

## INTRODUCTION



# Beginnings, Not Ends

*Kathleen Canning and Jennifer Evans*

In the spirit of feminist scholarship, which seeks to challenge accepted ways of doing things, we opted to write this introduction to *Gender in Germany and Beyond* collaboratively to showcase the impact of Jean Quataert's work on the field of women's and gender history. We come at her oeuvre from very different places in nineteenth- and twentieth-century German history—Kathleen Canning is a specialist in the history of gender, labor, and social movements in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany and of citizenship, democracy, and gender in the Weimar Republic. Jennifer Evans is an historian of late twentieth- and twenty-first-century queer sexuality, visual culture, memory, and populism. What we have in common, with each other and with Quataert herself, is a shared vision of the need for history to serve social change. Accordingly, we trace the arc of Quataert's scholarship from her earliest writings on socialist feminism, initially in Germany and later in comparative European context, then her study of gender and the social structures of production, followed by her pursuit of philanthropy, patriotic women, and the national imagination. In the late 1990s Quataert's scholarly perspective on the history of feminism took a global turn and led over the past decade to a sustained and deep engagement with the history of gender and human rights, including the study of gendered medical services in World War I as part of a transnational humanitarian crusade in the aftermath of the Geneva Convention. As an introduction to the chapters in this volume, that each in different ways take up core themes in Quataert's body of work, we will reflect on the ideas and methods that were most definitive in leaving their impact on the field.

But where to begin? As befitting a work that explores the impact of a feminist scholar in reconceptualizing the memories, actions, and labors that are deemed important to history and historiography, it is interesting to begin by acknowledging that both Canning and Evans have personal as well as intellectual connections to Quataert's first book, *Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885-1917*.<sup>1</sup> Canning purchased a copy

sometime around 1980, a year after its publication. She had just embarked on her master's studies in Heidelberg, with scarcely a female professor, much less a feminist in sight. An acute case of intellectual homesickness brought her back to the United States for a visit, during which time she bought Quataert's book, packed it in her suitcase, and traveled back to Germany to write a master's thesis on socialist and communist women in the Weimar Republic—a topic for which *Reluctant Feminists* provided an unmatched and definitive prehistory. Upon Canning's return to the United States for graduate study at Johns Hopkins, Quataert's monograph was in a box of books that caught the eye of the customs agents at Baltimore Washington International Thurgood Marshall Airport (BWI) when she went to collect the items shipped from Germany. Two customs agents turned that book over again and again, as well as another on Clara Zetkin, while asking the young doctoral aspirant whether she was a socialist or a feminist and what she envisioned doing with all of these subversive books in the United States.

Evans found *Reluctant Feminists* at a similar moment in her intellectual development, when she was researching a master's thesis on Communist women in the 1920s at Simon Fraser University. Her adviser had allowed the project to go forward, although it was by no means his area of expertise or interest. She found intellectual support outside the Department of History, in women's studies, where the chair—a French women's historian—shepherded her through preparations for the defense. For Evans, Quataert's book was iconoclastic. It gave her a language to interrogate and understand the contradictions in the Communist women's lives, as they grappled with women's plight after World War I in a framework that recognized class antagonism over gender trouble. In taking up questions of political organization and citizenship, along gendered lines, the book inspired her to approach Quataert to supervise her PhD dissertation, and make the trek to the United States, where she, too, was stopped at various border crossings and queried about many things, including her intentions, her sexuality, and whether she was taking a spot from an American student.

*Reluctant Feminists* and Quataert's subsequent articles on the shaping and structures of female labor, as well as her study of the emergence of the German welfare state (and the gendered visions of social reform that she identified in social insurance, labor legislation, and the interventions of the factory inspectorate), had a prominent place on Canning's prelims list at Johns Hopkins, where Vernon Lidtke, an avid reader of Quataert's work, nonetheless expressed his skepticism about the future of gender history. He asked whether it might "fizzle out" once we had covered all of the burning topics, thus leaving most of German history's master nar-

ratives, chronologies, and concepts intact. She distinctly remembers that this was a key question he posed after the conference on “The Meaning of Gender in German History,” held in 1986 at Rutgers, which Jane Caplan described as “an act of public conjugation, designed both to present some of the achievements in women’s history, and to invite a broader discussion of the ways in which this might reshape our work in and conceptions of German history.”<sup>2</sup> Caplan’s conference report describes the discussion of Quataert’s work on “the economy and social relations in the Oberlausitz” as a particularly lively session, especially on the issue of how feminist research might “revise our understanding of major historical processes.”<sup>3</sup> This comment captures the complex intellectual setting in which feminist scholars wrote and trained, facing both encouragement and skepticism about the capacity of gender history to change the conceptualization and narration of historical change. On the one hand, senior male historians recognized the critical energy of women’s history, while on the other hand remaining skeptical that this new scholarly initiative would change much in the way of the core narratives, conceptual or chronological tropes, and trajectories of mainstream German history.<sup>4</sup>

Preceding *Reluctant Feminists* by one year, Quataert and Marilyn Boxer’s *Socialist Women* featured essays on the relationship between socialism and feminism in Germany, Russia, Italy, France, and Austria. The analytical verve of both of these books originated in the rapid advance of both labor history and women’s history during the preceding decade. As the editors noted in their introduction to *Socialist Women*, both fields had thus far “ignored the conjuncture between the two historical moments.” Labor historians had tended to view “socialist women as carbon copies of male workers and failed to grasp the pervasive feminist component”<sup>5</sup> in their struggles, while women’s historians had focused mainly on middle-class feminists active in the Anglo-American world. These two works, then, represented path-breaking new scholarship on working-class women and their “feminist” struggles in continental Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Taking a wide view of socialism, encompassing both socialist parties and unions, Quataert and Boxer cast feminism as an analytical category that conflicted in some instances sharply with the self-designation of socialist women activists. Feminism encompassed “all of those who supported express efforts to ameliorate the conditions of women through public organized activity, be it for educational, legal, political, economic, or social purposes.”<sup>6</sup> Women leaders of the German socialist movement embraced what Quataert terms a “verbal tactic” to dissociate themselves from bourgeois feminism by disavowing, even scorning the term *Frauenrechtlerinnen* (women’s rights advocates).<sup>7</sup> At times reluctant feminists

even had to constrain feminist pressure on the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) or unions in the interest of proletarian unity. Conditional, ambivalent feminism was, as Quataert argues in her conclusion, “the implicit condition for effective participation in the socialist world,” particularly after the repeal of the Prussian Law on Association in 1908 that allowed women to become formal party members.<sup>8</sup> Yet the imperative of designating socialist German women as “feminist”—despite the disavowal of this term by the historical actors under study here—was in part necessitated by the crucial distinction Quataert made between bourgeois feminism that had thus far dominated European historiography and the thus far less visible socialist women’s movement. As such, Quataert’s early scholarship approached socialist feminism as a distinctive ideology and practice that encompassed “women who saw the root of sexual oppression in the existence of private property and who envisioned a radically transformed society in which man would exploit neither man nor woman.” Theirs was a movement “for radical reconstruction” and socialist feminists were convinced of the possibility of realizing their goals fully and finally in the new society.<sup>9</sup> This early articulation of feminist methodology around how to approach a gulf between the self-naming of historical subjects and the analytical categories we adopt in interpreting and situating their actions remains relevant for students of feminist history today.

It is not insignificant that Quataert used the categories of sex and class to delineate this tension, which also headline the field-defining 1983 volume *Sex and Class in Women’s History*, edited by Judith Newton, Mary Ryan, and Judith Walkowitz. This was an intriguingly rich analytical vocabulary, one in which sex encompassed both gender and sexuality. At the time, “sex and class” did much of the same interpretive work of “gender” and sometimes even appeared interchangeably.<sup>10</sup> As we see in the language of the editors’ introduction: “we employ gender as a category of historical analysis and in so doing, we try to determine and to understand the systematic ways in which sex differences have cut through society and culture and in the process have conferred inequality upon women.”<sup>11</sup> Looking back, sexuality remained an ambivalent presence in the initial shift to gender history.<sup>12</sup> So, for example, Quataert’s study highlighted the terrain for conflict between theory and practice, ideology and reality, in socialist feminism. These conflicts produced uneasy alliances as well as strategic subordination of feminists on issues of the family: socialist feminist leaders often refrained from or openly repressed attention to sexual rights, pleasures, regulation, and exploitation, as well as reproductive sexuality (birth control and abortion), which would preoccupy feminists of all hues—and their critics—during the 1920s.

Like much of the work on gender and sexuality, frequently pigeonholed as narrow and discreetly related to select themes, *Reluctant Feminists* is a political and intellectual history of the driving concepts, theory, and ideologies that defined and mobilized German feminist socialism. It is also a social history of politicization—of the transformations and conflicts over political consciousness and practice—that is embedded in Quataert’s deep understanding of the changing structures and ideologies of women’s industrial labor.<sup>13</sup> Although she refers to her first book as a “working-class history from above,” rereading it from a present-day methodological standpoint, Quataert attends to the theoretical debates within German socialist feminism, while also viewing them as a “product of the experiences of women leaders operating in the political arena of Imperial Germany.”<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Quataert offers insights into the subjectivities fostered within socialist subcultures, noting the “psychic and material protection” offered to its members, the ways in which the wider arenas of socialist sociability provided a reprieve from “the hardships of life,” widening consciousness while “instilling new values through socialist newspapers, books, theaters, libraries and educational courses.” In her reading, the socialist women’s movement “was a symbol of change and a challenge to traditional relationships” that gave “graphic testimony to the fact that socialism was an alternative image of life, values, and human relations.”<sup>15</sup>

Here, Quataert offers a comment not just on German social democracy but on the power and potential of feminist history-writing for how we choose to narrate our stories and how we conclude them—with an eye to the historical outcomes and legacies the socialist feminist movement fostered. The premise of *Reluctant Feminists* is the obvious success of the German socialist women’s movement, based on its numerical strength (by comparison with parallel movements in France, Britain, Italy, and Russia). Quataert’s analysis also reveals the extraordinary political and theoretical imagination of its eight leading figures between 1885 and 1917. Yet *Reluctant Feminists* is also a story of unresolved conflict and of the ultimate failure of synthesis between socialism and feminism whereby their embrace of radicalism left most German socialist women reluctant to embrace (feminist) initiatives that favored women’s interests over those of working-class struggles. The most poignant example of this conflict is perhaps the birth control/birth strike debate of 1912–13. Socialist feminists could scarcely overlook the disciplinary and punitive attempts of the state to prevent the advertisement and sale of contraceptives in the face of a declining birth rate; it was relatively easy to expose and oppose such government measures. Even if they could widely acknowledge the widespread use of birth control by rank-and-file members of the socialist

women's movement, the idea of a birth strike, proposed by socialist doctors Bernstein and Moses as a means of ameliorating the material burdens on working-class women's bodies and the material life of their families, went too far for radical socialist feminists Clara Zetkin and Luise Zietz. The vehement debate that filled a hall in 1913 in Berlin-Neukölln saw these same leaders favor the interests of class and party over the demands of rank-and-file women to be released from the compulsion to bear children *Gebärzwang* (literally translated as "forced birthing").<sup>16</sup>

Quataert's study concludes without resolution: in fact, the socialist women's movement, like the broader Social Democratic Party, split in two in 1917 and again in December 1918 with the emergence of the Communist Party as well as the two (or three) groups of socialist feminists, now all proclaimed citizens through the Revolution of 1918–19. Even as new citizens, however, they remained divided over the life-and-death question of the form of political representation—suffrage versus the revolutionary councils as a new form of governance.<sup>17</sup> At the time of its publication, it was easy to conclude that—in the face of this continued division—"the socialist women's movement had only a minor impact on the German working class in general,"<sup>18</sup> not least because the socialist feminist movement failed to win over the mass of working-class women at this critical moment. Yet we might be tempted today to rewrite this conclusion by pointing to the fact that the declaration of equal suffrage as the first public proclamation of a revolution, *and* as the founding act of Weimar democracy, is unthinkable without the decades of theoretical and practical work of German socialist feminists. Nor can we imagine the particular shape of Weimar democracy, which elevated socialist and bourgeois women, side by side, to stewardship of an expanded welfare state, without this history of socialist feminist claims to participatory citizenship. In a *Journal of Modern History* review essay, Quataert made this point quite clearly: "As constituent elements of the Left, the ideologies of socialism and feminism met on the political terrain of democratic reforms and civic equality."<sup>19</sup>

Lurking in this presumption of modest or failed impact is that sense described at the outset of this introduction that the studies of gender or sexuality only matter when and where they have a transformative effect, challenging master narratives, mainstream history, established chronologies and causalities instead of simply making a good, strong contribution to the field in its own right. One lesson or legacy of *Reluctant Feminists* is that we should continue to approach the ground of feminist history, whether of gender, sexuality, or the body, through the lens of tension, ambivalences, and lack of resolution. We should resist the need for closure or measurable impact (ruptures, reversals, returns), by which history

lives up to its deepest causal expectation, one that also considers impact measurable only when it is transformative of something larger than itself.<sup>20</sup>

Quataert is also a foremost historian of what might best be termed the “gendered social” long before the cultural turn cast doubt on and effectively displaced the central category of the “social.”<sup>21</sup> The recent reinvigoration of the social directs attention back to a domain that emerged through the combined practices of identification, imagination, and intervention that aimed to secure social reproduction, not least of laboring bodies and capacities. Quataert’s collection of articles, not least her prize-winning *American Historical Review* article from 1985, “The Shaping of Women’s Work in Manufacturing,” on women, labor, social reform, and the emergent social state highlight the changing meanings of the “social question” over the nineteenth century, extending the lens back to the seventeenth century, with a richly detailed analysis of hitherto unused sources. Suggesting that critical theory had lost track of its long-standing social dimension, literary critic Judith Butler calls for a “reanimation of the social,” not least as a category that “opens up a certain notion of transformation” and that allows us “to perceive social structure as contingently organized and capable of transformation.”<sup>22</sup> Here, too, Quataert’s astute analyses of the long history of the gendered German welfare state suggest ways her work was consistently *avant la lettre*. Her signature, prize-winning article in *Central European History* on the factory inspectorate and reprinted in John Fout’s collection on *German Women in the Nineteenth Century*, delved deeply into gendered state formation, forging crucial links between the histories of labor, family, and state welfare that most German historians at the time had scarcely investigated. The scope, creativity, and archival depth of her first decade of scholarly production distinguished these articles and made her the most influential German feminist labor historian working in English at the time.

Quataert’s article on proto-industrialization, collective action, and manufacturing offers remarkable insight into the relationship between and among cloth (linen and wool) production in guilds, households, and the manufacturing workshops that began to serve more distant markets. If in her work, forms of labor were the ground of the social, their transformation prompted nothing less than the expansion of the regulatory and governmental capacity of the state in place of the weakening guilds. She charts none other than the emergence of the ready-made garment industry from this longer-term process of restructuring production, encompassing conflict over looms and wheels, wages and skills, as well rising consumer desires for new clothing styles and fabrics. Quataert’s notion of the social encompassed production and consumption, labor, and the emergent regulatory state, as well as the day-to-day negotiations and divi-

sions of labor within manufacturing households, which remarkably, as she herself argued, left women's work unrecognized and unmarked as labor in the sense of state regulation or social insurance. Inspired by the materially grounded historical work of E. P. Thompson and ethnographies of class formation and identity, she made the case for more attention to linkages between intimate matters of the home, family, and work, articulating a methodology for rendering visible women's emergent political consciousness. Simply put, "women (in the Oberlausitz) exercised power and exerted influence—the very stuff of which politics generally is made."<sup>23</sup>

It was in this early corpus that Quataert also demonstrated an acumen for weaving together diverse and varied sources, from personal letters to factory reports and petitions to court case files. She made the Prussian factory inspectorate come alive as multisided, complex historical actors instead of faceless bureaucrats. She revealed their capacities as ethnographers of the workplace, whose observations from the shop floor became the raw material for the German social reform imagination and for specific reforms of the labor codes. These fascinating mediators of labor and lifeworlds reshaped both moral and material conditions of labor—often to the dismay of factory owners—exposing, for example, sexual abuse on the part of foremen and prescribing changes to the physical plant of the mills (ventilation, lunchrooms, overtime), while at the same time seeking to impose bourgeois codes of comportment on teenage and female workers. She also discovered those rare female ethnographers of female industrial labor, students of Weber and Schmoller's sociology whose disciplined social gaze was inflected by gender in fascinating ways.<sup>24</sup>

Jean Quataert's legacy is to have given us deeply grounded archival research, framed by sharp probing of analytical concepts and historical processes—from socialist feminism to the formation of state and social, to the forms of social investigation and labor regulation that were definitive of the German welfare state, to the gendered structures, sites, and experiences of labor. It is evident in several of the chapters in this volume by her former students, the importance she placed on archivally driven research into the intersections between personal experience and the regulation of the state. During the 1990s she widened her geographic scope considerably beyond German-speaking Europe through her coeditorship of a special issue of *Gender & History* on "Gendered Colonialisms in African History" with Nancy Rose Hunt and Tessie Liu. Quataert collaborated again with Marilyn Boxer in producing the ground-laying transnational history of women and gender, *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present* (1999), a significant expansion and revision of the earlier *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World*



(1987). She would go on to establish a global history course at Binghamton University, out of which later sprang courses in human rights. In the meantime, while this interest in the global dimension of feminist activism and social organization was taking root, Quataert produced a second monograph that explored women's complex place in nineteenth-century Germany from a radically different vantage point, namely through the work of patriotic women loyal to crown and country. *Staging Philanthropy* saw Quataert engage more fulsomely with anthropological approaches to memory, identity, ritual, and performance. At stake was no less a rewriting of the history of the Kaiserreich. Although patriotic masculinity, national belonging, and sacrifice have been accorded a central place in German nationalism and modernity, Quataert offered an especially novel approach to analyzing patriotism through the prism of elite women whose caring, volunteerism, and sacrifice helped forge first an empire and then a nation.<sup>25</sup>

It was at this point in her career that Jean Quataert turned away from the history of the nation toward a more transnational view of feminist organizing, which married her interest in activist scholarship with the real world and advanced her evidence-based approaches to the history of gender disenfranchisement, racial inequality, and articulations of resilience. A focus on human rights became a way for her to tap back into her earlier work on politicization, work, family life, and gendered organizing. As is her stock in trade, she took up the challenge with verve, writing *Advocating Dignity* (2009) against the emerging orthodoxy that periodized human rights and humanitarianism as linked to the post-1945 moment, critiquing the focus of that orthodoxy on the new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s while effacing the global history of feminist and anti-racist organizing.<sup>26</sup> Running parallel was a decade of fruitful collaborations with colleagues at Binghamton University, including Elisa Camiscioli and Leigh Ann Wheeler, shepherding new research into the pages of the *Journal of Women's History* while also serving as coeditor of *The Routledge History of Human Rights* (2019) with Lora Wildenthal.<sup>27</sup>

In this volume, former students, colleagues, and collaborators have come together to celebrate the numerous ways in which Jean Quataert's research and mentorship has shaped and reshaped the field of modern German, European, women's, and transnational history. The result of this lifetime of activist history-writing has yielded tremendous and long-lasting results. When measured against the impact it has had on individual, scholarly lives, Jean Quataert's scholarship wedged open a space for trenchant histories of gender, war, and social movements at a time

when the fight within programs and departments was very real, as we suggested at the outset of this chapter. The cumulative outcomes constitute a bounty of riches, including new writing on the history of German colonialism and women's colonial leagues, recast study of the tensions in late Weimar socialism, the complexities of turn of the century gay and lesbian rights organizing, the regulation of girlhood in Weimar Germany, and the spatial rebuilding of post–World War II Berlin and Frankfurt.<sup>28</sup> Less well known are the supervisions Quataert undertook after her much beloved husband Don's passing in 2011 of PhD students at Binghamton completing doctorates in Turkish social and gender history. Jean Quataert has been a guiding force for a full three generations of feminist scholars, many of whom have contributed to this volume.

In the spirit, then, of feminist scholarly writing, of making the intangible, personal impact explicit in how we shape our field of inquiry, which has the necessary effect of challenging often exclusionary logics of convention, the volume includes an interview conducted by Lora Wildenthal. Additionally, the chapters in this volume take up several distinct themes. The purpose of pulling them together was not to interact with Quataert's core conceptual ideas. Rather, it was to allow her former students, colleagues, and friends the opportunity to illustrate—by doing—how her scholarship has broadened the field of German gender history but also the study of global consciousness of race, human rights, social organizations and networks, memory, performance, and identity.

Jean Quataert was always a pioneer. She was one of the first of her generation hired explicitly for a position in women's studies and later in the field of women's history. She conducted primary source research into nineteenth-century labor practices in regional archives in the German Democratic Republic, at a time when access was by no means guaranteed. She argued vociferously that analyses of total war must engage the question of gender, sacrifice, and the home front. From her prize-winning articles on proto-industrialization to her analysis of female citizenship through philanthropy and later advocacy of transnational histories of human rights, Quataert has spent a lifetime encouraging students and colleagues alike to broaden how we write, teach, and conceptualize the historical agency of everyday people. In this volume, we explore the common thread that Jean Quataert has woven throughout her career: the historical is political. Pushing for new frameworks of intellectual work as a form of social action, Jean Quataert has always challenged her readers, colleagues, and students to reach beyond accepted boundaries. The volume ends with a set of reflections for how we might imagine new beginnings, buoyed by the legacy of a feminist scholar whose tireless historical interventions allowed many new perspectives to thrive.

**Kathleen Canning** is dean of the School of Humanities and Andrew W. Mellon Professor of History at Rice University. She was previously Sonya O. Rose Collegiate Professor of History and Arthur F. Thurnau Professor of History, Women's Studies, and German at the University of Michigan. She is the author of *Languages of Labor and Gender* and *Gender History in Practice* (Cornell University Press, 2006). She is a coeditor of *Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects: Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s* (Berghahn Books, 2010). Her most recent work is on citizenship, gender, and democracy in the aftermath of World War I.

**Jennifer Evans** is professor of European history at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. She writes about German and transnational histories of sexuality, visual culture, social media, and memory. She is the author of *Life Among the Ruins. Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and *The Queer Art of History: Queer Kinship after Fascism* (Duke University Press, 2023). Alongside her academic writing, she undertakes collaborative digital projects like the New Fascism Syllabus and the German Studies Collaboratory.<sup>29</sup>

## Notes

1. This introduction builds on the keynote address given by Kathleen Canning at Jean Quataert's Retirement Symposium on 15 September 2017 in Binghamton, New York. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists*.
2. Caplan, "The Meaning of Gender in German History Rutgers University, 25–27 April 1986," 36.
3. Caplan, "The Meaning of Gender in German History Rutgers University, 25–27 April 1986," 37.
4. For overviews of the changing field of gender studies in German history, see Canning, *Gender History in Practice*; Quataert and Hagemann, ed., *Gendering Modern German History*; Hagemann and Harsch, "Gendering Central European History," 114–27; and Hagemann, Harsch, and Bruhofener, eds., *Gendering Post-1945 German History*.
5. Boxer and Quataert, *Socialist Women*, 3.
6. Boxer and Quataert, *Socialist Women*, 6.
7. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists*, 11.
8. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists*, 231.
9. Boxer and Quataert, *Socialist Women*, 6.
10. When gender did break away from sex some years later, many feminist historians embraced it as an analytical rupture and liberation.
11. Newton, Ryan, and Walkowitz, *Sex and Class in Women's History*, 1.
12. Even Joan Scott uses sex as a foil in her discussion of the importance of gender as connoting power relations within socially constructed institutions within society. See Scott, "Gender," 1053–75.

13. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists*, 7.
14. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists*, 14 and 232.
15. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists*, 5.
16. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists*, 97–99.
17. Canning, *Gender History in Practice*.
18. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists*, 219.
19. Canning, Barndt, and McGuire, eds., *Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects*; Leng, *Sexual Politics and Feminist Science Women Sexologists in Germany, 1900–1933*; Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*.
20. This is the spirit animating Jennifer Evans’s commentary in the special issue of Queering German history. See Evans, “Introduction,” 371–84.
21. Bonnell, Hunt, and Biernacki, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*.
22. Butler, “Reanimating the Social,” 47–77.
23. Quataert, “The Politics of Rural Industrialization,” 94. See also Quataert, “Social Insurance.”
24. Quataert, “A Source Analysis in German Women’s History,” 99–121.
25. Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy*. For the history of masculinity and patriotism, see Hagemann, “Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre”; and Hagemann, *Revisiting Prussia’s Wars against Napoleon*.
26. Quataert, *Advocating Dignity*; Moyn, *The Last Utopia Human Rights in History*; Moyn, *Christian Human Rights*.
27. Quataert and Wildenthal, eds., *Routledge History of Human Rights*.
28. Orosz, *Religious Conflict*; O’Donnell, Bridenthal, and Reagin, *The Heimat Abroad*; O’Donnell, “French and German Women’s Colonial Settlement Movements, 1896–1904,” 92–110; Ritzheimer, “Trash,” *Censorship, and National Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Germany*; Evans, *Life among the Ruins*; Smaldone, *Confronting Hitler*; Rose, “Bertha von Suttner’s Die Waffen nieder! and the Gender of German Pacifism”; and “Place and Politics at the Frankfurt Paulskirche after 1945,” *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 1 (January 2016): 145–61.
29. See more at [www.NewFascismSyllabus.com](http://www.NewFascismSyllabus.com) and [www.GermanStudiesCollaboratory.org](http://www.GermanStudiesCollaboratory.org)

## Bibliography

- Bonnell, Victoria E., Lynn Avery Hunt, and Richard Biernacki. *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture. Studies on the History of Society and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Boxer, Marilyn J., and Jean H. Quataert. *Socialist Women: European Socialist Feminism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Elsevier, 1978.
- Butler, Judith. “Reanimating the Social.” In *The Future of Social Theory*, edited by Nicholas Gane, 47–77. London: Continuum, 2004.
- Canning, Kathleen. *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Canning, Kathleen, Kerstin Barndt, and Kristin McGuire, eds. *Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects: Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s*. New York: Berghahn, 2010.

- Caplan, Jane. "The Meaning of Gender in German History Rutgers University, 25–27 April 1986." *German History* 4, no. 1 (1987): 36–38.
- Evans, Jennifer V. *Life among the Ruins: Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- . "Introduction: Why Queer German History?" *German History* 34, no. 3 (1 September 2016): 371–84.
- Grossmann, Atina. *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Hagemann, Karen. *"Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ebre": Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preussens*. Paderborn: Brill, 2002.
- . *Revisiting Prussia's Wars against Napoleon: History, Culture, and Memory*, trans. Pamela Selwyn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Hagemann, Karen, and Donna Harsch. "Gendering Central European History: Changing Representations of Women and Gender in Comparison, 1968–2017." *Central European History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 114–27.
- Hagemann, Karen, Donna Harsch, and Friederike Bruhofener, eds. *Gendering Post-1945 German History: Entanglements*. New York: Berghahn, 2019.
- Leng, Kirsten. *Sexual Politics and Feminist Science Women Sexologists in Germany, 1900–1933*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017.
- Moyn, Samuel. *The Last Utopia Human Rights in History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- . *Christian Human Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Newton, Judith L., and Mary P. Ryan, and Judith R. Walkowitz. *Sex and Class in Women's History: Essays from Feminist Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Orosz, Kenneth. *Religious Conflict and the Evolution of Language Policy in German and French Cameroon, 1885-1939*. New York: Peter Lang, 2008.
- O'Donnell, Krista, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Ruth Reagin. *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- . "French and German Women's Colonial Settlement Movements, 1896–1904." *Historical Reflections* 40, no. 1 (2014): 92–110.
- Quataert, Jean H. *Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885-1917*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- . "The Politics of Rural Industrialization: Class, Gender, and Collective Protest in the Saxon Oberlausitz of the Late Nineteenth Century." *Central European History* 20, no. 2 (1987): 94.
- . "Social Insurance and the Family Work of Female Oberlausitz Home Weavers in the Late 19th Century." In John C. Fout, *German Women in the 19th Century*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984.
- . "A Source Analysis in German Women's History: Factory Inspectors' Reports and the Shaping of Working-Class Lives, 1878-1914." *Central European History* 16, no. 2 (1983): 99–121.
- . *Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813-1916*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- . *Advocating Dignity: Human Rights Mobilizations in Global Politics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- Quataert, Jean H., and Karen Hagemann, ed. *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography*. New York: Berghahn, 2007.

- Quataert, Jean H., and Lora Wildenthal, eds., *The Routledge History of Human Rights*. New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Ritzheimer, Kara. *"Trash," Censorship, and National Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press 2019.
- Rose, Shelley E. "Place and Politics at the Frankfurt Paulskirche after 1945." *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 1 (January 2016): 145–61.
- . "Bertha von Suttner's Die Waffen nieder! and the Gender of German Pacifism." In *Women Writing War: From German Colonialism through World War I*, edited by Katharina von Hammerstein, Julie Shoults, and Barbara Kosta. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.
- Scott, Joan W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75.
- Smaldone, William. *Confronting Hitler: German Social Democrats in Defense of the Weimar Republic, 1929-1933*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009.