

“THE MASCULINIZATION OF WOMAN”



The de-womanization of woman—her emergence from the realm of the four big “Ks”—children, kitchen, cellar, church [*Kinder, Küche, Keller, Kirche*—is a worldwide phenomenon. . . . [T]his is the New Woman, who on both sides of the Atlantic has ordered herself to appear hiplessly thin and lithe, and who, with her short hair and long strides, in both the Old World and the New, seeks to resemble a boy.

Rudolph Stratz, *Die Woche*, 7 February 1925

The masculinization of woman displaces masculinity, and the weak strong sex stands baffled in the face of this ambush.

Anita Daniel, *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, 31 August 1924

The “masculinization of woman” (*Vermännlichung der Frau*) was central to representations of the changing female ideal in post–World War I Germany. Indeed, so often were variations on this phrase cited in the 1920s popular media that it is safe to assume that it was a cliché that had burned itself well into the national psyche. A cartoon published in the satirical journal *Simplicissimus* in 1925, at a point when anxieties about gender merging and female masculinization were reaching a climax, exemplifies this phenomenon. Entitled “Lotte at the Crossroads,” it depicts a slender, short-haired woman in masculine jacket and tie, one hand holding a cigarette and the other in her pocket, as she ponders whether to enter the toilet door designated “For Ladies” or “For Gentlemen” (see Figure I.1). By inviting readers to ridicule Lotte’s masculine attire, her emulation of

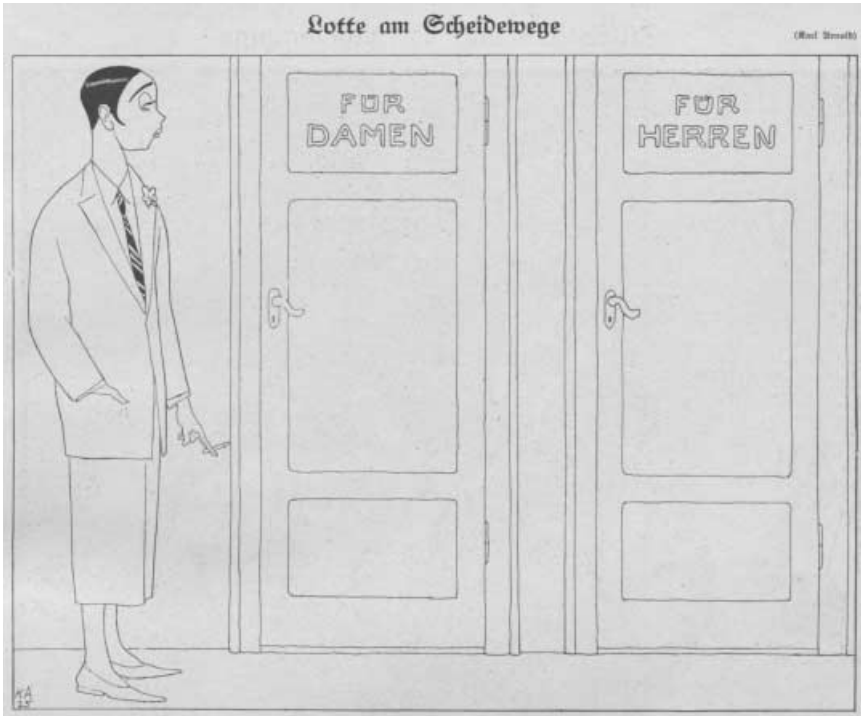


Figure I.1. “Lotte at the Crossroads.” *Simplicissimus*, 4 May 1925, 79.

Source: BPK Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte

masculine gestures and habits, and her inability to pass this most fundamental of gender “tests,” this image points effectively to the perceived cultural threat posed by the masculine “New Woman” of interwar Germany.

While some commentators used the symbolic power of this figure in her short skirt and pageboy haircut to enthuse about women’s entrance into nontraditional, “masculine” fields of work, leisure, or consumption, by more conservative commentators she was held up as a threat to, and a warning against deviating too far away from, traditional ideas about men’s and women’s roles. Such conflicting accounts fed into wider debates concerning the state of Western civilization and the health and fertility of the German “race” following the rupture and trauma of the war, with commentators delighting in contrasting the traditional, maternal or virginal woman of the Wilhelmine era with the masculinized, selfish, sexually liberated, and overtly nonreproductive woman of the present. Precisely because of the flexibility and currency of gender as a signifier of social arrangements and hierarchies, the masculinization of women provided 1920s German audiences with a means not only of charting social change, but of reimposing traditional societal norms.

The New Woman and the anxieties she came to symbolize were hardly unique to Germany in the 1920s. A host of studies published in recent decades confirms that this interwar female “type” could be found everywhere from Europe to North America, and from Australia to Japan. Yet despite a relative unity of appearance—the short *Bubikopf* haircut favored by 1920s German women was said, for example, to have originated in Paris, while fashions such as straight-waisted dresses and tuxedo jackets were popular on both sides of the Atlantic—nationally specific factors and experiences led to vastly different interpretations of this figure in different cultural contexts. Thus Mary Louise Roberts emphasizes the devastation of World War I in her study of women in 1920s France, Liz Conor thematizes colonialist interactions with indigenous populations in her study of the Modern Girl in the Australian media, and the late nineteenth-century feminist movement is central to both Carroll Smith-Rosenberg’s and Laura Behling’s studies of the new or “masculine” woman in North America.¹

This volume contributes to this growing body of research with a close examination of the German context, and differs from existing analyses of the New Woman and gender relations in Weimar Germany in two major ways. Firstly, it is the only study to engage in a sustained way with discourses of the “masculinization” of the modern woman, which cultural histories of this period frequently mention but rarely examine in detail. This focus is informed by Judith Halberstam’s study of “female masculinity,” in which she articulates the analytical advantages of examining masculinity separate from its supposedly “natural” location, the male body.² Secondly, this study redresses the marginalization of nonheterosexual women and genders within research on interwar Germany, where “queer” genders and sexualities have all too often been relegated to separate—albeit pioneering—studies focusing exclusively on homosexual subcultures or texts. By contrasting mainstream representations of gender circulating in 1920s German popular culture with depictions of bodies and relationships that did not conform to societal norms of binary gender or heterosexuality, this book sheds light on the breadth and complexity of female masculinities circulating within Weimar society.

Germany in 1925 was a nation slowly and bitterly coming to terms with its defeat in World War I and the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Versailles, a society experimenting with its first attempt at political democracy, plagued by ongoing economic and political insecurities, including the revolutionary unrest of 1918/19 and the hyperinflation of 1923, and facing unprecedented levels of social, cultural, and demographic transformation. Conservative forces saw the newly formed republic and its constitution as symptomatic of national decline, and although anxieties about national weakness and sterility also resonated in other national contexts at this period, in Germany this crisis of masculinity acquired particular intensity following the war defeat. With millions of men dead and millions more wounded or suffering from mental illness, “(e)ven where men’s

bodies remained intact—and the injuries inflicted by the new technology were appalling—male gender identity was in tatters.”³ With so many men unfit to carry out their patriarchal duties as fathers and husbands, concerns about Germany’s emasculated manhood and uncertain reproductive future were compounded by women’s increasing movement into social and political life.

After the war, young women and men began to swarm from the provinces to the cities in search of work, many of them joining the expanding ranks of white-collar clerical and service sector workers theorized by Siegfried Kracauer in his 1929 study *Die Angestellten* (The Salaried Masses).⁴ This demographic shift formed part of Germany’s much larger transformation into an industrialized, rationalized, technologized, and consumer-based economy, rapidly replacing the pre-capitalist, agricultural structures of the prewar era. Enjoying an increase in leisure time within this newly rationalized economy, many Germans turned to new forms of recreational activity that would enable them to forget the horrors of war and celebrate their newfound consumer freedoms. Jazz dances, the cinema, five o’clock teas, radio, popular magazines, and mass sporting events came to characterize the “Golden Twenties,” as did the stern, modernist lines of the Bauhaus design school, the pragmatic, unsentimental tones of the New Objectivity movement in literature, theater, and film, or the paintings of Otto Dix and George Grosz of a decadent and sexualized Berlin metropolis. Even though many of these cultural products remained out of reach for large sections of the population, who struggled on a daily basis with unemployment, poverty, and domestic responsibilities, such images continue to dominate cultural histories of the Weimar period. And no other figure has been seen to more closely embody the spirit and adventurousness of this new era than the sexually and financially independent New Woman in her tailored suits and *Bubikopf* crop. From images of Marlene Dietrich in top hat and tails to the Taylorized synchronicity of mass female dance troupes such as the Tiller Girls, from female aviators flying solo around the world to the masses of young women workers streaming along the streets of the metropolis, this new female “type” occupies a crucial place in popular imaginings of pre-Nazi Germany.

Yet it is important to ask just who this “New” woman was, and to what extent she reflected the reality of German women’s lives at this time. Certainly, women were participating in unprecedented numbers in the new, rationalized economies of work and leisure as employees, consumers, social commentators, authors, actors, and artists. Historians of Weimar women’s work have shown, however, that despite widespread concerns that women (and especially married women) were taking men’s jobs, the rationalization of the workplace did not greatly increase their *overall* presence in the paid labor force, which remained at just over a third of the female population, and that women’s involvement in wartime industries was followed by attempts to restore prewar gender roles. Despite formal political advancements, therefore, many women’s experiences continued to be defined

primarily by domestic responsibilities and constrained by assumptions based on class, race, marital status, and age. Perceptions of changing gender roles in society, then, may well have had more to do with the increasing *visibility* of women in the workplace than a marked increase in participation: in the reorganized labor market of the post–World War I era, women’s jobs became a more distinct and socially visible category as many women moved from domestic and agricultural work in the provinces to industrial and white-collar jobs in the cities.⁵

Employment conditions were not the only factors prompting a review of women’s role in interwar German society. Other hotly discussed issues included the “surplus” of women of marriageable age as a result of the high numbers of male war casualties, which increased the necessity of self-subsistence even among women who might have otherwise chosen traditional family forms; the declining birth rate and high number of abortions, both of which were frequently interpreted in the Weimar media as evidence of women’s rejection of marriage and family; the entrance of small numbers of women into the universities and professions such as law and medicine; and an increasingly visible homosexual presence and subculture, particularly in the Berlin metropolis, the center of the world’s first organized homosexual emancipation movement. Formal political gains also played an important role, with female suffrage and women’s equality with men enshrined in the Constitution of 1919. This extension of democratic citizenship rights to women, which prompted unprecedented female political involvement and identification, particularly in the early years following the war, helps to mark the birth of the Weimar Republic as “a rupture in the history of both German civil society and German gender relations.”⁶

In the wake of such achievements, the bourgeois feminist movement of the late nineteenth century had become a relatively weak political force by the 1920s, its “bluestocking” members generally portrayed in the contemporary press as dowdy, elitist, man-hating spinsters who had been all but replaced by the mass phenomenon of the cosmopolitan postwar “New” woman.⁷ Yet older feminist discourses, as well as stereotypes of female emancipists, continued to feed into 1920s representations of women in important ways. In particular, Weimar-era discussions of women’s “masculinization” often drew on older associations between feminism and sex-gender “inversion,” or the sexological idea of a “third sex,” discussed below. Furthermore, certain aspects of the women’s rights cause were taken up by other groups at this period with new vigor. The Sex Reform movement, for example, was active in the publication of “enlightenment literature” (*Aufklärungsliteratur*) promoting contraception and sexual satisfaction for young married couples. Meanwhile, socialist feminists championed issues that were seen to particularly oppress working-class women, including access to safe and legal abortion as well as relationship forms such as “companionate marriage” that resisted patriarchal and capitalist hierarchies and soon enjoyed considerable popularity among the youth of the new republic.⁸

Typologies of the Weimar New Woman

Even though the masculine woman dominated much Weimar commentary on women and gender roles, she was not always synonymous with the “New” woman, who was rarely understood as a single or homogenous “type.” In fact, scholars agree that the New Woman was a remarkably diverse signifier who could be positioned as anything from rationalized worker to housewife, “new” mother to consumer, Olympic athlete to female *flâneur*: “This New Woman was not merely a media myth or a demographer’s paranoid fantasy, but a social reality. . . . She existed in office and factory, bedroom and kitchen, just as surely as in café, cabaret and film.”⁹ The factor unifying the multiple and often contradictory accounts of this cultural phenomenon is her role as a symbol of transformation and rupture: she represented a “crisis” in gender roles that was, in turn, a response to the “shock of modernity.”¹⁰

The 1920s German media reflects a population seeking ways to reinstate a sense of order in their rapidly changing and often apparently incoherent society, and Lynne Frame has shown that detailed systems of categorization played an important role in this process. In particular, she demonstrates how the appearance and lifestyle of the New Woman constituted a favorite subject of this taxonomizing impulse, serving “as a barometer of modern society, its progress and its discontents.”¹¹ Accordingly, a newspaper article published in 1927 delineated three key female types: the Germanic “Gretchen” with her long, virginal braid, the youthful and Americanized “Girl,” whose carefree, athletic typecasting made her the German equivalent of the sporty Anglo-American flapper, and the cosmopolitan, boyish, and sharply dressed “Garçonne.” Although media reports suggest that the Girl was the most numerous social type, her popularity linked to that of dancing troupes such as the Tiller Girls, it was the Garçonne who was seen to represent the most masculine and historically advanced form of female development, with a sexual and intellectual potency that “often gives rise to conflict. . . . Uniting a sporting, comradely male entrepreneurial sense with heroic, feminine devotion, this synthesis—if successful—often makes her so superior to the man she loves that she becomes troublesome.”¹² Other prominent female types in the German media of this period include the tragic proletarian mother of communist publications, the athletic “Sportsgirl,” the upper-class “English girl,” and the sexually dangerous and vehemently nonreproductive “vamp” or *femme fatale*, exemplified in contemporary film roles such as Louise Brooks’s Lulu in *Die Büchse der Pandora* (Pandora’s Box, dir. G. W. Pabst, 1929), or Marlene Dietrich’s man-eating Lola Lola in Josef von Sternberg’s *Der blaue Engel* (The Blue Angel, 1930).

Throughout this study, it will be essential to distinguish between the symbolic role of such gendered types and their mediated relationship to real bodies and people, as I examine how discourses surrounding the “masculinization” of

women were employed by Weimar commentators as both metaphor for and mirror of social change. Thus the first chapter on women's fashions shows that toward the end of the Weimar era the sexually naïve Gretchen type was increasingly pitted against the cosmopolitan Garçonne in debates about "ideal" womanhood. Whereas the Gretchen stereotype came to symbolize all-German, anti-industrialist, and anti-republic sentiments, the masculinized Garçonne, named after a 1922 novel by French author Victor Margueritte, represented the epitome of not only modern womanhood but modern, industrialized society—a product of the social and gender role changes set in train by the war. As one commentator observed: "(I)t was the war that brought about, unnoticed at first, the birth of the Garçonne type. The woman on the battlefield, who put on a uniform and cut off her hair, was the first to want to share not only the fate, but also the appearance of men."¹³ In the early to mid 1920s, the Garçonne featured in the Weimar media as a modern, fashionable version of masculinized womanhood, whose erotic appeal lay not least in her intellectual qualities and cool approach to men and sexuality: "She never falls in love, enjoys a good time every once in a while, and constantly compromises herself. ... But when she is alone, she can do without man and makeup very well."¹⁴ Her edginess contrasted favorably with what many were beginning to describe as the mass uniformity and superficiality of the Girl. Yet more than with any other female type, the concerted modernity and independence of the Garçonne also led critics to associate her with negative discourses of gender "inversion" and sexual "perversion," arguing that the New Woman was taking her newfound freedoms too far.

In light of this independent, cosmopolitan, gender-bending image, it is hardly surprising that the Garçonne aesthetic proved particularly appealing to members of the female homosexual subculture that began to flourish during the Weimar era. From 1930 to 1932 she lent her name to a popular homosexual women's magazine, and from 1931 onward to a Berlin women's club in the Kalckreuthstraße. She was not, however, the only female "type" popular in subcultural circles at this period; these ranged from the feminine homosexual vamp to the masculine "Gentleman" or "Gigolo."¹⁵ This rapid increase in specifically lesbian aesthetic models formed part of a larger boom in what might today be termed "queer" cultural and political activity, particularly in the metropolis of Berlin. Despite the ongoing legal prohibition on male homosexuality under Paragraph 175 of the Criminal Code—a target of homosexual rights activism in Germany since the turn of the century—the 1920s saw the development of a multifaceted homosexual rights movement centered in Berlin, as well as a veritable explosion of bars, clubs, and organizations catering to homosexuals and transvestites. Berlin's female homosexual scene boasted up to fifty clubs during this period, the diversity of which was chronicled in the paintings of Jeanne Mammen and in Ruth Roellig's 1928 study *Berlins lesbische Frauen* (Berlin's Lesbian Women).¹⁶ Meanwhile, lesbian artists such as cabaret singer Claire Waldoff and erotic dancer

Anita Berber enjoyed high cultural currency, and stars such as Marlene Dietrich flirted heavily with bisexuality on both stage and screen. At a more grassroots level, during this period an impressive range of homosexual publications were founded, often affiliated with political advocacy organizations such as the League of Human Rights (Bund für Menschenrechte, BfM) or the German Friendship Association (Deutscher Freundschaftsverband, DFV). The representation of “masculine” women within such subcultural periodicals is a central focus of this study.

Positioned at the juncture between fascination and rejection, tradition and modernity, heterosexual erotic appeal and the threat of sexual perversion, the masculine woman of Weimar Germany was at the center of popular discourses about gender and social change. Whether in the form of the sophisticated *Garçonne*, the muscular female athlete, or the “virile” homosexual woman, all of whom will be examined in subsequent chapters, the masculine woman functioned alternately as ideological template, role model, interpretive lens, and scapegoat for German audiences. Clearly, such discussions about the masculinization of women were as much about men and male cultural anxieties as about women or their changing appearances, for as Katharina von Ankum has emphasized, “the cultural construction of woman embodies the projections of male hopes and anxieties.”¹⁷ Throughout this study, I argue that images such as “Lotte at the Crossroads” provided readers of both sexes with a vent for cultural anxieties about female emancipation, women’s work, or changing gender roles within the family.

The understanding that a focus on women necessarily holds ramifications for our broader understanding of gender and social structures has prompted some Weimar scholars to focus as much on men and masculinities as on women and femininities in their analyses; Richard McCormick’s study is exemplary in this regard. Such approaches are laudable, and they inform my comparison of the masculine woman with less prominent discourses of the “feminine man” in chapter 1. However, I have chosen not to focus in equal measure on these simultaneous cultural phenomena for two reasons. Firstly, to do so would limit my analysis of a still decidedly underresearched historical gender formation—indeed, given the extent of 1920s German media discourse surrounding women’s masculinization, it is hard to explain the overwhelming neglect of this topic within cultural histories of the period, a neglect only partially rectified by recent studies of women’s fashions, sport, popular fiction, and the homosexual subculture, which are discussed in the following chapters. Certainly, Patrice Petro makes a convincing argument about the increasing conservatism of gendered media imagery toward the end of the Weimar era, observing that although images of the masculinized New Woman were often accompanied by representations of feminized men, it was generally only female gender identity that was questioned, reinforcing the idea of female sexuality as “other.” Yet this and many other studies of the Weimar New Woman brush too lightly over the “queer” associations of this figure, which

constitute a major focus here.¹⁸ Secondly, to focus equally on the masculinized woman and the feminized man would be to ignore the marked imbalance of Weimar media coverage toward the former: for the most part, it was abundantly clear that Weimar commentators were discussing *masculine* characteristics and visual styles in relation to *female* bodies; and only sometimes were men and male “feminization” implicated in this process of gender transformation.

Sources

The popular media played an important role in shaping and refracting the ways in which women and men formed their views of themselves, each other, and their society at this critical juncture in German history. With a particular focus on the print media, this book examines what made the masculine woman’s challenge to traditional gender roles simultaneously threatening and fascinating to German audiences, and why ideas about women’s masculinization became increasingly associated with negative discourses of degeneracy, perversion, and failure toward the end of the Weimar era. The time frame covered by my research generally follows the conventional historical periodization of the Weimar Republic, from the signing of the Constitution in 1919 to the Nazi seizure of power on 30 January 1933, but where possible I also refer to periodicals from the early Nazi years that were not subject to immediate bans in order to consider continuities into the post-Weimar period. Although a focus on media and other cultural products entails the study of perceptions and anxieties rather than more “concrete” historical facts, such popular discourses are, as Roberts insists, “cultural realities in themselves and warrant our closest attention.”¹⁹ The Weimar period provides a particularly fruitful basis for a study of the masculine woman because of the extraordinary quantity and depth of public commentary on changing gender relations in an ever expanding range of media outlets.

The rapid industrialization and urbanization of German society in the early twentieth century led to growing demand for new media genres to suit the ever faster tempo of metropolitan life and the increasingly fragmented and democratized public sphere, characterized by the emergence of the new urban white-collar classes, the breakdown of traditional class boundaries, and the rise of a mass consumer culture. By the mid 1920s over four thousand newspapers, tabloids, magazines, weeklies, and illustrated papers were published in Germany. Berlin, which had no fewer than fifty daily morning papers, dominated this interwar publishing scene, producing over 30 percent of all German periodicals by the late 1920s. Many of these enjoyed a nationwide circulation, their metropolitan origin only adding to their cosmopolitan appeal.²⁰ Within this astonishingly active publishing scene, the masculinization of woman was debated in a wide range of popular journals, women’s and fashion magazines, satirical periodicals, and illus-

trated daily newspapers. Reflecting a broad spectrum of audience demographics whose views were shaped by factors including political convictions, workplace conditions, socioeconomic background, education, location, and gender, these publications depicted the masculine woman through radically different images, from a figure of identification and fascination to a symbol of national degeneracy and despair.

Yet even within individual periodicals the masculine woman was represented in conflicting ways that changed over time, and that could be shaped as much by the opinions of individual reporters—who often wrote for numerous publications—as by the larger political positioning of the periodical or publishing house in question. Popular novelist Vicki Baum, for example, wrote at various points for three different publications produced by the liberal Ullstein house, *Die Dame* (The Lady), *Uhu* (Owl), and the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (Berlin Illustrated Newspaper), in addition to publishing her best selling novels. Although adjusting her writing style for each publication, she consistently produced groundbreaking representations of self-assured modern women facing real problems ranging from workplace discrimination to abortion, and in doing so appealed to readers of various classes and situations. In contrast, journalist Anita Daniel's contributions to the same publications tended to be much more conservative in their gender politics and included some of the sharpest critiques of the masculine woman.

At one end of the media spectrum, I examine upmarket fashion and women's magazines such as *Die Dame* and *Sport im Bild* (Sport in Pictures), the latter published by the nationalist-conservative Scherl-Verlag. These publications, *Die Dame* in particular, were major trendsetters in a field that also included the likes of German *Vogue*, *Elegante Welt* (Elegant World), and *die neue mode* (the new fashion). Alongside opinionated fashion articles, they featured pieces on a wide range of cultural and artistic topics in genres ranging from travel reports to short stories. These magazines targeted elegant women of means and leisure who could afford to follow the latest whims of fashion, although they were also responsible for setting broader trends in women's clothing, which working girls could emulate using cheap fabrics and sewing machines. They emphasized the cosmopolitan appeal of the masculine *Garçonne*, whilst subtly restricting her gender transgressions in ways that could be reconciled with the traditional feminine roles of wife and mother.

Illustrated periodicals such as the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (hereafter *BIZ*) and the more conservative *Die Woche* (The Week) aimed for a much greater mass and unisex appeal, largely via photographic commentaries on topical themes. Situated between the traditional genres of newspaper and magazine, these publications benefited from recent technical developments that enabled the mass reproduction of good-quality photographs and performed a function not unlike that of the early cinematic newsreels, although with a more white-collar than working-class audience. The *BIZ* was the most widely read magazine of its kind

in Weimar Germany, with a nationwide circulation figure of almost two million by 1930 (its Munich counterpart, the *Münchener Illustrierte Zeitung*, was in second place with a circulation of 700,000 by this date), and claimed to be the largest in Europe.²¹ The illustrated newspapers approached gender issues in a more reactionary manner than did the fashion magazines, providing some of the most sensationalist contemporary commentary on the masculine woman.

From 1924 on these publications were joined on the nation's newspaper stands by a range of trendy new monthly magazines such as *Uhu* and *Das Magazin* (The Magazine), targeting a young, educated, socially liberal mixed-sex readership. These magazines enjoyed reasonably strong circulation figures, and by 1928 *Das Magazin* was selling 180,000 copies a month.²² Such periodicals were not averse to the odd longer article or social commentary, and published some of the most extensive and progressive commentaries on the masculinization of women, but their primary focus was on leisure and entertainment. Meanwhile, satirical journals such as *Simplicissimus* (which had its publication base in Munich) and *Ulk* likewise offered more discerning intellectual commentaries on current affairs in the form of critical cartoons, verses, and texts; however, their conservative stance toward questions of gender politics often had more in common with that of the illustrated newspapers than the new magazines.

An important counterpoint to these mainstream media outlets—which, despite their significant differences, shared a predominantly heteronormative outlook on gender relations and social structures—are a number of publications targeting homosexual women. At least six such publications were produced during the mid to late 1920s, the most prominent of which were *Die Freundin* (The Girlfriend, also a frequent term of self-description among homosexual women at this period), published from 1924 to 1933 with censorship-related interruptions, and *Frauenliebe* (Womanly Love), published from 1926 to 1930, after which it underwent a makeover to become *Garçonne* (1930–1932) (for ease of distinction the latter name will henceforth be used to refer to the entire run of this magazine). Their niche audiences, limited advertising possibilities, and regular run-ins with the *Schund- und Schmutz* censorship authorities resulted in circulation figures that were considerably lower than for the periodicals cited above—in 1928 the *Frauenliebe* reported a distribution of ten thousand copies per issue—however, they represent a valuable and still underresearched resource within Weimar cultural history.²³

Produced for a primarily lower- to middle-class female homosexual audience, the content of these magazines reflects the ambitions but also the restrictions experienced by this subcommunity of New Women, struggling for daily survival on the low white-collar salaries of shop assistants and stenographers and torn, as recent scholarship has shown, between a yearning for public respectability on the one hand, and exploration of the new possibilities for same-sex eroticism offered within the Berlin metropolis on the other.²⁴ They tell us little about the

upper-class and society women whose financial independence and social standing offered greater freedom to experiment with “masculine” styles or alternative sexual relationships, or the working-class homosexual women who left few traces of their sexual lives. Yet as some of the first mass-produced periodicals for female homosexuals not only in Germany, but throughout the world, these “subcultural” sources—a term that more accurately represents their coverage of homosexual, bisexual, and transgender content than narrower descriptors such as “lesbian” or “female homosexual”—constitute a source of unique importance for the history of sexuality in the early twentieth century.

This primary focus on media sources is complemented in the final two chapters by a look at a range of fictional and nonfictional texts and films, incorporating methodological approaches from cinema and literary studies. These texts, which include novels by “mainstream” authors such as Erich Kästner, Irmgard Keun, and Vicki Baum, “lesbian” novels and short fiction, and films including Leontine Sagan’s groundbreaking *Mädchen in Uniform* (Girls in Uniform, 1931), address female masculinities within Weimar German society with greater freedom and transgressive potential than was possible in media reports, and in doing so highlight the complexity and multiplicity of this cultural phenomenon. Furthermore, most enjoyed both popular and critical success upon their release, thus negotiating the split between “high” and “low” culture in a way that McCormick describes as conducive to the new aesthetic movement of New Objectivity, with its focus on mass culture and the unsentimental depiction of the realities of life in the modern industrialized metropolis.²⁵

The question of “popular” versus “high” culture becomes particularly important when examining representations of gender for, as Vibeke Petersen observes, the relative lack of research into Weimar women’s role in cultural production and consumption can be at least partly explained by the conventional gendering of “high” culture as masculine and “low” culture as feminine. Patrice Petro and Kerstin Barndt’s respective studies of melodramatic cinema and of New Woman fiction have been particularly influential in readdressing women’s role as participants in Weimar cultural processes, demonstrating their active involvement as writers, readers, and spectators in constructing, interpreting, and challenging gendered media images. They show that the popular media represented a particularly accessible cultural site for women in this period, providing a discursive space that challenged the public/private divide and directly sought to engage female audiences. In her study of contemporary women’s magazines, Joke Hermes reminds us that a postmodern feminist position demands that we understand female readers as “producers of meaning rather than the cultural dupes of the media institutions.”²⁶ In reading 1920s German sources, this also involves refraining from assumptions about male- or female-authored arguments, and considering the intersections of other contributing factors including socioeconomic status, locality, sexuality, and race.

Yet in many of the sources examined here, issues of class and race are either marginalized or exoticized as “other” to the unarticulated norm of white, middle-class Germanness. As has been observed in the US context, the desire for a “mass” appeal can have the effect of negating discussion of issues that fall outside of the mainstream, “since mass is often associated with race, the white race, and with class, the middle class.”²⁷ Popular Weimar periodicals tended to relegate explicit discussions of class to party-political newspapers, focusing instead on seemingly more “modern” social questions such as the generation gap or the battle of the sexes. These questions reflected, in turn, changing social demographics and the loosening of the traditional German class system during the interwar era, illustrated by the entrance of middle-class daughters into the workforce. Ideas about racial or religious alterity likewise informed discourses of female masculinization in subtle rather than overt ways. Thus it was not the popular African American dancer Josephine Baker with her erotic dances and banana skirts whom critics of the modern woman targeted, but rather white, middle-class, “German” women, who were perceived as losing sight of their duties to marry and reproduce. On the other hand, anti-Semitic stereotypes did creep into some of the more negative representations of the sexually perverse masculine woman, and the increasing cultural conservatism of the late Weimar period cannot be understood in separation from the growing support for German nationalism that would help usher in the National Socialists.²⁸

Female Masculinities

In recent decades, historians of sexuality have responded to the traditional neglect of individuals and communities who did not conform to society’s heterosexual and gendered norms, tracing the emergence and decline of categories such as “the homosexual,” criticizing essentialist relationships between sex/gender categories and actual bodies and experiences, and suggesting numerous, often conflicting strategies for achieving more accurate and inclusive histories of gender and sexuality.²⁹ A particular focus has been on the problems involved in imposing current categories of sex, gender, and sexuality onto individuals who lived in the past, and the need to strike a balance between historically appropriate terminology on the one hand and comprehensibility and relevance for current audiences on the other. Such issues have clear implications for the present study, which foregrounds questions of gender, sexuality, representation, and identity. In particular, my emphasis on the masculine woman of Weimar Germany necessitates an engagement with recent theoretical discussions of “female masculinity.”

Judith Halberstam argues that masculinity becomes legible only “where and when it leaves the white male middle-class body,” and insists that female masculinity must be seen not as derivative of male-embodied masculinities, but as a le-

gitimate gender formation in its own right; a position from which to successfully challenge hegemonic models of gender conformity and generate social change. Stressing the historical and cultural diversity of this phenomenon, Halberstam articulates a “queer methodology” for researching female masculinities in past societies, which prioritizes historical specificity whilst also drawing on present-day theoretical insights in order to better make sense of the complexities of other eras: “it attempts to remain supple enough to respond to the various locations of information on female masculinity and betrays a certain disloyalty to conventional disciplinary methods.” One of the consequences of this approach is that Halberstam refrains from (mis-)reading past representations of female masculinity simply as evidence of lesbianism, an academic approach that, as she observes, “covers over the multiple differences between earlier forms of same-sex desire.”

While I return to this problem of interpretation in chapter 3, here I want to emphasize one of Halberstam’s central arguments, namely, that equating past female masculinities with lesbian subjectivity runs the risk of artificially separating this widespread gender phenomenon from “the making of modern masculinity itself.”³⁰ This insistence that female masculinities have played a crucial role in the construction of dominant understandings of gender guides my examination of the masculine woman in Weimar Germany. Thus in addition to examining a range of “queer” female masculinities—which, as Halberstam shows, have generally been perceived as more socially threatening and “excessively” masculine than heterosexual versions of the masculine woman—this book also focuses extensively on *heterosexual* female masculinities, and in particular, on how the “masculinization” of German women was seen to impact upon relations between women and men. At the same time, I am particularly interested in liminal representations, where the threat of “queer” female sexuality—whether conceptualized in terms of sex-gender “inversion,” “homosexuality,” or simply as independence from men—haunts mainstream discourses of the masculinized New Woman, and lends force to critiques of this figure.

Critics of Halberstam’s terminology have variously suggested that it is too homogenous, that it embraces an overly essentialized understanding of sexed bodies and social genders, and that it marginalizes feminine-identified women. Claudia Breger, for example, argues that Halberstam’s phrase confirms the very binarism it purports to deconstruct, and proposes the interchangeable alternatives “feminine masculinities” and “masculine femininities” to describe the complex matrices of feminine and masculine gender identities in the past. Yet this approach risks being too relativist to be of sustained historical use; as Breger herself acknowledges, “it is nonetheless important that the articulation of ‘male’ and ‘female’ third sex identities is not altogether symmetrical in the historical texts.”³¹ Because there were, and continue to be, real differences between the social, political, and cultural experiences and representation of men perceived as “feminine” and women perceived as “masculine,” Halberstam’s articulation of female masculinity retains

its theoretical edge over Breger's more relativist position. In order to emphasize the multiplicity and heterogeneity of forms of female-bodied masculine gender "performance," though this study generally employs the plural phrase "female masculinities."

The "invisibility of the femme" also deserves attention in light of my sustained focus on female masculinities, for as Bidy Martin observes, it is the more man-nish women that were the most prominent type of "third sex" or female homo-sexual in early twentieth-century Germany.³² The danger here is that women who desire other women, but who are better able to "pass" as heterosexual because of their feminine identification, disappear within academic research, not unlike the way such women were marginalized within turn-of-the-century sexology as "pseudohomosexuals" in contrast to the "congenital" masculine female invert, as I discuss below. A study such as this must therefore tread a delicate line. It is certainly important to affirm the legitimacy and agency of the homosexual femme, and within Weimar studies important work has begun in this area.³³ Furthermore, the Weimar homosexual periodicals demonstrate that not only did many homosexual women understand themselves via the categories of either "feminine" or "masculine/virile," but that they also engaged critically with these categories and carefully debated relationship models based around such eroticized gender difference, as I discuss in chapter 3. Yet there are pertinent justifications for a specific focus on the *masculine* woman of 1920s Germany, for more than any other social or cultural type it was she who was viewed by contemporaries as a symbol of social disruption and change, whereas the feminine heterosexual woman largely retained her status as the age-old ideal of womanhood. Furthermore, it was the masculine or "virile" homosexual woman who bore the brunt of media homophobia and criticism, as her alleged perversion was used to demonize even heterosexual women who dared to adopt "masculine" clothes, jobs, or political privileges. By highlighting nonheteronormative gender formations, this study seeks to contribute to the wider political project of affirming and legitimating a range of embodied experiences in the present as well as in the past, thus forming part of a larger critical history of sexuality.

In accordance with this goal, I employ terms and ideas that have been extensively theorized and problematized within feminist, gender, and queer studies, including Judith Butler's frequently cited notion that gender is "performative" rather than a "natural" expression of sexed bodies, and that "sex"—which has traditionally been understood as a biological given—is no less constructed than "gender," which in turn has conventionally referred to the social and cultural attributes seen to adhere to "naturally" sexed bodies.³⁴ Such theoretical foundations are crucial, for they grant "queer" gender performances a legitimacy and authenticity equal to that of more normative gender constellations that would restrict masculinity to male bodies and femininity to female bodies. At the same time, my frequent use of inverted commas, particularly when employing more

recent terms such as “queer,” “transgender,” “cross-dressing,” and “passing,” is intended to highlight the nonessentialist and contested nature of these signifiers, particularly in the context of historical research. I persist in using these terms, however, because they often enable more nuanced insights than a strict adherence to historically specific German terms, many of which arose out of late-nineteenth century sexological discourse, including “invert” (*Invertierte*) or “third sex” (*drittes Geschlecht*). My analytical focus on female masculinities and masculine women likewise involves a degree of anachronism and essentializing. I consider this justified not only for the sake of brevity, but also in order to better understand how self-identified masculine or virile women in Weimar Germany conceptualized their own gender and sexuality, as well as the limits and freedoms that such identity categories imposed on their lives.

So far I have pointed toward the prevalence of the masculine woman in Weimar popular culture, situated this figure in relation to wider discourses of the 1920s New Woman, and highlighted the theoretical relevance to this study of recent research into female masculinities. The following section surveys a further important discursive context for 1920s representations of the masculine woman, namely, sexological and medical discourses of sex-gender “inversion.”

Sexological Theories of the Masculine Woman

Conflicting representations of female gender and sexuality in the Weimar media reflect contemporary disagreements within the scientific and medical professions about the nature of sex-gender “inversion.” As George Chauncey has convincingly argued in an essay that builds on Foucauldian frameworks, what is now understood as “female homosexuality,” a concept that privileges same-sex desire as the central marker of identity, is in fact a creation of the early twentieth century. Chauncey traces a gradual shift in scientific focus in the decades following 1900 from sexual behavior to sexual object choice, resulting in a change in terminology from “sexual invert,” which covered a range of cross-gender behavior, to “homosexual.” While this chronology has been rightly criticized for failing to account for the simultaneous development of ideas about transsexuality, it provides a useful framework for summarizing turn-of-the-century sexological discourses on the masculine woman.³⁵

The first detailed study of female sexual inversion was undertaken by Austrian sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing as part of his major work, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886). Krafft-Ebing identified four levels of female “contrary sexual instinct,” ranging from milder, reversible forms of same-sex attraction through to more extreme forms of sex-gender inversion, the latter characterized by a strong preference for men’s clothing, evidence of “masculine” emotions, intellect, and behavior, an active role in sexual relations, and even “masculine” physical charac-

teristics such as small breasts. Within this typology, Krafft-Ebing distinguished between two major categories of inverts: masculine women (*Mannweiber*) whose condition was inborn and who were susceptible to mental and physical degeneration; and feminine women or “pseudohomosexuals,” whose sexuality was acquired and to whom he attributed moral inadequacy. He describes an “unforgettable” meeting with a woman he considers typical of the former category, with her “hard features, sinewy, muscular build, small hips, and masculine gait, wearing closely shorn hair, a man’s hat, pince-nez, gentleman’s overcoat, and boots with heels.” Closer inspection revealed the woman to be a talented painter with a penchant for drink, cigarettes, and “masculine” sport, who enjoyed great popularity in the “company of ladies.” In this study Krafft-Ebing emphasized that although female inversion had been subject to less scientific and legal scrutiny than its male equivalent, it was by no means less common; on the contrary, he suggested, one need only look at the women of the metropolis to find many examples of women whose short hair and masculinely tailored clothing points to “uranism” (homosexuality).³⁶

British sexologist Havelock Ellis subsequently simplified Krafft-Ebing’s categorical schema in *Sexual Inversion* (1897), rejecting the latter’s “minute classification of sexual inverts,” and distinguishing between only two categories of female inversion. The first covered “feminine” women whose homosexuality, “while fairly distinct, is only slightly marked.” While such women are highly attractive to the “actively inverted woman,” Ellis suggests that they are less attractive to men: “One may perhaps say that they are the pick of the women whom the average man would pass by.” The second class of women are the “true” or “congenital” sexual inverts, characterized by “a more or less distinct trace of masculinity” and indifference toward men. Although Ellis notes that not all female inverts choose to emphasize their masculinity—thereby moving more closely toward a model that emphasized homosexual desire over gender identity—he does observe “a very pronounced tendency among sexually inverted women to adopt male attire,” and describes the female invert’s masculine body language and manner as follows:

The brusque, energetic movements, the attitude of the arms, the direct speech, the inflexions of the voice, the masculine straightforwardness and sense of honour, and especially the attitude towards men, free from any suggestion either of shyness or audacity, will often suggest the underlying psychic abnormality to a keen observer.³⁷

Ellis is more reluctant than Krafft-Ebing to assign masculine physical attributes to the female invert, but nonetheless notes the frequent presence of a “firm musculature,” a “decidedly masculine type of larynx,” a pronounced taste for smoking, dislike for domestic occupations, and athletic capacity. Using this taxonomy, he conceived of sexual relationships between women in heteronormative terms, requiring a masculine/active and a feminine/passive partner. In this insis-

tence on binary systems of gender difference as the basis for homosexual attraction, and more specifically, on the necessity of a masculine partner within lesbian relationships, Ellis echoed the opinion of many of his sexological peers.³⁸

Although not a sexologist, Viennese philosophy student Otto Weininger's theories on gender difference and sexuality, articulated in his single major work *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character, 1903), also enjoyed widespread popularity in Germany in the first decades of the twentieth century. Weininger argued that each individual is biologically "bisexual," consisting of unique proportions of "male" (M) and "female" (W) components. Depending upon the balance of "M" and "W," they can be placed along a hierarchical continuum that descends from the "ideal" (manly) man, to the "ideal" (feminine) woman, although he notes that these "pure" extremes exist only in theory. Hermaphrodites, homosexual (feminine) men, and (masculine) women were located near the center of this continuum, consisting of approximately equal parts of "M" and "W." Weininger also explained the laws of sexual attraction according to this theory, arguing that the most masculine men will be attracted to the most feminine women, whereas effeminate men will be attracted to masculine women. Notorious for the anti-Semitic and misogynist arguments that dominate the second half of his work, Weininger made the women's emancipation movement one of his main targets, claiming that it is excessive proportions of "M" that lead certain women to strive for emancipation.³⁹ In making this argument Weininger echoed Krafft-Ebing and Ellis, who had likewise associated female emancipation with inversion, the latter arguing that "a tendency develops for women to carry this independence still further and to find love where they find work." The turn-of-the-century "invert," as Breger clarifies, "designated women who, according to misogynist discourse, were 'masculinised' by their entry into previously male realms of research and professional life."⁴⁰ In 1920s Germany, such scientific legitimation of the links between female emancipation and inversion provided welcome fodder to critics of women's political advancement and increasing social mobility.

Ideas about sex-gender inversion continued to inform the work of one of the most prominent Weimar-era sexologists and homosexual rights activists, Magnus Hirschfeld, founder of the Institute for Sexual Science (Institut für Sexualwissenschaften) in Berlin in 1919. In his earlier work Hirschfeld had popularized the idea of sex-gender inverts as a naturally occurring—and thus politically defensible—"third sex," coined the term "transvestite" (thus distinguishing it from notions of homosexuality), and developed a widely cited theory of "sexual intermediaries." In 1918 he undertook an extensive examination of female inversion in the second volume of his major work, *Sexualpathologie* (Sexual Pathology), dividing his "sexual intermediary" concept into five subcategories that could be applied to both "male" and "female" inverts: hermaphroditism (genital sexual ambiguity); androgyny (nongenital sexual ambiguity, including behavioral char-

acteristics); transvestism; homosexuality; and “metatropism” (which covered a range of fetishes as well as sadomasochism and erotic role reversals).⁴¹

The “masculine woman” (*männliches Weib*) features in several of these sub-categories. Those classified as “androgynous” are attributed a masculinity that is marked on the body, including a tall, muscular figure, small breasts, a masculine larynx, and “masculine” behaviors such as gestures, movements, and even the style of urinating. When dealing with the category of the homosexual, meanwhile, Hirschfeld rejected the psychoanalytic interpretations that were gaining increasing currency at this period, including Freud’s Oedipal theory, to reiterate his longstanding biological and hormonal arguments about sexual intermediaries. Like earlier sexologists, Hirschfeld argued that homosexual women are either masculine or feminine, and most likely to be attracted to members of the opposite type. Yet his theory of homosexuality also shows signs of the shift toward sexual object choice, as he argues that even though there is a marked tendency for feminine and masculine to attract, this is not always the case.⁴² He thus moved a small distance away from earlier, more essentialist theories that equated “true” female homosexuality exclusively with masculinity and desire for the feminine.

As Hirschfeld’s rejection of the Oedipal theory indicates, by the 1920s sexologists were increasingly finding it necessary to contend with newer, psychoanalytic models of female inversion, the most prominent of which was Freud’s 1920 essay “The Psychogenesis of a Case of Homosexuality in a Woman.” Chauncey observes that such theories challenged the hegemony of congenital interpretations of homosexuality to such an extent that older theorists such as Ellis spent much of their later work refuting them, while others sought to combine psychological and biological theories.⁴³ Yet it was the sexological theories that provided the more frequent reference point for cultural commentators of the Weimar period, and with which German audiences were assumed to be reasonably familiar, as I demonstrate in chapter 3. From an analytical perspective, too, I agree with Halberstam that the sexological texts generally provide a more productive way into the study of female masculinities at this period than do psychoanalytic models, which were not only less well-known at the time, but also more restrictive in conceptualizing female sexual and gender behavior as derivative of male identity.⁴⁴

Although sexological analyses of the masculine woman provided an important “scientific” point of reference for 1920s commentators, historians have emphasized that the sexologists’ narrow, clear-cut taxonomies often did not equip them to deal with the nuances of the individuals that walked into their consulting rooms, and upon whose personal narratives they based their research. In a growing body of work that focuses on individual case studies rather than the sexological interpretations thereof, these scholars emphasize the ways in which individuals resisted hegemonic interpretations of their identities and lives.⁴⁵ Inspired by such research, this study not only interrogates the influence of sexological research on mainstream perceptions of gender and sexuality in 1920s Germany, but high-

lights instances where sexological models were rejected or modified by the individuals they sought to describe.

In order to do justice to the remarkable breadth of female masculinities within the realm of Weimar mass culture, this book is organized thematically. Chapter 1 examines representations of women's "masculinized" fashions and hairstyles, arguing that these provided German readers with a means of negotiating larger, less tangible changes in gender and social roles. At the same time, I investigate the particular meanings that masculine visual styles held within the homosexual subculture at this period. Chapter 2 focuses on the figure of the female athlete, examining how media discussions of women's masculinization incorporated discussions of physical culture and the female body. These first two chapters interrogate the changing limits of acceptable representation of the masculine woman over the course of the Weimar period and beyond, and identify a range of media strategies aimed at defusing her threatening potential.

"Queer" female masculinities constitute the focus of chapter 3, which examines popular media stereotypes of the masculine homosexual woman, the influence of sexological discourses on discussions of women's masculinization, and finally, the ways in which members of the homosexual subculture debated and distinguished between different forms of masculine female embodiment, from "virile" homosexual women, to "female transvestites," to biological females who lived their lives "passing" as men. In chapter 4, the focus shifts to questions of performance, cross-dressing, and masquerade in the context of the theatrical and cinematic trouser role (*Hosenrolle*), a centuries-old European tradition whereby women dressed as men and played male roles on stage. Drawing on theories of transgression and the carnivalesque, I argue that media representations of the trouser role responded to the need of German audiences to engage on a non-threatening level with women's masculinization. Cinematic texts, on the other hand, opened up powerful new means of representing cross-gender identifications and same-sex desires. Finally, chapter 5 moves even further away from the Berlin mass media, not only in its focus on literary representations of the masculine woman, but via a thematic interrogation of questions of place. Contrasting the works of well-known German authors with short stories from the subcultural magazines and Anna Elisabet Weirauch's popular lesbian-themed trilogy *Der Skorpion* (The Scorpion), I examine how Weimar authors positioned the masculine woman in relation to the cultural divide between the Berlin metropolis and the provinces, and used their medium to reflect on questions of gender and identity in more detailed and complex ways than was possible for journalists in the mainstream press.

Notes

1. Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Liz Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The New Woman as Androgyne: Social Disorder and Gender Crisis, 1870–1936,” in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 245–96; Laura L. Behling, *The Masculine Woman in America, 1890–1935* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).
2. Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).
3. Ingrid Sharp, “Riding the Tiger: Ambivalent Images of the New Woman in the Popular Press of the Weimar Republic,” in *New Woman Hybridities*, ed. Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham (New York: Routledge, 2004), 120. For an excellent discussion of male crisis in relation to Weimar cultural production see also Richard W. McCormick, *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity: Film, Literature, and ‘New Objectivity’* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 59–98.
4. Siegfried Kracauer, *Die Angestellten. Aus dem neuesten Deutschland* [1929] (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1971).
5. For analyses of women’s workplace participation and visibility in Weimar Germany see e.g. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, “Beyond *Kinder, Küche, Kirche*: Weimar Women in Politics and Work,” in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, ed. Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984), 33–65; Atina Grossmann, “*Girlikultur* or Thoroughly Rationalized Female: A New Woman in Weimar Germany?” in *Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change*, ed. Judith Friedlander, Blanche Wiesner Cook, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 62–80; Tim Mason, “Women in Germany, 1925–1940: Family, Welfare and Work. Part I,” *History Workshop* 1 (1976): 74–113.
6. For a reevaluation of the role of female citizenship within Weimar historiography see Kathleen Canning, “Claiming Citizenship: Suffrage and Subjectivity in Germany after the First World War,” in Kathleen Canning, *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class & Citizenship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 212–37, 219 cited here.
7. On the decline of the bourgeois feminist movement see Richard Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany, 1894–1933* (London: Sage, 1976), 235–75; Elizabeth Harvey, “The Failure of Feminism? Young Women and the Bourgeois Feminist Movement in Weimar Germany 1918–1933,” *Central European History* 28, no. 1 (1995): 1–28.
8. On the Sex Reform movement and socialist feminism see Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Cornelie Osborne, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women’s Reproductive Rights and Duties* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992); on companionate marriage see e.g. Jost Hermand and Frank Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1988), 80–89.
9. Grossmann, “*Girlikultur*,” 64; see also Katharina von Ankum, ed., *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Kerstin Barndt, *Sentiment und Sachlichkeit: Der Roman der Neuen Frau in der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003); Petra Bock, “Zwischen den Zeiten: Neue Frauen und die Weimarer Republik,” in *Neue Frauen zwischen den Zeiten*, ed. Petra Bock and Katja Koblitz (Berlin: Edition Heinrich, 1995), 21–25; Anke Gleber, *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flanerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Atina Grossmann, “The New Woman and the Rationalization of Sexuality in Weimar Germany,” in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York:

- Monthly Review Press, 1983); Patrice Petro, *Joyless Streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).
10. On modernity and gender (crisis) see Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); McCormick, *Gender and Sexuality*.
 11. Lynne Frame, "Gretchen, Girl, Garçonne: Weimar Science and Popular Culture in Search of the Ideal New Woman," in Ankum, *Women in the Metropolis*, 13.
 12. M. G., "Drei Frauen stehen heute vor uns. Die drei Typen: Gretchen, Girl, Garçonne," *8-Uhr-Abendblatt*, 4 June 1927, cited in and translated by Frame, *ibid.*, 12. A more extensive contemporary exploration of the "Girl" phenomenon can be found in Fritz Giese, *Girlkultur: Vergleiche zwischen amerikanischem und europäischem Rhythmus und Lebensgefühl* (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1925). Because *Garçonne* was also the name of a homosexual women's magazine, I use capitals to designate female "types" and italics to designate publications.
 13. K., "Vom Puppengesicht zum Charakterkopf: Wandlungen des Frauenideals," *Die Dame*, no. 16, 1st May Issue 1927, 3.
 14. Ursula von Zedlitz, "Teestunden," *Die Dame*, no. 13, 2nd March Issue 1926, 39.
 15. On female homosexual "types" at this period see Heike Schader, *Virile, Vamps und wilde Veilchen: Sexualität, Begehren und Erotik in den Zeitschriften homosexueller Frauen im Berlin der 1920er Jahre* (Königstein/Taunus: Ulrike Helmer, 2004), 107–21.
 16. Roellig's study was republished in the 1980s with additional secondary material as Adele Meyer, ed., *Lila Nächte: Die Damenklubs im Berlin der zwanziger Jahre* (Berlin: Edition Lit. Europe, 1994). For an analysis of works by Mammen and other female artists of the Weimar era in relation to the figure of the Garçonne see Marsha Meskimmon, *We Weren't Modern Enough: Women Artists and the Limits of German Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 199ff.
 17. Katharina von Ankum, "Introduction," in Ankum, *Women in the Metropolis*, 6.
 18. Petro, *Joyless Streets*, 107, 119. Alice Kuzniar also notes this omission in Petro's study in *The Queer German Cinema* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 273n4. Marti M. Lybeck's recent dissertation on female homosexuality in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Germany represents an important exception here, and is discussed further in chapter 3: "Gender, Sexuality, and Belonging: Female Homosexuality in Germany 1890–1933" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2007).
 19. Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes*, 6.
 20. On the Weimar publishing scene see Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 641; Wilhelm Marckwardt, *Die Illustrierten der Weimarer Zeit: Publizistische Funktion, ökonomische Entwicklung und inhaltliche Tendenzen (unter Einschluß einer Bibliographie dieses Presstyps 1918–1932)* (Munich: Minerva, 1982), 14f., 34.
 21. *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, no. 43, 26 October 1930, 1928f. Marckwardt cites a figure of 1,844,000 in 1929, decreasing to 1,469,000 by 1932; for more on the illustrated periodicals see his *Illustrierten*, v, 12, 70, 95ff.
 22. This and other circulation figures cited below are from *Sperlings Zeitschriften- u. Zeitungs-Adreßbuch: Handbuch der deutschen Presse*, vol. 54 (Leipzig: Verlag des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler, 1928).
 23. Other magazines for female homosexuals at this period included *Ledige Frauen* (Single Women), *Frauen Liebe und Leben* (Women's Love and Life), and *Blätter Idealer Frauenfreundschaft* (Pages of Ideal Women's Friendship). However, there were high degrees of organizational crossover between certain publications: *Ledige Frauen* replaced *Die Freundin* during its 1928 ban from public display on newsstands, and *Frauen Liebe und Leben* replaced *Frauenliebe* when it was also banned during 1928. For a detailed profile of these magazines, including information on editors, major contributors, and censorship, see Schader, *Virile*, 42–82.

24. An excellent assessment of the class profile of the homosexual magazines and the influence of bourgeois ideas about female sexuality and respectability on content can be found in Lybeck, "Female Homosexuality," chaps. 6 and 7; see also Schader, *Virile*, 62.
25. McCormick, *Gender and Sexuality*, 13.
26. Vibeke Rützou Petersen, *Women and Modernity in Weimar Germany: Reality and Representation in Popular Fiction* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 5; Petro, *Joyless Streets*, xxiii; Barndt, *Sentiment und Sachlichkeit*; Joke Hermes, *Reading Women's Magazines: An Analysis of Everyday Media Use* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 5.
27. Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 5.
28. The connection between anti-New Woman sentiment and anti-Semitism was first made in an essay by Atina Grossmann, and is examined further in chapter 5: "The New Woman," 167.
29. While this field of scholarship is too extensive to reference here, Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* remains a central text, in particular vol. 1: *The Will to Knowledge* (London: Penguin, 1998).
30. Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 10 and 46, see also 12f., 59.
31. Claudia Breger, "Feminine Masculinities: Scientific and Literary Representations of 'Female Inversion' at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 1/2 (2005): 81ff., 83 cited here; see also Jean Bobby Noble, *Masculinities without Men? Female Masculinity in Twentieth-Century Fictions* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), introduction; Rachel Adams, "Masculinity without Men," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6, no. 3 (2000): 472ff.
32. Biddy Martin, *Femininity Played Straight: The Significance of Being Lesbian* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 64, 93. Although disavowal of the feminine has featured in several critiques of Halberstam's study, Halberstam does not ignore the femme in her study, not least in her analysis of butch-femme models: *Female Masculinity*, 122ff.
33. See e.g. Lybeck, "Female Homosexuality"; Nancy Nenko, "Bildung and Desire: Anna Elisabeth Weirauch's *Der Skorpion*," in *Queering the Canon*, ed. Christoph Lorey and John Plews (Columbia: Camden House, 1998); Schader, *Virile*.
34. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
35. George Chauncey Jr., "From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: The Changing Medical Conceptualization of Female 'Deviance,'" in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. Kathy Peiss, Christina Simmons, and Robert A. Padgug (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 88; cf. criticisms in Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 86.
36. R. von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia sexualis: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der konträren Sexualempfindung. Eine medizinisch-gerichtliche Studie für Ärzte und Juristen*, 15th ed. (Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1918), 281–86, 284 cited here.
37. Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion* [1897] (New York: Arno, 1975), 31, 78f., 87, 95ff., and passim; an earlier version of this text had appeared in German in 1896.
38. For critiques of the heteronormative imperative of the early sexologists see Chauncey, "Sexual Inversion," 89f., 94; Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 76ff.
39. Otto Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung* [1903] (Munich: Matthes & Seitz, 1997), 34f., 80, 84. For critical perspectives on Weininger see e.g. Nancy A. Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams, eds., *Jews & Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).
40. Ellis and Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, 82ff., 100; Breger, "Feminine Masculinities," 80; see also Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman."
41. Magnus Hirschfeld, *Sexuelle Zwischenstufen: Das männliche Weib und der weibliche Mann*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, *Sexualpathologie: Ein Lehrbuch für Ärzte und Studierende* (Bonn: A. Marcus &

- E. Webers, 1922), passim, but see esp. 96–120. Other key early works include *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* [1904] (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1991), and *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb* (Berlin: Med. Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher, 1910).
42. Hirschfeld, *Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 180, 210, 212.
43. Sigmund Freud, “The Psychogenesis of a Case of Homosexuality in a Woman,” in *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love* (New York: Collier, 1963), 133–59; Chauncey, “Sexual Inversion,” 109.
44. Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 77ff., 285n4.
45. See e.g. Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 3; Chauncey, “Sexual Inversion,” 87f., 109; Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 47, 79ff; Darryl Hill, “Sexuality and Gender in Hirschfeld’s *Die Transvestiten*: A Case of the ‘Elusive Evidence of the Ordinary,’” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 3 (2005): 316–32.