 4.
**Characteristics** are the states of being and traits which are ascribed to the vegetarian subject but not demanded of it.

**Requirements** are the demands posed to the vegetarian subject, which can be both in terms of states of being and practical measures, such as refraining from meat.

**Promises** are the states of being and experiences constructed as envisioned promises or goals that the vegetarian subject will reach by fulfilling the requirements. Important to note is that it is not a specific individual that make promises to other vegetarians but rather a part of the process of doing the vegetarian subject.

Language should be understood as a mirror of a perceived reality. Similarly, to historian Helena Tolvhed, I wish to emphasise the capacity of member magazines to create meaning and identity, as well as to highlight their subjective nature. The identities encompassed in the constructed vegetarian subject should be understood as identities within discourses, consequently, the texts will be compared to the relevant historical context from an empirical and theoretical standpoint.

I will analyse how the vegetarian subject was constructed with the aid of the ideal types and concepts presented above. I will also apply the theoretical frameworks presented under theory and through this I will be able to discuss and analyse the subjective experiences of the vegetarian subject and explain the attractions and changes of vegetarianism.

### 1.7. Primary source material

The primary source material of this master-thesis is the member magazines of the *Deutscher Vegetarier-Bund*. The D.V.B. has been chosen for this study since it was the first vegetarian society which gathered all German-speaking vegetarians, consequently, the society is a good example of a national rather than a regional vegetarianism. Furthermore, the D.V.B. encompassed a considerable part of German vegetarians, for example in 1914 around 1000 of overall 5000 registered German vegetarians were members of the D.V.B. I concur with historian Annette Leiderer who has argued that analysing vegetarianism is particularly fruitful in understanding the German history, since its criticism mirrors the “normal society”.

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100 Baumgartner, “Vegetarismus”, p 134.
1.7.1. Selection of material

I have chosen to study the member magazine of the D.V.B. which was sent to all members of the society. In 1895, the magazine was called *Vegetarische Rundschau (V.R.)*\(^{102}\) but then changed its name to *Vegetarische Warte (V.W.)*\(^{103}\).

The member magazines of four years will be examined; 1895, 1908, 1921, and 1931. The four years represent four different period of the D.V.B. which featured different editors. The editor of the member magazine was also the leader of the D.V.B. but should primarily be understood through his role as editor in this thesis since it is the magazines that are examined. The material can further be understood as representing two eras in German history, the imperial period of the *Kaiserreich* and the time of the Weimar-republic. Furthermore, the experience of the First World War changed the ideals of masculinity and femininity as well as the structure of the German society which was most likely reflected in the magazines.\(^{104}\)

Within the *Lebensreform*-movements member magazines were of importance and each society had its own magazine.\(^{105}\) The *V.R.* and *V.W.* included articles concerning vegetarian ideals, goals, experiences, and opinions as well as scientific and philosophical texts about vegetarianism. Furthermore, poems, recipes, and advice for the vegetarian everyday were included. Political and confessional statements were advised to be avoided with main-focus of the magazines being the expansion of vegetarianism.\(^{106}\) I have chosen to include all forms of written material with the exclusion of the advertisements. The advertisement pages, I would argue, had a different character than the rest of the magazine, since non-vegetarians were also able to publish and due to this I would argue that the advertisements reflected societies perceived opinion of vegetarians and not the discourse of the D.V.B. This perspective is also interesting but this thesis is focused on the vegetarian experience within the D.V.B.

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\(^{102}\) The abbreviation *V.R.* will be used in this thesis. Eng: Vegetarian review.

\(^{103}\) The abbreviation *V.W.* will be used in this thesis. Eng: Vegetarian watchtower.


The magazines were mostly written by the members themselves. The editorial staff had a big influence on the content of the magazine and since they were elected by the members of the D.V.B I would argue that the emphasis of the editor to some extent reflected the opinions of the majority of the members. The articles of the V.R. and V.W. encompassed various opinions, however, I would argue that the different opinions should be understood as operating within the same discourse since the editorial staff of the magazine had the final say in what was and was not published. Consequently, articles published and discussions held all worked within the same discourse and even though I at times will emphasise the article writer they should mainly be viewed as a writing collective who collectively constructed the vegetarian subject.

1.8. Disposition

The study is divided into four parts, each including an examination of one year. Each chapter includes four parts, characteristics, requirements, and promises, as well as a conclusion. Through the empirical work differences between the four years have been discovered and these differences will be emphasised through four different themes.

The focus of 1895 will be on the hygienic aspects of the vegetarian subject as well as gendered embodiment. In 1908, the focus is primarily on two aspects of the vegetarian subject, the vegetarian soldier, and the vegetarian missionary, as well as a further discussion of the natural state of the vegetarian subject which was also stressed in 1895. In 1921, increased focus will be placed on emotions of compassion and the danger of being deemed as sensitive. Furthermore, the role of nature as a spiritual atmosphere will be discussed. In 1931, the role of emotion and ethical understanding will be discussed and related to a promised vegetarian ethical future. Finally, under conclusion the four years will be further compared and the discussion raised to a more theoretical level.

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Note to the reader, the issues of 1908 and 1921 are twice as big as those of 1895 and 1931, thus one page of these are like two pages of the latter. However, this is not accounted for in this table.

2. Study

2.1. 1895 - A hygienic and natural body

This chapter will focus primarily on hygiene and rationality. In this analysis, the gendered body and concepts of health and illness are of importance in understanding the construction of the vegetarian subject. Historian Michael Hau has defined the popular hygienic culture around 1900 as a concept which included both therapeutic practices and dietetic lifestyle prescriptions, as well as contemporary social meanings, such as hygienic practices, bodily regimes, and the notion of health and beauty. In a West European context, the ideal male body was perceived as tall, slim, and muscular with broad shoulder and narrow hips whereas the female body ideally had full and round body parts, narrow shoulders, and wide hips. Furthermore, degenerate behaviour was closely connected to the body, which was perceived as being both pathological and a reflection of biological degeneracy and inferiority.

In 1895, the editors of the V.R. were Ernst Hering and Hugo Zeidler. Wilhelm II had been the Kaiser of Imperial Germany during the last seven years and had dismissed Otto von Bismarck in 1890. For vegetarians wishing to emigrate to the tropics, the German conquest of African and Asian colonies during the late 19th century made settling easier. At the same time this quest for a ‘place in the sun’ isolated Germany politically from other European nations.

2.1.1. Characteristics

2.1.1.1. Bildung and hard work

Throughout 1895 hygiene was of importance in the doing of the vegetarian subject. The health focused connotations of the word Vegetarismus was questioned by signature Oswald Hinderkircher who advocated the use of the word Fruchtessertum since: “Fruchtessertum erzeugt Sinn für Einfachheit, Reinheit und Milde.” I would however argue that emphasis on simpleness and purity should be seen as part of a hygiene-orientated almost rational characteristic.

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113 Oswald Hinderkircher, ”Sprechsaal”, Vegetarische Rundschau (1895), p. 182. Eng: “Herbivorism generates a sense of simplicity, purity and mildness.”.
The characteristics emphasised by Hinderkircher were reflected in an article concerning the positive hygienic features of gardening. The hygienic worth was in this context attributed to a cultivation of personality rather than the physical body. According to the article writer Heinrich Pudor, gardening brought out the best in mankind, a gardener rarely showed crudeness but instead displayed a rich inner-life, deep love, and firm loyalty. Furthermore, gardening promoted sense of order, individuality, and diligence. Gardening was gendered and deemed as being closer to a nurturing female character, therefore concerns were raised that it was regarded as a male activity when in fact should be promoted for all, young and old, male and female.

In the magazines, there existed an emphasis on education, intellectualism, and individuality which can be understood as reflecting the 19th century ideal of Bildung. An ideal based on an autonome subject who had a strong self and followed an individual calling and development. Historian Teuteberg, has described 19th century vegetarianism as a “conservative revolution” in which an alternative future with a higher cultural form was strived towards, where the individual could thrive in personal realization. V.R. editor Ernst Hering advocated the members to strive for peace and tolerance, emphasising diligence, acceptance of differing opinions and strength as traits of vegetarians. Hard-work and a happy courage should be the parole of vegetarians who, according to Hering, wanted to deepen their knowledge not only in matters related to vegetarianism or hygiene but also in other intellectual fields. It was emphasised in another article that the duty of the vegetarians lay within the circles of intellectuals and through this the vegetarian cause would be victorious. Furthermore, the education of the public was of importance, as stated in an article was the ignorance of the people the main source of all evil which could be combated through enlightenment. Hering finished his new year’s greeting with a salutation to all members in which the emphasis on hard-work, stamina, intellectualism, and health are neatly summarised.

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117 Ljunggren, Känslornas Krig, p. 45.
121 Dr. Wetzel, “Der Einfuss des naturgemässen Lebens auf die Kunst”, Vegetarische Rundschau, p. 143.
2.1.1.2. Rationality or sensitivity

Max Weber’s emphasised rationality was also echoed in the characteristics of the vegetarian subject and will in this section be analysed through the theoretical-framework of gender. One of the more frequent article writers, Heinrich Pudor, compared his own rational reasoning with the reasoning of women, describing the latter as superstitious.\(^{124}\) In other articles, women were described as conservative, unambitious, and uneducated.\(^{125}\) At the same time women were deemed responsible for the important task of preparing (vegetarian) food. Signature Thorwald E. Brunn was concerned about women’s lack of dietary knowledge and stated that the establishment of vegetarian cooking schools was much needed to attract more followers to vegetarianism.\(^{126}\) His goal was to change how cooking was done through technology. In the same spirit Naturheilkundler Bruno Meyer described an imperfect female-rule of the kitchen and claimed that he wanted to reclaim the power to the responsible (implicitly rational men), this would be done through rational science.\(^{127}\) This change would according to Meyer lead to women feeling honour and pleasure in the kitchen.\(^ {128}\) In these examples the rationality of the male vegetarian subject was emphasised, which can be associated with the ideal type life-as.

Emotion as tied to the ideal type life-in occurred in the magazines as well. Signature Frau M. Wittke argued that a meat-diet was not compatible with the natural human sensitivity.\(^{129}\) From childhood memories she declared that when the family’s swine was slaughtered both she and her sister wept.\(^ {130}\) Her second argument was also a memory from her youth from when she had attended a cooking course in Berlin. None of the bourgeois female students had touched meat earlier and Wittke explained that only after stern instructions from the teacher did they start to

\(^{123}\) Hering, “Zum neuen Jahr.”, p. 2. Eng: “It is work, which await us everywhere and we wish all our dear comrades [m] and comrades [f] from our heart tireless energy and stamina to act, paired with completest health of body and soul. Let’s look at the new year with happy courage, work is our parole!”


\(^{126}\) Thorwald E. Brunn, ”Mehr Pflastertreten”, *V.R.* (1895), p. 343.

\(^{127}\) Meyer, ”Die Kunst äusserst billig, schmackhaft und mühelos zu kochen”, p. 268, 270-272.

\(^{128}\) Meyer, ”Die Kunst äusserst billig, schmackhaft und mühelos zu kochen”, p. 268.

\(^{129}\) M. Wittke, ”Sprechsaal”, *V.R.* (1895), p. 120.

\(^{130}\) Wittke, ”Sprechsaal”, p. 120.
prepare the meat, yet, all of them had difficulties hiding their disgust and reluctance. In another article, a 17-year old man was described as nervous and when he had to slaughter an animal he died.

I would argue that the examples above show the importance of rationality, rather than of emotions. Firstly, the examples of emotional displays were few in the V.R. Secondly, the examples did not describe a typical vegetarian but rather a vegetarian who was very young, female, and/or weak. Hierarchically certain emotions are attributed a greater value than other and I claim that affective reactions were attributed lesser value than displays of rationality and control in the V.R. Emotion related to sensitivity should, within this context, rather be understood as feminine or as showing weakness. Historian Jens Ljunggren has argued that emotion and sensibility were important parts of the educated male elite’s identity in Germany during the time-period. He has attributed this in part to the homosocial arena of the men examined. The sensitivity of the male elite cannot be attributed to the D.V.B. since it was not a homosocial arena. Furthermore, I argue that the earlier connection between femininity and vegetarianism led to a strategy of masculinity within the union through an emphasis on rationality and hygiene. For instance, Heinrich Pudor argued in one of his articles for the need to temperate undergarments after washing them and clearly specified that the warming of undergarments was not: “[...] Verweichlichung, sondern es ist Vernunft.”

Pudor emphasised reason and rationality, displaying a worry of being seen as weak and unmanly. This further strengthens my argument that the vegetarian subject was constructed in terms of a life-as and furthermore, within a masculine discourse. The vegetarian subject should not feel or follow an inner subjectivity, rather emphasis was placed upon scientific knowledge, rationality, and external authorities such as vegetarian dietary experts.

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131 Wittke, “Sprechsaal”, p. 120.
132 Which in this context should not only be understood as a personality trait but rather as a psychological disease: Neuroasthenia. See more in Joachim Radkau, Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler, (München 1998).
134 Typical is here understood from Barlösius statistical work century as a protestant man between 22-32, from northern Germany. Barölius, Naturgemässe Lebensführung, p. 164.
136 Ljunggren, Känslornas krig.
2.1.2. Requirements

In this section I am going to further examine and analyse the requirements posed to the vegetarian subject. I will argue that hygienic aspects were constructed as a primary requirement for the vegetarian in order to reach an envisioned promised state. In an article titled “Aertzliches Zeugnis” Dr. Lorenz told the story of his own shift to vegetarianism in May 1892.\textsuperscript{138} In this story the health aspects very emphasised through examples of weight loss and being cured from heart problems and breathing difficulties.\textsuperscript{139} A vegetarian diet was described as leading to states of health. I will discuss the hygienic standards posed to the vegetarian subject through the analysis of how the vegetarian subject was supposed to live.

2.1.2.1. The great bread-debate of 1895

At the core of vegetarianism in 1895 was a naturgemässe Lebensweise, a moderate and natural way of life. It was stated that if humanity went back to a natural state the human body would experience a hygienic regeneration.\textsuperscript{140} A naturgemässe Lebensweise included a diet which excluded meat, strong seasoning, wine, and beer.\textsuperscript{141} A vegetarian diet was of importance to the vegetarian subject which was especially apparent in an article about a vegetarian named Anna Böcker who had survived a tragic ship wreck in early January 1895. Her fate and actions were described and it was made clear that: “Frl. Böcker hat der Welt wieder einmal bewiesen, wie die vegetarische Lebensweise Ruhe, Mut und Kraft in Gefahren verleiht […]”.\textsuperscript{142} It was further emphasised that Böcker was even braver than the men (who presumably ate meat) on the ship.\textsuperscript{143} The vegetarian diet was consequently understood as a, if not the, reason behind Böcker’s survival and commendable conduct. I would argue that the article of Anna Böcker achievements was an explicit strategy to exemplify the positive influence that a vegetarian diet had on the subject which tied the moderate vegetarian diet to the vegetarian subject as a requirement.

One of the most frequent themes in 1895 in the V.R. was the dietary qualities of bread. Bread was presented as the most nutritious product, however, this view differed from mainstream

\textsuperscript{140} Dr. Wetzel, “Der Einfluss des naturgemässen Lebens auf die Kunst”, V.R. (1895), p. 137.
\textsuperscript{141} Wetzel, “Einfluss des naturgemässen Lebens”, p. 139.
\textsuperscript{142} Hering, “Anna Böcker”, p. 81. Eng: “Ms. Böcker have once again showed the world how the vegetarian lifestyle bestows calm, courage and strength in the face of danger […].”
\textsuperscript{143} Hering “Anna Böcker”, V.R. (1895), p. 81.
science in which protein was perceived as the base of human energy. The debate about bread is of importance to understand the vegetarian subject since it illustrates how dietary requirement were negotiated and tied to vegetarian promises and experiences.

The bread-debate can be summarised as two-parted discussion. Firstly, it was directed against established science and emphasised the dietary measures of bread and thus of vegetarian diet. For example, signature Stefan Steinmetz argued for a vegetarian diet on the grounds that flour and bread was the natural produce of man rather than meat, furthermore, he compared bread to mother milk. I another article signature Dr. P. Andries propagated for Schrotbrot and saw a connection between the consumption of Schrotbrot and health.

Secondly, the debate raised the issue if diet was the cause of differences in strength and stamina between ‘races’ or rather their biology. Andries compared the diet of different nationalities with their abilities as soldiers, which he stated should represent strength and energy. He added that the poor physical state of Spanish soldier was not caused by their diet but rather by their race and emphasised German heritage from the ancient Celts who were described as the biggest and strongest people. This was however, criticised by signature Ernst Prieger who claimed that meat, alcohol, and tobacco for example could not be excluded from the understanding of diet. The emphasis on nationality and race is interesting since it during the 19th century existed ideas that materialism, consumption, capitalism, luxury, and pacifism was not only feminine but also traits of Roman and Slavic countries. Germany was instead constructed as masculine, just like war and the middle ages were constructed in masculine terms. The critique of cultural, environmental, or racial explanations further show how essential the requirement of a vegetarian diet was in constructing the vegetarian subject, it was at the core in the constructing of vegetarian experiences.

146 Eng: “whole meal bread”
151 Ljunggren, Känslornas Krig, p. 111.
152 Ljunggren, Känslornas Krig, p. 111.
2.1.2.2. A natural sex drive

Part of the naturgemässe Lebensweise was, additionally, to a vegetarian diet, a changed view of the body. The perceived prudery of society was condemned in an article and claims were made that a pure naked body could not be connected with dirt and shame.\textsuperscript{153} In Imperial Germany the body was generally a loaded topic and often synonymous with sexuality.\textsuperscript{154} In contrast, a natural sex drive was presented as the core of a natural state in the V.R.\textsuperscript{155} A pure and natural body was described as healthy, both in soul and physique, and defined as harmless when it came to any form of “sexual filth”.\textsuperscript{156} The perspective that a natural naked body preferably in nature lacked sexual connotations within Lebensreform-circles has been established in previous research for example by George Mosse.\textsuperscript{157}

Sexuality was positioned as a threat and a consequence of a modern lifestyle. Historian Teuteberg has claimed that 19\textsuperscript{th} century vegetarianism should be understood as a bourgeois escapism and a resignation of cultural-pessimism rather than as a reaction against modernity and industrialisation.\textsuperscript{158} However, in the examples from the V.R. modernity was contrasted to a vegetarian and natural life. Modern life was for example presented as a danger in an article about young girls’ accommodation in pensions, their attendance of dance-lessons, and the reading of novels which were described as causing their sexual lives to developed too early.\textsuperscript{159} Furthermore, it was claimed that main problem with the current way of life was to be found: “[...] in der Sinnlichkeit, d.h. in den allgemein verbreiteten Verirrungen und Ausartungen des Geschlechtstriebes.”\textsuperscript{160} Consequently, sensuality was held as the cause of unnatural sexuality, which however, was contested by the editorial staff of the V.R. who instead stated that it was the dietary choice of eating meat that was the cause of an unnatural sexuality.\textsuperscript{161}

2.1.2.3. Physical activities

Exercise was an essential part of the naturgemässe Lebensweise and in one article it was stated that: “[...] ein Fehler vieler Vegetarier ist der Mangel an Bewegung, ein bisschen

\textsuperscript{153}Wetzel, “Einfluss des naturgemässen Lebens”, p. 139.
\textsuperscript{154}Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 236.
\textsuperscript{155}Wetzel, “Einfluss des naturgemässen Lebens”, p. 139.
\textsuperscript{156}Wetzel, “Einfluss des naturgemässen Lebens”, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{157}Mosse, Image of Man, p. 95-97.
\textsuperscript{158}Teuteberg, “Zur Sozialgeschichte des Vegetarismus”, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{159}“Der Naturarzt”, V.R. (1895), p. 217.
\textsuperscript{160}“Rundschau”, V.R. (1895), p. 130. Eng: “the sensuality, that is in the generally spread demise and degeneracy of the sexual drive.”
Spazierengehen thut es nicht.” Athletic feats of vegetarians were often reported with recurrent emphasis on the older age of the vegetarians while still out-performing their younger meat-eating competitors. For instance, 52-year-old vegetarian cyclist Gustav Gahde was described as showing both strength and endurance after having won two gold- and two silver-medals in a race that rarely saw participants over the age of 30.

Gymnastics was emphasised in the magazines. The requirement of gymnastics is interesting since it per se did not required a vegetarian diet but was still an important requirement for the vegetarian subject. The most frequent article writer on the subject of gymnastics and hygiene was Heinrich Pudor who was worried about the inactive modern lifestyle. To battle dangers of modernity vegetarians had to start exercising in order to reach the natural state and Pudor emphasised the physical aspect of life in the following manner: “Ja überhaupt haben wir nicht nur einen Kopf und einen Geist, wir sind körperlicher Natur und dürfen uns in dieser Gestalt nicht verlieren.” I would argue that physical exercise should be understood as gendered, where the male vegetarian was seen as the most natural athlete. My statement is strengthened for example in an article where Pudor wished that the military troops should gradually shift to being a gymnastic troop, since physical exercise was important for young men. The legitimizing of a vegetarian diet through sport, gymnastics and male youthfulness was also evident in a short article about a nineteen-year old who had been a vegetarian his entire life and was described as athletically talented.

By attributing vegetarianism to strength and youthfulness the vegetarian subject was not significantly different from the general discourse of the Lebensreform or Jugendbewegung, in which youthfulness represented an opposite to the old and traditional and instead presented a future of national regeneration and beauty. Historian Mosse has asserted, that the Jugendbewegung worked within normative masculinity while at the same time being alternative.

166 Pudor, “Hygiene der Lunge”, p. 74. Eng: “Overall have we not only a head or a mind, we are bodily nature and cannot allow ourself to get lost in this shape.”
169 Eng: “youth movement”.
and challenging other societal norms.\textsuperscript{171} This I would argue was to some extent also the case in the doing of the vegetarian subject as presented above. However, strength and youthfulness was not only found in a masculine context. Rather, women were also encouraged to exercise but there existed some limitations of which sports could be exercise, for example was wrestling excluded.\textsuperscript{172} This can be understood as a need for exercise but a limitation of female participation on masculine coded sports As Ole Fischer has presented there existed a link between meat, masculinity, and muscular strength,\textsuperscript{173} which I argue can explain the greater masculine need to create a link between vegetarianism and masculine physical feats.

2.1.2.4. The purity of singing

Singing was described as a pure lung-gymnastic by Pudor who defined the term pure as similar to pure reason and the purity of chemical matters.\textsuperscript{174} I would argue that through this description singing can be understood as not only an exercise but also a hygienic measure. It was emphasised that not only youths but also adults, especially women, needed to sing.\textsuperscript{175} Pudor argued that man only becomes human when he sings, like the new-born was called to life through screaming.\textsuperscript{176} That singing was deemed as a hygienic activity is further affirmed in an article which described a singer and her mentor Herr Törsleff.\textsuperscript{177} The mentor claimed that the vegetarian diet was the best for the voice since it prevented body-fat and further stated that he had once lost his voice completely, but regained it through a plant-diet.\textsuperscript{178} In another article abstinence from beer and wine was described as improving one’s singing-voice.\textsuperscript{179} These examples show once again that a vegetarian diet in itself was understood as a source of purity and hygienic well-fare. Furthermore, purity seems to have been at the centre of the concept of health. When describing mankind it was stated that:

\begin{quote}
Die Reinheit sei sein oberstes Gebot. Alle Tugenden fliessen aus dieser einen Tugend.
Nicht am wenigsten die Tugend der Gesundheit.”\textsuperscript{180}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{171} Mosse, \textit{Image of Man}, p. 95.
\textsuperscript{172} Pudor, “Die Bewegungsarten”, \textit{V.R.} (1895), p. 108.
\textsuperscript{173} Fischer, “Männlichkeit und Fleischkonsum”, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{174} Pudor, “Hygiene der Lunge”, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{175} Pudor, “Hygiene der Lunge”, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{176} Pudor, “Hygiene der Lunge”, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{177} “Gute Stimme zu erlangen”, \textit{V.R.} (1895), p. 25.
\textsuperscript{178} “Gute Stimme zu erlangen”, \textit{V.R.} (1895), p. 25.
\textsuperscript{179} “The Vegetarian”, \textit{V.R.} p. 58 \textit{The Vegetarian} was an English vegetarian member magazine which was translated and cited in the V.R.
\textsuperscript{180} Heinrich Pudor, “Reinheit und Reinlichkeit,” p. 307. Eng: “Purity is its highest commandment. All virtues flow from this one virtue. Not at the least the virtue of health.”
Interestingly, singing as well as for example gymnastics led to hygienic well-being. Of course, singing can also be understood as a physical exercise, but by emphasising the purity of it I would argue that singing could be understood in terms of an inner state as well. Pudor’s emphasis on the life awakening aspects of screaming hints that certain practices within the vegetarianism was not only a constructed requirement but also a way to enable the subject to create an inner spiritual atmosphere. The hygienic arguments certainly had a rational dimension but also encompassed traces of spirituality.

2.1.2.5. Development of the self

That rationality and a natural lifestyle were important requirements for the vegetarian subject has been established. These ideals I argue can be connected to a life-as, however, hints of a life-in can be found in the magazines as well. Through the concept of the previously mentioned Bildung I will further examine this. As previously mentioned the Bildungs-ideal can be defined as an ideal based on an autonome subject who has a strong self and follows an individual calling and free development. An ideal I would argue enabled a direction towards a life-in. Through the emphasis of an awakening of the human subject and emphasis on an inner Geist of the vegetarian subject can be understood in subjective turns, where an inner calling direct the path taken.

Editor Hugo Zeidler presented in an article the vegetarian movement as a practical way to achieve an individualistic ideal and a way of rejecting mediators. To strengthen his arguments he presented three role models; Socrates, Jesus, and Luther. Zeidler further explained that through these three the development of the self could be taught and thus the dwelling powers within the human subject could be awoken. The development could be found in the improvement of self-knowledge, the love of the fellow-men, and the rejection of mediators. Zeidler claimed that individual freedom was present in many fields of society but not in the most important one of all, the health of the intellectual and bodily individual life. However, this would soon change according to Zeidler, who saw vegetarianism and natural medicine as the answer. In an article published a few issues later signature M-t. compared the ideas of philosopher Herder to vegetarianism.

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181 Ljunggren, Kännornas Krig, p. 45.
182 Geist should in this context be understood as the mind but also as the soul.
Der allgemeinsten und notwendigsten Sinn ist das Gefühl, er ist die Grundlage der anderen, und bei dem Menschen einer seiner grössten Vorzüge. […] Aber wie sehr ist dies Organ auch unter den Menschen verschieden, nachdem es die Lebensart, das Klima, die Anwendung und Uebung, endlich die genetische Reizbarkeit des Körpers modifiziert! 187

Furthermore, M-t. stated that we should follow the lead of feeling to reach a proper humane lifestyle. 188

Even though emphasis was put on health in the examples above Zeidler summarised the current state of the vegetarian cause and found it to be too focused on hygienic aspect, he claimed that it lacked Geist 189 and a clear-cut programme. 190 Ever since what Zeidler presented as the true vegetarian leader Eduard Baltzer had died there had been a decay of the vegetarian cause, and vegetarians were described as working subordinately within the broader spectrum of the natural hygienic movements. 191 However, Zeidler also highlighted that the vegetarian movement was the first movement which emphasised all aspects of life, which were the political, economic and hygienic. 192 Consequently, even Zeidler’s call for a stronger development of the self was positioned in similar terms as by the other authors of the V.R.

2.1.3. Promises

2.1.3.1. A natural body

Those who followed the requirements posed to the vegetarian subject were in return promised bodily health. This is well-presented in an article where the article writer described how he was struck by consumption of the lungs and how he was then treated according to the medical “sciences”, which he put in quotation marks. 193 When the medical practices did not help he instead turned to a strict vegetarian diet, ‘air and light cures’, and gardening which he all described as healing. 194

The gendered embodiment of the vegetarian subject was an important factor in the promise of health. The promise of muscles for the male vegetarian was not only evident in the many articles

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187 M-t. “Herder”, p. 303. Eng: “The most general and necessary sense is emotion, which is the foundation for all others, and be humans one from the biggest advantages […] But how different this organ is modified among humans, according to the way of life, the climate, the implementation and exercise, finally the genetical bodily weakness.” M-t. has quoted Herder.

188 M-t. “Herder”, p. 305.

189 In this context understood in terms of intellectualism and spirit.


focusing on athletic feats but also in the descriptions of men who lived in accordance with vegetarian requirements. For example the story of a Captain Eduard Schmidt was presented in an article in which he was described as having spent his life naked for the past twenty years. Schmidt stated that he lived this way to improve his health by letting sunlight and air move freely over his body. His body was described as that of a weather-browned giant compared to the bronze statue of Ajax. In another article an ethnologic expedition to Greece was described in which three different body-types were presented. Those described as having the best physique did not eat meat or at least not in any considerable quantity. Interestingly, an additional group, labelled street-robbers, were described as having a feminine body, with roundish body parts and extra body fat which was attributed by the author to their diet, which was based solely on animal substances. Through this examples the previously mentioned hygienic gendered view of opposing bodies as healthy as well as the notion that degenerate behaviour was connected to the body is apparent. By attributing the street-robbers feminine bodies and describing it as being caused by diet it was also suggested that the vegetarian diet led to a more ‘natural’ bodily relation between the sexes. This is also evident in the description of the female body which was rarely discussed but when mentioned centred around the womb. For instance, it was described in an article how girls were weakened and effeminated due to a meat-diet, the intake of coffee and liquor as well as the use of the corset. This led to a weakened abdominal muscle, which in turn was attributed to more difficult births. Various therapeutic measures were suggested in the article such as breathing gymnastics, a vegetarian diet, and massaging of the womb.

2.1.4. Concluding 1895

The focus on health can be understood as a legitimization of vegetarianism which concurred with the hygienic discourse of the time-period. By emphasising athletic features of the vegetarian subject, a classical male ideal of a strong and muscular body was constructed. This focus can be understood as a strategy to distance the vegetarian subject from femininity which

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195 However, it was also explained that he wore a pair of cotton shorts, a belt and a long dagger. See also: Conrad Hoffmann, “Zur Stärkeverdauung”, V.R. (1895), p. 176.
196 “Zwanzig Jahre Nackt”, p. 52.
197 “Zwanzig Jahre Nackt”, p. 51
202 “Der Naturarzt”, p. 217. Similar argumentations can also be found in for example: “The Herald of Health, Vegetarische Rundschau (1895), p. 58.
historically had been attributed to a vegetarian diet. As has been stated by historian Ole Fischer a “muscular vegetarianism” challenged the scientific view that protein was the source of muscular power.\(^{203}\) Male and female bodies were described as ideal opposites of a natural vegetarian state towards which the vegetarian subject strived. According to historian Rebecca Niederhausen body control was a distinct feature of the bourgeoisie, a way to distance themselves from the working-classes and nobility.\(^{204}\) Niederhausen has emphasised that the interdiscursive feature of bourgeoisie vegetarianism was one of the drawing factors for joining vegetarians.\(^{205}\) She has also claimed that vegetarianism offered members of the Neue Mittelstand an opportunity to express bourgeois values while at the same time challenging bourgeois discourses.\(^{206}\)

I wish to highlight that it was not just middle-class ideals that existed in vegetarianism but rather, specific male ideals, which were quite different from the masculine military ideals in Imperial Germany.\(^{207}\) Historian Thomas Nipperdey has described the German society of the period as socially and politically shaped by militarism, with emphasis on struggle, war, and heroism.\(^{208}\) Furthermore, German heroism and chivalric virtues like honour and loyalty were emphasised.\(^{209}\) In the bourgeois circles the military played an important role and civilians generally regarded war as something positive.\(^{210}\) In this context I wish to emphasise the intellectual dimension attributed to the vegetarian subject with focus on Bildung and the peaceful aspects of vegetarianism. I would argue that these characteristics attributed to the vegetarian subject could have been one feature which attracted male members and gave them the opportunity to express an intellectual masculinity while at the same time working within a bourgeois masculine framework. However, the intellectual aspects of the vegetarian subject of 1895 should not be understood as an affective masculinity but rather as part of the development to a modern individual with focus on restraint of emotion.\(^{211}\)

\(^{203}\) Fischer, “Männlichkeit und Fleischkonsum”.
\(^{206}\) Niederhausen, “Sich bei Gemüse und Obst amüsieren”.
\(^{207}\) See for example: Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte: B. 1, p. 814 & Ute Frevert, A Nation in Barracks.
\(^{208}\) Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte: B. 1, p. 814.
\(^{210}\) Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte: B. 1, p. 814.
During 1895, the vegetarian subject can be understood in terms of a life-as. According to the ideal-type of a life-as the individual is guided by external authorities and duty. This was the case of the construction of the vegetarian subject in 1895. The characteristics and requirements ascribed to the vegetarian subject were alternative from a societal mainstream but nonetheless the subject was constructed through arguments from external vegetarian authorities. Inner subjectivity and experiences did not construct the vegetarian subject instead diet and a disciplining of the outer body was accentuated and required to reach a perceived natural physical state. The soul as an inner aspect of the vegetarian subject was also discussed, but, I would argue that inner subjectivity did not guide the individual’s path towards a vision of the good life. Emotions were scarcely mentioned and when discussed it was in the context of weakness due to age, sex, or disease.
2.2. 1908 - Happy vegetarian soldiers and missionaries

In this section I will focus on happiness as well as the different characteristics ascribed to male ‘soldier vegetarians’ and female ‘missionary vegetarians’. In this analysis, the concept of the emotion happiness should not only be understood as an affective state but also as a strategy for power. As Ahmed has established, situations one wants to defend are often portrayed as happy.212 An important figure in the member magazines was Friedrich Nietzsche and his thoughts on happiness can aid the analytical understanding of happiness in the V.W. Simplified Nietzsche meant, that reason held the key to virtue and happiness.213 An essential part of the bourgeois virtues was that of self-control and rationality, feelings and passions displayed by men were seen as long-termed and filled with reason, whereas women were rather portrayed as sensitivity and driven by affect, which was connected to the short-termed and above all not with reason.214 Men generally distanced themselves from sensibility during the 19th century.215

The member magazine went under the name Vegetarische Warte and was twice as large as in 1895. In 1904 Gustav Selß had become editor of the V.W. and he advocated a professionalization of the society.

2.2.1. Characteristics

2.2.1.1. Vegetarian soldiers

The peace message presented in 1895 was still a part of the rhetoric in 1908, however, with the new editor, Dr. Selß, the characteristics emphasised for the vegetarian subject had shifted. In a language coloured by war metaphors he stated that truth was the weapon of the D.V.B. and that in conviction and duty laid true vegetarian courage.216 Furthermore, he held the opinion that vegetarianism was best spread in unity behind his banner. For analytical clarity, I will call this aspect of the vegetarian subject the vegetarian soldier. The emphasis on masculinity was also apparent in that Selß likened the vegetarian with a soldier by using words such as Kämpfer.217 I would argue, that this was a strategy by Selß to strengthen the ties between vegetarianism and masculinity. Military-focused masculinities had a central place in Imperial German.218

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217 Dr. Selß, “Zum neuen Jahre.”, p. 2. Eng: “combatant”.
218 Ute Frevert, “Das Militär als Schule der Männlichkeiten”, in Ulrike Brunotte & Rainer Herrn’s Männlichkeiten und die Moderne Geschlecht in den Wissenskulturen um 1900 (Bielefeld 2008), p. 58.
Signature L. Rautenfranz propagated for unity and claimed that those who believed that vegetarianism prospered in freedom were mistaken, since those who lived in complete freedom were brutalized or became indifferent.\textsuperscript{219} The individual was described as being run over by a counter-current of meat-eaters and could only prosper through a strong unitary vegetarian program and union.\textsuperscript{220} It was further stated, that the “Naturmenschen”\textsuperscript{221} damaged the vegetarian cause and due to a lack of motivation soon started to eat meat again.\textsuperscript{222} Signature Bruno Meyer stated that: “Wie nur der richtig befehlen kann, der ehrlich und treu dienen lernte, so wurzelte männlich fester Wille tief in aufrichtiger Selbstzucht.”\textsuperscript{223} Thus, he connected a united vegetarian movement with strong masculinity. However, individuality was also stressed for example by signature ein Schildbürger\textsuperscript{224} who emphasised the need for personal freedom and for everyone to be their own master.\textsuperscript{225} In another article it was stated that vegetarians wanted a self-reform with focus on the individual with a gathering of the cooperatives.\textsuperscript{226} Historian Ute Frevert has described that the ideal soldier in Imperial Germany should be obedient and disciplined while at the same time being active and independent.\textsuperscript{227} The militaristic ideals presented by Frevert can aid the analytical understanding of the co-existing between characteristics on the hand of discipline and obedience and on the other hand of individuality.

Even though some emphasised the individuality of the vegetarian subject the focus on self-discipline, battle, and masculine strength constituted new masculine ideals in the V.W. not present in the material of 1895. Will-power was at the centre of a strong masculinity in Imperial Germany during this time-period.\textsuperscript{228} The concept of will-power had gained increased momentum during the years before the First World War, in both the medical and political sectors.\textsuperscript{229} It was deemed as an essential part of the dominant masculinity which was formed

\textsuperscript{220} Rautenfranz, “Am höchsten aber steht der Vegetarismus”, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{221} Eng: “nature people”.
\textsuperscript{222} Rautenfranz, “Am höchsten aber steht der Vegetarismus”, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{223} Bruno Meyer, “Alt werden und Jung bleiben”, V.W., (1908), p. 202. Eng: “since only those that are taught to serve honestly and loyally could lead true command, so is also the masculine steady willpower found in the sincere self-discipline.”
\textsuperscript{224} Eng: a simpleton.
\textsuperscript{227} Frevert, “Das Militär als Schule der Männlichkeiten”, p. 72
\textsuperscript{228} Mosse, Image of Man, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{229} Radkau, Das Zeitalter der Nervosität, p. 357.
through education and gymnastics. George Mosse has described it as one of the most important characteristics of modern masculinity.

In sum, the vegetarian subject was characterised by strong will-power, discipline, belief in struggle for vegetarianism and to some extent a higher sensitive understanding. However, the actual tools and characteristics associated with the spreading of vegetarianism were to be found away from strong masculinity and rather, mainly among women.

2.2.1.2. Vegetarian missionaries

Women were more present and more important in the D.V.B. in 1908 than 1895, this is evident not only from the increase of female article writers but also from the emphasis put on activities performed by women. Since the expansion of vegetarianism was of importance the intellectual aspects of education were central to the construction of the vegetarian subject. Signature Dr. Schläger described women who educated others and spread pamphlets as “eifrige Missionarinnen.” Just as vegetarian soldier was used as an analytical tool above; vegetarian missionaries will encompass the characteristics of the vegetarian subject in this sub-chapter.

One of these “missionaries” was Mrs Coufin who held a speech concerning the position of women within the vegetarian movement and stated that the housewife lacked knowledge about nutrition and cooking. The speech was recited by Dr. Schläger who agreed with her and added that even though women longed for doing something to improve the world, a change in lifestyle was unfortunately often stopped by the women’s conservatism. According to Schläger the described reluctance of women was a factor why their husbands did not join vegetarianism and consequently, women needed to be educated through for example the distribution of pamphlets. Signature Jenny Schulz sent in a statement to the V.W. in which she, like Schläger, saw the kitchen as a central space for the expansion of vegetarianism. Furthermore, she wrote that it would be a great progress when intelligent women cooked in

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230 Mosse, The image of man, p. 47.
231 Mosse, Image of Man, p. 17-39, 100.
232 Examples of important female writers were Klara Ebert (feminist, and writer of vegetarian cooking books), Martha Rammelmeyer-Schönltein (writer of cooking books and had together with her husband the sanatorium Friedenfels) and Luise Lombardo (prominent figure in the Swedish vegetarianism).
233 Schläger, “Das vegetarische Ausland”, V.W., (1908), p. 7.” Gustav Schläger was the leader of the D.V.B. in 1921. Eng: "keen missionaries".
vegetarian restaurants and not ignorant and conscienceless female chefs. From these examples I argue, that the intelligence and education emphasised was closely tied to a female vegetarian subject, who was contrasted to a vague concept of women in general. These vegetarian missionaries were an intellectual force of vegetarianism, a role which vegetarian women were not ascribed in 1895.

Klara Ebert was a frequent writer in the magazine and she described her travels in Europe to the readers of the V.W., highlighting mainly the women of the movement. Ebert visited among others the famous vegetarian settlement Monte Verita in Ascona, which she described as intellectual meeting point of all the Lebenreform-projects. Ida Oedenhoven was the leader of the settlement and was according to Ebert an ideally intellectually hard-working woman. Furthermore, Ebert praised the housewives she met on her travels and presented a number of important women in the temperance movement. Ebert also described that she held speeches on the matter of natural upbringing and had intellectual discussions with fellow vegetarians. Through Ebert and the above standing examples the vegetarian missionary was constructed as intellectual and educating others, thus spreading the vegetarian cause.

2.2.2. Requirements
2.2.2.1. Required happiness

One of the similarities between the soldier and missionary ideal was that of happiness. Happiness was an important factor in the articles of Ebert and for example she described the leader of the orchard Iduna in Dresden, Mrs. Wally, as radiantly greeting her. Upon leaving the settlement Ebert wrote: “[…] Es gibt doch ein vollkommenes Glück, selten, aber dann - immer weltabgeschieden, und durch den allumfassenden Vegetarismus.” Through this quote, the link between vegetarianism and happiness was made explicit. In another article, Dr Schläger argued for a vegetarian diet in the military service and stated: “[e]sse ich also mit Lust, so kann ich auch mit Freude meinen Dienst tun.” Schläger did not stress hygienic arguments but

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239 Klara Ebert, “Vegetarische Wanderfahrten I”, V.W., (1908), p. 29. Eng: “the intellectual meeting point”.
240 Ebert, “Vegetarische Wanderfahrten I”, p. 29.
241 For example Emma Gelzer and Ottilie Hoffmann the leader of “Bundes abstinter Frauen & Klara Ebert, “Vegetarische Wanderfahrten I”, p. 29.
244 Schläger, “Vermischtes: Heeresdienst und individuelle Ernährung”, V.W., (1908), p. 168. Eng: “When I eat with joy, then I can also with happiness do my duty.”
rather the joy of vegetarianism in connection with the pleasure of doing one’s duty. The concept of duty presented in association with the concept of the vegetarian soldier was consequently, not separated from feelings of joy.

Joy was also important for those who emphasised hygienic dimensions of vegetarianism. The Deutsche Erneuerungs-Gemeinde\textsuperscript{246} emphasised in an article hopes for an essential German people, with focus on health and work-joy as well as an abstinence from luxury products which, according to the author, had a femininizing effect.\textsuperscript{247} The need to feel joy for the soil and work was also propageted.\textsuperscript{248} The emphasised joy was thus connected to hard-work and health, and distanced from ‘feminine’ traits of luxury. The connection between health and joy was further emphasised with the statement that: ”’Gesundheit und ein frohes Herz ist mehr, als Silber, Gold und Erz.”\textsuperscript{249} This shows how health was still an important issue in 1908 but differently from 1895 with clear connections to the concept of happiness.

The focus on positive emotions was also evident in Ludwig Ankenbrand’s account of his travels in southern Germany. He visited the V.W. editor, Dr. Selß, in Baden-Baden and described how happy they both were, being able to sit in peace and chatter with like-minded people while eating a healthy meal.\textsuperscript{250} In another article Bruno Meyer described how happiness overcame him as he used every part of his body, both physical and mental.\textsuperscript{251} A few months later the readers of the V.W. were informed of the sad news that Meyer’s wife had passed away.\textsuperscript{252} Her last hours were described as happy due to the long hike that she had undertaken with her husband. She went to bed with a light heart and calmly died in her sleep.

Happiness was frequently associated with duty. In the examples presented above mainstream ideals of Prussian virtues of duty and discipline was not challenged but rather modified, through this a ‘cosy Prussian virtue’ which centred around positive feelings such as happiness was created. The sharp divide presented in previous research between male rationality and female emotions was thus challenged. However, the vegetarian subject was never positioned as

\textsuperscript{246} The Deutsche Erneuerungs-Gemeinde was founded in 1904 and was anti-Semitic as well as promoting of a Germanic “land-right”. In 1908 they had founded the settlement Heimland. Ulrich Linse, „Völkisch-rassische Siedlungen der Lebensreform, in Uwe Puschner’s (ed), Handbuch zur “Völkischen Bewegung” 1871-1918, (München 1996), p. 403-404.


\textsuperscript{249} Ernst Hennes, “Zwölf Lebensregeln”, V.W. (1908), s. 229. Eng: “Health and a happy heart is more than silver, gold and ore.”


\textsuperscript{251} Meyer, “Alt werden und jung bleiben”, p. 201.

\textsuperscript{252} “Trauerbotschaft”, V.W., (1908), p. 266.
irrational but rather as previously stated attempts were made to establish the vegetarian’s reaction as natural. Sensitivity was in some instances even implored as an advantage as Ebert described the success of a vegetarian restaurant she stated that: "Nur ein künstlerisch empfindender Mensch, wie Herr Schütze, der selbst von Beruf Künstler ist, konnte unseren Idealen dieses weihevolle Heim schaffen." Sensitivity it seems, could be regarded as something positive even when associated with men.

2.2.2.2. The Horrid Meat

Der Vegetarismus ist mehr als eine Frage der Ernährung. Sein Grundsatz lautet: Was der Mensch isst, das ist er. Denken, Gefühl und Empfindungen und alle Ziele praktischen Handelns sollen, […] durch den Charakter der Ernährung beeinflußt werden […]\(^{254}\)

In another article, it was emphasised that a meat-free diet could have many reasons, health being one of them, but no matter the reasons a meat-free diet always promote vegetarianism.\(^{255}\) These examples show that vegetarianism was constructed as more than diet. However, meat as a dietary choice was contested and packed with emotion in the V.W. Outside vegetarianism and Lebensreform meat was generally connected with positive feelings of status, enjoyment, and satisfaction.\(^{256}\) Previously mentioned Meyer stated in one of his articles that he longed for the day when it would be viewed as shameful to be sick and through vegetarianism he saw a way to become masters over degenerative and uncivilized drives.\(^{257}\) At the turn of the 19th century with new medical discoveries sickness was increasingly viewed as the consequence of an unhealthy lifestyle and not as an uncontrollable force.\(^{258}\) As was the case in 1895 meat was associated with illness but in 1908 the negative connotations were extended to emotions of reluctance and disgust.

The negative emotions connected to meat were not primarily legitimized through science but rather with concepts of religiosity and naturalness. Signature K. Noell stated:

\(^{253}\) Klara Ebert, “Das ideale Speisehaus”, *V.W.*, (1908), p. 23. Eng: “Only a artistically sensitive human, such as Herr. Schütze, who hold the job of artist, could with our ideals create this solemn home.”

\(^{254}\) “Vegetarier”, *V.W.*, (1908), p. 225. Eng: „vegetarianism is more than a question of diet. Its core ideal is: What man eats, that is he. Thinking, feeling and sensations and all goals of practical action should be influenced by the character of the diet.”


\(^{256}\) Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte B. 1*, p. 126.

\(^{257}\) Meyer, “Alt werden und Jung bleiben”, p. 188.

\(^{258}\) Fritzen, *Gesünner leben*, p. 278.
Wie kann mich jemand zwingen, etwas zu tun, was gegen den Willen Gottes und der Natur geschieht? Für mich ist und bleibt Fleisch widerwärtig.\textsuperscript{259}

The same rhetoric of attributing meat with unnaturalness and thus implicitly positioning a vegetarian diet as natural was used by others as well.\textsuperscript{260} By attributing negative emotional states with meat I would argue that the happiness associated with a vegetarian diet was made stronger.

2.2.2.3. Emotions in nature

In the \textit{V.W.} nature was described as enabling both emotion and masculinity. In a prosaic short story published in the magazine a character described as a wise man spoke to the humans, he connected sun light with both happiness and truth. The wise man stated:

\begin{quote}
Es ist die Sonne der Liebe. Um zu dieser Sonne zu gelangen, sollt ihr Mitleid als Führer wählen. Aber dieser Führer muss Stark sein; denn es werden euch auf dem Wege Menschen und Tiere begegnen; die viel klagen, weil sie unglücklich sind.\textsuperscript{261}
\end{quote}

The sun was quite literally described as energy-bringing in the story and the feeling of compassion described as being guiding for a leader. To some extent, this can be understood as signs of a life-in, an early example of how the vegetarian subject was driven by inner subjective motivations. Closeness to nature (but not \textit{per se} to an animalistic nature) seems to have enabled a broader array of emotional display but also of masculinity. Scholar George Mosse has argued that sun, light, and unspoiled nature were perceived as hardening of the individual man, it was in this setting the individual could acquire health and strength.\textsuperscript{262} The control of affective states was also emphasised. However, contrary to Mosse in the above standing quote nature did not enable health or physical strength instead emotions such as compassion were emphasised.

Constructing nature as an arena which enabled masculinity was also evident in the member magazines. Signature Konrad Karl Kurzrock wrote about his experiences in the Teutoburger forests during the winter 1902/03:

\begin{quote}
K. Noell, “Sprechsaal”, \textit{Vegetarische Warte}, (1908), p. 23. Eng: “How can someone force me to do something that is against the will of God and nature? For me is and remains meat repulsive.”


Flora Heilborn, “Der Wahrheitsberg”, \textit{V.W.}, (1908), p. 132. Eng: “It is the sun of love. To attain this sun, you should choose Compassion as your leader. But this leader has to be strong; because it will lead you on the way of encounters with humans and animals, who many complain, because they are unhappy.”

\end{quote}
He apparently felt so good, that he continued being naked throughout the winter. Nature was depicted in quite classical terms as a space in which man could show not only physical strength but also mental resilience. Signature Hermann Pfleumer asserted that in the struggle against the forces of nature it was every sportsman’s duty to tackle dangers. This struggle should not be undertaken with passion, but rather with a calm, dispassionate temper and with cold-blooded deliberation.

However, upon reaching the alp summit emotional displays were not only allowed but also expected. Pfleumer stated that: “[n]och ein sehr gutes Belebungsmittel ist ein fröhlich Leib. Mit Sorgen und Missmut den Höhen zugesteuert schenkt uns der Gipfel keine Freuden.”

A happy body, rather, than sorrow and discontent enabled the vegetarian to experience true happiness in nature. The examples show that emotions were at times required of the vegetarian subject while at other times required to be strictly controlled and disciplined. Certain spaces and actions demanded certain emotions. Nature was a space which enabled both emotion and masculinity, it was even to some extent regarded as a sacred space. However, important to note is that nature was constructed as a force to fight against and through this struggle create a strong masculinity.

2.2.3. Promises

2.2.3.1. Natural motherhood

According to 19th century science it was believed that that since women gave birth their limbs were more delicate and their emotions more feeble and unstable. During the early 20th century Imperial Germany struggled with high infant mortality and to lower it the government introduced a monetary reimbursement for women who breastfed their infants instead of giving them supplements for breastmilk. This issue was discussed in the V.W. and through these examples an imagined promised stated attributed to the vegetarian subject can be analysed.

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263 Kurzrock, “Ueber die sogenannten Naturmenschen”, V.W., p. 191. Eng: “[...] wading through snow, dressed in a pair of bathing shorts, and walking over spiky frozen soil and glazed frost, after which I only dressed in a gown in moderately or not even heated halls felt extremely well.”


265 Pfleumer, „Der Alkohol als Betrüger“, p. 262. Eng: “In reaching the heights with sorrow and discontent, the summit does not give us any pleasures.”

266 Frevert, Emotions & History, p. 103.

267 In German cities around 1900 211 out of 1000 infants died. Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte: B. 1, p. 15.
Signature Martha Rammelmeyer-Schönlin was critical of the state reimbursement and stated that it was: “[…] eine herabwürdigung der weiblichen Seele […]” to accept money for breastfeeding one’s infant. Furthermore, she wrote that:

[…]
die geistige Still-Unwilligkeit, der modernen Frauen ist also ein Gefühls- und Seelenmangel, der seine letzten Ursachen in gespaltenen Ehen und unfreiwilligen Umarmungen hat. Ihn heilt nur die Liebe, die göttlichen Wesens ist.

Not only a vegetarian diet was attributed to the female vegetarian subject but her very soul and inner states was discussed. Presumed emotions and inner spirituality were connected to a natural state. I would liken this with a spiritual atmosphere as presented in the method of this thesis. Emotions were not required in a disciplining sense as presented for the mountain climbing men but rather as an inner quality, which was in the quote described as natural or even God-given.

In another article the moral and emotional aspects of natural nursing was further emphasised and artificial nursing was described as tyranny and women who did this was described as not only lacking human sensibility but also the sensibility of animals. Moreover, it was described that women instinctively rejected meat. Consequently, a vegetarian diet was attributed to women and naturalness. The female rejection of meat was used as arguments that a vegetarian diet was a natural diet and a way to restore the human body. A female natural body was described as a promised state for the vegetarianism and as evidence of the naturalness of vegetarianism.

A vegetarian diet was by many of its followers seen as a natural and original diet, in scientific as well as Christian terms. Statements that Adam and Eve had eaten a plant-based diet in Eden before the Fall of Man were common. In this light, the example of natural motherhood as stated above can be understood as a Christian and thus, religious rhetoric. Imperial Germany

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268 Martha Rammelmeyer-Schönlin was the owner of a Kuranstalt Friedenfels and published vegetarian cookbooks.
270 Rammelmeyer-Schönlin, “Die Stillprämie”, p. 227. Eng: “the intellectual nursing-reluctance of the modern women is a lack of feeling and soul, which has it last cause in split marriages and forced embraces. It is only healed through love, which is a godly entity.”
275 The fall from the mercy of God was understood as being connected to the pain felt when giving birth.
existed within a Christian rhetoric, and more precisely a protestant rhetoric.\textsuperscript{276} This is furthermore, evident for example in Meyer-Renschhausen and Wirz’s usage of the term secular Protestantism.\textsuperscript{277} The Christian traces should consequently, not be understood as evidence for Christian religiosity but as a cultural dimension. However, I would strongly argue that the natural motherhood had spiritual dimensions and should be understood both in terms of a life-as and a life-in. It can be attributed to a life-as, since the role of mother was so clearly connected to the duty or obligations of the female vegetarian subject and any attempts to presume another role, for example of a ‘modern woman’ was attacked. However, it can also be understood as a life-in since emphasis was on the inner qualities of the subject, and not only in a classical dichotomic understanding of male and female roles. A vegetarian diet and lifestyle, as well as emotions and Geist, were emphasised and through this the natural motherhood can be understood as a spiritual atmosphere, a state within the subject.

The imagined state of a natural motherhood can be understood as a practical promise but I wish to stress the symbolism of naturalness encompassed within this vision. The vegetarian subject can from a methodological point be understood both as male and female, however, the gendering of the subject is of importance. Since a natural motherhood should not be understood as a practical and female promise the male vegetarian subject can be understood as constructed around the same promise of naturalness. However, the perception of essential differences between men and women at the turn of the 20th century lead me to argue that the male vegetarian subject was constructed mainly through other promised states.

In early 1908, the V.W. added a front cover, it depicted a man who was explicitly described as the symbol of vegetarian ideas, he was the ideal-human and consequently, the ideal vegetarian.\textsuperscript{278} The male vegetarian was externally embodied as: “[…] groß und gewaltig […]”.\textsuperscript{279} Just as in the case of the natural mother, was he not only described in physical terms but inner spiritualities were also emphasised. The man depicted was further described as constructed with his: […] Geist im Lichte der Wahrheit, fortzubilden und Verstand, Gefühl und Willen harmonisch zusammenzuschließen.”\textsuperscript{280} The connection between reason, feeling, and willpower especially in connection with the strong male body is interesting. As has previously

\textsuperscript{276} Protestantism is more important since most vegetarians came from northern Germany and were protestants. Barölius, Naturgemässe Lebensführung, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{277} Meyer-Renschhausen & Wirz, “Dietics, health reform and social order”.
\textsuperscript{279} Schriftleitung, “Zu unserem Titelbilde”, p. 37. Eng: „big and mighty“.
\textsuperscript{280} Schriftleitung, “Zu unserem Titelbilde”, p. 37. Eng: “[…]his spirit formed in the light of truth with reason, feeling, and willpower harmonically held together.”
been stated by Mosse was experiences in nature described as hardening of the individual man.\textsuperscript{281}

In terms of physical body this was an important aspect of the process of doing the vegetarian subject, however, the inner qualities emphasised of the male vegetarian hint at a softening of the inner of the vegetarian subject. Reason, feeling, and willpower encompassed the true and harmonic individual rather than a rationale hard inner.

The concept of vegetarian truth was never explicitly specified; it was simply there. I would argue that through the study of the vegetarian subject, constructed promised states of natural motherhood and a harmonic male body can help the analysis of the abstract term of vegetarian truth. The vegetarian truth I would argue was to be found in the requirements of the vegetarian subject which would lead to a happy but even more importantly natural state.

2.2.4. Concluding 1908

Throughout this examination of 1908 the usefulness of the vegetarian subject is evident. Since the vegetarian subject should be understood as fluid rather than as a fixed ideal type, different ideals can be encompassed in the same figure. Consequently, the characteristics summarized under the terms of the vegetarian soldier and the vegetarian missionary are not conflicting but rather parts of the same figuration. However, since the vegetarian subject in itself is not gendered, there exists a risk of overlooking gendered structures within the D.V.B. Yet, I wish to emphasise that the examination of ‘soldier masculine’ ideals and female ‘missionaries* as well as motherhood has given insight on differences in expectations and possibilities for men and women of the D.V.B. The ungendered and open character of the vegetarian subject has consequently, been of analytical use.

Emotion came to be of increasing importance during 1908, in particular negative emotions of revulsion towards meat and positive emotions of happiness when being in nature or among like-minded individuals. The increase of emotional expression in the magazines can firstly, be interpreted as a shift tendency towards a life-in with emphasis on inner states, such as happiness. Secondly, revulsion towards meat can be understood as an explicit strategy to attribute negative feelings to meat, in addition to the various intellectual arguments that were presented.

Gender theory has been important to the analysis of emotional control and discipline in the V.W. Happiness was allowed under certain circumstances, but for the male vegetarian these displays were primarily acceptable in nature and preferably while doing an activity that improved one’s

\textsuperscript{281} Mosse, Image of Man, p. 96.
masculinity, such as climbing a mountain. Nature was primarily seen as an arena which enabled certain emotions and certain feats, I would thus argue that nature in this context should not be understood as a spiritual atmosphere. Connecting happiness with vegetarianism consequently, risked male members’ masculinity and I would argue that the emphasis on athletic feats, duty, and self-discipline is to be understood as explicit strategies to avoid being deemed as feminine men.

The vegetarian subject was promised a natural state, exemplified through the big and mighty vegetarian male of the front cover and perhaps even more revealing through the emphasis of the natural mother, who could both give birth to and nurse infants with ease. However, the envisioned natural state was not simply a physical state instead the soulfulness of the vegetarian subject also emphasised.

Finally, I wish to argue that the vegetarian subject should be understood as a life-as in 1908. The importance of emotion had increased and even though happiness and revulsion obviously should be understood as inner states they did not guide the vegetarian subject. Rather, they were a requirement posed to the vegetarian subject and described as lacking of the non-vegetarian. The disciplining of emotions in the V.W. I would argue show that the vegetarian subject should be understood as a life-as. The vegetarian subject of 1908 was a life-as a soldier or as a missionary for the vegetarian cause and not depicted as a life based on inner states, passions, and moral sentiments.
2.3. 1921 - Compassionate masculinity and the embracing bosom of nature

13 years had passed since 1908 and a new world had dawned. After the First World War a new democratic state was founded, the Weimar Republic. In 1921, the toll of the war was still evident, with scarcity of food and the reparation demands lurching over the Weimar Republic. The hope for a utopian future that had characterized the years before the war seemed to have been lost in the trenches and the starving cities. During the war-years the D.V.B. had elected a new president and editor of the V.W., Gustav Schläger, who emphasised a high-vegetarianism, with focus on the ethical dimensions of vegetarianism and advocated an exclusion of all dairy and meat from a vegetarian diet.

During the Weimar-period the homosocial security for men declined and this led, according to historian Jens Ljunggren to a sharper distinction between men and women. Historian Gabriele Kämper has described German masculinity of the interwar-years as being centred around observations, Gefühlskälte, and a cool distance. Her analysis is mirrored in historian George Mosse’s work Image of Man in which he has described an aesthetic masculinity as hard, stoic, and resolute, in which the individual’s control of passion was essential. A struggle between a cold and hard state and a state emphasising feelings was evident in the Weimar republic. Scholar Helmut Lethen has argued that a new objectivity during the 1920’s and 1930’s included notions that male autonomy was rooted in “the disciplining and ‘cooling’ of affects”. In this chapter as well as in the chapter about 1931 I will argue that the experience of the vegetarian subject can be understood in terms of masculinity, and more specifically as a counter-masculinity to a cold, emotionless, and callous masculinity.

2.3.1. Characteristics

2.3.1.1. The compassionate vegetarian

Compassion was the most prominent characteristic of the vegetarian subject in 1921. Compassion was linked to slaughter, as was for example evident in an article by the editor

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283 Ljunggren, Känslornas krig, p. 228.
284 Eng: “emotional callousness”.
286 Mosse, Image of Man, p. 111.
287 Ljunggren, Känslornas Krig, p. 193.
288 Helmut Lethen, Cool Conduct: the culture of distance in Weimar Germany [Electronical resource], (Berkeley 2002), p. 47.
Gustav Schläger who explained the effect that slaughter had on the individual’s mind. Slaughter was described as terrible and unbearable, an act that affect most men and women, furthermore, a connection was made between the agony felt by animals and the unnecessary pleasure of eating meat.

Die meisten Männer und Frauen wurden in allgemeinen auch gar nicht der Wunsch hegen, bei einer Schlachtung zuzusehen, weil sie doch ahnen, dass ihnen dies Schauspiel auf die Nerven fällt. […] wieviele Stunden der Qual einer Minute Gaumengenuss vorhergehen.

The vegetarian subject was attributed compassion as well as a moderateness, which echoed the naturgemäße Lebensweise of 1895 and 1908. This natural lifestyle was promoted with arguments based on perceptions of a natural order or truth, the arguments were positioned in a narrative of progression, rather than a wish to return to something primitive as the next quote neatly illustrates. “Wir haben uns im Laufe der Entwicklung vom Kannibalismus befreit und müssen uns daher bei fortschreitender Entwicklung auch naturgemäß vom Tiermord befreien.” Consequently, the compassionate reaction to slaughter was described as something natural and progressive, which I would argue was a way of legitimizing compassionate feelings. Emotion were increasingly emphasised, instead of the previously important rational arguments as seen for example in 1895. One example is the description of a vegetarian family who had previously not been persuaded to change diet by intellectual and rational arguments presented in vegetarian magazines or literature, but as they moved next to a slaughterhouse and could hear the dying cries of the animals held within they became vegetarians.

As established above emotional reactions of compassion and to some extent dread was important in the construction of the vegetarian subject. The naturalness of the emotions was emphasised through a perceived natural order of progression but also prominently through examples with children and of childhood. I would argue, that the children’s reactions should be understood as metaphors of a natural state, they were examples of a naturgemässen reaction. Strong emotions were held as natural in examples with children and slaughter, as Schläger

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291 H. Chr Hansen, “Erkenntnisse und Bekenntnisse eines Vegetariers”, Vegetarische Warte (1921), p. 149. Eng: “We have during the course of the development broken free from cannibalism and must, hence for continued development also naturally break free from animal-murder.”
292 Schläger, “Der Eindruck des Schlachtens auf das Gemüt”, p. 11.
293 An argument used by Rousseau when advocating a meat-free diet for children. Baumgartner, "Vegetarismus" p. 128.
stated: “[k]inder mit lebhaftem Gefühl und reger Vorstellungskraft können allerdings auch schon bei dem bloßen Gedanken ans Schlachten von Grauen gepackt werden.”

A mother described the pain that her 5-year old son felt as he had learned that his beloved calf had been butchered and her 11-year old son stated: “Weißt Du! Die Menschen sind eigentlich böser wie die Raubtiere.” Compassion was further stressed in an account on the compassionate feelings of a young Leo Tolstoy which was summarized as: “[w]ie Tolstoi schon als Kind das Unrecht schmerzlich empfand, welches Menschen angetan wurde, so fühlt er auch Mitleid mit dem Tiere.”

The French author and politician Alphonse de Lamartine was quoted describing how: “[…] Mitleid und Abscheu ergriffen meine Seele […]” as he saw blood streaming down over the pavements after the slaughter of animals. However, the strong emotions connected to the act of slaughter was also posed as a danger to the vegetarian subject’s male identity. Author Theodor Fontane was cited as he stated that he could not understand the joy from killing a pig as a child. Fontane emphasised that during his teenage years, honour came to be of increasing importance, nonetheless, he also described how he had ran away from a scene of slaughter “pathetically” screaming.

2.3.1.2. Sentimentality and masculinity

Being perceived as weak and sentimental posed a danger to the male vegetarian as I will present and analyse in this section with the ideal types of life-as and life-in, as well as theories of masculinities. Historian Erik Jensen has argued that perceived weakness in the Weimar-republic was combatted through a new physical body. He has further stated that one arena for the creation of a new body was within the vegetarian lifestyles. Through the emphasis on emotion and moral within the D.V.B. I would argue that Jensen’s statement about vegetarian lifestyles as focusing primarily on the physical must be differentiated. Furthermore, I would

294 Schläger, “Der Eindruck des Schlachtens auf das Gemüt”, p. 9. Eng: “Children with vivid emotion and active imagination could at the mere thought of slaughter be struck with horror”.
296 Schläger, “Der Eindruck des Schlachtens auf das Gemüt”, p. 9-10. Eng: “Do you know! The humans are really more evil than the predatory animals”. The German quote is written in a vernacular language.
297 Max Herzog von Sachsen, “Entdeckungen am Wege”, V.W., (1921), p. 122. Eng: “Like Tolstoy already as a child found the injustice that was done to people as painful, felt he also compassion with the animals.”
298 Schläger, “Der Eindruck des Schlachtens auf das Gemüt”, p. 10. Eng: “[...] gripped my soul with compassion and revulsion.”
300 Schläger, “Der Eindruck des Schlachtens auf das Gemüt”, p. 10.
301 Jensen, Body by Weimar, p. 4.
302 Jensen, Body by Weimar, p. 5.
argue that by emphasising inner states and affections the construction of the vegetarian subject included counter-strategies against weakness.

To avoid being deemed weak it was emphasised that the revulsion felt towards slaughter should not be understood as a sentimental weakness rather the rhetorical question was raised if anyone could witness the slaughtering of an animal without showing affect.\(^{303}\) However, as seen in the below- standing quote from Adolf Heinzl voices were also raised in the V.W. which opposed the emphasis on feelings.

Wie ich erfahren habe, ist die von vielen Vegetariern hervorgekehrte Liebe zu den Tieren daran schuld, dass Leute, die dem Vegetarismus fernstehen, von ihm nichts wissen wollen, weil er ihnen wegen der meist übertriebenen Feinfühligkeit als Schrulle erscheint und sie die Vertreter des Vegetarismus als gefühlsduselige, sonderbare heilige ansehen.\(^{304}\)

A display of delicate feelings was perceived as a danger to the spread of vegetarianism which I argue was connected to a perceived incompatibility between feelings and rationality. Furthermore, it was suggested by Heinzl that the focus of vegetarian literature and magazines should be less on animals and more on people, thus promoting hygiene, rather, than ethics.\(^{305}\)

In understanding this division of opinion I wish to advocate the use of the ideal types life-as and life-in. The emphasis on compassion and revulsion as directing feelings for the vegetarian subject is to be understood as a life-in with focus on the inner and subjective experience. On the other hand, Heinzl’s statement can be understood as working within the ideal type of a life-as, where external authorities and objectivity is to guide the subject. A life-as is furthermore, characterised by the notion that a good life and virtue can be reached through discipline and virtue. Historian Rebecca Niederhausen has argued that vegetarianism at the turn-of 20\(^{th}\) century can be understood as a praxis-orientated control of the body.\(^{306}\) A vegetarian diet in itself can be understood as a control of the body but an even more accurate example I would argue is fasting. The practices of fasting I would furthermore, contend was connected to masculinity ideals. Having a strong will and being self-disciplined were important aspects of

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\(^{303}\) Schläger, “Der Eindruck des Schlachtens auf das Gemüt”, p. 11.

\(^{304}\) Adolf Heinzl, “Betrachtungen über die ethische und religiöse Richtung des Vegetarismus”, V.W., (1921), p. 187. Eng: “According to my experience, is by the many vegetarians emphasised love for animals to blame for that people, who stand far from vegetarianism, don’t want to know anything about him [vegetarianism], since it appears to them as odd due to the exaggerated delicacy of feeling and that they see the representatives of vegetarianism as sentimental, peculiar saints.”


masculinity, and I would argue, that they were even more important with the looming danger of the male vegetarian being deemed as sensitive.

Signature H.W. described his own fasting and stated that: “Um wieder gesund zu werden, muss der Mensch starken Willen offenbaren und dieser ist gerade beim Fasten nötig.” 307 The fasting cures were described as being both long and rigid (basically consisting of fluids and physical activity). 308 The specific emphasis on willpower is not surprising since German masculinity increasingly centred around this concept as a reaction to the fear of nervousness and its connotation of weakness and sensitivity. 309 As historian Joachim Radkau has argued was strengthening of will-power important in medical as well as political fields. 310 I would argue that possessing a strong will and being self-disciplined enabled the vegetarian subject to show sensibility and affect, while at the same time avoid being deemed as weak or feminine. The fasting cure in the context of masculinity should therefore, be understood as a reaction to the increased importance of emotion. However, it was not only vegetarian men who undertook these forms of fasting but also women. A female vegetarian who had fasted for 48 days was described as doing it at home while still being able to do all house shores. 311 Fasting was thus, not only a male activity. Historian Jens Ljunggren has argued that men of the Weimar Republic had to control both feelings and instincts. 312 Consequently, I wish to argue that the self-disciplining aspects of fasting held greater importance to the male vegetarian subject and enabled him to avoid being perceived as sentimental or weak. I claim that this was not the case of the female vegetarian, who was not at risk as being deemed unmanly.

I would further argue, that the concerns raised not simply reflect a worry for a decreased vegetarian expansion but rather for a change in characteristics attributed to experiences of the vegetarian subject. As stated in the examination of both 1895 and 1908, the strong athletic male vegetarian body was emphasised. I have argued, that through this focus the vegetarians explicitly tried to position the embodiment of the male vegetarian subject within a hygienic discourse. Physical health held an increasingly important role in the Weimar Republic 313 and

307 H.W. “Der Nutzen des Fastens”, V.W., (1921), p. 59. Eng: “In order to be healthy again, the human must have a strong will and this [will] is especially by fasting necessary.”
309 Radkau, Zeitalter der Nervosität, p. 357.
310 Radkau, Zeitalter der Nervosität, p. 357.
312 Ljunggren, Känslornas krig, p. 216.
313 Fritzen, Gemüseheilige, p. 83.
by challenging the primacy of health the vegetarian subject moved further away from both the general bodily discourse of society and from the rational arguments of health.

2.3.2. Requirements

During the First World War, many Germans had been forced to consume a vegetarian diet, this was described both as a possibility and a problem in the V.W.\textsuperscript{314} As presented earlier in this thesis a vegetarian diet had been an important requirement to the vegetarian subject and with the increasingly negative associations to a vegetarian diet two things occurred. Firstly, attempts were made to change the emotions attached to a vegetarian diet. For instance, it was emphasised that the war-diet had not been a \textit{proper} vegetarian diet even though it was meat-free.\textsuperscript{315} Furthermore, it was also stressed that the lack of nutrition in the war-diet was due to a lack of fat and not to a lack of meat.\textsuperscript{316} The meat-free diet during the war was thus, discredited through science and through attempts to change the emotional connotations connected to the diet.

Secondly, I argue that even though a vegetarian diet was of course still a requirement to the vegetarian subject it was no longer positioned as a dividing requirement between meat-eaters and vegetarians. Since the German population had not thrived on a meat-free diet during the war other aspects of vegetarianism had to be emphasised. I argue that this change of importance of dietary explanations was one reason behind the increased relevance and requirement of emotions in the V.W. It was stated that: “Der leidenschaftliche Mensch kann natürlich an allen Stoffen und Kräften zu Grunde gehen.”\textsuperscript{317} This statement show that diet alone could not be blamed for a perceived decline, but rather passion was positioned as a source of danger.

2.3.2.1. Rejecting lust and luxury

Even though a vegetarian diet had decreased in importance as a requirement for the vegetarian subject, meat was still described as causing negative behaviour. Analysing the consequences of meat eating sheds light on what the vegetarian subject was required to refrain from.

Signature Theodor Czepl wrote an appeal to mothers about young sexual misconduct and exclaimed: “Mütter! – Bewahret eure Kinder! – Meidet die Metzgerläden!”\textsuperscript{318} Czepl was of the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{315} von Stechow, “Vitamine – Ueberernährung – Folgen der Kriegskost und anderes.” p. 60.
\item \textsuperscript{316} Horn, “Aus Zeitschriften”, p. 108.
\item \textsuperscript{317} Hugo Erdmann, “Der dämonische Mensch und der dämonische Stoff”, \textit{V.W.}, (1921), p. 100. Eng: “The passionate human can certainly perish of all substances and powers.”
\item \textsuperscript{318} Theodor Czepl, “Bewahrt die Kinder!”, \textit{V.W.}, (1921), p. 142. Eng: „Mothers! – Protect your children! – Avoid the butcher’s shops!”
\end{itemize}
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firm belief that by giving children meat, their sexual drive arose not only earlier but also stronger. Furthermore, it was stated: “Also weg mit dem Fleisch, womit wir nur das Tier in uns füttern.” Czel’s opinion was reflected in descriptions of meat and eggs as sexual neural stimulus and in statements that people who had eaten meat during childhood had periods of excessive sexual activity and an earlier decrease in sexual function. Concerns were also raised about the modern man’s relation to love.

Dem Manne ist die Liebe keine Gottesgabe mehr, keine heilige Leidenschaft, der er folgen muss, sondern ein Genussmittel neben andern Genussmittel, neben Tabak und Alkohol, ein Zeitvertreib, eine Tändelei.

Lust in the form of both enjoyment and sexuality was, consequently, not ascribed to the vegetarian subject. The vegetarian subject was rather, compassionate and happy while at the same time controlling both emotions and their body. Luxury and lust was to be rejected in return for happiness, which is going to be further analysed in the next section.

Emotions of compassion, happiness, and love were reoccurring emotional states in the magazine. It was rhetorically asked if it was humane of a “noble-human” to slaughter animals and instead declared that love was both the highest commandment and principal of God. Interestingly, the war was seldom mentioned in connection to concepts of love and compassion. As previous research has shown one of the main arguments for a vegetarian diet had been that those who kill animals soon kill men. The only example of a link between the two was a statement that: “Schlachtvieh und Kanonenfutter sind Erscheinungen, die sich gegenseitig bedingen.”

The vegetarian subject was described as compassionate, loving, and joyous, affective states which were welcomed and even implored. The vegetarians were, furthermore, described as belonging to a group which could become happy in contrast to other non-defined groups which

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319 Czel, “Bewahrt die Kinder!”, p. 142. Eng: “Away with the meat, with which we only fed the animal inside us.”
321 Hermann Lemke, “Berliner Kulturbilder”, V.W., (1921), p. 60. Eng: “For the man love is not a gift of God anymore, no holy passion which he has to follow, instead it is a product of enjoyment alongside others, alongside tobacco and alcohol, a pastime, a dalliance.”
323 Krabbe, Gesellschaftsveränderung durch Lebensreform, p. 71.
324 Universitätsprofessor Beketoff, V.W., (1921), p. 188. Eng: “Animals for slaughter and cannon fodder are phenomena, which are mutually dependent.”
lacked this possibility. In the same article two main traits were described to be a proper vegetarian.

In the same article two main traits were described to be a proper vegetarian. This individual was not happy due to vegetarianism but rather he or she was a proper vegetarian because of happiness and content. However, it was not happiness per se which was required but rather a certain happiness. Too strong and passionate feelings were discouraged, rather, to be in control of one’s body and soul was of major importance. As previously stated, fasting was one way to display a simple lifestyle in which the individual followed the natural laws and through this:

Bodily control was understood as leading to a state of natural happiness. In another article it was stated that: “[w]ir sind, was wir denken, und wer die Lüste und Affekte, die niederen tierischen Triebe ausmerzt, beglückt sein Leben.” Naturalness should not be understood as primitive or animal-like, rather animalistic drives were attributed to a lack of emotional control.

In 1921, farming was a reoccurring theme among article writers. Interestingly, the farmers were not seen as the embodiment of a simple lifestyle anymore, rather their lifestyle was connected to meat production. The present situation of the agriculture in Germany was

325 Elsbeth Friedrich, “Wer ist Vegetarier und wer nicht?” V.W., (1921), p. 73.
326 Friedrich, “Wer ist Vegetarier und wer nicht?”, p. 74. Eng: “The first being that the vegetarian lifestyle derives only from “from his vegetarian awareness” and the second that he is not “only loyal, but also satisfied and happy in this [the vegetarian] lifestyle.”
327 H.W. “Der Nutzen des Fastens”, p. 59. Eng: “[…] do we return to a happy existence, and experience the short life not as a heavy burden but rather live in happy impartiality and naturalness in sun light and in the storm of life.”
328 Carl Bliess, “Der Vegetarismus in okkulter und ethischer Betrachtung”, V.W., (1921), p. 69. Eng: “We are, what we think, and those who eradicate the low animalistic drive of lusts and affections, make their life happy”.
described as both uneconomic and unattractive since it focused on meat and milk production and not on a plant-based production.\textsuperscript{330} Additionally, it was also emphasised that the agriculture had to be done in accordance with vegetarian praxis.\textsuperscript{331} Furthermore I would argue, the changed role of farmers in the magazine can be understood in terms of both ethics and luxury. The vegetarian subject was not to be likened with a farmer, who embodied both connotations of an unethical life and as the producer of luxuries and a lust-inducing lifestyle.

2.3.3. Promises

Article writer Elsbeth Friedrichs published a story about a meeting between a vegetarian woman and a butcher on the foot hill of the mountain Locarno. This story is important to the analytical understanding since it clearly exemplifies the difference between a vegetarian and a meat-eater. The butcher was described as suffering, his neural system was shattered, he lacked energy and was indifferent.\textsuperscript{332} The vegetarian spoke to the butcher and stated:

\[\ldots\] die unerschöpflichen Heilkräfte der Natur, über eine leibliche Wiedergeburt durch eine völlig umgewandelte Ernährung, über die Stärkung des Glaubens an die Möglichkeit des Gesundwerdens, und die daraus entspringende Willensbelebung.\textsuperscript{333}

The butcher started crying and eventually realised that he should return to his family and begin a vegetarian life.\textsuperscript{334} In this example it was made clear that the vegetarian subject was embodied by a bodily rebirth and healed both through nature and diet. Not only was the healing powers of nature accentuated, but also the strength of belief. This was a reoccurring theme in 1921 and in the following section I will discuss how nature in the V.W. can be understood not only as a sacred space but also as a spiritual atmosphere.

2.3.3.1. Nature as a spiritual atmosphere

Nature was in some articles described as divine and a longing to return to it was present through which the individual would acquire health.\textsuperscript{335} This rhetoric was also present in the previous examination of 1895 and 1908, however, nature had gained another dimension in 1921.

\textsuperscript{331} Christian Bering, “Randbemerkungen”, V.W., (1921), p. 194.
\textsuperscript{333} Friedrichs, "Ein Erlebnis", p. 141. Eng: “[…] the unfailing healing power of nature, about a bodily rebirth through a completely changed diet, about the strengthening of the belief in the possibility of becoming healthy, and through this the arising revival of will.”
\textsuperscript{334} Friedrichs, "Ein Erlebnis", p. 141.
Article writer Theodor Czepl presented a critical position to modernity which he described as ugly and non-culture and instead proclaimed, that he wanted to return to nature and poetically wrote: “[z]urück an deinem heiligen und keuschen Busen, o Mutter Erde, zurück zu dir, o göttliche Natur […]” 336 Rather, than being described in terms of hygiene or as a conquering of nature, it was described as sacred and godly in Czepl’s account. Czepl wanted to be a part of nature and: “[...] völlig eins mich zu fühlen mit ihr [die Natur] und geborgen sein in ihr in bewusster Erfüllung ihrer ehrernen und unumstößlichen Gebote.” 337 When filled with nature in an abstract sense one would also fulfil the natural laws embedded in the concept of spiritual nature. In another article it was stated that: “[…] die Natur sei weder Kern noch Schale, sondern beides mit einem Male […]” and further claims were made that while mankind had difficulties perceiving the inner and otherworldly did this not mean that it was not there. 338 This belief was echoed in another article where the issue of health and illness was discussed in relation to nature.

Du kannst deinen Geist zu einem Magneten machen, der entweder Gesundheit oder Schwäche anzieht. Wenn du es liebst, an die starken Dinge in der Natur zu denken, an granitene Berge, an hochaufgetürmte Wellen und unwiderstehliche Stürme, dann ziehst du die Elemente ihrer Kraft an. 339 The example further show how nature had taken the form of a spiritual atmosphere and was not simply depicted as a physical place but rather as an inner state. This inner state would fill the subject with power and through this power the soul was described as becoming like a magnet, attracting health. Furthermore, it was stated that bodily decline and weakness could be attributed to: “der vorherrschenden Stimmung ihres Gemüts und der Verfassung ihres Geistes […]” 3340 This inner strength was emphasised in other articles as well, in one of these it was stated that the power was to be found in the soul and due to this we could only eat and drink what is natural. 3341 Refraining from meat was seen as an important step for the human development from: “[…] Tiermenschen zum Edelmenschen, vom Edelmenschen zum

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336 Czepl, “Innehalten”, p. 61. Eng: “[...]back to your holy and chaste bosom, oh Mother Earth, back to you oh godly Nature.”
337 Czepl, “Innehalten”, p. 62. Eng: “to feel truly at one with her [nature] and secure in her, in conscious fulfilment of her iron and irrevocable commandments”.
338 Gerhard, Hildebrand, “Der Vegetarismus als Gesinnungsausdruck”, V.W., (1921), p. 41. Eng: [...] nature is not shell or core, but rather both at the same time.”
339 Uebertragen von Max Hayek, “Ueber Schönheit und Gesundheit. Gedanken von Prentice Mulford”, V.W., (1921), p. 165. Eng: „You can make your soul to a magnet, which either attracts health or weakness. If you love to think on strong things in nature, on granite mountains, on high rising waves and irresistible storms, then you attract their power.”
341 Anna Bering, „Was sollen wir essen? Was sollen wir trinken?“ V.W., (1921), p. 171-172.
Not only did the meat-free diet enable a noble life but rather a divine existence. In terms of a life-as or a life-in, I would state that the shift towards a more subjective life became increasingly present in 1921. Firstly, as already stated, due to the increased emphasis on the inner subjective feelings and states of the vegetarian subject. Secondly, concepts of for examples sickness was also increasingly subjective, as reflected in this quote:

[…] es gibt gar keine Krankheiten, sondern nur kranke Menschen, was nicht das Gleiche ist. Die Krankheit ist kein Ding an sich, sie ist ein Abstraktum, eine Konstruktion, […]

This should, however, not simply be understood as a shift from a rational world view to an esoteric one. Rather, I argue, that the shift should be understood in terms spirituality. In an article, life without God was described as a life of struggle, whereas a struggle with God was described as life itself. Interestingly, the vegetarian was in the same article described as a Geistmensch, the spiritual, inner aspects of the vegetarian subject was thus, emphasised.

The vegetarian subject was promised a subjective inner well-being, which not only the individual vegetarian subject would benefit from this. The German people was often mentioned in terms of a Volksseele and Volkskörper which had been damaged. In general statements about the body of the people had physical aspects in the Weimar Republic, however, in the V.W. different forms of spirituality it could be mended. One article writer proclaimed that: “[w]enn durch den vergangenen Krieg nur der Volkskörper allein erkrankt wäre, so wäre das Uebel noch nicht so gross. Aber auch die deutsche Volksseele ist krank, so krank, dass es der Liebe eines Gottes bedarf, sie zu erlösen.”

The love of God was in this example the saving measure of the abstract concept of the German people’s soul.

2.3.4. Concluding 1921

The vegetarian subject was in 1921 characterised by compassion. This was evident in the emotional displays of resentment shown at the sight of slaughter and the explicit mentioning of

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343 Hugo Erdmann, “Auf dem Wege zum Leben”, V.W., (1921), p. 195. Eng: “[...] it exists no illness only sick people, which is not the same. Illness is not a thing in itself, it is an abstraction, a construction, [...]”


345 Eng: “people’s soul”.

346 Eng: “people’s body”.

347 Jensen, Body of Weimar, p. 5.

348 H. Lemke, “Geschlechtskrankheiten und Vegetarismus”, V.W., (1921), p. 76. Eng: “if only the people’s body had fallen ill during the last war would the malady not be so big. But the German people’s soul is ill, so ill that it needs the love of God to be redeemed.”
compassion towards animals. The previously so important intellectual arguments for a vegetarian diet and against meat was increasingly being replaced by arguments based on inner states of the vegetarian subject. Children were often used in examples, and I would argue, that this was to further emphasis the naturalness of negative reaction towards slaughter and strong displays of compassion for animals. However, the emphasis on innocence and compassion endangered the masculinity of the vegetarian subject who through this emphasis could be attributed sentimentality. This was battled in two different ways, firstly, through the emphasis that the compassion felt was not a sentimental weakness but rather a natural emotion. Secondly, some turned against this new characteristic of the vegetarian subject by criticising the increased emphasis on animals and by suggesting a refocus on the own body through self-disciplining practices such as fasting.

Traces of a cold masculinity can be found in the V.W., however, I would argue, that masculinity attributed to the vegetarian subject should rather be understood in terms of warmth. Even though control of emotion was important, displaying affective states and especially compassion was even more vital, not only for the male vegetarian subject but for the whole construction of the vegetarian subject. Compassion and happiness was a prerequisite of the vegetarian subject. Furthermore, feelings were given greater emphasis than the scientific arguments for a vegetarian diet.

During the war, a meat-free diet was described as increasingly being associated with scarcity of food. The vegetarian subject still had to have a vegetarian diet but since a meat-free diet could no longer work as a primary requirement for envisioned states. This I would argue led to a sharper distinction between a vegetarians and non-vegetarians. Emotion became increasingly important to distinguish vegetarians from others when diet could not work as a primary dividing factor. However, diet was described in emotional terms, in particular meat which was labelled as the cause of young sexual misconduct. Emphasising degeneration of the youth in connection with meat I perceive as a useful tactic. The innocence of children and adolescents was used as means of depicting meat as a source of evil in society. Furthermore, rejection of lust in the form of luxury and sexual activity was constructed as a requirement of the vegetarian subject. Through this the vegetarian subject displayed control and self-discipline. Increasingly, the vegetarian subject was required to show emotion such as happiness, and an inner conviction to be a proper vegetarian.

The exact terms were of course not used but I would argue that the vegetarian subject of 1921 was promised as life-in, instead of leading a life-as in a disenchanted world. The inner states of
the vegetarian subject were what made a proper vegetarian instead of the vegetarian lifestyle leading to certain emotions. Furthermore, the natural lifestyle and the concept of nature can in 1921 be understood as a spiritual atmosphere. The vegetarian subject was depicted as a subject with a stronger *Geist* than others, an inner state which would attract and encompass nature as an inner state and understanding. Furthermore, the outside world was increasingly described in mystical terms such as illness being an abstraction and the mere thought on, and thus, the embodiment of, nature would keep the vegetarian subject healthy.
2.4. 1931 - Baltzer’s legacy and the Gemütsvegetarier

During the early 1930’s the Volksgesundheit\(^{349}\) became increasingly relevant in the Weimar Republic. However, the D.V.B. had taken another route and chosen to focus on the ethical dimension of vegetarianism rather than emphasizing health aspects.\(^{350}\) Historian Florentine Fritzen has described the period from 1931 until the abolishment of the D.V.B. in 1935 as a time of radicalization with increased emphasis on animal protection and ethics.\(^{351}\) Animal protection is reflected in my source material through various articles on the need to avoid milk\(^{352}\) and how to achieve an agricultural sector without animals. As described by the leading organ of the D.V.B. in the first issue of the V.W. in 1931 they represented an ethical vegetarianism. The ethical dimension was of such importance that they even perceived themselves as a battle organ for the implementation of a vegetarian ethic.\(^{353}\) Bruno Wolff was the editor of the V.W. in 1931 and continued holding the position until the abolishment of the society on the 18\(^{th}\) of February 1935.

2.4.1. Characteristics

2.4.1.1. Gemütsvegetarier

The definition of vegetarianism became increasingly narrow during the 1930’s\(^{354}\) which was reflected in a statement by editor Bruno Wolff:

\[
\text{Wir kennen nur \textit{einen} Vegetarismus, den Vegetarismus der unerbittlichen Konsequenz, alles andere ist schließlich Scheinvegetarismus, der im letzten Grunde verderblicher ist als die Fleischesserei, weil er sich für etwas ausgibt, was er nicht ist.}\(^{355}\)
\]

Proper vegetarianism was connected to an ethical vegetarianism which was described as harbouring qualities of steadfastness and truth. It was also emphasised that the vegetarians of the 19\(^{th}\) century had not despaired when they had noticed that not even their closest entrusted understood them, rather they had continued to march with pride, even though the tide was...

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\(^{349}\) Eng: “people’s health”.

\(^{350}\) Fritzen, Gemüseheilige, p. 83.

\(^{351}\) Fritzen, Gemüseheilige, p. 86-87.


\(^{354}\) Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 205.

\(^{355}\) Wolff, “Unsere Stellung zu Manfred Kyber”, p. 70. Eng: “We know only one vegetarianism, the vegetarianism of relentless consequences, all other are ultimately pseudo-vegetarianism, which finally is more corrupt than meat-eating, since it say it is something it is not.”
against them.\(^{356}\) The ethical understanding of the vegetarian subject was described as an understanding of truth which was exemplified in the description of the founding father of the German vegetarianism Eduard Baltzer. He was described as being strong: […] in dem stolzen Bewusstsein, die Wahrheit erkannt und der Menschheitsentwicklung eine neue Richtung gewiesen zu haben.\(^{357}\)

In the May issue of the *V.W.* two types of vegetarians were described. Firstly, the *Gemütsvegetarier\(^{358}\)* who avoided meat due to a loathing of the killing of animals and secondly, the *Verstandsvegetarier\(^{359}\)* who had chosen a vegetarian diet based on health arguments.\(^{360}\) The *Gemütsvegetarier* was perceived as better than vegetarians who solely focused on the health aspects of the vegetarian diet. Historian Ulrich Herbert has argued that ideals of objectivity were central during this time period, and that passions and other strong emotions were positioned as negative and a danger to the people.\(^{361}\) However, as historian Jens Ljunggren has argued in a German national context\(^{362}\) and I will expand upon in this thesis an objectivity focused and cold masculinity was challenged in the D.V.B.

Editor of the *V.W.* Wolff explicitly accentuated that people who labelled themselves as vegetarians due to health reasons were in fact not vegetarians, they only had a vegetarian diet.\(^{363}\) A shift had occurred in the construction of the vegetarian subject from 1895 when the hygienic arguments were not only vital for legitimizing vegetarianism but also central to the experience of the vegetarian subject. The vegetarian subject of 1931 was less centred on bodily experiences and instead focus was placed on ethics and affective states.

### 2.4.1.2. Emotional leaders

The emphasis on German ethical leadership was evident in the *V.W.*\(^ {364}\) and also an expressed longing for a *Führer\(^ {365}\)* in the “miserable economic and cultural” situation of their time.\(^ {366}\) The higher ethical understanding and sensitivity attributed to the *Gemütsvegetarier* was described


\(^{357}\) Samtleben, "Die Aristokratie des Vegetarismus", p. 230. Eng: "[…] he felt strong in the proud awareness to have known the truth and to have lead the human development in a new way."

\(^{358}\) Eng: "soul-vegetarian".

\(^{359}\) Eng: "mind-vegetarian".

\(^{360}\) V.W., (1931), p 98.


\(^{362}\) Ljunggren, Känslorns Krig, primarily p. 218–261.


\(^{365}\) Eng: "leader".

as making them more appropriate to be leaders than both meat-eaters and other vegetarians. Historian Fritzen has described the vegetarianism of the early 1930’s as having a strong “cult of personality” which could be understood as a *Führerkult*\(^{367}\) which was also a prominent theme in the Weimar Republic at that time.\(^{368}\) Historian Karl-Ludwig Ay has claimed that the bourgeois intellectuals had collectively lost their moral leadership after the war.\(^{369}\) The rhetoric used in the *V.W.* can be understood within this discussion of leadership in the Weimar Republic. In one article in the *V.W.* it was emphasised that to reach a new moral and cultural stage away from the soul-less civilisation of the present, the society had to have a vanguard of leaders.\(^{370}\) Historian Ute Frevert has discussed the changing character of unions during the early 20th century in her book *Vertrauensfragen*.\(^{371}\) She has quoted philosopher Herman Schmalenbach, who stated in 1922 that the grounds for choosing a union was to be found in the emotional experience and the danger of a loss of commitment due to this emotional foundation of membership could according to him be restrained and canalized into rationality through strong leadership.\(^{372}\) The increased importance of emotional experiences was reflected in the *V.W.*, however, I would argue that the apprehension towards emotion and an advocating of rationality was not a vital part of the rhetoric in the *V.W.* Rather, being subjective and having feelings in a “soul-less” world was of greater importance in the construction of the vegetarian subject. The Gemütsvegetarier’s ability to feel and its ethical understanding was presented as leadership qualities, rather than being an obstacle for leadership.

The vegetarian subject was ascribed emotion and interestingly, women were deemed as the best equipped for ethical and moral vegetarianism. In the *V.W.* it was stressed that women had a greater ethical responsibility than men which I will analyse in this section. In every issue of the magazine a famous and important person for the vegetarian cause was presented and discussed, on the front cover of the tenth issue Elpis Melena, 19th century writer, was featured. She was an active participant in the 19th century movement against vivisection and it was in this regard she was quoted.

\(^{367}\) Eng: “leader cult”.

\(^{368}\) Fritzen, *Gesünder leben*, p. 226.

\(^{369}\) Ay, “Max Weber: A German Intellectual and the Question of War Guilt after the Great War”, p. 119.


\(^{371}\) Ute Frevert, *Vertrauensfragen: Eine Obsession der Moderne*, (München 2013), p. 82.

\(^{372}\) Frevert, *Vertrauensfragen*, p. 82.
Die Vivisektion ist ein Verbrechen, das einzig und allein das Werk des Mannes ist; doch die Frau, die höheres Mitleid und zarteres Gefühl auszeichnen sollte, muss pflichtmäßig sich hervortun, um als Apostel der Menschlichkeit dieses Übel zu beschwören.  

Women were thus perceived as having an important part to fill as bearers of moral and emotion. It was through a specific female compassion and softness that the key to civilisation was to be found, a future without egoism, immorality, and barbarism. Furthermore, the opinion was raised that women could have a benevolent influence on the hard hearts of men and that women had the power to proselyte men to pure and noble feelings. In comparison to the educational goal of women in 1908 as presented under the term “vegetarian missionaries” women in 1931 were to change the emotive states of men.

Even though this quote is from the 19th century the choice of text and text-writer indicates the connection of emotions and femininity in the ethical vegetarianism and attributed to the vegetarian subject. It was stated that the disposition of woman made it easier for them to connect with animals and feel compassion. Signature Lynkeus stated that the ongoing suffering of animals was the fault of women since they despite: “[a]ll ihre Mütterlichkeit hat sie nicht gelehrt, das andere Leben, das nicht menschliche, ernst zu nehmen oder der Willkür zu entziehen.” Lynkeus opinion was mirrored in various other articles where the responsibility of the house wife in the kitchen was emphasised and the overall health of the nation. As one author wrote: “In der Küche wird das Wohl eines Volkes geschmiedet; so liegt das Schicksal des Volkes in Hand der Frau!”

Interestingly, it was not female vegetarians who was explicitly mentioned and discussed in these articles but rather, women as general category. I claim that this can be understood as reflecting an overall and general discourse of femininity and masculinity of the German society, rather than only being characteristics ascribed to the vegetarian subject. The Gemütsvegetarier was

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373 V.W., (1931), p. 222. Eng: “Vivisection is a crime, that is only and alone the work of the man, however, the woman, who should be distinguished by a higher compassion and softer feeling, must dutifully excel, to be able to admonish the evil as an apostle of humanity.”


377 Lynkeus, “Die Tierfreundin Julie Schlosser”, p. 90. Eng: “All their motherliness had not learned to take the other life, the non-human, seriously or to evoke the arbitrariness [of killing animals].”

linguistically male and I would argue that even though women were encompassed in the concept, the male vegetarian was perceived as the norm. A lack of compassion, ethical understanding, and a hardened heart were not characteristics ascribed to the male vegetarian subject of the D.V.B. but rather of other non-vegetarian men. To emphasise leadership and to differentiate between leaders and ordinary citizens was common in the Weimar-Republic, especially in conservative circles. The leaders were supposed to express their personality but importantly leadership was paired with male rationality. The rhetoric presented in the V.W. was quite different from the rest of Weimar-society. In proclaiming that German needed a strong ethical leadership with feeling and moral at the core and not emphasising rationality, the construction of the vegetarian subject was breaking away from gender norms and in a sense created a hybrid of masculine and feminine expectations.

2.4.2. Requirements

The vegetarian subject was characterized by feeling and ethical understanding. Analytical these traits can also be understood as requirements. As established a proper vegetarian was a Gemütsvegetarier and through this emphasis I wish to argue that the vegetarian subject was required to have an inner subjectivity. I claim that the Gemütsvegetarier in many regards can be understood as a life-in. According to historian Fritzen, the D.V.B. became more esoteric and “religious” during the 1930’s and, furthermore, a mystic-irrational life was increasingly important in comparison to the earlier rational view. I concur with Fritzen’s results and now wish to broaden the analytical understanding of her account through the theoretical concepts of life-in and spiritual atmosphere.

2.4.2.1. An inner state

I wish to quote 19th century vegetarian Robert Springer who was paraphrased in the V.W. to highlight the connections made between the killings of animals, the stand of society, and inner states. This quote was originally from the 19th century I would argue that it is of importance since the editorial staff of the V.W. presented it on the first page of the April issue in 1931.

379 The term Vegetarier is the male version, and to some extent including both women and men. However, when explicitly wanting to mention women the term Vegetarinnen should be used.
380 Ljunggren, Känslornas krig, p. 231.
381 Ljunggren, Känslornas krig, p. 231, 236.
382 Fritzen, Gesünder leben, p. 209.
In dem Morde unserer beseelten Mitgeschöpfe und treue anhänglichen Lebensgefährten erblickt der Vegetarismus die Grundlage unseres Unglücks, unserer elenden Kulturzustände und die Vorbereitung zum Massenmorde des Menschen untereinander; in der Befreiung von diesem Greuel, […] erkennt er einen Aufschwung zur wahren Menschenwürde und zur wahrhaften Befreiung[…].

It was stressed that the vegetarian system influenced both character and temperament. In one article for example a connection between happiness and vegetarianism, as well as between unhappiness and the killing of animals was stressed. It was stated that only those who had: “[…] ein Herz für alle Geschöpfe und die ganze Natur liebend im Buse trägt, kann Gott erfassen, den Vater der Liebe!” Just as in 1921, nature was a spiritual atmosphere and enabled emotions and moral sentiments, both important features of a life-in. Furthermore, the issue of abortion was discussed in an article moral and ethics was emphasised as well as the sacredness of life for animals and foetuses.

The vegetarian subject was also attributed an inner voice which was not a rational explicable matter, but rather an inherent power which promoted the good, holy, noble, positive, and eternal love. The importance of holiness and inner states was further emphasised in another article in which envisioned vegetarian leaders of humanity were described as stating in regard to the killing of suffering animals:

Erschaudre! Es geht um dein Heiligstes, um dein unbeflecktes Menschentum, deine Stellung in der Weltordnung, dein Verhältnis zum Ewigen, deine Religiosität, das heißt deine Fähigkeit, Religion zu haben, Gott zu schauen. Da ist es!

Holiness, pureness, and religion were depicted as intertwined and ultimately linked to the construction of an ethical vegetarian subject. Religiosity was a reoccurring theme and even though both Jesus and Christianity were mentioned, I would argue, that this religiosity should

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383 V.W., (1931), p. 74. Eng: “In the murder of our souled fellow creates und loyally faithful companions sees vegetarianism the foundation of our unhappiness, our miserable cultural state and the preparation of the mass murder of humans among themselves, in the escape from this atrocity [...] does it [vegetarianism] recognise a recovery to true human dignitary and of true deliverance[...]”


385 V.W., (1931), p. 50. Eng: “a heart for all creatures and who carries the whole nature loving in their chest, can understand God, the father of love!”

386 Lynkeus, „Das Lebensrecht der Ungeborenen“, V.W. p. 103, 105.


388 Bruno Wolff, “Im Spiegel der Vegetarischen Warte”, V.W., (1931), p. 112. Eng: “Shudder! It is about your holiest, about your unsullied humanity, your position in the world order, your relation to the eternal, your religiosity, which means your capability to have religion, to see God. That is it!”
be understood in terms of spirituality. It was not organized religion that was longed for but a God-like holiness.

2.4.2.2. Christian and vegetarian ethics

The editorial staff of the V.W. described themselves as bearer of a new ethic, almost of a new religion. The main goal of vegetarianism was according to them a new ethic, which would work as the foundation for a future human culture. The ethical struggle was primarily understood as a struggle against the governing ethics of Christendom emphasising that it was not the ‘real’ Christendom that was the problem but later forgeries and distortions of the Christian faith.

The contemporary situation was described as an intellectual struggle between Christian ethics and vegetarian ethics, in which the V.W. was presented as leading the battle with shining steel.

In the argumentation, proper Christian ethics was related to the ethics of the vegetarianism. The figure of Jesus was connected to the concept of ethical vegetarianism in the V.W., and perhaps even more importantly to the concept of a proper vegetarian. However, Jesus was not simply described as the son of God but instead presented as a vegetarian. In an article with the title “Was bedeutet Nazaräer” this was especially evident.

Wir kämpfen für den echten, geschichtlichen Kristus, der Asket und Nasiräer war; der als letzter in der Reihe der großen Profeten der Opferkult radikal verwarf […] für einen Kristus, der seinen Leib nur mit reiner Fruchtnahrung speiste […]

The figure of Jesus was through this depicted as a role model for society and vegetarians a like, but at the same time separated from the connection the sacral figure Jesus had with the Christian fate. In the V.W. Eduard Baltzer was presented in almost a religious light. Baltzer was the founder of what later came to be the D.V.B. and an important figure in the magazines of 1931, his book Von Wahren Menschentum, originally published 1880, was even reprinted in selection in the V.W. Furthermore, Baltzer was mentioned in various other articles and regarded as a role model. I would however, argue that Baltzer was not only seen as a role model but also as

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390 v. Damm, “Frau Dr. Ludendorff zur biblischen Ethik”, p. 280. Eng: „We fight for the real, historical Christ, the ascet and nazarier, who as the last of many great prophets radically rejected the sacrifice cult […] for a Christ, who only ate fruit nourishment […]”.
394 In the issues of 1895, 1908 and 1921 Baltzer was mentioned but not in the same extent as in 1931.
a spiritual being of vegetarianism. Baltzer’s soul was described as still being alive.\textsuperscript{395} This description can of course be understood as rhetorical, but I would argue that the strong emphasis on Jesus’ connection to vegetarianism and early vegetarians as well as the spirituality presented in the magazines aimed at filling the figure Baltzer with a mystical dimension which can be understood in terms of spirituality. This was to some regard evident when the spirit of Baltzer was described, even though the connection to the material world was also emphasised. The spirit of Baltzer was described as based a realistic heritage in the world and among humans, however, it was also described as “[...] eines himmelstürmenden Idealismus, der in prometheischem Streben gewillt ist, das Werk des Schöpfers zu vollenden.”\textsuperscript{396}

I would argue that inner subjectivity and spirituality was attributed to the vegetarian subject through the figure of Jesus and Baltzer. Moreover, the focus on inner subjectivity was constructed and changed the vegetarian subject’s experience to an increasingly subjective one. This can also be understood as a life-in. The inner experience was to guide the vegetarian with focus on emotions, inner consciousness, and moral sentiment. The individual’s subjectivity was regarded as a source of authority, not only over their own life but also of others who had not yet reached this awareness.

That other requirements than earlier were connected to the vegetarian subject can be understood through the new promised states of the vegetarian subject. The vegetarian subject was no longer only promised bodily health or even positive emotional states, rather the subject was promised a new world order, where he or she would become the new ethical leaders. By attributing vegetarian ethics such a world changing position of importance, I would argue that the vegetarian subject had to become increasingly different from other groups in society. This was done through the emphasis of a rich inner life, which was described as filling the vegetarian subject with a special strength that others did not possess.

\textbf{2.4.3. Promises}

I will here further discuss the promised vegetarian ethical future of the vegetarian subject, however, in order to understand the promises made the experienced present of the vegetarian subject is of importance. The German society of the early 1930’s was described as being danger in the V.W. The concept of crisis has been asserted in previous research as present in the Weimar

\textsuperscript{395} Samtleben, “Die Aristokratie des Vegetarismus”, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{396} Samtleben, “Die Aristokratie des Vegetarismus”, p. 231. Eng: “[...] a heaven-assailing idealism, which intends to in a promethean strive to complete the work of the Maker.”
Republic.\textsuperscript{397} In German historical research there has been a long-standing debate on the importance of the “crisis of the Weimar Republic” as a underlying cause of the later National Socialist regime.\textsuperscript{398} In this context male bonding during the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century can for example be regarded as a response to crisis and in extent as leading to the NS-regime.\textsuperscript{399} I do not wish to enter the infected Sonderweg-debate, however, I wish to stress the importance of a perceived crisis to the vegetarian subject since it aids the analysis of promises made to the vegetarian subject.

\section*{2.4.3.1. A vegetarian ethical future}

The solution for the miserable present was evident in the V.W., namely a return to nature and the implementation of vegetarianism.\textsuperscript{400} Through vegetarianism the perceived hardship of the present would end.\textsuperscript{401} A vocabulary today closely associated with National Socialistic propaganda was evident in various article in which concepts such as Lebensraum\textsuperscript{402} and Übermensch\textsuperscript{403} were used.\textsuperscript{404} The concept of Übermensch can be understood as part of the ethical future of vegetarianism and in one article it was stated that the Übermensch was the meaning of the Earth.\textsuperscript{405} The Übermensch was further mentioned and perceived as the mankind of the future, as envisioned by Nietzsche and Goethe.\textsuperscript{406} In the same article, it was stated that the belief in the future Übermensch was what kept them, presumably the vegetarians, standing: “[...] in den Stürmen einer hoffnungslosen Gegenwart und verleiht unserer Seele Flügel [...]”\textsuperscript{407} Through the concept of the Übermensch I would argue that the vegetarian subject was constructed as better than others, and through this the experiences of the vegetarian subject was an elite experience. The subjectivity previously mentioned was directed at the inner states while emphasised superiority remained as an objective truth.

Contrasted to the dangerous situation of the present stood the promising ethical vegetarian future, described as the main-task of the V.W.\textsuperscript{408} The emphasis on a failing present and the description of the people as a fluxing mass had gendered dimension and can also be found in Klaus Theweleit’s analysis of proto-fascists in his books \textit{Männerphantasien}.\textsuperscript{409} According to Theweleit, metaphors of swamps as dangerous phantasms was frequent in proto-fascistic masculinity.\textsuperscript{410} Furthermore, Gabriele Kämper has emphasised that the concept of the masses had a feminine connotation and threatened the individual with a loss of subjectivity.\textsuperscript{411} This rhetoric can be found for example in the metaphoric use of a filthy river given by Lynkeus in stating: “Wahrlich ein schmutziger Strom ist der Mensch.”\textsuperscript{412} The praised subjectivity of the vegetarian subject was constructed as being attacked by the notion of the mass of mankind, an abstract concept which nonetheless created a clear contrast to the life promised in the V.W.

\subsection*{2.4.4. Concluding 1931}

The vegetarian subject of 1931 was characterised as a \textit{Gemütsvegetarier} and was contrasted to vegetarians who emphasised rationality and health. The vegetarian subject was understood through its inner states rather than through its reasoning capacity. The higher ethical understanding of the vegetarian subject described in the V.W. was emphasised and depicted as a greater understanding of a grand unspecified truth. Through this understanding and the special inner qualities of the vegetarian subject its leadership qualities were stressed. The focus on emotions and inner states also led to discussion about the emotions of men and women, where women were described as having a greater sensitivity and, thus, a greater responsibility to protect animals. Men were described as having blunt emotions and hardened hearts, however, I have argued, that the distinction was a description of men and women in general and not between male and female vegetarians.

The construction of the vegetarian subject was required to lead a subjective life and regard the holiness of all life. An inner voice was described as directing the vegetarian subject which would enable the good, holy, and noble, as well as eternal love. A spiritual atmosphere was also increasingly important just as in 1921, and the spirituality was explicitly discussed. The vegetarian ethics were compared to Christian ethics. Furthermore, I would argue that in

\textsuperscript{408} Sauerwaldt, ”Adel verplichtet”, p. 234.
\textsuperscript{410} Theweleit, \textit{Männerphantasien 1}, p. 405-408.
\textsuperscript{411} Kämper, ”Kult der Kälte”, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{412} Lynkeus, ”Fern ragt ein Land”, p. 254. Eng: “Truly, is mankind a dirty river.”
positioning the founding father of German vegetarianism, Eduard Baltzer, as an almost sacral figure with similarities to Jesus the V.W. attempted to create a spiritual, almost religious system around their concept of ethical vegetarianism.

Ethical vegetarianism was not simply understood as an envisioned promise within vegetarianism but as cure for the German society and to some extent the whole world which was understood as failing. The vegetarians of the D.V.B. tried to create a new world order and replace Christian ethics and the present society. The vegetarian subject was not only promised a vegetarian ethical future but also the be the ethical leaders of the new world. To legitimize the leading qualities of the ethical vegetarians I would argue that it strongly had to be emphasised how they were not only different but also better than others. The emphasis on inner states, moral sentiments, and spirituality was, consequently, of importance in the process of doing the vegetarian subject which was presented as better than both other vegetarians and other people in general.
3. Conclusion

3.1. Summary

In this section I will summarize the examination of the characteristics, requirements and promises of the vegetarian subject. The tables below are simplified versions of the study, summarizing the most important and at times contradictory features of the vegetarian subject.

Characteristics

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<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rational</td>
<td>Intellectual</td>
<td>Educated</td>
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<td>Loyal &amp; dutiful</td>
<td>Strong will-power</td>
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<td>Compassionate</td>
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</tbody>
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Table 3: Characteristics of the vegetarian subject

Requirements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hygienic measures:</td>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>Control of emotion</td>
<td>Happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-diet</td>
<td>Control of emotion</td>
<td>Rejection of lust and luxury</td>
<td>Inner subjective voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-physical exercise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spirituality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Requirements of the vegetarian subject

Promises

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural physical and aesthetic body</td>
<td>Restoration of physical body and soul</td>
<td>Healthy body with nature as an inner state</td>
<td>Vegetarian ethical future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Envisioned promises of the vegetarian subject

In 1895, the vegetarian subject was constructed around characteristics of rationality and hard-work. Furthermore, the vegetarian subject was ascribed intellectual dimensions and described as being well-read. Emphasised were the requirements of a specific meat-free diet and physical exercise, the two were positioned as a part of a natural lifestyle. The development of the self was also stressed and constructed as means to reach a higher state of human life. The envisioned state of the vegetarian subject was a natural body, physical and aesthetically. The vegetarian
body was portrayed as perfectly male or perfectly female reflecting the hygienic standards of the time. The focus on rationality and the physical body can be understood as a life-as. The vegetarian was positioned as a role which was constructed and legitimized by external authorities. To become a vegetarian was an individual choice but this choice was often positioned as founded in rational arguments, and not based on an inner subjectivity or calling.

In 1908, the vegetarian subject was constructed either as a dutiful and loyal soldier with strong willpower or as an intellectually inclined missionary, keenly educating others. The division had gender dimensions. Both constructions within the vegetarian subject were required to display happiness, however, only in certain situations or at certain places such as in nature. Otherwise, emotional displays should be controlled. Through this the vegetarian subject was envisioned as a restored body both in terms of the physical and the inner. Just as in 1895 the vegetarian subject was constructed as a life-as, with duties and obligations at the centre of the construction. Even though happiness came to be increasingly important this happiness was not a feeling which guided the subject but rather a controlled required state.

In 1921, the construction of the vegetarian subject was centred around feelings of compassion for animals. Through a required rejection of lust (mostly associated with sex and meat), luxury, and control of emotions the vegetarian subject was envisioned a promised natural state. In this state, an abstract nature encompassed the vegetarian subject, as a form of spiritual atmosphere leading towards a healthy body. The vegetarian subject was constructed as guided by inner sentiments of compassion and moral, I would argue that the construction can increasingly be understood as a life-in. The vegetarian subject was still required to control their emotions and to reject lust and luxury, however, it was increasingly inner sentiments that constructed the vegetarian subject.

In 1931, emotion and moral was constructed as characteristics driving the vegetarian subject as well as dividing them from others. The vegetarian subject was required to follow an inner subjective voice closely connected to different concepts of spiritualities. Through this the vegetarian subject was deemed apt for leadership of an envisioned vegetarian ethical future. In 1931, the construction of the vegetarian subject was positioned as a life-in. It was described as driven by affect and moral, which enabled it to follow a required inner subjective voice and regard the holiness and spirituality in the world. Through this a new world order would be attained, a world order where the vegetarian ethical experience would embrace everyone.
The experience of the vegetarian subject thus shifted from rationality and promises of health to an emotional and ethical experience. Additionally, I would argue that the vegetarian subject and experience throughout the studied period was constructed as an elite identity. Vegetarians always distanced themselves in various degrees from other groups and constructed themselves as elevated above others. In 1895, this was emphasised in terms of physical prowess and in 1931 as higher ethical understanding, however, the experience of elite identity remained.

3.2. The changing vegetarian subject

It has been established that characteristics, requirements, and promises linked to the vegetarian subject changed and that an overall shift from a life-as with focus on hygiene and body towards a life-in with focus on compassion, ethics, and inner states occurred. The important question here is why this shift occurred?

Firstly, I would claim that the changes to the vegetarian subject can be understood through the changing role of the overall German vegetarian movement. The number of members decreased and other reform-societies increasingly focused on health aspects which had been stressed by the D.V.B. during 1895 and 1908. The alternative, counter-societal aspects of the D.V.B. would have been lost if they had continued along the hygienic path stressed by many in the Weimar Republic. The choice to focus on ethical vegetarianism can therefore be understood as an attempt to regain an identity of being an alternative union. As earlier argued was the vegetarian constructed as different and better than others, so when the rest of society incorporated large parts of their envisioned future the D.V.B. found other ways to show their special character and attractions.

Secondly, the shift can be understood through overall changes in society. I believe that the experiences of the First World War, is an important key in understanding the changes of the vegetarian subject. The changed society and experiences of war lead to a sense of crisis in the Weimar Republic. I would argue that the earlier practical measures of hygiene, vegetarian settlements, and the education of others, lost in importance during the Weimar-era and instead the practices of vegetarianism became increasingly subjective and abstract. Rationality was no longer paramount, instead vegetarianism offered experiences of spirituality, mysticism, and a chance to follow a higher inner cause to its followers.

Thirdly, a changed focus of vegetarianism from being hygienic and human-centred to becoming more ethical and animal-centred can explain the shift. The change from focus on humans to a focus on animals can be understood as either enabling of or forcing the change from science
and rationality to emotion and ethics. When the focal point was on animal ethics the vegetarian subject ceased to be primarily an embodied subject and instead came to focus more on inner states of spirituality and emotions.

Finally, I wish to emphasise the gendered aspect of the vegetarian subject. Through the analysis of the vegetarian subject a classical binary gendering of the vegetarian body and characteristics has been established. I would argue that masculinity and patriarchal structures always were at the core of the construction. The vegetarian subject was always implicitly and explicitly positioned against or with masculinity discourses. Women and feminine ideals obviously also existed within the D.V.B. but I would argue that they were not the primary attraction of the society nor the primary experience. Rather, the femininities connected to a female body were used either as proof of naturalness or to emphasise the traditional family structures which D.V.B. vegetarianism assumed.

In 1895 and 1908, the vegetarian subject was primarily constructed through physicality and health practices emphasised through rational arguments. The male vegetarian body was positioned as the ideal for vegetarians and the embodiment of their values. Characteristics, requirements, and promises was mainly constructed in masculine terms but at the same time they were different from the overall militaristic ideals of Imperial Germany. For example, will-power, duty, and loyalty were emphasised in 1908 but at the same time the vegetarian subject was constructed as a happy and harmonic subject. Focus shifted towards ethics and emotions in 1921 and 1931 but women and femininity was not attributed higher value as could have been expected due to the stereotypical female connotations of emotion and animal ethics. Rather, a new form of masculinity was constructed. The vegetarian subject had an emotional understanding and expressed compassion but was still constructed as a masculinity.

I would argue that the D.V.B. did not challenge gender norms or structures, instead it offered the individual male different masculinity ideals through a vegetarian life and experience. Niederhausen has similarly argued that vegetarianism offered the *neuer Mittelstand* opportunities to establish an identity within the bourgeoisie through body regimes. I would argue that the opportunities within vegetarianism must be understood as more complex. Not only did the vegetarian experience offer chances to demonstrate rationality and hygiene but also to experience a different subjectively inclined male ideal. Furthermore, Fischer has stated that vegetarians created a construction of a muscular vegetarianism to emphasis the masculine traits of the vegetarian lifestyle. Emphasising traditional male values and combatting the scientific view of meat as a source of muscles and masculinity was evident in 1895 and 1908 in the
member magazines. However, I wish to emphasise the subjective experience presented to vegetarians. Vegetarianism can be understood as means to express an alternative masculinity which included warmth, compassion, and feeling, rather, than hygienic rationality and coldness. These ideals are different from the cold masculinity emphasised by for example Kämper and Lethen. Through vegetarianism the individual man was not only offered chances to display control of body and mind, but also to display a warmer and more subjective side of their masculinity.

3.3. Methodological and theoretical considerations

With the emphasis on masculinity presented in the above standing section this thesis could have benefitted from explicit theories of masculinities, for example presented by R.W. Connell. However, I wish to propagate the usefulness of the vegetarian subject in an analytical capacity. Since the vegetarian subject is to be understood as fluid and multidimensional it can incorporate different experiences and gender ideals at the same time. Thus, masculinity or femininity is not pre-given as primary but rather a multitude of experiences are emphasised. This has been especially useful since I would argue that the ideal types of a life-as and a life-in can co-exist in the same subject. Heelas and Woodland has argued for the incompatibility of the two but I would argue that they analytically can co-exist. A clear definition of terms such as emotion is necessary for a sharp analytical division between the two. Cannot rationality be understood as an emotion as well, or at least as an affective state? Historian Ute Frevert has analysed trust in her book Vertrauensfragen within the framework of the history of emotion and I would argue that the same could be done for rationality. An analytical understanding of rationality and trust as being non-emotive states can be misleading. Further research on objectivity and rationality in the history of emotion would be interesting.

The two ideal types of a life-as and a life-in have greatly enhanced the understanding of the changing vegetarian subject. I further wish to attain the importance of the results presented in this thesis, emphasising that inner subjectivity attributed to a life-in existed not only during the 1890’s and after 1960, as suggested by Partridge, but also during the 1920’s and 1930’s in the construction of the vegetarian subject of the D.V.B.

3.4. A re-enchantment through vegetarianism

Fritzen as well as Meyer-Renschhausen and Wirz have argued that vegetarianism can be described as a secular Protestantism or as a substitute religion of esotericism and mystique. To some extent I agree with their description but wish to contest Meyer-Renschhausen and Wirz’s
emphasis on hygiene. In this section I will argue that vegetarianism can be understood as a re-enchantment of the world. First of all, I wish to quote Landy & Saler’s *The Re-Enchantment of the World* once again:

> If the world is to be re-enchanted, it must accordingly be recharged but not only with *mystery* and wonder, but also with *order*, perhaps even with *purpose*, there must be a hierarchy of *significance* attaching to objects and events encountered.\footnote{Landy & Saler, *The Re-Enchantment of the World*, p. 2.}

The very concept of a natural life and vegetarianism included a sense of mystery and wonder, and was positioned as an eternal truth which should be understood by vegetarians rather than be created by them. Vegetarianism was positioned as a natural force and an inherent mystery encompassed both in nature and man. However, mystery and wonder could be found in other parts of society as well, such as organized religion. In an increasingly secularized society I would, however, argue that vegetarianism offered individuals the opportunity to re-enchant the world without being deemed as religiously traditional or conservative.

Vegetarianism offered a sense of order through its strict dietary measures and the many societies and meeting points (for instance; settlements, reform stores, and restaurants). Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, vegetarianism offered order through lifestyle. Dietary measures were as evident from the examination not the most vital part in the construction of the vegetarian subject, rather, various other aspects were required and a simple correlation between lifestyle and lived existence was presented. This is for example evident in the discussion on nursing in 1908 where the practices of nursing and delivery was connected with diet and lifestyle, while at the same time deemed as part of a mysterious naturalness. Furthermore, nature can be understood in terms of mystery, through which the vegetarian subject at first tried to create order through practices such as mountain climbing but later instead imbued a natural order through an inner natural state. The analytical concept of spiritual atmosphere is of importance to understand that nature was not simply perceived in a natural romantic way but rather in an almost sacral or at the very least mysterious way. I would argue, that nature increasingly came to be associated with inner states of the vegetarian subject contributed to the mystery of vegetarianism. The attributed healing powers of nature gained an almost religious dimension.

Vegetarianism offered purpose to the individual both in a practical regard through the spreading of the vegetarian cause and the creation of a new future. In 1895 and 1908, this was mainly done through small reforms of society and through the creation of settlements, such as Monte
Veritá and Eden. Hubs of vegetarian futures were created. After the war and with the increased sense of crisis in society during 1921 and 1931 an envisioned vegetarian future took on the form of a national project of regeneration. I would argue that the envisioned expansion of a vegetarian system from vegetarian settlements to imagined vegetarian nations changed the experience.

Finally, through the use of the vegetarian subject an analytical understanding of the hierarchy of significance made between different objects and events has been made possible. I would argue that there is a hierarchal difference between characteristics, requirements, and promises in the construction of the vegetarian subject. The characteristics of the vegetarian subject can be understood as an array of characteristics and the individual subject does not have to possess all of them, some traits are even in conflict. They have a lower significance than the requirements which are demanded of the vegetarian. Through this, analytical consistencies are made clearer, one of these is the vegetarian diet which interestingly has shifted in importance in the construction of the vegetarian subject. Envisioned promises made to the vegetarian subject should understood as the highest hierarchical level since they are of the greatest importance to both the construction of the vegetarian subject and to the drawing factor of vegetarianism. The promise of a natural body or of an ethical vegetarian future can be understood as having a higher significance in understanding how the objects and events surrounding the individual were ordered and given meaning.

As made clear above vegetarianism could be understood as a re-enchantment. Furthermore, the vegetarian subject shifted from being constructed as a life-as to a life-in which concurred with a shift from a gendered embodiment of the vegetarian subject to a spiritual and ethical focus. Even though gender and patriarchal structures continued to be of importance they were not longer essential to the construction of the vegetarian subject.

The subjective aspect of the vegetarian subject and the re-enchanting features of vegetarianism has been established in this thesis. Further research on the subjectivity within alternative movements as well as the gendering of them is important. The role of women within the German vegetarian movement as well as comparison between different vegetarian societies as well as national states is needed to further establish the changing subjective experience of the vegetarian as well as the re-enchanting features of vegetarianism.

Today the D.V.B. has changed name to Vegetarierbund Deutschland and is the biggest German vegetarian organisation focusing increasingly on veganism. They have listed five reasons to become a vegan on their website; animal rights, your health, world justice, the environment,
and enjoyment. Some of their arguments has been reflected in this thesis as well while others represent a 21\textsuperscript{th} century take on vegetarianism. Being a vegetarian today as well as 100 years ago is a subjective experience, for some a path to health for others the road to salvation.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[414] \url{https://vebu.de/veggie-fakten/warum-vegan-leben/} (17.05.17).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
3.5. Sammanfattning


Uppsatsen har utöver syftet styrts av tre frågeställningar som ämnat till att fördjupa förståelsen av den individuella subjektiva upplevelsen.

Vilka karaktärsdrag tillskrevs det vegetarianiska subjektet i medlemstidskrifterna?

Vilka krav ställdes på det vegetarianiska subjektet i medlemstidskrifterna?

Vilka föreställda känslomässiga och fysiska tillstånd lovades det vegetarianiska subjektet?

För att teoretiskt närma sig syfte och frågeställningar kommer huvudfokus ligga på subjektiviseringsstenen. En teori som ifrågasätter den bild som Max Weber målade av en avförörtrollande verklighet, och istället ser ett skifte mot det subjektiva under 1960-talet och i bohemiska cirklar under 1890-talet. Återförörtrollningen summeras som: ”[…] en blandning av sekulära och medvetna strategier av återförörtrollning, sammanhållna genom deras gemensamma mål att fylla ett gudalikt hålrum.”


Det vegetariana subjektet det metodiska verktyg som använts för att undersöka konstruktionen av vegetarianen i D.V.Bs tidskrifter. Det är en flytande konstruktion där flera motstridiga innebörder kan samexistera. Källmaterialet består av medlemstidskrifterna *Vegetarische*.

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Rundschau och Vegetarische Warte från åren 1895, 1908, 1921 och 1931. Fokus i uppsatsen ligger på vegetarianens subjektiva upplevelser och inte på vegetarianismen som system.

Då det vegetariska subjektets subjektiva upplevelser står i fokus inkluderas även genusteorier och känsloteorier i uppsatsen. Subjektiviseringstesen saknar en genusdimension vilket jag anser skulle gynna analysen då exempelvis känslor och kroppsliga upplevelser ofta är könade. Tidigare forskning om tysk vegetarianism har utelämnat genusperspektivitet. Genusanalysen utgår ifrån en socialkonstruktivistisk bas där såväl genus och kön ska förstås som konstruktioner och inte i essentiella termer. Uppsatsens starka fokus på den subjektiva upplevelsen behöver förstås ett känsloteoretiska ramverket, även i detta fall appliceras det socialkonstruktivistiska synsättet då känslor ses som socialt och kulturellt konstruerade och därmed föränderliga.


Denna förändring visar på ett skifte från ett rationellt styrt liv med en objektiv vetenskaplig världssyn mot ett subjektivt liv, där känslor och moral styr i en subjektiv värld. Vegetarianismen kunde däremot förstås som en återförtrollning av världen.
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