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Sexuality in the Literature of the Wilhelminian Empire

Abstract

This paper is based on a *Memorandum about Conditions Regarding Prostitution*, published by the Federation of German Women's Associations in 1904. This publication makes it evident that German women had organized into a political force to be reckoned with in the future. The topic is prostitution. Prostitution, obviously, should be fought, brothels (advocated by German physicians and sociologists) should be abolished, but so called "free prostitution" should be tolerated for the time being, because its eradication is a distant goal.

the paper then tries to outline the literary treatment of prostitution and women's cause in general in Wilhelminian/Victorian Europe, discussing such works as *Ghosts* by the Norwegian Henrik Ibsen, *Bahnwärter Thiel* by Gerhart Hauptmann, *Wuthering Heights* by Emily Brontë, *Effi Briest* by Theodor Fontane, *Lieutenant Gustl* by the Austrian Arthur Schnitzler, and *Nana* by Emile Zola. All these works, and, of course, many other could have been considered, explore the fate of women and their social repression in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The paper concludes with a brief outline of how women's mental, emotional, and physical functions and conditions were viewed. The theories and assumptions by contemporary scientists, viewed 125 years later, are truly amazing.

Key words: brothels, contraception, divorce, duel, impotence, love, prostitution, marriage, masturbation, menstruation, morality, relationship, religion, sexuality, Women's Associations.

The topic suggested itself more or less by coincidence. A couple of years ago I came in an antique book store across a small volume, entitled *Denkschrift über die in Deutschland bestehenden Verhältnisse in Bezug auf des Bordellwesen* (*Memorandum about Conditions Regarding Prostitution*), published by the Bund deutscher Frauenvereine (Federation of German Women's Associations, hence, Associations) in 1904, 33 years after the foundation of the Wilhelminian Empire and 14 years before its demise. Thus the Wilhelminian Empire coincides to a large degree with the Victorian one across the Channel. Both empires shared basically the same views on ethics, morality and social customs, looking at France as a slightly more progressive and liberal societal model, which was envied on the one hand and ridiculed on the other.

The women's Associations in Germany established a "morality commission" which made it its business to look into "the evil of prostitution". Two points are to be made here: a) prostitution is evil and b) in 1904 the German women had organized into a political force that had to be reckoned with in the future, similar to women's movements in France, Britain, and the US.

In the imperial "Reichsstrafgesetzbuch" (Civil Legal Code), paragraph 180 it says: "Who commits and promotes sexual offences for one's own benefit and profit, will be incarcerated for procuring; he can also lose his civil rights and be ordered to be monitored by the police".¹

However, this paragraph was rarely enforced. For the duration of almost 40 years, prostitution was tolerated. Three kinds of prostitution have to be discerned: prostitution in brothels, in rented rooms and apartments, run by so called hosts, who can also be called pimps, and street prostitution as private enterprise, largely practiced by new arrivals on the scene. The Women's Associations conducted an "enquête", i.e. German cities above 20 000 inhabitants were asked to provide statistical material, about such items as number of prostitutes, number of brothels, medical supervision, etc. The information was compiled with German thoroughness in a number of charts (cf. Appendix).

The goal of the Women's Associations of course is to eradicate prostitution and to save their gender mates. However, it seems clear to them that that would be an extremely long range goal, a goal that would require huge improvements in the fabric of social and moral attitudes. In the meantime smaller steps have to be taken. First of all, in most German cities, the personal views and convictions of city authorities are at the base of local conditions and regulations, so that the treatment of prostitution in different places varies greatly. Of course, this almost has to be expected in an empire that comprises various kingdoms and duchies. The kingdom of Württemberg is brothel-free, whereas Bavaria is the hub of prostitution. So is Saxony, because it is on the eastern border, close to Bohemia and Hungary from where minions of new prostitutes push west.

Physicians play a key role in the discussion and to a large degree seem to be of the same opinion as the Frenchman Parent Duchâtelet who says that prostitutes have the same function as sewers, to provide channels for all evil lust and vice in the area of sex.² According to the Women's Associations, this view is antisocial and morally corrupt and has to be rejected, likewise the idea that prostitution will prevent the seduction and demoralization of "honorable" women.

The German Women's Associations are concerned that in 1904 there is to be seen a steady increase in the number of brothels, which had largely diminished in the previous century. This is happening because many physicians prefer prostitution to take place in brothels, with the argument that they are easier to regulate and control and will help to prevent venereal disease. The Associations provide statistical material which proves that this is not the case. Neither is the examination of the men at the brothel entrance a solution, because syphilis can be quite

¹ K. Scheven, *Denkschrift über die in Deutschland bestehenden Verhältnisse in Bezug auf das Bordellwesen*, Dresden 1904.

² *Ibid.*

difficult to diagnose. Incidentally, syphilis became curable only five years later, in 1909, when Paul Ehrlich discovered Compound 606 (arsphenamine). The Associations conclude:

Prostitution cannot be erased at once, we will have to count with this deeply rooted social evil for a long time, even if we fight it with all the means we have. The prostitute is a product of our social conditions and we cannot make her homeless and haunt her with all kinds of legal measures. We need a new paragraph 180, that ignores the rental of a room or apartment to prostitutes...³

In other words, the message is: fight prostitution, abolish brothels, but leave, at least for now, a narrow escape route.

This Memorandum was a giant step forward. Just 30 years earlier women in Germany would not have discussed this topic. However, at the same time there were voices out there, and mainly male voices, writers of novels and plays who made gender inequality and sexual repression their main theme.

A pace setter were the plays of Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen. For instance in his play *Ghosts* he breaks quite a few literary taboos. A London critic calls the play “an open sewer” and raised the greatest outcry against all of Ibsen’s attacks on convention. *Ghosts* was published in 1881 and was performed the first time by a Danish company in a theater in Chicago the following year.

In the play, the leading female character, Mrs. Alving wants to invest the ill-gotten gains of her deceased husband in an orphanage. In a conversation with the local supervising Lutheran minister (with whom in the past she seems to have had a dalliance) the question of insurance comes up. Mrs. Alving wants to insure, the minister not, with a reference to faith and public opinion. This signifies on part of the minister religious bigotry, on Mrs. Alving’s part a shrewd business sense. She also reads books [Darwin one assumes] which the minister does not approve of. Then her son Oswald comes back from Paris. He is a painter. He also is sick. Later we understand that he is very ill. He has caught syphilis, but not as one might assume, from Paris prostitutes, rather from smoking his father’s pipes. He soon falls in love with Regina, the servant girl, who is actually his half-sister, because his father had an affair with Regina’s mother, also a servant. Mrs. Alving cannot possibly condone a marriage. In the end the orphanage burns down and Oswald succumbs to his illness, his brain gives out and he becomes mad. In view of this possibility, which represents the final stage of syphilis, he has brought pills from Paris with which to commit suicide. He has entrusted the pills to his mother who is supposed to help him with the suicide. The suicide question is left open, the play ends with Mrs. Alving looking for the pills.

Ibsen has been criticized for cramming too many topics into a brief three act play: the liberalization of women in the last third of the 19th century, religious bigotry in contemporary Lutheran Norway, venereal disease, incest, and euthanasia/suicide. It is a very revolutionary play indeed and indicates a number of social problems, mainly related to women and sexual conduct, which need solutions.

³ Ibid., p. 31.

It goes without saying that Ibsen had quite an impact on the contemporary literary scene and influenced many late Victorian and Wilhelminian writers.

From the 1880s on, the Silesian writer and playwright Gerhart Hauptmann follows Ibsen's thematic model, exploring social evils and particularly the role of women. As an example we can consider a short "narrative study" [as he calls it], with the title *Bahnwärter Thiel* [Lineman Thiel] from the year 1887. Thiel marries a sickly and very thin woman and has a child with her, Tobias, who is also sickly and mentally somewhat underdeveloped. Soon she dies of tuberculosis, an illness that reached epidemic proportions in the 19th century. He cannot work and take care of the child at the same time, so he is actually forced by his social condition to marry again and this a robust, strong young woman who exudes animal sexuality. He soon finds out that she mistreats the little boy, but he will not interfere, because he is captivated by her sexual attraction.

For seconds he viewed the strong limbs of the woman... her full half naked breasts heaved and threatened to tear her blouse apart and her lifted skirts made her sizeable hips even look broader. A power seemed to emanate from the woman, invincible and inescapable, Thiel could not oppose her.⁴

This is the sexually most explicit part in the narration. A new psychological dimension has been discovered: the instinct, the animal part in us. In the end the young boy is killed in a train accident, because of the woman's negligence. Thiel turns mad with grief and murders his wife and the newborn baby. Because of social circumstances Thiel had to get married again and once married, he succumbed to primal instincts.

Already 35 years earlier Emily Brontë published *Wuthering Heights* where similar invincible instincts seem to be at work. But in this context perhaps "passions" would be a better word than "instincts". After all, the literary scene is still largely dominated by "Romantic" writers.

A young boy by the name of Heathcliff is adopted by the Earnshaw family who already has two children, a boy and a girl. The boy is jealous of his adopted brother and mistreats him severely. The girl Cathy, however, likes him, spends a lot of time with him, and as they grow up, they fall in love, but for various and sundry reasons, they cannot get married. Heathcliff goes away for three years and upon his return he finds Cathy married to a neighbor. He now is consumed by a passion for revenge, but continues in love with Cathy, who becomes sick, because she cannot bear the triangle relationship and in the end she dies in childbirth. Shortly before her death, Heathcliff visits her and considers forgiving her for her desertion of him: "It is hard to forgive and to look at those eyes, and feel those wasted hands. Kiss me again and don't let me see your eyes! I forgive what you have done to me. I love my murderer – but yours, how can I?"⁵

We understand that Cathy dies, because she cannot survive in the triangular relationship, charged with so much emotion. She obviously feels that she wronged Heathcliff by marrying the neighbor, seemingly without a good reason. In his

⁴ G. Hauptmann, *Bahnwärter Thiel*, Stuttgart 1955, p. 19.

⁵ E. Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*, Baltimore 1951, p. 144.

accusation Heathcliff uses the word “right” in the question “what right did you have to leave me?” There is almost a legal aspect here. Love in the Romantic view is a law of Nature, which, if not followed, has tragic consequences, just as in Goethe’s *Sufferings of Young Werther*. In other words then, Heathcliff is not the villain, criminal, a totally heartless and unfeeling character, as he appears throughout the story, he is the victim and all his despicable acts have their root in a broken heart.

In epic breadth, Theodor Fontane⁶ unfolds the life and the personal tragedy of a young woman in his novel *Effi Briest*, which appeared in 1894. Mr. Briest, a member of the lower aristocracy, lives in his mansion in the countryside, just as Mr. Bennet does in “Pride and Prejudice”. But his task is not as daunting as Mr. Bennet’s. He has not five, but only one daughter to get married. And to marry her off, he does not have to make any effort at all. An old acquaintance of the Briests appears, who once was in love with Mrs. Briest and asks the parents for their consent to marry the daughter who is only 16, he is old enough to be her father. But he has an impeccable social standing and is accepted by the parents right away. Young Effi is simply informed of the fact and the general sentiment is, as expressed in *Pride and Prejudice*: “When she is secure of him, there will be leisure for falling in love as much as she chooses”.⁷

This statement, naturally, is debatable. In this case, there seems to be mutual respect, but the husband clearly makes all decisions. He also holds tightly the purse strings. Eventually a child is born. The husband has to leave then for a longer time period on business and in his absence Effi meets a (younger) man whom she likes and they start a lively correspondence. In the novel it is left open whether anything physical ever happens. Then the husband returns and finds all the letters in a drawer, they are not even hidden. He considers he has lost his honor, just as Mr. Bennet loses his honor when his youngest daughter Lydia elopes with a military officer. The answer to his problem is obvious: there has to be an immediate divorce and later a duel with the younger man. This can reconstitute his honor. The result is that Effi now has no rights. There is no alimony and no visitation rights to her daughter. She cannot return to her parent’s house either, because this would mean that they lose their honor as well. The only thing for her to do is rent a damp room in a basement and contract work as a seamstress. Predictably she becomes ill with tuberculosis. Just before her death the parents invite her back anyway. Mr. Briest, the father, a bit simple minded, we understand, avoids all types of discussion by telling his wife “this is too wide a field”, i.e. too large and heavy a topic to talk about. This novel, in my opinion, is one of the best and most detailed accounts of the situation of women in Wilhelminian society. Duels were forbidden early in the 20th century, but the fate of women, the right to vote, new divorce laws, opening of professions only came about in the Weimar Republic, after WWI.

A new style of writing “Impressionism” was ushered in by, among others, Arthur Schnitzler, a Viennese writer. Impressionist writers discover Time as

⁶ T. Fontane, *Effi Briest*, Frankfurt 1980.

⁷ J. Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, London 1964, p. 20.

a fourth dimension and are also impacted by the new science of psychology. It is no coincidence that Sigmund Freud is active in Vienna at the same time. In 1900 Schnitzler publishes a novella with the title *Lieutenant Gustl*. Schnitzler tries to show realistically in half sentences, images, remembrances, the thought process, as it really happens. Briefly the plot: Gustl goes to a concert, when he comes afterwards to the foyer to claim his coat, he gets into a shoving match with a local baker, insults are exchanged. Honor is lost, but no duel possible, a simple craftsman, a baker, cannot give satisfaction. The only remedy, the only way out, now is suicide. So Gustl wanders around Vienna all night envisioning suicide. He thinks in bits and pieces about his past life, his family, his military comrades, his acquaintances, his financial situation, and of course, his adventures with women. And that is what is of interest in this context.

He has a girlfriend by the name of Steffi whom he sees off and on. We are given to understand that they have a sexual relationship which he calls “comfortable”, because Steffi has another relationship where she is taken out to eat and receives gifts. As opposed to Gustl the other man is wealthy and pays the bills. Then he remembers Etelka, a serving girl on the estate of his uncle in Hungary: “She did not understand one word of German, but that wasn’t necessary either. I didn’t have to say a thing!”⁸

Deep down Gustl is an anti-Semite. After all, this is Vienna in 1900, the same time Hitler did his anti-Semitic reading and studying there. But then again, he likes young Mrs. Mannheimer in spite of her being married and furthermore Jewish. That women happen to be married does not faze him at all. He has an affair in Przemysł with the wife of his commanding officer.

Further examples are not necessary. Gustl clearly sees women not as thinking, feeling persons in their own right, but rather as sex objects. It does not surprise us that he hopes that his parents will be able to procure a husband for his sister who, however, is already 28.

The picture would not be complete without considering a novel on prostitution as such. There are several to choose from, for instance Emile Zola’s *Nana*, published in 1880. *Nana*, only 15, is a young actress who draws an eager male public, but not because of her acting skills. She entertains admirers in her new apartment, but gets bored soon and needs more money, so she walks the streets with her pimp, Satin. Later, back at the stage again, she bombs, but manages to become a fashion plate, is seen at the races and gets to be a lover of great men. Then there is a scandal, she escapes, perhaps to Russia and comes back mortally ill.

Luc Sante says:

She unwittingly became a force of nature, a ferment of destruction, corrupting and convulsing Paris between her snowy thighs. It goes without saying that prostitution, in the 19th and early 20th centuries especially kept the flame at a constant simmer beneath the cauldron of class, it was a destabilizing agent in the very bosom of the city.⁹

⁸ A. Schnitzler, *Lieutenant Gustl*, Stuttgart 2002, p. 10.

⁹ L. Sante, *The Other Paris*, New York 2015, p. 117.

In conclusion, I would like to offer a few remarks about the trials and tribulations of 19th century women's daily life. Therese Oneill in her book *Unmentionable*, which appeared only a few months ago, calls the 19th century "the filthiest century. Ever" "Ankle deep in filth, I said, but forgive me, I was inaccurate. You will wish the filth terminated at your ankles. Foulness is everywhere. Grime and rot cling to the very air in the larger cities".¹⁰

Toward the end of the century the water closet was invented, but not widely spread, Outhouses and communal unsanitary toilets prevailed. Baths were not readily available and hot water even less. Besides, bathing was risky business and was considered detrimental to the skin. Furthermore precautions had to be taken: "The bath should not be taken on an empty stomach, nor should it follow a meal too closely; three or four hours should be permitted to elapse. The proper time for bathing is in the morning..."¹¹

A very critical time in women's lives were the days of menstruation. Again a question of hygiene on the one hand and health on the other. Orson Squire Fowler, a physician, has this to say:

Spare menses cause and aggravate all diseases, by leaving surplus albumen in its victim's system to create pains and humors. Nature must rid her of it somehow, else she dies, and so burns up in her all she can, with fevers and morbidizes her nerves and feelings...and makes her most ugly and hateful...¹²

And a Dr. Betts can read from the color of the menstrual blood the character, or, rather, the character deficiencies of the woman.

Sex holds a lot of dangers for men and women alike. Benjamin Grant Jefferis warns:

The young man who may take pleasure in the fact that he is the hero of half a dozen or more engagements and love episodes, little realizes that such constant excitement often causes not only dangerously frequent and long-continued nocturnal emissions, but most painful affections to the testicles...¹³

Jefferis further predicts a "weakening of power" and general degeneration, chronic inflammation of the gland, impotence and the like. Napheys (1888) has a similar caveat:

A wise provision of nature ordains that woman shall be sought. She flees and man pursues. The folly of modern reformers who would annul this provision is evident. Were it done away with, man, ever prone to yield to woman's solicitations, and then most prone when most yielding is most yielding, would fritter away his powers...¹⁴

¹⁰ T. Oneill, *Unmentionable*, New York 2016, p. 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹² O.S. Fowler, *Private Lectures on Perfect Men, Women and Children, in Happy Families: Including Gender, Love, Mating, Married Life, and Reproduction, or Paternity, Maternity, Infancy, and Puberty*, New York 1880, p. 67.

¹³ B.G. Jefferis, J.L. Nicholas, *Search Lights on Health: Light on Dark Corners; A Complete Sexual Science and a Guide to Purity and Physical Manhood, Advice to Maiden, Wife, and Mother, Love, Courtship, and Marriage*, Naperville, IL, 1895, p. 78.

¹⁴ G.H. Napheys, *The Physical Life of Woman: Advice to the Maiden, Wife and Mother*, Philadelphia 1888, p. 163.

The likes of Napheys also agree that masturbation can lead to an early death, both in men and women alike.

In 1883 George Hudson publishes *A Marriage Guide for Young Men*. Some of his thoughts are quite appealing and considerate. There are psychological issues aside from the physical pain when marriage is consummated. Because at that very moment the woman actually gives up the last bit of power that gave her an equal footing with her husband:

It will be quite a shock to feminine modesty when she, a pure-minded maiden, shall be called upon to lie down in the same bed with a man. It will seem repulsive at first, because she feels that lying down robs her of her feminine prerogative, and puts her person in the power of another.¹⁵

Of course, Hudson assumes that the woman has absolutely no sexual cravings. That would be truly outlandish. In this context then, what happens in bed when man and woman finally make it there? Robert James Culverwell in 1841 enlightens us:

The male is destined to furnish a peculiar fecundating secretion, and is accordingly provided with glands to prepare such fluid, and a conduit to convey the same to its proper destination; while the female being the recipient, possesses an organ capable of affecting a mysterious yet specific change upon the fluid deposited¹⁶.

After the depositing then everything remains “mysterious”.

Jefferis and Nichols warn not to have sex after a meal, when drunk, after great physical or mental exercise. Furthermore, about once a week is enough.¹⁷

The aforementioned Orson Squire Fowler (1880) tells us that coitus interruptus is a most dangerous sexual practice:

Woman suffers most from this vice, because her organs are adapted to act for a longer period. It provokes in her all diseases of her genital organs, from simple inflammation to the most serious derangements—metritis, tumors, polypi, uterine colics, neurosis, cancers, mammal and ovarian diseases, sterility, etc. When I review all the diseases I have attended, I believe that three-fourths of them were caused by the practice of frauds in sexual intercourse...¹⁸

Jefferis and Nichols (1895) point out that there is absolutely no need for contraception. “Having children under proper circumstances never ruins health or happiness of any woman. In fact, womanhood is incomplete without them. She may have a dozen or more, and still have better health than before marriage”.¹⁹

In the US Anthony Comstock saw to it that Congress in 1873 passed a law named after him that all sexually explicit advertisement and promotions, nudity

¹⁵ G.W. Hudson, *The Marriage Guide for Young Men: A Manual of Courtship and Marriage*, Ellsworth, ME, 1883, p. 212.

¹⁶ R.J. Culverwell, *Medical Counseling, or The Green Book: The Modern Treatment of Syphilis... and All Disease of Urinary and Sexual Organs*, London 1841, p. 74.

¹⁷ T. Oneill, op. cit.

¹⁸ O.S. Fowler, op. cit., p. 201.

¹⁹ B.G. Jefferis, J.L. Nicholas, op. cit., p. 67.

and sex tools, such as condoms could not be sent in the mail—a law that, at least in part, is still with us today.

Finally, the name of John Harvey Kellogg²⁰ has to be mentioned. He is known as the inventor of the famous breakfast cereal [Kellogg’s Frosty Flakes] but in his work as a physician he above all raises the battle cry against masturbation, because it can cause ulceration about the roots of the nails and finger warts, uterine disease, cancer of the womb, sterility and frigidity, menstrual derangements, precocious puberty, prolapsus and various displacements, uncontrollable itching, small breasts, atrophied breasts, spinal conditions, and nervous disorders, even insanity. The latter of course includes hysteria, which encompasses any diseases missed on the preceding list. Hysteria was the women’s disease par excellence in the 19th century, often seen by women as a last escape possibility from their dreary lot.

Appendix: An Excerpt from *Denkschrift über die in Deutschland bestehenden Verhältnisse in Bezug auf das Bordellwesen*

V.										
Nr.	Stadtname (Gemeindegrenze)	Ortsname.	Besteht die Häuser? ?	Woh- nung Zahl? ?	Wievon Minderjährige eingetragen? ?	Bestehen Bordelle? ?	Bestehen Bordellzungen? ?	Erben sie als freie Mietherinnen? oder abhängig von Mätern?	Bestehen Bewohnungen ihrer Zahl in einem Hause? ?	Personliche Bemerkungen.
115	Kaiserslautern 48 510	Spezialort Dr. Zahn	nein			nein	nein	nein	nein	Prostituirte werden überhaupt nicht ge- führt, im Vertheilungsfalle wird sie genötigt, aus der Stadt gewiesen, wird ins (Correctionshaus) Arbeitshaus geschickt. Folge dieses strengen Vorgehens sind Ge- schlechtskrankheiten (frische Injektionen) sehr selten.
116	Karlruhe i. S. 84 080									
	Hattowik 31 745	Stgl. Kreisarzt Dr. Zehroeder	ja	36	von 18 Jahren an	nein	nein	freie Mietherinnen u. in eigen. Wohnungen	nein	
117	Hiel 121 824									
118	Hoblen 39 642									
119	Königsberg i. Pr. 187 897	Stgl. Stab- Dr. Pöbman	ja	200 et.	ja von 18 Jahren	nein	nein, doch dür- fen sie nicht in allen Straßen wohnen	freie Mietherinnen	nein	Von den 200 sind zur Zeit 114 unter- sucht, 86 krank, geirrt und verzogen.
120	Königsbütte C. Zöfel, 58 312	Stamm- u. Polizeiarzt Dr. Zottländer	ja	3-3-4	ja, aber nicht unter 16 Jahren	nein	nein	freie Mietherinnen	nein	
121	Kölsberg 20 418	Stgl. Stab- Dr. Weydenst	ja	4	nein	nein	nein	freie Mietherinnen	nein	
122	Konstanz									
123	Kottbus 39 327	Stgl. Kreisarzt Stgl. Dr. W. Dr. Wleber	ja	14	besteht keine Be- wöhnung. Unter 14 befindet sich über keine	nein	nein	freie Mietherinnen	ja, 1	Es ist verboten, bei einer, der Suspekte verdächtigen Person oder einer solchen, Be- sorgung zu nehmen, die selbst unter stützpo- lyzeilicher Aufsicht steht oder gelanden hat. Die ärztlichen Untersuchungen finden 2mal wöchentlich statt.
124	Krefeld 106 928	Stgl. Kreisarzt Dr. Glaren	ja	60	nein	nein	ja	leben bei älteren Prostitui- erten, Abhängigkeit be- steht nicht	nein	25 bis 30 Prostituirte 3-3 ärztlich unter- sucht, 10 sind befallen sich im Krankenhaus, Arbeitshaus und im Gefängnis.
125	Küstrin									
126	Kunau (Stoll)									
127	Kunau a. B. 33 597	Stgl. Kreisarzt Stgl. Dr. P. Dr. P. Dr. P.	ja	3-6	keine Bewöhnung darüber	nein	nein	freie Mietherinnen	nein	2mal wöchentlich Untersuchung durch Polizei-Ärzt.
128	Kuppen 455 889									
129	Küstrin									
130	Künzberg									
131	Künzberg									
132	Köblitz									
133	Kunauhofen a. Rh. 61 914	Verstücker des Kunauhof. Ärzte- vereins Dr. Pönd	nein			nein	nein	werden offiziell nicht geführt	nein	Wannheim hat sehr viel Bordelle, jedoch hier kein großes Bedürfnis vorhanden sein kann. Hier sind sehr viele Wirtshäuser mit Kellnerinnenbedienung und Zimmerfrauen. Die große Zahl der Polizeiarbeiterinnen ex-

Source: fot. F. König

²⁰ J.H. Kellogg, *Ladies' Guide in Health and Disease: Girlhood, Maidenhood, Wifehood, Motherhood... Illustrated*, Des Moines, IA, 1884.

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