JEDER TREU AUF SEINEM POSTEN:

GERMAN CATHOLICS AND KULTURKAMPF PROTESTS

by

Jennifer Marie Wunn

(Under the Direction of Laura Mason)

ABSTRACT

The Kulturkampf which erupted in the wake of Germany's unification touched Catholics' lives in multiple ways. Far more than just a power struggle between the Catholic Church and the new German state, the conflict became a true "struggle for culture" that reached into remote villages, affecting Catholic men, women, and children, regardless of their age, gender, or social standing, as the state arrested clerics and liberal, Protestant polemicists castigated Catholics as ignorant, anti-modern, effeminate minions of the clerical hierarchy. In response to this assault on their faith, most Catholics defended their Church and clerics; however, Catholic reactions to anti-clerical legislation were neither uniform nor clerically-controlled. Instead, Catholics' Kulturkampf activism took many different forms, highlighting both individual Catholics' personal agency in deciding if, when, and how to take part in the struggle as well as the diverse factors that motivated, shaped, and constrained their activism.

Catholics resisted anti-clerical legislation in ways that reflected their personal lived experience; attending to the distinctions between men's and women's activism or those between older and younger Catholics' participation highlights individuals' different social and communal

roles and the diverse ways in which they experienced and negotiated the dramatic transformations the new nation underwent in its first decade of existence. Investigating the patterns and distinctions in Catholics' Kulturkampf activism illustrates how Catholics understood the Church-State conflict, making clear what various groups within the Catholic community felt was at stake in the struggle, as well as how external factors such as the hegemonic contemporary discourses surrounding gender roles, class status, age and social roles, the division of public and private, and the feminization of religion influenced their activism. Through their efforts to defend the Church's rights and honor clerics who refused to submit to the anti-clerical legislation, Catholics defended both a shared Catholic *Weltanschauung* as well as their own personal interests. Catholic Kulturkampf activism took multiple forms, reflecting the different ways that Catholics negotiated their personal encounters with the processes of modernity and nation-building.

INDEX WORDS: Kulturkampf, Catholic Church, Germany, Church History, Ultramontane, History, Nineteenth Century, North Rhine-Westphalia, Political Catholicism, Church and State, Center Party

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DEDICATION:

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Peggy and Sonny Wunn, for their constant support throughout the long years of research and writing. Without your love, encouragement, and understanding, I could never have seen this project through. Thank you.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

BAM	Bistumsarchiv Münster
BAT	Bistumsarchiv Trier
GStA PK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz
LA NRW	Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen
LHAK	Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz

INTRODUCTION:

In March, 1875, Father Herkeurath died quietly in the Dutch village of Koningsbosch, just over the border from Bocket, the small German village where he had served as a priest until banned and exiled for violating Prussia's anti-clerical legislation. Although banished from his homeland and separated from his parishioners, Father Herkeurath found peace in Koningsbosch and expressed his wish to be buried in the place that offered him solace in the final months of his life. But the German Kulturkampf haunted this lowly cleric even in death as his former parishioners sought to reclaim their priest's body for burial in Bocket. The Prussian clergymen who had travelled to Koningsbosch to bury one of their own, chose instead to honor their fellow's request for burial in Koningsbosch. As they sang the funeral mass in the Church, parishioners stormed the rectory, stole Father Herkeurath's corpse, and, under the protection of Bocket's shooting society, returned home with their former priest's body.

The poor corpse's troubles were hardly over: Waiting for them in Bocket were local police and gensdarmes from nearby Waldfeucht, assembled to uphold state power and ensure that no celebratory funeral Mass would be held for the exiled priest on German soil. Here again, the devoted parishioners showed their resourcefulness. After brief negotiations with the agents of the law, a compromise was struck. The police agreed to allow Herkeurath's burial in Bocket provided that he received a civil burial from the inhabitants and no priest conducted religious services. So, without the presence of his clerical brethren but surrounded by his former parishioners, Father Herkeurath was finally laid to rest with a civil service in the community from which he had been expelled. In the words of the *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung* "It was

enough that the people of Bocket could not have their priest in life, they would certainly have him in death."[1]

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On a cold Sunday morning in February, 1875, the small Westphalian community of Eggenrode waited near a triumphal arch at the village's edge. Wearing their Sunday-best, villagers took in the sight of decorations glistening from the trees and bushes that lined the street as they strained to catch a glimpse of Münster's Bishop Johann Bernhard Brinkmann. Gun salutes (*Böllerschüsse*) announced his arrival as he rode into view, surrounded by an honor guard of 80-100 men from the area; a flag bearing his episcopal coat of arms led the procession. As the Bishop dismounted, he was greeted first by the church council members, then by the school children (boys) and young girls dressed in white. After greeting their Bishop, the community followed him in a joyous procession through the streets, past houses flying colorful flags and banners, bearing messages such as "Through the Cross to Joy" and "Those who sow in tears, will reap in joy." Amidst the singing of hymns and peal of church bells, the procession arrived at the resplendently decorated Church where Brinkmann thanked Eggenrode's Catholics for their loyalty and courage in such trying times. All that was needed to complete the festivities was the presence of the local priest. However, Father Kemper remained notably absent, banished and exiled for his repeated violations of the Prussian May Laws. In his absence, the rectory stood dark and abandoned, the single sign of life the Prussian flag, fluttering in the wind from high

[1] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 6 March 1875. See also Heinrich Schiffers, *Der Kulturkampf in Stadt und Regierungsbezirk Aachen* (Aachen: Kaatzers Erben, 1929), 82.

atop the flagpole in the middle of the garden, a constant reminder of the on-going conflict between Church and State.[2]

***** ***** *****

Hardly exceptional, in the years following Germany's unification in 1871, scenes like these from Bocket and Eggenrode played out across the Reich as the newly unified German nation turned its attention from external foes to perceived internal obstacles to unity. In what quickly became known as the Kulturkampf (literally, 'struggle for culture'), the new German Reich as a whole, and Prussia (the largest German state) in particular, attempted to consolidate its power and define its character in relation to the powerful Catholic Church by limiting the Church's power and bringing it under greater state control through a series of anti-clerical laws. Germany's Catholics, themselves uneasy about their new status as a religious minority within a Germany dominated by Protestant Prussia, actively defended their Church and religious rights.

As the conflict progressed and the state sought to enforce its will against defiant clerics, churchmen of all levels, from parish priests to ranking prelates of noble birth, bore the legal, financial, and physical consequences of non-compliance with anti-clerical laws, suffering imprisonment, banishment, deportation, and exile. The struggle's increasingly bitter nature led many Catholics to equate loyalty to their Church with disobedience to the state while the state came to view expressions of religious devotion as subversive acts intended to flout its authority. Amongst Catholics, Kulturkampf measures' enforcement led to widespread acts of civil disobedience, and occasionally violence, as they sought to express solidarity with their

[2] *SonntagsBlatt für katholische Christen*, (Hereafter *SonntagsBlatt*) 14 February 1875. See also *Eucharius* 21 February 1875.

beleaguered clergymen. Public acts of support for clerics, like those of Bocket's and Eggenrode's Catholics, became the order of the day in the Reich's Catholic regions.

As historians have long recognized, the Kulturkampf politicized German Catholics as their defense of faith and clergy drew them into the conflict between Church and State. Yet, whether praising or condemning Germany's Catholics, historians have often portrayed their resistance as undifferentiated and led from above, arguing that most Catholics rallied to their Church and adhered to the methods of passive resistance prescribed by Church leaders. While true, this universalist approach tells only half the story, leaving unexplored the ways in which these popular protests served to draw an increasingly broader section of the population into public debates about the Church-State conflict and the struggles for power it reflected. Women, youth, and members of the laboring classes, normally excluded from the public sphere of political debate, found themselves playing important, yet distinctive and clearly delineated, roles in communities' efforts to support their religious leaders and defy state power.

Failing to ask how and why different groups of Catholics reacted as they did, specifically how issues of gender, age, or class standing influenced Catholics' reactions, prevents us from truly understanding this vital moment in the new Reich's founding decade. By failing to attend to popular reactions' nuances, existing accounts fail to fully appreciate how Kulturkampf protests reflected individual Catholics' differing relationships to Germany's rapid economic transformation, the tensions surrounding the gendered division of public and private, and the multiple conflicts associated with modernity's onset. Because anti-clerical legislation affected Catholics in different ways, it called forth distinctive forms of activism that responded to individual Catholics' lived experience in ways not yet fully researched. As a result, the tale of the

Church-State conflict continues to be told primarily from the perspective of liberal Kulturkämpfer rather than the ordinary Catholics who experienced it.

This dissertation examines how Catholics reacted to the enforcement of Kulturkampf laws. In particular, it explores how Catholics expressed their solidarity with clergymen and their unhappiness with state actions and German liberals' anti-clerical policies. It investigates how the dynamics of gender, age, and class determined if and how Catholics got involved in the conflict and illustrates the ways in which those same factors also served to constrain Catholic activism. It argues that the Kulturkampf mobilized Catholics who reacted in defense of the Church and its clerics, but also their own vision of the correct social order and their position within that order. Catholic activism represented a rational response to the conditions different groups of Catholics faced in the era of the *Reichsgründung*, not a backwards movement against modernity as it is so often portrayed.

However, the history of the Kulturkampf (and Catholic reactions to it) must be written in the context of nineteenth-century German history more broadly. Taking seriously the notion of the Kulturkampf as a cultural struggle for the character of the young German Reich means fully exploring the various factors that contributed to the conflict's origins as well as its bitter and divisive nature. Catholics supported their Church and Kulturkämpfer opposed its power for a variety of reasons; religious principles were only one among many driving forces. Understanding how and why people participated in the Kulturkampf also means understanding the conflict's diffuse character, particularly the multiple problems and concerns that anti-clericals and Catholics confronted. Before discussing what popular protests revealed about the Catholic community, the stage on which the struggle played out must first be set.

Germany in the *Reichsgründung* Era

Several factors inspired the newly established German state to instigate a confrontation with the formidable Catholic Church. First, German unification itself sparked new concerns (and revived older ones) about Catholic nationalist feeling and loyalty to the Fatherland.[3] For much of the nineteenth-century, "Germany" existed as a loose confederation of states dominated by Protestant Prussia and Catholic Austria. Between 1864 and 1871, Prussia, under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck, decided the question of German unification through a series of military victories that produced a rush of nationalist feeling. The German Empire, as it emerged in 1871, not only redrew the map of Europe but also altered Germany's religious balance as Austria's exclusion from German affairs lent the new nation a decidedly Protestant air.

While unification fulfilled a long-held dream of many Germans, particularly liberals, not all of its citizens greeted the new Reich with joy. It faced opposition within its borders from national minorities and linguistic groups as well as Germans still loyal to their particularist local identities.[4] Meanwhile German Catholics, transformed almost overnight from a majority within the German Confederation to a minority within the new Reich, worried that the new and predominantly Protestant state would seek to restrict their religious freedoms.[5]

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[3] Such fears about Catholics' loyalty were not totally unfounded. As Jonathan Sperber points out "How were the loyalties of the Catholic nobility to be regarded upon learning that the sons of the Count von Westphalen served in the Austrian army or the views of the Catholic press, knowing that the brother of the publisher of the *Westfälisches Volksblatt* was a lieutenant in the Austrian navy?" Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 104.

[4] Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany,* vol. 2, *The Period of Consolidation, 1871-1880* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany, 1840-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century. A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 259-261.

[5] While concerned to ensure (and possible expand) Prussia's constitutional guarantee of the Church's rights and independence, most Catholics greeted the new Reich with optimism and wished to contribute to the nation-building process. See Wolfgang Altgeld, "German Catholics," in *The Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants: Minorities and the Nation-State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Rainer Liedke and Stephan Wendehorst (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 100-121; Wolfgang Altgeld, *Katholizismus, Protestantismus,*

Events in Rome also contributed to growing tensions between Catholics and Protestants in Germany (and between Germany and the Holy See) at the same moment when Germany's political unification prompted greater demands for internal cultural unity. After the Italian state took control of Rome, the Pope (and his Catholic followers) had to be reconciled to the loss of his temporal powers. Pius IX responded to these secular changes with a series of spiritual pronouncements designed to re-establish the primacy of the papal office and assert his position vis-à-vis the "modern" world. These concerns led to the Syllabus of Errors[6] in 1864, followed by the proclamation of Papal Infallibility in 1870. With this doctrine, "the papacy advanced its greatest claim to spiritual power: the claim that the pope, when speaking *ex cathedra* on matters of faith and morals, was incapable of error."[7]

These statements led many (Protestant and some Catholic) Germans to fear that the Pope sought to set himself up as a supranational authority, diverting (German) Catholics' loyalty to the Vatican rather than the state while also appearing to validate accusations of Catholic anti-modernism, backwardness, and superstition.[8] The Pope's changed political circumstances further

Judentum: über religiös begründete Gegensätze und nationalreligiöse Ideen in der Geschichte des deutschen Nationalismus (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald, 1992); Rebecca Ayako Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany: The Catholic Struggle for Inclusion After Unification* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Pontus Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German: Catholic Commemorations of German Unification in Baden, 1870-1876," *The Catholic Historical Review* 93 (2007): 17-46.

[6] Whereby "the Pope condemned… the rejection of the temporal power of the Pope… statism, which insists on the monopoly of education and dissolves religious orders… the separation of Church and state, and the absolute freedom of religion and the press." Roger Aubert, "Internal Catholic Controversies in connection with Liberalism," in *History of the Church,* vol. 8, *The Church in the Age of Liberalism*, ed. Hugh Jedin and John Dolan, trans. Peter Becker (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 283-303, quote on p. 296.

[7] Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany,* 181.

[8] Even amongst German Catholics, support for infallibility was not universal. Many leading Catholic figures opposed it on principle while others characterized the moment as "inopportune" for such provocative declarations. However, once the doctrine was declared, the majority of Catholic figures within Germany submitted to papal authority on this issue. Margaret Lavinia Anderson, *Windthorst. A Political Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany;* George Windell, *The Catholics and German Unity, 1866-1871* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.)

contributed to political tensions in Germany as Catholics bombarded the Kaiser with petitions calling for intervention to restore the Pope's temporal authority in Rome.[9]

While many Catholics' attitudes toward the newly unified German state aroused suspicion in Protestants, Catholics viewed recent events within Germany as a potential threat to their interests and began to organize themselves politically, leading to the rise of the Center party, which sought to protect and advance Catholic interests.[10] Bismarck and the liberal parties, his primary parliamentary allies, viewed the Center with apprehension because of its parliamentary strength, particularist tendencies, and willingness to ally itself with other 'suspect' groups such as the Poles, Danes, and, occasionally, Social Democrats.[11] To its opponents, the Center became not only a party of *Reichsfeinde,* or enemies of the Reich, but also a powerful political faction capable of scoring significant electoral victories. As historian Jonathan Sperber notes, the adoption of universal manhood suffrage meant that "the new electoral system made the vote of every last Catholic count: equal and secret suffrage gave a much greater political weight to the votes of the pious lower classes than had been the case under the three-class electoral system."[12] For Bismarck and the liberals, the Center party threatened the fragile political balance

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[9] Christoph Weber argues that such efforts by Catholics to encourage intervention in Italy played a leading role in sparking the conflict. Weber, *Eine starke, enggeschlossene Phalanx: der politische Katholizismus und die erste deutsche Reichstagswahl 1871* (Essen: Klartext, 1992.) But not all Catholics expected the Kaiser to concern himself with the Pope's predicament. Father Printz in Ehrang faced charges of lèse majesté after he told his parishioners that asking the German emperor to intervene in Rome was like asking "one devil to drive out another." GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. Ia, Abt I, Nr 111 Bd I 1866-1873.

[10] Ellen Lovell Evans, *The German Center Party, 1870-1933. A Study in Political Catholicism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), 32-33.

[11] "The party looked like a conglomerate of all those who for one reason or another were opposed to the new Reich." Edgar Feuchtwanger, *Bismarck* (London: Routledge, 2002), 183. See also Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*, 261; W. N. Medlicott, *Bismarck and Modern Germany* (London: English Universities Press, 1965), 102; A. J. P. Taylor, *Bismarck: The Man and the Statesman* (New York: Penguin, 1955), 150; Gordon Craig, *Germany, 1866-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 71.

[12] Sperber, *Political Catholicism*, 168. Margaret Anderson goes further, arguing that "the Kulturkampf began as defensive reaction of local elites to the challenge of subordinate groups to their local dominance." Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," *Central European History* 19 (1986): 82-115.

of their new empire while the party's Catholic identity exacerbated already tense Church-State relations.

These political factors contributed greatly to the Kulturkampf's cause and course; however, other tensions also played a role. The rapid growth and modernization of Germany's economy also helped to launch and shape the anti-clerical struggle. The German economy developed quickly after mid-century, experiencing a "boom" period in the immediate aftermath of unification. While growth characterized Germany's economic development, industrialization and urbanization were uneven, regional processes.[13] Areas like the Ruhr valley and Saar region experienced dramatic industrial development while other areas, such as much of Westphalia, remained rural and virtually untouched by the processes of industrialization.

However, even those areas largely immune from industrial change still felt the effects of economic modernization. As capitalist market forces reached into remote villages, rural communities found themselves increasingly drawn into the modern economy's "cash nexus."[14] Regardless of whether or not citizens in the new Reich left their small village to take up factory work in one of the emerging industrial centers or stayed home and continued to farm the land in the village they were born in, contemporaries experienced the period as a time of tremendous economic upheaval. In the words of one historian, "the experience of those who lived through these decades was not of a gradually unfolding process of growth and progress but of instability and fluctuation. Recurrent crises brought insecurity and disaster.. most contemporaries found the

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[13] James Brophy, "The End of the Old Economic Order: The Great Transition, 1750-1860," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History,* ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 169-194. Brett Fairbairn, "Economic and Social Developments," in *Imperial Germany, 1871-1918. Short Oxford History of Germany*, ed. James Retallack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 61-82; Frank B Tipton, "Technology and Industrial Growth," in *Imperial Germany: A Historiographical Companion*, ed. Roger Chickering (Westport, Conneticutt: Greenwood Press, 1996), 62-96. Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century,* 175-224; 313-350.
[14] Brophy, "The End of the Old Economic Order," 174.

revolutionary changes in their world confusing, disorienting, and possibly more destructive than creative."[15]

This period of economic transformation contributed to the Kulturkampf in a variety of ways. First, the movement of people from rural communities into the new industrial areas upset the traditional religious balance of these communities, frequently by bringing Catholics into largely Protestant areas.[16] This pattern of migration created tensions by bringing back into contact religious groups that had lived apart since the Reformation, highlighting their religious differences and creating concerns about communities' changing confessional character. It also led to the pairing of class and religious tensions as those migrating in tended to be poorer Catholics seeking work from largely Protestant employers.[17]

Second, in rural areas experiencing the not-always-welcome effects of capitalist market forces, farmers began to feel that "control over their livelihood was slipping into other hands," particularly those of bourgeois bankers, often the same liberal Protestants enthusiastically supporting anti-clerical legislation.[18] Thus the concern and loss of control felt in rural areas often

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[15] Tipton, "Technology and Industrial Growth," 66-7.

[16] Olaf Blaschke, "Das 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Zweites Konfessionelles Zeitalter?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 26 (2000): 38-75; Manuel Borutta, "Enemies at the gate: The Moabit Klostersturm and the Kulturkampf," in *Culture Wars: Secular Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 227-254, p. 229; Rebecca Ayako Bennette, "Threatened Protestants: Confessional Conflict in the Rhine Province and Westphalia during the Nineteenth Century," *German History* 26 (2008):168-194.

[17] Edgar Schwer, *Der Kulturkampf am Rande des Hochwaldes* (Nonnweiler: Hochwälder Hefte zur Heimatsgeschichte, 1999); Klaus-Michael Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat: Sozialgeschichte Aspekte des Kulturkampfes im Saarrevier," in *Soziale Frage und Kirche im Saarrevier: Beiträge zur Sozialpolitik und Katholizismus im späten 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Fohrmann (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1984), 184-231. David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in a Nineteenth-Century German Village* (New York: Random House, 1995.)

[18] Eric Dorn Brose, *German History 1789-1871: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Bismarckian Reich* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997), 291.

neatly mirrored the religious divide, allowing Catholics to link their feelings of religious and economic oppression, and see both as originating from the same source (liberal Protestants.)[19]

In areas experiencing rapid urbanization, the appalling housing and santitary conditions combined with the anonymity of living in rapidly growing cities to produce feelings of desolation amongst Catholic workers. They felt themselves torn away from the comforts and customs of their homes and cast into the soulless, atomizing environment of the new industrial centers. For these overworked and poorly housed first-generation industrial workers, Catholicism took on a renewed importance as the customary rituals offered a reminder of home and helped fight their sense of alienation.[20] Furthermore, the Church's message of salvation, particularly when combined with young Kaplans' social action, helped workers to cope with the often dehumanizing sense of oppression at the hands of their (Protestant) employers.[21]

Finally, the economic prosperity that accompanied the Reich's founding ended abruptly with the 1873 crash. This sharp economic downturn hit both the new industrial areas, leading to large-scale lay-offs and decreased wages, and rural farming communities that saw prices plummet and debts mount.[22] The period of depression cost many Catholic industrial and farm

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[19] David Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety: Liberals, Catholics and the State in Bismarck's Germany," in *Populists and Patricians. Essays in Modern German History* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 143-167; Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat."

[20] Heidi Rosenbaum, *Proletarische Familien: Arbeiterfamilien und Arbeiterväter im frühen 20. Jahrhundert zwischen traditioneller, sozialdemokratischer und kleinbürgerlicher Orientierung* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992), 113. See also Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Mallmann, ""Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat."

[21] Klaus-Michel Mallmann "Aus des Tages Last machen sie ein Kreuz des Herrn? Bergarbeiter, Religion und sozialer Protest im Saarrevier des 19 Jahrhundert," in *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 152-179; Claudia Hiepel, "Der Kulturkampf im Ruhrgebiet: Sozialer und konfessioneller Konflikt, " in *"Am Weihwasser die Finger verbrannt" Der Bismarcksche Kulturkampf- Konflikteverläufe im Ruhrgebiet,* ed. Baldur Hermans (Fachtagung: Essen, 2000), 31-46.

[22] Klaus Tenfelde, *Sozialgeschichte der Bergarbeiterschaft an der Ruhr im 19 Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Neue Gesellschaft, 1977); Cornelius Torp, "German Economy and Society, 1850-1914," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 336-358; Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866-1918,* Bd.1 (München: Beck, 1992), 284-285.

workers their jobs while confronting rural Catholic farmers with rising debt.[23] Far worse, it also coincided with the high point of Kulturkampf tensions (the years between 1874-6), reinforcing the confluence of economic and religious tensions. Many Catholics suffering economic hardship blamed liberal Protestants for their financial and religious woes.[24]

In addition to these political and economic transformations, nineteenth-century German Catholicism also experienced a period of religious upheaval and revival that helped to spark and sustain the Church-State conflict. For the Catholic church in the Rhineland and Westphalia, the nineteenth-century began on a grim note as the French Revolution and its aftermath ended the Church's secular power[25] while the loss of its landed wealth made the Church more dependent upon the state (and thus more susceptible to state intervention in its internal affairs.)[26] Furthermore, the area was now governed by a self-consciously Protestant state that sought to impose greater state control over the Church's activities, prompting numerous conflicts between Church leaders and their new Prussian rulers.[27]

As if these external challenges were not enough, within the Church hierarchy, supporters of an enlightened Catholicism competed for power against the growing Ultramontane movement

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[23] David F Crew, *Town in the Ruhr: A Social History of Bochum, 1860-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Schwer, *Der Kulturkampf am Rande des Hochwaldes*.
[24] Schwer, *Der Kulturkampf am Rande des Hochwaldes*; Hiepel, "Der Kulturkampf im Ruhrgebiet," 37.
[25] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 62; 72-75; Hans-Joachim Behr, "Die Provinz Westfalen und das Land Lippe 1813-1933," in *Westfälische Geschichte. Das 19. und das 20. Jahrhundert: Politik und Kultur*, ed. Wilhelm Kohl (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1983), 45-164; Eduard Hegel, "Die katholische Kirche, 1800-1962," in *Westfälische Geschichte. Das 19. Und das 20. Jahrhundert Politik und Kultur,* ed. Wilhelm Kohl (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1983), 341-384; Martin Persch and Bernhard Schneider, eds., *Geschichte des Bistums Trier,* Bd IV *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne, 1802-1880* (Trier: Paulinus, 2000.)
[26] Ernst Heinen, "Aufbruch -Erneuerung –Politik: Rheinischer Katholizismus im 19 Jahrhundert," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 64 (2000): 266-289, 269; Herbert Sowade, "Die katholische Kirche," in *Geschichte der Stadt Münster,* ed. Franz-Josef Jakobi, 2 Bde (Münster: Stadtarchiv, 1993), 387-432.
[27] Sowade, "Die katholische Kirche"; Persch and Schneider, eds., *Geschichte des Bistums Trier*; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*.

that reoriented the Church towards Rome, buttressing the Church's hierarchical structures.[28] Meanwhile, parish priests reported declining church attendance, lax morality, and a general lack of piety and respect amongst their parishioners. As Jonathan Sperber has aptly demonstrated, in the *Vormärz* era, the Church was not really in control of popular piety, religious practice was far from uniform, and priests struggled to influence their parishioners' behavior.[29]

By midcentury, however, this situation was changing; Prussia's 1850 constitution granted the Church almost complete independence in its internal affairs, increased its influence over education, and permitted religious orders to return to Prussia.[30] These political changes allowed the Church greater freedom of action, and, coupled with the Ultramontane victory in internal Church policies, contributed to a striking religious revival amongst German Catholics that transformed Catholic religious practices in a variety of ways.

First and foremost, the Catholic revival emphasized clerical leadership and authority but tempered this by embracing popular forms of religious devotion suppressed in the first half of the century, such as pilgrimages and processions. However, as Sperber points out, the revival of popular piety and the Church's new associational life differed in two important ways from their earlier manifestations: priests, not members of the laity, led these activities and, while these practices retained their inherent sociability, gone was the lax morality of the earlier years. In its place was a new, more sincere piety and religious devotion.[31]

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[28] Heinen, "Aufbruch -Erneuerung –Politik: Rheinischer Katholizismus im 19 Jahrhundert"; Sowade, "Die katholische Kirche"; Hegel, "Die katholische Kirche 1800-1962."

[29] Sperber argues that in the Vormärz, economic difficulties combined with the lack of clerical authority and the divide between official and popular religiousity to create a situation in which religious practices were seldom under the control of Church authorities. Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 36.

[30] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 51; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 229. For a critique of this view of cooperation between Church and State, see Simon Hyde, "Roman Catholicism and the Prussian State in the 1850s," *Central European History* 24 (1991): 95-121.

[31] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 98.

Perhaps the best example of the new ultramontane piety and how it revamped Catholic religious practice after mid-century can be found in the numerous Jesuit missions held throughout the Rhineland and Westphalia. Although intended chiefly "to revive the faithful worn down by cares of everyday life," (Sperber) the missions were extraordinary occasions, times of great popular festivity (with Protestant employers even giving Catholic workers paid time off to attend them.) But they were also orderly events, conducted under clerical control, in which the focus was on the religious message rather than secular entertainments.[32] Sermons focused on basic Church doctrine and employed a dramatic, emotional, and simple preaching style designed to appeal to rural audiences. Through their emphasis on confession and other visible acts of piety, missions brought religion into the public sphere with the planting of a mission's cross on the final day as a lasting public symbol of the town's recommitment to Catholicism.[33]

Thus, the Catholic revival produced not just a renewed devotion to religiosity amongst German Catholics; it also reshaped how that piety was expressed. Ultramontane Catholicism was more emotional, more focused on the clerical hierarchy, and more active and present in everyday life through the founding of religious brotherhoods and associations. It was also more public through the rejuvenation of pilgrimages, processions, and other highly visible forms of religious devotion.

As the Kulturkampf erupted, this experience of religious revival shaped how Catholics responded to the implementation of anti-clerical measures.[34] Catholic religious organizations

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[32] Michael B. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteeth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 39. Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*; Werner K. Blessing, *Staat und Kirche in der Gesellschaft: institutionelle Autorität und menthaler Wandel in Bayern während des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982), 84-88.

[33] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism,* 41-8; Wilhelm Damberg, *Moderne und Milieu 1802-1998* (Münster: Dialog 1998), 90-92.

[34] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism;* Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*.

assumed a political context; no longer simple prayer groups or reading societies, these groups became centers for organizing local resistance. The changed political situation transformed pilgrimages and processions into political acts that expressed defiance of the state and solidarity with the clergy. The legacy of missions paved the way both for the mass meetings staged to rally support for Center candidates and Catholics' growing acceptance of women's and young people's public participation in religiously-oriented activities. Finally, the revival itself helped to ensure that the majority of Germany's Catholics believed their Church to be something worth fighting for, something central to their lives but that touched each of them in specific and distinctive ways.[35]

These changes in Catholic religious practice in turn contributed to another important phenomenon that fueled the Kulturkampf, the feminization of religion, which resulted from several processes at work in nineteenth-century German society. First, religious belief and practice was coded as a feminine, not a masculine activity.[36] Contemporaries considered religious practice a suitable activity for women, given their emotional, dependent nature while men increasingly saw themselves as 'emancipated' from the need to observe traditional religious practices. As a result, male church attendance declined, particularly among Protestants. Since women's presence at religious services remained steady or increased in the same period, church

[35] Josef Mooser, "Katholische Volksreligion, Klerus, und Bürgertum in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Thesen," in *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993), 144-156.

[36] Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division: The Polarisation of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century – An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life," in *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, ed. Richard J Evans (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 55-60.

attendance itself became feminized as female parishioners outnumbered their male counterparts.[37]

Partly in response to the growing understanding of religious faith as an activity particularly suited to women, religious practice itself transformed in this period as both Protestant sects and Catholicism offered new opportunities for women. Catholics and Protestants alike encouraged women to get involved in religiously-oriented social activities such as charity work, joining one of the religious sodalities, or taking part in a pilgrimage. Some 'Protestant' sects such as the German Catholics advocated men and women's spiritual equality, even allowing women to preach or speak in meetings.[38]

Thus, religious devotion and Church activities presented women with opportunities for socialization outside the home that would otherwise have been denied to them. Such activities also created a network of charitable and pious organizations that allowed women to assume roles of importance and act under their own auspices.[39] Given the strict gender division between

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[37] Hugh McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube? Religion und Kirchen im bürgerlichen 19 Jahrhundert," in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19 Jahrhundert,* ed. Ute Frevert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1988), 134-156; Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People: A History of European Catholicism since 1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Bernhard Schneider, "Feminisierung der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert. Perspektiven einer these im Kontext des deutschen Katholizismus," *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 111 (2002): 123-47; Caroline Ford, *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Tine Van Osselaer and Thomas Buerman, "'Feminisation' thesis: a survey of international historiography and a probing of Belgian grounds," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 103 (2008), 497-544. The decline of masculine church attendance was more true for Protestants than for Catholics. See Olaf Blaschke, "The Unrecognized Piety of Men: Strategies and Success of the Remasculinisation Campaign around 1900," in *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Yvonne Maria Werner (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 21-45.

[38] Dagmar Herzog, *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.) Alexandra Lotz, "'Die Erlösung des weiblichen Geschlechts.' Frauen in deutschkatholischen Gemeinden," in *Schimpfende Weiber und patriotische Jungfrauen: Frauen im Vormärz und in der Revolution 1848/9*, ed. Carola Lipp (Bühl -Moos: Elster Verlag, 1986), 232-247. Lucian Hölscher, "Weibliche Religiositat? Der Einfluss von Religion und Kirche auf die Religiosität von Frauen in 19 Jahrhundert," in *Erziehung der Menschen Geschlechter. Studien zur Religion, Sozialisation und Bildung in Europa seit der Aufklärung*, eds. Margret Kraul und Christoph Lueth (Weinheim: Dt. Studien-Verlag, 1996), 45-62.

[39] Erwin Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert: Katholische Bewegung und Karitativer Aufbruch in den Preussischen Provinzen Rheinland und Westfalen* (München: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1971); Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Relinde Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn": katholische Frauenkongregationen im 19.*

public and private prescribed in the public realm of work and politics, these religious activities granted women access to the public sphere normally forbidden to them.

Finally, the Catholic religious revival and the ultramontane piety it embraced placed new emphasis on faith's emotional and demonstrative aspects. New worship practices such as the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and the Herz-Jesu cult promoted the importance of feeling in religious piety. They also offered women a sense of belonging within the Church by providing a female religious figure who understood their troubles.[40]

Furthermore, spurred on by religious orders' return and involvement in charity work and education, Prussian women joined Catholic religious orders and congregations in impressive numbers.[41] In addition to providing an outlet for those seeking a life of pious contemplation, these organizations offered women an acceptable alternative to the traditional female roles of wife and mother, and the opportunity to perform meaningful work often denied them in the secular world.[42] For Catholics, these prior experiences with religious activism and women's increased public presence served to justify and encourage women's activism on the Church's

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Jahrhundert (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2000); Sarah Curtis, "Charitable Ladies: Gender, Class and Religion in Mid Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Past & Present* 177 (2002): 121-156.

[40] Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People,* 185-8. Norbert Busch, *Katholische Frömmigkeit und Moderne. Die Sozial und Mentalitätsgeschichte des Herz-Jesu-Kultes in Deutschland zwischen Kulturkampf und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, 1997); Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (London: Allen Lane, 1999); Blackbourn, *Marpingen*. See also the essays in Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen, ed, *Wunderbare Erscheinungen: Frauen und katholische Frömmigkeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1995.)

[41] In Prussia in 1869, there were 924 women in religious orders (nuns, novices, and lay sisters) and 5,364 women in religious congregations (sisters, novices, and lay sisters) for a total of 6,288 women involved in these organizations. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 210-12.

[42] Margaret Anderson points out that most women joining religious orders in 19th century Prussia elected to join those commited to social work rather than the contemplative orders. Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *The Historical Journal* 38 (1995): 647-670. See also Harris, *Lourdes*; Selina Krause, *Marienkinder im Katholizismus des 19. Jahrhunderts: Religiosität, Weiblichkeit und katholische Gesellschaftsbildung* (Berlin: Frank und Timme, 2010); Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn"*; Curtis, "Charitable Ladies."

behalf while leading liberal anti-clericals to criticize such behavior as a threatening encroachment on state power and the masculine public sphere.[43]

As with political and economic transformations, these religious changes also affected the anti-clerical campaign's origins and form. The upswing in Catholic religiosity was not always greeted with joy by Protestants, liberal politicians, or state officials. As Catholics became more devoted to their faith and their faith became more public, Protestants viewed this changing dynamic with concern and supported efforts to restrict Catholic missionary activity, particularly in Protestant areas.[44] Catholic religious orders' strong resurgence, while valued by many for their contribution to social services, aroused fears about the impact of growing numbers of 'fanatical' Jesuits on German soil.[45]

Furthermore, the growing visibility of Catholic religious practices, as processions and pilgrimages brought women and the laboring classes into the public sphere, made urban liberals nervous about their ability to control this 'masculine' space.[46] Increased clerical control over Catholic piety and the growing deference that Catholics showed their priests troubled government officials and liberal politicians alike. They feared that this influence extended beyond religious matters into political and cultural ones as well.[47] Clearly, the form that Catholicism (ultramontane, public, and on the rise) took in nineteenth-century Germany also played a role in sparking the Kulturkampf.

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[43] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*; Krause, *Marienkinder*.
[44] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 62-73.
[45] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*. See also Róisín Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany* (Boston: Brill, 2003), Borutta, "Enemies at the gate."
[46] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*.
[47] Anderson, "The Limits of Secularization." See also Ronald J. Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf: Catholicism and State Power in Imperial Germany, 1871-1887* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1998), Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*.

These concerns about the newly revitalized ultramontane Catholicism combined with simmering political and economic tensions to ensure that the Kulturkampf became a true "struggle for civilization." At stake was not just Germany's political future or the triumph of industrial capitalism, but a much larger struggle for German culture itself. In the words of David Blackbourn, "the word Kulturkampf deserves to be taken at face value. . .this 'struggle of civilisations' was concerned with far more than church-state relations in the formal sense: it was a clash between their [German liberals'] own 'modern' outlook embodied in a liberal nationalism, and the stubbornly parochial backwardness imputed to German Catholics."[48] As Blackbourn so eloquently points out, this growing clash between conflicting world views fueled the Kulturkampf; both sides felt that they were locked in a life or death struggle over the fate of the new German nation.

For liberals, allowing the Catholic church to maintain its independence, especially given its ultramontane slant, was tantamount to permitting superstition and irrationality to govern the new state. For Catholics, to allow liberals or the goverment to restrict the Church's freedoms meant letting the government redefine their values, communal relationships, and family structures while allowing liberals to create a Germany that served market interests and the principles of liberalism rather than a Reich that served God. In the struggle to define Germany's character, each side fought to defend "life" as they knew it and prevent the triumph of their opponent's value systems.[49]

[48] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 148. See also Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, and Politics, 1870-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Armin Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne: Die Liberalen und der preussisch-deutsch Kulturkampf," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 29 (2003): 138-156; Manuel Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus: Deutschland und Italien im Zeitalter der europäischen Kulturkämpfe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.)
[49] Wolfgang Altgeld, "Religion, Denomination and Nationalism in Nineteenth-century Germany," in *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany 1800-1914*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 49-66.

Ultimately, the Kulturkampf was a conflict for the German Reich's heart and soul.[50] It touched on all aspects of life in the new Empire: the nation's political character, the economic undertones that divided Protestant from Catholic and Kulturkampfer from Ultramontane, German society's gendered underpinings that defined men and women's proper roles in society, and the contest to define the new Reich's cultural nature. These factors' complex interplay motivated and sustained the conflict while also shaping both sides' interpretation of the struggle and reactions to it. Catholic protests against anti-clerical measures drew on these varied polictical, economic, religious, and cultural conflicts, revealing how they affected different Catholics in distinctive ways.

Although the Kulturkampf impacted every Catholic's life in some way, it did not affect each Catholic in the same way or to the same degree. In their reactions to Kulturkampf measures, Catholics revealed their relationship with the state, modernity, capitalism, the gendered division of public and private, and the changing face of Catholicism itself. Far from actions dictated by the Catholic hierarchy, a detailed study of Kulturkampf protests reveals the independence of popular reactions and the multiplicity of interests these actions served.

<u>Historical Interpretations of the Kulturkampf</u>

The study of the Kulturkampf to date reflects the influence of two different historical traditions: the secular and the religious. Particularly true of the German language scholarship, in many ways these two traditions approached the topic from distinctive perspectives and asked

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[50] Recent literature focuses on Catholics' efforts to participate in constructing German national identity. See Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Oliver Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life: German Communities in the Age of the Nation-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.)

very different questions. Church historians, reflecting the narrower approach of *kirchengeschichte,* focused on the conflict's religious aspects, examining how the Church hierarchy reacted to the anti-clerical legislation and detailing how the struggle affected Catholic clergymen and communities. Often quite emotional tales of elderly bishops' suffering or parish priests' spirited defiance, these studies dealt mainly with the conflict's impact on the Catholic church, its institutions, and the faithful.[51]

Amongst secular historians, interpretations of the Kulturkampf have long reflected the dominant trends in the historiography of nineteenth-century Germany. Early historical attention to the Kulturkampf used the Church-State conflict to illustrate larger arguments about Germany's historical and political development.[52] Such works reflected the Sonderweg thesis's predominant influence on nineteenth-century Germany's historiography. According to this interpretation, Germany's path to democracy stalled after the failure of the 1848 revolutions, permitting the authoritarian Prussian monarchy to govern with its power unchecked by the type of liberal parliamentary government that developed in other Western nations.[53] Those works that treated

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[51] Karl Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der deutschen Zentrumspartei: zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Bewegung, sowie zur allgemeinen Geschichte des neueren und neuesten Deutschland 1815 – 1914*, *Bd. 3: Das neue Zentrum und der Kulturkampf in Preussen: 1870-1880* (Köln: Bachem, 1927); Karl Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester. Auswahl einiger markanten Priester-Gestalten aus den Zeiten des preussischen Kulturkampfes* (Trier: Paulinus Druckerei, 1926); Johannes B. Kißling, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reiche*. 3 vols. (Freiburg: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1916); Paul Majunke, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Preussen-Deutschland* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1902); Peter Reichensperger, *Kulturkampf oder Friede in Staat und Kirche* (Berlin: Springer, 1876.)

[52] Prior to the 1980s, secular historians paid less attention to religious history in general because they tended to focus on "structural" patterns in German history and because they were themselves convinced of "modern" society's secular nature, a view that minimized religon's impact on historical development. For an interesting discussion of how belief in the secularization thesis has hindered the social history of religion, see Jonathan Sperber, "Kirchen Geschichte or the Social and Cultural History of Religion," *Neue politische Literatur* 43 (1998): 13-35.

[53] Although the predominant narrative of nineteenth-century German history with numerous adherents until the 1980s, the Sonderweg theory is most associated with the work of Hans-Ulrich Wehler and the Bielefeld school. See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire, 1871-1918*, Trans. Kim Traynor (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1985.) See also Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience 1660-1815* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); Jürgen Kocka, *Sozialgeschichte: Begriff - Entwicklung – Probleme* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977.)

the Kulturkampf focused primarily on the conflict's 'high politics,' attempting to identify the motivations of Bismarck and the liberal parties, and explain the struggle's origins and outcome.

In these works, the Church-State conflict served as an example of both German liberalism's weaknesses[54] and Bismarck's strategy of negative integration (in which the disparate elements within the Reich were brought together through the mutual exclusion of other groups.)[55] In particular, these studies portrayed the Kulturkampf as an effort to ensure Catholic citizens' loyalty to the Fatherland while limiting the Church's political influence. This approach emphasized the conflict's political nature, stressing the machinations of Bismarck and his liberal allies, particularly in regards to political Catholicism's emergence as a powerful force on the German political scene through the Center party.[56]

While these works employed the Church-State struggle to advance ideas about Germany's political development, the focus on high politics meant that such studies often said little about the actual Catholics experiencing the conflict. Catholics appear almost exclusively as voters, masses who put their electoral strength behind the Center party, often portrayed as an

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[54] Gordon Craig condemned liberal participation in the Kulturkampf, writing that "liberals, in a kind of doctrinaire besottedness, went their way eagerly and with scant regard for their own principles. . . in the name of freedom they underwrote laws that denied it, and placed their party, which pretended to maintain the cause of the individual against arbitrary authority, squarely behind a state that recognized no limits to it power." Craig, *Germany*, 78. See also Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany;* Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany*, 187, 206. On the idea that the Kulturkampf led to increased liberal acceptance of state power, see Alexander Schwan, "German Liberalism and the National Question in the Nineteenth Century," in *Nation-Building in Central Europe*, ed. Hagen Schulze (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1987) 64-79; Wehler, *The German Empire*, 94.

[55] For a the Church-State conflict as negative integration through "a war against the opponents of the lesser German unification," see Katharine A. Lerman, "Bismarckian Germany and the structure of the German Empire," in *Nineteenth-Century Germany: Politics, Culture and Society, 1780-1918*, ed. John Breuilly (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 177-8; Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany*, 196-200; Jürgen Kocka, "Probleme der Politischen Integration der Deutschen 1867 bis 1945," in *Die Rolle der Nation*, ed. Otto Busch und James Sheehan (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1985), 118-136.

[56] On the rise of Center as a motivation for Bismarck, see Taylor, *Bismarck*, 150; Craig, *Germany*, 1866-1945, 71; Evans, *The German Center Party*, 49; Lech Trzechiakowski, "The Prussian State and the Catholic Church in Prussian Poland, 1871-1914," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967): 618-637. Regarding the liberal parties and their concerns about the Center, see Margaret Lavinia Anderson, *Practicising Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); idem, "The *Kulturkampf* and the Course of German History"; Dieter Langewiesche, *Liberalism in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 202-203.

illegitimate political party that represented the international Catholic hierarchy rather than the interests of German citizens. By and large, these works presented Catholics as unenlightened underclasses led by their priests and beholden to backwards ideologies and superstition. The Church itself emerges as a corrupting influence within German society, one that hindered German political development's "proper" liberal-democratic course.

However, by the 1980s, the Sonderweg thesis, once the dominant understanding of nineteenth-century German history, was losing steam.[57] Its demise freed German liberalism from its predestined historical 'failure' and sparked new research on the German bourgeoisie. It also permitted new studies to question the Prussian state's authoritarian nature, challenging older assertions about the Bismarckian government's ability to manipulate and control political developments.

As a result, historians began to re-examine liberal participation in the Kulturkampf, arguing that rather than representing the key moment when German liberals violated their own principles in favor of a strong, unified German state, the Church-State struggle reflected the basic tenets of liberal ideology.[58] For example, Helmut Walser-Smith analyzed the connection between the Kulturkampf and German nationalism, contending that the Church-State conflict played a

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[57] Most famously, British historians Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn argued that the Sonderweg relied on an idealized (and often false) understanding events in France and England as well as the unjustified equation of "bourgeois" with "liberal." Furthermore, the opponents of the Sonderweg thesis criticized its lack of attention to human agency in favor of an emphasis on structures and systems. Blackbourn and Eley's *Mythen deutscher Geschichtsschreibung*, appeared in German in 1980 and the English edition (*The Peculiarities of German History*) appeared in 1984. See also Richard J. Evans, *Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany* (London: Croom Helm, 1978.) For a summary of this debate, see Roger Fletcher, "Recent Developments in West German Historiography: The Bielefeld School and its Critics," *German Studies Review* 7 (1984): 451-80 and Robert G. Moeller, "The Kaiserreich Recast? Continuity and Change in Modern German Historiography," *Journal of Social History* 17 (1984): 655-83. For a recent discussion of the impact of the Sonderweg's decline on the study of nineteenth century German history, see Helmut Walser Smith, "When the Sonderweg Debate left us," *German Studies Review* 31 (2008): 225-240.

[58] Winfried Becker, "Kulturkampf und Zentrum: Liberale Kulturkampf-Positionen und politischer Katholizismus," in *Innenpolitische Probleme des Bismarck-Reiche*s, ed. Otto Pflanze (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1983), 47-71.

vital role in German liberals' efforts to achieve their vision of a unified and secure nation-state.[59] Michael B. Gross also depicted anti-Catholicism as an important part of nineteenth-century German liberal ideology. He argues that "following the defeat of liberals in the 1848 Revolution and the initial period of exhaustion and disarray during the conservative reaction, liberals found anticlericalism and anti-Catholicism powerful means to rehabilitate and reorient their vision for German society…liberals therefore placed anti-Catholicism at the core of their identity."[60] Such studies transformed the Kulturkampf from a key moment in the failure of German liberalism to a logical outgrowth of its ideology.

This more nuanced understanding of German liberals and their political behavior led to new revelations about the Catholic bourgeoisie and how the Kulturkampf affected this unique social group that maintained one foot in the bourgeois and Catholic communities. In his remarkable study of the Rhineland's Catholic bourgeoisie, Thomas Mergel contends that these elite Catholics identified themselves primarily through their socio-cultural similarities with their Protestant counterparts rather than through their religious ties with Catholics from lesser backgrounds. He maintains that they sought to preserve these cultural ties (memberships in social clubs, god-parenthood) even as the Kulturkampf's increasingly vitriolic atmosphere pressured them to privilege solidarity with their co-religionists.[61]

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[59] Walser-Smith, *German Nationalism*, 14. See also Josef Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche in der Ära von Reichsgründung und Kulturkampf: Geschichte und Struckturen ihres Verhältnisses in Baden 1860-1876* (Mainz: Matthias-Gruenwald Verlag, 1973.) For a less confrontational vision of liberal-Catholic relations that still stresses the nation-building aspect, see Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life.*

[60] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 294-295. See also Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne"; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Wolfram Kaiser, "European anticlericalism and the Culture Wars," in *Culture Wars: Secular Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 47-76.

[61] Thomas Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession: katholisches Bürgertum im Rheinland 1794-1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.) See also Eric Yonke, "The Problem of the Middle Class in German Catholic History: The Nineteenth Century Rhineland Revisited," *Catholic Historical Review* 88 (2002): 263-280; Oded Heilbronner, "In Search of the (Rural) Catholic Bourgeoisie: The Bürgertum of South Germany," *Central European*

New works also challenged the image of an all-powerful Prussian state successfully manipulating Germany's social forces. Ronald Ross's excellent study of Kulturkampf legislation's enforcement argues that strict adherence to the rule of law and the tendency to rely on local, often Catholic, officials hindered the measures' enforcement and impact, revealing the limits of state power under the Bismarckian system. Ross's study reflected a growing emphasis within German historiography on historical subjects' lived experience. His work revealed Catholics' ability to resist state power and demonstrated the difficulties the supposedly all-powerful state experienced in its efforts to enforce its will on an unwilling populace. However, while giving well-deserved credit to Catholic resistance, Ross's analysis remains focused on high politics, "emphasizing the absence of political institutions and managerial arrangements appropriate for imposing the goverment's religious policy on an unwilling Catholic populace."[62]

Liberation from the Sonderweg thesis also allowed historians to reconsider religion's importance as a driving force in historical development, paying greater attention to popular piety as well as institutionalized religion. As a result, historians turned their attention towards religion in nineteenth-century Germany, arguing that far from a steady march towards secularization, the nineteenth-century witnessed a period of religious revival so powerful that one historian has even argued for considering the nineteenth-century as a "second confessional age."[63] This emphasis on religion's renewed importance offered a powerful critique of the secularization thesis's image of religion as a pre-modern hold-over rather than a vital force in German society.

History 29 (1996): 175-200; Rudolf Schlögl, *Glaube und Religion in der Säkularisierung: die katholische Stadt Köln, Aachen, Münster, 1700 - 1840* (München: Oldenbourg, 1995.)

[62] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 13.

[63] Blaschke, "Das 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Zweites Konfessionelles Zeitalter?" For a critique of Blaschke's thesis, see Anthony Steinhoff, "Ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter? Nachdenken über die Religion im langen 19. Jahrhundert," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 30 (2004): 549-570.

Seeing the nineteenth-century as a second confessional age, even if a problematic comparison, meant acknowledging religion as a powerful factor in explaining and understanding the actions of historical subjects. In a time of heightened religious consciousness, faith influenced people's behavior (although opinion remains divided on whether this influence stemmed from independent action or the clerical hierarchy's increased power.) Greater attention to popular piety's forms and practices allowed historians to pinpoint the areas in which religious faith evolved to meet nineteenth-century Germans' everyday needs and concerns. For example, Sperber's work on the Rhineland argues that the revival of popular Catholicism illustrated a connection between socio-econcomic conditions and religious change as the Church's emphasis on morality found its echo in the period's harsh economic conditions. [64] Here, religion itself is depicted as responding to changing socio-economic conditions; far from static and out-moded, Sperber and Blaschke both present religion as a force capable of changing with and responding to the times.

In this way, Sperber's work presaged the growing scholarly attention to the social history of religion.[65] These studies explored the intersections between religious faith and the consequences of modernity's onset, particularly the processes of industrialization and urbanization as well as the ever-expanding grip of state power. In his seminal essay "Progress and Piety" as well as in his later micro-study of the Marian apparitions in Marpingen, David Blackbourn characterized the Kulturkampf as a "conflict over the future shape of Germany, in

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[64] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 98.

[65] See also Wolfgang Schieder's path-breaking essay on the 1844 Trier pilgrimage, Wolfgang Schieder, "Kirche und Revolution. Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Trierer Wallfahrt von 1844," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 14 (1974): 419-54. For other important works, see Thomas Nipperdey, *Religion im Umbruch. Deutschland 1870-1918* (Munich: Beck, 1988); Urs Altermatt, *Katholizismus und Moderne: Zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte der Schweizer Katholiken im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Benziger Verlag, 1989); Wolfgang Schieder, ed., *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*.

which material, social, moral and intellectual interests were at stake." His work stresses the extent to which liberal antagonism towards Catholicism and Catholic distrust of liberal policies reflected differing socio-economic and cultural perspectives as much as different religious or political views.[66]

Likewise, Klaus-Michael Mallmann's studies of working-class Catholics in the Saarrevier connected these miner-peasants' socio-economic oppression with their increased religious devotion. He portrays their experience of industrialization as a loss of status and dignity and sees their commitment to the Church as a way to combat their spiritual and economic oppression.[67] These new social histories stressed the connection between the religious revival and nineteenth-century Germany's changing socio-economic conditions. By demonstrating how religious faith shaped class conflict in these industrial areas, thus influencing how Catholics reacted to the onset of modernity, social historians made a powerful case for religion's importance in modern society, even if that influence served to defend an out-dated, pre-industrial world view, as Blackbourn and Mallmann imply.

Building on the new enthusiasm for a social history of religion, historians embraced milieu theory as a means to approach the study of Catholicism in nineteenth-century Germany.[68]

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[66] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 144. See also idem, *Class, Religion, and Local Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: the Centre Party in Württemberg before 1914* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1980.)

[67] Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat"; Mallmann, "Aus des Tages Last." For a discussion of how social tension contributed to workers' religious identities in the Ruhr area, see Baldur Hermans, *"Am Weihwasser die Finger verbrannt." Der Bismarcksche Kulturkampf- Konflikteverläufe im Ruhrgebiet* (Fachtagung: Essen, 2000); Michaela Bachem-Rehm, *Die katholischen Arbeitervereine im Ruhrgebiet 1870-1914: Katholisches Arbeitermilieu zwischen Tradition and Emazipation* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004.)

[68] Milieu theory originated with the work of German social scientist Rainer Lepsius. According to Lepsius, even prior to the Reich's founding in 1871, German society was already divided into four distinct socio-cultural milieus. These consisted of a rural, agrarian Protestant milieu, an urban, bourgeois Protestant milieu, an urban, working-class Social Democratic milieu, and a Catholic milieu. In time, political parties developed out of these milieu but their reliance on their individual milieus resulted in their inability to compromise at the parliamentary level, frustrating parliamentary democracy's growth in Germany. Lepsius's characterization of the Catholic milieu as a pre-industrial milieu fit well with the then-dominant perception of Catholicism as backwards and clerically-controlled as well as studies seeking to explain the weaknesses of German liberalism. As Lepsius's theory gained in popularity and

These studies drew their inspiration from Lepsius's milieu theory which argued that nineteenth-century German society was divided into four distinct and separate social 'milieus,' each of which developed its own cultural and organizational life that kept its members enmeshed within the milieu and divided from other social groups. For historians, milieu theory explained how and why Catholics remained loyal Center party voters. In an effort to understand the cohesiveness of an identity often contrary to people's class interests, these works explored the nature of the Catholic milieu, its construction and maintenance, and Catholicism's relationship to modernity.[69]

Most research on the Catholic milieu focused on Catholics' political behavior, addressing two inter-related questions: 1) when and how the Catholic milieu was "lost" to liberalism and 2) whether ultramontane Catholicism represented an authoritarian force in German society or whether it contained democractic and emancipatory elements. Although encompassing a wide array of methods and exploring a broad range of topics, most milieu studies attempt to answer one or both of these questions, either by exploring the milieu's construction, its associational life, leadership systems, or voting patterns.

Those who argue for nineteenth-century Catholicism's authoritarian nature see ultramontanism's triumph as ending enlightened or liberal reforms within the Church, thus determining the milieu's backwards, clerically-controlled, and hierarchical character. For example, Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen's work on the changing nature of Freiburg's clergy illustrates how discipline and hierarchical control weeded out dissent and reform initiatives

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adherence to the Sonderweg theory waned, studies of the Catholic milieu flourished, opening new debates about Catholicism and an increased focus on the Kulturkampf. Rainer Lepsius, "Parteisystem und Sozialstruktur: Zum Problem der Demokratisierung der deutschen Gesellschaft," in *Deutsche Parteien vor 1918*, ed. Gerhard Ritter (Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1973), 56-80.

[69] For an overviews of milieu theory, see Michael Klöcker, "Das katholische Milieu. Grundüberlegungen – in besonderer Hinsicht auf das Deutsche Kaiserreich von 1871," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 44 (1992), 241–262; Arbeitskreis Für Zeitgeschichte (AKKZG) Münster, "Katholiken zwischen Tradition und Moderne. Das katholische Milieu als Forschungsaufgabe," *Westfälische Forschungen* 43 (1993): 588-654.

within the clergy, effectively creating a new generation of ultramontane priests obedient to the Church hierachy.[70] Her depiction of a solidly ultramontane and anti-liberal clergy dovetails nicely with Olaf Blaschke's image of priests as "milieu managers" who exercised extensive control over their parishioners' lives, ensuring that the Catholic laity shared (or hesitated to contest) their clerics' anti-modern ultramontane ideology.[71]

Studies stressing the Catholic milieu's "closed" nature further reinforced the strength of clerical influence over the Catholic laity by emphasizing the Catholic "ghetto's" power to trap its inhabitants within a closed social and cultural system.[72] Catholicism's hierarchical and ultramontane nature was also reflected in studies of the Center party that portrayed it as a clerical, not a constitutional party (contrary to Center party politicians' own assertions.) By highlighting the Center's clerical nature and its roots in a clerically-controlled milieu, historians such as Christoph Weber argue that the emergence of a politically active ultramontane Catholicism ended the possibility of Catholic support for liberal politics in Germany.[73]

But these negative depictions of the Catholic milieu have not gone uncontested; in fact several historians countered these claims with studies that highlighted nineteenth-century Catholicism's emancipatory and democratic currents. These historians rejected the Center party's depiction as simply a Catholic party controlled by priests and committed to advancing institutional Church interests. In her work on the Center party and electoral politics in the new

[70] Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten. Zur Sozialgeschichte katholischer Priester im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Erzdiözese Freiburg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.)
[71] Olaf Blaschke "Die Kolonialisierung der Laienwelt: Priester als Milieumanager und die Kanäle klerikaler Kuratel," in *Religion im Kaiserreich: Milieus- Mentalitäten- Krisen*, ed. Olaf Blaschke and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann (Gütersloh: Kaiser, 1996), 93-135.
[72] Franz-Xaver Kaufmann, "Katholizismus und Moderne als Aufgaben künftiger Forschung," in *Modern Als Problem des Katholizismus*, eds., Urs Altermatt, Heinz Hürten, und Nikolaus Lobkowicz (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1995), 9-32; Michael N. Ebertz, "Ein Haus voll Glorie, schauet…" Modernisierungsprozesse der römische-katholischen Kirche im 19 Jahrhundert," in *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 62-85.
[73] Weber, *Eine starke, enggeschlossene Phalanx*.

Reich, Margaret Anderson presents the party as drawing its impetus from the concerns of the Catholic population itself (rather than the other way around.) She argues that far from an instrument of clerical control, the party possessed a democratic nature and contributed to Catholics's emancipation from other forms of domination.[74] David Blackbourn also portrayed the Center as a political party rather than the political arm of the Catholic church by stressing the party's appeal to voters' socio-economic interests as well as their religious inclinations.[75]

Other works examined the milieu's nature, characterizing it as open to outside influences, reflective of lay concerns, and hardly under the thumb of the clerical hierarchy.[76] For example, in his study of Catholic reading habits, Jeffrey Zalar shows that Catholics ignored their priests' efforts to censor or limit their reading material and frequently read books from the emerging German canon despite the clerical preference for morally uplifting literature.[77] Oliver Zimmer also contests the notion of a closed Catholic milieu, sealed off from and hostile to external influences. In his work on Corpus Christi processions, Zimmer demonstrates the ability of liberals and Catholics to develop patterns of mutual accomodation despite their antagonist cultural visions.[78]

Josef Mooser goes further, arguing that popular piety itself, rather than clerical initiative and control, formed the basis of the Catholic milieu. In Mooser's assessment, the milieu remained porous; individual Catholics were capable of cleaving to or venturing away from its

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[74] Windthorst, *Practising Democracy*; idem., "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History."
[75] Blackbourn, *Class, Religion, and Local Politics in Wilhemine Germany.*
[76] For a general critique of Catholicism's negative portrayals in the historiography, see Oded Heilbronner, "From Ghetto to Ghetto: The Place of German Catholic Society in Recent Historiography," *Journal of Modern History* 72 (June 2000): 453-495.
[77] Jeffrey T. Zalar, "The Process of Confessional Inculturation: Catholic Reading in the 'Long Nineteenth Century,'" in *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1800-1914*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 121-152.
[78] Oliver Zimmer, "Beneath the "Culture War": Corpus Christi Processions and Mutual Accomondation in the Second German Empire," *Journal of Modern History* 82 (June 2010): 288-334. See also Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*.

influence as suited their needs.[79] Studies of Catholic associational life, while still noting priests' tendency to serve as the group's president, point to lay involvement and control in these organizations, particularly as they changed over time.[80]

Hovering over all of these debates about the Catholic milieu's nature (authoritarian or democratic), the Center party's character (hierarchical and clerically controlled or a constitutional people's party), and the extistence of a Catholic "ghetto" are larger questions about Catholics' relationship to modernity and what that meant for German politics. While the debate about Catholicism and modernity continues,[81] three key positions can be sketched out. The first camp maintains the nineteenth-century linkage between Catholicism and anti-modern views. These historians see the Church and milieu as backwards-looking opponents of modernity who sought to hold back the tide of progress.[82] The second group takes a middle position in which it acknowledges that nineteenth-century Catholicism adopted elements of modernity but insists that the hierarchy and milieu used these modern means (press, railroads, mass politics) as weapons in their on-going battle against modernity's broader currents. Far from embracing modernity, Catholics employed it to defend their pre-modern ideology.[83] A third group posits ultramontane Catholicism as an entirely modern phenomenon, arguing either that the entire current of

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[79] Josef Mooser, "Katholische Volksreligion"; idem., "Volk, Arbeiter und Bürger in der katholischen Öffentlichkeit des Kaiserreichs," in *Bürger in der Gesellschaft der Neuzeit*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1991), 259-271. See also Wilfried Loth, *Katholiken im Kaiserreich: der politische Katholizismus in der Krise des wilhelminischen Deutschlands* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1984.)
[80] Karl-Egon Lonne, "Katholizismus Forschung," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 26 (2000): 128-170; Nipperdey, *Religion in Umbruch*; Urs Altermatt, "Katholizismus: Antimodernismus mit modernen Mitteln?" in *Modern als Problem des Katholizismus*, eds. Urs Altermatt, Heinz Hürten, und Nikolaus Lobkowicz (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1995), 33-50.
[81] For a criticism of modernization theory in the social history of religion, see Sperber, "*Kirchengeschichte*."
[82] Kaufmann, "Katholizismus und Moderne als Aufgaben künftiger Forschung." For larger discussion about modernity and Catholicism, see Lonne, "Katholizismus Forschung," Christoph Weber, "Ultramontanismus als katholischer Fundamentalismus," in *Deutscher Katholizismus im Umbruch zur Moderne*, ed. Wilfred Loth (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 20-45.
[83] Ebertz, "Ein Haus voll Glorie, schauet…"; Wilfried Loth, "Integration and Erosion: Wandlung des katholischen Milieus in Deutschland," in *Deutscher Katholizismus im Umbruch zur Moderne*, ed. Wilfred Loth (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991); Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety."

ultramontane Catholicism and its connection to popular religion represented a modern trend or that the adoption of modern methods itself transformed Catholicism, making it both modern and less hierarchical by stressing the participatory elements that brought the laity into the movement.[84]

While the history of Catholicism has undoubtedly benefited from milieu studies, these works still suffer from several weaknesses, such as their unending preoccupation with male voting habits and their tendency to focus on the decades after 1880s. Even the most recent studies fail to address important aspects of Catholic life during the Kulturkampf itself and thus say little about this crucial period in German history. Because many milieu studies' underlying concern has remained explaining the Center's lasting power as a political party (particularly why workers and others failed to abandon what has been perceived as a largely conservative party), many of these studies look at Catholic organizational life or priests' roles within their communities in order to explain electoral behavior. As a result, the studies tend to focus overwhelmingly on men, particularly bourgeois or working-class men, and pay much less attention to women or youth.

This intensive effort to explain electoral behavior through reference to the Catholic milieu leaves unexplored other aspects of Catholic life (such as gender dynamics within the milieu.) It also restricts the subjects of historical inquiry to Catholic males of voting age while often presuming a unity and cohesiveness to the milieu without demonstrating the extent to which this assumed unity existed. Furthermore, many milieu studies concentrate their attention on the development of Catholic clubs and associations, a phenomenon that happened primarily in

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[84] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*; Anderson, "The Limits of Secularization"; Mooser, "Katholische Volksreligion, Klerus, und Bürgertum."

the late 1880s and 1890s. As a result, attention to the Kulturkampf and its impact on German Catholics' lives has fallen by the wayside in favor of studies focused on developments within Catholicism during the Kaiserreich.[85]

However, recent studies offer an encouraging corrective to this picture. Pontus Hiort's investigation of Franco-Prussian War commemorations in Baden reveals how Catholics contested Protestant triumphalism with an alternative discourse that reflected Catholics' understanding of unification and national identity. Hiort contends that far from remaining aloof to the new nation, "Catholics actively opposed the [Protestant] attempts to construct national identity along confessional lines." Seeking to ensure a place for themselves in the new German nation, Hiort claims that Catholics refused to accept a national identity tainted by assumptions about Catholic backwardness and anti-Germanness."[86] In exploring how Catholics staked their claim to "true Germanness," Hiort's study returns attention to the Reich's founding decades and moves away from the earlier focus on elections and political parties.

Rebecca Bennette's work also explores questions of national identity and Catholics' complex relationship with the new Reich. Bennette argues that Catholics desired a place in the new nation and based their claims for inclusion to a large degree on their religious faith. Like Hiort, Bennette separates Catholics' opposition to government policies and liberal nationalists from their favorable attitude toward nation. Focusing on the tense decade of the Kulturkampf, Bennette maintains that the period sparked not only Catholic opposition to anti-clerical measures

[85] Such an emphasis follows a broader trend in German history in which current research focuses overwhelmingly on the twentieth century. Those studies that do address the nineteenth-century show a preference for the Kaiserreich rather than the Reichsgründung era. For a discussion of this phenomenon, see David Blackbourn's speech at the 2013 German Studies Association Conference: "Honey, I Shrunk German History" *German Studies Association Newsletter* Volume XXXVIII, Number 2 (Winter 2013-14): 44-53.
[86] Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German," 19 and 45.

but also fostered Catholics' long-term integration into the nation, particularly through their continued emphasis on "diversity as the essential characteristic of Germanness."[87]

By emphasizing the Catholic perspective, both works revived historical interest in the Kulturkampf and counter-balanced the existing historical stress on liberals' perceptions of the conflict. Furthermore, by portraying Catholics as actively contesting Protestant images of the nation, Hiort and Bennette demonstrate Catholics' agency and independepence from clerical control as well as their interaction with broader German society.[88] Focusing on how Catholics made their case for inclusion in the German nation, Bennette and Hiort illustrate that Catholics were not insulated in a ghetto mentality that prevented them from interacting with or feeling the pressures of broader German society; instead these works show how Catholics engaged with larger efforts to define the German nation and establish its character.

By now, the Kulturkampf's historiography accurately reflects the conflict's complex nature, revealing how the "struggle for civilization" incorporated political, socio-economic, and cultural struggles within the new Reich. The earliest studies focused on the conflict's high politics and Bismarck's dramatic and powerful persona.[89] By the 1980s, the shift towards social history portrayed the Kulturkampf as a social conflict in which various interest groups contested modernity's uneven socio-economic impacts.[90] Most recently, historians have emphasized the conflict's cultural history, examining the Kulturkampf "as an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to

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[87] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*.
[88] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German." Zimmer makes a similar claim for contestation and accommodation, arguing that neither modernity nor nationalism presented people with a fait accompli that they had to either accept or reject but rather that local actors possessed the ability to adapt the forms and practices of both. Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 295-305.
[89] Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der deutschen Zentrumspartei*; Kißling, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reiche*; Craig, *Germany*; Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*; Pflanze*, Bismarck and the Development of Germany*; Evans, *The German Center Party;* Trzechiakowski, "The Prussian State and the Catholic Church in Prussian Poland."
[90] Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat"; Mallmann "Aus des Tages Last"; Hiepel, "Der Kulturkampf im Ruhrgebiet"; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," idem., *Marpingen*.

create a common national culture across confessional lines" or as "a *Geschlechterkampf*, a contest between men and women for access to the public sphere" or even "the management of confessional differences in the service of national integration."[91] These diverse interpretations of the Kulturkampf highlight not just the struggle's complexities but also that the Church-State conflict meant many things to many people.

Yet, despite the Kulturkampf's vast literature, historians have shown less interest in uncovering the conflict's multiple meanings for ordinary Catholics; while numerous studies focus on liberal visions of German society and recent work address Catholics' efforts to secure a place for themselves within German national culture, the conflicts' everyday realities have not received a similar level of historical attention. In particular, when describing the ways in which ordinary Catholics expressed their loyalty to the Church and rejection of Kulturkampf measures, the scholarship often fails to fully consider how factors such as age, class, and gender influenced Catholic activism. For example, most works note that Catholics overwhelmingly sided with their Church and participated in acts of passive resistance without differentiating amongst "Catholics."[92] Other works highlight the conflict's socio-economic roots, attending to class differences between Catholics and Kulturkämpfer, and how those differences proved problematic for certain social groups, particularly bourgeois men.[93] Most recently, scholars have emphasized gender's influence on the conflict, stressing liberal fears of female activism and Catholics' own

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[91] For the quotes, see Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*, 14; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 27; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 14. For other works emphasizing the conflict's cultural elements, see Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Zimmer *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*; Christopher Clark, "The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars," in *Culture Wars: Secular Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11-46.

[92] For example, Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*; Anderson, *Windthorst*; Erich Schmidt-Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf in Deutschland, 1871-1890* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1962); Kißling, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes*; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*; Manfred Scholle, *Die Preussische Strafjustiz im Kulturkampf, 1873-1880* (Marburg: Elwert, 1974.)

[93] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*; Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat."

willingness to embrace a feminine identity through their insistence on passive resistance and elevation of feminine virtues.[94]

This work builds on this existing scholarship by examining Catholic activism in greater detail in order to reveal its complexities and paradoxes as well as the multiplicity of factors that motivated and constrained Catholic activism. It argues that while most Catholics rallied to the Church, their activism took many different forms; not every Catholic expressed his or her support for the Church in the same way. Attending to these differences between Catholic men and women, youth and adults, elites and masses, reveals the complex interplay of factors that prompted activism and shaped its forms. Men protested differently from women, youth differently than adults; exploring these differences highlights what meanings the Kulturkampf held for different Catholics as well as what risks and rewards they associated with their involvement.

Such a nuanced approach further develops earlier studies' attention to the Kulturkampf's gendered dimensions, demonstrating how ideas about gender relationships and the public-private divide contributed to and constrained Catholic men's and women's activism in specific ways. Rather than simply seeing Kulturkampf protests through a liberal imaginary that conjured forth fanatical women and riled-up masses, attending carefully to the distinctive gender roles expressed through Catholic activism illustrates how Catholics' social and cultural background informed their support for clerics. As later chapters argue, women's presence in the public sphere was far less threatening beyond the confines of middle-class respectability preached by liberal polemicists. Furthermore, male Catholics played a far greater and more decisive role in popular

[94] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*.

resistance than liberals wanted to believe.[95] Taking seriously popular protests' distinctive forms offers insight into gender relationships within the Catholic community that go beyond the fanatical women and feminized men usually present in the historiography.

Looking at Catholic reactions to Kulturkampf measures also means examining young Catholics' primary role in the conflict, an aspect largely ignored in earlier accounts more focused on youth as objects of state policy, liberal efforts to shape Germany's future, and Catholic parents' desire to retain control over their children's education.[96] Occasionally presented as actors in ancedotes of Catholic resistance or the willingness to use state power to quell Catholic resistance, historians have given limited attention to Catholic youth's specific roles in the conflict or what young Catholics stood to lose and/or gain in the Church-State struggle. Focusing on Catholic young people's distinctive Kulturkampf activism reveals how the *Reichsgründung* era's changing conditions affected youth in unique ways, often motivating them to rally to the Church's defense.

Furthermore, this dissertation returns the Kulturkampf's historiography to the personal realm of subjective lived experience. It demonstrates how religious and social conflicts blended, how gender and class shaped activism, the special role accorded to Catholic youth, and Catholic men's continued dominance within their communities rather than women's sudden, threatening emergence in the public sphere. It also underscores that Catholic protests conformed to accepted community standards and drew on customs and traditions familiar to Catholics' regional and social backgrounds. Examing how different Catholics reacted to the Church-State conflict

[95] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Anderson, "The Limits of Secularization."
[96] For example, Marjorie Lamberti argues that the school reform measures appealed to liberals by removing clerical supervision, associated with anti-modern backwardness, from the schools. It also improved schools' quality by allowing "professionals" to be appointed to supervisory positions without the Church's approval, previously required. Marjorie Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.)

highlights Catholic reactions' individualized nature as well as how Catholics used the Kulturkampf to express a variety of grievances and come to terms with a broad array of changes in their lives, communities, and society. "Modernity" threatened Catholics, but it did not threaten all of them in the same way.

Although many Catholics rallied to the Church, their choices did not always have the same implications. Different motives drew men and women, young and old, wealthy and marginal into the conflict. Catholics of different stations faced different reactions to and consequences for their unique and specific roles in resistance to anti-clerical measures. By highlighting these differences, this study builds on the work of Margaret Lavinia Anderson and other historians who portray Catholics as rational actors making independent choices. Attending to the forms that Catholic popular protests took illustrates how Catholics made these difficult decisions and how their religious understanding, socio-economic position, and perception of the proper gendered order informed their choices. Far from mindless masses led by their priests, the Catholics in this study prove themselves highly capable of assessing their actions' costs and benefits and making independent decisions that reflected not their rejection of modernity, capitalism, or the new German Reich but rather their efforts to come to terms with each of these.

Regional Focus

This dissertation focuses primarily on the Catholic Kulturkampf activism that occurred in the former Prussian Rheinprovinz and the administrative district of Münster in Westphalia. This area stretched along the Reich's western border from the Saarland in the south up to the area around Münster in the north. In addition to the administrative district of Münster, it also includes

the districts of Aachen, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Koblenz, and Trier. Correspondingly, it examines the diocese of Trier and Münster as well as the Archdiocese of Cologne. In addition to this regional focus, the work employs examples from other areas within Prussia when available.

Several factors contributed to the decision to undertake a study of this region in particular. First and foremost, because this study aims to analyze Catholics' reactions to anti-clerical measures' enforcement, it made sense to select an area subjected to the full range of Kulturkampf legislation. Since the May Laws of 1873/4 applied only within the Prussian state, and not to the Reich as whole, selecting regions subject to Prussian control allowed the analysis of Catholic reactions to these most hated of all anti-clerical measures. Second, Catholics represented the majority of the population in both the Rhineland and Westphalia, but each area also contained Protestant strongholds, a fact that permitted an assessment of how Catholics reacted to the conflict in areas where they represented the majority and places where they formed an (often oppressed) minority.[97]

Furthermore, taking the Rhineland and Westphalia as the basis for this work offers the opportunity to explore how issues of class and religion influenced Catholic reactions to the conflict as well as differences in the reactions of rural and urban Catholics. In taking the two regions together, the work focuses on both large cities (Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen) and on small rural communities, on centers of industrial development and 'modernity' as well as regions less affected by the processes of industrialization and urbanization. The Rhineland in particular saw itself as a center of progress and modernity; many Rhinelanders looked down their noses at

[97] As Sperber notes, "While over ninety-five percent of the population in the rural parts of the Münster and Aachen Districts was Catholic . . . there were equally Protestant rural areas in northeastern Westphalia and on the right bank of the Rhine." *Popular Catholicism*, 6.

what they perceived as the coarseness of their Prussian rulers.[98] However, the area (and especially Westphalia) also contained numerous smaller rural communities, "more village than city."[99]

Finally, although utilizing examples from Polish areas in Prussia's eastern territories, the decision to focus on the Rhineland and Westphalia also stemmed from a desire to avoid the conflation of religious with national identities that existed in the Polish provinces. While they certainly considered themselves distinct from (and often superior to) the Prussians who governed them, neither side doubted the "Germanness" of the Catholics of the Rhineland and Westphalia. (In labelling these Catholics *reichsfeindlich*, their anti-clerical opponents attacked their political loyalty to the Reich, not their innate Germanness.) In the eastern regions, the religious conflict helped to fuel the fires of nationalism and vice-versa. Furthermore, the concerns of the Prussian government (and Bismarck in particular) differed greatly there as the desire to reduce the Catholic Church's power in Poland coincided with larger efforts at "Germanization."[100]

Strike and Counter-strike: An overview of the Kulturkampf measures

The Kulturkampf consisted of a series of government actions taken against the Catholic Church in the years between 1871 and 1878. These measures generally took the form of legislation designed to restrict the Church's power and influence by bringing it under greater state control. As Ronald Ross argues, far from a unified, coherent set of laws, the anti-clerical

[98] For a wonderfully vitriolic statement of this position from a Catholic newspaper in Trier, see *Eucharius,* 3 September 1876. The paper describes the Rhineland and Westphalia as "the brightest, most intelligent and enlightened part of the whole [Prussian] monarchy, the pearl in the Prussian crown."
[99] August Vollmer's description of Rheine, his Westphalian hometown. See August Vollmer, "Erinnerungen an Alt-Rheine in der Wilhelminischen Zeit" in *Rheine a.d. Ems: Chroniken und Augenzeugenberichte 1430-1950,* ed. Heinrich Büld (Rheine, 1977), 333-360.
[100] Trzechiakowski, "The Prussian State and the Catholic Church in Prussian Poland."

legislation emerged in an ad hoc manner. As it became clear to liberal legislators and government officials that the Catholic population intended to support a clergy that refused to submit to state power, new measures were sought in an effort to bring the Church to heel.[101]

Opening Salvos

The *Kulturkampf* began in Prussia with the dissolution of the Catholic division of the *Kultusministerium* in July 1871. Instead of two divisions, Protestant and Catholic, the offices were streamlined into one department responsible for both churches. In December, 1871 the "pulpit paragraph" placed restrictions on the content of priests' sermons throughout the Reich. Going forward, priests who spoke from the pulpit on political matters in ways that threatened public peace faced possibile arrest and imprisonment.[102]

The following year's anti-Jesuit law banished the Jesuits and related orders (Redemptorists, Lazarists) from the empire. Non-German Jesuits had to leave the country immediately; German members had the option of leaving either their order or their homeland. The Prussian law on school supervision (1872) redefined the office of school inspector, previously occupied by local clergymen by virtue of their religious office, as a state function. As a result, particularly in the Rhineland, Catholic clergymen viewed as 'unreliable' or '*reichsfeindlich*' lost their positions as school superintendants in favor of secular replacements. Such actions revealed the inequalities and bias in these measures' enforcement as almost all

[101] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf.*
[102] Few priests fell victim to this law. Most priests wishing to discuss political issues employed metaphors or used historical examples, particularly tales of the Roman persecution of early Christians, to convey their message.

Protestant pastors retained their positions, a fact that only contributed to the ill-will with which the Catholic population greeted this law.[103]

The Kulturkampf's Hot Phase

Catholics' bitterness reached new heights the following year as the May Laws of 1873 radically transformed the relationship between Church and State in Prussia. Henceforth, in addition to qualifying as German citizens, priests had to attend German schools, study state mandated curriculum, and pass state examinations. Even more objectionable, the state demanded the right to approve the appointment of priests, requiring that bishops inform the *Oberpräsident* whenever they appointed a new clergyman to a benefice. Furthermore, the laws also allowed the state to remove clerics from their offices and made the state the final arbiter in all measures of internal Church discipline.

Unsurprisingly, the entire German episcopate rejected these new laws and vowed not to obey them. Bishops continued to appoint priests to parishes without notifying state officials and communities continued to attend religious services despite the government's declaration that such clerics had no right to perform those services.

In the face of this defiance, the Prussian state proceeded with its famed legalism.[104] New clerics appointed after the May laws came into force (October 1873) were first subject to a *Sperrung*, an official proclamation of their 'illegal' occupation of the church office and a

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[103] Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School.*
[104] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck"s Kulturkampf.*

prohibition against holding any religious services in the community.[105] Almost all clerics simply held the services anyway, at which point the government needed eye-witness testimony to the crime. Once this was secured, itself no easy feat,[106] the '*gesperrt*' clergyman was tried, generally *in contumacium*, and fined for his offence against the May laws. Since clerics seldom paid these fines, the government then had to assess their personal property to determine if an auction could cover the fine. As most clergymen were repeat offenders and seldom had personal possessions of any significant worth, the day eventually came when the fines could not be covered and the cleric would be forced to spend a set period of time in prison in lieu of the fine. However, because the initial fines were generally low, clerics were soon released and returned to their communities, often under great fanfare, to repeat the process.

Given the process's inherent difficulties and the willingness of clerics and Catholic communities to persist in their defiance, the Prussian government realized the need for more strenuous measures to uphold the state's dignity and ensure the enforcement of its laws. In May 1874, Prussian lawmakers retaliated with another set of laws, most importantly the Expatriation act which permitted the exile of defiant priests. Those who repeatedly violated the May laws could now be banished from their parishes, interned in other parts of the Reich, and in extreme

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[105] A *Sperrung* prohibited or banned a *gesperrt* cleric from exercising his religious office, not his physical banishment from the area. So a priest sent to a community in violation of the May laws who never held a religious service was theoretically entitled to remain in the community. Even once '*gesperrt*,' priests were free to stay in the area, provided that they refrained from performing religious duties.

[106] An example from Hammer, a small village in Kreis Montjoie, near Aachen, reveals the difficulties involved in securing testimony against *gesperrt* clerics: Reporting to his superiors, a district official (*Regierungsrat*) explained the lack of progress in proceeding against the local cleric, Pfarrer Müller. The official began by pointing out that the village lay an hour's distance from the administrative seat (*Bürgermeisterei*) and all the inhabitants stood on Müller's side. The Polizeidiener Brüll sent a written refusal to watch over Müller. He was subsequently fired but the position remained vacant as both the village superintendant (*Ortsvorsteher*) and a community council member briefly agreed to assume the post but then resigned after experiencing "great discomforts, even dangers." Although the gensdarmes continued to patrol the community, their efforts remained unsuccessful as posted look-outs alerted the community to their presence in order to prevent Müller's prosecution. Schiffers, *Der Kulturkampf in Stadt und Regierungsbezirk Aachen*, 87. See also Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*.

cases, the state gained the power to revoke their citizenship and deport them. In addition, a second law allowed the state to administer dioceses and parishes left vacant.

The following year, the Prussian *Landtag* approved the civil marriage law that turned marriage into a civil contract. In April of 1875, the *Landtag* heightened the costs of resistance with the so-called “breadbasket law” that withheld the government salary of any cleric who refused a public oath of loyalty to the state. Intended as a crippling blow to clergymen’s recalcitrance, the Breadbasket law was an abysmal failure; in most cases Catholic communities simply continued to provide for their priest (and priests who fell afoul of the May laws had lost their salaries two years prior.)[107]

Following this measure, the Orders Law (May 1875) closed all monasteries and regular orders not involved in nursing, expelling their members from Prussia. However, because this measure in many ways proved as troublesome to the state as it was to the Catholic population, the legislation contained clauses allowing orders to apply for permission to remain while the state attempted to set up ersatz replacements for their extensive charitable networks.[108] Permission was generally granted, although many orders did have to abandon some of their earlier activities, particularly their educational activities and orphanages. A final salvo in 1876 forbade priests from providing religious instruction in schools.

These laws comprised the Kulturkampf’s basic tenets and unleashed a storm of popular protest among Catholics who responded with widespread civil disobedience. The following

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[107] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck’s Kulturkampf*; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*.
[108] The Prussian Defense Minister, General Georg von Kameke, famously told Bismarck during the 1875 War in Sight crisis: “Without the Sisters of Mercy, I can’t wage war.” Cited in Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck’s Kulturkampf*, 80. See also Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn.”*

chapters explore the forms that resistance took, demonstrating how age, class, gender and other factors worked to justify, shape, and constrain popular Catholic activism.

The first two chapters examine the roles Catholic women played in communities' resistance against anti-clerical legislation as well as how contemporaries' responded to Catholic women's involvement in the conflict. Because nineteenth century society deemed religious practice both a private matter, unsuited for the public sphere, and an area of special female concern, Catholic women wishing to demonstrate their support for the Church and its clerics confronted a paradox. Women faced both the responsibility for defending religion (a female, domestic matter) and the gendered prohibition from acting in the public sphere. This conundrum complicated women's Kulturkampf activism, serving to justify and condemn women's public involvement in the struggle.

The first chapter reassess women's involvement in the conflict, shifting the analysis away from the masculine perspective of liberal, bourgeois men so well represented in the existing literature, and focusing instead on how women themselves understood their activism. Women's highly visible participation in Kulturkampf protests reflected their desire to defend the private, domestic sphere from the expansion of state power, emphasizing their activism's defensive nature. Catholic women resisted anti-clerical legislation not as an attempt to gain greater access to the masculine public sphere but rather to restrict the (liberal male) state's intrusions into (female) domestic concerns.

The second chapter points to the limits of female Kulturkampf activism, arguing that even during the conflict's hot phase, women's involvement in the conflict faced numerous constraints and never challenged male Catholics' control over communities' reactions to anti-

clerical legislation. Women's public actions in defense of clergymen corresponded to Catholic women's social, marital, and age status; their participation in Kulturkampf protests demonstrated their traditional social roles and Catholic religious practices.

The third and fourth chapters focus on male Catholics' unique roles in the conflict, arguing that contemporary beliefs about gender roles, the public/private divide, and the feminization of religion also shaped and constrained men's Kulturkampf activism. The same factors that complicated Catholic women's involvement in the conflict also troubled Catholic men's efforts to defend the Church. Responding to the disproportionate contemporary and scholarly emphasis on women's activism, chapter three analyzes how Catholic men took part in the conflict, illustrating their dominant and decisive roles in communities' Kulturkampf protests.

However, because contemporaries associated religion with femininity, their actions on the Church's behalf placed Catholic men at odds with the dominant model of masculinity, opening them up to criticism as effeminate men and disloyal citizens. Chapter four investigates how Catholic men responded to such criticisms as well as how they understood their own activism, arguing that Catholic men portrayed their actions in ways that conformed to the hegemonic ideals of masculinity and patriotism whenever possible. However, when those efforts failed, Catholic men contested their opponents' claims to define masculinity and citizenship, redefining these ideals in ways that cast Kulturkampf activism as a masculine, patriotic duty.

Leaving the world of Catholic adults, the fifth chapter turns to young Catholics' distinctive roles in the conflict, arguing that as with gender, youth also shaped how and why Catholics protested anti-clerical legislation. The chapter traces young people's symbolic importance in the cultural struggle; liberal Kulturkämpfer and ultramontane Catholics competed

to win young people's loyalty for their cause while denying to their opponents. However, Catholic youth were more than simple pawns; the chapter also shows how broader social and economic changes motivated youthful activism and chronicles how that activism reflected young Catholics' lived experience.

Finally, the sixth chapter assess the relationship between class and Kulturkampf activism, arguing that perceptions of status shaped the conflict's rhetoric and reality. The chapter first explores how notions of class informed the discursive struggle, particularly how each side characterized their opponents and how Catholics attempted to contest their opponents' claims to the socio-economic high ground. The second part of the chapter examines how class-standing motivated and informed Catholic activism, simultaneously creating divisions and forging bond of solidarity within the Catholic community.

As with youth and gender, attending to class differences amongst Catholics and how those differences influenced Kulturkampf activism underscores Catholics' individual agency; Catholics reacted to the Kulturkampf as they did for a wide array of reasons, showing themselves as rational agents capable of recognizing and acting in their own best interest.

CHAPTER 1:

"ARE WE WOMEN NOT ALSO CALLED":

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON CATHOLIC WOMEN"S KULTURKAMPF ACTIVISM

On February 3, 1874, the arrival of forty noble women at the Bishop's palace in Münster sparked "joyous excitement" amongst the crowd that witnessed the "long row of stately carriages [which] indicated a peaceful but grandiose demonstration." The women had come to deliver an address of loyalty to Bishop Johann Bernhard Brinkmann, assuring him that they, "and with us every true Catholic who is not a traitor to his faith," would treat every "persecution" that Brinkmann might suffer "as if we ourselves had to undergo it."[1] The women expressed their sorrow that the Bishop would be "robbed of his rightful possessions," describing the upcoming auction as "an act of raw violation by blind officials," as they compared the seizure of his possessions with the drawing of lots for Christ's clothing after his crucifixion by "henchmen" and "hangmen's apprentices." The female dignitaries garnered further attention when their address appeared in the *Westfälischer Merkur,* the local Catholic paper.

Feeling themselves insulted by the women's portrayal of the auction, the members of Münster's district court (the "blind officials" charged with seizing and auctioning the Bishop's property) filed charges against them.[2] The charges prompted an additional sixteen noblewomen

[1] *Sonntagsblatt*, 8 February 1874. Due to repeated May Laws' violations, Brinkmann faced the auction of his personal possessions to cover fines imposed by the courts. The news of the impending auction prompted the women to draft and deliver their declaration of loyalty.

[2] In particular, the members of the court felt insulted by the petition's references to them as "blind officials," "henchmen," and "hangmen's apprentices." See Ludwig Ficker, *Der Kulturkampf in Münster* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1928), 107-8. The objectionable passages of the petition read "Durch die tatsächliche angekündigte Pfändung sollen Euer Bischöflichen Gnaden des rechtmässigen Eigentums beraubt werden… Diesen Akt roher

to add their signatures to the petition and sparked a flurry of interest in the state's proceedings against women belonging to some of the diocese's oldest and wealthiest families.[3] The trial itself, held July 20, 1874 in the nearby town of Burgsteinfurt, turned into a public spectacle as large crowds filled the courtroom to watch the proceedings. Despite a spirited defense, the court found the women guilty of insulting state officials and sentenced them to hefty fines well above the sums requested by the prosecutor.[4]

Although the women were guilty in the eyes of the law, the Catholic populace hailed them as heroines for their brave defense of Church interests. In fact, the Catholic press described their return journey to Münster as a "triumphal procession," complete with gun salutes and honor guards that greeted them at each town along the route; people flagged their houses and crowds praised the courageous women who had suffered for their faith. One speaker expressed the Catholic population's feelings when he proclaimed to the women "You have the worst still before you but you have the best behind you; you have the whole [Catholic] people, you have thousands and millions behind you."[5] Through their declaration of loyalty to their Bishop and proud defiance of the Prussian state, these noblewomen left the private sphere of their salons and palaces to protest against the Kulturkampf in a decidedly public way, emerging as prominent and wildly popular figures of public acclaim.

Vergewaltigung, welche die verblendeten Machthaber über Euer Bischöflichen Gnaden verhängt haben…Unser göttlicher Erlöser wurde an dem Kreuz geschlagen, und Schergen und Henkersknechte teilten seiner Kleider." For the petition's full text, see GStA PK I. HA Rep 76 IV, Sekt. 10, Abt.XII, Nr 8, Bd I 1873-4.

[3] *SonntagsBlatt,* 22 February 1874. The women added their signatures after an article in a government-friendly paper attempted to lessen the blow by pointing out that not all of the local nobility had signed the petition. The *SonntagsBlatt* clarified that those women had simply been unable to sign the document before it was delivered, proclaiming that amongst the noble women of the diocese, not a single one would allow herself to be viewed as a traitor to her faith for fear of prosecution.

[4] The verdict imposed heavy fines on the women, demanding 200 Thalers from the perceived ring-leader, Countess Therese Droste-Vischering zu Nesselrode-Reichenstein, and 100 Thalers from each of the other women prosecuted. *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874.

[5] Ibid.

Yet, this heroic image of independent women denouncing an unpopular government action contrasted sharply with the picture produced during the trial itself; here they appeared as naïve, helpless females unfamiliar with the workings of politics or government. Prosecution and defense alike relied on gendered accounts of women's nature and their relationship to a masculine political world to define the women's activity. The women defended their address as a simple act of piety, meant not as a political statement but to convey dedication to their Bishop.When pressed by the President of the Court as to whom the phrase "blind officials" referred, two of the women stated that the phrase referred to "those who made the laws against the Church," clearly linking their actions to the political struggle between the Prussian state and the Catholic church.[6] However, most maintained their innocence by professing an ignorance of public affairs for which they blamed gender. Countess Therese Droste-Vischering zu Nesselrode-Reichenstein responded to the President's inquiry by proclaiming that "women don't take written things so seriously."[7] Countess Anna Galen prompted the audience to break into peals of laughter when she confessed that she had not even been aware of the court's existence; she had simply signed the address to show support for her bishop without concerning herself with the actual text.

When the President attempted to argue that surely the women had been aware that *some* official had to have given the order for an auction to be held, Baroness von Dalwigk-Lichtenfels informed him that "those familiar with women's nature know that in general women concern themselves little with public matters." By depicting themselves as unaccustomed to public life and political matters, the women distanced themselves from their actions' political ramifications.

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[6] *SonntagsBlatt,* 2 August 1874. Because a conviction required proof that the accused had actually intended an insult, establishing the address's intended referents composed the primary line of questioning. Several women ignored the President's questions, stating that they had already given their statement at their initial questioning.
[7] Ibid.

In casting the address as something they had not thought too closely about and proclaiming their ignorance of how the government functioned, the women disavowed the political nature of their actions, portraying the address not as a public demonstration against government policies, but rather as a private, feminine act of religious devotion.[8]

In fact, the women's defense strategy depended on the prevailing notion of women as simple, emotional creatures, incapable of understanding the masculine, public world of law and politics. This portrayal of women differed from that of the "good Catholic woman," a discursive tool used by ultramontane politicians and publicists throughout the conflict to express "common sense" and "voice criticism one otherwise could not make."[9] While the "good Catholic woman" was a shrewd observer of the world around her, at their trial, the Westphalian noblewomen cast themselves in deliberate opposition to this image, embracing bourgeois visions of femininity and then pushing them to their extremes in a mixture of self-preservation (hopes for acquittal) and mockery (in using liberals' own values against them.)

In mounting their defense, attorney Eduard Windthorst, nephew of Center party leader Ludwig Windthorst, challenged the prosecutor's denial of a link between the Kulturkampf and the trial. He argued that only the Kulturkampf's extreme circumstances could explain the

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[8] Ironically, the prosecutor also denied the political significance of the women's actions, claiming that the case "bore no relationship with the Church-State conflict" but dealt only with the legal fact that their statements had insulted the court. He likely did so to deny the women the legitimacy to speak publicly against state policies and prevent members of the Westphalian nobility from garnering further public acclaim through their support of the Church and criticism of the Prussian state.

[9] For a discussion of the "good Catholic woman" concept, see Anderson, *Practising Democracy*, 127. While I agree with Anderson's description of how ultramontane newspapers and speakers used figurative "women" to present problematic criticisms of state policy while retaining plausible deniability, such a strategy would have done the noble women little good at trial. However, embracing bourgeois gender stereotypes offered them a chance at acquittal as well as a further opportunity to mock Kulturkämpfers' ideology by carrying bourgeois notions of femininity to their logical extremes.

women's foray into the public world of political conflict; until now, despite their wealth, status, and close ties to the throne, they had played no role in political affairs.[10]

Yet, even as he acknowledged their actions' political *nature*, Windthorst denied that their *intent* was political; instead, he placed the women's behavior safely within the realm of private female concerns. By linking the address to the women's deep religious feelings (as opposed to say, their desire to draw public attention to the Bishop's plight while re-asserting their prominent position at the head of popular opposition to the anti-clerical laws), Windthorst addressed one of the Church-State conflict's key paradoxes: In nineteenth-century German society, both women and religion were supposed to be confined within the private sphere; however, by attacking religion, something gendered 'female' and given over to women, the Kulturkampf itself brought women and religion into the public sphere, literally and discursively.

Portraying the petition as a private, religious matter, something society accepted as an area of female concern, Windthorst argued that the offending expressions "*Schergen und Henkersknechte*" reflected not an intent to insult but rather the tendency of Catholics, particularly female Catholics, to look to Christ's suffering in times of trouble. Biblical imagery was simply the women's natural reference point for expressing devotion to their bishop. Lacking men's rational faculties, women relied on their faith to counsel them in times of distress; thus Windthorst contended that the court needed to remember that "such expressions in the mouth of a woman should be judged completely differently than if they were used by a legally trained man or an educated jurist." Women, according to Windthorst, were less familiar with public life and the law; instead, they relied on the judgments of their hearts and consciences and used 'godly law' as their 'touchstone'. He concluded by stating that since the women had not intended the

[10] *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874.

district court as the target of their petition (a private letter whose publication they had neither sought nor been party to), they could not have insulted the court and thus should be acquitted.[11]

The trials' closing arguments also involved debates about women's proper role in public and religious life. The state's attorney countered Windthorst's portrayal of the women's declaration as a defense of religion by emphasizing that the Kulturkampf "had absolutely nothing to do with the case." (By making this claim for the second time, the prosecutor denied the women the right to publicly express their opinions on the Church-State conflict, a political matter in which women had no business meddling.) However, noting that the defense insisted on bringing the religious conflict into the trial, the prosecutor then appealed to the gendered prescripts that governed women's behavior in the public sphere as well as the religious realm. Referring to a passage from Paul's letter to the Corinthians ("Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the law says."), he contended that if the women had wanted to get involved with the Church-State conflict, such actions would have violated canon law.[12] The defense denied this accusation, emphasizing the special relationship between women and faith that made religion their particular concern. Basing his claims on the characteristics of a proper Christian woman, Windthorst argued that "a woman who has no heart for religion, who can stand by unresponsive while the most exalted feelings are injured… no longer corresponds with the ideal [woman] in the Christian sense."[13]

In the trial's final moments, the prosecutor used Scripture to deny women a voice in the Church-State conflict while their own attorney depicted religion as an area of particular female interest that justified their extraordinary actions in its defense. In the state's eyes, the

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[11] *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874
[12] Ibid, see 1 Corinthians 14:34 for the biblical text.
[13] *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874.

Kulturkampf was a political conflict in which women had no place while to the Catholic community, the state's attack on religion (and thus the private sphere) compelled women to act in defense of their faith and area of gendered competency. Clearly, women's place and their relationship to the religious conflict remained a complex subject, suitable to differing interpretations and capable of serving more than one political agenda.

The Damen-Adresse: A Case-Study of Female Kulturkampf Activism

For the women of the Westphalian nobility, and many others throughout Germany's Catholic regions, the Kulturkampf represented an important moment of politicization and mobilization as they joined with their husbands, children, and neighbors to protest against anti-clerical legislation. For these women, joining the crowd that escorted the local clergyman to prison or confronting state officials tasked with evicting him from the rectory (*Pfarrhaus*) offered an opportunity to take part in public life, express their opinions and make their voices heard, and enter the public sphere and participate in political debate. Kulturkampf activism gave women a chance to resist (male) figures of political or economic power and stake their own claims to an active role in the events and decisions that affected their communities.

Yet, even as their participation in popular resistance to the Kulturkampf brought women out of their homes and into the public sphere of political conflict, their actions remained entangled with understandings of gender roles, especially since they justified their actions by claiming religion as a female, domestic issue. Even as they defended something coded as "feminine", women found themselves and their actions constrained by gendered perceptions of women's nature and proper roles in society as well as by their marital and class status. Men on

both sides of the religious conflict sought to contain female activism and direct it back into "appropriate" channels. So although Kulturkampf protests provided women with a chance to join the nation's political life and their public activism on clergymen's behalf struck fear into the hearts of bourgeois Kulturkämpfer, women still found their activities limited by gendered perceptions of proper female behavior as well as by their class standing and marital status.

In this way, the conflict over the Damen-Adresse illustrated in a microcosm the fundamental complexities that this chapter explores. First, it showed how the Kulturkampf brought women into public political debates, encouraging them to act on behalf of the Church and its clerics. Yet, even as the religious conflict served to justify female activism, it also limited women's actions as acceptable only because they acted in defense of something coded as feminine. In unravelling this seeming paradox, this chapter argues that female Kulturkampf activism can be viewed as a defensive reaction by Catholic women to the masculine state's intrusion into the feminine sphere of religion and family.[14] By choosing to make their statement in the form of a "private" letter of devotion to their bishop, one steeped in religious imagery that offered him nothing more substantial than their sympathy and prayers, the women expressed their protest in a traditional, feminine way.

Furthermore, the great disparities in the depictions of the women and their actions inside and outside of the courtroom reflected the gendered notion of separate spheres' unstable and problematic nature; ideas about women and religion, public and private, proved flexible enough to justify *and* condemn female activism. By prosecuting the women, the state acknowledged the power and importance of their protest as much more than the "wailing of women and girls" but

[14] As their defense attorney argued, it was only when the government's public power threatened the private sphere of religious life that the noblewomen sought to use their social power to make a political statement. *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874.

by adamantly refusing to link their crime with the Church-State conflict, the state also denied them the right to speak out against the Kulturkampf. Meanwhile, their defense attorney's arguments granted women the right to form political opinions and act in the public sphere in defense of religion but only because their very female-ness denied them any real legitimacy. (As their actions came not from rational thought but from women's emotional nature, one could hardly punish women for acting in accordance with their nature.) Here, their attorney sought neither to de-legitimize their actions' political nature nor to deny them the right to publicly intervene in the Kulturkampf but simply to employ current notions about the female nature in their defense.[15]

Finally, the DamenAdresse also revealed an important class element to Kulturkampf activism. As these two chapters demonstrate, class and gender worked together to shape and constrain women's activism. In the Münster incident, it was the women's noble status that lent their actions the quality of a demonstration, it was the presence of their carriages that drew the crowd to the Bishop's palace, and it was the state's willingness to prosecute high-ranking ladies, demanding their physical presence at the trial, that led to the overfilled courtroom and turned the proceedings into a cause célèbre.

Gender Roles in an Unstable Society: Women's Roles in the New Reich

As the DamenAdresse so powerfully illustrates, female Kulturkampf activism was problematic precisely because it was bound up with larger questions about women's place in

[15] For an account of how gendered perceptions of women's nature resulted in a French woman's acquittal for the public murder of a journalist who had compromised her husband's political career, see Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.)

society. At the same moment that the anti-clerical campaign brought Catholic women into the nation's political debates, transformations in other areas of German society affected women's position and unleashed new challenges to the gender divide, allowing women to reimagine their place in German society. It is against these background tensions that the importance of women's participation in the Kulturkampf can best be understood and its complexities revealed.

Women's intervention in the Church-State struggle, especially its more public manifestations, fit uncomfortably with prevailing nineteenth-century notions of gender roles. Contemporaries held a biologically-determined view of gender that assigned particular character traits to each sex. Men were considered active beings possessed of rationality, consistency, logic, and self-control; women represented men's opposite: passive, emotional, irrational creatures dependent upon those around them.[16] Contemporaries saw these divisions as rooted in biology, a belief which lent them the aura of inviolable natural laws. These biologically-determined gender roles in turn assigned men and women social roles and responsibilities appropriate to each sex's natural characteristics. This gendered division of labor formed the basis of separate spheres ideology as the character traits assigned to each sex determined their relationship to the public world beyond the home.[17]

Thus from the close of the eighteenth-century, men reserved public political and economic life as their exclusive domain while illogical and overly-emotional women were to be protected within the home, a domestic space where they could fulfill their natural roles as wives and mothers. Women's passivity came to symbolize a greater capacity for self-sacrifice while her

[16] Hausen, "Family and Role-Division," 55-60.
[17] As Hausen notes, "the man was now clearly predestined for the outside world and the woman for domestic life; the man by his activity/ rationality constellation of character traits; the woman by her character based on passivity/ emotionality." Ibid, 63. See also Joan Wallace Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.)

emotionality made her a source of comfort to those around her, giving her a new status within the private, domestic realm of the family while justifying her exclusion from public life. Historians have long cited the division of public and private as a key element of bourgeois society and the maintenance of gender roles. By keeping women confined to the home, middle-class men asserted their control over the public sphere and claim to active participation in political life. In her seminal work on the French Revolution, Joan Landes argued that women's exclusion was central to the bourgeois public sphere's creation.[18] Similarly, the work of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall underscored the economic importance of separate spheres ideology, seeing the sexual division of labor and corresponding creation of separate spheres as necessary for capitalism's development.[19]

While Davidoff and Hall stressed the ideology's bourgeois nature, particularly the way in which female leisure and consumption in the private sphere of the home underscored the masculinity of production in the public sphere of work, Anna Clark has argued that the gendered ideology of separate spheres extended beyond the bourgeois world, noting how working-class men employed the notion of 'domesticity' to justify their claims for political rights and refute middle-class denunciations of workers' immorality.[20] Although Clark and others have convincingly demonstrated that separate spheres ideology influenced gender relations amongst the working-classes, the reality of working-class life meant that the gendering of public and private took different forms in bourgeois versus working-class culture. While middle-class

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[18] Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.)

[19] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.) For a discussion of how women used the notion of separate spheres to employ their own agendas, see Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Linda L. Clark, *Women and Achievement in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.)

[20] Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.)

families could assert their respectability through women's idleness and removal from the public sphere, economic realities meant that working-class men were usually unable to shelter their wives and daughters from the public sphere of work.[21] These class-based differences in the understanding and practice of separate spheres ideology shaped the forms of activism available to and embraced by Catholic women of differing social backgrounds.

However, the nineteenth-century's profound social changes undermined the idealized coupling of women and domesticity, placing new pressures on the gendered division of public and private that affected women of varying social backgrounds in distinctive ways. First, the rapid and uneven economic developments that characterized Germany's process of industrialization produced changes in employment patterns and family structures that affected women's position within German society. Industrialization and urbanization led to a growing separation between work and home, underscoring the division between the masculine, public world of work and the feminine, private world of home and domesticity. It also reinforced the social divisions between middle-class female leisure and working-class women's continuing economic activity, particularly when women found employment in German factories, raising new concerns about preserving proper standards of feminine morality amongst these women.[22]

Outside of Germany's larger cities, "industrialization" usually meant increased working-class female employment (particularly for young women) in some form of textile manufacture.

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[21] In her study of female employment in imperial Germany, Barbara Franzoi argued that since most working-class women (and men) accepted the predominant notions of domesticity, women worked only when they had to and often sought not the highest paying jobs but those most compatible with their 'true professions' as wives and mothers. Thus women often chose to take in boarders, do laundry or take on other forms of home work rather than seek higher paid factory work that would take them away from their families. Barbara Franzoi, *At the Very Least She Pays the Rent: Women and German Industrialization, 1871-1914* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985.) See also Karin Hausen, "Technical Progress and Women's Labor in the Nineteenth Century: The Social History of the Sewing Machine," in *The Social History of Politics: Critical Perspectives in West German Historical Writing Since 1945*, ed. Georg Iggers (Oxford: Berg, 1987), 259-281.
[22] Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.)

Often still living with their parents, these girls nevertheless left the private sphere of the family to seek paid employment outside of the home, permitting them a degree of independence in comparision to their peers whose work experience remained confined to sewing piecework, caring for farm animals, or performing other duties within the home.[23] Meanwhile, the booming mining and railroad industries that offered work to rural men also sparked the emergence of *Weiberdörfer*, villages where the men spent six days a week away at work, leaving their wives in charge of the home and any farm land the family might posses.[24] For middle-class women, the rise of a capitalist economy merged with a concern for their ability to make a suitable match, offering opportunities and incentives to seek out greater access to careers such as teaching or nursing.[25] As the realm of their experiences broadened beyond their own homes and families, women of all classes could imagine their place in society in new ways; these expanded horizons in turn helped prepare them for particular forms of Kulturkampf activism.[26]

The changing nature of nineteenth-century religious practice also affected Catholic women's lives. Historians and contemporaries observed the nineteenth-century's feminization of religion, a process that involved a decline in masculine church attendance that left women as the primary practitioners and custodians of the family's religious life. Religious practice itself underwent significant changes, turning away from the early nineteenth-century's rationalism to

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[23] Mary Jo Maynes, Birgitte Søland, Christina Benninghaus, eds, *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History 1750-1960* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.) See also Angelika Schaser, "Gendered Germany," in *Imperial Germany, 1871-1918*, ed. James Retallack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 128-150.

[24] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 44-58. Clara Viebig, *Das Weiberdorf: Roman aus der Eifel*.

[25] Carole Elizabeth Adams, *Women Clerks in Wilhelmine Germany: Issues of Class and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 39-41; Nancy Ruth Reagin, ed., *German Women's Movement: Class and Gender in Hanover, 1880-1933* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1995), 25.

[26] Clark, *Women and Achievement in Nineteenth Century Europe*; Krause, *Marienkinder*; Gisela Mettele, "The City and the Citoyenne: Associational Culture and Female Civic Virtues in Nineteenth-Century Germany," in *Civil Society and Gender Justice: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Karen Hagemann, Sonya Michel, and Gunilla Budde (New York: Berghahn, 2008), 79-96; Christoph Sachße, *Mütterlichkeit als Beruf: Sozialarbeit, Sozialreform und Frauenbewegung, 1871-1929* (Weinheim: Beltz, 2003.)

embrace the emotionality and demonstrative nature of earlier popular practices.[27] For Catholic women, these two processes meant a greater social acceptance of religion as lying within the female, domestic sphere (an irrational but edifying matter appropriate for women and children), and Catholicism's embracing of highly public religious devotions such as pilgrimages and processions, which allowed Catholic women to travel and participate in a new form of sociability.[28]

The new religious enthusiasm, combined with the relaxed laws of Prussia's 1850 Constitution, produced a dramatic increase in the number of women electing to take religious vows and lead a cloistered life. Although frought with sacrifices and difficulties, cloisters offered Catholic women a life relatively free of male control. As Relinde Meiwes points out, women overwhelmingly favored membership in congregations oriented towards social work rather than the purely contemplative orders, permitting these women a greater public role within their communities.[29]

Both the rise in female religious orders and broader changes in Catholic religious life contributed to Catholic women's growing presence in the public sphere as a result of their

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[27] For a discussion of the feminization of religion, see Hugh McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube?"; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Götz von Olenhusen, ed, *Wunderbare Erscheinungen*; Idem., *Frauen unter dem Patriarchat der Kirchen: Katholikinnen und Protestantinnen im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer 1995); Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People*; Schneider, "Feminisierung der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert"; Busch, *Katholische Frommigkeit und Moderne*; Ann Taylor Allen, "Religion and Gender in Modern German History," in *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography*, eds, Karen Hagemann and Jean Quataert (New York: Berghahn, 2007), 190-207; Van Osselaer and Buerman, "'Feminisation' thesis." For a recent criticism of the thesis, see Yvonne Maria Werner, "Religious Feminisation, Confessionalism and Re-Masculinisation in Western European Society 1800-1960," in *Pieties and Gender*, eds. Lene Sjørup and Hilda Rømer Christensen (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 143-166 and Olaf Blaschke, "The Unrecognized Piety of Men."
[28] Blackbourn notes that female pilgrims outnumbered their male counterparts and acknowledges the secular attractions of pilgrimages, writing that "sacred and profane cannot be neatly separated… heighted sociability had always been part of pilgrimages." Blackbourn , *Marpingen*, 144. See also Harris, *Lourdes*; Suzanne Kaufman, *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.)
[29] Relinde Meiwes, "Weibliche Lebenswege im 19. Jahrhundert: Das Beispiel der Kongregationsgründerinnen Franziska Schervier und Pauline von Mallinckrodt," in *Lebensläufe im Sozialkatholismus des Ruhrgebiets*, ed. Baldur Hermans (Essen: Dezernat für Ges. und Weltkirchliche Aufgaben, Bischöfliches Generalvikariat , 2003), 75-85.

religious activities. The feminization of religion and ultramontane revival also fed the growing anxiety of middle-class anti-clericals who viewed religious orders' growth with unease. They feared that cloisters gave women too much freedom, prevented them from fulfilling their natural destinies as wives and mothers, and perceived a challenge to the public sphere's masculine rationality in the public presence of women performing religious duties.[30]

Choosing to enter a convent was not the only option available to women seeking access to the world beyond their front doors. In the second half of the nineteenth-century, women, particularly middle-class and elite women, became more active in the philanthropic societies that sprang up in cities throughout Europe and brought them into contact with industrial poverty's harsh realities while offering a new sphere of public action.[31] Middle-class women seized these opportunities to play an active role in their communities and occupy positions of status and respect outside of their own homes.[32] At a more general level, the proliferation of clubs and organizations that characterized nineteenth-century bourgeois sociability permitted middle-class women to engage in pursuits that expanded the limits of their world. Whereas previously a woman's social and friendly interactions remained confined to her family or friends she saw at church or on particular village holidays, the emergence of singing societies, religious sodalities, sewing circles, and other groups meant that middle-class women experienced increased opportunities for sociability beyond their homes.

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[30] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 209-220. Erwin Gatz argues that the high number of prominent Catholic women active in these organizations contributed to the agitation against them, claiming that the Prussian state sought less to close them down and more to bring them (and the women) under state control, limiting the social influence of the Church and well-born Catholic women. Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert*, 461-2, 575-88.
[31] Catherine Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge and Change: Religious Dimensions of the mid nineteenth century Religious Movement in Germany* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1997); Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert,* 575-88; Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn."*
[32] Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class.*

Since many of these new charitable or social clubs centered around religious activities, the Church increased in importance and meaning for Catholic women (and vice versa, as women represented a large part of the Catholic revival's success in this period.) This blossoming of religious societies and associations was of particular importance for working-class and rural women because unlike philanthropic societies or social clubs, activities primarily restricted to middle-class or elite women who could afford the dues or spare the time for club-related activities, Church-based organizations allowed working-class and rural women to participate in these new forms of devotional sociability and associational life.[33]

Religious and philanthropic activism reflected women's fluctuating position in German society at the *Reichsgründung*, particularly the bourgeois and elite women who founded and ran many of these organizations. Considered an extension of the female domestic sphere, which reflected women's natural characteristics as wives and mothers, participation in religious practices and charitable associations was easily justified as appropriate for women. However, these activities also threatened gendered boundaries by offering women of all classes a reason to leave their homes while allowing middle-class women to gain a degree of independence and autonomy through their leadership roles in these societies. As with the economic transformations reshaping German society, by creating increased opportunities for women to be involved in their communities, new developments in religious practice and philanthropy gave rise to new concerns about women's proper roles in German society and brought new challenges to the gendered ideology of separate spheres.

[33] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 73-91. See also Ute Olliges-Wieczorek, *Politisches Leben in Münster – Parteien und Vereine im Kaiserreich,,1871-1914* (Münster: Ardey Verlag, 1995.) Gross argues for the importance of Church based sociability for Catholic women, *The War Against Catholicism*, 218-9.

The changing relationship between the new German Reich and its citizens also affected nineteenth-century German women's lives. Seeking to consolidate its power after the events of 1866 and 1871, the Prussian state began to impose its will more thoroughly and effectively. Its growing involvment in education, charity, nursing, and religious practice, matters earlier left to local and/or church officials, brought the Prussian state into fields previously considered to be private matters, and, quite often, questions that lay within the (limited) female domain.[34] The Prussian state's intrusion into Catholic women's lives brought varying consequences; for elite and bourgeois women, state actions undermined their authority in the few areas where they were permitted to exercise any power and increasingly restricted their ability to act in the public sphere. For working-class Catholic women, anti-clerical laws not only affected their well-being and that of their families (since many of the religious orders targeted by anti-clerical laws had provided welfare services focused on the needs of women and children) but also restricted their access to religious sociability through new limits placed on pilgrimages and processions.[35] It is in this context of increased contact with the realities and imposition of state power that women's activism in the Kulturkampf should be understood.

Interpreting Women's Protests Against Anti-Clerical Legislation

In light of existing tensions concerning women's changing roles in German society, female activism, especially its public forms, drew mixed reactions from contemporaries,

[34] Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert*, 575-96; Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn"*; Krause, *Marienkinder.*

[35] For a discussion of Kulturkampf laws' socio-economic impacts on the lives of women and children, see Arn. Bongartz, *Die Klöster in Preussen und ihrer Zerstörung oder Was kostet der "Kulturkampf" dem preussischen Volke* (Berlin: Verlag Germania, 1880.) For a discussion of pilgrimages' meaning for lower class Catholics as well as how the government sought to restrict these public religious festivities, see the essays by Claudia Hiepel and Günter Johannes Ziebertz in Hermans, *"Am Weihwasser die Finger verbrannt."*

responses that often corresponded to their general position in the Kulturkampf. Catholic men and publicists accepted and praised women's involvement, arguing that every Catholic had a role to play in the struggle. They believed that as wives and mothers charged with maintaining the family, and Christians concerned with their own salvation, women had a stake in the struggle. However, this permissiveness was linked to an understanding of women's roles in the conflict as primarily supportive ones, limited to activities traditionally associated with women and appropriate to their class standing. Even the Church's supporters recognized clear limits to female activism.

Meanwhile, liberals and other anti-clericals generally condemned women's participation in Kulturkampf protests. Their condemnation stemmed from concerns about women in the public sphere as well as the association of women with disorder, irrationality, and the lower orders.[36] It also reflected Kulturkämpfers' class bias; predominantly elite members of German society, these men embraced the notion of separate spheres. They viewed Catholic women's public defense of clergymen as a transgression against proper gender relationships without recognizing the extent to which the class standing of Catholic women (who hailed primarily from the upper and lower echelons of German society) allowed them greater access to the public sphere than their bourgeois Protestant counterparts. For those prosecuting the Kulturkampf, female activism symbolized everything problematic about Catholicism: it was antimodern, emotional, irrational, and represented a threat to the (masculine) *Kulturstaat* they sought to create in the newly unified Germany.

[36] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; See also Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Sidonia Blättler, *Der Pöbel, die Frauen etc: Die Massen in der politischen Philosophie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Akademir Verlag, 1995.)

Historians, too, have noted women's presence in Kulturkampf protests. In earlier research focused on the Church-State struggle's political causes and consequences, historians mentioned female activism as a component of the larger popular protests against anti-clerical legislation but paid it little further attention.[37] Later works that focused on the conflict's cultural aspects stressed its gendered dimension, particularly male Kulturkämpfers' depiction of Catholicism as feminine and their fears regarding clerics' nefarious influence over Catholic women.[38] Historians also pointed out how women's presence at Kulturkampf protests led anti-clericals to view all demonstrations as "female."[39] Overwhelmingly, historians placed female Kulturkampf activism within the broader narrative of religion's feminization, noting how the process contributed to both female emancipation and bourgeois liberals' unhappiness with this phenomenon.[40]

For example, David Blackbourn's *Marpingen*, depicted female activism as linked to the feminization of religious practices and explored how this process contributed to greater empowerment for women. Blackbourn pointed out that in the nineteenth-century, the "pattern" for Marian apparitions increasingly featured young female visionaries, noting that "the respect conferred by the apparition gave women an opportunity normally denied them." Pointing to the

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[37] For example, Ronald Ross notes that female participation in Kulturkampf protests unsettled government officials but does not offer any detailed discussion of how women actually took part in the conflict. Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 133. Margaret Lavinia Anderson likewise recounts anecdotes about women's activism but is largely focused on a political narrative. Anderson, *Practicing Democracy*, 126-9. Similarly, Jonathan Sperbers's and Eleonore Föhles make limited mention of women's distinctive activism, focusing instead on the conflict's political and class dynamics. Sperber, *Popular Catholicism;* Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu 1866-1890 in der niederrheinischen Kreisen Kempen und Geldern und der Stadt Viersen* (Viersen: Oberkreisdirektor,1995.)

[38] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus;* Gross, *The War Against Catholicism;* Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne"; Krause, *Marienkinder;* Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*. Most recently, Rebecca Bennette went a step further, arguing that in making their claim to inclusion in the new German nation, Catholics coded themselves as feminine, stressing their morality as a necessary counter-point to a hyper-masculinized Prussian militarism. Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*.

[39] Anderson, "The Limits of Secularisation"; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism.*

[40] Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn."* Oliver Zimmer argues that Catholic men's own later emphasis on male participation in processions and down-grading of women's roles reflected their efforts to assimilate into larger German society by adopting bourgeois liberals' ideas regarding women and the public sphere. Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 283.

high numbers of women amongst the pilgrims, he acknowledged how religious travel allowed women a pleasant respite from their normal lives.[41] Thus, Blackbourn's study highlighted women's key roles as visionaries, supporters, pilgrims, and participants in Marpingen's battles against state power; however, because of its focus on the Marian apparitions and the conflict surrounding them, his work only hints at how to interpret women's broader involvement in Kulturkampf protests.

Perhaps the greatest attention to women's Kulturkampf activism thus far comes from Michael Gross who argues that the Kulturkampf represented " a *Geschlechterkampf*, a contest between men and women for access to the public sphere."[42] For Gross, the Kulturkampf must be understood in the context of a liberalism that re-invented itself after the debacles of 1848 on the basis of a strong anti-Catholic ideology. According to Gross, liberals' anti-Catholicism emerged in response to "the dramatic Catholic and missionary campaign and the revival of popular Catholicism taking place all over Germany." He argues that German liberals linked the Catholic revival with the re-emergence of the women's movement in Germany, thus combining Catholicism and feminism as a dual threat to masculinity in the liberal imagination.[43] Because the Kulturkampf brought Catholic women into the masculine realm of politics, it became a

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[41] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 7-14, 131-46. See also Harris, *Lourdes*; Josef Mooser, "Das katholische Milieu in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Zum Vereinswesen des Katholizismus im späten Deutschen Kaiserreich," in *Religion im Kaiserreich: Milieus- Mentalitäten- Krisen*, ed. Olaf Blaschke and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann (Gütersloh: Kaiser, 1996), 61-92; idem, "Katholische Volksreligion, Klerus, und Bürgertum"; Otto Weiss, "Seherinnen und Stigmatisierte," in *Wunderbare Erscheinungen: Frauen und katholische Frömmigkeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,* Ed. Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1995), 51-82.

[42] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 27. Bennette also notes women's involvement in the Kulturkampf, writing that "women took center stage in the resistance to the government…" but she focuses more on characterizing Catholics' Kulturkampf resistance as passive (and thus feminine) than on analyzing what roles Catholic women actually played during the protests. As she herself states, her work "places more emphasis on the imagery of Catholic opposition and its linkage with the creation of a competing construction of Germanness." Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 268 Fn 153.

[43] Gross, 185-239, quote on p. 26-7.

struggle between men and women for control of the public sphere and the liberal image of a modern, bourgeois state.

While an excellent assessment of how Kulturkämpfer understood the conflict and how female activism provoked such great anxiety amongst anti-clericals, Gross's argument centers on a discursive presentation of liberal fears and only briefly addresses Catholic women's actions and words. In conveying how liberal fears of women in public mixed with their dislike of Catholicism to fuel their support for Kulturkampf legislation, Gross's work attributes to Catholic women "the predominant role … in the passive and active resistance to the Kulturkampf" and stresses that resistance's threatening nature: "everywhere, Catholic women [were] on the loose attending the missions, joining assemblies and associations, participating in pilgrimages, and organizing anti-Kulturkampf protests…"[44]

Underlying this description of female activism is the implication that such behavior is inappropriate; these were places women did not belong and actions women should not take. Catholic resistance to the anti-clerical legislation resembled a 'world-turned-upside-down' in which women engineered and instigated Catholic activism; Catholic men were only present because their wives forced them to be.[45] In this way, Gross's otherwise delicate gender analysis seems to accept at face value the middle-class, liberal understanding of women's roles in Kulturkampf activism and judge their actions by bourgeois gender standards, depicting women as the root of all resistance to the anti-clerical legislation.

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[44] Ibid, 222-23.

[45] "Liberals assumed that Catholic men demonstrated not because they believed in the cause but either because they were mere ruffians or because they were forced to do so by their wives." Ibid, 224. For an early discussion of women as inherently rebellious and disruptive, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124-151.

Furthermore, Gross's work, like much recent work on the Kulturkampf, focuses on the conflict's discourse, exploring how liberals or Catholics understood the struggle rather than how they participated in it.[46] Shifting the perspective from masculine Kulturkämpfer to female Catholics and widening the analysis to include actual behaviors as well as their discursive constructions and interpretations allows for a more nuanced assessment. Certainly, the Kulturkampf brought women into the public sphere as they attempted to defend their faith and clerics from state persecution; however, focusing on masculine fears to explain anti-clericals' behavior begs the question of how Catholic women themselves located their actions with the complex interplay of gendered expectations that simultaneously made them the guardians of their families' religious traditions while denying them legitimate access to the political public sphere. As the next two chapters demonstrate, numerous factors worked together to call forth and constrain women's activism while creating distinctions within the broader category of "women."

This chapter seeks to untangle the apparent paradox of female Kulturkampf activism by exploring how Catholic women actually participated in the conflict and addressing this activism's dynamics within the context of nineteenth-century beliefs about women, religion, and the public-private divide. It argues that the Kulturkampf politicized Catholic women, illustrating how the state's actions against the Catholic church and its clerics sparked women's interest in the conflict's politics as well as the ways in which the anti-clerical laws affected Catholic women. The conflict spurred Catholic women to defend the Church and convinced them that the struggle between Church and State directly affected their lives and gendered sphere of compentency. Far from simply a political matter to be left to men to sort out, Kulturkampf measures encroached on women's gendered domain.

[46] In addition to Gross, see Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*.

Most importantly, this chapter redirects the existing historical narrative about women's participation in Kulturkampf protests, a narrative that quite often reflects the class bias and misogyny of liberal Kulturkämpfer far more than the reality of women's roles in Catholic protests against anti-clerical legislation.[47] It does so by incorporating female activism's communal and social backgrounds into the image of fanatical women in Kulturkampf crowds, arguing that Catholic women protested against anti-clerical measures in their roles as wives, mothers, and female guardians of religious practice. Changing economic conditions and unstable ideas about proper gender roles led women to rally to the Church's defense, revealing that far from employing Kulturkampf protests to gain illegitimate access to the masculine public sphere, women entered the public sphere to defend something coded as female and part of the private, domestic sphere. Through their Kulturkampf activism, women defended the private sphere of religious practice (and their claims to gendered competence) from expanding state power as well as bourgeois liberal anti-clericalism, both of which desired to redefine the boundaries between public and private in ways threatened the accepted social positions of women and the Church.[48]

Taking to the Streets: Women and Kulturkampf Protests

Women participated directly in the Kulturkampf in a wide variety of ways. First and foremost, women, like men, took part in the public demonstrations of support for clerics, joining the crowds that publicly expressed solidarity with clergymen and opposition to anti-clerical

[47] For discussion of how research on Catholicism remains influenced by negative liberal perceptions, see Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*, 87-88. For liberals' vision of female activism, see Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne"; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*.

[48] In her work on *Marienkinder*, pious associations aimed particularly at young women and girls, Selina Krause interprets the Swiss organization's defiant resumption of its activities after their attack by radical anti-clericals as a form of resistance against encroaching state power. Krause, *Marienkinder*, 113-118.

legislation. These displays, occasions where entire communities joined in, included the crowds that gathered to see off a priest arrested for disobedience towards the May Laws. Numerous contemporary accounts of priests' arrests mention women's presence in these crowds such as the *Eucharius*'s report from Niederberg of how four gendarms led away Father Wehn, who was followed by "a number of crying women."[49] More commonly, newspaper accounts stressed the entire village's presence, as did the *Mosella*'s portrayal of Pastor Fellenz's arrest in Haustadt, noting that "a large number of parishioners escorted their Pastor. Men and boys, women and girls, all wanted to escort him as far as it was possible."[50] As these examples indicate, women's public presence in crowds that formed at a cleric's arrest was a common sight in Germany in the 1870s.

In some cases women even took leading roles in communal demonstrations. When gensdarmes arrived in the rural village of Wiesbach to escort Kaplan Böwer over the border at his 1874 banishment, the community's women, farmers' and artisans' wives, grabbed Böwer and attempted to wrest him from the gensdarmes' grip.[51] In this instance, women moved from mere members of the crowd to its leaders in their (fruitless) attempt to prevent their Kaplan's expulsion. At Pastor Wehn's second arrest from Niederberg on February 26, 1874, the entire community, men, women, and children, gathered to escort him to jail. As the *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* reported, despite the six gensdarmes' and two regular policemen's repeated efforts to disperse the crowd, "the majority of women and children escorted him to the prison doors in Coblenz."[52] Here, the women of this struggling working-class community refused to be denied their participation in the community's expression of solidarity with Wehn and ignored officials'

[49] *Eucharius,* 8 March 1874.
[50] *Mosella,* 12 February 1874.
[51] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Böwer.
[52] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 28 February 1874.

orders to return home.[53] As these examples show, the Kulturkampf created unusual circumstances that prompted women, especially those from agricultural or working-class backgrounds, to cross the boundary from their traditional role as spectator to a new status as main participant.[54]

Just as women formed an important part of the crowds that assembled at a cleric's arrest, they were also present at his triumphant return.[55] Communities sought to honor their home-coming clergymen and express support for their defiance of state laws through elaborate receptions. By joining in such public actions, women communicated support for their priest and willingness to defy the state's laws. Unlike the more spontaneous popular reactions triggered by a cleric's arrest, these receptions showed great forethought and planning: people flagged their houses, decorated the Church and rectory as well as the major streets, dressed in their Sunday finest, and greeted the returning hero with songs, poems, speeches and cheers as well as torch-light processions, fire-works and gun salutes (*Böllerschüsse*).[56] Women took part in these preparations, decorating church buildings and the priest's home as well as creating garlands that adorned the cleric.[57] Through such actions, women publicly expressed loyalty towards their

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[53] In the 1870s, Niederberg lay outside the defensive fortifications of Koblenz and its inhabitants drew their livelihood from work as artisans or casual laborers. See Wehn's own description of the community in BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Wehn. See also Thomas Tippach, *Koblenz als Preussische Garnison- und Festungsstadt: Wirtschaft, Infrastruktur und Städtbau* (Köln: Böhlau, 2000.)

[54] For women's importance as spectators, see Jakob Vogel, "Stramme Gardisten, temperamentvolle Tirailleurs und anmutige Damen. Geschlechterbilder im deutschen und französischen Kult der Nation in Waffen," in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), 245-262; Mooser, "Das katholische Milieu."

[55] Priests received jail sentence as a result of unpaid fines so they often lasted only a few days, allowing clerics to return to their communities shortly after their arrest.

[56] For an example, see Kaplan Stölben's return to Bernkastel, *Mosella,* 19 April 1874.

[57] *Sonntagsblatt,* 8 February 1874 describes how the women of Landsberg decorated the priest's residence in anticipation of his return. In Höningen, Father Kiesgen and three other clerics were ringed with garland by the young women of the village, *Mosella,* 18 March 1874.

priest and displeasure with Kulturkampf policies but in ways that conformed to Catholic religious practice and female activism's more traditional forms.[58]

Women also swelled the ranks of Church processions and pilgrimages in this period. As Jonathan Sperber argues, regardless of whether or not Catholics intended these events as political demonstrations, pilgrimages and processions "were exceptionally well attended, and no one had any doubts that the participants in these events by their very participation were showing their opposition to the ministry's policy and their support for the Center Party."[59] Women, like men, took part in these religious activities in steadily increasing numbers during the Kulturkampf. Contemporaries noted that female attendance sometimes outnumbered male participation in these activities.[60] In some processions, women assumed leading roles, as in Vorst where local noblewomen stepped in to lead the school children in the local procession after the state forbid teachers to fulfill this traditional role.[61] In these instances, women emerged in public spaces normally reserved for men; their actions, although viewed as appropriate female behavior within the Catholic community, conveyed a clear political message, bringing women into the political conflict with the state.

A final Kulturkampf crowd that brought women out into the streets were the periodic auctions of priestly possessions. These auctions drew great crowds as Catholics came to see who dared to auction off the priest's goods as well as to ensure that only the designated bidders made

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[58] Atkin and Tallett argue that in the nineteenth century, women were responsible for shaping the "material culture" of religious practice through the decoration of altars, side-chapels, and alcoves in the home. See Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People*, 187; Tobias Dietrich, *Konfession im Dorf: Westeuropäische Erfahrungen im 19 Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004), 132-142. Carola Lipp argues that politically interested women expressed their partisanship in the 1848 Revolutions by decorating political meeting rooms. Carola Lipp, "Frauen und Öffentlichkeit: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen politischer Partizipation im Vormärz und in der Revolution 1848/1849," in *Schimpfende Weiber und patriotische Jungfrauen*, ed. Carola Lipp (Baden-Baden: Bühl-Moos: Elster Verlag, 1986), 270-307.

[59] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 225

[60] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Harris, *Lourdes*; Kaufman, *Consuming Visions*.

[61] *Sonntagsblatt,* 30 May1875.

offers. Women of all classes joined these crowds as observers, supporters, and enforcers. Officials noted unhappily women's presence at the unfortunate auction of Father Tüffers possessions in Calcar; here, the crowd turned violent and attacked the Executor charged with carrying out the sale.[62] In some cases women's actions proved decisive; in Freiburg, the Catholic women present at the auction threatened to use their umbrellas against anyone foolish enough to bid on the bishop's items.

In Münster, the attempt to seize the bishop's goods for auction came to a screeching halt when the wife of one of the laborers hired to transport the objects arrived on the scene. In front of the large crowd, she asked him "if he had renounced his faith and taken on another religion" and then informed him that "should he lay another finger on the Bishop's furniture, he need not return home again."[63] Apparently finding her argument compelling, he refused any further service and left with his wife. Unable to find anyone else willing to take over the job, the helpless Executor declared the transport postponed and the crowd, including several prominent women, raced to carry the furniture back into the Bishop's palace. As this example shows, women not only actively participated in the crowds that formed at these auctions, they sometimes decisively influenced the outcome of events. By creating spontaneous and demonstrative crowds, the Kulturkampf opened space for women to participate in the struggle to determine the new Reich's character.

While most Catholics sided firmly with their clergymen against the state's religious persecution, not everyone supported the Church in all aspects of the struggle. Aside from those such as liberals, Protestants, or Old Catholics who supported the Kulturkampf, others (usually

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[62] LA NRW Abt Rheinland Br 007, 252.
[63] *Sonntagsblatt,* 1 March 1874.

local Catholic officials) found themselves in the uncomfortable position of being duty-bound to enforce Kulturkampf laws.[64] Communities took their revenge on such people through social ostracism, economic boycotts, and, on rare occasions, acts of violence. Women's roles in these reprisals ran the gamut from simple participation to more active leadership positions. Since the victims of such repercussions were not just other villagers but often state officials, women's actions here signified their entry into the on-going power struggle at both the larger level of State-Church conflict and the more personal, local level of conflict between the clergyman and his opponents.

Although not alone in organizing and carrying out these acts (as will be discussed, Catholics of different ages, genders and social status exacted their revenge in specific ways), women played highly visible roles in punishing those viewed as traitors to the cause. In some cases, elite women simply excluded such people from their social circle as did the women of the Westphalian nobility who cancelled their social season in order to express their displeasure with the state's actions against the Church.[65] Women, particularly those from rural or working-class backgrounds, also conveyed their displeasure by verbally reprimanding gensdarmes or other agents of the Kulturkampf.[66] At Kaplan Böwer's arrest, a young woman mocked the escorting gensdarm when he moved follow Böwer as he left the path to greet another clergyman rushing to see him off.[67]

On other occasions, women used their economic power to convey their displeasure. In Prüm, the community blamed the forest ranger for keeping the state informed of the local cleric's activities and ostracized him for his denunciations. Unfortunately, the forest ranger's wife was

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[64] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*.
[65] *Sonntagsblatt* ,25 January 1874.
[66] BAT Abt 86, Nr. 0001; Schwer, *Der Kulturkampf am Rande des Hochwaldes*.
[67] BAT Abt 86, Nr. 0001 Böwer.

also the village mid-wife; the community's mistrust spread to her as well and village women no longer sought her services. Desperate, she attempted to get the mayor to intercede with the women on her behalf but to no avail.[68] In Münster, the wife of the officer tasked with arresting Bishop Brinkmann received a mysterious visit from a "well-to-do" woman who informed her that, should her husband fail in his duties, he would be "well-provided for."[69]

As these examples indicate, Catholic women used their social and economic power to punish those who enforced anti-clerical legislation. Such acts illustrated how Catholic women of all classes employed familiar gendered practices to engage in public debate, clearly signalling female Catholics' political mobilization. Yet far from symbolizing women's unauthorized appearance in the masculine public domain, the social ostracism employed by Catholic women remained within the communally accepted boundaries of appropriate female behavior. As much as it enraged *Oberpräsident* Kühlwetter, as the guardians of domestic life charged with overseeing the family's social calendar, Westphalian noblewomen had every right to choose with whom they socialized. In this case, however, the women employed their traditional (and considerable) social power for political ends, making their displeasure with the state's actions against the Church clear through their ostracism of Prussian officials.

In less exalted circles, Catholic men acknowledged Catholic women's right to make their own choices in "female" matters, especially when religious convictions intertwined with the intensely private and female space of child-birth. In his memoirs, Kaplan Alt recalled how Prüm's Catholic women ignored the mayor's efforts to intervene on the local mid-wife's behalf. In this instance, "the mayor learned that in certain circumstances, women too have the right to

[68] BAT Abt 86, Nr. 0001 Alt.
[69] BAM, A125/ 9.

have a voice, and that they will not allow this right to be easily taken from them."[70] In this case, the women of Prüm transformed their freedom of action in the private domestic sphere into an act of defiance in the public world of political debate.

In extreme cases women gave vent to their protests in a more public manner, as did Frau Dreierwald in the small agricultural community of Rheine when a police official told her to remove the papal flag (flying to honor Pius IX's 30th year on St. Peter's throne). She informed him that if he wanted the flag removed, he could take it down himself or wait for her husband to return home from work. As he ventured onto the roof to confiscate the flag, she promptly removed the ladder, leaving him trapped on the roof until her husband's return.[71] In Polch, a crowd gathered in front of the local priest's residence after Kaplan Volk's arrest. Consisting mostly of women and male youths, the crowd protested angrily against the ill priest's insufficient support for Volk in his conflict with the state and attempted to storm the house to express their displeasure.[72] When the mayor arrived in Schöneberg to seal the church and the priest's residence (*Pfarrhaus*), thereby preventing the *gesperrt* Father Müller from conducting unauthorized religious services, he found the church doors missing, removed by the village women. As he entered the priest's residence to evict Müller, "a crowd of women stormed in," sat on every piece of furniture and declared to the shocked *Bürgermeister* that they "would not yield and that any furniture carried out of the residence would be carried back in through the same

[70] BAT Abt 86, Nr. 0001 Alt.
[71] Vollmer, "Erinnerungen an Alt-Rheine in der Wilhelminischen Zeit," 333-360.
[72] LHAK Bestand 655, 33 Nr 776; Bestand 403 Akte 10810.

doors." They challenged him to "show them who had the right to drive their Pastor from his official home."[73]

As these examples show, women made important contributions to communal responses to the Kulturkampf. Their actions secured communal solidarity, conveying the image of a closed Catholic community united behind its clergy. In some instances, women's actions extended beyond the realm of everyday female activity, becoming public demonstrations that made clear both female activism's power and women's willingness to take action against those they perceived as threatening their faith. Their protests also reveal that women felt entitled to act in the Church's defense, viewing the state's anti-clerical policies as subjects of women's concern.

Even more common than women's exploits as harbingers of communal vengeance was their public and private support for embattled clerics. Less visible than the crowds that protested a priest's arrest or those that mocked perceived traitors to the cause, these actions formed the backbone of women's contributions the Kulturkampf. Providing housing, food or other aid to banned clerics represented an important aspect of female involvement in the struggle, one that, although occurring largely within the private, domestic sphere, was often used by the Catholic press to draw attention to popular support for priests. In his account of his period as a *gesperrt* priest, Peter Maringer recalls how a barmaid provided him with food and wine, free of charge, on the suspicion that he was a *gesperrt* priest avoiding the law.[74] In Hoch-Eltern, the widow of a local official offered Father Pöttken lodging after the mayor sealed the *Pfarrhaus*.[75] In Wittlich, a woman was fined for harboring a private priest in her home while in Bernkastel the state went so

[73] *SonntagsBlatt,* 21 December 1873. Only after the Bürgermeister threatened them with criminal prosecution did they leave the room itself, remaining outside in the courtyard and dispersing only after he admitted defeat and informed Father Müller that he would not be closing the Pfarrhaus today.
[74] BAT Abt 86, Nr. 0001 Maringer.
[75] *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874.

far as to prosecute Kaplan Stölben's mother because she allowed him to stay the night without reporting him to the local mayor.[76] In Seesbach, the local Baroness sent her wagon to carry Kaplan Wald to jail so that he would not have to walk.[77]

Women also expressed their solidarity and devotion through acts of piety. For example, women in Trier decorated the Dom's altar as a sign of devotion to Bishop Eberhard while in Meschede, women presented their soon-to-be banished Kaplan a floral bouquet.[78] In the visitation accounts of bishops and other prominent clerics, women continually promised to remain faithful to the Church and expressed this dedication through particular acts of prayer or religious devotion.[79]

Most importantly, women vowed to raise their children as devout Catholics, thereby ensuring that the next generation would possess a pious devotion to the Church and its clergy. A fiery article by "a Catholic woman in Berlin" stressed the power of Catholic mothers, noting that "the mother's influence on the son will always make itself felt;" even when the priest's power in the confessional reaches its limit, "the mother exercises an indomitable power" and "the confessor has only to bring to fruition, what women's hands have cultivated."[80] While these actions might seem to pale in comparision to the crowds that gathered to protest an auction or celebrate a returning cleric, they represent the more everyday means through which women staked their claim to power and activism. When a woman offered lodging to a priest or sent her wagon to carry him to jail, she also sent a clear message to state and local authorities regarding her loyalties. These actions, however small, signaled a woman's participation (rather than simply

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[76] *Eucharius,* 27 September 1874.
[77] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 3 July 1874.
[78] For Trier, see *Eucharius,* 31 May 1874; For Meschede, see *Germania,* 11 June 1874.
[79] BAT Abt 86, Nr.0008, LA NRW Abt Westfalen M 502 Nienborg.
[80] *SonntagsBlatt*, 8 March 1874.

remaining passive) in the conflict. They offered her the opportunity to make her voice heard beyond the four walls of her home.

Women also took part in the petition campaigns designed to express loyalty and devotion to bishops in their struggle with the state. These declarations, a common act of support undertaken by communities throughout the Reich, cleary expressed the signatories' fidelity to the Church and rejection of state actions against clergymen. The text generally expressed sorrow and regret at the bishop's difficult position and promised faithfulness to him and the Church's teachings, come what may. In this sense, these statements of support can be viewed as public statements of opposition and defiance towards the state in its efforts against the church.[81]

Declarations of faithfulness towards clerical leaders offer another example of increased female activism, one open to Catholics of any social standing as women of all classes sent loyalty addresses to their clergymen. Women often wrote, circulated, and delivered their own addresses.[82] By not allowing their husbands or fathers to represent them and insisting upon submitting their own separate assurances of allegiance, women proclaimed the value and importance of their loyalty in this struggle, implying that all members of the church community, not just men, were needed to combat this challenge to the faith. As the women of Lüdinghausen argued in their address to Münster's Bishop Brinkmann "Are we women not also called, like our husbands and brothers, to take an effective part in the events that currently affect the world?"[83]

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[81] As the state attorney argued in the Müster trial, praise for one side in a conflict quite often meant condemnation of the other. *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874.
[82] In general, women of the upper-classes delivered their own addresses to the cleric's residence while women from other classes only hand-delivered addresses when they, too, resided in the episcopal city. However, the numerous examples of women and girls from small villages presenting their own separate addresses to bishops travelling through the community on vistations demonstrates that what distinguished elite and popular participation in the petition campaigns was generally the ability to travel to the bishop's seat, not the willingness or ability to draft independent petitions.
[83] *Germania,* 20 May 1874.

Clearly Catholic women felt themselves justified in speaking out against what they perceived as the state's "persecution of the Church."

Beyond merely asserting a right to speak on this issue, the petition campaigns brought women quite literally into the public sphere. Women left their homes to travel to the episcopal seat, usually a large city, to deliver the petitions themselves (or through a representative delegation in cases where distance prevented all of the signatories from attending.) Such actions brought women into the city's public spaces, areas normally reserved for men, and into contact with prominent and powerful men. (These delegation's leaders almost always received an audience with the bishop or arch-bishop in order to deliver the document.) For example, "thousands of women" from Münster filled the halls and courtyard of the bishop's palace on April 8, 1874, while a deputation headed by the wife of a prominent businessman met with Bishop Brinkmann, who personally received their address before appearing at the window to give the blessing to the waiting crowd.[84]

That such actions represented an unusual step for women can be seen in the *Germania*'s description of how the female deputation from Danzig hurried through Pelplin's streets in order not to stopped by the gensdarmes along the way to the episcopal palace.[85] In a society that prohibited women's mere presence at any public gathering that discussed politics, the repeated image of hundreds of women marching through the city to make a public statement of support

[84] Ficker, *Kulturkampf in Münster*, p. 106. A similar deputation met with the Archbishop of Köln to present him with a statement signed by 700 members of the Association of Christian Mothers in March 1874 *SonntagsBlatt,* 5 April 1874.
[85] *Germania,* 27 May 1874.

for clerics signified a new level of political engagement for women as well as a heighted public presence.[86]

Unfortunately for Catholic women in Prussia, they also participated in the Kulturkampf through their experiences of prosecution, fines, and even jail time. The fact that the Prussian government responded to women's Kulturkampf activism with legal action demonstrates how seriously the state took female opposition. Surprised and somewhat threatened by women's public activities and continued willingness to defy state authority,[87] the government initiated legal proceedings against Catholic women who aided priests or took part in public demonstrations, viewed by the authorities as public nuisances at best but often as serious challenges to state power. Women, along with men, and sometimes even children, endured the process of questioning, public trials, punitive fines, and in rare cases, imprisonment. Even small acts of opposition carried consequences, as seen in the cases of women fined for harboring *gesperrt* clergymen.[88] In Schweich, 11 girls received short prison sentences for their attempt to greet Kaplan Johann Thielen with garland on his return from prison.[89] Far from deterring women in their support for the Church, punishments received for aiding "unauthorized" priests were seen as badges of honor, as with the woman prosecuted for assisting Kaplan Heinrich Thielen in an "illegal" mass in Kinheim.[90]

Women also suffered legal punishments for acts of defiance against state officials, such as the fifty-eight year old woman from Pfalzel who served five days in jail after her conviction

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[86] As Margaret Anderson notes, Prussian "jurists equated women with firearms as providing sufficient cause for shutting a rally down." *Practicing Democracy,* 298.
[87] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 133; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 209-225.
[88] *Eucharius,* 27 September 1874; *Mosella*, 9 December 1874.
[89] Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 94. See also *Eucharius* 12 July 1874, *Germania,* 9 July 1874. The court initially imposed fines but when the girls refused to pay them, they were forced to serve short prison terms instead.
[90] Kammer notes that for the rest of her life, the woman considered her run-in with the law a great honor, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester,* 128.

for insulting the gensdarm tasked with arresting Kaplan Weyrauch.[91] Frau Dreierwald in Rheine spent eight days in prison for trapping the local policeman on her roof. More serious were the prison sentences, lasting several weeks, handed down to women in Neunkirchen, a mining community in the Saar region, after Kaplan Martin Görgen's arrest. Görgen himself attributed the women's sentences to their anti-government comments during the procession to the train station.[92]

Sometimes the attempts to punish female involvement shaded into the ridiculous as in Neustadt when a seventy year old woman faced prosecution as a "leader and organizer" of an unauthorized procession because her son allowed his horses to pull the decorated wagon that carried Kaplan Zimmermann into town after his arrest.[93] Although acquitted, the simple fact that the state considered women as "leaders and organizers" of public demonstrations indicates women's significant contributions to Kulturkampf protests. By choosing to punish women for their acts of support and defiance, however small and seemingly insignificant, the state inadvertently proved female involvement's weight and meaning. The state's willingness to prosecute, fine, and imprison women illustrated female activism's importance and its impact on the political situation.

In addition to supporting and suffering for the Church, women also figured prominently in the Kulturkampf as discursive, gendered subjects, arguably serving the Church's needs better in this passive role than they did as actors on the public stage.[94] Catholic publicists seized on

[91] *Eucharius,* 10 May 1874.
[92] BAT Abt 86, Nr. 0004 Görgen; Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 145.
[93] *Germania,* 18 August 1874.
[94] Bennette argues that during the Kulturkampf, Catholics set "'feminine' passivism… in sharp contrast to the heavy-handedness of the state," using this gendering to condemn Prussian militarism while stressing Catholic's necessity to the new Reich. Only Catholicism's (feminine) morality could balance the "might makes right" attitude of Prussian (masculine) militarism. See Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 96-121, quote on p.115.

women's activities, or more accurately, state reactions to them, to castigate the government's abusive and intrusive actions. In these reports, women functioned as victims of an overbearing state that had sunk so low as to persecute them for their faith. For example, the *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* reported on efforts to catch priests violating the May laws by questioning Catholic women about their experiences in the confessional. The paper recounted how a particularly enthusiastic gensdarm chased an elderly lady through the streets before she finally fell into an icy puddle in her effort to avoiding testifying against her priest, concluding that such incidents "raised high animosity [towards the state] amongst the people."[95]

According to the *Sonntags-Blatt für katholische Christen*, a zealous gensdarm, hearing of a secret baptism in Meschede, rushed out into the woods, and followed the participants home in order to identify the offenders. The paper denounced such actions, asking if newborns were now to be seen as "accomplices of priests who endangered the state" before concluding that the image of "infants and women as dangerous opponents of the Reich's chancellor [Bismarck]" offered a "truly impressive image of the Kulturkampf."[96] These and numerous other such reports made women the Kulturkampf 's chief victims, innocents forced to suffer for their devotion to their Church. Through their status as victims, women rallied Catholics to the cause and raised questions about the intents and methods of a state willing to harass women in its campaign against the Church.

These reports also emphasized that the state attacked women not just for their participation in public demonstrations but in their own domestic sphere, in which religion played an important part in their duties as wives and mothers. In doing so, Catholic publicists argued,

[95] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 14 January 1874.
[96] *SonntagsBlatt,* 3 May 1874.

the state violated boundaries between public and private, drawing women into the conflict in ways that not only hindered their ability to function in the domestic sphere but threatened their very well-being. In this way, ideas about gender, specifically the ideology of separate spheres, became a useful means through which the Catholic press criticized state policy in the Kulturkampf.[97]

For example, the *Germania* publicly questioned the state's decision to place the Aachen chapter of the Association of Christian Mothers under police supervision as an organization that "threatened the state," arguing that such actions "bring women directly into the conflict."[98] In a report from Gemen, the local mayor drew censure from the Catholic press after he sought to investigate female participants in the religious services held by the head of Münster's cathedral chapter. Noting that such religious activity had "nothing to do with politics" and was "intended solely for the female sex," the paper condemned such invasions of the female private sphere, noting that they would only serve to heighten Catholics' already excited temper.[99] In a final example, Catholic publicists highlighted the Church-State conflict's adverse effects on the fairer sex as the *Neue Moselzeitung* blamed the state's decision to arrest Kaplan Schneiders at the altar of Trier's St. Laurentius church for the subsequent death of an elderly woman present at the altercation, illustrating conflict's terrible effects on the female population.[100]

By playing on ideas about gender roles and women's association with private, domestic virtues, Catholic advocates used women as a discursive means through which to criticize state policy in the Kulturkampf.[101] As these examples show, reports about women suffering at the

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[97] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany.*
[98] *Germania,* 12 May 1874.
[99] *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874.
[100] *Neue Moselzeitung,* 2 November 1874.
[101] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany.*

hands of over-zealous state officials joined accusations of state interference in the domestic sphere. Both claims sought to discredit the state's religious policies by implying that through the Kulturkampf, the German state persecuted helpless wives and mothers, acts that crossed the boundary between public and private and brought women into the public world of political conflict.

Defensive Maneuvers? Women's Activism From the Female Perspective

Yet, even as this chapter has illustrated women's emergence in the public sphere, it also highlighted that activism's situational specificity, observing that when Catholic women entered the public sphere, they acted in response to an external threat, real or perceived. When liberal Kulturkämpfer and state officials looked dismally upon women's involvement in Kulturkampf protests, viewing them as Catholic women's unauthorized and impermissible intrusions into the masculine public sphere, this view overlooked an important aspect of women's actions: they were overwhelmingly *reactions*. The men who prosecuted the Kulturkampf failed to appreciate the consequences of their own policies; through their attack on religious practice, state officials and liberal Kulturkämpfer called forth and justified the very thing they feared—widespread female activism in the masculine public sphere.[102]

As their active participation in Kulturkampf protests shows, Catholic women believed that religious practice concerned them; pointing to bourgeois Kulturkämpfers' own gendered ideology, Catholic women claimed religion as something private and domestic, belonging

[102] Returning full-circle to the Westphalian noblewomen's trial, as their attorney pointed out, only the attack on their Bishop had motivated the women's actions. Previous political controversies or state actions had not stirred them to activism.

primarily to women. Thus, anti-clerical laws infringed not just on the Church's power and independence, but on that of Catholic women as well. If, as Gross has so aptly demonstrated, liberal men viewed the Kulturkampf as a "*Geschlechterkampf*" for access to the public sphere,[103] is it not logical to imagine that Catholic women experienced the conflict in much the same way, as an unjustified attack by the state on the private sphere of religious practice? Rather than simply accepting masculine understandings of female activism, by exploring the specific forms of Catholic women's involvement in Kulturkampf protests, this chapter repeatedly demonstrates that Catholic women protested to defend religious practice and viewed their activism as their duty as wives, mothers, and women.[104]

From Catholic women's perspective, their Kulturkampf activism represented not an effort to assert a greater claim to the public sphere but rather an effort to defend their existing claim to the private sphere. Just as bourgeois men feared and resented women's growing involvement in religious activities outside of the home, Catholic women feared and resented the state's increasing intrusion into matters previously considered private, domestic issues. The advance of state power and bourgeois-liberal Protestant culture threatened Catholic women's established place in the world and challenged their (previously acknowledged) claims to authority and participation in domestic matters. As a result, Catholic women's activism on clerics' behalf reflected their efforts to defend the private religious realm and those things associated with it (education, rites of passage, public religious practices, charity work) that the state now claimed for itself and regendered as part of the masculine, public realm.[105]

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[103] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 27.

[104] Borutta argues that Catholic women fought to defend the Church rather than to gain political rights an important distinction that he argues separated them from feminists and women's rights activists,. Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*, 366-367.

[105] Krause makes a similar argument for the Marienkinder organizations in Switzerland. Krause, *Marienkinder*.

For example, as a part of the broader effort to consolidate the new German Reich and determine its cultural character, the government, under the liberal parties' leadership, sought to bring education, poor relief, medical care, and other forms of charity and public welfare such as orphanages, daycares, and homes for wayward women under greater state control. Formerly administered by religious leaders and often run by nuns or female volunteers, the state's expansion into these areas allowed for their 'rational' administration and introduced greater professionalization (which also meant greater masculinization.) These policies brought the state into aspects of life previously under private control while restricting the power and influence of women and the Catholic church.[106]

For Catholic women, such policies represented a double blow as they secularized activities previously associated with religious practice (almsgiving to finance these institutions as well as acts of Christian charity involved with serving in these institutions) while simultaneously limiting the roles available to women within these institutions.[107] The coupling of these more mundane municipal laws with Kulturkampf measures such as the school laws and the laws disbanding religious orders lent them greater insult. Women found both their religious faith and

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[106] For the state's efforts to claim charity work and education as masculine, public functions (and thus removing them from the realm of female religious orders in particular), see Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Krause, *Marienkinder;* Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn"*; Meiwes, "Weibliche Lebenswege im 19. Jahrhundert."

[107] Discussing the decline of food riots, Manfred Gailus argues that for nonbourgeois women, "the extension of civil society spaces after the mid-nineteenth century meant a temporary shrinking or even total loss of traditional spaces of public action and thus a loss of sociopolitical power." He notes that Karen Hagemann characterized this development as "a doubles exclusion: while the old means of direct action in street politics became historically obsolete, participation in the new spaces of public action of an emerging political mass market (elections, parties, clubs) remained more or less closed to them [women.]" Manfred Gailus, "Necessary Confrontations: Gender, Civil Society, and the Politics of Food in Eighteenth- to Twentieth- Century Germany," in *Civil Society and Gender Justice: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, eds. Karen Hagemann, Sonya Michel and Gunilla Budde (New York: Berghahn, 2008),173-189, quotes on p. 187.

their claims to competency in public life under siege by the state's infringement into matters previously handled through religious institutions staffed by female nuns or lay volunteers.[108]

The anti-clerical school laws in particular struck at women's roles as defenders of home, family, and customs, as well as their Catholic religious sensibilities. Now instead of leaving decisions about a child's education to the parents, the state standardized and regulated education by removing priests as school superintendants (replaced by secular officials), redrafting the curriculum to devote more instructional time to science and math at the expense of religion, and limiting clerical presence in the school by allowing teachers without the *missio canonica* to hold religious instruction.[109] From Catholic women's perspective, such laws brought state power into the domestic realm of family and religion, an area supposedly given over to women by the very doctrine of natural difference that underpinned contemporaries' belief in separate spheres ideology.[110] They also triggered the conflict's most vehement protests by Catholic women; for example, in Königshütte, women rioted after learning that the government had authorized an Old Catholic to give their children religious instruction.[111]

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[108] Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert*; Krause, *Marienkinder;* Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn"*; Meiwes, "Weibliche Lebenswege im 19. Jahrhundert."

[109] Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School*. The *missio canonica* was the permission to hold religious instruction granted by the Church after one promised to adhere to Church teachings.

[110] Siegfried Weichlein argues amongst Catholics, the state was "not perceived as the definitive measure of the political order, but as an entity derived from the concepts of the family or the community. In their approach, the family came first, the community second, and the state last, and only in reference to those issues that could not be dealth with in the family or the community." Thus the state's involvement in education, charity, and other family and community issues represented an unjustified intrusion that violated the proper social order as well as the gendered division of public and private. Weichlein, "Nation State, Conflict Resolution, and Culture War, 1850-1878, " in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 281-306, quote on p. 288.

[111] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 145. For a general discussion of the school laws and their implementation, see Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School.* For the school laws as the Kulturkampfs' most passionate issue, Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*; Schmidt-Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf in Deutschland*, 82; Horst Gründer, "'Krieg bis auf's Messer' – Kirche, Kirchenvolk und Kulturkampf," in *Geschichte der Stadt Münster*, ed. Franz-Josef Jacobi, 3 Bünde (Münster: Aschendorff , 1993), Bd 2, 131-165; Norbert Schlossmacher, *Düsseldorf im Bismarckreich: Politk und Wahlen Parteien und Vereine* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1985), 154.

The circumstances in Osnabruck surrounding the Ursuline convent's disbanding illustrates both Catholic women's resentment of state intervention in a matter they felt lay within their competency and their belief that Kulturkampf measures justified women's unusual activities. In Novemeber, 1873, the Prussian state decided to close the convent, which ran the area's Catholic higher girls' school, and to replace that school with a mixed confessional school. Not surprisingly, this decision sparked "protests from almost all the well-off Catholic women in the city" and prompted Osnabruck's Catholic women to take action in defense of their daughters' educational opportunities (and their rights as mothers to decide from whom their daughters received that education.)[112]

According to the *Westfälisher Merkur*, 200 Catholic women took the unusual step of intervening directly in a "state" matter by sending a petition to the Magistrate. The women acknowleged their action's novelty, writing that "although women should not otherwise get involved in public matters," they "felt compelled to make an exception in the present case" precisely because it concerned religion and education, both private, feminine matters. They went on to argue that, "in our opinion, an appropriate education for children, particularly for girls, is not possible unless that education has a religious basis, and that basis is unimaginable without a designated confession." The petition concluded with the women's assertion that they "would and could never entrust their daughters to such a [mixed confessional] girls' school."[113]

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[112] *Westfälisher Merkur*, 13 November 1873. As Chapter 5 discusses in greater detail, girls seldom received education beyond the *Volksschule*'s primary level. Only wealthy families possessed the resources and desire to allow their daughters to pursue higher education. However, most Catholic families shrank from allowing their daughters to attend "non-religious" schools staffed by lay teachers rather than nuns. Thus closing the convent school was tantamount to removing these girls' opportunity for higher education. See Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*, 212-224; Bongartz, *Die Klöster in Preussen*; Michael Klöcker, "'Göttliches wissen' für das römisch-katholische Mädchen. Aspekte der Mädchenbildung im binnenorientiert geschlossenen katholischen Milieu," in *Religion und Katholizismus, Bildung und Geschichtsdidaktik, Arbeiterbewegung* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 295-313.

[113] *Westfälisher Merkur*, 14 November 1873.

The women's petition offers an excellent insight into Catholic women's understanding of the Kulturkampf and the meaning of their activism. Clearly, they accepted the gendered division of public and private and recognized political and governmental issues as "masculine" concerns. However, following that same gendered logic, they also considered education, particularly girls' education, a subject of female concern on which they had a right to be heard. They also made clear their activism's reactionary, defensive nature. They took the bold step of petitioning a governmental official to ensure that he understood their passionate views only after the government chose not just to insert itself into the private subject of (girls') education but to further threaten that education's religious foundations. The government's attack on the Ursuline cloister struck deep into the heart of the private, female domestic sphere, as the state claimed the the religious nature of girls' education as a masculine, political issue, one no longer contained within the female, domestic sphere.

Seen in this light, women's activism represented a rational response to the state's intrusion into the domestic sphere. Rather than a sudden flood of irrational women seeking to gain unprecendented access to the masculine public sphere, thereby threatening the gender divide, women's active participation in Kulturkampf protests can just as easily be interpreted as a defensive reaction by Catholic women to the state's attack on the domestic sphere. Instead of a challenge to the gendered division of public and private, women taking to the streets to protest anti-clerical legislation denoted a logical defensive reaction against male politicians' efforts to violate the doctrine of separate spheres and usurp domains of female competence. In their efforts to expand 'rational' state power at the Church's expense and remove religion and women from public life, German liberals inadvertently politicized Catholic women by attacking them in the domestic sphere in their roles as wives and mothers, as keepers of religious tradition and

guardians of the family. Women’s participation in the conflict reflected their efforts to uphold gender roles and defend those things that belonged to them: faith and family. It was only the state and German liberals’disregard for gendered boundaries between public private that compelled Catholic women to participate so actively in the conflict.

Yet, however justified Catholic women felt their participation in the Kulturkampf to be, as the next chapter reveals, limits to their activism always existed. Their roles as wives and mothers, their individual class standing, and the attitudes of male Catholics all served to constrain female activism. Even in their efforts to defend the private, domestic sphere, women found their ability to protest and their access to the public sphere limited. Re-assessing women’s involvement in the Kulturkampf requires more than simply understanding their actions as defensive reactions to an intrusive state and its anti-clerical allies; it also means accepting how factors such as age, class, and Catholicism itself influenced women’s desire and ability to take part in the conflict.

CHAPTER 2:

"ALL THAT WE WEAK WOMEN CAN DO":

RECOGNIZING CONSTRAINTS ON WOMEN'S KULTURKAMPF ACTIVISM

As the previous chapter demonstrated, the Church-State conflict politicized Catholic women, encouraging them to act openly in the public sphere in defense of their faith and gendered sphere of competency. Yet, even as popular opposition to the Kulturkampf represented new levels of female involvement in political questions and allowed women greater access to the public sphere, this process also had its limits. Women's activism remained constrained in theory and practice by such universal factors as ideas about gender and appropriate roles for women in community protests, and by more individual factors, like class standing or marital status.

This chapter explores the limits of female activism, examining how ideas about gender or class constrained women's involvement in Kulturkampf protests. It argues that even as the gendering of religion as a special area of female concern justified women's involvement in the conflict and ultramontane religious practices combined with Catholic women's class status to allow them greater access to the public sphere, those same factors also worked to limit and restrict female activism. Although ideas about "acceptable" female behavior differed radically depending on one's view point (Catholic or Kulturkämpfer), class standing (aristocratic, middle-class or working-class), and cultural milieu (rural or urban), all sides acknowledged clear limits to women's ability to participate in the conflict and sought to control female activism, to channel it in ways that reflected and served a particular ideology's interests.

Examining female activism's constraints offers an important complement to the existing historiography for two main reasons. First, as illustrated in the previous chapter, scholarly attention has focused largely on how Kulturkampf protests brought Catholic women into the public sphere, much to the displeasure of state officials and bourgeois liberals.[1] While vital to understanding liberals' motivations for pursuing the Church-State conflict as well as the Kulturkampf's social and cultural dimensions, this attention to women's public activism presents a distorted image when not contextualized. For example, when Michael Gross argues that "the larger measure of piety among Catholic women, their participation in religious associational life, and their part in the public activities of the church helped prepare them to play another role as public protestors during the Kulturkampf," he credits the Catholic revival for helping to mobilize women in the Church's defense without considering how those same processes also worked to establish that activism's limits or how class differences amongst Catholic women influenced their desire and ability to protest against anti-clerical measures.[2]

Second, the emphasis on seeing women's activism from the anti-clerical gaze results in a distorted vision of that activism, one that accepts bourgeois male perceptions as reality while overstating female opposition's aims as well as the scope of action available to Catholic women.[3] It also ignores one of the chief ways in which Kulturkampf crowds reflected a different gender dynamic than earlier popular protests: no accounts describe women as instigators who take to the streets, beating pots and pans, and calling their communities to arms, nor are Catholic women portrayed warning Catholic men that they are prepared to act should men fail to protect the

[1] From the broad literature on the conflict's gendered dimension, see Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus;* Gross, *The War Against Catholicism;* Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne"; Krause, *Marienkinder;* Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*; Anderson, "The Limits of Secularisation"; Anderson, *Practising Democracy*; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*.
[2] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism* , 222.
[3] As Manuel Borutta points out, although "Catholic women in the Kulturkampf acted in the public sphere, unlike feminists, they fought less for women's rights that for the rights of the Church." Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus,* 367.

Church. Catholic women's activism remained primarily supportive, contained within traditionally accepted female roles and in defense of something broadly accepted as a female issue by the Catholic community.

In an effort to redirect scholarly attention, this chapter looks at female activism's limits and constraints. It argues that although women played important roles in anti-clerical demonstrations, their involvement in the Kulturkampf remained consistent with Catholic beliefs about women's roles, individual women's particular class standing, and women's lived experiences. It also contends that women's protests remained contained within boundaries set by men, be they state officials, Catholic publicists, church and community council members, or fathers and husbands. Far from challenging patriarchical systems and the gender division between public and private, both ideologies exercised a restraining influence on women's involvement in the Church-State conflict.

Here But no Farther: Activim's Limits

While the Kulturkampf's supporters and opponents tolerated or encouraged female activism in the Church's defense (in accordance with their ideological position), this toleration or encouragement only extended so far. Time and again, women found their efforts to express solidarity with Church leaders constrained by state officials and members of their own Catholic communities.

For example, women escorted arrested clergymen only so far as the entire community went. If the trek to the prison involved longer distances or crowds so large that the arresting officiers demanded that they disperse, women always remained behind, seldom by choice. When

the gendarms came to Balduinstein to arrest Pfarrer Houben, “hundreds of men and women” escorted him to the train station. At the station, the gendarms, concerned about the prospect of hundreds of people travelling all the way to the prison, requested that the church council take action. As a result, the women were forced to remain behind while the gendarms permitted thirty men (included those on the church council) to escort Houben to the prison.[4] At Kaplan Büsch’s arrest in Treis, a wine-growing village along the Mosel, the entire community escorted him to the riverbank where a small deputation of men continued on with him; the women were turned back.[5] In Meschede, a crowd gathered outside of Kaplan Fischer’s residence and followed him, the arresting gensdarm, and the *Amtmann* (representative of state authority at the very local level) to the railroad station where Fischer said good-bye to his sobbing parishioners. When the train arrived, Fischer and Amtmann Esser boarded, escorted by twenty men from the community.[6] In all of these cases, women found their ability to express their support for clerics limited by government power (the arresting officials) and the local community (which often determined who stayed and who went on.) Both sides agreed that women belonged at home and that men would represent the community.

The same held true for women’s activism when clerics returned from prison. In these elaborately choreographed receptions, prominent roles were reserved for men and young girls. Numerous contemporary accounts described clerics greeted at their return by young girls dressed in white who might present him with a gift, song, or poem on the community’s behalf.[7] Men also exercised important public roles by escorting the returning priest back to the community, offering greetings, praising brave suffering and dedication to the Church, and perhaps even

[4] *Germania,* 11 June 1874.
[5] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0004 Büsch.
[6] *Germania,* 25 August 1874.
[7] For a few examples of a wide-spread practice, see *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung*, 9 July 1873; *Sanct Paulinus Blatt*, 1 August 1875; BAT Abt 86, Nr 0001.

presenting a song from the local male choral group.[8] Women, however, remained in the background; their roles in these events were to be seen and not heard, as in Landsberg where women decorated the priest's residence while men escorted him back to the village. Here, the visible public roles were assigned to men while women handled behind-the-scenes responsibilities.[9]As with a cleric's arrest, ideas about women's proper roles meant that they could participate in these public events as a part of the crowd but not as its focal point.[10]

Likewise, women found themselves limited to passive, supporting roles in the crowds that gathered for the auctions of clerical possessions. When Catholics assembled to watch (or prevent) such auctions, men generally took the lead and set the tone for the action; women's place in these public functions was in the audience, not the spotlight. For example, those chosen by the community to bid on the items (which were then returned to the priest on permanent loan) were almost always men.[11] Men also determined the nature and course of these events. When auctions fell apart or had to be delayed, it was because men refused their service to the state.[12] When auctions became public opportunities to express political opinions or mockery of the state, it was the male bidders who instigated it by varying their bid based on an item's political significance (bust of Pius IX or a picture of the Kaiser) or by simply offering ridiculously high

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[8] *Neue Moselzeitung,* 13 November 1874; *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 19 April 1874.

[9] *SonntagsBlatt,* 8 February 1874. For such duties as part of female piety, see Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People*, 187; Dietrich, *Konfession im Dorf*, 132-142; Harris, *Lourdes*, 91.

[10] Women's restriction to supporting roles as onlookers reflected normal gender roles at public festivities of all types. In his history of St. Wendel, Max Müller described the community's reception for soldiers returning from the 1866 war, noting that in this civil celebration as well, men spoke in the name of the community, young girls offered the soldiers bouquets, and women remained relegated to the faceless crowd. Max Müller, *Die Geschichte der Stadt St. Wendel von ihren Anfängen bis zum Weltkrieg* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei, 1927), 252.

[11] The one exception was the auction of the Bishop of Trier's possessions where the bidder was the widow of a prominent businessman.

[12] The case mentioned earlier of the labor's wife who persuaded him to stop loading the Bishop of Münster's furniture stands as the single example in my research of female intervention stopping an auction, itself a striking comment on the roles women actually played in the conflict. In most cases, the men themselves refused the work with no mention of angry wives dissuading them.

bids for worthless items and excessively low bids for valuable ones.[13] Men also controlled the auction's goal, deciding whether to meet the cleric's fine (thus keeping him temporarily out of jail) or buy back the items for the lowest amount of money possible. While women's presence at these auctions expressed their solidarity with clergymen and signified their rejection of state policy, the important and most visible actors were still men; women remained limited to their customary roles as social enforcers, as with the umbrella wielding crowd in Freiburg.[14]

As these examples show, women played limited public roles in demonstrations at a cleric's arrest or the auctioning of his possessions. Certainly, women formed an important part of the crowds that gathered to express solidarity but in supporting roles as a part of the crowd itself, not as its chief activists.[15] Whenever the crowd was dispersed or selections were made regarding who went on and who stayed back, women were invariably pushed to the side and men took over.[16] Similarly, at public auctions or at festive receptions for a recently imprisoned cleric, men spoke for the community and women formed the audience. This process occurred for a variety of reasons. First, men were citizens and women were not. This basic fact meant that men occupied the prominent and meaningful roles in public life; men, not women, spoke and acted "in the name of the community." Second, women's primary roles as wives and mothers demanded that they stay close to their homes and children rather than leaving town to escort the priest to prison. Furthermore, women escorting priests to jail represented a step beyond the sort of public

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[13] For examples of such behavior, see *Neue Moselzeitung,* 26 November 1874; *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 30 March 1874 and 23 April 1874.

[14] Anderson, *Windthorst*, 174.

[15] For women's importance as spectators, see Vogel, "Stramme Gardisten, temperamentvolle Tirailleurs und anmutige Damen."

[16] Dominique Godineau notes a similar pattern in disturbances in the French Revolution, observing that while women might be involved in a crowd's formation, men took over once a protest took shape. Dominique Godineau, "Daughters of Liberty and Revolutionary Citizens," in *A History of Women in the West.Part IV: Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War,* eds. Genevieve Fraisse and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 15-32.

presence for women that most Catholic men and women were willing to countenance. Finally, the decision to limit female participation in these types of demonstrations also reflected current thinking about female irrationality; arresting officials would much rather allow calm, rational men to escort their cleric to prison than permit emotional, irrational women to engage in such actions.[17]

Despite women's presence in most Kulturkampf crowds, the few occasions when popular protest shaded into violent action seldom involved women. Although physically present at some incidents, women remained largely absent from descriptions of the violence and any subsequent legal actions taken against the perpetrators. Even in the struggle's most heated moments, gender roles governed not just who participated in violent actions against state officials but who was blamed or held accountable for these actions.

For example, when the crowd gathered for the auction of Pfarrer Tüffer's posessions in Calcar attacked the local official charged with conducting the auction, women remained absent from the numerous newspaper reports about the uprising as well as the prosecutions resulting from it, despite the mention of their presence in the mayor's report.[18] Similarly, when the mayor attempted to prohibit the decoration of a local religious site for the Pius Day celebration in Rheine in 1875, he was stabbed by an unknown hand. Helped from the scene into a near-by inn, the crowd gathered around his refuge, throwing stones and demanding that the inhabitants give

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[17] Gross argues that liberals viewed any and all demonstrations as 'female,'and thus irrational. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 224. See also Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors*; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 150.

[18] For the official reports, see LA NRW Abt Rheinland, BR 0007 252 Tumult bei Calcar Tüffers. For press reports, see *SonntagsBlatt,* 24 May 74; *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 16 May 1874.

up the mayor. As in Calcar, despite the intensive official investigation and press attention such an atrocity generated, no account alluded to women's presence at the scene.[19]

Even when women did participate in violent protests, such as Kaplan Schneiders' arrest from the altar of Trier's St. Laurentiuskirche or the revolt triggered by Pfarrer Isbert's arrest in Namborn, they seldom emerged as the main perpetrators but were accused of lesser crimes such as insulting officials attempting to carry out their duties.[20] As these examples show, despite their increased presence in public demonstrations, women's participation in such actions remained highly gendered. Women seldom engaged in acts of violence and when violence did occur, neither state officials nor the polemical press sought to blame women for violent acts.

Such reluctance to associate women with violence is interesting since women usually received kinder treatment from the legal system than men.[21] As mentioned above, courts did not shrink from fining and imprisoning women for their roles in Kulturkampf protests. However, the trial results show that women generally received lighter sentences than men. Often, courts acquitted women entirely of accusations raised against them. In the two examples above, the women accused were acquitted by the court (although the President of Trier's court did take it upon himself to inform Fraulein Herrig that her alledged actions befitted neither her sex nor her

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[19] For the official report, see GStA PK I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXa, Nr. 8 Bd IV 1867-1876. For press reports, see *Sanct Paulinus Blatt,* 4 July 1875; *Katholische Volkszeitung,* 25 June 1875; *SonntagsBlatt,* 27 June 1875.
[20] For Trier, *Mosella,* 25 February 1875; for Namborn, Schwer, *Der Kulturkampf am Rand des Hochwaldes*, 104-120.
[21] For a discussion of women's gendered immunity from prosecution, see Wayne Ph. Te Brake, et al, "Women and Political Culture in the Dutch Revolutions," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, eds. Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline G. Levy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 109-146; Peter Sahlins, *Forest Rites: The War of the Demoiselles in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994); Timothy Tackett, "Women and Men in Counterrevolution: The Sommières Riot of 1791," *The Journal of Modern History* 59 (1987): 680-704. For a skeptical assessment, see John Bohstedt, "The Myth of the Feminine Food Riot," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, eds. Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline G. Levy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 21-60.

class standing.)[22] Even when convicted alongside men, women received lighter sentences, such as fines rather than jail-time. Such lenient treatment by courts reflected popular notions of women that emphasized not only their roles as wives and mothers but also beliefs about women as the weaker or fairer sex, more easily led by their passions, more prone to act on emotion (and therefore less accountable for those actions) than men.[23] Thus, for Catholic women and those who would hold them accountable for their actions, ideas about women's nature and their place in society continued to influence women's participation in the Kulturkampf.

The petition campaign also revealed female activism's dual nature. Signing and delivering petitions to high-ranking church officials (and the public attention such acts generated) certainly signified women's entry into the Church-State struggle's public arena. Yet, even as these statements of loyalty gave women a voice in political affairs and greater access to the public sphere, they also showed female activism's external and internal constraints. First, women and men signed and submitted separate declarations. Women usually wrote and signed their own separate petitions, but in smaller communities, women might sign the same petition as the men. In these cases, blank pages in-between often distinguished women's signatures from men's, with male signatures usually coming first.[24] Thus ideas about gender divisions emerged even while drafting and signing petitions of faithfulness to Church leaders. Women's activism was distinct from that of men.

The text of the petitions themselves, and their reception by clergymen, also conveyed a gendered message. Petitions from women usually included promises of devotion and prayer as well as references, as in the one from the women of Geldern to their bishop, to "fleeing to the

[22] *Mosella,* 25 February 1875.
[23] For a discussion of such views, see Hausen, "Family and Role-Division"; In regards to Catholicism, see Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*.
[24] BAM, IA 27/3.

heart of Jesus," a popular devotional image of the time, often associated with female piety.[25] In their address, women from Lüdinghausen assured Bishop Brinkmann that they would do "all that lay in the weak power of women to sustain the faith," acts that included fervently educating their children in the Catholic faith and making their homes centers of religious devotion.[26]

Similarly, women in Münster compared their support for the bishop with that of Veronica, who signaled her devotion to the Savior by handing Christ a towel to wipe the sweat from his brow on the way to Calvary . The document expressed their hope that their prayers would offer him some small comfort since "prayer is all that we weak women can do for our Bishop."[27] By comparing these women to the women of early Christianity, while praising the women's piety and commitment, the clergymen (and the women themselves) still emphasized women's subservient role as supporters, comforters, and witnesses. In this way, female activism was (re)directed into appropriate channels, ones compatible with the Church's view of women as wives, mothers, and educators of Catholic children.

Furthermore, women composed and sent addresses only to clergymen. While Catholic men sent their own devotional adresses to religious leaders, they also sent petitions to state officials. Such petitions generally either protested a particular state action against the Church (such as the closing of the rectory to a *gesperrt* priest) or preemptively informed the state that the community stood solidly behind their clergyman, recognizing him and only him as their cleric.[28] Although present in many of the crowds at a rectory's closing or a priest's Sperrung, women never demanded that the mayor register their official protest against his actions nor did they draft letters to local officials proclaiming their loyalty to their cleric.

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[25] Ibid.
[26] *Germania,* 26 May 1874.
[27] *SonntagsBlatt,* 10 May 1874.
[28] For examples, see BAM J010a Kalkar St Nikolai; *SonntagsBlatt,* 25 January 1874.

Women felt entitled to send devotional petitions to their clergymen and to publicly proclaim their intentions to remain true to him and to pray ceaselessly for his deliverance; however, they never felt that their roles as wives and mothers permitted them to intercede with state officials in such a formal way.[29] Clearly, women believed themselves authorized to address their religious leaders but not their political ones, a distinction that demonstrates the extent to which women themselves recognized the limits of their ability to act and how deeply they had internalized the doctrine of separate spheres. Unlike in earlier periods, Catholic women in the Kulturkampf did not even bother voicing their dissatisfaction with state policies through political petitioning; they left this duty to Catholic men.[30]

As this section has demonstrated, Catholic women eagerly joined their communities' protests against Kulturkampf measures. However, their efforts continually ran up against the limits set by state officials as well as the male hierarchies within their own communities. While government officials and Catholic men permitted (if begrudgingly) women's involvement in demonstrations against anti-clerical measures, both groups also set clear limits to women's participation, limits that Catholic women themselves (if begrudgingly) accepted. Recognizing these limits permits a clearer image of women's activism to emerge, one that not only puts female protests in perspective but also highlights those protests' limited aims by demonstrating

[29] The petition sent by Catholic women in Osnabruck in protest against the Ursuline convent's closing remains the only example in my research of women addressing a state official in this manner. And, as Chapter Two pointed out, the women prefaced their address by noting the unusual nature of their action and stressing that only the issue of girls' education (and especially that education's religious basis) had motivated them to such a drastic step. *Westfälisher Merkur*, 14 November 1873.

[30] Women likely signed the petitions that Catholic communities sent to both the Kaiser and the Reichstag in order to gain support for German intervention on behalf of the Pope or those attempting to prevent the passage of Kulturkampf legislation such as the Anti-Jesuit law or the May Laws. However, unlike in the French Revolution or 1848, my research revealed no mention of women petitioning local government officials during the Church-State conflict. See Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.)

their defensive nature. Women wished to protect the Church and its place in society, not to challenge society's gendered hierarchy or stake a claim to increased access to the public sphere.

Irrationality, Susceptibility, and Femininity: Activism's Discursive Limits

Women's activism also found itself constrained at the discursive level. Separate spheres ideology influenced how both sides portrayed women in the press as well as how state authorities depicted them in official resports. While the Catholic side relied on the "good Catholic woman" or images of female fragility to criticize anti-clerical measures, Kulturkämpfer also used gendered images of Catholic women to justify the anti-clerical campaign. Exploring how gendered portrayals of Catholic female activism functioned as a check on that activism reveals that gendered thinking constrained women's figurative activism as much as their literal efforts on clerics' behalf.

Just as the Church's supporters used women to condemn state actions, its critics employed ideas about women to deride and dismiss popular Kulturkampf protests.[31] For example, the official report on Kaplan Schmidt's arrest in Andernach reduced the presence of the grieving crowd to "the moaning and wailing of women and girls," thereby allowing the official to report that no significant disturbances occurred, despite the fierce loyalty all villagers showed Schmitz.[32] Officials like Mayor Driesch in Polch certainly appreciated women's ability to incite crowds and saw them as potential instigators of public demonstrations in support of Kaplan Volk but such views frequently belittled the meaning of the crowds that gathered to support a cleric

[31] For a discussion of Catholics' discursive gendering of Catholicism itself as a wronged woman, see Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 224-225; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 113-118. For an analysis of gendered media representations, see Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*, 155-265.
[32] LHA Koblenz Bestand 403, Nr. 10816.

since they represented the work of women easily swayed by 'hot-blooded kaplans' rather than the objective work of rational men.[33] In the eyes of male Kulturkämpfer, crowds composed of women did not equate to the same level of meaningful resistance as crowds of men.[34]

In fact, the Church's opponents often deliberately misconstrued even women's less public support for clerics, lending them an inappropriate (and usually entirely absent) sexual character. For example, Mayor Ernst in Kinheim attributed local support for Kaplan Heinrich Thielen to the activities of his female cousin (also a local school teacher) and the ultramontane widow Keucke, who provided him with lodging. Not content to simply blame these two women for the community's pro-Church attitude, he also implied that both women engaged in inappropriate sexual relations with Thielen.[35]

Similar accusations confronted women involved with ostracizing anti-clericals. In Neunkirchen, the teacher Weber blamed Frau Blum, Kaplan Heinen's housekeeper, for inciting the village, especially the school children, against him (his reputation as a liberal and Kulturkämpfer who had denounced Heinen to the police was apparently irrelevant.) Weber went on to name Frau Blum as the "key agitator in the area," claiming that she "rules through her energy not just her husband but the old Pfarrer, and through him, the whole community" before alleging a sexual relationship between her and the Kaplan, explaining her unwavering support for him.[36]

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[33] LHA Koblenz Bestand 655, 33 Nr 776. See Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 50; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 223.
[34] Caroline Ford argues that French Jacobins employed this strategy to downplay religious resistance's significance. See Ford, *Divided Houses,* 30-31.
[35] LHA Koblenz Bestand 442, Nr 2004.
[36] LHA Koblenz Bestand 442, Nr 1966.

These examples show how quickly ardent Kulturkämpfer (or local officials wishing to shed a better light on their community's pro-Catholic stance) could turn female support for priests into something degenerate and inappropriate. As Michael Gross has argued, labeling women as "prostitutes" or implying that their relationship with their priests was a sexual one represented fears about priest's power over women and "the standard rhetorical assassination of the reputation of women outside normal social conventions and male control."[37] Prevailing visions about female nature served to limit women's ability to offer clergymen aid and support while allowing anti-clericals to dismiss and devalue women's efforts.

Women's actions also took on different meanings depending on their discursive presentation. For example, the *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* and Münster's *Sonntags-Blatt für katholische Christen* carried similar reports of the dramatic encounter between Mayor von Brandt and the women of Schöneberg in which the women not only removed the doors to the rectory to prevent the mayor from locking the *gesperrt* Father Müller out of the building but also occupied the furniture to the same end. This description of events, recounted earlier, depicts the women of Schöneberg as challenging state power not just through their actions (removing the doors and occupying the furniture) but also through their words (telling him the furniture would be brought back in and mocking him by asking him who had given him the right to evict Müller.)[38]

This bold image of the women's actions varies greatly with the *Schlesisches Kirchenblatt*'s account. In this version, the women do not speak to von Brandt at all but simply sit silently on the furniture, hearts pounding in their ribcages, until the mayor leaves. The paper

[37] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 224.
[38] *SonntagsBlatt,* 21 December 1873.

attributes the victory not the women's bold defiance but to the fact that "human blood also flows in the arms of justice and it contracts, defeated by the magic and cleverness of the 'Beauties from the Mountain'"(*Zauber und der Klugheit der "Schönen vom Berge."*)[39] Far from brazenly mocking state power, these women showed fear and remained mute. What defeated the mayor's intentions was not their bold activism but rather their enchanting beauty and clever strategies (in removing the doors ahead of time and confronting the mayor with the undesirable prospect of trying to physically remove the women from the rectory.) Not the aggressive women exercising their own agency seen in other reports, these women are undeniably feminine (but just as effective) in their silent beauty. Although the version of events less commonly picked up by the regional Catholic press, the article illustrates how Catholic supporters sometimes honored the activism of women while rendering their actions more in keeping with gendered expectations for proper female behavior.

For Catholic women, literally and discursively, Kulturkampf activism had clear limits. Anti-clericals tolerated female activism when necessary and attempted to quell it when and wherever possible. Catholic men and ultramontane publicists welcomed women's involvement, but only within prescribed boundaries. Thus, even as women entered the Church-State conflict to defend the Church (and by extension, their gendered sphere), they faced multiple restrictions on their ability to express that support. However, as the next section shows, female activism faced internal as well as external limts.

[39] "Beauties from the Mountains" is a clever play on Schöneberg as schön is the German word for beauty and berg for mountain. *Schlesisches Kirchenblatt,* 3 January 1874.

Drawing Distinctions: Class Standing, Age and Motherhood

While ideas about natural differences between men and women informed the ways in which each gender responded to the state's campaign against the Church (and how their responses were portrayed), other factors such as class and age also shaped Catholic participation in the conflict. Within the broader category of "women," class status, age, and motherhood further conditioned whether and how individual women conveyed their solidarity with religious leaders.

A woman's status as a mother greatly influenced her ability to take part in the conflict, often in paradoxical ways. While the responsibility of young children generally made it more difficult for mothers to be absent from their homes and families, limiting their ability to participate in demonstrations against state power, their status as mothers justified their exceptional involvement.[40] For example, when Niederberg's women and children refused to allow the gensdarmes to deter them from escorting Father Wehn to prison, the *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* attributed their persistence to the fact that Wehn's arrest delayed the First Communion ceremony for the working-class village's children.[41] Here, women stepped outside of their normal public roles but only in a moment of exceptional anxiety, as mothers fearful for their children's ability to complete an important religious ritual became justifiably angry at the state's interference with an important rite of passage.

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[40] A broad literature existing concerning women's invocation of motherhood to justify revolutionary activism and more mundane claims for access to the public sphere. For a selection of this literature, see Godineau "Daughters of Liberty and Revolutionary Citizens"; Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Sachße, *Mütterlichkeit als Beruf*; Van Osselaer and Buerman, "'Feminisation' thesis"; Clark, *Women and Achievement in Nineteenth Century Europe*; Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Paul Seeley, "O Sainte Mere: Liberalism and the Socialization of Catholic Men in Nineteenth-Century France," *The Journal of Modern History* 70 (1998): 862-891; Karen Hagemann, "Heldenmütter, Kriegerbräute and Amazonen. Entwürfe 'patriotischer' Weiblichkeit zur Zeit der Freiheitskriege," in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert*, ed Ute Frevert (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), 174-200.

[41] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 28 February 1874.

Likewise, at Father Thome's return to Hunolstein, women headed the village procession that greeted him. In reporting this "particularly remarkable" fact, the *Mosella* noted that these women were the ones whose children Thome had 'illegally' baptized, leading to his imprisonment. They carried their children in their arms to show their gratefulness to a priest who suffered on their behalf; it was their unique status as mothers that allowed them to occupy such a visible role in their community's celebration.[42]

These examples convey two important points: First, in both instances the Catholic press felt compelled to justify the extraordinary presence of these women who occupied public spaces and visible roles normally denied to them. Second, only their position as mothers, guardians of the family's religious life, confronted with a direct threat to their *raison d'être* excused the trespassing of the traditional gender divide. In remarking on these women's activism, the Catholic press underscored that activism's exceptional nature, thus illustrating the boundaries of acceptable female involvement in Kulturkampf protests.

The rhetoric of gender difference granted mothers certain leeway because of the great importance accorded to women's 'natural calling'; in practice, however, the more radical forms of female Kulturkampf activism came from single women. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, young, unmarried women, especially those employed outside of their homes, proved themselves some of the clergy's most ardent supporters.[43] For example, the young women employed in the textile industry in the Westphalian community of Nienborg continually vexed local officials (and their betters in a community rife with class conflict)[44] with their continued, highly public support for the fiery and contentious Kaplan Büning. On one particular

[42] *Mosella,* 29 March 1874; *SonntagsBlatt,* 8 February 1874.
[43] Dominique Godineau observed a similar pattern for female activism in revolutionary France, noting that militant women tended to be younger or older women unburdened by child-rearing. Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*.
[44] See Chapter 6 on class.

occasion, several young women were questioned about their roles in a demonstration held to honor Büning after his acquittal on charges of disturbing the peace.[45]

In Bernkastel, young Margaretha Petri proved herself a dedicated and unrepentant supporter of Kaplan Stölben, whose recidivist May law violations made him a thorn in local officials' side. Already sentenced to a 10 thaler fine (or three days' imprisonment) for inciting school children to taunt the policeman charged with posting the notice of Stölben's *Sperrung*, Petri again found herself before the court in June 1874. Along with seventeen other Bernkastel residents, she was charged with violating the Associations law and mocking the May laws at a reception for Kaplan Stölben in April 1874.[46] In response to the government's request for reports on ultramontane organizations in the area, officials in Polch labeled the *Marienbund*, composed of young women and girls, "a child of the local fanaticism," noting that the group not only gathered money to support Kaplan Volk but also acted against community members who failed to support his efforts against the state.[47] As these examples show, older girls and young women frequently proved themselves willing to act publicly on Catholic clergymen's behalf, even if their activism brought them into direct conflict with state officials and occasionally led to their prosecution.[48]

Recalcitrant clerics also found staunch supporters in older women, particularly widows. Unlike the fiery protests characteristic of younger, unmarried girls, these older women offered their support through donations of money or resources. They frequently provided clerics with transport, food, and lodging, as did the widow in Hoch-Eltern who aided Father Pöttken or the

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[45] LA NRW Abt Westfalen, Nr 502 Staatsfeindlichen Agitation Kaplan Buening 1875-1877.
[46] *Mosella,* 2 July 1874; *Mosella,* 14 May 1874 for her first conviction.
[47] LHA Koblenz Bestand 655, 33 Nr 776.
[48] For example, the eleven young girls in Schweich who were prosecuted and fined for their attempt to greet Chaplain Thielen with garlands refused to pay their fines, forcing local officials to arrest and imprison them instead. Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 94. See also *Eucharius,* 12 July 1874, *Germania,* 9 July 1874.

widow Keucker who assisted Kaplan Heinrich Thielen in Kinheim.[49] Widows, like younger unmarried women, were invaluable clerical supporters for a variety of reasons. First, as women without husbands or young children, they had more free time to devote to the Catholic cause. Second, as 'single' women, both groups enjoyed a protected status within nineteenth-century communities; although the Prussian state proved willing to take legal action against them, such prosecutions never cast the government in a positive light. When it came to a women's willingness and ability to take part in protest actions against anti-clerical measures, marital status played an important role in allowing or hindering an individual woman's involvement.

Just as important as a woman's marital status or her social position as a mother, a woman's class status also affected her ability to participate in Kulturkampf protests, frequently determining whether and how she chose to get involved in the struggle. Women of the nobility and bourgeoisie occupied privileged roles in nineteenth-century German society, and this privilege also extended to their roles in the anti-clerical campaign. While many bourgeois Catholic women joined their husbands in maintaining a low profile during the conflict and avoided too direct an involvement, Catholic noblewomen attempted to use their status to draw attention to the plight of the Church.[50] The Westphalian noblewomen who signed the DamenAdresse certainly intended their petition to attract local attention as they processed in their carriages to the Bishop's palace in the town's center; their subsequent trial only heightened popular interest in their actions.[51] Such public demonstrations of support reflected the ways in

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[49] Hoch-Eltern, *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 August 1874; Kinheim, LHA Koblenz Bestand 442, Nr 2004.
[50] Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*; Hegel, "Die katholische Kirche." See the more detailed discussion of class in the Kulturkampf in Chapter 6.
[51] The tense and bitter relationship between the Westphalian nobility and Oberpräsident Kühlwetter likely contributed to the decision to prosecute the women for their actions while publicly denying that their behavior had anything to do with the Kulturkampf. Kühlwetter was not only angry that the Bishop's response to their declaration "strengthened the fanaticized women in their prejudice and arrogance," he went on to suggest that the heraldry office in Berlin look into the women's family backgrounds to be sure that all of them were indeed titled members of the nobility, a request the heraldry office politely declined. Ficker, *Der Kulturkampf in Münster*, 107. For the idea

which class worked to shaped Catholic activism. For women of the nobility or upper bourgeoisie, their participation was characterized by high levels of public visibility that underscored their roles as social leaders of the Catholic people.[52]

While such women are often to be found leading processions (like the noblewomen in Vorst) or delivering petitions to prominent churchmen (like Baroness von Geyr who presented the Archbishop of Cologne an address from the Association of Christian Mothers) or providing material aid to an embattled clergymen (like the Baronness in Seesbach who sent her wagon to aid Kaplan Wald), bourgeois and noblewomen generally limited their participation to symbolic gestures. They are seldom mentioned in reports of crowds that escorted priests to jail, greeted them upon their return, or enforced Catholic solidarity at an auction. Aside from those women charged in connection with the DamenAdresse, they also seldom appear in court charged with public nuisance, violation of the Associations law, or participation in public demonstrations, all charges faced by women of lower status for their roles in public protests.

While this absence stems largely from the fact that less orderly public protests tended to occur either in urban areas with a working-class population or rural areas that could draw on a tradition of agricultural unrest,[53] it also reflects the state's reluctance to move against the upper classes. For example, when Pauline von Mallinckrodt had Bishop Martin's body returned from Belgium and secretly buried in Paderborn's cathedral, presenting the Prussian state with a fait accompli, she faced no repercussions for her actions despite her clear disregard for the fact that

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that the Kulturkampf played out so bitterly in Münster due to Kühlwetter's effort to destroy the local nobility's power through the campaign against the Church, see Gründer, "Krieg bis auf's Messer."

[52] For example, the publication of the cancellation of their social calendar in the local Catholic paper. *SonntagsBlatt,* 25 January 1874.

[53] For women's involvement in communal popular protests, see Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*; Godineau, "Daughters of Liberty and Revolutionary Citizens"; Gailus, "Necessary Confrontations"; Sahlins, *Forest Rites*; Te Brake, et al, "Women and Political Culture in the Dutch Revolutions"; Bohstedt, "The Myth of the Feminine Food Riot"; Lipp, ed, *Schimpfende Weiber und patriotische Jungfrauen*.

Martin had been exiled by the state.[54] Ultimately, prominent women chose to take active roles in the Kulturkampf but limited their involvement to actions that drew public attention to the plight of clergymen and reinforced their own social predominance.

Unlike upper-class women, whose very presence attracted attention, Catholic women from working-class urban areas and rural villages often played more tangible roles in the conflict. Lacking the financial resources and social capital to demonstrate their partisanship in other ways, women from these groups made their voices heard through direct action. Such women turn up in the sources as members of angry crowds, often suffering for their actions as did Catharina Eifel, a maid, and Regina Heller, a master tailor's wife, who both joined Margaretha Petri in serving a week's imprisonment for their actions at Kaplan Stölben's homecoming in Bernkastel.[55] Just as female members of the higher orders drew on their traditional roles as taste-makers, women from the lower social ranks drew on their history of communal popular protests to illustrate their support for clergymen. They showed themselves more willing to personally intervene in the enforcement of Kulturkampf measures, like the women in Wiesbach who clung to Kaplan Böwer in a vain attempt to prevent his deportation from the community.[56] While upper class women played active roles in clerics' defense, such roles tended to remain symbolic; women from the working-class or rural farming communities intervened in a more direct, physical manner, as when Schöneberg's women occupied the rectory.

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[54] Adalbert Dolle, *Der Kulturkampf und seine Auswirkungen auf dem Eichsfeld und im Fuldaer Land von 1872-1887* (Duderstadt: Mecke Druck und Verlag, 1987), 45. Mallinckrodt was the daughter a Prussian official, her two brothers were both Center party deputies, and she herself founded the Congregation of the Sisters of Christian Love. See also Erwin Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert*; Meiwes, "Weibliche Lebenswege im 19. Jahrhundert."

[55] *Mosella,* 2 July 1874.

[56] BAT Abt 86, Nr 0001 Böwer.

Class status also shaped female participation by influencing women's readiness to challenge gendered notions of acceptable behavior. For noble women accustomed to leadership roles, organizing a petition or leading school children in a religious procession formed part of their established duties. Through religious and/or secular charity work, women from the upper classes had already established their presence in the public sphere; their actions in the Kulturkampf reflected that familiarity.[57] Likewise, women from farming villages felt themselves part of a community in which all members played a role; their actions in the Kulturkampf reflected rather than violated their traditional social roles.[58] Similarly, the presence of women in Kulturkampf crowds in urban areas harkened back to women's presence in the crowds of the French Revolution and drew on the traditions of bread riots and other everyday disturbances.[59]

Ultimately, class and gender worked together with other factors such a marital status and motherhood to shape how individual women took part in the struggle. In many ways, these factors served to justify a woman's involvement in the struggle: her decision to get involved and the form her activism took reflected her understanding of her own self-interest. Class and gender also constrained female activism because the costs or benefits of a particular action on behalf of a particular cleric varied according to one's social background. Leading a public display of piety for a clergymen brought honor to the Catholic noble woman whose family had age-old ties to the Church while the same action by a bourgeois women might brand her family as ultramontane fanatics, costing her husband his standing with his more liberal peers. And one can hardly

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[57] Mettele, "The City and the Citoyenne"; Clark, "Women and Achievement in Nineteenth Century Europe"; Ford, *Divided Houses*; Sarah Curtis, "Charitable Ladies"; Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge and Change;* Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class;* Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Krause, *Marienkinder;* Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn"*; Meiwes, "Weibliche Lebenswege im 19. Jahrhundert."

[58] Elizabeth Jones, *Gender and Rural Modernity: Farm Women and the Politics of Labor in Germany 1871-1933* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009); Andreas Gestrich, *Geschichte der Familie im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert* (München: Oldenburg, 1999.)

[59] Gailus, "Necessary Confrontations"; Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*; Te Brake, et al, "Women and Political Culture in the Dutch Revolutions."

imagine working-class women or farmers'wives being accorded such a place of honor in the community.

Recognizing Limits and Re-evaluating Activism

How does this evidence help us to reconceive women's involvement in the Kulturkampf? First, women's Kulturkampf activism was clearly rooted in their customary social roles, which raises the question of just how far female intervention in the Church-State conflict differed from their normal roles in society. Second, it argues that Catholic reactions to the conflict, be they popular protests, Reichstag interpellations, or vitriolic denunciations of liberal policies in the Catholic press, reflected how Catholics understood the world around them, how they sought to cope with the changing realities they confronted, and how they viewed women's participation in the conflict. Women's activism needs to be assessed in accordance with women's roles within the Catholic community specifically, and German society more broadly.

First and foremost, it must be recognized that however much their actions angered state officials or gave liberal Kulturkämpfer cause to fear for the sanctity of the masculine public sphere, much of women's participation in the Church-State conflict resembled their traditional communal roles. Far from an unusual public presence, women who joined crowds that escorted arrested priests or gathered to welcome them home resembled those sharing in any normal village ceremony. The entire village's presence at a festivity designed to mark an important state diginitary's arrival or celebrate an important historical event was *de riguer* for nineteenth-

century fest culture.[60] Similarly, there was little new in the idea of women decorating the village church's altar or creating garlands to decorate the community's streets for a festival. While the Church-State conflict's highly politicized nature lent such actions the aura of protest, women had always performed these functions in their communities and would continue to do so long after the hot phase of the Kulturkampf had subsided.

Likewise, the social ostracism experienced by those who enforced the anti-clerical measures resembled traditional practices used to penalize individuals who transgressed against accepted communal norms. Women were hardly alone in their actions; the archives are bursting with examples of entire communities cooperating to bring misery on those who aided the Church's opponents.[61] The roles women played in ostracisizing Kulturkämpfer in their communities corresponded to their accepted social and economic positions; noblewomen functioned as the organizers of elite sociability while women of every class exercised a degree of freedom in choosing where they spent their money.

Instances of women mocking gensdarmes or state officials tasked with enforcing Kulturkampf measures also illustrated traditional female roles. The image of the shrewish, harping women has long been a staple of popular consciousness and ideas about gender roles. Women frequently fulfilled this vocal duty in their communities, historically because their gender gave them greater license to criticize government officials without suffering the

[60] In his comparison of military parades in Germany and France, Jakob Vogel argued that women's presence as witnesses at public festivities was necessary for the demonstration of power and prowess to function. Vogel, "Stramme Gardisten, temperamentvolle Tirailleurs und anmutige Damen."

[61] Children refused to play with the children of "traitors" and taunted such people in the streets while adults of both sexes refused economic commerce with them and sometimes destroyed their property. Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, p. 35-7, 75; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 229-233; In Eggenrode, a local businessman sent a letter to the Landrat begging him to clarify that the businessman had had nothing to do with the denunciations against Father Kemper. He claimed that since the people suspected him, no one would do business with him and people broke his tools and damaged his property. LA NRW Abt Westfalen, Nr 819 Pfarrstelle zu Eggenrode 1873-1884.

repercussions likely to fall on men.[62] Thus the sight of women scolding gensdarmes or insulting public officials, however unladylike and undesirable, hardly constituted a rupture with women's traditional behavior, especially for working-class women in urban areas or farmers' wives in the countryside.

Furthermore, the tradition of greater leniency towards women also made them more likely to perform small acts of defiance such as Frau Dreierwald's imprisoning of the policeman in Rheine. While she received a brief jail term for her cheekiness, one can easily imagine a man suffering a far harsher fate (and her actions successfully prevented the policeman carrying out his assigned task.) Traditionally, communities relied on the unwillingness of governments to punish women for transgressing or insulting their authority; thus women performing acts of defiance reflect a tried and true method through which communities resisted authority.[63]

Finally, when assessing the novelty of women's willingness to mock and disregard authority, one must always consider the source. Local officials confronted with an angry crowd were often happy to dismiss the seriousness of the disturbance by depicting the crowd as composed of women and youth, highlighting the irrational (and likely ephemeral) nature of the protest.[64] Thus, while women's Kulturkampf activism brought them into the public sphere, it did not, in and of itself, represent new or remarkable female behavior, but rather drew upon long standing gendered traditions concerning collective protest.

In fact, female participation in the Kulturkampf largely reflected nineteenth-century German society's conservative view of women as wives and mothers; women chiefly entered the

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[62] Anderson argues that Catholics used discursive women to make otherwise unacceptable criticisms and employed the trope of the "good Catholic woman" to offer a voice of reason. Anderson, *Practicing Democracy*, 126-9.
[63] What is actually new is the lack of men dressing up like women or women leading violent protests.
[64] Ford, *Divided Houses*; Godineau, *The Women of Paris and the French Revolution*.

conflict through their traditional supportive roles. As noted earlier, women provided *gesperrt* clergymen with food and shelter, actions that disregarded state policies and clearly held political connotations but that contemporaries associated with the female domestic sphere and interpreted as compatible with the broader nineteenth-century trend of increased female activism in areas related to domesticity. Thus, even if such actions made a political statement, to offer food or lodging to a recalcitrant clergyman did not violate existing ideas about women's roles but could be viewed as appropriate female activities. (For noblewomen in particular, such actions imitated the historic giving of alms to those in need.) To promise to pray for an embattled clergyman or ensure the religious education of one's children represented the fulfillment of tasks already assigned to women rather than a challenge to the gender divide.

Even the petition campaign that accorded women such notoriety and demonstrated their sense of personal commitment to the Catholic cause could be cast as supportive, passive functions. In a letter thanking the women of Danzig for their petition of devotion, the Bishop of Pelplin compared them with "the pious women who once went behind Christ as He bore the Cross" and hoped that, just as those women had been the first to see the arisen Christ, the steadfast Catholic women of the present would soon see the Church triumph over its foes.[65] The bishop's words are telling; he casts the women as witnesses rather than actors; their job is to observe the Church's return to glory, not to actively bring it about.

In addition to reflecting their traditional social roles, female Kulturkampf activism overwhelmingly corresponded to the Catholic understanding of the world. German Catholicism conceived of society as an organic whole, drawing on older images of a society in which each

[65] *Germania,* 27 May 1874.

person had a particular station that brought both privileges and responsibilities.[66] From this perspective, many nineteenth-century problems had their roots in the growing deviation from this vision of an organic, ordered society; the free-for-all unleashed by liberal political policies and capitalistic economic thinking destroyed the connections that bound people together in a society and held that society in the proper relationship with God. Good Catholics were called to struggle against these innovations, particularly against the anti-clerical legislation; everyone had their particular duties in the conflict. Although speaking to Catholic men about the importance of voting (for clerical candidates), the words of Heinrich Förster, Bishop of Breslau, apply just as readily to the Catholic understanding of female Kulturkampf activism. Förster reminded Catholics that "religion commands [one] to work for the benefit of the Fatherland in [one's] assigned sphere according to [one's] best abilities."[67]

Women answered the admonitions of Förster and other church leaders who called on the Catholic faithful to do their part in the struggle, but they did so in ways that demonstrated their understanding of their communal positions as wives, mothers, and female defenders of religious traditions. Within Catholic communities, female intervention in defense of Church leaders and traditions coalesced with a larger understanding of every community member having particular ways to contribute to the greater good. While women might be more active in the public sphere than previously, their activism grew from their positions within the community and remained confined within acceptable parameters; it never openly challenged masculine control of the community's protest but instead fulfilled women's assigned roles within their communities.

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[66] As Margaret Anderson has pointed out, "The catholic community was not a herd…it was not egalitarian. Its strata were clearly articulasted with different functions assigned to each: clergy and lay, male and female, and every other conceivable estate. Power was never absent, nor was it distributed equally." Anderson, "The Limits of Secularisation," 668. See also *Practicising Democracy*, 124-125.
[67] *Germania,* 22 February 1871, quoted in Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 31.

Furthermore, because Catholics came overwhelmingly from the extremes of German society (the nobility and the lower classes), class also influenced the Catholic worldview. While middle-class Catholics certainly existed, and some played important roles in the conflict, the majority of Catholics appearing in government sources or the ultramontane press came from the social spectrum's upper or lower ends. Catholics' class standing was an important factor in shaping their interpretation of social roles; the very group amongst whom the gendered division of public and private originated (bourgeoisie) was the social group mostly likely to remain aloof from ultramontane religious practice.[68]

Furthermore, women traditionally experienced greater license at the ends of the social scale than in the middle; the nobility and the lower classes allowed women more independence and a greater public presence than the middle-classes. As a result, female Kulturkampf activism transgressed fewer social norms amongst the Catholic population than it did amongst the traditionally Protestant middle-classes. The lack of Catholic criticism for women's roles in the conflict speaks volumes about gendered social norms within the Catholic community.

It was not just Catholics' social position that offered women more opportunities to act in public; ultramontane Catholicism's demonstrative religious practices permitted women greater social roles than their Protestant counterparts. Starting around mid-century, the Catholic Church promoted expressive forms of worship such as the Herz-Jesu cult while reviving pilgrimages and processions that had fallen into disfavor and fostering the creation of a wide network of social and charitable groups.[69] These changes brought both women and religion into the public sphere, casting female Kulturkampf activism in a different light. For Catholics accustomed to seeing

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[68] As Thomas Mergel has shown, middle-class Catholics were often uncomfortable with ultramontane religiosity. Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*.

[69] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*; Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates, and People*; Busch, *Katholische Frommigkeit und Moderne.*

women in public taking part in religious devotions or performing acts of charity, the presence of women in the crowds at popular protests or their initiative in organizing a devotional address to their Bishop or collecting money or food for *gesperrt* clergymen represented an everyday act, not a sudden break with women's proper roles. While the Church-State conflict lent women's actions in support of the Church a political nature, the same held true for Catholic religious practice in general and applied to Catholic men as well.

Just as it is important to recognize how women's activism led liberals to fear for the sanctity of the public-private divide, it is also crucial to see women's participation in popular protests from the Catholic perspective, a viewpoint shaped by a religious tradition that embraced demonstrative acts of piety, reflected the behavioral understandings of the upper and lower classes more than those of the bourgeoisie, and promoted an organic vision of society in which every member of the community had their God-ordained place, privileges, and duties.

Finally, as illustrated in the previous chapter, instead of approaching female activism from the perspective of predominantly male, Protestant, middle-class Kulturkämpfers and accepting their narrative of Catholic women threatening the masculine public sphere, considering women's activism from the female perspective portrays it as part of a larger effort to defend the female domestic sphere from an increasingly intrusive state. The Prussian state's efforts to expand its competency into areas previously associated with women and religion represented as much of a challenge to separate spheres' ideology as the presence of women gathering in public to present a devotional address to a cleric or to monitor the auction of clerical possessions.

Women’s Activism: Defensive, Reactive, and Limited

All things considered, Catholic women played important roles in popular protests against Kulturkampf legislation. Women acted together with their communities when they joined the crowds that gathered to express loyalty to their priests and bishops or protest state actions against clergymen; sometimes they even featured prominently in these efforts. Women also expressed their opposition independently; drafting, signing, and delivering their own declarations of loyalty to clerics, protesting against school laws, offering aid to recalcitrant priests, and punishing those who sided with the state. In performing these activities, women played distinctive roles in communities’ protest efforts, roles that differed from those of men and youth.

Women’s participation in the Church-State struggle represented an important moment of politicization in which the need to defend Church interests overrode nomal gendered thinking about women’s proper place in nineteenth-century society and allowed them to act in highly visible ways that transgressed the gendered divide between public and private.[70] Partly a reflection of how nineteenth-century religious practice justified an increased female presence in the public sphere and partly an illustration of how class standing tempered the public-private divide, the exceptional circumstances created by the religious conflict’s intensity opened the way for women to play crucial roles in popular resistance to the anti-clerical legislation.

[70] In her work on women’s activism in the Wars of Liberation, Karen Hagemann argues that the conflict opened limited and temporary space for women to engage in activities outside of the home since victory over the French required that all people take part in the struggle and that everyone “fulfill their special ‘patriotic duties.’” These duties were gendered, with men responsible for the armed defense of the nation and women responsible for its cultural defense against the French foe. Hagemann argues that this gendered division of labor permitted women’s continued subjugation in the long-term while allowing them greater short-term freedom of action in public. Considering the Kulturkampf period as a time of extraordinary duress in which Catholics fought to preserve their religious freedoms and way of life explains the increased toleration of, and even praise for, female activism. Hagemann, “Heldenmütter, Kriegerbräute and Amazonen.”

However, just as it is important to recognize the ways in which the Church-state conflict mobilized Catholic women and brought them into the public sphere of political conflict, it is just as necessary to recognize female activism's limits and constraints. While their efforts on behalf of the Church brought women out of their homes and into the streets, their participation remained shaped by tradition and gendered ideas about women's proper roles. As this chapter has shown, far from a radical break with normal female behavior, women's Kulturkampf activism reflected their traditional communal roles. Yes, they joined crowds and emerged in public places, but normally in supportive roles, doing things women had always done in community protests. Even when women adopted more modern practices of petitions and processions, these actions were in keeping with contemporary Catholic religious practice, itself more publicly present than Protestant devotion. Furthermore, women's public and active roles in Catholic popular protests represented no threat to masculine power within their communities; as the next chapter will illustrate, Catholic men spearheaded the defensive efforts of their communities and women heeded their authority. Women certainly involved themselves in the conflict but in ways specific to their gender, marital status, and class position; their activism demonstrated the Catholic belief that every member of society had a unique role to play in keeping with his or her station in life.

Far from the oft-seen image of Catholic women, empowered by religion and freed from male control, wreaking havoc in the public sphere in an effort to break down the gendered division between public and private, female activism should instead be viewed (like popular resistance in general) as a rational reaction by Catholic women to a very real threat to their religious practices and their interests. Considered from this perspective, female activism and the discursive images of women presented by the Catholic press reflected the Catholic understanding of women's proper roles as devout wives and mothers and belief that women's nature itself made

them better suited to answer the call to be selfless servants of the Church and their communities. Rather than seeing women's enthusiastic participation in the conflict as evidence of their desire to erode the gendering of public and private, a more accurate assessment of the forms and depictions of their roles in the conflict reveals that women's activism represented an attempt to defend their private, domestic sphere from the state's efforts to extend its power.

Just as middle-class, liberal, Protestant men felt threatened by the sudden presence of Catholic women in the streets and in the press, Catholic women felt that Kulkurkampf legislation attacked their position within their own sphere of home, family, and religious life. Instead of simply accepting the Kulturkämpfer's narrative of female activism as evidence of Catholicism's irrationality and backwardness and as a challenge to the masculine dominance of the public sphere, female activism should be read as a rational attempt by Catholic women to defend the gendered division of public and private from the attack of anti-clerical men seeking to claim for themselves in the name of 'Progress' increased access to and power in the female, domestic sphere.

CHAPTER 3:

"MANLY BEHAVIOR" IN DEFENSE OF FAITH:

CATHOLIC MEN AND POPULAR PROTESTS IN THE KULTURKAMPF

On Sunday, Novermeber 1st 1874, Kaplan Franz Schneiders shocked the congregation of Trier's St. Laurentius Church when he appeared at the altar to conduct Mass. Although beloved by his parishioners, Schneiders was hardly a popular figure with the Prussian government, especially the local police. Despite his deportation and banishment from the district, he kept the passions of the city's Catholics running high by repeatedly holding religious services and then evading police sent to arrest him. His reappearance at the altar thus prompted murmurs of excitement amongst his parishioners. However, their excitement turned to horror as police entered the church. Determined not to be humiliated again by Schneider's vanishing act (he had escaped through the side altar just two days prior), the local police had decided to arrest Schneiders immediately, dragging him from the altar itself if need be.

Under the direction of Police Commissars Schneider and Weyrauch, officers advanced into the church, making clear their intention to arrest Schneiders during the Mass. Led by the men present, especially Bäckermeister Streng, parishioners blocked the path to the altar, shouting "Out with the police!"[71] As the arresting officers surged forward, Streng shouted "You will not get through here [to the altar]! Here we are Master!" At this point, responding to a kick he had received from the crowd, Weyrauch drew his sword; the other officers followed suit, battling

[71] For a detailed account of the incident and subsequent trial, see *Mosella* #16-25 1875. See also *Mosella* 15 November 1874; *Eucharius* 8 Novemer 1874; *Neue Moselzeitung* 2 November 1874; *Germania* 3 November 1874.

their way through the unarmed crowd who, screaming and crying, sought to push them back from the altar. Despite the parishioners' fierce resistance (the melee destroyed the church's marble *Communionbank*), the police managed to seize Schneiders. Forming a circle around their prey, they marched him to the near-by prison under a hail of stones thrown by the angry crowd.

Unfortunately for the parishioners, the incident was far from over. Arguing that their actions constituted a rebellion against state authority, the government brought five men and one woman to trial in Saarbrücken in February, 1875.[72] At trial, the defense and prosecution presented two different versions of events. The prosecutor argued that the Catholics (parishioners as well as Kaplan Schneiders) all had a civic duty to obey the law; when they chose to disregard state laws or, worse yet, to mock them (as with Schneiders' cat-and-mouse game with local authorities), such actions compelled the state to enforce and defend its laws. He maintained that Schneiders himself had caused the incident by attempting to hold an illegal Mass, forcing police to intervene. He stressed that the officers had acted with due respect for parishioners' religious feelings, but reiterated that true guilt for the incident lay in clerical obstinance, which necessitated the state's fight against an "internal enemy." Through their actions in the St. Laurentius church, the Catholics on trial had disobeyed the state's laws, hindered police in their duties, and, worst of all, aligned themselves with this internal enemy.[73] According to the prosecutor, these actions constituted an organized revolt against state power; they, along with Kaplan Schneiders, bore the blame for the violence that ensued.[74]

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[72] Although the government publicly defended the police's actions, in private Bismarck, Falk and Eulenberg all received a stinging rebuke from Kaiser Wilhelm in which he made it explicitly clear that such acts "in the Church and especially during the religious service" were never to be tolerated. GStA PK I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. I, Abt IX, Nr 24 Bd II 1874-5 Berlin 11 Nov 1874 108c. Emphasis in the original.
[73] *Mosella* 21 Februar 1875.
[74] The prosecutor's portrayal reflected in a microcosm the conflict's broader interpretation by Kulturkämpfer throughout the Reich. He characterized the conflict as an effort by the state to maintain its authority in the face of an

The parishioners' defense attorneys offered a strikingly different interpretation of the defendents' actions. First, they pointed out that while the prosecutor encouraged the jury to view the defendants as "internal enemies of the Fatherland," they did not think of themselves in that way; in fact, two of the five men had fought against France in 1870. The defense also stressed Bäckermeister Streng's good character, pointing to his military service, reputation as a loyal citizen, and his earlier service as a juror, an office of high honor.[75]

Second, defense attorneys argued that by entering the church with their hats on and advancing down the aisles during the Mass, the police themselves had committed a crime (disruption of a religious service.) This criminal action by the authorities had then prompted the Catholics present to do their civic duty (protecting the altar) in an effort to prevent the police from further disrupting the service.[76] Rejecting the prosecution's claim that the defendants' actions constituted a revolt against the government, the defense described devout Catholic citizens' heartfelt efforts to prevent the illegal disruption of a church service. The attorneys underscored this point by noting the absurdity of the idea that the congregation would revolt to protect a mere Kaplan while Bishop Eberhard himself sat imprisoned just a few hundred feet away.[77]

Ultimately, the court rejected both the government's depiction of the incident as an organized rebellion and the defense's argument that Catholics had acted to prevent a criminal disruption of their religious service. The jury acquitted four of the six defendents, sentencing

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internal enemy and depicted the state's actions as necessary defensive reactions to the clergy's refusal to submit to the May laws. For a contemporary account of the Kulturkampf as "provoked" by the Church, see Ludwig Hahn, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Preussen* (Berlin:Wilhelm Herz, 1881.) For the Catholic rebuttal, written at Windthorst's request, see Franz Xaver Schulte, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Preussen* (Essen: Fredebeul & Koenen, 1882.)

[75] *Mosella,* 28 March 1875.

[76] Disrupting a religious service violated Strafgesetzebuch,Paragraph 167 and was punishable by a fine or up to three years imprisonment.

[77] *Mosella,* 28 March 1875.

Bäckermeister Streng to one year and Max Strauch (a day-laborer) to nine months imprisonment on the lesser charge of disrupting a police officer in the course of his duties.[78]

The press followed these events with great attention as accusations of misconduct flew back and forth. Liberal papers praised the Trier police's necessary show of force and determination in the face of clerical intransigence, arguing that such behavior sent a clear message about the state's willingness to enforce its laws.[79] For the ultramontane press, the incident offered a new opportunity to criticize harsh state policies and justify Catholics' refusal to recognize the hated May laws. Just as government supporters applauded police firmness, the ultramontane press lionized Streng and the others for their willingness to stand against state persecution. One particularly telling example regretted that "men from Trier were sentenced to prison because of their "manly behavior" in defense of the faith.[80]

A "Manly" Defense of Faith?

The scene in the St Laurentius church (and its subsequent portrayal at trial and in the press) revealed a great deal about "manly behavior" in the Kulturkampf. In the literal sense, the violent conflict provoked by Schneiders' arrest demonstrated how Catholic men behaved in the Church-State struggle, making clear their dominant roles in community protests. From the encounter's start, men initiated and directed the crowd's efforts. Bäckermeister Streng rushed to the front of the church, calling on the crowd to defend the altar ("We are master here!"). Similarly, a local merchant named Marx sought to prevent police from reaching the altar,

[78] *Mosella* 28 March 1875.
[79] The *Westfälisher Merkur* published (and refuted) several accounts of the incident found in various liberal papers. See the editions from 8 November 1874 and 15 November 1874.
[80] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0005 Schneiders.

ordering them to "Respect the church!" and scolding them as " Church Desecraters!" (*Kirchenschänder*) Day-laborer Strauch urged on the crowd, calling "Out with the Protestants!" Domschweizer Scherer tried to deter the police, warning them to no avail, "You are creating a scandal!"[81] Clearly, male parishioners led Catholics' efforts to protect the altar.

Although both sexes battled police, men played the key roles in initiating and setting the tone for the crowd's response. The men present chose to block the policemen's advance (as opposed to simply insulting the advancing officers or pleading with them to wait until the Mass ended.) Their willingness to physically stop officers from reaching the altar turned the conflict violent. For example, Streng leapt to the altar and shoved Commissar Schneider backwards, blocking his path to Kaplan Schneiders. Similarly, Strauch interposed himself between Weyrauch and the altar, calling to the crowd for aid.[82] Despite women's active involvement (crying and wailing as well as verbally assaulting police officials), men clearly initiated the resistance and were responsible for the physical violence.[83] In this very public clash between Church and State, Catholic men demonstrated their allegiance to the Church, expressing publicly their willingness to defend their faith (with their very bodies if need be), showing that, contrary to the liberal imagination, men, not women, prompted and led popular reactions to Kulturkampf legislation.[84]

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[81] A schweizer is a church official responsible for maintaining order during the ceremony. For the descriptions, see *Mosella* #15 -25, 1875.
[82] *Mosella,* 25 February 1875.
[83] The one woman brought to trial stood accused of having likened the police to Jews because "they have no religion." A single eye-witness claimed to have seen this woman, Fräulein Herrig, attack policemen in the church; others mentioned her verbally harassing officers but not physically engaging them. In all likelihood, Herrig's arrest had as much to do with her being the Domvikar's niece as with her actions on the day in question. For reports on Herrig, see *Mosella,* 25 February 1875 and 28 February 1875.
[84] Historian Michael Gross argues that fears about women's changing position in Germany society haunted liberal Kulturkämpfer, many of whom supported the struggle as "an attempt during a period of dramatic change to maintain the social and political status quo between men and women." *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 26-7. For a broader

But the reference to Catholics' "manly behavior" also points to the problematic nature of men's Kulturkampf activism. It shows the difficulties Catholic men faced as the Kulturkampf called on them to act in ways that revealed the tensions between their multiple identities as men, citizens, and Catholics as well as how Catholic men attempted to overcome these issues. Anti-clerical criticism of Catholics' devotion to the Fatherland and claims to be loyal citizens mingled with accusations of insufficient masculinity as evidenced by their irrational devotion to a susperstitious faith; all of these factors complicated Catholic men's participation in popular protests against Kulturkampf legislation.

As with Catholic women, contemporary ideas about gender roles influenced men's participation in anti-clerical protests, working to shape and constrain male activism, forcing Catholic men to conform to, contest, and ultimately seek accommodation with the dominant discourses of masculinity and patriotism. How men responded to the struggle and its conflicting demands on them as men, citizens, and Catholics redefined their conceptions of citizenship and masculinity in ways that allowed Catholic men of all social classes to take up the clergy's cause and answer the call to defend the faith. While their opponents derided them as "*Reichsfeinde*" and criticized their "unmaly" support for a feminized Catholicism, Catholic men portrayed their activism as the "manly behavior" of loyal citizens and reclaimed religious practice as a male prerogative.

This chapter explores Catholic men's participation in Kulturkampf protests, arguing that although men dominated and controlled their communities' reactions to anti-clerical legislation, their participation in the conflict was by no means simple or uniform. Men's Kulturkampf

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discussion of the relationship between gender and anti-Catholicism, see Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*, especially 267-325; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*.

activism was itself shaped by a variety of factors; some specific to the individual, such as a man's class status, while others affected all men, such as contemporary discourses about citizenship and masculinity. First and foremost, this chapter makes an empirical argument: Catholic men, not Catholic women or Catholic youth, played the decisive and predominant roles in protests. By exploring male Kulturkampf activism, examining the unique roles men played in community protests, this chapter seeks to dispel the notion that Catholic protest was essentially feminine, a charge common to the conflict's contemporary and scholarly analyses. Instead, it underscores the male-dominance of communal protest, highlighting the diverse ways in which Catholic men led and controlled Catholic efforts to contest Kulturkampf legislation's enforcement, stressing that, as Margaret Lavinia Anderson argues regarding men's political activism, protest was too important to be left to women.[85] In so doing, however, this chapter never loses sight of the impact of gender and class on this masculine activism; men may have controlled Catholic activism but larger societal influences guided and constrained their choices.

In fact, Kulturkampf activism raised significant challenges for Catholic men. While previous chapters explored how beliefs about gender roles, religion, and the public sphere problematized women's Kulturkampf activism, this chapter examines how those same factors affected men's expressions of support for the Church. Separate spheres ideology permitted men to act in the public sphere but also gendered religion as private and feminine, assigning it to the realm of women. This conflation of religion with the feminine, private sphere posed a dilemma for Catholic men seeking simultaneously to defend their faith and their masculinity from anti-clericals' attacks. This chapter investigates how Catholic men responded to these challenges,

[85] Anderson questions the feminization thesis's applicability for nineteenth-century German Catholicism, arguing that "German catholicism, at least after 1871, was too intensely involved in the political struggle for catholic rights, in a country where only males had the vote, for men to have abdicated their place in the church to women." Anderson, "Limits of Secularization," 654.

arguing that even as contemporary discourses of masculinity and patriotism attempted to force Catholic men to choose between their loyalty to the nation, their status as men, and their Catholic faith, they continually sought ways to accomodate these conflicting identities. Through their portrayal of Kulturkampf activism, Catholic men depicted themselves as pious men fighting bravely for their faith and principles, all the while honoring their commitment to God, Kaiser, and Fatherland.

The next chapter then explores how Kulturkampf activism placed Catholic men at odds with contemporary beliefs about citizenship and masculinity, noting how anti-clerical discourse claimed the image of the "loyal citizen" and "masculine man" for Kulturkämpfer, casting Catholic men who remained true to the Church as *Reichsfeinde* and insufficiently masculine. Such rhetoric forced Catholic men to reconcile their actions with the predominant images of a loyal citizen and masculine man, using contestation, negotiation, and accommodation to portray themselves as loyal German citizens and men whose masculinity was beyond reproach. Far from rejecting hegemonic notions of masculinity and civic duty, Catholic men in the Kulturkampf worked continuously to extend those notions, staking a claim to belonging by portraying themselves as men, Catholics, and loyal citizens of the new German Reich, while reappropriating religious practice as a masculine activity.[86]

[86] For a discussion "hegemonic masculinity" as a concept, see John Tosh, "Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender," in *Masculinities and Politics in War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 41—58.

The Feminization Thesis and the Gendering of Kulturkampf Activism:

As with Catholic women's roles in protesting anti-clerical measures, ideas about gender and separate spheres informed contemporary as well as historical interpretations of Catholic men's Kulturkampf activism. These beliefs also influenced how Catholic men participated in the Church-State conflict, complicating their ability to demonstrate support for the Catholic cause. Furthermore, popular and scholarly acceptance of religion's "feminization" often sensationalized women's actions while masking Catholic men's commitment to their Church and clerics, resulting in an unbalanced and inaccurate portrayal of Catholic protests against anti-clerical legislation that emphasizes female activism while understating men's commitment to the Catholic cause.

Gender's impact on Catholic protest actions stemmed largely from nineteenth-century Germans' understanding of it not as a social construct but a biological reality that determined men's and women's character traits, assigning each gender an area of competence.[87] As rational, logical creatures capable of self-discipline, men controlled the public sphere of political activity while women, as emotional, illogical beings, were best suited for the private, domestic sphere of home and family.[88] These beliefs produced a gendered dichotomy of public/ private, male/female, rational/ irrational, logial/ emotional that influenced how nineteenth-century Germans understood their world and religious practice in particular.

For historians of religious practice, the feminization of religion has served as a guiding principle of research and analysis. According to this view, in the nineteenth-century, religion in

[87] Hausen, "Family and Role-Division"; Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*.
[88] Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes;* For a discussion of how women used separate spheres ideology to advance their own agendas, see Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class*; Curtis, "Charitable Ladies"; Krause, *Marienkinder*; Mettele, *The City and the Citoyenne*. For the concept's applicability to the working-classes, see Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches*.

general (and Catholicism in particular) underwent a process of feminization in both practice and representation.[89] Religious practice's feminization stemmed from several factors. First, the composition of church attendance changed as male church attendance declined over the course of the century, leaving congregations disproportionately female and giving piety a female face.[90] Women also joined religious orders in disproportionally higher rates.[91] The style of religious practice also altered. For Protestants, the religious revival led to more internalized, private piety practiced in the home.[92] For Catholics, the triumph of ultramontane religious practices led the official Church to embrace popular devotional customs that emphasized emotion. Catholic piety now took on more sentimental forms, such as the Herz-Jesu adoration and the cult of the Virgin Mary.[93] These changes meant that religious practice itself adopted traits seen as 'feminine' and appeared overwhelmingly a female concern.

These transformations in piety in turn contributed to religion's changing representation in nineteenth-century society. Because women now composed the majority of church-goers and the new piety embraced traits characterized as 'feminine,' nineteenth-century Germans, like their European contemporaries, came to view religion itself as something feminine. As historian David Blackburn points out, "a European pattern became widely established that men left

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[89] For a discussion of the feminization of religion, see McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube?"; Allen, "Religion and Gender in Modern German History"; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Götz von Olenhusen, ed., *Wunderbare Erscheinungen*; idem, "Die Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert: Forschungssstand und Forschungsperspektiven," in *Frauen unter dem Patriarchat der Kirchen: Katholikinnen und Protestantinnen im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer 1995), 9-21; Ford, *Divided Houses*; Harris, *Lourdes*; Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People;* Clark and Kaiser, eds., *Culture Wars*.

[90] McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube?" For a challenge to this analysis, see Schneider, ""Feminisierung der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert"; Van Osselaer and Buerman, "'Feminisation' thesis"; Blaschke, "The Unrecognized Piety of Men."

[91] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 209-17; Meiwes, "*Arbeiterinnen des Herrn"*; Borutta, "Enemies at the gate: The Moabit Klostersturm and the Kulturkampf," 227-254.

[92] Rebekka Habermas, "Weibliche Religiosität—Oder Von der Fragilität bürgerlicher Indentitäten," in *Wede zur Geschichte des Bürgertums: Vierzehn Beiträge*, eds, Klaus Tenflede und Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1994), 125-48.

[93] Busch, *Katholische Frommigkeit und Moderne*; Krause, *Marienkinder*; Olenhusen, *Wunderbare Erscheinungen*,:Van Osselaer and Buerman, "'Feminisation' thesis."

religious matters to their wives and daughters. Religion was coming to be seen as a women's sphere."[94] For bourgeois anti-clericals, religion's representation as "feminine" permitted its linkage to the broader range of dichotomies active in contemporary imaginations: female vs male, irrational vs rational, private vs public, backwards vs progressive, superstition vs science—all of which made religion undesirable and relegated it to the "female" private sphere.[95] By the 1870s, these processes had effectively devalued religion and religious practice, circumscribing it within the female private sphere. Religion had become a personal, private matter with no place in the public sphere.

However, the ultramontane Catholic revival not only reinvigorated Catholicism by encouraging more popular, emotional forms of piety; it also revitalized older, more public forms of religious practice such as processions and pilgrimages. These practices complicated anticlericals' efforts to subjugate religion to the domestic sphere because although they indeed attracted female adherents, they also brought religious practice out of the private sphere of homes and churches, inserting it firmly into the masculine public sphere of city streets and railroad carriages. As a result, both religion and women assumed a new, more prominent place in public life than many liberal, Protestant men considered desirable.[96]

Religion's real and imagined feminization affected Catholic reactions to the Kulturkampf in important ways. The religion's coding as "feminine" lent a gendered dimension to Catholic

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[94] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 30. See also, Dietrich, *Konfession im Dorf*; Harris, *Lourdes*; Götz von Olenhusen, "Die Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert"; Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People*; Clark, "The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars," 11-46.
[95] Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Götz von Olenhusen, "Die Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert"; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter;* McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube?"
[96] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism.* For the French case, see Harris, *Lourdes*; Kaufmann, *Consuming Visions*.

activism that complicated how Catholics displayed their support for the Church.[97] As the last two chapters demonstrated, because religion was private and feminine, women could defend the Church, but only in the private realm of home and family; their public activism "transgressed" the gendered boundaries between public and private that liberal, bourgeois men desperately wished to maintain. For Catholic men, on the other hand, there was nothing problematic about activism in the public sphere; however, religion's feminization excluded it from men's area of compentence, problematizing their involvement with this female concern.

Gender in the Kulturkampf's Historioraphy

Gender and class not only shaped how Catholics participated in the Church and State conflict and how contemporaries portrayed that activism; those same factors also colored historical interpretations of Kulturkampf protests.[98] The literature on popular Catholic Kulturkampf activism either largely ignores male activism to focus on the sensationalism of female activism[99] or portrays Catholic men as religious against their will, only attending Mass or

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[97] Blackbourn argues that "the presence of women and children in various kinds of Catholic public protest was certainly marked, and it was often seized upon by liberals as an argument with which to discredit the clerical opponent." Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 150. See also Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*.
[98] Early scholarly literature on Kulturkampf activism largely failed to attend to its differentiations, making broad references to to "Catholics" or to "the crowd", leaving the reader with the sense that all Catholics reacted in the same way to anti-clerical legislation's enforcement. See Kissling, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reiche*; Majunke, *Geschichte des "Kulturkampfes" in Preußen-Deutschland*; Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*. Even Jonathan Sperber's fine treatment of the conflict offered a social analysis that focused on victims or locations of violence, not the gendered composition of crowds, Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*.
[99] For examples of scholarly attention to female activism, see Anderson, *Practising Democracy*, 126-31; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism,* 209-224; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety." Most recently, Rebecca Bennette described Catholics as promoting a competing vision of Germany that emphasized their crucial role in the nation as a corrective to the (Protestant) Prussian emphasis on militarism. Bennette characterized Catholics' strategy as a "revalorization of the feminine" since they promoted values portrayed as feminine but her assessment focuses on understandings of national identity rather than an evaluation of Kulturkampf activism's gendered dimensions; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 96-121.

joining protests because their wives made them.[100] Other studies highlight socio-economic influences on Catholic activism, pointing to bourgeois men's absence, particularly from the more demonstrative forms of protest, such as the Marian appartions at Marpingen.[101] While often true, especially depending on one's definition of bourgeois,[102] scholarly attention to bourgeois men's absence from the ranks of Catholic protesters can leave readers with the false impression that men in general shied away from such activities. Despite Catholic men's obvious presence at these demonstrations, contemporary reports and scholarly analyses "feminized Catholic crowds," ignoring the male presence to focus on the more horrifying image of women in public or viewed the crowd, regardless of its composition, as feminine.[103] This bourgeois perspective effectively feminized not just crowds and religious practice but also the Catholic men who participated in both, esmasculating Catholic men for their religious beliefs and class standing.

These images contradict Kulturkampf protests' historical reality by masking Catholic men's important and decisive roles in those protests as well the ways in which gender and class influenced male activism. This chapter explores how gender influenced Catholic men's willingness to defend the Church, how they expressed that support, and the rhetorical struggles that surrounded Catholic men's commitment with their faith. It addresses their activism empirically, examining what roles Catholic men actually played in efforts to contest anti-clerical legislation and how gendered notions of public and private shaped and constrained their actions.

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[100] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism,* 224.
[101] Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety."
[102] Heilbronner, "In Search of the (Rural) Catholic Bourgeoisie."
[103] On the lack of attention to men in scholarly literature on religious practice, see Yvonne Marie Werner's "Introduction" and Olaf Blaschke's chapter in *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed, Yvonne Maria Werner (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011); Blaschke's review of Gross in *European History Quarterly* 37(2007): 149-151; Van Osselaer and Buerman, "'Feminisation' thesis"; Derek Hastings, "Fears of a Feminized Church: Catholicism, Clerical Celibacy, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Wilhelmine Germany," *European History Quarterly* 38 (2008): 34-65. For a discussion of crowds' "feminine" portrayal, see George Rude, *The Crowd in History: a Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730 – 1848*, (New York: Wiley, 1966); Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors.* For specific references to the Kulturkampf, see Gross, *The War Againbst Catholicism*; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety."

Just like women and youth, Catholic men had unique, distinctive roles in community protests, roles that reflected nineteenth-century society's gendered realities, individual men's social standing, and the Catholic *Weltanschauung*. Exploring how Catholic men reacted to the Church's persecution reveals that men played distinctive, active, and dominant roles in community protests. This masculine dominance of Catholic protests complicates the picture of feminized religious practice, highlighting the importance of male involvement in setting the tenor of community reactions while still acknowledging gender's powerful influence on male activism.

Leading the Charge: Catholic Men's Kulturkampf Activism

In order to return historical attention to the realities and constraints Catholic men faced in their efforts to support the Church, this section explores men's roles in the Kulturkampf. It looks first at men's most important function: their visible, public support of the Church, noting how men participated in the struggle and how gender roles shaped their activism. It then examines men's roles as political actors in the era of universal manhood suffrage and emerging mass politics and expands the definition of politics to explore men's roles in less formal (but equally important) contests for power, particularly their actions as community leaders and opinion shapers. Throughout the conflict, ideas about gender and the public sphere pushed men to the forefront, as representatives of their families, communities, and faith. It asks what traits distinguished men's involvement in popular protests from that of Catholic women or youth, noting that in the stuggle against the state, every Catholic had a specific role to play; the differences between these roles reflected real distinctions between Catholics, recognized and imposed by their community and broader German society. Both Church and State sought to

claim male citizens' support for themselves, thus denying it to the opposition. For Catholic men, publicness, leadership, and their status as voters characterized their participation in the conflict.

First and foremost, the Church-State conflict drew men into traditional politics, mobilizing them to take advantage of masculine political rights such as voting or holding office, and exercise that power in the Church's defense.[104] Catholic men conveyed their displeasure with Kulturkampf legislation by voting consistently and solidly for Catholic candidates in election after election. For example, in the years between 1874 and 1881, 97-99% of Rhenish Catholics voted for the Center party in Reichstag elections.[105] At the local level, election results in predominantly Catholic areas show high voter turn-outs and near unanimous support for Center party candidates. In the January 1874 Reichstag election in the village of Hönningen, 356 of the 410 men eligible turned out to vote; the Center candidate received 339 of those votes. Mülheim boasted arguably more impressive results: 352 of the district's 391 eligible voters took part in the election; all but one cast Center party ballots.[106] These results show Catholic men's power to impact the political landscape, voicing their opinions through the ballot box.[107] These election results also reveal Catholic men's importance to the defense of Church interests; because

[104] Reichstag elections featured universal, equal, and direct suffrage for men aged twenty-five and older. The Prussian Landtag elections remained governed by the notorious three-class voting system whereby a district's inhabitants were divided into classes based on the percentage of taxes they paid, a process that lent greater weight to wealthier citizens. (In extreme cases, a tremendously wealthy landowner or industrialist possessed the sole vote in the first class.) The Center party vehemently criticized the practice and frequently challenged liberal Landtag deputies to reform this undemocratic system. See Anderson, *Practicing Democracy*, 89.

[105] Anderson, *Practicing Democracy*, 105.

[106] *Mosella,* 15 January 1874. The Center party won 90 of the 432 seats in the November 1874 Prussian Landtag elections, gaining 38 seats to become the second largest party, Ross, *Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 124-5.

[107] German elections in this period used a (nominally) secret ballot in which voters placed their ballot in the voting urn. However, several different strategies allowed observant and commited polling officials to determine who had cast votes for which party. For example, the parties themselves had to provide the ballots so differences in the size, shape, or texture of the paper used for the ballots could reveal a voter's preference. Even attempts to solve this dilemma, such as placing ballots in envelopes, still permitted a reconstruction of the voting process as by not disturbing the urn, the envelopes remained perfectly positioned in the order in which they were cast. See Anderson, *Practising Democracy*, 35-65. See also Lucas Leemann and Isabela Mares, "From 'open secrets' to the secret ballot: The economic and political determinants of secret ballot reform" Paper presented at Princeton University's Center for the Study of Democratic Politics on 11 October 2011. (Accessed online on 1 July 2014) https://www.princeton.edu/csdp/events/Mares11102011/Mares11102011.pdf

nineteenth-century German gender relations coded the public sphere of political activity as a masculine one, only men, in their capacity as active citizens, could provide formal political representation for the Church.

Catholic men also expressed their loyalty to the Church through their attendance at mass political rallies. Part of the new process of political mobilization (spurred on by the introduction of universal manhood suffrage for Reichstag elections as well as by the anti-clerical legislation itself), these rallies served two purposes: they ensured that Catholic men supported Catholic candidates and, most importantly, that they voted. With attendees numbering in the thousands, these political rallies took place throughout Germany's Catholic regions, calling on Catholic men to support their Church at election time. For example, in Morbach, not far from Trier, one speaker encouraged the 3,000 men present to "do their duty" by voting Catholic in the upcoming elections while another urged the men "to stand up for the Catholic cause in the elections with all [their] power."[108] At an August 1874 gathering in Bitburg, the tent failed to adequately house the 2,300 plus crowd that assembled to hear speakers discuss the current political climate and to "lay warmly on the heart of each Catholic entitled to vote the duty to participate in the election."[109]

At these rallies, Catholic men entered the public sphere of political debate decisively on the Church's behalf, demonstrating the massive support the Catholic cause could mobilize. These rallies, as assemblies of male citizens, also illustrated how gender roles shaped popular reactions to the Kulturkampf. As rational actors in the public sphere, men possessed the right to gather as citizens to discuss political questions, a right the Prussian Associations law explicitly denied

[108] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 7 August 1874.
[109] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 21 August 1874.

women.[110] Although the Kulturkampf mobilized most Catholics in the Church's defense, only Catholic men had the right (and arguably the duty) to publicly debate the issues in this manner.

The Mainz Association, also known as the Association of German Catholics, took the lead in organizing these rallies. Founded in 1872 in the Hessian city of Mainz (thus safe from the restrictive Prussian Associations law) and dedicated to "defending the freedom and rights of the Catholic Church," the Mainz Association formed what historian Ronald Ross described as "by far the most important vechicle for mobilizing Catholic popular dissent against Bismarck's ecclesiastical policies."[111] The Mainz Association sponsored large meetings in which speakers stirred up listeners' passions; common themes included attacks on the liberal world view and demise of traditional values, jeremiads on Catholicism's endangered position, and exhortations to vote for candidates committed to the Catholic cause. These meetings, where attendees numbered in the thousands, numbers that outside of large cities often included eighty percent or more of the area's male population, demonstrated political Catholicism's strength and caused the Prussian government great concern.[112]

The Mainz Association also worked to unify the Catholic population, establishing communication lines that reached into small towns and the countryside, allowing Catholics to feel connected to a larger process of resistance against the Kulturkampf. In this way, average Catholic men learned to view themselves as an integral part of the common struggle against the anti-clerical legislation. As historian Jonathan Sperber writes, "Mainz Association meetings were a politicization of the [earlier] missionary events, a call to the faithful to defend their hard-won

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[110] In fact, as Margaret Lavinia Anderson points out, "jurists equated women with firearms as providing sufficient cause for shutting a [political] rally down." *Practicing Democracy*, 298

[111] Ross, *Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 129. Although theoretically a nation-wide organization, over ninety percent of the organization's membership stemmed from the Prussian Rheinprovinz and Westphalia. Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 212

[112] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 212.

religion against the growing ranks of its enemies."[113] However, Mainz Association meetings differed from missions in one important way: they were masculine public gatherings whose messages addressed attendees as men and voters. Unlike missions, which were open to women and children, Mainz Association meetings focused on Catholic men as citizens and played an important role in politicizing them, bringing not just the local *Honoratioren* but also the common Catholic man into the struggle against the state and emphasizing the importance of political activism in the Church's defense.

Through participation in these activities, Catholic men expressed their opinions on the day's burning political questions; historians credit political Catholicism's dramatic rise in the Germany to the social polarization and political mobilization sparked by the Kulturkampf, the 'hot family feud' that made clear universal manhood suffrage's power to shape the new Reich's political landscape.[114] In fact, Margaret Lavinia Anderson considers the Kulturkampf a political, rather than a cultural, struggle, triggered by the massive redistribution of electoral power to the Center party as a result of the new franchise.[115] Describing how the combination of anti-clerical policies and universal manhood suffrage contributed to the Center party's spectacular growth, Anderson asserts that "politics, which distributes power, and religion, which provides meaning for communities, inevitably came together as extensions of the suffrage gave communities access

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[113] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 213.
[114] Anderson, *Practising Democracy*, 17.
[115] Anderson, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History"; *Practicing Democracy,* 69-105. From this perspective, the conflict between Church and State took off after the 1871 Reichstag elections demonstrated the numerical strength of newly enfranchised voters and the Catholic clergy's organizational power, both of which affected a radical redistribution of political power within the Reichstag. However, historians disagree over exactly where to locate this new electoral power's source. Some, such as Christoph Weber and Thomas Mergel claim that the Kulturkampf created the Center's electoral majorities by triggering a realignment of voters from liberal or conservative parties over to the Center in defense of religion. Others like Margaret Anderson, Eleonore Föhles, Jonathan Sperber, and Ellen Lovell Evans argue that the new-found strength was precisely that, new voters who were either previously unable to vote or had not actively taken part in prior elections. Weber, *Eine starke, enggeschlossene Phalanx*; Mergel, "Ultramontanism, Liberalism, Moderation: Political Mentalities and Political Behavior of the German Catholic Bürgertum, 1848-1914," *Central European History* 29 (1996): 151-174; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu*; Evans, *The German Center Party*, 64-5. Sperber, *Popuar Catholicism*.

to power and the means of affirming their own meanings against those of others."[116] Whether it drew new voters to the polls or changed how voters cast their ballot, the Church-State conflict served as a powerful engine driving Catholic men's politicization. This latent strength was lost on neither liberal Kulturkämpfer, who condemned clerical influence in elections, nor on Catholic polemicists, who quickly turned their voices, pens, and presses towards Catholic men, urging them to vote, and vote Center.

Catholic men thus became objects of propaganda aimed at convincing them that one of their primary obligations to the Church was showing up at the polls. For example, an article in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* called on Catholic men to get involved in the electoral process, describing the Reichstag elections as "a great plebiscite against the liberal policies towards the Church (*Kirchenpolitik*) in which every vote counts." The article stressed the importance of men's active participation in elections, noting that abstaining might be the easy choice but would win nothing for the Catholic cause.[117] A similar appeal in September 1873 also described the elections as a plebiscite, arguing that by voting for the Center, Catholic men would register "a powerful protest against the reigning system of Church-State relations (*Kirchenpolitik*)." It portrayed the election as a way to defend the Church's freedom and reminded Catholic men that their first and foremost obligation was to vote, with no Catholic abstaining.[118]

These articles, like many others from the period, stressed to Catholic voters the power of their active political involvement and taught them the ballot's importance in shaping political events. The Catholic press also educated Catholic men on the value of a strongly unified and

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[116] Anderson, *Practising Democracy*, 72.
[117] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 18 July 1873.
[118] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 3 September 1873.

disciplined Catholic voting bloc.[119] However, as with the Mainz Association, these discursive efforts again highlighted Kulturkampf activism's gendered nature. The Catholic press (and its opponents) directed its appeals at men because voting was a masculine duty, a right exercised only by men.[120]

While voting and political rallies offered Catholic men a unique, gendered forum from which to combat anti-clerical legislation, the Kulturkampf's battles occurred not just in the Reichstag and at the polls; they also spilled out into the streets of towns and villages throughout Germany. On this less formal political stage, Catholic men defended their faith even more effectively through their roles as actors in the public sphere, expressing their allegiance through their participation in communities' public demonstrations of support for clerics, particularly those who ran afoul of the May laws. By attacking religion at the local level, the level most likely to affect practicing Catholics' day-to-day lives, the Prussian state's policy of arresting clerics contributed greatly to the struggle's high levels of popular participation, as seen in the crowds that escorted a priest to prison or welcomed him at his release. When they took to the streets in protest, Catholic men declared their loyalty to their Church; however, even as they joined with their communities to defend the Church, prevailing ideas about gender, especially the image of the public sphere as a masculine domain, shaped men's participation in these demonstrations.

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[119] In fact, in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* article cited above, the author argued that a solid group of voters could exercise considerable influence as a unified minority, forcing the government to consider their demands.

[120] An appeal published in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* illustrated the emphasis on electoral rights' masculine nature. It called on Catholic women in the Rhineland and Westphalia to aid Catholic families suffering in Silesia. However, the paper couched its appeal in the rhetoric of the franchise, stating that women would "hopefully appear in great numbers at the urn (*Urne*)," remarking that "At this urn (*Urne*) women as well could exercise their right to vote (*Stimmrecht*.)" The paper cleverly played on the German word which means both urn (as a receptacle for charitable donations) and ballot box. *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 5 November 1873.

Contrary to the supportive roles allotted to Catholic women, Catholic men figured prominently in these crowds, functioning as the community's public representatives. For example, once the Prussian state made clear its intentions to arrest Catholic bishops, communities quickly sent them petitions promising continued faithfulness. Organized by parish or region, under clerical leadership and adhering to a strict schedule to ensure that each delegation received its allotted time with the bishop, these deputations overwhelmingly consisted of men.[121] Trier's *Eucharius* described the "continual" presence of groups from cities throughout the Cologne diocese, some with as many as 600 men in their ranks, who arrived to express their devotion to the Archbishop.[122] Münster's *Westfälisher Merkur* estimated that in March and April (1874) alone, 36, 236 men had travelled to the episcopal palace to express their devotion to Bishop Brinkmann; one report praised the 260 men from Nottuln who walked six kilometers in the snow to demonstrate their loyalty.[123] Catholic men participated in these trips to honor bishops not just as expressions of their own loyalty but also in their roles as household heads and community leaders, roles reserved for men because men, not women, functioned in the public sphere.[124] Men, not women, spoke on the community's behalf; honoring persecuted clerics in this fashion constituted a public act that belonged to the masculine realm.

Catholic men also used petitions to convey their loyalty to local clerics, particularly those threatened by the Anti-Jesuit law or May laws. Typically, these petitions were strictly segregated by age and gender. Men usually signed their own petitions (or, at the very least, signed pages

[121] When women made the journey themselves, they spoke only in the name of other women from their community while male deputations expressed the whole community's sentiments. *SonntagsBlatt,* 22 March 1874.
[122] *Eucharius,* 29 March 1874.
[123] *Westfälisher Merkur,* 18 April 1874; Nottuln 13 March 74. For delegations' size and organization, see Ficker, *Der Kulturkampf in Münster,* 105-6; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 223.
[124] The *Westfälisher Merkur*'s reporting underscored deputations' gendered nature, assuring Catholic men that Catholic children would remember how "the Church's distress had driven their father or grandfather" to journey to Münster and assert his solidarity with the Church and its clerics. *Westfälisher Merkur,* 18 April 1874.

separate from those used by women or youth) and in most cases, men presented the petitions to the cleric.[125]

Gender also influenced the petitions' style and content. While both men's and women's petitions addressed clerics as spiritual "fathers" and portrayed parishioners as "children" or "sons," their contents distinguished men's and women's responsibilities in the conflict. Women promised to pray for clerics and raise Catholic children while men pledged their allegiance to clerics, vowing, like the men from Geldern, that "in the fight for our Holy Church's freedom and inalienable rights, we will make any sacrifice gladly, and will strive to follow our Bishop's exalted example, never forgetting that one owes greater obedience to God than to men."[126] Women's petitions employed emotional language, stressing prayer, suffering, and flight to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in search of "love and comfort;" men's addresses also mention prayer, but as a weapon in the Church-State conflict, a source of "strength and fortification" rather than succor.[127]

However, Catholic men also sent petitions to the Prussian government in their capacity as citizens and members of the political public sphere. These petitions expressed unhappiness with state policies, either by protesting a particular state action (such as a church's closure or the seizure of Church property) or conveying the community's solidarity with their cleric, especially in response to the state's nullification (*Sperrung*) of a clergyman's appointment to his clerical position. For example, the men of Niederbettingen sent a letter to the district government in Trier, stating that, although the government had declared his appointment invalid, they continued to recognize Father Maringer as their priest. Aside from a few officials, every male citizen from

[125] BAM IA 27/3 Ergebenheitsadresse.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.

the parish's four villages, including the four village foremen (*Ortsvorsteher*), signed the letter.[128] The Rheinprovinz's Oberpräsident Bardeleben received a similar letter signed by "the church council, the town council and all seventy-three independent men" in Roesberg, expressing their support for Pastor Söhnen as their legitimate priest.[129]

While these petitions involved the entire village, others issued from governing bodies such as the local church or community council. For example, Calcar's church council issued a protest letter to Mayor Püttmann after he publicized Father Tüffers' *Sperrung* while the Eggenrode church council joined their pastor in protesting the government's efforts to seize the church books in which clergymen recorded births, deaths and marriages.[130]

Regardless of whether the letters were signed by all of the men in the community or bore only the church or town council members' names, these petitions illustrated how men's Kulturkampf activism corresponded to their gender and status. As citizens and elected community representatives, Catholic men possessed the right to protest state actions and involve themselves in the public sphere of political conflict. As male heads of households, they had the right and duty to publicly criticize state policy and express support for endangered clergymen; they did so not just for themselves, but on behalf of those not entitled to their own voice in the public sphere. The petitions' texts reflected the Catholic community's understanding of men's roles in the conflict; portraying them as their communities' public representatives and true sons of the Church, courageously and publicly defending the Church's rights. In this way, the common practice of signing petitions illustrated how the Kulturkampf mobilized Catholic men in

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[128] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0004 Maringer. See also *SonntagsBlatt,* 28 December 1873.

[129] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 10 December 1873. The letter also protested his eviction from the rectory, arguing that the Catholic community had paid for it and thus the state had no rights to it.

[130] The state argued that clergymen performed this service their capacity as government functionaries, making the books state records. BAM J010a Kalkar St Nikolai Karton 119 L9 1868-1876; BAM Nr 819 Pfarrstelle zu Eggenrode.

gender-specific ways. Futhermore, for Catholic men who held prominent positions in the community, such as church or community council members, gender and status combined to exert a particular pressure on their actions in the Kulturkampf.

As representatives of their communities and, in some cases, of state power at the local level, Catholic men also repudiated the persecution of Catholic clergy by refusing to enforce punitive measures against them. Given that the Prussian state relied upon local representatives to monitor clerical activity and report those who violated the May laws[131] (usually by continuing to hold religious services despite the government's refusal to recognize their appointment's legitimacy), local officials' refusal to enforce laws against clerics communicated their support of those men and opposition to state policy. For example, in the Saarland community of Namborn, the village foreman (*Ortsvorsteher*) responded to the local mayor's order to report on Father Isbert's activities by informing him that it "went against his Catholic conscience to betray his priest" and that he "would not denounce him."[132] In Rüdesheim, the Prussian government dismissed Mayor Fuhrmann after he failed to report Kaplan Zimmer's return to the community after his banishment and then refused to arrest him.[133] When ordered to report on Kaplan Franz Schmitz's activities in Cues, the village foreman (*Ortsvorsteher*) instead resigned his post, which remained vacant since the government could find no other man in the village willing to take on the task.[134] Further down the social stratum, day-laborers, locksmiths, and coachmen (among

[131] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf.*
[132] BAT Abt 70, Nr 4105.
[133] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 29 September 1874.
[134] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 F. Schmit.

others) also expressed their displeasure with anti-clerical legislation by refusing to aid state officials in the enforcement of Kulturkampf legislation.[135]

Long acknowledged by historians as a key means by which Catholics hindered the Kulturkampf's enforcement,[136] these refusals represent a uniquely masculine means of protest; only men held these public offices or performed these tasks. Refusals of service, neglecting to report a banned priest's activities or, in extreme cases, openly announcing one's resignation rather than enforce anti-clerical laws all required highly public acts in defiance of state power.[137] Choosing to honor their duties as Catholics over their duties as citizens or servants of the Prussian state represented yet another means through which gender influenced Catholic men's participation in the Kulturkampf. In these examples, their roles as public servants confronted Catholic men with a conflict between their religious identities as Catholics and their civic identities as citizens and actors in the masculine public sphere.

The punitive auctioning of clerical property also demonstrated class and gender's influence on male Catholic Kulturkampf activism, illustrating men's public roles as representatives of their faith and their communities. Auctions generated large crowds as communities gathered to watch the proceedings but men played the primary roles. In almost every case where a cleric's possessions made it to the auction block, Catholic men bid on the items, often offering the only bids, ensuring that the items would be returned to the clergyman.

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[135] As mentioned in Chapter Two, the attempt to seize Bishop Brinkmann's possessions for auction fell apart once the two laborers quit, admittedly at the very public urging of one of the men's wives. *SonntagsBlatt,* 1 March 1874. In Calcar, the local *Steuerexecutor* resigned his position rather than seize Father Tüffers' goods, telling his superiors that he would rather go to jail than confiscate his priest's property, *SonntagsBlatt,* 10 May 1874.

[136] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf.*

[137] Such actions also carried their own penalties. The government prosecuted workmen in Münster who refused the commissions to carry out Brinkmann's furniture, fining six men 3 Thaler and 6 Silbergroschen for their defiance. *Germania*, 9 March 1874.

As the designated purchasers, these men frequently transformed auctions from acts of punishment into expressions of communal fidelity towards the cleric and defiance of the state. For example, when the government decided to deny Kaplan Julius Büsch his customary payment of wood from the community, selling it at auction instead, a local man from Treis purchased the wood, donating it back to Büsch. Four community council members then delivered the wood to Büsch in five decorated wagons.[138] In Bergheim, no sooner had the single bidder, a Catholic man from the near-by village of Paffendorf, purchased all of Rector Wasmer's goods than the entire community sprang into action, happily carrying the items back to his residence.[139]

Catholic men charged with bidding on clerical items also possessed the power to transform the auction into a tribute to the clergyman or an embarrassment to the government, as occurred in Dülken at the auction of Kaplan Kermes' possessions. Herr Frankeser took advantage of his public role as the sole bidder to vent Catholics' resentment of the auction, offering extremely high sums for photographs of the Bishop of Münster and the Pope, ten and forty-one Thalers respectively, as opposed to the mere 2 Thalers offered for a snuff box, much to the crowd's amusment.[140] A similar incident occurred at the second auction of Bishop Brinkmann's possessions in Münster when a single man offered the only bids. The auction quickly turned farcical as it became clear that the sums offered in no way corresponded to the items' value but the *pièce de résistance* came at the end, when the Catholic bidder paid 300 Thaler for a simple plaster bust of Pope Pius IX.[141] During the auction of Bishop Eberhard's possessions in Trier, the three designated bidders refused to bid on a picture of the Kaiser,

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[138] Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 41; BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0004 Büsch.
[139] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 16 March 1874.
[140] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 23 April 1874; *SonntagsBlatt,* 3 May 1874.
[141] The cheering crowd quickly seized the bust, crowned it with flowers, and carried it at the head of the procession that brought the items back to the Bishop's palace. *Germania,* 30 March 1874.

allowing a local railroad official to purchase it for four Thalers; it was the only item not reclaimed by the Catholic representatives.[142]

These examples demonstrated the power of gender and class to shape male Kulturkampf activism. The bidders at these auctions served as their community's voice, expressing the broader Catholic population's political opinions. Furthermore, these men also possessed the power to control the auction's mood, be it defiance, mockery, or the desire to avoid further troubles. A woman performed this prominent role on only a single occasion; otherwise, these voices and decisions always belonged to men.[143] But not to just any men; status and wealth also played a role in deciding which men occupied these positions.

'Selection' as the community's bidder was a public display of status within the community and one's partisanship in the conflict; not every man possessed the status and/or willingness to assume such an office. For example, Thomas Mergel noted the Cologne bourgeoisie's unwillingness to buy their Archbishop's seized possessions while businessman Joseph Albers' continuous public presence as a champion of Bishop Brinkmann testified to his ultramontane standpoint and his respected position amongst Münster's elite.[144]

Finally, men's roles as their community's spokesmen at the these auctions also underscores the fact that male activism stemmed from Catholic men's desires and beliefs, not Catholic women's prodding and cajoling. When a Catholic bidder chose to vary his offers to

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[142] *Germania,* 9 February 1874.

[143] My research revealed only a single case (the auctions of Bishop Eberhard's possessions) in which a Catholic woman bid on clerical property. However, newspaper accounts conflict over the bidder's identity; both the *SonntagsBlatt* and the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* identify the widow of a prominent businessman as the bidder but the *Germania* claims that three men operated in tandem. *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 12 February 1874; *SonntagsBlatt,* 15 February 1874; *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 February 1874.

[144] For Albers, see *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 30 March 1874; Ficker, *The Kulturkampf in Münster;* Sabine Heise, "Joseph Albers: Firmennachfolger und Kulturkämpfer (1833-1885)," in *Zwischen Wanderhandel und Wirstschaftswunder: 165 Jahren der Firma Schütte und ihrer Inhaber* (Munster: Ardey, 2008), 79-124. For Cologne, Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 272.

amuse the crowd or end the auction quickly by offering the necessary sum on the first bid, these actions expressed Catholic men‘s agency, illustrating once again men's power to determine the nature and extent of popular Kulturkampf resistance.[145]

Unfortunately for Catholic clerics and their parishioners, state actions against recalcitrant clergymen seldom stopped with the forced sale of clerical property; most clerics faced arrest and deportation, occasions which further exemplified class and gender's combined influence on male activism. Here again, men occupied the decisive public roles. For example, when police or gensdarmes arrived to arrest a refractory priest, communities usually escorted him to the prison, devotional acts that gensdarmes and police officers worked hard to discourage or contain by attempting to get parishioners to turn back after a short distance. As seen in the earlier discussion of Catholic women, when only part of a crowd continued with the cleric, men composed that part. Time after time, women and children found themselves forced to return home while Catholic men continued their journey with the priest 'in the name of the community'.

For example, when the community turned out to escort Pastor Wald to prison, the majority of the parishioners, at Wald's repeated urging, returned home after reaching the forest's edge. However, six men (including three church council members) insisted on making the entire journey to Simmern with him.[146] In Treis, crying parishioners accompanied Kaplan Büsch to the Mosel's banks; while most then said their good-byes, several men from the village, along with the village priest, continued with him "up to the gates of the prison".[147] When the baliff and

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[145] Catholic men also determined the community's bidding strategy. In some cases, communities decided to cover the entire fine with the bid on the first item, ending the auction and, temporarily at least, protecting the cleric from arrest. In other areas community members sought to ensure that the items were purchased for the lowest possible sum, regardless of whether or not the amount raised would cover the cleric's fine. Obviously the community's resources and the amount of the fine contributed to such decisions.
[146] *Mosella,* 12 July 1874.
[147] *Koblenzer Volkzeitung,* 9 August 1874; see also *Germania,* 4 March 1874.

gensdarm arrived in Meschede to deport Kaplan Fischer, the townsmen placed a decorated wagon at his disposal; the crowd followed behind, winding through the streets "like a funeral procession." Fischer received a bouquet from local women while twenty men escorted him over the border.[148]

Regardless of the crowd's initial composition, when the time came for part of the crowd to break off, it was always men who continued on. Because the purpose of escorting a cleric to prison was to honor him and express the community's support, the task was a gendered one, reserved for men. As citizens and as men, they represented the community; their presence conveyed the parish's commitment to its priest, illustrating that Catholics viewed a priest arrested for violating the May laws as a heroic figure worthy of respect and reverence, not shame and scorn. The task's public nature emphasized Catholic activism's divisive character; when crowds thinned, gender and class separated the wheat from the chaff, participants from by-standers. Those who continued on with the priest did so by virtue of (male) gender and social status within the community (often other clerics, church or community council members or local *Honoratioren*.) When communities selected their representatives, gender and class ensured that women, children, and poorer men all returned home.

Because these arrests intially lasted only a few days or weeks, imprisoned clerics soon returned to their parishes and the elaborate receptions communities prepared in their honor. As at the priest's arrest, men occupied the receptions' highly public, honorary roles, often escorting their priest back to the community. Several men from Andernach travelled to the prison to escort Kaplan Schmitz home while men from Bernkastel brought Kaplan Stölben back from Trier in a

[148] *Germania,* 25 August 1874.

decorated wagon.[149] Even on occasions where distance permitted the entire community to greet the clergyman at the prison itself, men still had the most public functions. At Father Kemper's first release from prison, the entire community of Eggenrode travelled to Schöppingen to escort him home, but one hundred men on horseback formed the honor guard for his wagon.[150]

Regardless of whether the men travelled alone to escort the cleric or joined the whole community, they still occupied the prominent roles in these escorts, reinforcing their position as the community's public face. Women and children, although possessing their own duties on these occasions, never travelled in small groups to greet a priest nor did they join the mounted escorts, tasks specifically designated as belonging to men and the public sphere.

At the reception itself, men continued to perform the primary duties. Although many communities employed children, particularly girls dressed in white, to greet clerics, men then took over the festivities. Men spoke on the community's behalf, expressing their appreciation for the cleric's dedication to his faith and reaffirming the community's support for him. At Kaplan Thielen's return to Schweich after his first arrest, young girls in white greeted him while "one of the community's most prominent citizens" spoke words of welcome.[151]

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[149] For Schmitz, see *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 16 August 1874; for Stölben, *Mosella,* 19 April 1874.

[150] *SonntagsBlatt,* 18 January 1874. When Kemper's second prison term ended a month later, the escort had grown to over 250 riders, leading the government to prohibit the community from using a horse-drawn wagon to pick him up from his third sentence. At this point, fifty men from Eggenrode distinguished themselves by pulling the wagon back from Schöppingen themselves. Second release: *SonntagsBlatt,* 8 February 1874; third release: *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 21 February 1874. Unhitching the horses and pulling the wagon represented a high mark of popular honor. In Seppenrade, villagers attending Kaplan Fortcamp's trial escorted him home after his acquittal in a decorated wagon. At the village's edge, men unhitched the horses and pulled the wagon the remaining distance themselves, *SonntagsBlatt,* 24 May 74. The people of Donsbrüggen attempted a similar display of honor after an auction of Father Kuyper's possessions in Cleve but the cart's driver refused to allow such frivolity, *SonntagsBlatt,* 3 May 1874.

[151] *SonntagsBlatt,* 22 March 1874; see also *SonntagsBlatt,* 19 April 1874 for Father Kemper's reception by Eggenrode's church councilmen; *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 17 March 1874 for Kaplan Schmitz's reception in Andernach.

In some cases, men even held their own separate receptions for clergymen; in Neumagen, after the whole community celebrated Kaplan Anheier's return from his eight-day prison term, the men assembled in the pastorat to present him with a golden watch and chain "as a sign of their devotion, love and honor."[152] Similarly, the men and young men of Treis held a second, private reception in the local tavern for Kaplan Büsch after his March 1874 release from prison where they presented him with a gift in honor of his efforts.[153] Although children or young women sometimes gave clerics gifts as a separate group, they never held their own separate receptions. Once again, these actions were reserved for men; by holding these private receptions and functioning as community spokesmen at the initial gatherings, Catholic men underscored the importance of their participation and its distinctive forms. Popular reactions to Kulturkampf laws' enforcement reflected prevailing perceptions about the specific roles people of a particular age, class, and gender should play in these celebrations.

While most arrests and receptions remained peaceful, in some cases popular demonstrations turned ugly, resulting in prosecutions, violence and even full-on revolts. Often at the center of these incidents, men's engagement on the Church's behalf took more active forms as they attempted to prevent a cleric's arrest or responded to state actions against clergy with actual violence rather than passive displays of solidarity. For example, when Mayor von Eyss from Ehrenbreitstein came to ban Pastor Wehn from priestly activities in Niederberg, the local men barred the doors to the church (where the community had assembled for religious services) in an effort to protect their cleric and prevent von Eyss from carrying out the ban (*Sperrung*).[154] Similarly, amidst the general excitement surrounding Kaplan Imandt's arrest, the Saar

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[152] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 30 May 1874. See also *Mosella,* 31 May 1874.
[153] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0004 Büsch.
[154] *SonntagsBlatt,* 4 January 1874. See also *Eucharius,* 28 December 1873.

community of Dillingen's working-men offered to prevent his arrest by destroying the wagon brought to transport him to jail, an act from which Imandt managed to dissuade them.[155] After his initial arrest, the men of Cues conspired to attack the local arrest-house and free Kaplan Franz Schmitz, whose timely transfer to the prison in Trier foiled this plot.[156] One man even attempted to prevent the arrest of Münster's Bishop Brinkmann by grabbing the horses' reins, only letting loose of them after repeated blows from the coachman.[157]

In each of these incidents, Catholics crossed the line between passive defiance, which expressed their devotion to the cleric, and active opposition to his arrest. In almost every case in which a community's reaction went beyond passive resistance, men initiated and led the actions; seldom do official reports mention women or children as the instigators or even the main participants. For example, in St. Wendel, in one of the Kulturkampf's more serious incidents, Father Isbert's arrest led to such a massive break down of law and order that officials felt compelled to summon troops to the city to subdue the enormous crowd of angry Catholics. Along the journey from Namborn to St. Wendel, Catholics escorting Father Isbert repeatedly attacked the mayor and gensdarm, verbally and by throwing stones, despite Isbert and the other clerics' best efforts to calm the crowd and form a protective shield around the arresting officials. Once in St. Wendel, police attempted to barricade the train station's platforms but the crowd swarmed on to them as well. Despite the unusually large crowd, reports of the incident focus

[155] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Imandt.
[156] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 F Schmitz.
[157] BAM GV AA IV A 125 9 Anschuldigungsschrift gegen Brinkmann, 63-5.

almost exclusively on Catholic men's behavior. Those noted as throwing stones, assaulting officers, or storming the train station platform were all men.[158]

The event in Trier's St. Laurentius Church mentioned at the chapter's start offered another example of how, despite the clear presence of women and children in the church, government officials and the press alike focused on the men who prompted the community's efforts to defend the altar (and Kaplan Schneiders). As all of these examples indicate, even when women or children also actively resisted Kulturkampf laws, men initiated and led these actions. When the mood turned ugly, men began any acts of violence that occurred and were often the only ones to engage in them.

Just as men generally conducted any acts of communal violence, so, too, were they the ones mostly likely to be punished; when a community's demonstration turned sour and arrests were made, women and children often escaped indictment and punishment. In Polch, eleven men received prison sentences ranging from fourteen days to three months after two violent incidents. The first incident began when the crowd that gathered at Kaplan Volk's March 26th arrest turned aggressive, holding back the wagon transporting Volk and assualting the gensdarmes. A second violent episode occurred on April 11th when those present at the public celebration of Volk's release refused to heed gensdarmes' direct commands.[159] Although both incidents involved large crowds of all ages and sexes, only men were prosecuted and convicted.

In Bernkastel, the community's continued defiance of decrees regarding receptions for Kaplan Stölben resulted in nine local men's convictions for violations against the Associations

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[158] Schwer, *Der Kulturkampf am Rande des Hochwaldes*, 104-20. Schwer notes that the court acquitted the three women brought to trial for insulting the arresting officers. See also *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 13 July 1874; *Germania,* 13 July 1874.

[159] LHA Koblenz Bestand 655, 33 Nr 776 #1278 , #1372, #711. See also LHA Koblenz Bestand 655, 33 Nr 774 #712 and *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 19 April 1874.

law.[160] Once again, despite the obvious presence of people of all ages and both genders, men found themselves facing prison terms for their actions, particularly for their roles in escorting Stölben back to Bernkastel.

Sometimes Catholic men ran afoul of the law even when their actions remained entirely peaceful as happened in Schöneberg when local Catholic men held a torchlight procession to celebrate Father Müller's Saint's Day (*Namenstag*) and then gifted him some new furniture. Afterwards, the government charged ten men with public nuisance (*öffentlichen Unfug*); each man was sentenced to a one Thaler fine and a share of the court costs.[161]

Although Catholic women and children occasionally appeared before the court to answer for their actions in protesting the Kulturkampf, men accounted for the majority of those tried and convicted. They also tended to receive more attention in newspaper articles and official incident reports. Because of their dual status as citizens and public actors, men more frequently found themselves in trouble with the law when they sought to give public voice to their opposition to Kulturkampf measures. The Church-State conflict mobilized men into action in their clergymen's defense but these actions (and their consequences) reflected the prevailing ways in which gender, age, and class status all worked to shape how Catholics participated in public demonstrations against the Prussian state and in support of their Church.

The Catholic press also expressed the opinion that Catholic men bore the burden of maintaining peace within their communities. While violence frequently met with general disapproval from the Catholic press, which was always quick to remind its readers that, as Catholics, they could only offer passive resistance to state policies, Catholic publicists stressed

[160] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 2 July 1874; *Eucharius,* 6 September 1874.
[161] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Müller.

Catholic men's particular responsibility for keeping the peace. For example, at the auction of Father Tuffers' possessions in Calcar, the crowd turned violent, and, despite local police and gensdarmes' efforts to exert control, an angry crowd physically assaulted the seventy-three year old man who conducted the auction, threatening that he would not leave the city alive.[162] In the aftermath, the Catholic press bemoaned the incident, arguing that, as the *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung* reminded its readers, "it is extremely difficult in the current time, by all incidents, to maintain the necessary prudence and calm" but at the same "it was doubly necessary that each man be on guard and use all his influence to persuade others in this matter."[163]

The *Kölnische Volkszeitung* published a similar appeal to Catholic men after the people of Seulingen retaliated against the government official who had dared to seal the local church's doors, driving him from the village and then proceededing to break the windows in his home in the neighboring village five miles away. While the paper acknowledged that it was "certainly hard to understand how someone has the right to deny access to the church and hinder the practice of people's religious duties, in every village there should still be sober-minded men with influence enough to counter the excesses of the crowd."[164] From the Catholic press's perspective, men had both the gendered power and civic duty to control their communities and prevent violence.

The Prussian government also believed that Catholic men, especially town and community council members, bore the responsibility for maintaining calm in their communities. In areas where violence or unrest had erupted, government officials often reacted by assembling

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[162] Th tax collector, although receiving severe injuries that left him "lamed," managed to escape the crowd and exit the city through the back alleyways. LA NRW Abt Rheinland Abschrift IV 4877/74.
[163] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 16 May 1874. The paper later argued that violence only injured Catholic interests, 17 June 1874.
[164] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 31 October 1873.

the town council (*Gemeinderat*) or the church council (*Kirchenrat*) and stressing their personal responsibility for the preservation of order, usually concluding with the threat that should the councilmen fail in their duties, the state would be forced to send a gensdarm (or worse yet, to quarter troops) at the communities' expense. Exactly this scenario played out in the small community of Waltrop, where Catholics sought vengeance against the local teacher after he testified against Vikar Marferding. The district governor argued that they had the duty "to make all of their personal influence felt to calm the people and ensure that excesses like those reported do not occur again." He ordered them to start doing so immediately or else the community would suffer the costs of having a full-time policeman stationed there.[165]

As these examples illustrate, the Catholic press and Prussian government were of the same mind as to who was responsible for maintaining public peace. While every Catholic had the obligation to follow Church teachings regarding violence and rebellion, Catholic men's responsibility extended beyond their own personal actions to those of the community. Their duty as men, heads of households, and rational citizens included keeping themselves and those around them calm in the face of state actions against the Church. While women and children might be pardoned for their indiscretions because of their youth and gender, society held men to a higher standard and expected them to participate in the Kulturkampf in the same manner in which they participated in all aspects of public life: as calm, rational beings in full mastery of their behavior and emotions. Furthermore, as town or church councilmen, men of status bore a heightened responsibility, perfectly illustrating gender and class's combined influence on Catholic men in the conflict.

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[165] GStA PK I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. Ia, Abt I, Nr 111 Bd III 1876-1881 #272 Letter to Amtmann Cherouny in Waltrop from district governor von Reitzenstein.

Men not only played special roles in Kulturkampf violence as its instigators and those responsible for preventing it, they also suffered popular violence directed against those who served as representatives of state power or provided the necessary labor to carry out the May laws. While their victimhood in these instances likely stemmed more from their status as state agents or Protestants, gender still guided popular acts of retribution. In cases where both men and women functioned as representatives of state power, specifically teachers, one of the groups hardest hit by conflicting loyalties in the Kulturkampf, male teachers often suffered more at the hands of the community than female teachers.

For example, while both the male and female teacher found themselves drawn into the government's legal actions against Vikar Marferding in Waltrop, only the male teacher became the victim of the community's ire, suffering property damage and living under continual verbal threats against his person (to the point that he began carrying a revolver when he appeared in public.)[166] The local Catholics certainly made the female teacher aware of their displeasure but stopped short of making threats against her or subjecting her to anonymous acts of violence against her home or property. In this case, gender shielded the female teacher from the potentially violent repercussions of her loyalty towards the state. Just as men were more likely to perpetrate acts of violence during the Church-State conflict, their gender made them more likely to suffer violent community resentment and retribution.

[166] GStA PK I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. Ia, Abt I, Nr 111 Bd III 1876-1881Letter from Amtmann Cherouny to Landrat von Reitenstein, dated 20 January 1879, Abschrift (273)

Catholic Men, Gender Roles, and the Realities of Male Kulturkampf Activism

Investigating how Catholic men participated in the Kulturkampf and what forms their activism took demonstrates two interrelated points about male activism and the feminization of religion. First, it illustrates that despite the tremendous attention given to female activism by scholars and contemporaries, Catholic men controlled popular Kulturkampf activism. Whenever Catholic communities contested the enforcement of anti-clerical legislation or demonstrated their fidelity to the Church and its clerics, Catholic men performed the most public and important duties. When crowds gathered peacefully or passions ran high, Catholic men set the tone and initiated any response, a reality all too often downplayed or ignored in the scholarly literature which frequently focuses on bourgeois liberal men's reactions to Catholic women's activism or, worse yet, views Catholic activism through the same misogynistic lens.

In fact, for all the ways in which the Kulturkampf mobilized Catholic women, their activism never contradicted the tenor and limits set by male Catholics. While women enthusiastically rallied to their Church, detailed investigations of popular reactions throughout the Prussian Rheinprovinz and Westphalia continually demonstrate that Catholic male activism was sui generis. Catholic men participated in the Church-State conflict not because their wives made them or because Catholic women threatened "to do what men would not."[167]

Certainly, not every Catholic (male or female) supported the Church (publicly or privately) and, as earlier studies have proven, particular groups such as bourgeois men remained more distant than others; however, the truth of bourgeois male reluctance and female enthusiasm should not be allowed to cloud historical understanding: Catholic men, not women, organized,

[167] Compare with other forms of popular protest's gendered dynamics. Manfred Gailus, "Necessary Confrontations"; Sahlins, *Forest Rites*; Godineau, "Daughters of Liberty and Revolutionary Citizens."

dominated, and controlled their communities' protests against Kulturkampf legislation. Far from a feminization of religion, Kulturkampf activism remained very much a masculine field and Catholic men proudly and publicly took up their Church's cause.

The historical reality of Kulturkampf activism's male dominance suggests a need to re-evaluate the feminization thesis. Even if, as Bernhard Schneider and others have demonstrated, women predominated in certain areas of religious life (as indicated by the disproportionate rise in female religious orders or membership in religious sodalities),[168] such evidence fails to prove that Catholic men abandoned religious practice to women or no longer considered religious belief compatible with their masculine identities. Following Schneiders' call for a broader interpretation of "religious practice" to include men's public activities on the Church's behalf, men's central importance to Catholic resistance of anti-clerical legislation appears in a new light.[169]

Given how the Kulturkampf's own changing political and social dynamics transformed religion from a private matter into a contentious subject of public debate, who is to say that men's willingness to petition the state on a cleric's behalf or escort *gesperrt* clerics to or from prison or defy an employer by voting for Center party candidates offered less proof of their faith than women's "fleeing to the Sacred Heart of Jesus" or vowing to raise Christian children? By expanding the interpretation of "religious practice" (particularly in light of the Kulturkampf's dramatic conditions) to include men's Church-related activities in the public sphere, the Church-

[168] Schneider, "Feminisierung der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert"; McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube?; Götz von Olenhusen, *Wunderbare Erscheinungen;* Werner, "Introduction"; Meiwes, *Arbeiterinnen des Herrn*.

[169] Schneiders' argues that male and female piety may take different forms and the current understanding of religious practice masks male piety. He suggests viewing religious practice it as a series of concentric circles with certain areas dominated by women (often those closer to the Church itself) and more external ones dominated by men.

State conflict actually reasserts men's religious faith and their centrality to nineteenth-century German Catholicism. Rather than focusing exclusively on women's public activism, historians need to pay more attention to masculine control over Kulturkampf activism and how men's partisanship in the conflict reflected their piety and religious commitment.

However, acknowledging that Catholic men played the most public, decisive, and important roles in Catholic reactions to anti-clerical legislation should not preclude recognition of the ways in which class and gender, particularly beliefs about the public/private divide, shaped male activism. The nineteenth-century acceptance of (bourgeois) separate spheres ideology influenced how Catholic men responded to the Church's predicament, making men responsible for its public and political defense. The gendered nature of voting and electoral politics offered men a distinctive opportunity to defend the Church that came with a distinctive price: public opposition to the state. But the field of formal politics was only one aspect of Kulturkampf activism shaped by gender and class; popular protests themselves show how such factors shaped a man's ability and desire to participate in the conflict as well as how state officials, the Catholic press, and broader Catholic community regarded his actions.

Focusing on how Catholic men participated in the conflict (and on the expectations that both Church and State placed upon them) highlights a second point about gender, class, and male activism: even as greater attention to men's activism reveals their control over communities' resistance to anti-clerical legislation, it also shows the power of gender roles and class status to shape that activism. This distribution of roles represented the Catholic vision of a properly ordered society, citizenship's duties and meaning, and the divide between the public and private spheres, all of which shaped how Catholic men took part in the Kulturkampf.

Men might have decided how they and their communities responded to the anti-clerical campaign but prevailing understandings of gender influenced how they made those decisions, as well the options that stood open to them. As the next chapter shows, gender not only shaped male activism, it also influenced how men's actions were interpreted, both within their own communities and by their anti-clerical critics. Most importantly, the dictates of contemporary gender ideology complicated and constrained men's ability to express their solidarity with the beleauguered Church because they set Catholic male activism in opposition to the predominant notions of citizenship and masculinity. Kulturkampf activism conflicted with contemporary ideas of citizenship and masculinity and forced Catholic men to seek ways to remedy that contradiction.

CHAPTER 4:

A MAN, A CITIZEN, *AND* A CATHOLIC?

THE CONTESTED MEANINGS OF KULTURKAMPF ACTIVISM, CITIZENSHIP, AND MASCULINITY

Far from a simple, uncomplicated process, Catholic men's public efforts to represent and defend their Church brought them into conflict with prevailing visions of citizenship and masculinity, leaving them caught between conflicting poles of identity. While the Church called on Catholic men to be vocal, public supporters of their faith, the Prussian state also looked to them, as good German citizens, to defend the state against what Bismarck and liberal anti-clericals presented as an effort by a foreign power to undermine the new Reich.[1] Because standing up for one's faith during the Kulturkampf often meant defying state laws, Catholics faced suspicions about their reliability as citizens and loyalty towards the Reich. In his work on commemorations of German unification, Pontus Hiort argued that Badenese Protestants "used the military victory and the unification as proof of the superiority of their policies" and labelled "their opponents… as traitors who had not contributed to the war effort."[2] Protestants' negative view of Catholic patriotism only increased as Catholics responded to anti-clerical legislation with wide-spread civil disobedience. As it intensified, the Church-State struggle became a zero-sum game in which support for one side automatically constituted a betrayal of the other, creating a

[1] Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Bennette, *Fighting For the Soul of Germany*.
[2] Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German," quote on 32-3. See also Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 22-65.

scenario in which Catholic men faced competing claims for their allegiance and suspicion about their loyalty as citizens.

But the Kulturkampf also placed strains on Catholic notions of masculinity. As discussed in the previous chapter, by the 1870s many Germans viewed religion as a personal matter, belonging to the private sphere of home and family, and saw religious practice as an activity best suited for women and children.[3] However, the conflict between Church and State led Catholic men to publicly proclaim their devotion through their heightened public presence at religious festivals and processions.[4] Such actions left Catholic men vulnerable to questions about their masculinity and understanding of the public-private divide. Furthermore, the highly emotional piety associated with ultramontane Catholicism allowed critics to paint both the religion and its practioners as "effeminate."[5] Catholic men found themselves caught between their desire to publicly convey their loyalty to the Church and their desire to reconcile their actions with contemporary notions of masculinity

Thus, as the Kulturkamf took off, liberals and Protestants claimed masculinity and patriotism for the anti-clerical side, portraying themselves as masculine patriots fighting against Catholicism's corrupting feminine and *reichsfeindlich* influences that threatened the new Reich. As Helmut Walser-Smith observes, "In the nationalist imagination, German patriots were loyal, steadfast, honest; in the Kulturkampf they struggled for light and truth; and they were men… Gendered language, central to the German nationalist tradition generally, was especially

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[3] For a selection on the feminization thesis's vast literature, see Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube?"; Dietrich, *Konfession im Dorf*; Harris, *Lourdes*; Götz von Olenhusen, "Die Feminisierung von Religion und Kirche im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert"; Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People*; Clark, "The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars," 11-46.
[4] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*.
[5] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*.

important to the religious component of that tradition."[6] This rhetoric complicated Catholic men's Kulturkampf activism by casting their efforts on behalf of the Church as "womanly," hence insufficiently masculine. According to Michael Gross, "Liberals assumed that Catholic men demonstrated not because they believed in the cause but either because they were mere ruffians or they were forced to do so by their wives. Liberals routinely branded particular kinds of popular resistance and mass demonstrations. . . as "female". . ."[7].

Together, these questions of masculinity and citizenship worked to complicate Catholic men's involvement in the Kulturkampf as they found themselves caught between conflicting expectations of how they should behave as men and as citizens. Kulturkampf activism permitted Catholic men to reclaim religious practice as a masculine prerogative and an act of true Germanness. When their opponents portrayed them as *reichsfeindlich* or effeminate because of their faith, Catholic men countered with their own interpretations of their actions. Ultramontane publicists, speakers at political rallies, and regular Catholic men continuously sought accommodation with the dominant understandings of citizenship and masculinity, attempting where possible to present their actions as compatable with the hegemonic images of masculinity and patriotism.[8] When such efforts failed, Catholic men challenged these images, recasting masculinity and citizenship to reconcile their multiple identities as men, Catholics, and loyal citizens of the new German nation.

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[6] Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*, 36. See also Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne," 143-146.

[7] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 224. See also Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 150.

[8] For Catholic efforts at accommodation with liberal-protestant visions in other spheres of life, see Jeffrey Zalar's discussion of Catholic reading habits ("The Process of Confessional Inculturation") and Oliver Zimmer's study of inter-confessional cooporation concerning Corpus Christi processions, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 254-92. For the concept of hegemonic masculinity, see Tosh, "Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender"; George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.)

Vaterlandslöse or Gott- und Reichstreue? The struggle to define citizenship

Historians have long recognized how ideas about gender and citizenship shaped the Kulturkampf. Early research, particularly works focused on the conflicts' political dynamics, stressed how Catholics' minority status within the new Reich and fears about Protestant triumphalism led them to adopt a reserved, if not outright hostile attitude towards the nation. Protestants, meanwhile, viewed Catholics' loyalty toward the Pope as evidence of their insufficient patriotism and potential danger to the Reich's fragile internal unity.[9] These works depicted the Kulturkampf as an internal preventive war or "a war against the opponents of the lesser German unification," viewing the conflict as an attempt to ensure the new nation's integrity.

Other studies, however, offered a more positive assessment of Catholics' relationship with the nation, separating their dislike of Kulturkampf policies from their identification with the nation itself.[10] In fact, most historians now see the Reich's early years as a contested process of nation-building in which Catholics actively participated (if not always successfully) in the construction of national identity.[11] In these works, the Kulturkampf emerges as either briefly delaying Catholics' path towards full accommodation with the Reich or as laying the

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[9] Katharine A. Lerman, "Bismarckian Germany and the structure of the German Empire," 177-8. See also Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany,* 181; Edgar Feutchwanger, *Bismarck*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 183; Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*; Taylor, *Bismarck*, 150; Craig, *Germany*, 71; Trzechiakowski, "The Prussian State and the Catholic Church in Prussian Poland"; Kocka, "Probleme der Politischen Integration der Deutschen"; Eda Sagarra, *Germany in the Nineteenth Century: History and Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 111.

[10] For older works that suggested a positive Catholic vision of the Reich, see Rudolf Lill, "Die deutschen Katholiken und Bismarcks Reichsgründung," in *Reichsgründung 1870/1871: Tatsachen, Kontroversen, Interpretationen*, ed. Theodor Schieder und Ernst Deuerlein (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1970), 345-365; Windell, *The Catholics and German Unity*; Rudolf Morsey, "Die deutschen Katholiken und der Nationalstaat zwischen Kulturkampf und Erstem Weltkrieg," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 90 (1970): 31-64.

[11] Altgeld, "German Catholics"; idem., *Katholizismus, Protestantismus, Judentum*; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Barbara Stambolis, "Nationalisierung trotz Ultramontanisierung oder: 'Alles für Deutschland. Deutschland aber für Christus.' Mentalitätsleitende Wertorientierung deutscher Katholiken im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 269 (1999): 57-97.

groundwork for Catholics' incorporation despite the tense atmosphere. This chapter contributes to these on-going efforts by illustrating how ideas about citizenship, patriotism, and civic duty complicated Catholic men's Kulturkampf activism and how they attempted to reconcile those notions with their loyalty towards the Church and defiance of anti-clerical legislation.

Even though, as historians now maintain, German Catholics took a positive view of the newly-created Reich and sought, if with a cautious eye to the Church's rights, to participate in the new nation's construction, the Kulturkampf's immediate outbreak problematized these efforts.[12] The enforcement of anti-clerical legislation placed Catholics, particularly Catholic men, in a difficult position as both Church and State laid claim to their loyalty in the conflict. As one ultramontane newspaper declared, it was not enough for Catholics to privately lament the current political situation but remain passive publicly. Instead, the paper asserted, "a true Ultramontane also does his duty in public life."[13] Catholic publicists demanded that Catholic men take a public stand, expressing solidarity with the Church through their electoral behavior and presence at public religious festivities.

However, when Catholic men responded to the Church's summons to "do their duty" by voting for Center party candidates, attending Mainz Association meetings, or joining a deputation or pilgrimage, this fidelity's flip-side was the assumption of disloyalty towards the nation. While the unification process had already raised the specter of Catholics as less than loyal citizens within the new Prussian-led German empire,[14] the Center party's formation and political effectiveness reinforced Catholics' particularist image as opponents of government policy (and

[12] Altgeld, *Katholizismus, Protestantismus, Judentum*; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*. Most recently, the argument has been advanced by Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life.*

[13] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 18 July 1873.

[14] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*.

thus opponents of the newly unified nation.)[15] Liberals and Protestant argued that Catholic men could not be reliable citizens because of their conflicting loyalties (especially in light of the Declaration of Infallibility); their religion forced them to obey a foreign power and to humble themselves before other men.[16] Thus, they lacked the necessary independence that characterized citizens in the public sphere. Furthermore, Catholics' passive resistance included boycotting such 'national' events as Sedan Day (which celebrated the victory over France in 1870) and the Kaiser's birthday, actions that Catholics explained by arguing that they could not celebrate a government that persecuted their Church.[17]

As the Church-State struggle intensified and Catholic activism became more pronounced, their opponents' denunciations of them as "enemies of the Reich" (*Reichsfeinde*) who lacked the proper patriotic sensibilities became harder to refute under the hegemonic (Protestant) definitions of citizenship and patriotism. As a result, Catholics found themselves compelled to modify and expand the existing understanding of citizenship (and the duties associated with it) in order to respond to their opponents' criticisms.

Because loyalty to their Church often required civil disobedience, Catholics refused to equate "citizenship" with unquestioning adherence to government policies. Instead, they countered the image of themselves as "men without a country" (*Vaterlandslöse*) by offering their own definition of citizenship. Rejecting the idea that devotion to the Pope or disobedience

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[15] As Edward Feuchtwanger noted, to its critics, "the party looked like a conglomerate of all those who for one reason or another were opposed to the new Reich. Feuchtwanger, *Bismarck*, 183. See also Anderson, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History,"; Evans, *The German Center Party,* 32-33; Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*, 261; Medlicott, *Bismarck and Modern Germany*, 102; Taylor, *Bismarck*, 150; Craig, *Germany*, 71.

[16] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*;Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German."

[17] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Claudia Lepp, "Protestanten feiern ihre Nation – Die Kulturprotestantischen Ursprünge des Sedantages," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 118 (1998) 201-222; Ute Schneider, *Politische Festkultur im 19. Jahrhundert: die Rheinprovinz von der französischen Zeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges, 1806 – 1918* (Essen: Klartext, 1995.)

towards the May laws diminshed their loyalty to the Kaiser or brought their Germanness into question, Catholics advanced the image of a "good citizen" as one capable of showing loyalty in all areas of life, one with the courage to honor his convictions and act independently. [18] In this way, Catholic men, called upon to play a new, more active role in their country's political life, also developed a competing definition of citizenship and their own views about its meanings and duties.

Throughout the Kulturkampf, Catholic men employed a variety of strategies to assert their patriotism and demonstrate that, despite their opposition to government policies, they remained loyal and true citizens, devoted to the Kaiser. One way Catholic men sought to prove themselves good citizens was by separating non-compliance with anti-church legislation from debates about their patriotism or trustworthiness as Germans. Catholic publicists continually cited Biblical passages to justify their position, with Matthew 22:21 ("Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's") the verse most frequently employed in this context.

For example, at the conclusion of their letter to the Prussian government declaring their loyalty to the recalcitrant Father Maringer, Niederbettingen's male citizens made clear that they viewed this action solely as an expression of their "Catholic convictions." The final sentence asserted that "we will not fail, as we have always done, to also prove ourselves as true, loyal subjects of the state and so to 'give to the Kaiser, what is the Kaiser's.'"[19] In a similar vein, the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* characterized Catholic voters' adherence "to a man" to the Center party as an effort to "give to the Kaiser what is the Kaiser's but to also give to God what is God's."

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[18] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German."
[19] *Eucharius,* 21 December 1873. See also *SonntagsBlatt,* 28 December 1873.

The paper argued that the liberal parties' platform "symbolized the war between Kaiser and Pope, between Church and State while that of the Catholics [represented] peace."[20] In this way, Catholic men sought to bridge the gap between their actions, which appeared to defy the government, and their visions of themselves as good citizens and loyal patriots.

By highlighting this distinction between religious and political concerns, Catholics sought to reconcile their non-compliance with the May laws with their vision of themselves as honorable and loyal citizens. Catholic leaders and publicists were quick to distinguish between laws that dealt with secular affairs, to which Catholics owed obedience, and those that infringed upon the Church's sacred rights, to which Catholics had the right and duty to refuse their compliance. For Catholics, the refusal to recognize anti-clerical legislation symbolized not disloyalty to the state but rather showed that Catholics actually represented a better type of citizen, one that used his discretion in his relationship with state power rather than blindly following any government policy.[21]

In an epistle published shortly after the Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen's arrest, the German episcopate rejected the image of Catholics as rebels against state authority, contending instead that the Church preached obedience to the state in all matters that did not violate God's laws. However, the May laws' threat to the Church's freedom absolved Catholics from blind adherence to secular laws that violated God's higher law.[22] Similarly, the *Eucharius* depicted the Catholic men of the Rhineland and Westphalia as "true sons of the Fatherland. . .[who] unmoved

[20] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 11 February 1873.
[21] Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German." Suzanne Desan makes a similar argument about Catholics' ability to transform and appropriate Revolutionary rhetoric in her work on popular efforts to re-establish religious practice in France's Yonne region. She demonstrates how Catholics used the revolutionary discourse in defense of religious practice, illustrating their self-image as loyal Catholics and (revolutionary) citizens. Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred.*
[22] *Kirchliches Amtsblatt der Dioecese Münster,* February 1874.

by every [political] windstorm, remain truly conservative."[23] By posing a distinction between laws on secular matters and laws on sacred matters, Catholic men justified their civil disobedience, characterizing themselves as steadfast citizens who followed their conscience in matters of faith but honored their State in all other areas.

Ultramontane publicists also tried to shrug off liberal accusations of Catholics' *Reichsfeindlichkeit* by characterizing Catholic men as *Reichstreue* citizens.[24] An article in the *Sonntags-Blatt für katholische Christen* exemplified this thinking when it proclaimed that while Catholics must take a public stand in the Church's defense, "in the fight for the rights and freedom of the Church, we [Catholics] can never forget our love of the Fatherland, of Prussia, of the Reich, of our royal family… when we fight for the freedom of the Church, we are fighting for the Fatherland in its highest and most noble meaning."[25] A similar article published a month later asserted that by defending the Church, "we [Catholic men] thereby represent the true interests of our German Fatherland, that in so doing we effectively promote true freedom and even stately authority."[26] These examples demonstrate how Catholic publicists sought to transform vice into virtue by recasting the meaning of state interest and defense of the Fatherland to harmonize with the Catholic vision of a well-ordered society.

By offering a modified and expanded definition of the citizen as someone who loved his country enough to stand against those who would lead it into error, the ultramontane press gave Catholic men a way to reconcile patriotism and loyalty to Kaiser and Reich with faith and devotion to the Pope. In fact, as Rebecca Bennette convincly argues, the belief that opposition to bad government policies signified true patriotism lay at the heart of Catholic claims to

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[23] *Eucharius,* 3 September 1876 "Wie sieht's mit dem Katholicismus in den Rheinlanden aus?"
[24] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German."
[25] *SonntagsBlatt,* 16 February 1873.
[26] *SonntagsBlatt,* 16 March 1873.

"Germanness." She asserts that "in the Catholic position, opposition to the Kulturkampf policies as well as other issues like centralization became inextricably woven together with love for the Reich and true Germanness," and that Catholics considered such opposition "as essential 'for the sake of the Fatherland.'"[27]

Catholic publicists also equated religious loyalty with civic duty; one proved oneself a good citizen by honoring religious leaders and fulfilling religious duties. Fidelity to the Church became a means of asserting loyalty to the state (or at least the state as it should be.) In Cologne, for example, in response to city officials' decision not to participate *en masse* in the Corpus Christi procession (as was traditional), community leaders urged Catholic citizens to "fill in the holes through their numerous participation." The procession committee went so far as to argue that "every citizen (*Bürger*) who honors their ancestral rulers will also take part in the procession in large numbers."[28] Here, the organizers sought to link devotion to the ruling family to active participation in religious ceremonies, thus recasting religious devotion as a patriotic act.

Fifty years later, Karl Kammer illustrated the staying power of this image of Catholic protestors as loyal citizens in his work on Catholic priests in Trier during the Kulturkampf. Kammer discussed Kaplan Jülius Büsch's reception by his parishioners in the small Mosel community of Treis, which became a *cause célèbre* after Nation Liberal deputy Paul Hinschius read aloud a newspaper account of the incident in the Prussian Landtag. Hinschius described the reception as "a mockery of state authority" that justified his party's support for the second round of May laws in 1874. Kammer claimed that Hinschius had it wrong; the reception had not 'endangered the State.' He denied Hinschius's depiction of Catholics as revolutionaries, arguing

[27] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 41.
[28] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 10 June 1873.

that "they behaved passively against an unjust law and honored their priest according to the demands of their conscience."

Kammer then linked this civil disobedience to a vision of the truly virtuous citizen, arguing that "conscience alone supports the state. He who attacks conscience, destroys the state."[29] By rejecting the traditional conception of citizenship as demanding loyalty and obedience to the State, a view that denied their claims be true and loyal citizens, Catholic men instead constructed a broader definition of citizenship in which "good" citizens knew when to honor the state as it was and when to honor a vision of the state as it should be, even if that required disobedience to unjust government policies.

Catholic publicists also sought to separate the "state" from "liberal Kulturkämpfer," arguing that Catholic opposition to anti-clerical legislation or "liberal" holidays such as Sedan day in no way signified Catholic opposition to the nation or the Kaiser. Here, Catholics stressed Sedan day's "false" nature, portraying it as a "liberal" rather than a national celebration.[30] Furthermore, the Catholic press depicted Catholic boycotts of Sedan day celebrations as a comment on liberal policies rather than on their feelings about the German nation. In describing the industrial community of Krefeld's Sedan day celebrations, the *Niederrhenische Volkszeitung* reminded its readers that although Catholics remained aloof from the current celebration, the Catholic church bells had been the first "to share the joyful news of victory (*freudigen Siegesbotschaften*) with our citizens."[31] Catholic abstention from the present-day celebration reflected their attitudes towards liberal anti-clerical policies, not the Reich. In this way, Catholic

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[29] Kammer, *Trier Kulturkampfpriester*, p. 42
[30] Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Lepp, "Protestanten feiern ihre Nation; Schneider, *Politische Festkultur im 19. Jahrhundert.*
[31] *Niederrhenische Volkszeitung,* 2 September 1873.

men justified their opposition to the May laws and their inattendance at national festivals while also proclaiming themselves loyal Germans and good citizens.

During the Kulturkampf, Catholic men's identities as citizens and Catholics placed them in a bind as the conflict appeared to make loyalty to both impossible. When Catholic men expressed their loyalty to the Church, particularly by voting for the Center party and remaining aloof from national celebrations, their opponents criticized this behavior, labelling Catholics as *Reichsfeindlich* and questioning their patriotism and loyalty to the nation. Yet, historians argue that far from viewing the new Reich as their enemy, Catholics desired very much to be seen as loyal German citizens. When their Kulturkampf activism threatened to make this self-understanding impossible, Catholic men and ultramontane publicists responded by presenting their actions as in-line with the dominant liberal Protestant notion of citizenship and patriotism when possible and contesting that image when accomodation proved impossible.

This discursive struggle over Catholic men's patriotism and proper relationship to the state revealed an important way in which gender complicated male activism. While public defense of the Church left Catholic women open to the charge of violating the public-private divide and not knowing their proper place, Catholic men's unique position as active citizens with political rights meant that their public activism for the Church left them open to allegations of disloyalty towards the state and failure to live up to their civic responsibilities. For women, public activism violated the gendered division of public and private; for Catholic men, the gendered division of public and private meant that activism conflicted with their civic duty to support the state.

Kulturkampf protests and Catholic Masculinity

Just as ideas about citizenship demonstrated how gendered beliefs complicated Catholic men's Kulturkampf activism, efforts by male Catholics to express solidarity with the Church brought them into conflict with predominant notions of masculinity. As observed earlier, nineteenth-century thinking about gender roles adhered to a dichotomous male/ female division that ascribed to men such traits as reason, independence, and strength as well as to a gendered vision of separate spheres in which men operated in the public sphere of political and economic life while women remained confined to the private, domestic sphere of home and family.[32] For contemporaries, masculinity was synonymous with rationality, logic, stoicism, and independence; these traits identified the "true man" and served as norms that governed male behavior in the public sphere.[33]

For Catholic men, these norms proved problematic, particularly as anti-clerical legislation affected practicing Catholics' daily lives: a parish without a priest meant a community without someone to perform marriages, preside over funerals, baptize children, hear confessions or offer absolution. In a society where "self-restraint was a key attribute of the masculine stereotype" and contemporaries believed that "a true man must know how to master his passions," the Kulturkampf's emotional impact on Catholic men placed them at odds with the period's hegemonic masculinity.[34]

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[32] Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division"; Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*.
[33] Yvonne Schütze, "Mutterliebe-Vaterliebe: Elternrollen in der bürgerlichen Familie des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19 Jahrhundert,* ed. Ute Frevert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1988), 18-33; Ute Frevert, "Männergeschichte oder die Suche nach dem 'ersten' Geschlecht," in *Was ist Gesellschaftsgeschichte?: Positionen, Themen, Analysen*, ed. Manfred Hettling (Beck 1991), 31-43; Schaser, "Gendered Germany"; Mosse, *The Image of Man*; Thomas Kühne, ed. *Männergeschichte Geschlechtergeschichte. Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1996.)
[34] Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 15; Tosh, "Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender."

But it was not only the emotionality of seeing a priest arrested or watching a loved one die without the comforts of Last Rites that challenged Catholic men's claims to masculinity; the broader societal understanding of religious practice itself as a feminine concern further complicated Catholic men's involvement in protests against Kulturkampf legislation. Throughout the nineteenth-century, religion became increasingly associated with "female" characteristics such as irrationality, emotionality, and dependency; because of this negative valuation, contemporaries, particularly bourgeois men, viewed religious practice as unsuitable for rational men.[35] While critics saw religion in general as a "female" activity, they often reserved their most vehement condemnation for ultramontane Catholicism (the particular bogeyman of anti-clericals), given its emphasis on highly demonstrative and emotive piety as well as the publicness of its religious rituals.[36]

Thus, as Catholic men took to the streets, printing press, and ballot box to defend their faith, their opponents used the association between Catholicism and the female sphere to cast doubt on their masculinity. For liberal Kulturkämpfer, Catholicism represented a host of negative, "female" characteristics that threatened the new Reich and justified the campaign against the Church, particularly its presence in the public sphere. As a result, Catholic men's public acts of devotion brought into question both their commitment to the Reich and their masculinity.[37] Anti-clericals argued that in addition to its irrational, sentimental piety,

[35] Manuel Borutta argues that two strains of anti-Catholicism existed amongst liberal bourgeois men: in the first, men themselves abstained from religious practice but considered it useful for their wives, children and servants; the second strain derided religion in general and desired society's total secularization, Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*, 372-84. For a discussion of the problems associated with Frenchmen's practice of the first strain, see Paul Seeley, "O Sainte Mere." See also Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Olenhusen, *Wunderbare Erscheinungen*.
[36] Busch, *Katholische Frommigkeit und Moderne*; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Clark "The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars"; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Ford, *Divided Houses*.
[37] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism;* Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus;* Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Hoirt, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhytms of Life*.

Catholicism also promoted an ideology of dependency, contending that "confession, the mere act of kneeling before another man, derogated from men's dignity."[38]

In the anti-Catholic imagination, Catholicism "emasculated" Catholic men while their own efforts to combat clerical influence in the new nation served as clear proof of Kulturkämpfers' masculinity.[39] As Michael Gross notes, "if practicing Catholicism was feminine and subservient, standing up to the power of the church required exertions of masculinity, public character, and independence."[40] At the very moment that the Kulturkampf pressured Catholic men to publicly profess their allegiance to the Church, the hegemonic liberal Protestant discourse of masculinity presented Catholic men with a double exclusion. Anti-clericals' rhetoric depicted Catholic religious practice as feminine and unmaly while casting their own efforts against the Church as the very definition of masculine behavior.

This discursive reality confronted Catholic men with a serious dilemma: defending their faith allowed their opponents to question their masculinity (and by extension, their political rights and access to the public sphere.) Doing nothing, however, gave anti-clericals free reign to restrict the Church's influence in public life, education, and other important areas. Surprisingly, however, this existential identity conflict has not received comparable attention from historians seeking to understand how Catholic men reconciled this challenge to their faith and their masculinity identity, despite growing scholarly attention to the Kulturkampf's gendered character. As discussed in the previous chapter, scholars stressed protests' gendered nature, pointing out the high percentage of women and low numbers of bourgeois men actively

[38] Seeley, "O Sainte Mere," 880. See also Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*.
[39] Gross, *War Against Catholicism*; Seely, "O Sainte Mere"; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus;* Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*.
[40] Gross, *War Against Catholicism*, 205. See also Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*, 36.

demonstrating on the Church's behalf.[41] Others illustrated how Kulturkämpfer used gendered language to distinguish themselves from their Catholic opponents and elevate their own values while denigrating Catholicism for its "feminine" traits.[42] However, as noted earlier, this scholarship's focus on male Kulturkämpfers' fears and motivations at times obscures the historical reality by glossing over Catholic men's real activism and over-emphasizing Catholic women's roles in the conflict.[43]

Furthermore, while correctly identifying liberals' concerns with masculinity as an inherent part of the struggle, scholars have generally paid less attention to assessing how Catholic men responded to Catholicism's feminine gendering. For example, while Michael Gross paints a detailed portrait of liberal Kulturkämpfers' understanding of the conflict, he pays little attention to Catholic men's reaction to this discursive crusade.[44] Similarly, Manuel Borutta recognizes that the popular anti-clerical image of cloisters as "objects of collective fantasies of violence and sexual license" contributed to the attack on a Domincan cloister in the Berlin suburb of Moabit, but focuses how the incident helped to create a gendered division between Church and State, private and public, not how Catholic men responded to this gendered discourse.[45]

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[41] Anderson, *Practising Democracy*; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession.*
[42] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism.*
[43] Most studies focuse either on bourgeois Catholic men's estrangement from Kulturkampf protests, men's politicization for the Center party or the spectacle of women's activism. What men actually did in Kulturkampf protests or how they reacted to the liberal discourse remains largely unexplored. For calls for greater attention to male religious practice, see Yvonne Marie Werner's "Introduction" and Olaf Blaschke's chapter in *Christian Masculinity;* Van Osselaer and Buerman, "'Feminisation' thesis"; Hastings, "Fears of a Feminized Church."
[44] Gross, *War Against Catholicism*. See also Blaschke's review in which he notes that "Here the Kulturkampf is defined solely according to the ideas of liberal men. But did Protestant and Catholic women also see it as a war between men and women? And what about Catholic men who, as priests or journalists, desperately fought for their faith and their Church?" Blaschke, *European History Quarterly* 37 (2007): 149-51, quote on 150.
[45] Borutta, "Enemies at the gate: The Moabit Klostersturm and the Kulturkampf", 236-7; see also Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*.

In a recent and nuanced gendered analysis of Catholics and national identity in the 1870s, Rebecca Bennette contends that Catholics gendered the nation as feminine (as opposed to its dominant masculine portrayal.) Bennette argues convincingly that in their discursive construction of the nation, Catholics stressed values coded as feminine (largely in opposition to Prussian militarism) as a means to justify their inclusion in the new Reich's cultural formation, characterizing this strategy as a "revalorization of the feminine."[46] While compelling, her argument still says little about how Catholic men responded to the very personal problem created by the conflict between their religious identities and the dominant, liberal Protestant conception of masculinity. Catholic men and publicists might have been willing to code the nation and the Church as feminine; however, as this section will argue, they were less willing to accept such a label for themselves.

Confronted with a hegemonic masculinity that presented their faith as feminine, Catholic men employed several strategies to reconcile their faith with their masculine identity. First, they sought to reclaim religious practice itself as a masculine prerogative, to remove public acts of piety from the taint of association with the female sphere. Secondly, as with notions of citizenship, whenever possible, Catholic men and ultramontane publicists portrayed male Kulturkampf activism in terms that placed it squarely within the dominant understanding of masculinity. Rather than rejecting the hegemonic conception of masculinity, Catholics recast and reinterpreted men's actions to conform with its behavioral precepts. However, accommodation was not always possible. When accommodation failed, Catholic men contested the dominant

[46] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*. I find her arguments compelling in that Catholics did indeed embrace tactics and ideas associated with women (passive resistance, an emphasis on morality and spiritual power, etc) but this does not mean that Catholic men considered themselves feminine, especially given the continued importance placed on men's presence at Kulturkampf protests and their use of militaristic language. Rather, I believe that Catholic men incorporated these ideas into a competing vision of masculinity in order to find a way to be masculine, Catholic, and German.

notion of masculinity: sometimes by confronting Kulturkämpfers with their own failure to live up to normative masculinity's demands; other times by illustrating alternative visions of masculinity.

First and foremost, Catholic men refuted the Church's feminization through their increased visibility at religious activities. Central to the gendered means through which Catholic men took part in the Kulturkampf, masculine attendance at religious services, especially the pilgrimages and processions that so irked anti-clericals, increased dramatically during the Kulturkampf, and Catholic publicists eagerly reported on men's presence at these events. One Münster press account joyfully noted the high male participation in the annual pilgrimage to Telgte, writing "Praise be to God! The number of so-called 'educated' Catholics who are shamed and shy away from openly professing their faith, who keep their distance from religious practice or only sneak surreptitiously into the Church. . . continually decreases."[47]

In many cases, men went out of their way to express their loyalty to clerics in highly public ways, forming escorts or joining large deputations that travelled to episcopal seats to assured bishops of each parish's devotion. An article in the *Eucharius*, one of the many Catholic papers active in the Trier diocese, acknowledged men's importance at public religious occasions, waxing poetic about the men who formed *Weihbischof* Dr. Kraft's honor guard during his 1875 visitations (*Firmungsreise*). The paper stressed "how exceptionally the men and young men of Mayen have grasped the meaning and seriousness of our times, thus the comforting and beautiful fact of their stately presence at the procession."[48] Through their increased public presence at religious festivities and in the increased numbers of (and higher attendance at) male-

[47] *SonntagsBlatt,* 20 July 1873. The phrase "educated Catholics" certainly referred to men, likely from the educated middle-class, since such phrases would not be used to describe women and their presence at Church functions would hardly be remarkable, regardless of their educational level.
[48] *Eucharius,* 13 June 1875.

only processions or pilgrimages, Catholic men countered Catholicism's image as a "women's" religion by lending their masculine prestige to these occasions. By refuting Catholicism's feminized image, men attempted to make religious practice compatible with masculinity. In drawing public attention to men's high attendance at these events, Catholic publicists hoped to show male support for the Church while recasting religious devotion as a suitably masculine activity.

Since popular ideology linked masculinity with the bourgeois public sphere's use of reason and critical thought, Catholic men also battled the contemporary association of Catholicism with fanaticism, particularly the idea that the faith promoted superstitition and blind adherence to the pronouncements of the now infallible Pope. Here again, Catholic men confronted the problem of reconciling their masculinity with contemporaries' perceptions of their faith. They attempted to achieve this goal by declaring that, as with their claims regarding their loyalty as citizens, they followed the dictates of their conscience in matters of faith. By highlighting the duty of listening to one's conscience, a product of one's critical reason, Catholic men stressed their capacity for independent thought and rationality.

They also argued that while the Pope might guide them in spiritual matters, in other arenas Catholic men possessed greater independence to follow their reasons' dictates than others, especially government employees and functionaries. An example from the village of Schweich effectively illustrates the lack of independence lower level officials such as teachers, postal and railroad employees, and village foremen experienced, especially in elections. In his report, the Bitburg District Secretary reluctantly confessed that one of the village's teachers had to have voted for the Center party because the only vote from the district cast in support of the government party came from the village foreman (*Ortsvorsteher*), although the teacher swore it

was his.[49] Given this level of accountability for one's electoral behavior, Catholics argued that government functionaries could hardly be considered "independent men," free to act according to their personal will.

Instead, Catholics contrasted the false independence of government officials, people forced by their dependent position to support government policies unquestioningly, with the true independence of Catholic men who possessed the freedom to follow their own reason and personal will. Similarly, in a call to elect Center party deputies, the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* stressed the importance of electing "independent men," clarifying that by "independent," they distinguished between liberals' use of the term to refer to educated men and their use of it to imply men capable of making their own decisions, men "independent not only in attitude but also in occupation, who are unreachable through possible vexation and chicanery…"[50] This vision of independence, which drew upon Kant's definition of enlightenment as man's ability "to make use of his understanding without direction from another," had the added virtue of associating Catholic men with enlightened masculinity.[51] By painting Catholics as more independent than many of their liberal, anti-clerical opponents, and then playing on the popular association of "independence" with masculinity, Catholic men placed themselves squarely within the contemporary view of what it meant to be a man. If masculinity was linked to indepence of thought and deed, then the masculinity of Catholic men, free to vote and speak according to their own reason and conscience, was not in question.

Nineteenth-century Catholicism's emotionality posed yet another problem for Catholic men in the Kulturkampf era, especially since contemporaries felt that "the imperative of the

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[49] LHAK Bestand 442, Akte 2003 Re: Thielen in Schweich p. 51 Bitburg 31 March 1875.
[50] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 4 November 1873.
[51] Immanuel Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" in *The Philosophy of Kant; Immanuel Kant's Moral and Political Writings,* Ed. Karl Friedrich (New York: Modern Library, 1949.)

masculine gender role… demanded … the suppression of feelings… men must manfully master their feelings."[52] Contemporaries equated public displays of emotion not just with unmanly behavior but also with a loss of control, something unacceptable for rational, public beings.[53] Catholic men, caught between society's expectation that they remain in total control of their emotions at all times and Kulturkampf laws' very real emotional impact on devout Catholics, once again recast the contemporary definition of masculine gender roles.

Rather than 'mastering their emotions' at a priest's arrest, accounts of priests being arrested or deported emphasized the scene's emotionality, stressing that even 'strong men' (*feste Männer*) could not hold back their tears, effectively highlighting government policies' emotional toll on the Catholic population. For example, the *Mosella* described the men from Zell's emotional reactions to Kaplan Kaas's arrest, noting that "one could see that many honorable men and gray heads [had] quivering lips and eyes damp with tears."[54] Similarly, at Kaplan Schieben's arrest in Spiesen, "even the most stout-hearted men stood with tears in their eyes."[55] In its description of Bishop Eberhard's arrest in Trier, the *Eucharius* highlighted the scene's overwhelming emotion, "by which even strong men were powerfully grasped" while the *Mosella* pointed out that even "men in uniform" knelt to receive the Bishop's blessing.[56] In a final example, during the arrest of Pastor Pies from Eisenschmitt, the community's reaction was so moving that the arresting officer himself could not control his emotions; observers noted that "thick tears rolled from the cheeks of the servant of the law."[57]

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[52] Yvonne Schütze, "Mutterliebe-Vaterliebe," 127.
[53] Seely "O Sainte Mere," 866. See also Martina Kessel, "The 'Whole Man': The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Gender & History* 15 (April 2003): 1-31; Mosse, *The Image of Man*.
[54] *Mosella,* 9 July 1874.
[55] *Eucharius,* 24 May 1874.
[56] *Mosella,* 12 May 1874; *Eucharius,* 15 March 1874.
[57] *Eucharius,* 22 March 1874.

Just as the Catholic press contested Catholicism's feminized image by touting men's presence at religious festivities, Catholic papers sought to utilize their breaking of this popular taboo to underscore these occasions' seriousness and solemnity. Far from emasculating Catholic men, the fact that they cried at these moments served to demonstrate how terrible the state's actions in the Kulturkampf truly were. Rather than a source of shame, tears at the arrest or banishment of a clergymen represented the deep devotion and loyalty Catholic men felt towards their spiritual leaders. Such portrayals contested popular notions of masculine stoicism by arguing against the belief that men must remain unmoved even in moments of extreme duress. From this perspective, it is the situation's seriousness, not Catholic men's effeminancy, that produced their tears.

Catholic polemicists also worked to masculinize tears shed on such occasions by likening the emotional impact of a priest's arrest to that of combat. Reports of men crying at a cleric's arrest or a religious order's banishment frequently noted the men's military background, asserting that the same men unable to suppress their emotions at this moment had mastered them on the battlefield. In accounts of Kaplan Franz Schmitz's arrest, a local man from Cues looked on with tears in his eyes, stating that he had never cried in his years as a soldier but could not bear the pain of his Kaplan's arrest.[58] The correspondent for the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* employed similar imagery in describing the auction of Father Wasmer's possessions in Bergheim, stressing the event's emotionality by noting that "even the eyes of former soldiers were moist" when Wasmer's crucifix from his consecration came under the auctioneer's hammer.[59]

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[58] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 F. Schmitz.
[59] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 16 March 1873.

Pointing to the military background of these men overcome by emotion placed them firmly within the hegemonic conception of masculinity since military service represented masculinity's apex in the Reich's founding era.[60] Catholic publicists also painted the events of the Kulturkampf as more heart-wrenching than the experience of combat, one of the few places were men could acceptably show emotion. Furthermore, by highlighting the military backgrounds of those suffering from the anti-clerical legislation, the ultramontane press also underscored Catholic patriotism and commitment to the nation, reminding Kulturkämpfer that Catholic men had also fought for the nation.

Far from simply justifying Catholic men's displays of emotion, martial imagery (and its associations with masculinity) formed a key component of the rhetoric used by both sides during the Kulturkampf. Michael Gross argued that German liberals "believed that they were engaged in a war against the church as urgent and fateful as that against France." For these men, the Kulturkampf represented "their contribution to the wars for German unity," in which they "saw themselves as armored knights or a column of uhlans."[61]

Kulturkämpfer were not alone in their use of martial imagery to rally the faithful; the Catholic side also depicted the struggle as a war between Christianity and its enemies that summoned Catholic men to the Church's standard.[62] In a pastoral letter from 1872, Münster's Bishop Brinkmann warned his parishioners that while the war with France was over, Christendom's enemies had started a new, more dangerous war; Catholics would be called to

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[60] Ute Frevert, "Das Militär als 'Schule der Männlichkeit'. Erwartungen, Angebote, erfahrunen im 19 Jahrhundert," in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), 145-173; Karen Hagemann, "A Valorous Volk Family: the Nation, the Military and the Gender Order in Prussia in the Time of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, 1806-15," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Ida Bloom, Karen Hageman and Catherine Hall (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 179-206; Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh, eds., *Masculinities and Politics in War: Gendering Modern History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*.
[61] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 298-9; See also Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*.
[62] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 110-113.

fight with the weapons of Christ (prayer, confession, love, patience and faith in God.)[63] Both sides sought to present the Kulturkampf as a war between conflicting world-views for German society's future; as a result, the Church-State conflict became a battle-ground in which "soldiers" from both sides proved their masculinity in defense of their cause.

Polemicists, whether liberal or Catholic, were not the only ones who understood martial imagery's power to shape popular perceptions of the Kulturkampf and its combatants. Recalcitrant priests and angry Catholic laymen also employed martial imagery, often utilizing the Prussian state's own linkages between military service, masculinity, and citizenship in service of the Catholic cause.[64] For example, at his arrest, Father Müller insisted upon wearing his military cap and the Iron Cross that he had received for his valor in the Franco-Prussian War.[65] By wearing these symbols, Müller sought to publicize that the man now arrested for disloyalty to the Prussian government was the same man praised for his brave battlefield actions on its behalf. Furthermore, reports of a clergyman's arrest or of crowds gathered to honor a cleric often mentioned men wearing parts of their military uniforms, emphasizing Catholic men's loyal and brave service in the wars of 1866 and 1871.

However, Vicar Golebiewski's arrival in small village of Plutznitz in Westpreussen compellingly demonstrated how Catholics employed the Prussian state's own martial imagery in defense of their cause. When Plutznitz's Catholics refused to accept Staatspastor Vicar

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[63] BAM OPM Nr 1950 Hirtenbriefe der Bs Münster und Paderborn 1871-1910.

[64] Ute Frevert, "Das Militär als 'Schule der Männlichkeit'; Karen Hagemann, *"Männlicher Muth und teutsche Ehre". Nation, Krieg und Geschlecht in der Zeit der antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002.)

[65] *Moselzeitung,* 4 July 74. Müller's Iron cross had already caused numerous problems in the area. Müller had worn it on the day he arrived in Schöneberg, hoping to make a good impression. Instead, the military decoration led the people to believe he was a *Staatspfarrer* and only after a thorough examination of his credentials were the parishioners adequately convinced that Müller had indeed been sent not by the government but by the Bishop of Trier. Later, the Iron Cross was seized and auctioned to cover the mounting fines against Müller for his May law violations. However, Prussian laws protected military decorations; not only was the emblem returned to Müller but the tax collector himself was fined for his error. See *Germania,* 20 May 1874.

Golebiewski as their new cleric,[66] a stand-off ensued in front of the church in which the parishioners confronted not just Golebiewski but also the local mayor, the district governor, a contingent of gensdarmes, and thirty soldiers. After he had issued a second warning to disperse from the area around the church, the commanding officer made clear that after the next warning, he would give his men the order to shoot. At this point, some members of the crowd moved to the churchyard (where they believed themselves safe) while a group of men remained at the spot, wearing their war-service caps from 1866 and 1871. Turning their chests towards the soldiers, these men informed the district governor that just as they had fought for their country, they would die peacefully for their faith.[67]

As this dramatic incident showed, Catholic men frequently employed their history of military service as a badge of honor that established their masculinity beyond all doubt, and as proof of their loyalty and service to the nation. Wearing their military insignia allowed Catholic men to change the focus of the debate over patriotism and civic duty, highlighting instead the disloyalty of a state that would harass and threaten the very men whose battlefield service had brought it into existence.

Catholic publicists took the link between masculinity and armed force a step further when they employed the connection between weapons and power to contrast the state's power with that of the clergy. The Catholic press frequently described government officials as "*bewaffnete Macht*" or "armed power," implying that these government representatives (mayors, policemen, gensdarmes, and Landräte) drew their power from their monopoly over force. Catholic

[66] Clerics who took an oath of loyalty to the state, pledging to obey the May laws. Very few clergymen did this and they were universally rejected by their parishioners.
[67] *SonntagsBlatt,* 9 May 75. Fortunately, the governor persuaded the officer not to shoot; the parishioners remained in the church praying until the danger passed and troops had left the area. The article remained silent on Golebiewski's fate as Vicar in Plutznitz.

polemicists then contrasted this power with that of the Catholic clergy, who neither possessed nor required such recourse to violence to enforce their will but rather commanded their followers' loyalty through honor and respect.

Kaplan Esser's account of his arrest in Euskirchen reflected his own understanding of the true balance of power. When the four arresting officers expressed concern about the possibility of "excesses" by the community, Esser responded that the officers had nothing to be afraid of, declaring that "should something happen, I could achieve with one word what you with your sabers could not."[68] Similarly, Stromberg's mayor felt such anxiety when arresting Schöneberg's beloved Kaplan Müller that despite the gensdarmes' presence, he brought his own revolver to ensure order, a weapon in which, or so the Catholic press remarked wryly, one should place "no confidence in comparision to the influence-rich words of a Catholic priest."[69]

Descriptions of Catholic clergymen's arrests also mentioned gensdarmes' or policemen's inability, despite their threats and weapons, to command the crowd's obedience. For example, Zell's Catholics paid no heed to the gensdarmes' repeated requests that they return to their village rather than continuing to escort Kaplan Kaas to prison. However, at a word from Kaas himself, the community immediately said their final good-byes and turned back, proving, as the *Mosella* pointed out, that "the simple word of a Kaplan had more power that that of a Gensdarm."[70]

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[68] *SonntagsBlatt,* 25 January 1874. Esser's description of his arrest clearly showed that he enjoyed the gensdarmes' apprehension. He stated that he refused to go with the officers when they first arrived (Prussian law prohibited arrests before sunrise) because he wanted the community to see him led away "with their own eyes." He also described the policemen's nervousness as they waited for him to finish his breakfast, noting that they attempted to hide themselves in the corners of the room, away from the view of the gathering crowd.
[69] *SonntagsBlatt,* 19 July 1874.
[70] *Mosella,* 23 April 1874.

As these examples show, both armed policemen and unarmed clerics were aware of who truly commanded the Catholic laity. Even when they possessed the authority of their weapons (and the state power that those weapons symbolized), gensdarmes and policemen often had less ability to control Catholic communities' reactions than a single, unarmed cleric. By emphasizing this fact, Catholic publicists rejected power's association with armed force and instead linked it to more personal qualities: honor, dignity, and loyalty to one's beliefs. The stress placed on these personal qualities, frequently associated with masculinity, represented another means by which Catholics defined masculinity in ways compatible with loyalty to the Church.[71]

In addition to demonstrating clerics' ability to enforce their will while the "*bewaffnete Macht*" struggled to do the same, Catholic polemicists also noted clergymen's courageous demeanor when facing imprisonment for defiance of the May laws. Here, the Catholic press not only placed clergymen solidly within contemporary discourses of masculinity by showing how they mastered their emotions in these trying moments; they also contrasted their manly behavior with the weaknesses sometimes shown by those charged with their arrest. For example, after tormenting the arresting officers by making them wait to carry out his arrest until a large crowd had assembled, Kaplan Esser remarked on their anxiety at the growing crowd and efforts to shield themselves from the community's view while also pointing out his own emotional self-control despite the community's moving display of affection and sadness at his departure. Esser

[71] In this regard, my assessment differs from Bennette's in that she equates Catholics' rejection of militarism with an embracing of feminine qualities. While I agree that Catholic embraced passive resistance and portrayed the Church itself as a woman, I believe that Catholics also proposed an alternative masculinity in which honor and respect remained masculine qualities. For a discussion of honor's multiple meanings, see Ute Frevert, "Ehre – männlich/weiblich: Zu einem Identitätsbegriff des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch* 21 (1992): 21-67.

commented that “only with effort could I hold back the tears of emotion but I showed a serene face in order to raise the people’s courage.”[72]

Esser was not the only cleric to display stoicism in contrast to the emotional reactions of those enforcing Kulturkampf measures; in a similar scenario, Kaplan Imandt remained cool and collected when Mayor Peters came to Dillingen to arrest him, even deterring the crowd of workers from their intended destruction of the wagon sent to transport him. In contrast to Imandt’s level-headed demeanor, Peters failed to master his own emotions, despite the presence of policemen and gendsarms to maintain order. As Imandt later described, Mayor Peters “could barely speak and shook like a child.”[73] The gensdarm Salzmann, charged with arresting Kaplan Kirsch in Vallendar, was similarly betrayed by his own body; Kirsch reported how Salzmann’s hands and voice shook as he arrested him. Kirsch himself, however, experienced the arrest as a moment of liberation from his previous fears, leaving him with “peace of mind and strength.”[74]

As these examples show, Catholic clergymen manfully mastered their emotions in moments of great duress and sadness. They remained calm and in control, even when those around them did not. In contrast to the armed representatives of state power, who failed to maintain their composure and allowed their emotions (be they fear, sadness, or regret) to get the better of them, clergymen showed themselves the more “manly” men. Not only did clerics express their masculinity by adhering to contemporary notions of masculine stoicism in the face of adversity, they also embodied an alternative vision of masculinity in which they drew power not from weapons but from the quiet courage of their convictions. By facing their arrests and expulsions with dignity and courage, Catholic clergymen modeled an image of masculine

[72] *SonntagsBlatt,* 25 January 1874.
[73] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Imandt.
[74] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Kirsch.

strength to which Catholic men could aspire in a time when circumstances limited their ability to embrace more traditional images of masculine behavior.

Conclusion

As the Kulturkampf raged throughout the Rhineland and Westphalia, it drew average Catholics into the struggle between Church and State. Fought not just at the polling station or in the chambers of Reichstag, the battle also raged in the streets of episcopal cities, small villages throughout Germany's Catholic regions, and the growing daily press. The Kulturkampf became a true "struggle for culture" in that it touched on the daily lives and practices of Catholics of every age, gender, and social status, mobilizing people and groups normally absent from the political stage. Yet, even as it drew average people into the power struggle between Church and State, the Kulturkampf mobilized them in distinctive ways. These divisions demonstrated the influence of contemporary thinking about gender, class, and the public/ private divide -- how Catholics expressed their loyalty to the Church reflected these notions.

Gender and class conditioned male Kulturkampf activism through men's association with the public sphere; as active citizens, Catholic men possessed electoral powers and access to the public sphere that contemporary gender ideology denied Catholic women. The gendering of public and private meant that Catholic men played highly public roles in the struggle as ultramontane publicists called upon them to publicize their support for the Church and opposition to the state's attacks on its independence. Catholic men expressed their support for the beleaguered Church in a variety of ways, ranging from increased participation in Church pilgrimages and festivals to petitions for their priests to mass demonstrations of support for

bishops. In the formal political world of elections and legislation, Catholic men expressed their loyalty to the cause when they voted for the Center party in overwhelming numbers. They also stood by the Church's side in the Kulturkampf's informal political contests. Catholic men represented their families and communities when they joined honor guards to escort clerics to or from prison, purchased a cleric's property at auction, or marched through the streets in a torchlight procession in honor of the Pope.

But their leadership roles were not just symbolic; Catholic men, as we have seen, often determined whether a community's reaction remained peaceful or turned violent. They faced not just the moral but also the legal repercussions of incidents of violence, both as instigators and victims of popular violence. While women struggled to find socially acceptable ways to defend their clergymen and publicly express their loyalty to the Church, ideas about gender and the public sphere meant that men faced no such dilemmas. Their support was expected to be public and decisive.

However, the very publicness of their roles meant that men faced their own gender-based quandary. As both sides laid claims on men's loyalty and support, Catholic men found themselves caught between the conflicting demands of Church and State. As citizens, only men could represent the Church's interests in the formal world of electoral politics but such actions appeared a betrayal of their duties towards the state. Similarly, while contemporaries had no problem with Catholic men acting in the public sphere in their roles as men, heads of households, and citizens, nineteenth-century German society's broad acceptance of religion as a "feminine" concern problematized Catholic men's activism. Because contemporaries associated religion in general, and Catholicism in particular, not just with women but also with a whole range of "feminine" characteristics such as dependence, irrationality, and emotionality, Catholic men's

support for the Church brought them into conflict with the dominant discourses of masculinity, citizenship, and patriotism.

As a result of these pressures, the Kulturkampf not only mobilized Catholic men to show their support for the Church in distinctive ways; it also led them to search for ways to reconcile that activism with the hegemonic definitions of masculinity and citizenship. When such reconciliation proved impossible, Catholic men and ultramontane publicists contested this dominant discourse, challenging the ability of liberals and Protestants to deny Catholics' claims to masculinity, patriotism, and civic duty. In so doing, Catholic men sought to reconcile the tensions between the multiple poles of their identities, to define in ways compatible with their faith, what it meant to be a citizen and what it meant to be a man.

CHAPTER 5:

THE LICENSE OF YOUTH:

EXPLORING YOUNG CATHOLICS' KULTURKAMPF ACTIVISM

On April 15, 1874, Loslau's mayor and school inspector arrived at the local girls' school, summoned sixteen young girls to the front of the upper grade classroom, and began to publicly interrogate them. The men demanded that the girls confess who had instigated their "*reichsfeindlich*" actions of 18 March. The girls denied that anyone else had encouraged their actions, maintaining that they had conceived of and executed the plan all on their own. In the face of repeated questioning and threatening harangues about the dangers of violating the Church-State laws currently wreaking havoc throughout Prussia, the girls maintained that they had acted as a group, without aid from parents or priests; frustrated, the two men branded the girls liars and ended the interrogation.[1]

The questioning presumably led to no official charges against the girls, largely because they had commited no crime but rather had transgressed against the Prussian state by sending a petition to the Kaiser and Kaiserin in which they recounted how they had felt such joy at the prospect of their upcoming First Communion, and how that joy had turned to fear after Pfarradministrator Johannes Hawerda's arrest left the community without pastoral care. Calling on her "motherly heart," the sixteen young girls pleaded with Augusta to show mercy and expressed their confidence that their "dearly beloved *Landesmutter*" would not ignore their

[1] Despite the mayor's accusation that either the girls' parents or one of the clergymen had instigated their actions, the girls stressed their own initiative and shared responsibility for the letter's contents, arguing that the idea had come to them after remembering how another young girl in the area had petitioned Augusta for a Christmas gift and received a doll in response. *SonntagsBlatt,* 3 May 1874.

request. Asking the Kaiserin to " free them from their sadness" and release their clergymen from prison so that they could celebrate their First Communion, the girls promised to be well-behaved and pray ceaselessly for the royal family.[2]

This bold step, taken by girls between the ages of twelve and fourteen, and its overblown consequences, illustrates the great importance placed on young Catholics' actions in the Kulturkampf.[3] Far from exempting children and adolescents from the fray, both sides placed youth, literally and discursively, at the conflict's center. When it came to younger Catholics' hearts and minds, the Kulturkampf became a true "struggle for culture" in which each side sought to employ youth in the public battles for, and demonstrations of popular allegiance to, either the liberal-statist or Catholic-ultramontane view.

This competition for youthful partisanship reflected the two sides' understanding of the conflict as a struggle to determine the new Reich's character. For both Kulturkämpfer and Ultramontanes, ensuring young Catholics' loyalty while keeping them away from the opposition's corrupting influence assumed tremendous importance; both sides recognized that true victory in the Kulturkampf lay in the ability to command young people's loyalties. Understanding that the children were indeed their future, ultramontane Catholics and liberal anti-clericals each attempted to determine Germany's future development by indoctrinating future generations in the proper mind-set. Thus, while anti-clericals held little hope for converting adult Catholics (especially Catholic women), they worked tirelessly to limit young Catholics' exposure to ultramonate ideology and encourage their identification with the liberal, Protestant vision of the fledgling German nation. At the same time, Catholic priests, parents, and publicists labored

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[2] Ibid. Although the girls addressed the petition to both William and Augusta, they directed their plea to Augusta "because we have heard in school what an admirable and merciful Kaiserin we have."

[3] In addition to the public questioning in the school house, the mayor had previously summoned three of the girls to the Magistrate's office for an hour-long interrogation.

to raise young people as pious and devout Catholics, loyal to their Church and skeptical of the "modernity" promoted by bourgeois-liberals. The intensity of each camp's efforts to control young Catholics' environment demonstrated their desire to shape the future and, through their influence over the youth, to mold a new generation of Germans committed to the "correct" ideology.

But the incident in Loslau also underscores young Catholics' own agency in the Kulturkampf. Hardly mindless pawns easily indoctrinated into a particular ideology, the girls' petition demonstrates that young people had their own understandings of the conflict as well as their own motivations for rallying to clerics' aid. Like adults, Catholic children and young adults played active roles in the Kulturkampf, joining the Catholic crowds that mourned clergymen's arrests and triumphantly celebrated their return. They marched in religious parades and processions, absented themselves from state-sponsored patriotic celebrations, and continued traditions honoring their links to local clerics. However, like the women and men discussed in earlier chapters, Catholic youth played unique roles in the struggle, taking on distinctive tasks that reflected their position within the community and the ways in which they felt the struggle threatened their particular interests.

Young Catholics' activism highlighted the special problems the Kulturkampf posed for Catholic youth as well as how ideas about childhood and youth shaped their roles and reactions. Changing social and economic conditions affected young people's futures; their actions in the Kulturkampf show how religious practice conformed t,o and served as an outlet for, the tensions created by these changes. This chapter explores how young Catholics reacted to Kulturkampf measures, discussing the distinctive ways that they got involved in the conflict, the forms their involvement took, and the factors that motivated them. It examines young people's importance,

through their behavior and discursive image, to both sides' understanding of the Kulturkampf as a cultural struggle. Most importantly, the chapter asks how youth themselves interpreted the conflict, what factors motivated them to take action, and what the Kulturkampf reveals about the youth's complex place in German society in the nation's founding decade.

Caught in the Crosshairs: Youth as Objects of Kulturkampf Rhetoric and Policy

Contemporaries and scholars have long recognized young people's central role in the conflicts between ultramontane Catholicism and bourgeois liberalism,[4] noting in particular how the two sides understood the Kulturkampf as a struggle between competing visions of German society, a conflict to define the new nation's character in which there could be no greater prize than securing the next generation's allegiance.[5] Controlling the youth meant controlling Germany's future; indoctrinating young people to adhere to a particular world view ensured that ideology's future dominance. In the Kulturkampf, successfully controlling young Germans meant successfully determining the the new nation's character and future course.

As scholars have shown, liberals worried about the negative impact of ultramontane beliefs and practices on young Germans, believing that Catholicism's emphasis on obedience to

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[4] Many historians date political Catholicism's emergence to the 1837 "Cologne Troubles," a brief power struggle between Church and State sparked by conflicts over mixed marriages. Concerned by the rise of these marriages, particularly between Catholic women and Protestant men, Archbishop Clemens August refused to allow clerics to perform marriage services to mixed faith couples unwilling to promise to raise their children Catholic. While the laity shared Clemens August's concern about the impact of mixed marriages on the Catholic community, the Prussian's state's decision to arrest him without cause united Catholics behind him, triggering wide-spread activism as the laity organized to defend their faith. See Hegel, "Die katholische Kirche 1800-1962," 341-384; Friedrich Keinemann, *Das Kölner Ereignis, sein Widerhall in der Rheinprovinz und in Westfalen* (Münster: Aschendorff 1974); Karl-Egon Lönne, *Politischer Katholizismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986); Behr, "Die Provinz Westfalen und das Land Lippe," 69.

[5] Within the Kulturkampf's vast literature, works that particularly address the conflict's cultural dimensions include Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Clark and Kaiser,eds., *Culture Wars*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Walser Smith, ed., *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany 1800-1914*.

authority and loyalty to Church and Pope dulled young German's patriotic impulses and prevented their intellectual development into rational citizens capable of participating in an enlightened public sphere.[6] Catholics, meanwhile, feared liberalism's impact on young people's values. Espousing the virtues of tradition and a harmonious social order in which all had their prescribed place, Catholics looked upon industrialization and urbanization as processes accompanied by insecurity, greater inequality, and an emphasis on materialism and selfish individualism.[7] Thus, in many ways the "struggle for culture" played out in efforts to establish control over German youth.

These efforts to shape the youth, to mold them according to the bourgeois liberal or ultramontane Catholic world-view, represented a key component of the cultural conflict between the two ideologies. Given these conflicting world views, both sides placed a particular value on young people's allegiance and strove to ensure their exposure to the "correct" ideology while limiting their contact with the opposing world view. These efforts placed young people at the conflict's center; youth served as discursive justifications for liberal Kulturkampf policies as well as ultramontane resistance to those policies. They also fulfilled important symbolic functions; each side valued their presence at ceremonies and public demonstrations. Bourgeois liberals and ultramontane Catholics both viewed young Germans as pawns in their struggle to mold German culture and determine the nation's character. As the Kulturkampf heated up, so too did each side's efforts to control young people's beliefs and actions.

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[6] Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Clark and Kaiser,eds, *Culture Wars*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Kaiser, "European Anticlericalism and the Culture Wars"; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*.
[7] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche;* Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*; Borutta, "Enemies at the gate"; Clark, "The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars"; Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat."

For example, in the Kulturkampf's tense environment, young Catholics' participation in Church sponsored youth groups, once viewed favorably by the state, now appeared to encourage undesirable clerical influence over Germany's youth. Part of Catholicism's mid-century revival, in which the Church sanctioned and embraced aspects of popular piety while also bringing those practices under greater clerical control, the rise of ultramontane Catholicism was accompanied by a rapid expansion of organizations intended to help the Church exert its influence in young Catholics' lives.[8] Designed to appeal to young adults, especially those in the transitional period between their First Communion and marriage (ie full adulthood), these youth groups provided attractive ways for older Catholic youth to spend their free time, such as games, songs, lectures, and excurions into the countryside.[9] Often led by the local priest or Kaplan, as Werner Blessing demonstrates for Bavaria, these youth groups served a dual purpose of ensuring that young people spent their free time in acceptable ways while maintaining their connection to their faith and keeeping them aloof from liberal ideology's damaging influences.

Unhappy about religious associations' claims to young people's loyalty, Kulturkämpfer sought to undermine their effectiveness by subjecting them to surveillance as *reichsfeindlich* organizations and disbanding them when possible. For example, a report from the mayor's office in Polch reveals that officials had placed the local *Marienbund* for young women and girls under observation; however, despite the members' uncompromising partisanship for Kaplan Volk, officials decided to allow the group to continue meeting, hoping that Volk's impending banishment would solve the problem.[10] Although a strategy applied to a wide-variety of Catholic

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[8] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 73-91; Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*, 84-96; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 29-73; Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, 296-302.
[9] Blessing, *Staat und Kirche,* 142-5. Blessing distinguishes between these broad-based youth groups, which he sees as part of the mid-century ultramontane triumph in Bavaria, and the more profession/ class specific associations that characterized the later period of associational life.
[10] LHAK Bestand 655, 33 Nr 776, #1426.

organizations, state officials' willingness to employ such tactics against youth organizations illustrates the importance liberals and state officials attached to clerical influence on the youth and their willingness to use state power to limit that influence.

Battles over young people's presence at public festivals signaled another key aspect in the Kulturkampf's skirmishes over youth as state officials and Catholic parents sought to ensure that youngsters attended their public ceremonies and not those of the opposition. Sedan Day in particular came to symbolize the battle over youth as liberal nationalists attempted to use the new holiday to instill patriotism in future generations while Catholic parents objected to their childrens' participation in what they believed to be an anti-Catholic rather than truly national celebration.[11] For example, unhappy with the holiday's Protestant overtones, the parents of nine children from Ürdingen kept their children home from school on Sedan Day. Their decision to prevent their children from taking part in the school's planned patriotic celebration led the mayor to bring charges against them for violating Prussia's laws on compulsory school attendance. In court, responding to the defense's claim that a single absence merited a warning at best but certainly not prosecution, the mayor argued "the issue here is one of patriotism. Considering the defendants' known attitudes, one must view a warning as useless from the outset."[12] The mayor's testimony perfectly encapsulated the liberal-statist Kulturkampf position: because Catholics

[11] For a discussion of Sedan Day's liberal Protestant associations and Catholic's difficult relationship with the holiday, see Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Lepp, "Protestanten Feiern Ihre Nation"; Hiepel, "Der Kulturkampf im Ruhrgebiet." For a more conciliatory interpretation, see Stambolis, "Nationalisierung trotz Ultramontanisierung"; Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 218-253.

[12] *SonntagsBlatt,* 5 November 1876. After the teacher confirmed that no actual lessons were held in the school on that day, the court acquitted the parents of all charges.

lacked the proper loyalty towards the state, intervention was necessary to ensure that the next generation grew up with the correct patriotic mind-set.[13]

But Sedan Day illustrated more than just liberals' and state officials' desire to actively engage youth in the nation's construction; it also highlighted Catholic parents' own claims to young Germans, as an example from the village of Rheine demonstrates. A teacher asked a city councilman's daughter to recite a piece for the school's Sedan day celebration. When her Catholic father told her that she did not have to complete the assignment, local officials questioned him, concerned about his "hostile intention towards the government" (*reichsfeindlichen Absicht*) in expressing such an opinion to his young daughter. Indignant, the father replied that he had the right as a parent to decide whether or not his child participated in a public act.[14] In Rheine, as in Ürdingen, Catholic parents' decision to refuse to allow their children to take part in school-sponsored Sedan Day celebrations revealed their willingness to exert parental authority in order to prevent children's forced indoctrination into a liberal *Weltanschauung*. While Kulturkämpfer based their claims to young Germans on public good, particularly notions of patriotism and citizenship, Catholic parents defended their private rights to determine their children's future.[15]

The same notions of public good and private rights reappeared in debates over young people's participation in religious festivities and demonstrations. While Catholic parents bristled at state officials' use of their children in patriotic celebrations, they themselves fought to secure

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[13] For a discussion of Kulturkämpfers' beliefs concerning Catholics' insufficient patriotism, see Altgeld, *Katholizismus, Protestantismus, Judentum*; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*.
[14] *SonntagsBlatt,* 10 September 1876.
[15] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Gründer, "'Krieg bis auf's Messer'"; Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School*; Schlossmacher, *Düsseldorf im Bismarckreich*, 38-9.

children's attendance at religious celebrations that in many cases were thinly veiled protests against anti-clerical measures.[16] Likewise, although happy to employ German youth to celebrate the nation, state officials and bourgeois liberals wished to limit their involvement in religious festivities, particularly those that occurred during school hours or in a *gesperrt* cleric's honor. For example, after efforts to suppress the 1875 Pius day celebrations in Rheine led to a violent conflict between the angry Catholic population and the local mayor (who was stabbed by an anonymous hand while trying to calm the crowd), the next year saw the festivities restricted to purely religious celebrations. State officials added insult to injury by prohibiting the schoolchildren from attending even these events.[17] In Münster, the annual "Great Procession" became a source of heated tension after the local government banned school-age children's participation, insisting instead that they attend school on the day in question. When Catholic parents ignored this ban, local officials fined 2,300 parents for their children's truancy, leading to great bitterness and a legal conflict that ultimately worked its way up to the Minister of Culture.[18] Just as the government side attempted to indoctrinate the youth into its vision of proper patriotism and duty towards the state, Catholic parents worked to raise their children as devout Catholics, commited to their faith. For each side, Kulturkampf measures and the protests they provoked represented an opportunity to win the youth over to their vision of Germany, or at least, to prevent their public support for a competing image of the nation.

Young Catholics' involvement in communities' resistance to Kulturkampf measures, especially receptions for *gesperrt* clergymen, proved another area of conflict. When three girls

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[16] On the subversive nature of Catholic religious activities during the Kulturkampf, Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 223-227. See also Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Hiepel, "Der Kulturkampf im Ruhrgebiet"; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu*, 232; Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 136-48; Stambolis, "Nationalisierung trotz Ultramontanisierung," 69-75.

[17] *SonntagsBlatt*, 18 Juni 1876.

[18] *SonntagsBlatt*, 23 Juli 1876, 13 August 1876. See also Gründer "Krieg bis auf's Messer," 138-9.

absented themselves from their private school in order to join the reception honoring Father Classen (arrested for allowing Kaplan Schneiders to conduct Mass in the St. Laurentius Church in Trier), the local school inspector paid a visit to the school to personally emphasize that students were not take part in such demonstrations.[19] This scolding proved to be a slap on the wrist; officials in Prüm closed the local girls' school after several girls missed classes to greet Kaplan Jacob Alt at his return. Arguing that the girls' behavior demonstrated the teachers' inability to maintain order in their classrooms, government officials decided to close the entire school.[20] By keeping children away from Catholic protest actions and requiring their attendance at patriotic celebrations, local officials tried to counter Catholic parents' "negative" influence and instill in young Catholics the proper loyalty towards the nation. When Kulturkämpfer employed state power to weaken the bonds beween young Catholics and clerics while promoting those between the youth and the nation, they also testified to young people's central role in the Kulturkampf as objects of state policy and liberal concern.

All of these examples show Catholic youth caught in the middle of both the ideological conflict between liberalism and Catholicism and the power struggle between state authority and parental rights. In each incident, neither parents nor liberals nor state officials expressed any interest in young Catholics' feelings or couched their position in terms of what the youth actually preferred. Instead, as each side worked to exert its control over Catholic youth, young people became pawns in the cultural battle between the competing visions of German society. However, conflicts over youthful participation in Sedan Day festivities or Catholic religious celebrations

[19] *Sanct Paulinus Blatt*, 24 October 1875.
[20] BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001 Alt. School-children's presence in the crowd that attacked the man who auctioned off Father Tüffers' furniture in Calcar led to similar consternation by local officials. In the violence's aftermath, the district governor closed the local Catholic school and personally appeared in the public school to scold the students. *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung* 16 May 1874; LA NRW Westfalen BR 0007 252; GStA PK 76 13 Abt 12 13 Bd II.

paled in comparision to the Kulturkampf's fiercest battles, those fought over the education of German youth.[21]

At the time of German unification, most Prussian school children attended *Volksschule*, confessionally-divided, single classroom elementary schools where "the curriculum remained geared towards the standards of a premodern society… giving precedence to an education for Christian piety over utilitarian and intellectual goals."[22] Clergymen served as school inspectors in most districts, evaluating teachers, curriculum, students' attendance, and the physical state of the schoolbuilding itself. Given the increased ideological tensions between liberals and Catholics (as well as those between the institutional Church and Prussian state), liberal reformers and government officials wished to transform Prussia's elementary schools, proposing changes to the curriculum and the Church's involvement in the schools while Catholic parents and clerics strove to retain the existing confessional school system and religion's place within it.

The Kulturkampf's educational battles excited the attention of contemporaries and historians for a variety of reasons. Both Kulturkämpfer and their ultramontane counterparts hoped to use schools to indoctrinate German youth into their world view while preventing the opposition from doing the same. But education's role in the Kulturkampf extended beyond the struggle to win the youth's hearts and minds to a wider conflict about the future shape of the nation.[23] The Kulturkampf's school legislation (and the debates surrounding it) turned around

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[21] For many contemporary observers and historians, the Kulturkampf truly began with the 1872 School Inspection legislation that declared school inspectors state employees and allowed the state to dismiss clerical school inspectors. For contemporary accounts, see Ferdinand Schröder, *Vier Jahre Kulturkampf* (Frankfurt: Zimmer'schen, 1876.) Amongst scholarly accounts, see Schmidt-Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf in Deutschland*, 82; Gründer, "Krieg bis auf's Messer"; Schlossmacher, *Düsseldorf im Bismarckreich*, 154.
[22] Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School*, 22.
[23] For a discussion of education's importance to German liberals, see Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*, 163-73; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 367; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*. Til van Rahden argues that liberals' Christian universalism led them to reject claims to "difference" as expressed in confessional schools. See Til van Rahden, "Unity, Diversity, and Difference: Jews, Protestants, and Catholics in Breslau Schools During the

two distinct but inter-related questions. The first involved education's purpose: should education be primarily moral and religious or practical and intellectual. The second concerned the conflicting claims of Church and State to a vested interest in education; reformers wanted to diminish religious influence on education not just to focus on more secular content but also to ensure that schools became nationally-minded institutions that promoted patriotism rather than preserving society's religious divisions. The government also wished to definitively establish schools as state institutions, ending the Church's claim to rights and representation in educational matters. [24] In response, Catholic parents, clerics, and politicians united to defend a Christian conception of education and the Church's role in educational concerns.[25] The conflicts inspired by the Kulturkampf's school legislation aroused tremendous passions on both sides and illustrated young people's primary position in Kulturkampf rhetoric and policy.

In her study of elementary education in Imperial Germany, Marjorie Lamberti portrays the Kulturkampf's educational measures as efforts to modernize and improve public schools by removing religious influences and increasing the professionalization of educators and administrators. She points out the locally-driven impetus for these reforms, seeing local reformers not as "captive to doctrinaire anti-clericalism" but rather motivated by a "strong professional integrity and a dedication to educational reform" that would apply equally to both confessions. She contends that the Kulturkampf, while creating an environment which allowed

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Kulturkampf," in *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany 1800-1914*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 217-242. For Catholics' claim to *Bildung*, see Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany,* 122-156.

[24] According to Lamberti, school reformers wished to "professionalize school supervision by the appointment of full-time school inspectors in the place of the clergy, to weaken the church's influence in the school system by curtailing its right to direct the instruction of religion, and to merge Protestant and Catholic schools into interconfessional schools, providing an education that would dissolve religious particularism and cultivate German national consciousness and patriotic feeling." Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School,* 40. See also Becker, "Liberale kulturkampf Positionen und politischer Katholizismus"; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 367.

[25] Arbeitskreis Für Zeitgeschichte Münster (AKKZG), "Katholiken zwischen Tradition und Moderne. Das katholische Milieu als Forschungsaufgabe," *Westfälische Forschungen* 43 (1993): 588-654, especially p. 611-615; Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*, 174-175, 212-227; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu*, 105-111.

such changes to occur, also created a contentious political climate that prevented them from following the course educational reformers desired; instead of broad based reforms, the laws became a weapon used primarily against politically active Catholic clergymen, applied with wide regional variation.[26]

In many ways, the fight to control educational institutions exemplified the Kulturkampf's cultural dimensions and youth's central importance to the struggle. While Catholics sought to maintain students' religious instruction at all educational levels, their opponents worked to reduce this emphasis on religious teaching to allow for greater attention to secular subjects such as history and the sciences.[27] In his study of the Kulturkampf in Münster, historian Horst Gründer interpreted Provincial Governor Kühlwetter's efforts to transform the Münster Akademie from a bastion of clerical influence into a modern, progressive, educational institute as symbolic of the contested visions of modernity that the Kulturkampf exposed, indicating the importance that control over educational institutions played in the conflict.[28] The Kulturkampf's battles over education involved religion's place in the school, broadly speaking, and encompassed the supervisory powers previously granted to clergymen as well as religious content's place in the curriculum.

In this struggle to control public education's content and administration, the Kulturkampf's educational measures illustrated the different goals the two sides attributed to formal education. In discussing how the school reforms in many cases led to an improvement in schooling's academic quality, especially at the primary level, Lamberti argues for the benefits of replacing clergymen with secular school inspectors, noting that "the secular inspectors proved to

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[26] Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School*, 45-51, quote on p.47.
[27] Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche,* 147; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*, 183-185; Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 235-236; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu,* 110-111.
[28] Gründer, "Krieg bis auf's Messer," 151-152.

be more competent and thorough during the school visitations, more interested in the health and educational achievement of the children, and more active in the improvement of the schools than the clerical inspectors had been." She ultimately concludes that the reforms led to "rapidly improved" school systems in the *Rheinprovinz*.[29] These secular school inspectors advocated a vision of German schools as places that embraced modernity and focused on the secular knowledge students needed to acquire for success in the emerging industrial world.[30] This understanding of education's purpose differed dramatically from the ultramontane vision of schools as places where people learned to be good Christians and good citizens. For many Catholics, schools imparted a basic knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic but their overarching goal was to instill moral virtues in the nation's youth while educating them in the tenets of their faith.[31]

These divergent views on education's purpose led to correspondingly different attitudes towards schooling. Seeking to rehabilitate secular school inspectors' maligned reputation in the Rhine Province, Lamberti demonstrates the two sides' clashing perspectives on formal schooling's importance. She writes "whereas the clerical inspectors allowed children to be excused from school attendance to do farm work or to be employed in industries, the secular inspectors were rigorous in the enforcement of compulsory schooling through the age of fourteen."[32] While secular educators committed to improving the formal education of Germany's youth found such practices incompatible with efforts to educate students for a modern industrial society, clerics functioning as school inspectors often displayed greater concern for students' moral development into hard workers and proper believers, an attitude that allowed for greater

[29] Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School,* 82.
[30] Ibid, 32-35, 47-53; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu*, 110-111.
[31] *Kirchliches Amtsblatt der Diöcese Münster*, 21 January 1875; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 152-3.
[32] Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School,* 82.

leniency in the observance of the school calendar. And, given their arguably better understanding of communities' financial situations, priests proved more sensitive to families' dependence on child labor (on the farm or in the factory) for survival as well as the communty's reluctance to meet the greater financial contribution required to pay higher educator salaries and the costs of improved educational facilities.[33]

Following priests' piece-meal (and often politically motivated) removal as school inspectors in 1872, an 1876 law placed religious instruction under state control and permitted lay teachers with only state certification to take over this sensitive subject without first seeking the bishop's approval. This highly controversial law produced massive public dissent and underscored a tension that reverberated throughout the broader church-state conflict: the effort to curb religion's influence in the schools mirrored the Kulturkampf's larger effort to limit the Church's role in German society. [34] Taking away clerics' ability to conduct religious instruction in the schools relegated the teaching of Church doctrine to hours outside the normal school-day. It also removed clerical influence from the public sphere of the classroom, permitting it only in the private sphere of the home or rectory.

Aside from what many Catholics perceived as an assault on their faith and schools' moral purpose, this law also symbolized the larger escalation of state power that the Kulturkampf represented. In the conflict over what type of education their children received and from whom they received it, Catholic parents saw yet another undesirable intrusion of state power into their

[33] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 152-3; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu,* 110-111; Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 235-8.
[34] Kaiser, "European Anticlericalism and the Culture Wars," 55-64; Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School,* 55-58; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu,* 86-90; Gründer, "Krieg bis auf's Messer"; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 365-369.

lives.[35] Where as previously church and state had (however uneasily) shared power in educational matters, the state alone now claimed the right to regulate school attendance, set the curriculum, appoint school inspectors, and, even more galling, decide who was qualified to teach religious doctrine.[36] In this way, the Kulturkampf's school legislation illustrates the cultural struggle over education's purpose as well as anti-clericals' larger goal of removing religion from the public sphere and asserting the state's primacy over the church. It also demonstrates how youth functioned as objects in these debates, justifying state action and Catholic resistance. Both sides sought to determine the nature of the education Germany's youth received, recognizing that in shaping the youth, one shaped Germany's future.[37]

In addition to motivating educational policy, youth also fulfilled important discursive functions in the conflict, allowing each side to justify their actions in reference to their concern for young people. By portraying youth as vulnerable to corrupting ideologies, liberal anti-clerials and ultramontane Catholics rationalized their actions in the conflict. For example, when seeking to keep youth from public demonstrations in support of the Church, the Prussian government frequently cited potential dangers to youth as a reason to keep them away. In Mülheim a.d. Rhein, a local police ordinance prohibited women and children from taking part in the river journey associated with the Corpus Christi procession, arguing that the ban was instituted "in order to prevent accidents."[38] In a similar vein, local officials often cited safety issues or concern for potential injuries to justify their decision to prohibit cannon firings or gun salutes at a cleric's

[35] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 127-156; Schlossmacher, *Düsseldorf im Bismarckreich*, 38-9.
[36] Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School,* 55-58; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu,* 86-90.
[37] Illustrating education's importance to liberals' vision of modernity, Heinrich von Sybel argued that "Whoever possesses the schools, possesses mastery over the future and over the world." Quoted in Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*, 316.
[38] *Katholische Volkszeitung*, 18 May 1875.

return or to signal the bishop's arrival on his visitation journey.[39] In these instances, officials cloaked anti-clerical aims in the language of paternalism, arguing that the potential danger associated with such activities required the state to restrict young people's participation in them.

However, officials' efforts to disguise their true intentions fooled no one; Catholics viewed such bans as an effort to prevent children from growing up immersed in the Catholic faith by keeping them from important religious (and community) activities. They responded by re-doubling their own attempts to ensure their children's continued involvement in, and commitment to, their faith. Pastoral letters, like the collective missive sent by the Prussian bishops in February 1874, frequently admonished parents to "educate and instruct. . . your children in the Catholic faith with doubled care so that they persist in the same faith."[40] The Catholic press also encouraged Catholic parents to express their loyalty to the Church, arguing that parents' activism made a strong impression on their children and conveyed to them the importance of defending their faith.[41]

Catholic polemicists also contested the veracity of the state's paternalistic concern for young people, arguing that the measures against the Church harmed German youth far more than any religious teaching might have. In fact, the Catholic side contended that the Kulturkampf contributed to young German's moral degredation.[42] In particular, ultramontanes stressed that clerics' incarceration sent the wrong message to the youth by removing imprisonment's stigma. How, the Catholic press asked, could prison be shameful when so many priests received jail

[39] *SonntagsBlatt*, 12 July 1874.
[40] *SonntagsBlatt,* 1 March 1874.
[41] *Westfälisher Merkur*, 18 April 1874. An article praising Catholic men for their participation in deputations to Münster's Bishop Brinkmann assured them that their presence at these events would live on in their children's proud memories.
[42] BAM Nachlässe Wilhelm Cramer A 21 Kulturkampf; GStA PK I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. Ia, Abt I, Nr 111 Bd III 1876-1881 MdgA B 354/ No 168 (270).

sentences?[43] Criticizing the Marienthal cloister's forced dissolution, the *Westfälisher Merkur* alluded to anti-clerical policies negative impact on young Germans. The paper pointed out that the orphans living there would be forced to follow the nuns into exile, asking whether life in France would allow these youngsters to "imbibe a fervent and purer patriotism" than remaining in Germany under the nun's care.[44]

Ultimately, both sides in the conflict justified their position by claiming that their actions stemmed from concern for the youth and a desire to ensure the nation's proper future. For the government, banning young people from protests and other Kulturkampf demonstrations "for their own safety" offered a convenient rationale for their efforts to prevent young Catholics' "indoctrination" into a "*reichsfeindlich*" faith. Meanwhile, the Catholic side pointed to the anti-clerical laws' negative effects on the youth's morality, arguing that clerics' persecution meant that many young people grew up without proper religious instruction and ran the risk of losing their moral compass and loyalty to the state.[45] Despite their opposing viewpoints and goals, both sides depicted their actions as efforts to protect vulnerable youth from the opposition's corrupting influences. This vision of the Kulturkampf as primarily an effort by both sides to defend the youth illustrates the central position that young people occupied in the cultural struggle.

Ironically enough, while citing the struggle's harmful impact on young people to bolster their respective positions, both camps also used discursive images of youth to play down the conflict's seriousness. Catholic polemicists seeking to refute a negative press report or minimize

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[43] Kaplan Peter Böwer remembered his own imprisonment in Trier, describing how, as the jailed clerics walked from their cells to the courtyard for their daily exercise, they encountered a young man, 14 or 15 years old, entering the jail. Namborn's Father Isbert asked him what crime he had committed to have landed in the prison. The youth replied, "It is no shame to be in prison; even priests are here!" BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Böwer.

[44] *Westfälisher Merkur,* 18 September 1873.

[45] BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001 Büsch; *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 6 January 1874.

a violent protest's consequences often "blamed" youthful perpetrators in order to deflect negative attention. After a violent confrontation between the mayor and an angry Catholic crowd over the Pius Day celebration in Rheine led to the mayor's stabbing, the *Trierische Volksblatt* sought to gloss over the incident. The paper blamed the liberal press for exaggerating the event's severity, claiming that "the liberal press [*Draht*] had nothing better to do than to exaggerate this stabbing into a "knifing" and to make Catholics responsible for the act of one bad lad."[46]

Similarly, in the court proceedings that followed Chaplain Schneiders's violent arrest from the altar of Trier's St. Laurentius Church, Catholic defendants downplayed their own actions against the police by blaming the incitement to violence on an unidentified "young boy." When questioned by the judge regarding his actions in the church, defendant Peter Marz denied his own involvement in the melee, testifying instead that "a boy cried 'Blood must flow' and I wanted to slap him in the face. Respectable people did not call for such things."[47] In both of these incidents, Church supporters camouflaged Catholics' troublesome actions by shifting the blame to a discursive boy, laying the responsibility for untoward behavior at his feet. In some cases, the Catholic press went a step further, using these discursive youth to contrast good Catholics' proper behavior, as did the *Germania* in its reporting on supposed "excesses" against government officials in Plutznitz. The paper argued that no"excesses" had occurred; instead a few boys had gathered stones, intending to throw them, but older men prevented this foolhardy act of defiance.[48]

Employing young boys as a discursive tool resembles a similar practice described by Margaret Anderson in her work on voting patterns in Germany. Anderson discusses the Catholic

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[46] *Trierische Volksblatt*, 30 June 1875.
[47] *Mosella*, 25 February 1875.
[48] *Germania*, 17 March 1875.

press's use of the "good Catholic woman" as a rhetorical device for voicing criticism of the government or local leaders. She refers to this discursive tactic as "a useful political fiction into whose mouths commentary was put whenever a Centrum author or speaker wished to interject the voice of healthy common sense, or indeed, the voice of the community as a whole."[49] Like Anderson's "good Catholic woman", Catholics and the ultramontane press used "youth," often young boys, as a scapegoat for the Catholic faithful's thoughts and actions. Letting the words (or deeds) come from "the mouths of babes," innocents who had not yet learned to lie or deceive, lent such pronouncements the air of undeniable truth. This strategy also transferred undesirable actions or impermissible critiques away from actual Catholics and on to a group whose social position in the community allowed them to express "improper" ideas (read: the community's true feelings) without suffering the consequences of such public speech. When situations became tense, "young boys" frequently bore the blame for violent or defiant actions against state officials, especially when such actions threatened to bring harsh consequences for the faithful.

But Catholicism's defenders were not alone in their efforts to shift responsibility for violent Kulturkampf incidents from actual Catholics to discursive youthful bogeymen. Government officials often pursued the same strategy but for different reasons. For those charged with maintaining order while enforcing anti-clerical legislation, blaming "excesses" on anonymous youth and overly-emotional women allowed representatives of state power to cast themselves and their constituency in a better light.[50] Rather than acknowledging the very real (and often quite effective) resistance to Kulturkampf measures offered by local populations, government officials used these discursive figures to discredit popular resistance and downplay their own inability to adequately enforce decrees against clergymen.

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[49] Anderson, *Practicing Democracy,* 126-9.
[50] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 224-231.

When a violent crowd gathered outside of the priest's home in Polch, angry at his government-friendly attitude and lack of visible support for the area's popular ultramontane Kaplan Volk, the gensdarmes on the scene described the crowd as composed of "shrews and youth, particularly young men of school-leaving age."[51] While perhaps only women and young people had joined this particular protest, the fact that when the crowd became violent, attempting to force their way into the ailing priest's residence, it was the priest's housekeeper who succeeded in forcing them back (the gensdarmes had already retreated to a near-by residence) meant that portraying the crowd in this way could be an attempt to lessen the disturbance's severity while excusing the gensdarmes' failure to maintain order.

At other times, reports left no doubt that officials attempted to blame disturbances on "women and youth" rather than admitting the extent to which the whole population (and especially Catholic men) stood behind their clergymen.[52] By blaming youngsters, particularly young males, those charged with enforcing Kulturkampf legislation could make light of the incidents, concealing the extent of Catholic disapproval of the anti-clerical campaign while also attributing misdeeds to actors viewed as hotheads likely to instigate minor trouble without posing a serious threat to law and order.

Ultimately, state officials and ultramontane apologists blamed Kulturkampf incidents on discursive youth for much the same reason they blamed them on women; both groups represented emotion-driven irrationality and, as a result, both groups enjoyed a special "license"

[51] LHAK Bestand 655, 33 Nr 776, 15 April kgl Reg to BM Driesch.
[52] For example, the official report on Kaplan Schmidt's arrest in Andernach reduced the grieving crowd to "the moaning and wailing of women and girls," thereby allowing the official to report that no significant disturbances occurred, despite the fierce loyalty all villagers showed Schmitz and that clearly contradicts Schmitz's own account. LHAK Bestand 403, Nr. 10816; BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001 Schmitz.

or toleration for disorder that Catholic men did not enjoy.[53] Attributing acts of violence or disobedience to youth and/or women made such behavior less meaningful and threatening for anti-clerical legislation's supporters and opponents. For government officials, reporting that angry crowds were composed of women and youth rendered them less threatening to government policy while also excusing local authorities' failure to quell the disturbance more forcibly. For Catholic polemicists, employing the bogeymen of discursive "youth," especially boys, entitled by youth and gender to a bit of mischief, allowed them to distinguish between the actions of up-standing Catholic men and the uncontrolled (and uncontrollable) passion of women and youth, thus offering a chance to save face for the Catholic side when Kulturkampf protests produced undesirable violent results.

Although Catholic youth, like women, played an important discursive role in how each side justified and explained Kulturkampf measures and popular reactions to them, young people's role in the Kulturkampf extended beyond clever rhetorical strategies, reaching to the conflict's heart and revealing it as a literal 'struggle for culture.' At stake in the Kulturkampf was not just the relationship between Church and State but a much larger battle between competing ideologies. Both sides in the struggle assigned youth a central role in the conflict, viewing them as valuable commodities to be fought over and the living embodiment of Germany's future, a vision of youth that made their presence at Sedan day festivals or religious processions subjects of passionate debate. Similarly, the need to mold young people's world views inspired the educational battles, making them the conflict's fiercest struggles and revealing young people's position as objects of both camps' policies and rhetoric. However, despite adults' efforts to control youthful involvement in the Kulturkampf, young people had their own opinions about the

[53] For women, see Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe. Vol I 1500-1800* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 459-472; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 229-231.

struggle and their own reasons for activism. It is to those motives and youthful activism's unique forms that the next section turns.

An Uncertain Place in a Changing World: Understanding Youth Activism

Thus far, this chapter has focused on how both anti-clericals and ultramontanes placed young people at the conflict's center, using them to justify anti-clerical legislation (and resistance to it), while also making young people's lives subjects of policy and debate. While illustrating the Kulturkampf's cultural importance, these debates and discursive strategies reveal little about why Catholic youth themselves took part in the conflict, a topic that, along with youthful activisms' unique forms, has received limited scholarly attention.[54] Certainly historians writing about the Kulturkampf mention young people's presence at community protests and note particularly daring or memorable acts of youthful support for clerics.[55] However, sustained analysis of young Catholics' Kulturkampf activism, its unique forms and motivations, remains a neglected aspect of the conflict's history. David Blackbourn's work on Marpingen offers an important exception to this inattention. In his discussion of the 1876 Marian apparitions, Blackbourn notes that the seers' youth and gender conformed to larger nineteenth-century patterns favoring the young, particularly girls. He argues that young people's predominance

[54] As the previous section illustrated, numerous scholars have explored young people's roles as objects of Kulturkampf policies and rhetoric. Young people appear as the motivation for both sides' actions in the conflict. However, few of these works address young people's own activism. For example, for works that discuss Catholicism's focus on ministering to youth, see Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*, 169-175, 212-224; Damberg, *Moderne und Milieu*, 90-93; Klöcker "Göttliches wissen" für das römisch-katholische Mädchen"; Krause, *Marienkinder;* Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 113-115; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 73-81.
[55] For works that mention young people's presence at protests without necessarily analyzing their activism's unique dimensions, see Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety"; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*, 246-263; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu*; Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 121-153; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 209-252; Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 253-260. While not specifically addressing Kulturkampf activism but highlighting young people's roles in establishing confessional identity, Dietrich, *Konfession im Dorf*, 132-136.

amongst nineteenth-century visionaries suggested “subversive possibilities;” perhaps “the children were . . . revenging themselves, more or less consciously, on the hard adult world.”[56] Blackbourn’s work sheds light both on young people’s unique opportunities for protest and the factors that motivated their protest, issues that otherwise have attracted little scholarly attention.

In response to this historical inattention, this section focuses on young Catholics, asking what factors motivated them to intervene in the conflict, publicly proclaiming their loyalty to threatened clerics and expressing their defiance of state policy. Certainly, some young people participated in protests simply because their parents told them to; however, accounts of youthful activism, like the one that began this chapter, frequently stress that young Catholics acted of their own volition. While these assertions may well be after-the-fact attempts to protect parents or other adults from legal repercussions, such claims may also be entirely truthful as young Catholics had their own reasons for joining the cultural struggle.

The Kulturkampf affected youth in distinctive ways, presenting them with particular challenges and opportunities unique to their lived experiences. For example, because Kulturkampf laws primarily affected regular parish priests, many communities suffered the loss of their cleric, leaving them without regular access to spiritual care.[57] While this situation affected all Catholics in the community, a cleric’s absence had distinctive meanings for Catholic youth.

Perhaps most importantly, a cleric’s arrest or banishment prevented young Catholics from partaking in important symbolic rituals and rites of passage. Chief among these rituals was First

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[56] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 12. See also Harris, *Lourdes*.
[57] In the Trier diocese by 1881, 230 out of 731 parishes had lost their cleric, leaving 142,000 Catholics without any pastoral care and another 150,000 receiving only limited care. The diocese had 816 active clerics in 1874; by 1881 only 520 remained. BAT 86 021 Kulturkampf in Preussischen Rheinprovinz p. 51. See also See Wolfgang Seibrich, “Introduction,” in *Am Rand des Hochwaldes*, 18.

Communion; without access to a clergyman, Catholic youth often had to forego a religious ritual that in the nineteenth-century also signaled a child's transition into an adult. Historian Andreas Gestrich argues for First Communion's importance to Catholic youth, noting that it marked their transition from children into adults in Church matters, as well as their new status as single people within their communities.[58] Thus First Communion had religious and secular meanings, both of which indicated childhood's end and the onset of young adulthood, a key period in young people's lives.

When anti-clerical laws' enforcement resulted in a community's loss of a priest, this loss denied Catholic youth this crucial rite of passage, leaving them in a state of limbo, lacking the traditional cultural recognition of their new status. Given this ritual's highly symbolic meaning for Catholic young people, their efforts to defend priests and defy state measures that would remove priests from their communities are hardly surprising.[59] Defense of a beleaguered cleric also meant defending the village's cultural practices, rites that often had particular meaning for the youth.

Furthermore, First Communion ceremonies assumed even greater symbolic meaning in the second half of the nineteenth-century as the social and economic changes taking place in Germany also affected the the transition from childhood to adolesence's secular markers. In earlier times, First Communion ceremonies symbolized schooling's end and a young person's preparation for their adult roles, particularly in the world of work. For example, boy and girls normally received a set of new clothes that demonstrated this transition. Likewise, young men

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[58] Andreas Gestrich, *Traditionelle Jugendkultur und Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986), 75-77. See also Klöcker, "Göttliches wissen" für das römisch-katholische Mädchen," 304; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 437; Schaser, "Gendered Germany," 133.

[59] In his memoirs, one Catholic described First Communion as "the most beautiful day of a child's life." Rektor Schmitz, *Ortsgeschichte von Wiesbach* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei, 1936), 187.

frequently began their apprenticeships after their First Communion, a further sign of their new "adult" status. However, the demands of an industrial economy altered this pattern; young people of both sexes often sought work in factories or other forms of paid labor. Rather than experiencing the increased independence associated with a trade apprenticeship, young men found themselves still living at home, subject to their parents' rules.[60] Thus, as economic factors conspired to deny Catholic young people the secular indications of their adulthood, Catholic youth often attached greater value to religious ceremonies, and protested anti-clerical measures that threatened access to them.[61]

Young girls arguably bore the brunt of this economic transition for several reasons. First, increased farm yields frequently stemmed from labor-intensive means that fell disproportionally on women and girls in farming families.[62] Secondly, textile industries' rise meant that factory work became a reality of many girls' lives once they finished with their schooling while the putting-out system's expansion brought this laborious work to areas without formal factories. Finally, the changing economy led many families to provide additional schooling for their male children; girls often had to take paid work in or out of the home in order to pay for their brother's schooling or replace his lost wages.[63] All of these factors meant that unlike their male counter-parts, young girls experienced the increased burden of work and lack of free-time.[64] As a result, the release from the harsh demands of daily life granted by their participation in Church rituals,

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[60] Gestrich, *Traditionelle Jugendkultur,* 67-71, 75-77, 120; *Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte*, 113-114.

[61] Gestrich also argues that in many cases youth functioned as the guardians of village culture, defending in particular the observance of the religious holidays that governed time in the village even as these same practices lost their meaning for adults. *Traditionelle Jugendkultur,* 38.

[62] Gestrich, *Geschichte der Familie im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert*, 104; Jones, *Gender and Rural Modernity*, 24-36; Heidi Wunder, *Die bäuerliche Gemeinde in Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 134. For a similar discussion of wage work's impact on gendered divisions of labor, see Laura Thatcher Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 3-38

[63] Schaser, "Gendered Germany," 133. 90% of girls received no formal education beyond their fourteen year.

[64] Mary Jo Maynes, Birgitte Søland, Christina Benninghaus, eds, *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills*, 57-60.

particularly those such as First Communion that signified an increased status in the community, likely took on greater value for young female Catholics.

A quick glance at the sources underscores this ritual's importance to Catholic communities as well as the extensive effort priests, parents, and young people exterted to assure Catholic youth's access to this ritual. Banned priests held First Communion at odd hours or in secret locations just beyond the reach of Prussian officials, often across the border in Luxemburg, Belgium, or the Netherlands.[65] In fact, banned clerics often risked arrest by returning to their parishes to conduct First Communion services, a strong indication of the ceremony's importance in nineteenth-century Catholics' lives.[66] Priests' willingness to risk additional jail time by sneaking into the community to conduct this service illustrates the close relationship between clerics and the youth, and provided Catholic youth with a strong incentive to protest against Kulturkampf laws.

But First Communion was not the only religious rite of passage Kulturkampf laws denied Catholic youth. Prior to civil marriage's introduction in 1875, priests' imprisonment or banishment made marriage difficult for Catholic men and women. Unlike a prohibited Mass that could be held on the sly, away from state officials' prying eyes, marriages were public acts that changed the new couple's status in the eyes of the community but also affected their legal existence in the eyes of the state. As such, marriages constituted irrefutable proof that a cleric had violated the May laws, putting the couple in the uncomfortable position of potentially being forced to testify against their cleric. Furthermore, marriages required not just the wedding

[65] See Monatsberichte der Regierung zu Trier 22 Oct 1874 and 22 April 1875 in GStA PK I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXVIIa Nr. 1, Bd V 1867-1876.
[66] In his memories of the Kulturkampf, Father Wehn recalled with sadness how his imprisonment prevented him from leading Niederberg's children in their First Communion rites. Similarly, Christian Müller's last act as Schöneberg's Kaplan was conducting First Communion for the village children. BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001, 0006, 0010.

ceremony itself but marriage banns' public pronouncement by the priest at three prior church services, a condition that became harder to fulfill as clergymen fell victim to anti-clerical measures. In many Catholic areas, meeting the requirements for a church marriage became increasingly difficult, leaving devout Catholics the undesirable options of foregoing their union's religious sanction and accepting a civil ceremony, postponing their marriage in hopes that the situation would improve, or marrying secretly while continuing to live publicly as single people.[67]

While the impediments to marriage applied to any Catholic wishing to wed, young people composed the majority of those seeking to contract a marriage; once again, anti-clerical laws fell on them with particular harshness. Marriage also represented the last step towards adulthood, the transition from young men and women into full adults;[68] just as they formed an obstacle to the First Communion services that symbolized the end of childhood, Kulturkampf measures again stymied Catholic youth's desires, blocking their path to the altar and the adult status it symbolized. By continually complicating or denying their access to key religious ceremonies and rites of passage, anti-clerical legislation itself contributed to Catholic young people's willingness to protest Kulturkampf laws, especially those that negatively impacted their lives.

A priest's absence deprived Catholic youth not only of participation in important religious rituals, it also robbed them of a friend and companion. Parish priests, especially in rural areas, spent a great deal of time with the young people in the community.[69] In addition to

[67] Father Alles recalled how young couples in his parish married in secret and then continued to live separately, even sitting apart as singles in church services. BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Alles.
[68] Gestrich, *Geschichte der Familie*, 41.
[69] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 73-80. For girls in particular, see Krause, *Marienkinder*, 170-192. Margaret Anderson argues that German priests stood close to the people socially and that the picture of a 'puritanical naysayer [was] not the image most popularly associated with the priest in Germany," Anderson, "The Limits of Secularisation," 657-662.

providing them with religious instruction in state schools, churchmen operated their own schools in many areas, fulfilling a dual role as teacher and priest. Furthermore, as state officials moved to keep recalcitrant clergymen out of the schools, contact between Catholic youth and their pastors moved out of the confines of the school building and into other, less formal settings that often lent an air of adventure and defiance to these gatherings.[70]

Clergy also took part in young people's activities outside of school and church, as the unfortunate example of Father Jox in Brochscheid demonstrates. Father Jox joined a hiking excursion planned for the students by the local teacher. While the teacher was absent from the group for a few moments, Jox used his dog to teach the students a lesson about the Kulturkampf. The dog cowered when offered pieces of bread by "Bismarck" or "Falk," but joyfully devoured the bite offered to him by "the Pope."[71] Although Jox used the hiking trip to relay a message about church-state relations, his presence at such outings illustrates the larger point that clergymen played an active role in Catholic youths' lives, one that permitted young people to see their priest not just as an authority figure who scolded them for failing to learn to the catechism but as a friend and companion who also shared in life's secular joys of life.[72] This special relationship meant that a priest's arrest or banishment struck a double blow to Catholic youth, explaining their willingness to protest the anti-clerical laws.

However, Kulturkampf protests offered youth more than just a way to resist the anti-clerical laws' negative impact on their lives; popular demonstrations against the Kulturkampf

[70] For example, Jacob Alt, Kaplan in Prüm during the Kulturkampf, recalls how attendance at his catechism classes actually increased after he was forbidden to give religious instruction in the school and was forced to hold the lessons in the sacristy. BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001Alt.
[71] *Trierisches Volksblatt*, 28 June 1876. As a result of this "joke," Jox was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for insulting Bismarck and Falk. See also Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*, 142-145; Krause, *Marienkinder*.
[72] For older boys, this secular connection with their priest can be seen in accounts describing how young men often celebrated a cleric's return from prison by joining him later in the tavern and in some cases presenting him with gifts in this more informal setting. LHAK Bestand 442, Nr. 1960 Glees in Wawern.

provided young people with uncommon access to power and attention. Helping fugitive priests perform clandestine religious services or defying local authorities through an elaborate reception for a recidivist priest permitted young people to express their personal defiance of government officials and gave them a voice in local affairs that they normally lacked. As historians have pointed out regarding Marian apparitions, "women, children and youth played just as important a role as male notables" in these expressions of popular religious devotion.[73] Given the great attention placed on commanding young people's loyalty and preventing their indoctrination by the opposing side, youth occupied prominent positions in Kulturkampf protests more broadly. The unique roles they filled in protest actions and considerable discursive attention devoted to them made Catholic youth important figures in the struggle. By elevating their standing in the community, the church-state struggle encouraged young people to get involved.

Furthermore, precisely because efforts to resist the Kulturkampf were unique to each person's age, gender, and status, Catholic youth could feel that their contribution mattered. They aided priests or expressed defiance in specific ways available only to youth. One can hardly imagine grown men and women tromping through the forest, imitating bird calls to alert a banned clergyman to a gensdarm's presence but such behavior fell into the natural purview of young boys who belonged in the forest.[74] Similarly, grown men marching through the community singing Papal songs on Sedan day would likely have found themselves at the mayor's office the next day but the traditional license of youth often shielded young men from similar consequences.[75] Young people had particular, but highly valued roles to play and their

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[73] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*. See also Harris, *Lourdes*.
[74] Harris, *Lourdes*, 104.
[75] Gestrich, *Traditionelle Jugendkultur und Industrialisierung*; Heidi Rosenbaum, *Formen der Familie: Untersuchungen zum Zusammenhang von Familienverhältnissen, Sozialstruktur und sozialem Wandel in der deutschen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1996), 79; Walter Rummel, "Motive Staatlicher und dorflicher Gewaltwendung im 19 Jahrundert. Ein Skizze zum End der frühneuzeitlichen Sozialkultur

contributions' uniqueness lent them an aura of importance. Only *they* could do these things, things their priests, parents, and community needed them to do. Thus, Kulturkampf activism offered young Catholics a chance to make a difference and justified a new claim to recognition, allowing them to be heard rather than just seen.

Participating in protests against anti-clerical laws also empowered Catholic youth, allowing them an acceptrable means through which to vent their displeasure with, and resentment of, an emerging modernity that threatened their place in the world. Germany's economic transformation in the second half of the nineteenth-century placed particular strains on youth who saw their future job prospects dim with the on-set of the world's first economic depression in 1873. Rather than moving into careers that would allow them to gain a degree of independence and in time start families of their own, many families pushed young people to secure paid employment earlier rather than follow the traditional paths of apprenticeship.[76] Thus protesting against their cleric's mistreatment also allowed young people to voice to their own frustrations and anger in a safe and acceptable way.[77]

Finally, Kulturkampf demonstrations allowed young people to participate in the broader cultural struggle to define the new German nation. The onset of modernity, in its economic and cultural forms, endangered young people's traditional place in German society, threatening to destroy their customary claims to power and status without offering anything to replace them. For example, previous generations had acknowledged, however begrudgingly, young men's right

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in der preussichen Rheinprovinz," in *Streitkulturen: Gewalt, Konflikt und Kommunikation in der ländlichen Gesellschaft (16.-19. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Magnus Eriksson und Barbara Krug-Richter (Köln: Böhlau 2003), 157-178.

[76] Gestrich, *Traditionelle Jugendkultur*, 120; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 284-5.

[77] For a similar argument concerning Saarland mine workers and Kulturkampf activism, see Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit," and "Aus des Tages Last."

to police community morals and function as the guardians of communal boundaries.[78] Now, however, an interventionist state sought to claim these powers. An individual's behavior would be subject not to communal mores but to the state's secular laws; transgressions would be punished privately by state officials, not publicly by male youth. Such an attitude chipped away at the privileges formerly attributed to youth and offered a dim vision of the future.

Seen from this perspective, Catholic youth's decision to take up embattled clergymen's cause also reflects an effort to fight against the larger culture changes subsumed under the Kulturkampf measures. Young Catholics decided to take part in Kulturkampf protests because to them, the church-state struggle symbolized the attack on tradition; a priest's arrest or banishment represented real, tangible actions that could be resisted rather than the gradual erosion of tradition against which it was so hard to fight. Young people aided priests and mocked gensdarmes because they could do those things and because these acts offered a way to express their unhappiness with modernization's downside.

Yet, even as these acts permitted youth to defend their traditional world and older privileges, Kulturkampf protests also affected the youth in paradoxical ways. By seeking unique ways to express their opinions and taking bold actions against anti-clerical measures, young people advanced a claim for independence. As sources frequently stress, Catholic youth protested of their own volition. Far from the puppets of ther parents, priests, or teachers, Catholic youth chose to take part in the cultural struggle and acted independently in their clerics' defense. Their actions stemmed not from the will of parents or teachers but from young Catholics' own understanding of how the Kulturkampf affected their lives. By providing a realm for independent

[78] Gestrich, *Geschichte der Familie*, 42; Rummel, "Motive Staatlicher und dorflicher Gewaltwendung im 19 Jahrundert," 166; Sahlins, *Forest Rites*, 35-40, 70-9.

thought and action, the struggle against Kulturkampf legislation created new ways for young people to signal their independence and to maintain their status in a rapidly changing world.

Clerics' Most Daring Supporters? Youth Activism's Distinctive Forms

Far from remaining on the sidelines, Catholic youth intervened boldly and decisively in the Church-State conflict, offering clerics aid and support in ways that only young people could or dared. They took advantage of contemporary assumptions about youthful mischief and irrationality, beliefs that granted them greater license to disregard societal strictures and allowed them to act in ways older Catholics could not. Furthermore, because both sides in the Kulturkampf believed that young people represented the nation's future, thereby assigning them a central place in the cultural struggle and making young people's allegiance a valuable prize to be won, young Catholics fulfilled important ceremonial roles in communities' demonstrations against anti-clerical legislation. Finally, Catholic youth defended clerics and punished those who broke ranks in ways that corresponded to their daily life activities. Exploring youthful activism's distinctive forms improves our understanding of young people's lives in this transitional period, their place within their communities, and how they believed they could most effectively express their support for the Church and its clerics.

First and foremost, Catholic youth played particular roles in communities' reactions to the Kulturkampf because childhood and adolescence were recognized legally and culturally as distinctive stages of life. Tales of young Catholics' activities in the Kulturkampf frequently illustrate how they employed popular ideas about the license of youth and the extra toleration given to behavior perceived as typical youthful exhuberance or normal childish antics. In many

cases, children or young adults risked acts of solidarity with clergymen or defied government authorities' prohibitions in ways unimaginable for older Catholics.

For example, children frequently succeeded in violating police prohibitions to stay away from arrested or returning clerics. At Kaplan Schneiders' June 1874 release from prison, police in Trier attempted to prevent the community from offering him a celebratory homecoming. They succeeded in forcing older Catholics to keep their distance from Schneiders; however, they failed to contain the parish's children, who raced past the policemen and presented Schneiders with bouquets they had gathered for him.[79] When Dieblich's villagers assembled to escort Kaplan Kerpen at his first arrest, the school children formed a circle around their cleric, much to the gensdarm's displeasure; he moved to forcibly dispel them but was stopped by Kerpen's plea to allow a brief escort in order "to avoid a greater evil."[80] Children from Schöneberg responded in a similar manner to Kaplan Müller's arrest; streaming out of the school house and surrounding Müller, they clung to him, refusing to let go, adding to the moment's emotional intensity and the gun-toting mayor's mounting unease.[81] In a final example, after his acquittal on Kulturkampf charges, Vicar Gombert returned to Mehring where he was greeted by the parish's youth, who surrounded him and welcomed him with religious songs, despite his efforts to convince them to return home.[82]

In each of these incidents, children ignored police and gensdarmes' orders and expressed their loyalty to clerics one last time while Catholic adults heeded officials' commands. As the sources note, those charged with maintaining order hardly endorsed this spontaneous youthful

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[79] *Germania*, 8 June 1874.
[80] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0002 Kerpen.
[81] *SonntagsBlatt*, 19 July 1874. See also *Germania,* 4 July 1874; LHAK Bestand 655, 149 Akte 1071 Gesetzwidrig Anstellung von Geistlichen Stromberg.
[82] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0006 Gombert.

activism but they were also loathe to take action to prevent it. In Dieblich, when the gensdarm actually moved to stop the youthful antics, the cleric intervened, pleading for greater leniency for the children in part by reminding the gensdarm of contemporary attitudes towards children. By asking the officer to "avoid a greater evil," Kerpen implied that acts of force directed against children could easily backfire, either by inciting greater violence from the community or by casting an unfavorable light on the officer himself. Clearly, ideas about youth allowed Catholic young people greater freedom to act, permitting them a degree of wiggle room denied Catholic adults.

Children and young adults also defied other behaviorial prohibitions in order to convey their solidarity with their priests, often carrying the news of a cleric's return or impending arrest to the community through spontaneous actions that tested the limits of officials' tolerance. For example, newspaper accounts and clerics' memoirs describe how parish youth held look-outs, ready at the first glimpse of the returning clergyman to alert the community. In Neumagen, despite police efforts to hinder the parish's reception for Josef Anheier, the youth kept vigil on the Mosel's banks, eyes peeled for their beloved Kaplan.[83] Likewise, Kaplan Jacob Alt recalled how Prüm's school children posted themselves at the village's edge to watch for him; upon sighting him, they broke into wild yells, running through the village, calling out the news.[84]

Young boys especially used the tense atmosphere surrounding a cleric's return to mock those tasked with preventing receptions. When gensdarmes sought to prevent Schweich's villagers from celebrating Kaplan Thielen's return from his second arrest, the youth spent the day tormenting the gensdarmes, calling out greetings to an imaginary Kaplan in order to watch

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[83] *Mosella*, 31 May 1874.
[84] BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001 Alt.

them scurry in vain from one spot in the village to another.[85] In a similar act of defiance, children in Neunkirchen a.d. Saar raced to the bell tower and began ringing the bells to alert the community to the gensdarmes' arrival in the village to bring Kaplan Görgen before the local magistrate.[86] (Given the importance communities and the state attached to control of the bells, such actions by children represented a blatant rejection of authority and established practice. The fact that the children appear to have escaped punishment shows the extent of adult toleration for youthful transgressions.)[87] Again, these examples highlight how young Catholics' lived experiences shaped their activism, with Catholic youth showing their devotion in ways that fit the activities of childhood, as well as the extraordinary toleration extended to actions.

The license of youth also applied to childish acts of revenge and retribution that pepper the Kulturkampf's history. Children and younger Catholics used their youthful status to punish those associated with enforcing anti-clerical laws, particularly local schoolteachers. In Prüm, young Catholics held the local teacher accountable for his role in Alt's arrest. Upon learning that the teacher had testified against Alt, they punished him for this infraction through disruptive behavior in the schoolroom.[88] Prüm's teacher was not alone in suffering his pupils' wrath. In Waltrop, both local teachers petitioned for relocation after their testimony against the extremely popular Vikar Maferding turned the community against them. Justifying their request for transfers to his superiors, the village foreman described how "this nonsensical behavior has

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[85] BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001 Thielen. Thielen himself tried prevent an elaborate reception, believing that it would create difficulties with the government for his parishioners.
[86] Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 45.
[87] Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19th-century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). For references to bells rung in priests' defense, see Schwer *Der Kulturkampf am Rande des Hochwaldes*, 71-2; Karl-Heinz Schwarze, *Stadt Werne im Kulturkampf (1872-1887) Teil I: Kampf um Seelen in Stadt, Gesellschaft und Politik in Werne* (Werne: Heimatverein eV, 2005), 61. For their contested use to celebrate Sedan day, see *SonntagsBlatt,* 13 September 1874; BAT Abt. 70, Nr. 5580.
[88] BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001 Alt. The situation only improved when the school inspector convinced the students that the teacher had only testified against Alt under duress and that Alt himself bore him no ill-will.

carried over to the school children and shows its disadvantageous results even amongst the youngest children in that they don't want to respond [to the teachers] and even the best-intended students join in and laugh behind the teachers' backs."[89]

Schoolroom behavior offered young Catholics a unique form of activism. Since teachers often found themselves (to their delight or dismay, depending on their personal ideology) called upon to testify against clergymen or enforce state-mandated policies limiting contact between children and clerics, teachers frequently bore the brunt of young Catholics' displeasure with anti-clerical laws. And, as any who has ever taught well understands, students intent on disruption (and unlikely to suffer any consequences at home for such actions) can quickly transform a classroom environment and make a teacher's life miserable. However, Catholic schoolchildren's defiance and unruly behavior went beyond simply employing the license of youth to voice their sympathies in the Church-State conflict; they also took advantage of their unique position within the community to punish teachers' transgressions in ways older Catholics could not.[90]

Sometimes contemporary ideas about youthful license received more explicit official sanction, as when authorities declined to punish younger Catholics. For example, despite their willingness to bring women from prominent Westphalian Catholic families to trial for having signed the DamenAdresse, the state's attorney notably chose not to press charges against the younger signatories given their tender age.[91] Similarly, the court chose to acquit ("giving them back to their families") six of the seven girls between the ages of fourteen and nineteen charged with participating in an unauthorized demonstration upon Kaplan Büsch's return to Treis.

[89] GStA PK I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. Ia, Abt I, Nr 111 Bd III 1876-1881, Waltrop 20 Jan 1879, Der Amtmann Cherouny.
[90] Waltrop's Catholic adults expressed their displeasure with the teachers in more a more violent manner, threatening the male teacher with physical violence and damaging his property. Ibid.
[91] *SonntagsBlatt*, 19 July 1874; For details of the DamenAdresse, see Chapter One.

Unfortunately, one girl "had reached the fatal age," and as a result suffered the same fate as the men, a five Thaler fine or three days in prison.[92] As the *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* pointed out, the court acquitted the other six girls not because of their innocence but because of their age. In Fulda, twelve thirteen-year-old girls faced charges for violating the Associations Laws after they assembled to greet Domkaplan Weber at his return from prison. Fortunately for these young ladies, the court acquitted them all because, as the *Germania* reported, "they were too young to understand the illegality of their actions."[93]

Certainly, youth did not always exempt young Catholics from the legal consequences of their actions. Many young people suffered fines or prison terms for their actions against Kulturkampf legislation. However, the fact remains that in many cases, their youth did indeed shield younger Catholics from legal accountability, especially when youth combined with gender to exonerate young Catholic girls.

As these examples illustrate, young Catholics often took on distinctive roles associated with their youth. They tormented those charged with enforcing Kulturkampf legislation both because they were in a unique position to do so and because they could often get away with such acts. Young people frequently escaped the consequences of their actions because contemporaries felt that young people possessed less control over their passions, that youth itself made them irrational and emotional, absolving them of responsibility for their actions. As result, then (as now), adults demonstrated a greater toleration for disobedience or acts of defiance from younger Catholics than they did for similar behavior by Catholic adults. Their youthful status not only entitled them to irresponsible and rowdy behavior but in many cases protected them from such

[92] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 1 August 1874.
[93] *Germania*, 1 June 1874.

behavior's consequences. Although not always explicitly stated in the sources, contemporaries saw such behavior as a form of disobedience normal for the young, who, like women, were not viewed as rational actors and thus were held to a different standard.

In addition to embracing youthful license to act in ways older catholics could not, young Catholics also played important ceremonial roles in the conflict. Particularly in light of the high value placed on youthful loyalty, Catholic youth found themselves front and center of their communities' efforts to honor *gesperrt* clerics. For example, Catholic youth played important roles in the well-orchestrated receptions held to honor clerics upon their release, forming a recognized part of these jubilant crowds.[94] The *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* noted with pride that Andernach's school children had gathered at the train station to join their community in welcoming Kaplan Schmitz home from his fourteen day imprisonment.[95] Likewise, in Cochem, school children wearing sashes and carrying flags led the crowd that greeted Kaplan Hansen at his return from imprisonment in Coblenz.[96]

In fact, school children frequently performed highly visible functions, and in some cases, were the only members of the community to speak directly at clerics' receptions. At Father Thöme's reception, Hunolstein's Catholics selected a male youth to express their support for Thöme and their joy at having him back amongst them. In Dieblich a young girl was chosen to read a poem conveying the community's devotion to Kaplan Kerpen before presenting him with a bouquet.[97] Far from ordinary members of the crowd, young Catholics occupied conspicuous

[94] These receptions' political importance was made explicitly clear after a liberal deputy read out a description of one community's elaborate reception during a Landtag session. Deputy Paul Hinschius argued that such receptions made a mockery of state power and should not be tolerated, urging the other deputies to support harsher punishments for recalcitrant priests. See Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 42.
[95] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 17 March 1874.
[96] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 28 March 1874.
[97] *Mosella*, 29 March 1874; For Dieblich, see *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* 26 March 1874.

roles in these celebrations, positions that distinguished them from the community's adult members and publicly illustrated their allegiance to the Church's cause. Furthermore, given young people's importance as cultural capital, their visible roles in these ceremonies reminded anti-clericals which side commanded young Catholics' loyalty.

Younger Catholics also played important roles in other public ceremonies, especially receptions held for bishops or their auxiliaries (*Weihbischöfe)* during official visitations (*Firmungsreise.)* Like the receptions held for priests, Catholic youth figured prominently in these celebrations, which took on heightened political meaning during the Kulturkampf. In one elaborate example, when *Weihbischof* Dr. Kraft travelled to the community of Taben during his 1875 visitations in the Trier diocese, he was met on the roadway by twenty young men, wearing sashes in the Pope's and Bishop's colors. Upon his arrival in Taben, young girls in white greeted him with garland; together with the village's young boys, they escorted him through the flagged and flower-strewn streets to the church, decorated by the community's young women. The village's young men carried colored laterns decorated with the papal coat of arms while a choir sang for their distinguished guest. When Dr. Kraft departed the next day, the same young men again assembled on horseback to escort him out of the village.[98]

On these occasions, as in the receptions for recalcitrant priests, young girls often played highly visible roles in communities' celebrations. In Breyell, a large crowd met Bishop Brinkmann at the city gates but the one hundred young girls dressed in white marching in front of him led Münster's *Sonntags-Blatt für katholische Christen* to describe them as "constituting a procession unto themselves."[99] Clearly, Catholic communities placed great importance on

[98] *Sanct Paulinus Blatt*, 1 August 1875.
[99] *SonntagsBlatt*, 13 June 1875.

demonstrating the active participation of their youth; their presence at such festivities represented a triumph for the Catholic community, publicly conveying the Church's ability to maintain young people's loyalty (as well as its success in denying that loyalty to Kulturkämpfer and their vision of German society.)

The symbolic importance of young people's partisanship extended beyond these highly formal festive occasions; Catholic youth also offered public proof of their devotion to clerics through more mundane acts of reverence that also demonstrated young people's agency, expressing their resistance in ways that their presence at community ceremonies could not. (While Catholic parents could likely "force" their child to take part in formal receptions, these less formal activities illustrate that Catholic youths' activism grew from their own initiative.) For example, in the village of Alken, "in order to prove their love for their banned priest," the community's young men and women pruned and unbound all of the vines in Father Ehses's vineyards.[100] Performing acts of service to their clerics as a protest against Kulturkampf measures was not limited to Alken's young people; thirty young people from Treis conveyed their loyalty to Kaplan Julius Büsch when they arrived at his residence to chop his firewood.[101] Similarly, while in Saarbrücken for the draft lottery, Dudweiler's young men purchased their Kaplan's watch at auction and returned it him "in a joyful celebration."[102] Through these small but conspicuous acts of devotion, Catholic youth found their own unique ways to honor clergymen threatened by the May laws and publicly express their disagreement with government policy.

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[100] *Mosella*, 19 April 1874. In the Mosel region, the vines are cut back and often twisted or shaped into hearts or other forms.

[101] Büsch's firewood had quite a history. Denying Büsch's legitimacy as Treis's cleric, officials confiscated and auctioned off the wood the parish normally owed their clergyman. The community responded to this snub against their Kaplan by purchasing the wood for 1Thaler at auction and delivering to Büsch in a triumphal procession involving five decorated wagons. BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0004 Büsch.

[102] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Schmitt.

In addition to acts of service, young Catholics employed older customs of deference, now invested with a new symbolic importance, to express their support for clerics. Celebrating a cleric's *Namenstag* allowed the parish's young people to convey their love and loyalty to their clergyman. Held on the anniversary of a Catholic's patron saint's death, these festivities celebrated a person's connection with the Church through their particular *Namenspatron*, the saint after whom they were named. For clerics (as for many lay Catholics), their *Namenstag* replaced their actual birthdays as the day on which they received gifts and well-wishes from friends and family.[103] Traditionally, communities celebrated their cleric's *Namenstag* with songs, small gifts, torch-light processions, the composition of poems in his honor, perhaps even gun-salutes (*Böllerschüsse*.) In many areas, youth played active roles in these community celebrations, often greeting the cleric at his residence in the morning to escort him to Mass amidst the singing of hymns.[104]

Once activities in which the entire village might have shared under the direction of the school teacher, these displays of honor became hotly contested during the Kulturkampf. In the district of Daun, the teacher, fearing to be seen as "*reichsfeindlich*," refused to participate in planning or celebrating the priest's *Namenstag*. As a result, the young people themselves, "encouraged by their parents and older siblings" assumed responsibility for the festivities, organizing gifts and delivering them to the cleric.[105] Similarly, after his return from six weeks'

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[103] See Thomas Mergel, "Die subtile Macht der Liebe: Geschlecht, Erziehung und Frömmigkeit in katholischen Rheinischen Bürgerfamilien 1830-1910," in *Frauen unter dem Patriarchat der Kirchen: Katholikinnen und Protestantinnen im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert*, ed. Irmtraud Götz v. Olenhusen (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), 22-47, 35.

[104] For example, Bernkastel's Catholics honored their *gesperrt* cleric, Kaplan Joseph Stölben by publishing several poems in the local ultramontane paper. Each poem carried well-wishes from a particular group within the Catholic community. Bernkastel's men, women, youth preparing for their first Communion, boys at the Knabenschule, the young women's club, etc, all sent Stölben their own separate greeting. *Mosella,* 19 March 1876. For a description of *Namenstag* celebrations, see *Sanct-Paulinus Blatt,* 20 June 1875, Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 119-123.

[105] *Sanct-Paulinus Blatt*, 20 June 1875.

imprisonment in Saarbrücken, the young people of Ittersdorf and Düren arrived at Kaplan Johann Gondorf's home on the eve of his *Namenstag* "to express their love and devotion." Suddenly, the mayor arrived to break-up the "illegal demonstration," demanding that the youth return home. When they assembled outside of the rectory again the next morning to observe the local tradition of escorting the cleric to Mass on his *Namenstag*, the mayor included this "continuation of the previous night's demonstration" in his official report.[106] As these examples show, the Kulturkampf's transformation of these customary acts of devotion into political acts of defiance offered Catholic youth distinctive ways to protest government policy. Through their public and ceremonial nature, these acts of reverence stressed Catholic youth's support for clerics, and by extension, their rejection of state Kulturkampf measures.

The Gendered Nature of Youthful Activism

While reliance on the license of youth and involvement in highly public activities characterized youthful Kulturkampf activism, allowing them to participate in the conflict in ways distinct from Catholic adults, young Catholic's activism was itself varied. Just as gender divided male from female activism, and age separated younger Catholics' participation from that of adults, gender and age also qualified youthful Kulturkampf activism, distinguishing young men's and women's roles in the conflict, separating them from those of younger children. Illustrating once again how every Catholic had a distinctive role to play in the Kulturkampf, young people's protests reflected their different stations in life and the community's differing expectations of them.

[106] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 21 July 1874.

For young Catholic women and girls, Kulturkampf activism reflected gendered ideas about appropriate female behavior while occasionally allowing them license to disobey these gendered dictates. Girls and young women overwhelming played supportive roles in the conflict, decorating churches and altars in preparation for a cleric's return from prison and assuming decorative roles at priests' receptions. For example, almost every community's reception included young girls dressed in white who served as a welcoming committee for the recalcitrant priest.[107] These girls greeted the cleric and offered him a symbol of honor, be it flowers, garlands or a crown of laurels. For example, when Kaplan Thielen returned to Schweich, thirty to forty white-clad school girls greeted him; one of the school children offered him a short speech of welcome, and then, encircled by a garland carried by the children, Thielen proceeded from the Mosel towards the church.[108] Similarly, after a complicated ruse designed to fool the pursuing gensdarmes charged with preventing a public reception, Kaplan Stölben arrived safely in Bernkastel, where "four girls dressed in white greeted him with a lovely poem" before presenting him with a silver crucifix as a sign of the community's esteem and support.[109] As mentioned earlier, girls dressed in white also welcomed clerics' on their *Firmungsreise*. While not specific to Catholic celebrations (secular fests frequently made use of similar imagery), the inclusion of girls dressed in white called to mind images of purity and chastity,[110] female virtues continually emphasized to young girls.

In addition to their supportive ceremonial presence, collections taken up on behalf of banned clergymen also allowed young female Catholics to convey their support for their priests.

[107] For a few examples of a wide-spread practice, see *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung* 9 Juli 1873; *Sanct Paulinus Blatt* 1 August 1875; BAT Abt. 86 Nr. 0001.
[108] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 12 March 74.
[109] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 21 April 1874. See also "Neumagen," *Mosella,* 31 May 1874.
[110] For girls as popular symbols, see Maynes, et al, *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills*, 14. For a discussion of the Kulturkampf's symbolism, see Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 153. For mention of white-clad girls in secular festivals, see Müller, *Die Geschichte der Stadt St. Wendel*, 252.

In an effort to alleviate *gesperrt* clerics' financial pressures, young women and girls often went from house to house, collecting money for the cleric from family, friends, and relatives. Although usually carried out within the private sphere, these efforts sometimes attracted the attention of local officials who quickly moved to prohibit them. For example, in a report to the Prussian government about potentially subversive organizations in the area, the mayor's office in Polch detailed the *Marienbund für Jungfrauen's* activities, describing the forty-member group, composed of "mostly girls and young women", as "a child of the local fanaticism." The report also noted that the group collected money for the banned clergyman Volk and directed their energies on his behalf.[111] Authorities in Bernkastel likewise concerned themselves with the activities of young girls in the village, charging two girls with taking up an illegal collection for Kaplan Stölben and fining each one five Thaler for the offense.[112] In Wegberg, seven young women found themselves on trial as a result of their efforts to solicit donations from friends and family to buy a gift in anticipation of Kaplan Wolff's return from imprisonment. Although they had only solicited donations within private homes, the girls' actions implied that they "intended through the collection to stage a demonstration against the Prussian government."[113] Although most communities made "love offerings" during religious services to off-set the heavy financial burden that Kulturkampf laws imposed on recalcitrant clerics, individually motivated and executed efforts to raise money for a cleric tended to be the unique prerogative of girls and young women rather than a task performed by adults.

At times, young Catholic women cleverly utilized gendered beliefs to convey both their loyalty to clergymen and defiance of anti-clerical legislation. For example, on March 17, 1876,

[111] LHAK Bestand 655, 33 Nr 776, #1426.
[112] Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 89.
[113] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung*, 16 June 1873.

Nienborg's Kaplan Büning, a fiery young cleric who played on the community's class divisions to keep Kulturkampf tensions running high, was brought before the local court on charges of disturbing the peace. In a sign of devotion, several young women employed as weavers organized and led a public prayer for him in the church (which they had also decorated on his behalf.) They later joined a much larger group of young people of both sexes that escorted the Kaplan under song from his residence to the church for a special service of thanksgiving.[114]

In this incident, the young women used the public prayer service to voice their unhappiness with the state's Kulturkampf policies and what they viewed as the harassment of their clergyman. By decorating the church and leading a special prayer service on his behalf, these older girls made a very public statement that clearly possessed political implications (opposition to government action against Büning) but the manner in which they expressed their partisanship reflected their age (cooperation within a particular cohort) and gender (the use of prayer within the private realm of the church instead of a charivari or other public form of political expression.) The young women took advantage of the forum gender allotted them to send a political message; their partisianship reflected young women's traditional communal roles (since women were responsible for decorating churches and altars),[115] but their actions' timing (the day of Brüning's release) lent this customary behavior a decidedly oppositional character.

However, Catholic girls and young women did not shrink from entering the public sphere in order to make a political statement. After Kaplan Schneiders' arrest, signs appeared in Trier's

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[114] LA NRW Westfalen Nr 502 Staatsfeindlichen Agitation Kap Buening 1875-1877. Local officials viewed these actions as a public demonstration against the government and brought at least three of the girls, ages 22-25, in for questioning but it remains unclear if any charges were actually filed. The prayer service, although "improper" (in the district attorney's opinion) was not a violation of any law and any effort to prosecute the youth for the escort would require the baliff to demonstrate that they had violated the association laws (that it was actually a demonstration) and ascertain the identities of those involved.
[115] Atkin and Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People*, 187; Dietrich, *Konfession im Dorf*, 132-138; Klöcker, "'Göttliches wissen' für das römisch-katholische Mädchen," 304-306.

streets, threatening death to the police officers involved. According to the *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung*, two girls, aged fourteen and eighteen, had created the placards "of their own initiative, in order to give vent to their feelings."[116] In fact, numerous reports mention young female Catholics' willingness to express their solidarity with clerics by publicly criticizing those enforcing Kulturkampf legislation. In some cases, girls and young women also agitated for enthusiastic and outspoken resistance to those measures. In Bernkastel, Margaretha Petry became a thorn in the side of police and local officials for her outspoken support of Kaplan Stölben (himself a particularly recidivist priest.) When local authorities placed notices throughout the town announcing a ban on public receptions at Kaplan Stölben's next release, Petri not only mocked those charged with publicizing the ban but also incited school children to join her in taunting the officials. Margaretha ended up before the local court, charged with disturbing the peace and inciting others to public nuisance, where she received a fine of 10 Thalers or three days imprisonment. [117] In this example, Margaretha not only expressed her own displeasure at the state's treatment of Stölben but also drew others into the conflict, encouraging younger children to show an equal disrespect for state policy and those charged with carrying it out.

Margaretha was not alone in her efforts to convince others to join her in flauting the officials' authority. In Schweich, eleven young women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six faced charges for violating the Associations law and ignoring orders to disperse on Kaplan Thielen's April 8th return. At trial, the prosecutor depicted one of the girls as the incident's main agitator since she had convinced the others to ignore the gensdarmes' warning to turn back,

[116] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung*, 7 November 1874.
[117] *Mosella*, 10 Mai 1874 and 14 Mai 1874; see also BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Stölben. Later the same day, Margaretha joined the crowd that welcomed Stölben at his return and was one of eighteen people charged with violating the Associations law and failing to disperse after a warning from the authorities for which she was sentenced to a week's imprisonment.

proclaiming that if they loved their religion, they would stay.[118] Upon their conviction, the young women took their public defiance of Kulturkampf measures a step further by failing to show up voluntarily to serve their eight-day prison terms, forcing gensdarmes to come and escort them to prison.[119] Here again, one young woman successfully convinced others to join her in disobeying state authority, justifying such behavior with her "love of religion". Furthermore, by refusing to serve their sentences voluntarily, the young women turned their arrests into a public sensation (and a further hassle for local officials) by leaving the government no alternative but to send gensdarmes to forcibly take them to prison.

The specific roles that young women and girls played in Kulturkampf protests reveal~~s~~ a few important points. First, while contemporaries often failed to adequately distinguish between girls and young women when writing of their behavior, age seems to have divided young girls' activism from that of older girls, with younger girls' overwhelmingly limited to supportive and ceremonial functions.[120] Catholic communities used young school age girls in largely ornamental ways, greeting clergymen and sometimes offering gifts. Otherwise, young girls as independent actors seldom appear in the sources, likely due to their closer confinement within the home.[121] Older girls, however, particularly those over fourteen, out of school and in employment, often appear particularly willing to defy authority in support of clerics, sometimes more openly that others.

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[118] *Germania*, 9 July 1874. See also BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Thielen.
[119] *Germania*, 18 August 1874.
[120] Press reports and memoirs often use the imprecise term "Mädchen" that generally means "girl" but could apply to young women well into their late teens and early twenties.
[121] Gestrich, *Traditionelle Jugendkultur*, 93; Klöcker, "'Göttliches wissen' für das römisch-katholische Mädchen," 303-304; Bryan Ganaway, *Toys, Consumption, and Middle-Class Childhood in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), 48-64.

Secondly, this distinctive defiance suggests that for older Catholic girls/ young Catholic women, Kulturkampf activism provided a unique forum through which to step outside of the otherwise narrow constraints of their daily lives. Raised with societal expectations of obedience, submissiveness, and exemplary piety, "girls have typically been warned against attracting public attention of any kind . . . Public attention paid to a girl was a sign of her failure to maintain privacy and respectability."[122] However, the Kulturkampf's unique conditions allowed young women to rebel against these strictures while justifying their 'misbehavior' as pious deeds in defense of religion.

Like young female Catholics, young men and boys conveyed their partisanship in ways compatible with society's gendered expectations and that reflected their traditional roles in communal life. Young male Catholics expressed solidarity and defiance through acts that defended their traditional "rights" to patrol the boundaries of both the community and acceptable behavior, punishing those who transgressed either.[123] Furthermore, their activism also resembled their daily activities; while decorating an altar corresponded to young girls' normal domestic duties, young boys' activism reflected their greater access to the public world beyond home and hearth.[124]

For example, young men and boys appear in the more impromptu (and often violent) crowds that tormented clergymen who failed to show proper loyalty to the Church. When an angry crowd gathered to protest the Marienkirche's use by Bochum's Old Catholics, "several young men insulted and spat on the (Old Catholic) pastor, Dr. Hochstein." Nine boys were caught breaking the church's windows, three of whom later spent time in jail for destruction of

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[122] Maynes, et al, *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills,* 12; Gestrich, *Geschichte der Familie*, 40-42, 106-110.
[123] Dietrich, *Konfession im Dorf*, 132-136; Sahlins, *Forest Rites*, 35-40.
[124] Margarete Flecken, *Arbeiterkinder im 19. Jahrhundert: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung ihrer Lebenswelt* (Weinheim: Beltz, 1981), 160-162; Harris, *Lourdes*, 104; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 114-115.

property and public nuisance.[125] Likewise, the *Eucharius* described how five people from Mannebach, including three fifteen year old boys, faced charges of insulting a priest who had remained loyal to the government. The boys each received a two week prison sentence for their actions against the "*Staatspfarrer*".[126] When Catholic communities sought to register their resentment against priests who fell on the wrong side of the conflict, male youth frequently played prominent roles in these disturbances.

Young men also emerge as active participants in the crowds that gathered when government officials auctioned off clerical property. When the attempted auction of Münster's Bishop Brinkmann's possessions broke down after the workmen refused to transport the items, young men from the local Gymnasium openly defied the executor's calls for aid and began carrying the furniture back into the bishop's residence.[127] When angry crowds rioted outside the home of the Protestant cabinet maker who later removed the bishop's furniture, local police briefly detained several young men, seeing them as the incident's instigators.[128] Prosecutors in Trier took a similarly dim view of several boys charged with participation in a crowd seeking to resist the local Priesterseminar's closure, sentencing two of them to a week's imprisonment, one to four weeks', and two others to three months' prison time for their actions.[129] Thus, while girls and young women demonstrated their support for clerics in highly public ceremonies or by

[125] Eduard Schulte, "Vom Kulturkampf im Ruhrrevier, 1871-1886," *Das Münster am Hellweg. Mitteilungsblatt des Vereins für die Erhaltung des Essener Münsters* 7 (1967): 79-90.
[126] *Eucharius*, 10 November 1875.
[127] *SonntagsBlatt*, 1 March 1874; *Eucharius*, 15 March 1874. The subsequent effort to charge the Gymnasium students present with 'public nuisance" (*Unfug*) indicates that the Prussian government took such actions quite seriously. See *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 27 February 1874 and 1 March 1874.
[128] One press report blamed the young men in crowd for escalating the violence, claiming they had thrown a lit pipe through the window, thereby starting a small fire in the cabinet-maker's home. *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 3 March 1874; *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 4 March 1874.
[129] *Eucharius*, 12 July 1874.

soliciting the community for donations on their behalf, boys and young men often took part in more spontaneous and unruly Kulturkampf actions (and suffered the legal consequences.)

Similarly, boys and young men also helped clergymen avoid arrest or detection. As the Kulturkampf progressed, the Prussian government's efforts to end clerics' passive resistance frequently led to priests' banishment from their communities. Unfortunately for state officials, recidivist clergymen paid no more heed to these laws than to those that had prohibited them from holding religious ceremonies in the first place; clerics' memoirs include stories of near-misses and last-second escapes from those sent to arrest or deport them as they continued to hold services in their parishes, often sneaking into and out of the community just before and after a religious service. These tales frequently mentioned how the community's young men served as scouts or escorts for clerics seeking to move through the area undetected. For example, Neunkirchen's teacher described how Kaplan Heinen continued to live and function in the area, protected by the community. Herr Thielen, the disgruntled teacher, blamed the priest's housekeeper, claiming that she bribed the children with fruit and other desirable foodstuffs to hold watch around the village in order to provide Heinen advanced warning of the gensdarmes' presence. He further asserted that two boys escorted the Kaplan wherever he went, functioning as scouts to alert him to potential threats.[130] Likewise, Dieblich's young boys escorted Kaplan Kermes into and out of the community in order to prevent his arrest.[131] After Peter Maringer's return to Niederbettingen to perform a secret early morning Mass, the village school boys spent the entire day monitoring the gensdarmes' movements, manning perches in the heights surrounding the community until 9pm when they signaled to their priest that the coast was clear

[130] LHAK Bestand 442, Akte 1966.
[131] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0002 Kermes.

and he was able to escape, disguised as a simple farmer.[132] When priests sought to come or go from their parishes without attracting notice, young boys served as their guides and escorts, a task that seemed ideally suited to the outdoor nature of rural male childhood.

Older boys also aided and abetted banished clerics but in their own unique ways. Just as younger boys functioned as look-outs, Niederbettingen's older boys served as Father Maringer's bodyguards and messengers. In his memoirs, Maringer recalls with great delight how he charged five young men "with five healthy voices" not only to inform the community of his return to hold unauthorized church services but also to safe-guard him (and the other villagers present at the service) by whistling to signal the arrival or departure of gensdarmes. These young men also travelled with Maringer, two scouting the way ahead and two covering the rear.[133] These protective escorts suited the traditional roles that young men played in late nineteenth-century rural communities. Not yet independent men but no longer boys, young men were at a transitional stage where they began to assume different roles and responsibilities within the community.

Young men's protective function as *gesperrt* priests' guides and escorts fits an older pattern of young men as the community's defenders against encroachment by outsiders. As Peter Sahlins has argued regarding patterns of communal revolt in nineteenth-century France, "village youths exercised a certain kind of authority and jurisdiction – a special kind of sovereignty – over the village community. . . this jurisdiction involved a responsibility to enforce the territorial boundaries and social identity of the village."[134] In their traditional role as "boundary guards of

[132] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0008 Maringer.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Sahlins, *Forest Rites*, 36. See also Gestrich, *Traditionelle Jugendkultur*, 41-51; Rummel, "Motive Staatlicher und dorflicher Gewaltwendung im 19 Jahrundert," 166.

village life," young men protected their priests and communities from the encroachment of state power and its efforts to control and regulate customary religious functions.

In Schöneberg, young men played a crucial role in the community's effort to defend its clergyman and religious tradition. Father Christian Müller had been exiled from the community but, despite gensdarmes patrolling the area, had returned in secret to hold First Communion services for the children, taking shelter with the local blacksmith. Aware of the need to prevent the gensdarmes from discovering Müller or disrupting the service, the blacksmith's oldest son and several other young men invited the gensdarmes to join them in the tavern. When the group left the tavern around midnight, the young men had ensured that the drunken gensdarmes were in no condition to interfere with the planned 5am service; Müller was able to hold First Communion and then slip away, undetected.[135] In this story, young men took advantage of customary expectations for their behavior (rowdy drinking in the tavern) to ensure that the community's religious celebration could take place without endangering Müller. Their actions reflected their place in the community but also conveyed their allegiance to their priest. They also demonstrated how the Kulturkampf allowed every Catholic to render their own unique service to the faith.

As these examples show, young Catholic males performed an important defensive function during the Kulturkampf, guarding the community and its cleric from a perceived attack by outsiders. However, they also played a distinctive role within the community, "policing" its internal boundaries as well. In many cases, older boys also guarded community solidarity, especially in moments of high tension, such as Sedan Day or the annual Piusfest. For example, on Sedan day in Goch in the district of Cleve, young men went through the streets shouting papal

[135] Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 122.

slogans and breaking the windows of those who dared flag their homes to mark the national holiday.[136]

As the Kulturkampf progressed, young men from both sides of the conflict publicly policed "community" borders to ensure their constituency's loyalty. On Sedan Day in 1875, young men from Neustadt an der Wied communicated their support for the state's Kulturkampf policies by serenading the local mayor with patriotic songs. Not to be outdone, the community's young Catholic men responded with an impromptu concert of papal songs, an action quickly noted by the mayor to be used against them in the event of future transgressions.[137] Such behavior sought to reinforce community solidarity and unity by publicly punishing those who transgressed these boundaries, a "task" long recognized in rural communities as belonging to young men.[138] It also reflected the license afforded to youth, as one can hardly imagine adult men escaping legal repercussions for such a brazen rejection of state power.[139]

On Sedan Day in particular but throughout the Kulturkampf more broadly, such incidents allowed young Catholic men to employ traditional cultural practices of policing community propriety. In the first example, young Catholic males publicly proclaimed the community's adherence to Catholicism while punishing those who expressed support for the state. Those who hung flags or otherwise celebrated Sedan Day violated communal solidarity and Catholic youth exercised their traditional right to punish such violations. Similarly, in the second example, Catholic youth responded to Kulturkampf supporters' provocations by asserting their own claim

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[136] *Germania*, 7 September 1874.
[137] *Sanct Paulinus Blatt*, 12 September 1875.
[138] Sahlins, *Forest Rites*, 36; Gestrich, *Traditionelle Jugendkultur*, 41-51.
[139] I use the phrase "state power" rather than national identity because, as recent works by Rebecca Bennette and Pontus Hiort effectively argue, Catholics rejected the state's anti-clerical policies (which they attributed to liberal influence) but not identification with the state itself. Catholics viewed Sedan day as a manufactured, liberal Protestant holiday that celebrated a divisive and contested vision of the nation rather than a true celebration of shared Germanness. Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German"; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*.

to public expression and public space. Just as male youth had traditionally defended the local marriage market from encroachment by outside competitors, here they defended village customs and cultural practices from attacks by the state's supporters within the community. Catholic male youth regulated the community's boundaries, using their traditional roles and rights in defense of their faith, and delineating (in a highly public manner) which community members stood on the "wrong" side of the conflict.

Just as older boys' behavior highlighted their traditional social function of policing and defending community boundaries, the roles played by Catholic youth more broadly also reflected contemporary understandings of childhood and adolescence. Young Catholics took part in the Kulturkampf in ways that differed from Catholic adults; youthful activism corresponded with general assumptions about how children and young people should behave. Even within the category of "youth," gender and age co-hort further divided how younger Catholics supported clerics. For example, young girls occupied prominent roles at pre-planned community festivities such as the receptions for returning priests that frequently employed young girls in white as an integral part of these public spectacles. Older girls made different contributions, as did the young women of Treis who joined the village in its ostentatious welcome of Kaplan Büsch at his release from prison but later arrived en mass at his residence to present him with their own gift in recognition of his sacrifice for the faith.[140] Gender dictates also meant that girls of all ages helped the other women in the village to decorate the rectory and church in anticipation of a cleric's arrival, whether from prison or as a part of his formal visitations in the area; such domestic tasks seldom fell to young boys.[141]

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[140] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 28 March, 1874.
[141] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 19 April 1874.

In these examples, Catholic girls play distinct roles in community celebrations, roles that put younger girls in the spot-light while often marginalizing the actions of older girls and women, illustrating that as girls approached womanhood, their public value to the Catholic community during religious festivities decreased while their willingness to move from demonstrations of support to public acts of opposition and defiance grew. It also reflected that even among the youth, gender influenced the tasks assigned to young people, establishing early on the differences between male and female Catholics' communal roles.

Assessing Youthful Activism

As the anti-clerical struggle raged throughout Germany, Catholic youth joined their co-religionists in protesting Kulturkampf policies. Young people joined larger crowds that gathered to express solidarity with persecuted clergymen at his arrest or triumphal homecoming, they turned out at public auctions of clerical possessions, and they took part in communal expressions of religious unity such as processions and pilgrimages. Young Catholics also played unique roles in the conflict, serving as guides for banned clergymen, clinging to priests at their arrest, taking up collections for impoverished priests, and mocking those sent to enforce anti-clerical legislation. As this chapter illustrates, young people took on roles particularly suited to them, roles that reflected their status in the community. Catholic youth often took advantage of prevailing ideas about childhood and adolescence, especially beliefs that held younger people less accountable for their actions, and molded their protest actions accordingly.

Young people also played important discursive roles in the conflict. Both sides employed ideas about youth to justify their actions. Protecting the youth from the opposing world-view's

negative consequences became a hallmark of Kulturkampf discourse; each side claimed to be acting in the youth's best interest. However, "youth" also served as scapegoats, allowing each side to blame "young boys" for undesirable actions, a discursive tactic that shifted blame from Catholic adults while also lessening the seriousness of the situation by implying that irrational children were at fault. Both sides' discursive use of young people highlights their unique position in the conflict. Like men, youth were valued symbolic assets in the struggle, desired supporters whose presence at public demonstrations was highly touted. But youth also bore many of the charateristics of women: they were emotional, irrational actors who enjoyed a degree of license not extended to men. As a result of this duality, youth occupied a peculiar position in the conflict.

The Kulturkampf also underscored young people's complicated position in German society more broadly. Social and economic changes had particular effects on Germany's youth, altering many of the traditions that had previously governed rites of passage. Because the religious conflict went hand in hand with larger economic and cultural transformations, contemporaries on both sides interpreted it as a true cultural struggle for the fate of Germany. Fighting for or against anti-clerical legislation became a way of fighting for a particular vision of the future. Such an understanding of the Kulturkampf put young people at the heart of the struggle, making them the reason for the campaign and its symbolic pawns. But viewing the Kulturkampf as a literal struggle for culture explains more than both sides' emphasis on youth; it also accounts for young people's active participation in the conflict. Young Germans also experienced the effects of the transformation of German society, not always in positive ways. For young Catholics, the Kulturkampf represented yet another blow to their traditional world, one that de-valued their position in the community by transforming cultural practices that had

privileged youth. Thus young Catholics' active defense of priests also represented an effort by young people to reclaim their own status in a rapidly changing world.

CHAPTER 6:

DER KERN DES VOLKES, DIE PÖBEL, AND ANGESEHENE BÜRGER:

RE-EVALUATING THE ROLE OF CLASS IN POPULAR REACTIONS TO ANTI-CLERICAL LEGISLATION

On Thursday, September 25, 1873, Bochum's Catholics bid a tearful farewell to Father Zobel, the "generally respected" Superior of the area's Redemptorist monastery and the congregation's last member to head into exile.[1] The *Westfälische Volkszeitung* described how "hundreds, nay, thousands" turned out to say good-bye to Zobel, "who had grown grey during his work in Bochum and sacrificed his vitality (*Manneskraft*) for the community." The paper stressed Zobel's universal acclaim, noting that along with the area's "most prominent citizens and estate owners," even "non-Catholics" arrived to pay their respects. Church bells rang, children dressed in white offered bouquets, and adults attempted to hold back their tears as Zobel's decorated carriage made its way through the throngs of grateful Catholics who sought, one last time, to shake his hand and bid him adieu. And so, concluded the paper's account, "was the departure of a priest banned from the German Reich and declared a danger to the state," one of the many now-exiled Redemptorist brothers who had served "the families of the rich" as well as "the workers…particularly the poor and the artisans."[2]

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[1] The Reichstag expanded the 1872 legislation against the Jesuits to include "related orders" such as the Redemptorists, Lazarists, and Franciscans.
[2] Reprinted in the *Westfälisher Merkur,* 30 September 1873.

Half-buried within the *Germania*'s report on the removal of Münster's Bishop Brinkmann's furniture lay a brief mention of the DamenAdresse. Specifically, the paper discussed whether the noblewomen would face charges, citing a rumor that "Berlin" (the imperial court) intended to suppress any effort by Münster's district government to prosecute the women involved. Yet, in the anonymous author's opinion, such an action would "render the high-born ladies no service." In fact, he opined, it "would be very uncomfortable for them;" as a result, he gave the gossip little credence, asking if the threat of prosecution represented only "a clever maneuver to frighten fearful souls and put a stop to the continually growing support [for the Catholic cause]" (*noch immer erfolgenden zahlreichen Zustimmung*.)[3]

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Likening the government's pursuit of a *gesperrt* priest to the hunt for a wild animal, the *Germania* recounted the Prussian government's attempt to arrest Rektor Cochen for repeatedly violating the May laws. The paper reported how Cochen had fled Süchteln after the mayor received the order to arrest him on sight. Despite "wanted" notices bearing his description (*Steckbriefe*) published in the local papers, Cochen continued to elude his pursuers. Five days later, gensdarmes, police, and the local forest ranger arrived in Aldenkerk to search the rectory, hoping to find Cochen. What had led the authorities to this unlikely spot? According to the *Germania*'s sources, the information came from "an honorable gentleman from Süchteln" who had coerced, under the promise of confidentiality, a young weaver employed by Cochen's father to reveal the rektor's whereabouts. The gentleman had then immediately alerted the police. It looked grim for poor Rektor Cochen but the *Germania* quickly allayed readers' fears: Cochen

[3] *Germania,* 2 March 1874. For a detailed discussion of the DamenAdresse and the women's subsequent prosecution, see Chapter One.

was not in Aldenkerk! Instead, the paper gleefully reported, "a young weaver had deceived the police!"[4]

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Although perhaps not evident, a common theme links these three reports of Kulturkampf activism: each one reflects the conflict's class dynamics and the multiple ways in which ideas about class influenced Catholic activism during the struggle. The community's reaction to Father Zobel's expulsion illustrates two important aspects of the complex relationship between class and Kulturkampf activism. First, it shows how the government's persecution of clerics united Catholics from all social classes as they gathered to bid Adieu to their beloved cleric. Second, it reflected the need to emphasize Zobel's supporters' respectability; the paper stressed the presence of "prominent citizens and estate owners" and well as "non-Catholics" while reiterating the Redemptorists' concern for all segments of Bochum's population, rich and poor.

However, the next account reveals how fragile such unity was by noting that should the Westphalian noblewomen escape prosecution for the DamenAdresse because of their social status and close ties to the royal court, their special treatment would negatively impact the Catholic cause, threatening Catholics' unified front against the anti-clerical legislation. As this report implies, despite the common cause created by shared religious persecution, vertical conflicts between class interests within the Catholic community remained.

Class also plays a role in the third vignette which transforms Kulturkampf activism (real or imaginary) into a morality tale that pitted the evil "honorable gentleman" against the poor but noble young weaver. Despite his "respectable" status, the gentleman proves himself neither

[4] *Germania,* 19 Novemeber 1874.

honorable nor a gentleman, betraying his promise of confidentiality (a bargain sealed with a handshake) in order to aid the state in apprehending the fugitive cleric. However, the paper inverts the normal class dynamic; in this tale, the young weaver outsmarts his upper-class adversary by offering a false location for Cochen. His story sends the authorities on a wild goose chase (and in all likelihood allows Cochen to make a clean get-away.) The *Germania*'s tale drew on popular perceptions about class status and allegiance in the Kulturkampf while refuting the characterization of Catholics as simple-minded and incapable of independent thought and action.

Properly analyzed, these tales reveal the complex relationship between Catholics, class, and Kulturkampf activism, illustrating the multiple ways in which class standing and discourses about status affected Catholic activism's forms and goals as well as contemporary and historical interpretations of the conflict. The first tale illustrated the common historical (and contemporary) understanding of the Kulturkampf as a religious struggle that bound Catholics together despite their social differences. But the second report implies that such an understanding might be too simple. Certainly Catholics made common cause in the conflict but such cooperation was not to be taken for granted and could be disrupted by class conflicts amongst Catholics themselves. The third tale illustrates how class informed contemporaries' perceptions of their oppressors; class differences often mirrored religious and political differences. Yet, precisely because of this merging of identities, the Kulturkampf offered Catholics the opportunity to contest their socio-economic and political oppression through religious activism.

Finally, the three vignettes demonstrate German Catholics' agency in the struggle, countering their popular portrayal as the pawns of their priests and social superiors, blindly defending their religion rather than their class interest. Far from feeble-minded puppets kept in dependency by their antiquated faith's superstitious beliefs, these stories portray Catholics as

independent actors, rational agents who, despite a heightened sense of religious solidarity, continued to recognize and pursue their own self-interest. Far from a simple story of religious faith uniting the Catholic milieu against outside attack, investigating Kulturkampf activism reveals that socio-economic interests and class conflicts within the Catholic milieu motivated, shaped, and constrained Catholic reactions' to anti-clerical legislation as much as those between Catholics and Protestants.

Class and the Kulturkampf in historical perspective**:**

Germany's Church-State conflict occurred simultaneously with the break-through of industrialization. While economic historians stress industrialization's regional variations, emphasizing that rapid industrial growth in certain areas coexisted with the lingering of older ways of life in others, contemporaries experienced the period as one of dizzying economic change.[5] Statistically, agriculture still predominanted over employment in a factory or mine, (42% of the population worked in agriculture as late as 1882 as compared to 35% employed in industry), but the modern capitalist economy had crept into villages, changing how people lived and how they understood the world.[6] New opportunities for employment beckoned villagers, particularly men and youth, while manufactured items found their way into homes in the most remote areas. These changes offered new sources of income and ultimately helped to alleviate the pressure placed on the land by a growing population.

[5] Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, 177-224; Tipton, "Technology and Industrial Growth."
[6] Fairbairn, "Economic and Social Developments," 61-8, statistics on p. 69. For a discussion of how urban life penetrated into the villages, see Brose, *German History*, 290-1; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 200-225.

Despite agriculture's resiliency and industrialization's uneven pace, contemporaries experienced this process as a time of threatening uncertainty and increased economic dependency.[7] As Brett Fairbairn observes, "the spreading influence of the market as a dominant social institution" characterized the period after 1870 in Germany, a force that "re-ordered the lives of citizens and the structures of communities." Going forward, inequality and hierarchy would be defined not by "the spatial, moral, and social context of traditional communities" but rather "in relation to the market."[8] For Catholics still living at a distance from industrial centers, market forces' encroachment into their daily lives brought with it a growing loss of control over one's own fate as "unseen bourgeois financiers decided on loans in faraway offices; agents of rich investors determined railroad rates in a seemingly arbitrary fashion; and a welter of confusing market forces whose tentacles stretched across oceans controlled price and manipulated the terms of trade."[9] Many Germans perceived the *Reichsgründung* era as a time of great economic change in which older forms of employment and exchange gave way to new, more impersonal ones.

Historians link industrialization and triumph of a capitalist market-economy to the Kulturkampf's origins because the two sides in the religious struggle often split neatly into the winners and losers of this process of economic change. While the Catholic side drew its strength from those most threatened by the new market economy (farmers, artisans, industrial workers, and the landed nobility), the (generally Protestant) anti-clerical side found its supporters in factory owners, railway and mine officials, and school teachers chafing under clerical control.[10]

[7] Torp, "German Economy and Society," 336-358.
[8] Fairbairn, "Economic and Social Developments," 62-3.
[9] Brose, *German History*, 291.
[10] On the social background of Catholics, see Nipperdey, *Religion in Umbruch*, 38-9; On the Kulturkämpfer, see Schmidt-Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf*, 58. Most recently, Oliver Zimmer has described this confrontation as one between different "rhythms of life." Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 295-8.

In this way, economic disparities merged with religious differences, increasing the tensions between the two sides, giving the conflict its "political virulence".[11] For Catholics, the economic policies advocated by German liberals represented "a privileged new order which was perceived as a threat to land and small property."[12]

The connection between class and religion affected how anti-clericals understood themselves and their crusade. Kulturkämpfer viewed Catholics as backwards and uneducated. One anti-clerical witness to a demonstration of popular support for Cologne's Archbishop Melchers described the Catholics present as "all variety of strange people, most with blank, stupid faces."[13] The historian Johann Droysen equated Catholicism with unfreedom, and the Church's rituals with mob idolatry. His contemporary, Heinrich von Sybel joined with other professors at the University of Bonn to found the *Deutsche Verein* (German Association), "an organization dedicated to combatting ultramontane influence on the state and and in civil society… which counted nearly 20,000 members, most of them from the ranks of the Rhineland intelligentsia."[14] State officials shared this view, describing Catholics as 'uneducated' and 'led' by their priests.[15] These negative stereotypes' predominance in German liberals' mental universe led historian Manuel Borutta to argue that over the course of the nineteenth-century, anti-clerical discourse had "Orientalized" Catholicism, creating a lasting, uncritical image of it as backwards, unchanging, and primitive. Borutta maintains that this idea penetrated the thought-world of

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[11] Loth, *Katholiken im Kaiserreich*, 17.
[12] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 153 .
[13] Ross, The *Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 133. See also Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," esp 148-9; Schmidt-Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf*, 54-6.
[14] Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*, 28-30.
[15] In his July 1874 report to Berlin, Düsseldorf's district governor contrasted those capable of comprehending the Church-State conflict (and thus supported the state's actions) with the "large masses completely ruled by the clergy and the Ultramontane party." GStA PK I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXVa, Nr. 2 Bd X 1874-1880 Monatsberichte der Regierung zu Düsseldorf.

Germany's educated elite so thoroughly that they came to associate Catholicism more with "foreign cultures outside of Europe" than with German Protestantism.[16]

Perceptions of Catholics as irrational, superstitious, unenlightened, and trapped in a state of dependency informed liberal anti-clerical policies and reflected a strong class bias. For bourgeois intellectuals and state employees, Catholics' lower class status signified their lack of education and their inability to think for themselves, making them the easy dupes of priests who opposed liberals' progressive agenda. As Thomas Nipperdey comments, "the anti-Catholicism of Liberals was also a repugnance of the masses, of the uneducated."[17]

While anti-clericals cast their opponents as unenlightened *Stimmvieh* ("voting cattle") who stood in the way of Progress, Catholics peered across the class divide to form equally unfavorable opinions of their liberal adversaries. For Catholics, the Kulturkampf represented an attack on the Church by liberal professors, factory owners, and state officials, people whose socio-economic circumstances differed greatly from their own. Catholics envisioned the anti-clerical campaign's bourgeois perpetrators as Freemasons bent on destroying the Church, or proponents of "Manchester" economic policies intent on destroying their livelihood. As David Blackbourn has argued, given the obvious class differences between the Kulturkampf's supporters and opponents, Catholics successfully associated liberal anti-clericals "with a distant but threatening elite of speculators, officials, professors and journalists: in short, with parasites of one sort or another."[18]

In many ways, early historical accounts of the Kulturkampf echoed the same class biases present in contemporary accounts, influencing the ways in which historians portrayed Catholics,

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[16] Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*, 48.
[17] Nipperday, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 367.
[18] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 161.

particularly in works seeking to explain the creation and continued power of the Center party (frequently viewed as a reactionary and retarding force in German politics.)[19] German Catholics' often poorer and less-educated status justified anti-clericals' rendering them as mindlessly obedient subjects, easily manipulated by priests and aristocratic party leaders into supporting a Church and political party that did not serve their interests. In this view, Catholic clergymen and political leaders used an anti-modern, anti-liberal faith to rally Catholics and prevent them from recognizing their true (class) interests. Keeping Catholics confined within the "ghetto" of a Catholic sub-culture hostile to modernity (read: liberalism) in turn contributed to the failure of liberal democratic impulses in nineteenth-century German politics.[20]

Historians also linked class to the Kulturkampf in regards to Catholics' social position in German society. Given that Catholicism found its supporters primarily among peasants and aristocrats, groups portrayed as progress's traditional enemies, historians held that popular Catholicism (and its political off-shoot) could never be anything but a check on Germany's correct political and economic development.[21] According to Hans-Ulrich Wehler ,"the Center fought tenaciously for retrograde aims often set by the Church. It never fought for a change in the direction of greater democracy in a society it viewed as hostile."[22] Wehler's words underscore the previously dominant historical interpretation of the Center as a reactionary party, supported by a constituency opposed to liberal principles. From this perspective, the Kulturkampf contributed to liberalism's failure by inciting liberals to betray their own principles

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[19] Schmidt-Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf*; Weber, *Eine starke, enggeschlossene Phalanx*; Blaschke, "Die Kolonialisierung der Laienwelt."
[20] Blaschke, "Die Kolonialisierung der Laienwelt"; Weber, *Eine starke, enggeschlossene Phalanx* ; Gottfried Korff, "Kulturkampf und Volksfrömmigkeit," in *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 137-151; Wolfgang Schieder, "Church and Revolution: Aspects of the Social History of the Trier Pilgrimage of 1844," in *Conflict and Stability in Europe*, ed. Clive Emsley (London: Crom Held, 1979), 65-95.
[21] Wehler, *The German Empire, 1871-1918*; Weber, *Eine starke, enggeschlossene Phalanx.*
[22] Wehler, *The German Empire,* 77.

through their support for 'illiberal' anti-clerical legislation while consolidating German Catholics behind ultramontane clerics and a political party hostile to (liberal) progress.

By the 1980s, however, new developments led historians to re-evaluate the relationship between class and the Kulturkampf. First, new studies revised earlier interpretations of liberal support for the anti-clerical legislation, seeing it as central to nineteenth-century liberalism's modernizing agenda rather than German liberalism's weakness or failure. Historians now argued that liberal Kulturkämpfer saw the Catholic church as the chief obstacle in their efforts to create a modern state; liberal enthusiasm for the anti-clerical campaign was an attempt to harness state power to combat the Church's retarding influence on German society. In the words of David Blackbourn, "Liberals sought to cast off material, social, and mental shackles by creating a new *homo oeconomicus* in a free market, and a free citizen in a brave new world where the school inspector, the railway timetable and the model orphanage would replace the priest, the rosary and the charitable foundation."[23]

While these studies reassessed the relationship between German liberals and the Kulturkampf, other works questioned both the Center party's reactionary nature and the origins of Catholic support for it. Examining electoral politics in Wurttemberg, Blackbourn argued against seeing the Center as a clerical party led by priests and doing the Catholic hierarchy's bidding. He instead claimed that the Center's "unprincipled" image reflected party leaders' efforts to accommodate the various interest groups within the electorate, not the diabolical machinations of its clerical leadership.[24] Margaret Anderson went further, asserting that the Kulturkampf "began as defensive reaction of local elites to the challenge of subordinate groups

[23] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 151. See also Becker, "Liberal Kulturkampf-Positionen und politischer Katholizismus"; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne"; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*.
[24] Blackbourn, *Class, Religion and Local Politics*.

to their local dominance."[25] (The Center party's appeal to Catholic constituents drew additional strength from the connection between religious and economic oppression; Protestants or Old Catholics usually comprised the "local elites" challenged by Catholic "subordinate groups.") This view recast the terms of the struggle; the Center now emerged as the champions of democratic impulses amongst the lower classes, and the anti-clerical legislation represented liberal politicians' efforts to defend their political power in the face of universal manhood suffrage. As Anderson effectively demonstrates, liberal criticism of "clerical influence" in Catholic voting practices illustrated the class bias that played into liberals' larger unease with democracy itself.[26]

These and other studies refuted representations of the Center party as the Church hierarchy's political tool by showing that it drew its leadership from the Catholic bourgeoisie rather than priests and represented the interests of the Catholic laity, not the Vatican. They also recast Catholics as independent agents capable of recognizing and acting in their own self-interest, rather than unthinking clerical minions. As with the new works on German liberalism, such interpretations forced a re-evaluation of the Kulturkampf's meaning; the conflict now appeared "an agent in extending the breakdown of deference to elites" instead of a conservative force contributing to pre-industrial elites' continued dominance of German society.[27]

Historians wishing to revise earlier understandings of the Kulturkampf also benefitted from new research on the social history of religion which located the anti-clerical struggle within the context of the complex relationship between modernization, economic transformation, and religious revival. Jonathan Sperber's *Popular Catholicism* led the way, tracing the Catholic

[25] Anderson, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," 89.
[26] Anderson, *Practising Democracy*. See also Nipperdey, *Religion in Umbruch*; Blessing, *Staat und Kirche*.
[27] Anderson, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," 109.

religious revival and milieu formation back to ultramontane Catholicism's rise in the 1840s. Sperber links this phenomenon to the period's harsh economic conditions, depicting the revival as a "response to the mid-century socialeconomic crisis."[28] Werner Blessing offered a similar interpretation for Bavaria, arguing that liberal policies, particularly regarding education, contributed to the ultramontane religious revival's success and political Catholicism's emergence, both of which he considered defensive reactions to the socio-economic changes associated with liberal modernization.[29] These works argue that ultramontane Catholicism's values and practices offered practical and spiritual strategies for coping with the negative impact that industrialization and the spread of the capitalist market economy had on most Catholics.

Once historians came to see anti-clerical policies as an intrinsic part of the liberal *Weltanschauung* and socio-economic change as a central factor in ultramontane Catholicism's popular support, their understanding of the Kulturkampf changed dramatically. These research trends led to a revised picture of the Kulturkampf as a more comprehensive phenomenon than earlier accounts had acknowledged. Far more than a struggle for religious rights or a contest between different political forces, the Kulturkampf also represented the socio-economic conflict between those who celebrated industrial capitalism's benefits and those who suffered its consequences. Furthermore, it also expressed the cultural conflict between those who advocated for "progress" and "enlightenment" and those who remained skeptical of "modernity." In this new interpretation of the Kulturkampf as a true "struggle for civilization," class and social standing went a long way towards drawing the battle lines between the opposing sides, particularly when religious and socio-economic interests merged. The Kulturkampf became a

[28] Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*.
[29] Blessing, *Staat und Kirche.* See also Urs Altermatt, *Katholizismus und Moderne*; Nipperdey, *Religion im Umbruch*.

broader and more virulent struggle, a "conflict over the future shape of Germany, in which material, social, moral and intellectual interests were at stake."[30]

New thinking about the Kulturkampf also changed how historians understood Catholic activism. Where they had previously depicted popular protests as a symptom of Catholic backwardness or the result of clerical manipulation, they now interpreted popular activism as a defensive reaction to the socio-economic and cultural changes that threatened Catholics' religious beliefs, cultural practices, and economic livelihood. Such actions took on new importance as an expression of class tensions in a society experiencing the effects of rapid, uneven industrialization.

In his research on industrial workers in the Saar region, Klaus Michael Mallmann has effectively demonstrated how the confluence of religious and socio-economic conditions led workers to identify with persecuted priests and come out strongly in the Church's defense. He argues that Catholic miners' introduction to industrialization's harsh realities coincided with the imposition of anti-clerical measures; as a result, defending religion also allowed workers to defend traditional practices and values threatened by this new economic world. In his assessment, the Church offered Catholic workers physical and spiritual comfort while the state offered them only proletarianization and alienation.[31]

By connecting Catholics' class status and perception of their economic interests with their activism in the religious conflict, Mallmann and others showed that through popular demonstrations of support for the clergy, Catholics defended their social position as much as

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[30] Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety," 144.
[31] Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat," 213-21. For similar arguments, see idem, "Aus des Tages Last"; idem, "Ultramontanismus und Arbeiterbewegung im Kaiserreich," in *Deutscher Katholizismus im Umbruch zur Moderne*, ed. Wilfred Loth (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 76-93; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Bachem-Rehm, *Die katholischen Arbeitervereine im Ruhrgebiet*.

their religious leaders. The merger of religious and socio-economic interests contributed to the conflict's emotional intensity and transformed it into a form of class conflict between bourgeois liberals and those who opposed them: members of the landed aristocracy, artisans from the mittelstand, and an emerging industrial proletariat.

Yet, even as historians recognized the impact of class conflict on the Kulturkampf's dynamics, they overwhelmingly focused their attention on the class differences between Catholics and liberals. Such a focus, while crucial to a broader understanding of the Kulturkampf as a social conflict, obscures as much as it reveals. Casting "Catholics" as a universal type opposed to "bourgeois liberals" diverts attention from the tremendous social differences among Catholics themselves as well as industrialization's uneven effects on German society. "Modernity" had different meanings for an aristocrat in Westphalia, a mine worker in the Saar, and a small farmer in Polch. Failing to attend to these differences continues to universalize Catholics, ignoring the differences in their activism and the goals they sought to achieve.

Similarly, such an approach creates an exaggerated sense of unity amongst Catholics by depicting the struggle as one between Catholics and their socio-economic oppressors or as an effort by Catholics to assert their self-interest (religious and socio-economic) in a way that implies that the class conflict was always between Catholics and non-Catholics. It overlooks the ways in which Kulturkampf activism offered Catholics a means of addressing class conflicts and advancing self-interest within in the Catholic community as well as outside of it.[32] Furthermore, failing to attend to Kulturkampf activism's ability to bolster the existing social hierarchy within

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[32] Margaret Anderson points to this internal conflict in her assessment of how the Kulturkampf democratized Catholics' political organization and representation as well as the Church hierarchy within Germany, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," 190-114. Weber and Mergel make similar arguments for the Kulturkampf's creation of political space for ultramontane up-and-comers at the expense of established *Honoratioren*. See Weber, *Eine starke, enggeschlossene Phalanx,*and Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*.

Catholic communities while also providing a platform from which to challenge those relationships creates a false impression of religion's ability to overcome social divisions within the Catholic milieu.[33]

This chapter builds on existing socio-economic analyses of the Kulturkampf by exploring not just how class consciousness motivated popular activism but how it shaped the form that activism took. Accepting that class interest merged with a sense of belonging to a pariah group to unite Catholics from vastly different social backgrounds, thereby reinforcing the Catholic milieu, it challenges the idea that common persecution in the Kulturkampf overrode the tensions existing within the milieu. Instead, examing popular activism's motivations and forms reveals that Kulturkampf activism offered various sub-groups within the Catholic milieu the best means through which to address the "social question" and to promote their own socio-economic interests.

While the Kulturkampf's emotional intensity forged bonds of solidarity between Catholics, the common experience of persecution did not eradicate the differences between them, nor did it mean that every Catholic responded in the same way to anti-clerical legislation or that their activism had the same goals. Investigating how social status shaped popular activism, its forms, its goals, and its consequences, reveals the conflict's different meanings and effects on different social groups within the Catholic community.

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[33] Much earlier literature argued that the Kulturkampf experience of persecution and the effort to defend their faith bound together Catholics of different socio-economic backgrounds, despite their differing class interests. From this perspective, class tensions emerged to trouble the milieu's unity only when the Kulturkampf's waning meant that the "threat to religion" had passed. I argue that these tensions were always present and informed popular activism even during the anti-clerical legislation's height. The later electoral defection of Catholic workers to the SPD stemmed not just from the fact that the waning of the Kulturkampf lessened religion's cohesive power, but that the reduced tensions also meant that class conflicts could not longer be expressed through partisanship in confessional strife. For an example of this literature, see Raymond C. Sun, *Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls: Catholic Workers in Cologne, 1885-1912* (Boston, MA: Humanities Press, 1999.)

Attending to these differences in form and meaning illustrates Catholics' agency, showing them not as clerical pawns but rational agents capable of recognizing and acting in their own best interest. It also demonstrates that class, just like age and gender, informed, motivated, and constrained popular protests against Kulturkampf measures. Kulturkampf activism permitted both a defensive and an offensive reaction to existing class relationships, a means to defend one's place in the socio-economic order as well as, in some cases, the opportunity to better it.[34]

Discourses of Class in Contemporary Visions of the Kulturkampf

Social status and ideas about class played a crucial role in shaping contemporaries' understanding of the Kulturkampf, particularly as social and economic disparities between the two sides influenced how anti-clericals and ultramontanes portrayed themselves and their opponents. Class informed the struggle's discourse as Catholics and anti-clericals both used claims to social status to buttress their respective positions. Each side attempted to justify its actions in the Kulturkampf by referring to its supporters' social position; liberals believed their elevated social position demonstrated their cause's righteousness while Catholics stressed their supporters' "salt of the earth" nature. Furthermore, each side utilized class-based imagery to define their opponents. Examining this discourse highlights how class influenced each side's

[34] Such a view does not discount the religious components of the struggle or imply that Catholics who tearfully escorted their cleric to prison or prepared festivities at his release were motivated solely by economic tensions. Instead, it reflects Margaret Anderson's claim that "religion often provided the language with which other antagonisms were articulated, the symbols that organized cultural identity" and Jonathan Sperber's assertion that "socio-economic interests were not separate from religious organizations, practices, and beliefs, but were subsumed within them." For many Catholics, Kulturkampf activism WAS social activism; protests against the anti-clerical laws were protests against a broader array of threats against Catholics' way of life, threats that included growing infringements on the free exercise of their religious beliefs. Anderson, *Practising Democracy*, 72; Sperber,"Review of *Class, Religion, and Local Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*," *New German Critique* 26 (1992): 206-8, quote on 207.

self-perception and vision of their opponents as well as how this class-based rhetoric affected Catholics' willingness to participate in the conflict.

As historians have long recognized, Kulturkämpfer understood their struggle as "an effort to rid the nation of the irrationalism and ignorance associated with the masses" in order to "define and assert the bourgeois claim to social hegemony."[35] Liberals saw themselves as the enlightened agents of modernity, fighting to defend the new German nation from superstition and intellectual darkness as embodied by the Catholic church and its "non-intellectual (*nicht-bildungsbürgerlichen*) leaders, the priests".[36] In Kulturkämpfers' minds, their higher class status demonstrated that they fought on the 'right' side of the struggle while the market's growing dominance reinforced their connection of free-market capitalism with progress and intelligent opinion. However, as Wolfgang Altgeld points out, such views also ensured that

> Liberals could only conceive of resistance from below as an expression of unenlightenment, a lack of education, or, worse still, as the result of active, reactionary brainwashing of the people (*Volksverdummung*) or even – and in the face of such resistance increasingly - as the unavoidable result of the lower classes of the population's constitutive ignorance. They could not, however, understand it as the expression of genuine religious bonds, of other social and cultural interests, or as the collective negative experience with bourgeois capitalist industrial society's 'liberal' advances."[37]

Bourgeois anti-clericals believed that their superior wealth and social position proved their role as harbingers of progress and enlightenment even as Catholics' lower social standing revealed their mental and cultural inferiority.[38]

But such images did not go unchallenged; Catholic efforts to refute Kulturkämpfers' negative depictions of them played an important role in the struggle's discursive portrayal. The

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[35] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 301, 22.
[36] Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 367.
[37] Altgeld, *Katholizismus, Protestantismus, Judentum*, 196.
[38] Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne."

images of themselves that Catholics promoted, the ways in which they countered their negative depiction in the anti-clerical press, and the images of Kulturkämpfer that emerged from the ultramontane press all testify to class's crucial role in the discursive struggle. These images also highlight the Kulturkampf's importance as a cultural class struggle, one fought not just in the streets or in the churches but also in the vocal and rapidly-expanding Catholic daily press that contested liberal claims to ideological hegemony and challenged anti-clericals' dismissal of Catholics as lower class rabble.[39] Through their discursive construction of themselves and their opponents, Catholics fought to create a place for themselves and their faith in the public sphere.

Well aware of the class inequalities upon which Kulturkämpfer based their contempt, Catholics attempted to deflect the negative images of themselves and employed multiple rhetorical strategies to reassert their status. First, the ultramontane press attacked class bias in Kulturkampf enforcement, highlighting how disparities in wealth and status contributed to Catholic suffering and allowed them to be treated as 'lesser' citizens. For example, Catholics chafed at their treatment by Prussian judicial officials who disregarded their testimony in Kulturkampf incidents, as when Father Wehn of Niederberg stood trial for insulting officers sent to arrest him. Despite ten parishioners' testimony that Wehn had not uttered the alleged insults, the state's attorney publicly proclaimed that their statements could not be believed because Catholics lied under oath.[40]

Similarly, the three-class voting system drew Catholic ire by privileging a minority of wealthy citizens (usually liberal Protestants) at the expense of the less comfortable (Catholic)

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[39] Heinen argues that the Kulturkampf was fought primarily in the political public sphere, "Umstrittene Moderne." Gross sees the conflict as an effort by liberals to defend the (male) rational public sphere from encroachment by women and the unenlightened masses, *The War Against Catholicism*.

[40] *Eucharius*, 4 October 1874. In his July 1874 report to Berlin, Trier's Regierungspräsident Wolff made the same accusation, remarking that "amongst the Catholic population the opinion is spreading that in support of a priest, even giving false testimony is a meritorious act." GStA PK I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXVIIa Nr. 1, Bd V 1867-1876.

majority. In Stromberg, the Catholic press linked Catholics' inability to use the city's ceremonial cannon to celebrate the anniversary of Pius IX's election as Pope to the city council's liberal majority, observing that "unfortunately the three-class voting system here muzzles us."[41]

State officials' behavior towards *gesperrt* priests created another source of tension as priests argued that mayors and Landräte failed to treat them with the respect their educated (*gebildete*) status deserved, instead showing them no more respect than they would a common criminal.[42] For the ultramontane press, state officials' failure to acknowledge priests' status symbolized an act of disrespect towards all Catholics. The *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* expressed its resentment of this class-based persecution, arguing that "the people find it most distressing when loyal young priests, and they are not just priests, they are our sons, brothers, and relatives, are treated like such criminals."[43] While such actions appear trivial, they reinforced Catholics' feelings of persecution and reminded them of their opponents' contempt for them, a scorn that reeked of bourgeois arrogance.

Catholic publicists also countered anti-clerical allegations that only 'riffraff' (Pöbel) attended Catholic demonstrations by stressing the 'respectability' of those who demonstrated on the Church's behalf. Press reports frequently touted the presence of aristocrats or 'distinguished citizens' (*angesehene Bürger*) in crowds protesting Kulturkampf measures. Reporting on

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[41] LHAK Bestand 655, 149 Akte 1174 Gesetzwidrig Anstellung von Geistlichen.

[42] After his arrest in Calcar, Father Tüffers wrote letter of complaint against the mayor who had carried out his arrest, arguing that the mayor had failed to show Tüffers the respect due to a member of the educated (*gebildete*) class. *SonntagsBlatt,* 1 November 1874. In a weird scenario that demonstrated the conflict's serious and sometimes farcical nature, Father Wehn in Niederberg refused to accept the declaration of his ban (*Sperrung*) from the village superintendant (*Ortsvorsteher*); instead he and his community barricaded themselves inside the church where Wehn played hymns on the organ until the mayor arrived. After protracted negotiations, the gensdarmes left and the mayor was permitted to enter the church, at which point Wehn continued to play the organ while the mayor attempted to read the Sperrung decree. Wehn's organ concert paused only long enough for him to harangue the mayor over his disrespectful treatment of Wehn, who resented the fact that neither the Landrat nor the mayor had personally delivered the Sperrung but had instead sent a lackey as if Wehn were a common criminal. *Eucharius,* 28 December 1873.

[43] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung*, 12 May 1874.

Dieblich's celebration to welcome home Father Kerpen after a nineteen-day stay in prison, the *Koblenzer Volkszeitung* took care to assure its readers that "it was not the mob (*Pöbel*) that had gathered but that the most eminent citizens (*hervorragendsten Bürger*) were as numerously represented at the celebration as the poorest."[44] Likewise, at the arrest of Kaplan Kaas, the *Mosella* noted that "the inhabitants of Zell, at their head several 'prominent citizens' (*Vornehmen der Stadt*)" escorted Kaas on his journey.[45] The emphasis on clerical supporters' quality demonstrated both Catholics' recognition of their opponents' unfavorable characterization of them, and of their own, often lower, social standing. In challenging the image of themselves as *Pöbel*, Catholics challenged their own impoverishment and loss of status.

While images of the Catholic masses as a "mob" or "riff-raff" reflected anti-clericals' social snobbery and self-perception as "better" than their Catholic opponents,[46] references to *Pöbel* also found their way into the Catholic press. Here, "the rabble" took on a different meaning, but one equally reflective of class tensions. In the hands of ultramontane publicists, the *Pöbel* became convenient scapegoats for Kulturkampf excesses, a useful distancing mechanism that helped to separate "respectable Catholics" from unacceptable acts of violence or disorder.

For example, press coverage of the angry crowd that attacked a Protestant workman's home after he removed Bishop Brinkmann's furniture labeled the participants as *Pöbe*l. (It later

[44] *Koblenzer Volkszeitung,* 26 March 1874.
[45] *Mosella,* 23 April 1874.
[46] As Margaret Anderson has argued, expressions such as "*Stimmvieh*" and "*ultramontanen Dummkopf*" peppered the vocabulary of liberal publicists and state officials, revealing their disdain for the Catholic "under classes" and their fears concerning the enfranchisement of those considered inacapable of judgment (*urteilsunfähig*.) Anderson, *Practising Democracy*. See also Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, 225-239. For an official view of the Catholic population as "led without will by their priests", see GStA PK I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXVa, Nr. 2 Bd X 1874-1880 Monatsberichte der Regierung zu Düsseldorf Oct 1877. For a long term perspective of Catholics as an orientalized "Other", see Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*.

attributed these actions to “students, old ladies, and bums.”[47]) On trial for obstructing Kaplan Schneiders’ arrest in Trier, one of the defendants denied urging others to resist the police, arguing that the call to violence had not originated with “respectable people.”[48] In a final example, Münster’s *Sonntagsblatt für katholische Christen* described the crowd that had assembled in the Westphalian community of Rheine to celebrate Pius Day as “members of the population’s lowest circles,” and noted that Mayor Sprickmann-Kerkering’s stabbing “naturally found from all sides the sharpest disapproval and judgment.”[49] The Bernkastel’s *Mosella* also blamed the lower classes, opining that “this incident is in truth regrettable for it cannot be denied that the behavior of a part of the population from the lower classes was illegal and reprehensible.”[50]

As these examples illustrate, polemicists on both sides frequently depicted Kulturkampf crowds as “*Pöbel*,” composed of the “lower classes” in an effort to link negative class associations with those involved in such demonstrations. Connecting violent or disorderly protests with “the mob” or attributing such behavior to the “under classes” reflected class stereotypes about the irrationality of the poor and their inability to master their emotions.[51] For anti-clericals, this connection expressed their equation of Catholics with the uneducated masses. For Catholics, using class-based imagery permitted them to distance “respectable” Catholics

[47] For descriptions of the crowd as *Pöbel*, see *Eucharius*, 15 March 1874, *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 3 March 1874. For a revised description of the crowd, see *Germania,* 2 March 1874 and 7 March 1874.
[48] *Mosella,* 25 February 1875: “A young boy screamed “Blood must flow” and I wanted to box his ears. Respectable people did not say this.”
[49] *SonntagsBlatt,* 27 June 1875. While theoretically disapproving of the act, the paper’s account observed that “One is generally of the opinion that without the prohibition against flags [ie the hanging of the papal flag to honor the anniversary], tempers would not have been aroused, and yesterday as well our city’s never previously disturbed peace would in no way have been disturbed.”
[50] *Mosella,* 1 July 1875. Subsequent reports further distanced Rheine’s respectable Catholics from the incident by attributing the violent deed to a foreign worker from Holland. *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 9 July 1875.
[51] Rude, *The Crowd in History*; Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors*; Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*.

from undesirable actions while also laying claim to a particular class status.[52] If Catholics avoided violence and disorder, then they were neither *Pöbel* nor *Unterschichten*.

In a different strategy, Catholic publicists attempted to turn the discursive tables on their opponents by portraying anti-clericals as outsiders and "foreign elements" while casting themselves as '*der Kern des Volkes'*, a German phrases that means "the core of the people" but can also imply the nation's heart or core. In a particularly vehement example, Trier's *Eucharius* contrasted true Catholic Rhineländer ("a serene, industrious, affluent people, a true solid citizenry") with the anti-clerical measures' liberal supporters (described as "mostly foreign elements", "Jews", "an entire sea of officials from Berlin", and "imported editors from Mecklenburg, Pomerania or the Mark.")[53]

An article from the previous year argued that the crowds that feted (Minister of Culture Adalbert) Falk on his journey through the Rhineland represented not the region's true citizens "but rather the liberal party which certainly portrays itself as the 'core of the population' (*Kern des Volkes*) but in actuality has no claim to this designation."[54] In such polemics, the Catholic press played on regional resentments about being 'ruled' by (Protestant) outsiders and presented Kulturkämpfer as the representatives of a foreign, elitist liberalism whose policies attacked the Church and destroyed hard-working, respectable citizens' livelihood.[55]

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[52] The liberal press employed a similar strategy to distance "respectable" bourgeois liberals from the undesirable provocations of Protestant *Pöbel*. Writing in 1877 of Protestant youths who had disrespected the city's Catholics by attempting to cross through the ranks of the faithful during the Corpus Christi procession while keeping their heads covered, the N*eue Augsburger Zeitung* argued that such behavior showed the "low level of their education" and dismissed them from the liberal ranks as "uneducated youths." Quoted in Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 287.
[53] *Eucharius,* 3 September 1876.
[54] *Eucharius,* 18 July 1875.
[55] In its attack on liberal policies, one Catholic paper explicitly linked the religious struggle to the economic crisis, arguing that "The Kulturkampf has only served to oppress culture and to call forth a general misery in religious, political, social and economic life." *Eucharius,* 10 September 1876.

In contrast to good Catholics (the "heart of the population"), bourgeois liberals appeared as agents of a godless modernity who threatened the very foundations of a harmonious society, an image only underscored by liberal economic policies' negative impact after the 1873 economic crash.[56] Jeremiads about the harsh economic times formed a staple in the ultramontane press; a story from Duisburg told of an employer looking to hire sixty men for his factory who found over three hundred men waiting in the snow in hopes securing employment.[57]A report in the *Westfälisher Merkur* blamed the Church-State conflict for the current economic hardships, stating that the Kulturkampf "everywhere called forth a gloomy mood, a feeling of uncertainty, and also the fear that it could easily lead to catastrophe."[58] Rising unemployment and economic misery justified portraying the liberal elite as bad stewards whose economic policies had created a world characterized by pauperism, prolitarianization, and class tensions.[59] Furthermore, those same policies had torn apart the social fabric that held communities together, leaving people alone and adrift in a strange new bourgeois world.

Such a world could only be healed by a return to the Church, now itself under attack by those responsible for the nation's economic misery. In the Catholic imagination, socio-economic success led not to a greater appreciation of the Lord's blessings but rather to impiety and irreligiosity; godlessness was the other side of the bourgeois coin. This image of impious upper

[56] While economic historians continue to debate whether or not the stock-market crash of 1873 represented an actual depression, the event's traumatic impact on contemporaries can hardly be disputed. According to Cornelius Torp, "contemporaries [saw] the period after 1873 as a sharp and long-lasting depression due to numerous crashes of companies and banks, and due to the radical difference compared to the boom before." "German Economy and Society," 339. Similarly, the ultramontane press, particularly the *Germania*, frequently reported on suicides and cases of infanticide that it blamed on the crash.
[57] *Trierische Volkzeitung,* 18 February 1876.
[58] *Westfälischer Merkur,* 16 May 1874.
[59] Nipperdey, *Religion im Umbruch*, 51.

classes allowed Catholics to understand the Kulturkampf as a class struggle in which a devoutly Catholic underclass defended itself against an avaricious elite that had abandoned its faith.[60]

An article in the *Trierische Volkszeitung* put the conflict into historical context, arguing that "Liberalism is from its inception nothing other than the victorious revolution of the bourgeoisie, the so-called Third Estate, against the clergy, the nobility and the peasantry."[61] In equating present day liberals with the French Revolution's perpetrators (the example *par excellence* of both class struggle and the Church's persecution), Catholic publicists reinforced the religious struggle's class component and encouraged their readers to see in liberal Kulturkämpfer the face of their economic oppressors. These charaterizations also reinforced Catholics' positive self-image; in opposition to the socio-economic elite's impiety, "the core of the population, the true citizenry from the salt of the earth (*von altem Schrot und Korn*) is [and will remain] Catholic."[62]

Catholics' portrayal of themselves as *der Kern des Volkes* also challenged anti-clericals' allegations about their inadequate patriotism and loyalty towards the Reich as well as Protestant efforts to define German national identity in ways that excluded Catholics. Recent studies explain how Catholics refuted Kulturkämpfers' efforts to claim for themselves the mantle of "true Germanness" as they labeled Catholics disloyal *Reichsfeinde*. Pontus Hiort's study of Franco-Prussian War commemorations revealed how Catholics contested Protestants' and liberals' attempts to use memories of the Franco-Prussian War to reinforce a triumphalist, Protestant understanding of the conflict. According to Hiort, liberals and Protestants employed a

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[60] For the notion that wealth led people to fall away from their faith, see Nipperdey, *Religion im Umbruch*; For the idea that Catholics viewed the upper classes as irreligious and thus were happy not to be bourgeois, see Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 257.
[61] *Trierische Volkzeitung,* 8 January 1876.
[62] *Eucharius,* 3 September 1876.

class-based discourse of Catholic backwardness to justify Catholic exclusion from the national identity under construction.

But Catholics' critique of their opponents' image of Germany also employed class-based rhetoric. Catholics argued that the national identity created by liberals and Protestants reflected their efforts "to gain material, financial, and economic advantages" rather than "the German historical and philosophical tradition."[63] Similarly, Rebecca Bennette argues that Catholics depicted the Rhineland and Westphalia as a German and progressive area that preserved "the tenacious character of its ancestors," an image that bolstered Catholic publicists' arguments for "regional and religious differences. . . as positives vital to the strengthening of the new Reich." In portraying the Rhineland and Westphalia as the Reich's "heartland," Catholics linked discourses of class to spatial understandings of national identity, refuting (Protestant, industrialized) Berlin's claim to represent the nation.[64]

Ultimately, the discursive battle between ultramontane publicists and their anti-clerical counterparts reveals two key elements in the relationship between class and the Church-State struggle. First, as historians have long recognized, class tensions and perceptions of socio-economic status influenced how the two sides characterized themselves and each other. The consistent efforts by both sides to present themselves as the "better classes" reflected class's importance to contemporary understandings of the struggle and the extent to which the Kulturkampf became a cultural conflict between opposing world views. Kulturkämpfer portrayed Catholics as an unthinking rabble led by a barely educated "plebian clergy" whose superstitious

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[63] Hiort, "Constructing Another Kind of German," 38. For an earlier example of Catholics' emphasis on their loyalty to the nation in the face of Protestant efforts' to paint them as traitors, see Robert F. Hogg, "Silesian Clerics and the Anti-Catholic Smear Campaign in Prussia," in *Religion und Nation, Nation und Religion: Beiträge zu einer unbewältigten Geschichte*, ed. Michael Geyer and Hartmut Lahmann (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004), 49-75.
[64] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, 90-2.

mindset threatened Germany's future, in which modernity was to be synonymous with the development of an industrial, capitalist economy.[65]

Meanwhile, Catholic polemicists contested their negative portrayal by liberal Protestants. They in turn mocked anti-clerical liberals as outsiders with no understanding of the local population, depicting them as agents of a godless modernity whose governance destroyed the nation's morality and drove its people into abject poverty. At these descriptions' root lay a wide chasm representing not just distinctions in wealth and class status but vastly divergent ideologies. In the Kulturkampf's discursive battles, anti-clericals and Catholics contested the equation of wealth with status, industry with progress, and piety with dependence. Each side sought to establish its superiority (however defined) over its opponents while legitimizing its claim to represent the "true nation."

Second, efforts by ultramontane publicists to combat anti-clericals' negative portrayal of Catholics bore their own class dynamic. In their effort to defend "respectable" Catholics from the slander of the anti-clerical press, Catholic publicists highlighted the internal divisions within the Catholic milieu. Certainly "respectable" Catholics, like the educated milieu that wrote for the *Germania* or represented Catholic Germans in the Landtag, regretted violence committed by the *Pöbel.* Yet, in seeking to distance themselves from these excesses, Catholic spokesmen revealed how class created divisions within their own ranks. Not every Catholic responded to the conflict simply by joining a verein, marching in a procession, and voting for Center party delegates. Although Kulturkampf protests remained overwhelmingly peaceful, smaller acts of violence, particularly those damaging property, occurred with relative frequency. Clearly, some Catholics favored a more direct approach, especially against those who violated community solidarity.

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[65] Trietschke, quoted in Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 1.

When such acts occurred, Catholic notables and publicists always "regretted" them and moved quickly to distance "respectable" Cathoilcs from such actions.[66]

Thus, Catholic publicists drew distinctions within the milieu itself, separating "respectable" Catholics who adhered to the Church's call for passive resistance from those willingly to engage in acts of vandalism or violence. Positing a divide between "respectable" Catholics and the *Pöbel* reflected the milieu's class tensions, tensions which in turn influenced ideas about the correct strategy to pursue in the conflict and more immediate reactions to the enforcement of Kulturkampf laws.

At the discursive level, class and social status greatly influenced Kulturkampf activism. Kulturkämpfer connected their social status to their belief in progress while blaming Catholicism's backwardness for its adherents' lower social standing. Likewise, Catholics connected their opponents to industrialization's negative socio-economic consequences as well as a decline in general morality. Each side employed the term *Pöbel* to characterize those who participated in Kulturkampf protests but for very different reasons. While Kulturkämpfer associated Catholics in general with the mob, ultramontane publicists used the term to separate "respectable" Catholics from those involved in Kulturkampf excesses. The conflict's class-based rhetoric reveals the emphasis both sides placed on respectability and independence, underscoring these two concepts' importance to understandings of the Kulturkampf and claims for inclusion in the new German nation.

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[66] The frequent drawing of this distinction leads one to question the extent to which such divisions reflected reality or simply a discursive tool to distance the Catholic cause from the event. Liberal papers often suspected that "poor" Catholics seldom acted alone; accounts of violence often accuse bourgeois or noble Catholics (especially priests) of inciting the lower orders to regrettable actions (distributing liquor to the mob to incite violence, etc.) For example, the *SonntagsBlatt* discussed liberal press reports concerning the attack on Steuerexecutor Waltenfang in Calcar, 18 May 1874. Such accusations obviously reflected liberals' vision of the lower classes as incapable of acting independently but are repeated often enough that they bear a hint of truth.

Class Distinctions in Popular Kulturkampf Activism

While the previous section explored how class influenced the discursive struggle, this section turns its attention to the relationship between class and Kulturkampf activism. Class status and social standing impacted the forms individuals' activism took; a Catholic's social position often conditioned his or her willingness and ability to protest anti-clerical measures. Kulturkampf activism also reflected existing class relationships within the Catholic community, uniting Catholics in clerics' defense while also reinforcing hierarchical distinctions. Looking at how Catholics from different social backgrounds took part in the conflict reveals how class shaped that activism and how activism itself highlighted social distinctions within the milieu.

Not limited to the discursive realm, class distinctions amongst Catholics also crept into efforts to show support for the Church. First and foremost, class influenced how German Catholics took part in the Kulturkampf by determining whether they participated in the conflict at all. Despite the Church's call for Catholics to rally to its ranks or the fact that a priest's arrest affected all Catholics' religious lives (regardless of their social standing), Catholic Kulturkampf activism reflected communities' socio-economic differences. The most obvious illustration of how class influenced German Catholics' participation in the struggle was the comparative absence of male, bourgeois Catholics in public demonstrations of piety or public actions on clerics' behalf. [67] Early historical accounts explained this absence by portraying Catholicism as a religion of workers and peasants, led by the nobility but shunned by the middle-classes and

[67] Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, 300-301.

educated individuals.[68] Thus, the lack of bourgeois Catholics in general explained bourgeois Catholics' absence from Kulturkampf protests.

However, this image of Catholicism as composed of a small, noble elite and masses of peasants and workers ignores the fact that Catholics also lived in cities, and in the Rhineland and Westphalia, often comprised the area's bourgeoisie. In his study of Cologne and Bonn, Thomas Mergel documented bourgeois Catholics' struggle to remain both bourgeois and Catholic throughout the conflict.[69] While asserting the existence of a Catholic bourgeoisie, his research still portrayed Kulturkampf activism as something foreign to bourgeois Catholics. Although they may have continued to attend Church services and participate in Church rites, Mergel argues that bourgeois Catholics remained cool towards ultramontane piety and public actions in defense of clergymen. He cites Cologne's Catholic bourgeoisie's failure to rally to their beleauguered Archbishop's aid as evidence of their unwillingness to publicly support ultramontane politics.[70] According to Mergel, class standing affected Kulturkampf partisanship because the conflict's radicalization forced bourgeois Catholics to privilege one aspect of their identity over another, to declare themselves as either bourgeois or Catholic.

David Blackbourn also points to the dearth of bourgeois Catholics at the 1876 Marian apparitions near Marpingen. Amongst the pilgrims who flocked to the shrine, Blackbourn notes

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[68] See for example, Lepsius's characterization of the Catholic milieu in his now famous work. Rainer Lepsius, "Parteisystem und Sozialstruktur: Zum Problem der Demokratisierung der deutschen Gesellschaft," in *Deutsche Parteien vor 1918*, ed. Gerhard Ritter (Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1973), 56-80. See also Clemens Bauer, *Deutscher Katholizismus: Entwicklungslinien und Profile* (Frankfurt: Knecht, 1964.)
[69] Mergel demonstrates the existence of Catholics within these cities' bourgeois elite but credits the Kulturkampf with accelerating the breakdown of intra-class unity amongst these areas' bourgeoisie. He writes that the "Kulturkampf confronted the bourgeoisie with a choice between church and class at the same moment that the class needed cohesion to combat the demands of lower classes and maintain its dominance." This double-bind meant that bourgeois Catholics had to abandon their identity as Catholics, their identity as members of the bourgeois elite, or attempt to exist in the tension between these two identities. Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, quote on p. 253.
[70] Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession,* 272.

"a marked bourgeois absence," which he attributes to bourgeois Catholics' attitude towards overt displays of ultramontane piety. He argues that "the strikingly apparent under-representation at Marpingen of the Catholic business and professional middle class . . . said something about the Catholics who were members of those classes, and especially of the educated middle class . . . these were the Catholics who distrusted 'excessive' Mariolatry and found episodes like Marpingen more of an embarrassment than an inspiration."[71]

As Blackbourn and Mergel demonstrate, male bourgeois Catholics' absence from public displays of piety or overt demonstrations on Catholic clergymen's behalf reflected not such a group's absence but rather their attitude towards the more demonstrative piety encouraged by the Church and favored by the broader Catholic community.[72] Given bourgeois Catholics' voluntary distancing from the ultramontance influences that dominated Catholicism during the Kulturkampf, class identity and values played a major role in limiting bourgeois participation in popular reactions to Kulturkampf measures.

While the normative values associated with their class status kept bourgeois men away from Kulturkampf activism, most Catholics took part in public demonstrations. Theoretically open to Catholics regardless of class standing and organized to convey the community's unity, in reality, public displays of solidarity such as joining a deputation or bidding on a cleric's items at auction also reflected social distinctions within the milieu. By making clear who led and who followed, who participated and who did not, these acts of devotion forged bonds of community at the same time that they reinforced the community's status-based stratifications. For example,

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[71] Bourgeois pilgrims' absence constrasted starkly with the "impressive aristocratic presence" as well as the numerous pilgrims from "humble backgrounds." Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 138-9.
[72] For these Catholics, their class identity shaped their religious understanding and led them to embrace a more personal piety that frequently precluded public shows of support for the Church and its clerics or encouraged them to favor petition campaigns and electoral activism, activities more comfortably associated with bourgeois life. Blackbourn, *Marpingen*.

deputations bearing loyalty declarations, often with participants numbering in the hundreds, streamed into episocal Sees throughout Germany's Catholic regions. Contemporary press accounts depict these deputations as a common sight in cities like Trier, Münster, and Cologne as thousands took the streets to profess loyalty to their bishops.

Yet, even as they reinforced the Catholic community's unity, deputations also expressed the community's social divisions; nobles or bourgeois men headed and spoke for the larger group.[73] When a group of local citizens "from all ranks" conveyed their loyalty to Münster's Bishop Brinkmann, the local *Sonntags Blatt für katholische Christen* noted this act of class unity but mentioned by name Architect Hertel who led the group.[74] The process of delivering the petition also embodied the Catholic community's class distinctions and inequalities; the deputations' sheer size meant that only the leaders received admittance into the bishop's chambers to personally assure him of their fidelity. Most deputation members instead enjoyed the distinct pleasure of waiting outside in the hope that the bishop would appear to offer them the sign of blessing.[75]

Deputations also reflected the economic inequalities existent within the parish community itself. Not every Catholic could afford the journey's cost or time away from work; these economic realities excluded poorer Catholics living at a distance from the episcopal city. The Catholic press's descriptions of parish deputations often referred to those Catholics unable

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[73] Nobles filled this role only when they chose not to form their own exclusive deptuations, as did the noblewomen of Westphalia or the Catholic nobility of the Rhineland. For the men in the Rhineland, see *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 29 March 1874; for a report on the Westphalian noblewomen, see Chapter One.

[74] *SonntagsBlatt,* 16 March 1873 for the report on Hertel. For a general discussion of deputations' compositions, see *SonntagsBlatt,* 22 March 1874.

[75] Although referring to women, Ludwig Ficker's description of the process applies to deputations of both sexes. He recounts how "the city's women and young women were determined to personally express their sympathy and reverence for the Bishop. They were received on April 8. Well before the appointed hour, not only the hall but also the palace's forecourt and the cathedral's courtyard were filled with thousands of women and young girls from all classes. After Luzie Ehring, the wife of a prominent local businessman, had delivered an address to the Bishop, he went to the window and dispensed the episcopal blessing to the crowd. Ficker, *Der Kulturkampf in Münster*, 106.

to take part in the deputation, assuring readers that only economic hardship had compelled their co-religionists to remain behind.[76]

Here again, at the most basic level, one's socio-economic position strongly influenced one's Kulturkampf activism. Not every Catholic could afford to take part in these deputations just as not every deputation member could expect to be admitted into the Bishop's chambers. One of the principal ways in which Catholics signaled their partisanship in the conflict, deputations allowed Catholics to feel that that they had done their part in resisting the anti-clerical legislation.[77] Yet, in these basic acts of intra-faith solidarity, poorer Catholics found themselves denied the opportunity to take part in the collective struggle while for others the opportunity reached to the episcopal palace's doors but no farther in a glaringly obvious statement of inequality.

Similarly, the crowds that gathered at the auction of a priest's worldly goods or at his subsequent arrest forged unity while reinforcing hierarchical divisions within the community. Press reports habitually remarked on the large crowds of Catholic on-lookers who ensured the auction's 'desired' result by discouraging unwanted bidders. In this way, auctions allowed all Catholics, regardless of age, class, or gender, to participate in a protest action, reinforcing the milieu's solidarity. For example, after the state seized their priest's cow, Rorup's Catholics purchased it at auction, decorated it, and marched it back to him in a jubiliant procession.[78] Actions such as this helped create the sense of a unified community acting as one in their cleric's

[76] *SonntagsBlatt,* 12 April 1874. Certainly claims of economic hardship offered individual Catholics a viable excuse for opting out of such actions and provided the ultramontane press with an acceptable explanation when not all male community members chose to attend. However, the "truth" behind such claims remains difficult to discern from the existing sources. Furthermore, factors such as the community's size, its distance from the episcopal See, its religious composition, etc, likely influenced individuals' choices as well.
[77] The words themselves used to describe these acts (Sie liessen es nicht nehmen = they would not let it be taken from them) conveyed the sense in which Catholics felt it a duty or a conscious act of solidarity, an act from which they would not be hindered. See Ficker, *Der Kulturkampf in Münster,* 106.
[78] *Germania,* 27 October 1874.

defense. However, the bidding process at these auctions reveal the high levels of organization designed to ensure a favorable outcome (ie to prevent Catholics from bidding against each other and non-Catholics from purchasing the cleric's possessions.) Press reports on clerical auctions show a clear pattern amongst the bidders, with noble and bourgeois men filling this role in most cases.[79]

Acting as a bidder meant more than a simple expression of trust and leadership; such a role empowered these community members, elevating them from passive observers to highly visible actors capable of controlling the situation's dynamics. On many occasions, Catholic men succeeded in turning an event intended to punish a cleric into a mockery of state power as in Dülken, where the bidder offered 41 Thaler for a simple photo of the Pope but only 2 Thaler for a winter coat.[80] Likewise, at the auction of Bishop Brinkmann's possessions in Münster, the designated bidder, a local businessman, amused the crowd by varying his bids, offering 10 Thaler for six chairs, 5 Thaler for a duvet, and finally 300 Thaler for a bust of the Pope, an act the crowd greeted with loud cheers.[81] As with deputations, auctions permitted Catholics to publicly express their support for clerics while creating horizontal ties of unity through the collective rejection of Kulturkampf laws. However, these same incidents also reinforced vertical systems of power, elevating certain community members over others, demonstrating once again that age, gender, and class all influenced participation in popular actions in the Church's defense.

Class standing also shaped Catholics' reactions to a cleric's arrest, an event that frequently set the whole community into an uproar as parishioners hurried to say good-bye to

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[79] My research revealed only one exception to this pattern: at the auction of Trier's Bishop Eberhard's property, the sole bidder was a widow. See Persch and Schneider, eds, *Geschichte des Bistums Trier*, 619; *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 12 February 1874; *SonntagsBlatt,* 15 February 1874.
[80] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 23 April 1874.
[81] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 30 März 1874.

their priest and escort him on his journey. Like auctions, a cleric's arrest allowed Catholics to demonstrate support for their cleric and displeasure with the May laws. They also offered Catholics the chance to play an active role in the conflict, an opportunity that most Catholics seized enthusiastically. Contemporary reports repeatedly stressed that everyone, regardless of age, class or gender, raced to the scene.[82]

However, this communal unity literally only went so far. In most cases, the entire community proceeded to a certain point, at which time the arresting officers expected that the women and children would remain behind. But it was not just women and children who found their efforts rebuffed; many times only smaller deputations of male faithful made the entire journey with their cleric while the other men of the parish turned back. Such was the case in Seesbach at Pastor Wald's arrest: the entire community escorted him to the village's edge but six men, including three from the church council, accompanied him on to Simmern.[83] Similarly, Father Kemper's parishioners followed him to Eggenrode's border at which point only the *Gemeindevorsteher* and the sexton remained with him on the journey to Schöppingen.[84]

These examples highlight escorts' underlying premise and the messages they conveyed to observers and participants. Intended to show respect and defiance, an escort expressed the esteem in which the community held the arrestant, conveyed by the status of those chosen to provide the escort, precluding the participation of women and those of lower socio-economic standing. The same principle held at the elaborately staged receptions for priests returning from prison, occasions where church council members or other prominent citizens greeted clerics and

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[82] For one example among many, see the description of Pastor Fellenz of Haustadt's arrest in *Mosella,* 12 February 1874 which highlights how men and women, old and young raced to Fellenz's residence to escort him out of the village.
[83] *Mosella,* 29 June 1874.
[84] *SonntagsBlatt,* 11 January 1874.

spoke words of welcome.[85] One's standing in the community determined one's participation in demonstrations at a cleric's arrest and return. All parishioners participated, promoting unity with the community, but only those with status could be singled out. In this way, Kulturkampf activism reinforced the existing community hierarchy, reiterating whose presence mattered most and underscoring status divisions within the milieu.

The composition of these honor guards publicly expressed class relationships within the parish community. Escorts reinforced the status divisions between leaders and followers, those capable of bestowing honor and those who simply formed the crowd, a message intended as much for those within the Catholic community as for their anti-clerical opponents. When communities escorted their cleric to prison, they expressed the community's unity in his support, and the social hierarchy that governed relationships within the community. For example, at Münster's Bishop Brinkmann's arrest and return, both the nobility and the city's prominent non-noble citizens shared the honor of escorting the bishop. Both groups' representatives were present in his apartment at his arrest and during the celebrations at his return, suggesting a power sharing amongst the dominant classes in the city.[86]

These escorts did not just reinforce social roles within the community; they also highlighted prominent citizens' support for the Catholic cause. Catholic publicists continually drew attention to these visible demonstrations of loyalty by men of standing. Laying claim to these people's loyalties mattered greatly, especially in the struggle's discursive context. Once

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[85] On church councils greeting priests, see Kemper's release: *Sonntagsblatt* 19, April 1874. For prominent citizens, see Chaplain Thielen' reception in Schweich, *SonntagsBlatt,* 22 March 1874.

[86] On Brinkmann's arrest, see *Sonntagsblatt,* 21 March 1875. On his release, see *Sonntagsblatt,* 2 May 1875. For the notion of power-sharing, see Antonius Liedhegener, *Christentum und Urbanisierung: Katholiken und Protestanten in Münster und Bochum, 1830-1933* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997.)

again, the Kulturkampf illustrated the Catholic communities' inequalities, social distinctions that in turn determined how Catholics expressed their dedication.

Just as class shaped Kulturkampf activism's form, it also influenced the consequences individuals faced for supporting clerics. Those further down the social scale suffered harsher ramifications than those at the top for several reasons. First, the government hesitated to prosecute prominent citizens. Graf Hoensbroech never faced charges for allowing the *gesperrt* priest, Anton Mömken, to reside on the his estate on a semi-permanent basis. Kaplan Stölben's mother, however, received a fine for allowing her *gesperrt* son to spend one night in her home.[87] In the rare instances when the government decided to take action against distinguished Catholics, these cases ended in acquittals or, as with the Westphalian noblewomen prosecuted for their address to Münster's Bishop Brinkmann, in fines easily paid.[88]

Second, the costs of missing work to escort a priest to prison or to attend church services on a religious holiday differed based on one's class standing. While a peasant, artisan or a day-laborer may lose a day's work while taking part in such activities, industrial workers faced fines or even dismissal for failing to work on religious holidays. Workers suffered a similar fate for escorting clerics to prison or voting too openly for clerical candidates.[89] While processions and

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[87] Although the Düsseldorf district governor was well aware of Mömken's presence, he wrote to Berlin stating that in light of the Graf's great importance, he would not undertake any action against him without express orders from Berlin, orders that never came. Föhles, *Kulturkampf und katholisches Milieu*, 239-40. Stölben, *Mosella,* 9 December 1874.

[88] Graf Hoensbroech was acquitted of firing an illegal gun salute from his palace on Pius Day. For the charges, see *SonntagsBlatt*, 17 September 1876; for his acquittal, see Föhles, *Kulturkampf und katholisches Milieu,* 231. As Chapter One points out, the government won a pyrrhic victory with the Westphalian noblewomen's prosecution. The court fined the women only after a public trial allowed them to demonstrate their support for the Catholic cause and disdain for the state.

[89] A factory owner near Dülken fired village girls village who missed work to escort Kaplan Kermes to the train station at his arrest, *Germania,* 16 July 1874. The *Kölnische Volkszeitung* reported on workers in Kattowitz (Katowice) who lost their jobs and were subsequently evicted from their company housing for voting for Center party candidates, see 5 November 1873, 12 November 1873, and 21 November 1873. Thirty mine workers from Bochum lost their positions after they missed work in order to celebrate Candlemas, *Trierische Volkszeitung,* 8 February 1876.

Catholic holidays united Catholics across class lines, activism's consequences hinged on one's social position.

Finally, class status sometimes precluded Catholics' ability to remain casual observers; forcing them, rich or poor, to declare their loyalty. For example, when the state needed men to move a cleric's furniture, they sought casual laborers, presenting these men with the choice between obedience and a paycheck or religious solidarity and lost wages.[90] Similarly, local officials charged with carrying out unpopular anti-clerical measures suffered their Catholic neighbors' wrath, not ministers in Berlin or district governors in Düsseldorf or Trier. The Church-State conflict also brought distinctive pressures for those higher up the social ladder as Catholic Landräte and mayors lost their positions in state service for failing to enforce Kulturkampf laws with the proper zeal.[91] Ultimately, these examples illustrate that just as class status determined if and how Catholics took part in Kulturkampf activism, it also influenced the price they paid for their commitment.

Class greatly influenced Catholics' Kulturkampf activism, often determining whether and how individuals protested against the anti-clerical legislation. Although acting in the Church's defense theorectically stood open to all Catholics, not every Catholic could express his or her support in the same way. Even in these passionate moments of unity, class distinctions continued to divide the milieu; Kulturkampf activism reinforced these social divisions. As Margaret Anderson noted in regards to Catholics' political organization, Catholic Germany was hardly

[90] In Münster, the government prosecuted Catholic laborers for their refusal to carry out the Bishop's possessions, fining them 10 Marks each. *SonntagsBlatt,* 15 March 1874. In other areas, the Catholic press stressed workers' refusal to carry these items.

[91] Margaret Lavinia Anderson and Kenneth Barkin, "The Myth of the Puttkammer Purge and the Reality of the Kulturkampf: Some Reflections on the Historiography of Imperial Germany," *The Journal of Modern History* 54 (1982): 647-686; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und katholisches Milieu*, 110-167.

egalitarian; it components were hierarchical and distinct.[92] In the Catholic worldview, solidarity coexisted with inequality.

Activism's Social Purpose: The Westphalian Nobility

Class status also affected how different groups understood the conflict and the goals they sought to achieve through their actions. Historians like David Blackbourn, Klaus-Michael Mallmann, and Horst Gründer have argued that the Kulturkampf embodied Catholics' efforts to defend their social position against industrialization's perceived negative impacts.[93] This section builds on this understanding of the Kulturkampf as a social conflict by exploring how different social groups understood and experienced it. In particular, it examines the reactions of Catholic aristocrats in Westphalia and industrial workers in the Saar and Ruhr regions, investigating the ways in which the religious conflict merged with existing social and political tensions to produce distinctive understandings of (and reactions to) the state's campaign against the Church.

Attending to the dramatic differences in Kulturkampf activism's forms and motivations between Catholics from divergent social groups reveals the close connection between notions of self-interest and Catholic activism. Although workers and nobles, farmers and artisans, rich and poor rallied to their faith, their differing class backgrounds meant that their motives and methods varied greatly.

As described earlier, social standing helped determine both whether and how Catholics from differing social backgrounds took part in the conflict. For the Westphalian nobility, this

[92] Anderson, *Practising Democracy*, 124-5.
[93] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Gründer, "Krieg bis auf's Messer"; Mallmann, "Volksfrömmingkeit."

meant assuming demonstrative leadership roles that corresponded to their class's wealth and privileges.[94] Westphalian aristocrats sought to convey support for the Church and disdain for the government's anti-clerical policies in distinctive ways that bolstered their own social position and claims to social prominence while avoiding illegal or violent actions. Their willingness to intercede on the Church's behalf reflected the historical ties between the Catholic church and Westphalia's landed aristocracy as well as Westphalian aristocrats' understanding of social duty and their own self-interest.

Before discussing how Catholic aristocrats participated in the Kulturkampf, some background regarding the relationship between the Catholic church, the Prussian state and the Westphalian aristocracy is in order. Although the French Revolution had left noble property (and thus economic independence) relatively intact, the area's transfer to Prussian rule meant a decline in the local nobility's political power. In particular, Prussia's policy of appointing officials from other areas to govern the province created tensions with the aristocracy, which viewed itself as the natural ruling class.[95] Furthermore, the Westphalian aristocracy's Catholicism set it apart from the Protestant East Elbian nobility. The state's efforts to regulate the Catholic church led to additional friction, in particular to conflicts between the nobility and local bureaucrats charged with administering the province.[96]

The 1837 "Cologne Troubles," a conflict over the Catholic church's tough stance on mixed marriage that led the Prussian state to imprison Arch-bishop Clemens Droste-Vischering,

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[94] This section focuses primarily on the Westphalian nobility because the French occupation had drastically reduced the Rhenish nobility's power and size. As Wilhelm Janssen writes, the Rhenish nobility that survived "lacked the rootedness within the local community and the social resonance" of the Westphalian nobility, making them less influential and more dependent on the Prussian state. Wilhelm Janssen, *Kleine Rheinische Geschichte* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1997), 254.
[95] Behr, "Die Provinz Westfalen und das Land Lippe," 66.
[96] Heinz Reif, *Westfälischer Adel, 1770-1860* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 453.

incited widespread popular anger that manifested itself in new levels of support for the Church. The 1837 conflict led to a decisive break in the relationship between the Westphalian nobility and the Prussian state as the aristocracy rallied to the Church, refusing to socialize with Prussian officials, leaving state service, and instead turning to the priesthood or monastic life.[97]

But the Cologne Troubles signaled another turning point as well: the conflict demonstrated religious issues' power to rally popular opinion, especially when linked with regional pride and anti-Prussian sentiment. After 1837, the Westphalian nobility reconnected with popular opinion by "re-inventing" themselves as the Church's defenders against 'outsiders' who failed to understand and respect the area's traditions. In his study of the Westphalian nobility, Heinz Reif concludes that the "religious activism [of 1837] had prepared Catholics for political activism, especially for nobles' return to political power," particularly after the state's economic policies in the 1850's served to unite the province's nobility and farmers. From this point "nobles look[ed] not to King and Court but region, religion and agriculture to secure their status."[98]

Aristocratic participation in the Kulturkampf reflected nobles' efforts to reclaim status and political influence. This is not to say that aristocratic support for the Church grew solely from self-interest; many members of the Westphalian nobility were deeply religious and truly committed to their faith.[99] Rather than a zero-sum game, noble participation in the Kulturkampf expressed both aristocrats' religious commitment *and* their attempts to defend their social and political status. Examining how the Catholic nobility demonstrated their support for the Church

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[97] Behr, "Die Provinz Westfalen und das Land Lippe," 70; Hegel, "Die katholische Kirche," 359-60. Hegel argues that the Westphalian nobility's dramatic show of support also grew from the fact that Droste-Vischering came from Westphalia and the nobility there considered him one of their own.
[98] Reif, *Westfälischer Adel,* 454-456.
[99] Meiwes, *Arbeiterinnen des Herrn*; Gatz, *Kirche und Krankenpflege im 19. Jahrhundert.*

and their unhappiness with state policy illustrates the relationship between class status and Catholic reactions to anti-clerical laws.

Publicness, legality, and leadership characterized aristocratic activism. As noted earlier, the nobility frequently led demonstrations of popular support for the Church. When parishioners presented petitions to their bishops, noblemen often headed these deputations, gaining admission to the Bishop's presence while the others waited outside. In some instances, the nobility sent separate delegations, as was the case with the infamous Damenadresse or the Rhenish nobility's private deputation to Archbishop Melchers.[100] At Bishop Brinkmann's arrest, fifteen carriages carrying the region's most elite citizens escorted him to Warendorf (to say nothing of the large crowd that filled the cathedral square) but Count Erbdroste accompanied Brinkmann in his wagon.[101]

Nobles also led the numerous Catholic organizations that sprang up during the Kulturkampf. Freiherr Felix von Löe founded the *Verein der deutschen Katholiken* (Mainz Association) which worked to politicize German Catholics and coordinate their activities. Aristocrats helped to organize and fund the *Katholikentagen* (Catholic Days) held throughout Germany to unite and inspire Catholics during the struggle. They also spoke at political rallies held to mobilize electoral support for the Center party.[102] While the nobility shared these duties with other groups, particularly the clergy and educated, bourgeois Catholics, their prominent roles marked them as leaders of Catholic resistance to the Kulturkampf, reinforcing their image

[100] For the Damenadresse, see Chapter One. For the Rhenish nobles, see *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 29 March 1874.
[101] *SonntagsBlatt,* 21 March 1875.
[102] For Katholikentagen speakers, see Mooser, "Volk, Arbeiter und Bürger," 259-271. For nobles' roles at public rallies, see *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 7 August 1873. See Föhles discussions of nobles' organizing and paying for these events, *Kulturkampf und katholisches Milieu*, 237-245.

as the Church's special protectors and society's natural leaders who fought for the common good.[103]

Catholic nobles also used their social standing to convey their displeasure with anti-clerical measures, as when the Westphalian Aristocratic Women's Club (*Westfälische adelige Damenklub)* cancelled their yearly social activities because of Kulturkampf tensions.[104] Other aristocrats followed suit; many refused to take up residence in Münster for the season, remaining instead on their rural estates. While such actions may seem trivial, they deserve to be seen as legitimate protest actions for two reasons. First, given their prominence, nobles' decision to cancel their social activities attracted public attention, conveying the nobility's disdain for anti-clerical policies. Furthermore, such actions set a public example: other groups imitated their actions, with shooting festivals and other popular recreational activities cancelled or restricted to purely religious ceremonies rather than the normal public festivities.[105]

The second, and perhaps more important, reason to consider the cancellation of normal sociability as protests was because Prussian officials certainly did. Westphalia's (nominally) Catholic Oberpräsident, Friedrich von Kühlwetter, complained to Falk that by refusing to return to Münster for the winter season, the Westfalian nobility "had conducted a further demonstration again the [May] laws."[106] Accounts of the Kulturkampf in Münster highlight the social ostracism that the Catholic nobility inflicted on government officials and military personnel stationed in the city, attributing the conflict's bitterness there to the on-going animosity between the region's

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[103] Reif, *Westfälischer Adel,* 451.
[104] *SonntagsBlatt,* 25 January 1874.
[105] Behr, "Die Provinz Westfalen und das Land Lippe," 107.
[106] Ficker, *Der Kulturkampf in Münster,* 115. See also Behr, "Die Provinz Westfalen und das Land Lippe," 107. This strategy reached to German society's heights. Wilhelm I treated Minister of Culture Falk coolly while Empress Augusta avoided any contact with Falk and refused to receive or socialize with his wife. Volkmar, *Kulturkampf*, 78.

nobility and Kühlwetter.[107] Acts of social snobbery by the Catholic nobility attracted public attention to the nobility's behavior (lending greater power to the insult), signified the aristocracy's rejection of government policies, and reaffirmed their role as defenders of local tradition against outside usurpers.

Catholic nobles also used their wealth in the Church's defense. When informed of the impending auction of Bishop Brinkmann's wordly goods, Count von Landsberg-Belen-Gemen immediately sent a letter telling Brinkmann that he was free to use any of the furniture from the Count's residence (Hof) in Münster; he needed only to inform the Hausmeister which items he wanted. The letter also assured Brinkmann that should he be forced to vacate the espisocal palace, the Count's residence stood at his disposal.[108] But aristocratic generosity extended beyond high-ranking clerics; regular clergymen also benefitted from funds Catholic nobles created to support loyal priests denied their state income.[109] Aristocrats also led the effort to shelter monastic property from state seizure, purchasing monasteries' and nunneries' residences and possessions to keep them from state hands. Noble estates in Holland likewise provided refuge for many a priest or nun exiled from Germany.[110]

In these examples, the Catholic nobility's wealth distinguished their role in the conflict from the average Catholic's, reflecting their historically close relationship with Catholic religious institutions that often housed noble sons and daughters. Such actions also allowed the nobility to meet the bourgeoisie's emerging challenge to their leadership, particularly in Westphalia where

[107] Horst Gründer argues that the Kulturkampf had a particular virulency in Münster due to both Brinkmann's and Kühlwetter's intractable personalities. According to Gründer, Kühlwetter blamed the clergy and the nobility for Münster's lack of submissiveness to the state, both during the current conflict and in previous times. For Kühlwetter, the conflict's goal was to break the connection between Church and nobility, thus reducing aristocratic power in the region and bringing people closer to the state.
[108] Herr Erbdroste Graf Droste zu Vischering made a similar offer. *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 12 February 1874.
[109] *SonntagsBlatt,* 15 March 1874. For other organizations following their example, see Behr, "Die Provinz Westfalen und das Land Lippe," 107.
[110] Föhles, *Kulturkampf und katholisches Milieu*, 237-245.

Catholic businessmen also committed their resources to the Church's defense.[111] Furthermore, the Catholic nobility benefitted from ultramontane press reports that chronicled their actions, underscoring noble efforts to depict themselves as leaders of the struggle to protect the Church. For example, numerous publications reported on Münster's Police Commissar Delsen who lost his position after refusing to arrest Bishop Brinkmann. However, the *Katholische Volkszeitung* reported the tragic tale's happy ending, noting that Delsen had found employment as the *Rentmeister* for one of Münster's most prominent nobles.[112] Stories like this drew public attention to aristocratic support for the Church's resistance against Kulturkampf policies, reinforcing the connections between the nobility and the people, and portraying the Catholic nobility as the Church and common man's true defenders from encroaching state power.

In addition to their actions' public nature, legality and non-violence also distinguished nobles' Kulturkampf activism. While Kulturkampf demonstrations on the whole stressed passive resistance, conflict occasionally boiled over into active resistance, and sometimes violent revolt. However, the Catholic nobility kept its distance from these less dignified protests, preferring to express its partisanship through legal means that allowed aristocrats to reject state policy without compromising their claim to leadership. In the few instances where Catholic nobles violated the law, these cases generally concerned written expression (such as the Damenaddress protest or involvement with a Catholic periodical that violated the press laws) or participation in a political group such as the Mainz Association.

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[111] For bourgeois financial efforts on the Church's behalf, see Behr, "Die Provinz Westfalen und das Land Lippe,"106-7. Reif argues that religion offered a means of reasserting noble prestige in the face of the stadtbürgertum's growing wealth, *Westfälischer Adel,* 436.

[112] *Katholische Volkszeitung* 6 April 75; *Eucharius* 18 March 1875 on his firing as an example to others. Similarly, when local noblemen offered Bishop Brinkmann the use of their Münster residences, the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* was quick to argue that "it goes without saying that the high nobility's gallant actions will be greeted by the Catholic people with joyful statisfaction and loud acclaim." 12 February 1874

This emphasis on non-violent, legal protest, together with the public attention that noble activism garnered, only underscores social standing's larger implications for Westphalian aristocrats' participation in Kulturkampf protests. For Catholic nobles, resistance to anti-clerical legislation expressed their understanding of their societal roles and recognition of their class interests. In particular, taking a stand against anti-clerical legislation allowed them to defend their social and political power from encroachment by both the state and growing bourgeoisie. Catholic aristocrats' very public leadership roles throughout the conflict reflected the nobility's effort to reinforce claims to social leadership.

Through their activism, Westphalian aristocrats reasserted their importance to Catholic society as the group uniquely positioned to interecede on the Church's behalf and resist the state's Kulturkampf policies.[113] By demonstrating their partisanship in these distinctive ways, the Catholic nobility underlined their privileged social position (think of Count Erbdroste riding in Brinkmann's carriage as the others follow behind) while justifying their privileges to the popular classes by presenting themselves (and their wealth and status) as defenders of the common good. Class status influenced how the Catholic nobility participated in the conflict as well as their perception of the struggle and their unique role in it.

Activism's Social Purpose: The Industrial Working-Classes

At the other end of the social strata, industrial working-class Catholics in the Saarland and the Ruhr also perceived the Kulturkampf as closely linked to their social standing,

[113] Several nobles resigned or lost their positions due to their unwillingness to enforce anti-clerical legislation. Far from rendering these people powerless, such acts gained them new respect in the eyes of their fellow Catholics See *Eucharius,* 18 Januar 1874 on the dismissal of Düsseldorf's Landrat, Herr W. Graf v. Spee. For a discussion of the wide-scale dismissal of Catholic officials, see Anderson and Barkin, "The Myth of the Puttkamer Purge."

particularly their growing sense of class oppression. Klaus Michael Mallmann demonstrates how industrialization coincided with growing religious tensions, linking the two in workers' minds. Housed in poorly-constructed, hastily built barracks on the community's edge, most workers in the Saarland lived separated from their families, working Monday through Saturday in the mines and only returning home late on Saturday evening.[114] Poor wages and dangerous conditions increased the insecurity and unpredictability of workers' lives while also placing them in a new position of dependency on their (frequently Protestant) employers. Mallmann argues that most workers in the Saarland experienced industrialization as social descent and personal devaluation, as a 'prolitarianization' that uprooted them from their communities and transplanted them into a new social system, controlled by a foreign (Prussian) Protestant elite that cared for neither their external nor internal well-being.[115]

For workers feeling displaced and oppressed, the Church offered real help in this world and eternal salvation in the next. More importantly, the Catholic faith allowed these men to reclaim their dignity as workers and humans. According to Josef Mooser, the Catholic church became not just a passive refuge from the "the hardships of the irreligious bourgeois society" but also "a means of survival in the catastrophic downfall of that society."[116]

Historians cite three main reasons for Catholicism's appeal to workers in this period. First, the Church provided them with a connection to the traditional world of the village, restoring a missing sense of *Heimat*, that uniquely emotional German conception of home. Religious ceremonies and rituals allowed Catholic workers to maintain a piece of their previous life, a life shared with loved ones and not associated with the Protestant-controlled industrial

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[114] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, p. 53-58; Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat," 192.
[115] Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit," 230-1.
[116] Mooser "Katholische Volksreligion, Klerus und Bürgertum," 144-156.

world.[117] Secondly, the Church emerged as a true defender of industrial workers, with "red Kapläne" actively helping workers improve their conditions through self-help organizations and collective action.[118] Finally, the Catholic church also promoted working-class parishioners' internal well-being, restoring pride and meaning to their lives through depictions of Christ himself as a worker.[119] As a result, workers experienced religion as "a guide to navigating (*Orientierungshilfe*) in a strange Protestant world."[120] Catholicism offered them a sense of belonging and a link with home in a foreign environment while also providing pratical help in the daily struggle for survival.

Given these conditions, working-class Catholics' active participation in Kulturkampf demonstrations emerged as a logical response to the merger of religious, political, and socio-economic oppression. Mallmann argues that the government's anti-clerical legislation (supported by the area's Protestant ruling-elite) permitted "the conflicts of a class society to be interpreted to a large degree according to religious differences and to be played out in the form of a religious struggle."[121] Confessional tensions reinforced class differences, allowing Catholic workers to view themselves as doubly oppressed. This fusion shaped working-class understanding of the conflict, determing how workers demonstrated their commitment to the Church and rejection of the state's anti-clerical policies. While the Westphalian aristocracy preferred to show its

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[117] Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit," 196; Maria Zenner "Probleme des Übergangs von der Agrar- zur Industrie- und Arbeiterkultur im Saarland" in *Sociale Frage und Kirche im Saarrevier*, ed. Ulrich Fohrmann (Saarbrück: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1984), p. 65-78. For a similar interpretation regarding workers in the Ruhr, see Bachem-Rehm, *Die katholischen Arbeitervereine im Ruhrgebiet*.

[118] Mallmann, "Aus des Tages Last," 170; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 72-5; Jürgen Herres, "Zwischen Revolution und Reichsgründung – Durchbruch zur Industrialisierung 1848 – 1871," http://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/epochen/epochen/Seiten/1848bis1871.aspx, 9 October 2012, accessed 22 August 2013.

[119] Mooser, "Katholische Volksreligion, Klerus und Bürgertum," 152-5.

[120] Bachem-Rehm, *Die katholischen Arbeitervereine im Ruhrgebiet 1870-1914*, 11.

[121] Klaus-Michael Mallmann, "Die neue Attraktivitaet des Himmels: Kirche, Religion und industrielle Modernisierung," in *Industrikulture an der Saar: Leben und Arbeit in einer Industrieregion 1840-1914*, ed. Richard van Dülmen (München: CH Beck, 1989), 248-57, 255.

partisanship through highly public and symbolic acts, workers in the Saarland conveyed their solidarity with beleaguered clerics through direct, sometimes violent, action.

For these Catholics, expressions of support for the Church offered a way to respond to Kulturkampf laws as well as their own sense of displacement in an emerging industrial society which threatened their religion and their social position.[122] Furthermore, given the very real organizational and material support that Catholic clergymen offered working-class parishioners, activism on the Church's behalf represented an accurate assessment of workers' self-interest.

But class consciousness also influenced how Catholic workers expressed their support for the Church. Unlike the nobility, who reserved their public demonstrations for high-ranking clergy or those facing expulsion from their cloisters, working-class Catholics showed their support for lower ranking clerics, particularly local Kaplans facing arrest. In Dülken, near Düsseldorf, the mayor's sudden arrival to arrest Kaplan Kermes failed to deter his working-class parishioners from honoring him with an escort to the train station. As the *Nierderrheinische Volkszeitung* reports, "despite appearing in their shirt-sleeves or work clothes, many still insisted on escorting their Kaplan to Viersen."[123] Likewise, although absent from their village due to their jobs in the Ruhr basin, men from Eisenschmitt took up a collection to buy their beloved Father Pies a Christmas gift, accompanied by the promise of their continued love and devotion.[124]

Working-class Catholics also expressed their solidarity with clerics through their attitude towards those charged with enforcing anti-clerical legislation. Fuhrunternehmer Gregorius from St Wendel reported that after he had driven the mayor and gensdarm to Namborn in an

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[122] Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit"; "Die neue Attraktivität des Himmels."
[123] *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 16 July 1874.
[124] *Eucharius,* 22 March 1874. Eisenschmitt was the real-life setting for Clara Viebig's novel *Weiberdorf* which described the difficulties created for the wives and families left behind by men forced to move to industrial areas in search of work.

unsuccessful attempt to arrest Father Isbert, the inhabitants threw stones at his carriage.[125] In a letter to the Landrat, Hermeskeil's Mayor Rüdell (an ardent Kulturkampfer) complained that while Catholics in the area had previously treated him "with respect and friendliness," they now openly taunted him and conspired "to drive me away with stones."[126] Such activism reflected the close relationship between clergy and people, in terms of proximity and identification, a closeness reinforced by the fact that many younger priests came from the same sort of village communities that workers had recently left. The ability to see themselves in the local Kaplan, together with the knowledge that these clerics understood their suffering and sought to improve their conditions, led working-class Catholics toward active resistance against the May laws, particularly measures aimed at the lower clergy.

Support for local clerics frequently took the form of direct, and occasionally violent, action; Catholic workers shunned symbolic protest in favor of actual efforts to hinder state actions against priests, particularly when those carrying out Kulturkampf measures were members of the Protestant ruling group. For example, in the working-class community of Dillingen, located to the north of Saarlouis, parishioners sought to hold back Kaplan Imandt at his arrest and the men present threatened to destroy the wagon brought to transport him to Saarbrücken.[127] Similarly, three hundred artisans and weavers gathered in the pilgrimage town of Kevelaer to protest the government's seizure of monastic property; some even attempted to prevent the mayor from completing his inventory of the cloister's possessions, leading officials on scene to fear that the incident could escalate into a "popular uprising".[128]

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[125] Schwer, *Der Kulturkampf am Rande des Hochwaldes*, 101.
[126] Schwer, *Der Kulturkampf am Rande des Hochwaldes*, 50-3.
[127] Imandt managed to dissuade them from this action, arguing that destroying the wagon would only result in his having to walk to the jailhouse. BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0001 Imandt. Kammer, *Trierer Kulturkampfpriester*, 53.
[128] Föhles, *Kulturkampf und katholisches Milieu*, 55-6.

The arrest of Namborn's Kaplan Isbert offered perhaps the best example of an angry crowd willing to intervene directly to forestall a cleric's arrest. When the Protestant mayor arrived to arrest Isbert, his parishioners refused to allow his transport to Saarbrücken via Türkismühle, insisting instead that he be brought to the train station in St. Wendel. Along the journey, people pelted the mayor and gensdarmes with rocks and hurled insults at them. The procession arrived in St. Wendel just as a train full of miners (*Bergmannszug*) pulled into the station, leading to a "dreadful struggle" (*furchtbarer Kampf*) for control of the platform.[129] The mayor succeeded in getting Imandt on the train but not until the violence had escalated into a full-on uprising that forced the government to send in soldiers to restore order.[130] Such examples illustrate working-class communities' willingness to take direct action to defend clergymen rather than relying on peaceful demonstrations' symbolic power or restricting themselves to ceremonial gestures of support.

Class tensions also influenced working-class Catholics' participation in pilgrimages and processions marking Catholic holidays. Such actions often went against the will of employers who resented the lost productivity associated with religious festivities. Long a conflict between capitalist employers interested in maximizing profits and workers seeking to preserve control over their own labor, religious holidays took on a new meaning in the Kulturkampf's tense environment.[131] Many (Protestant) employers now refused to grant workers time off to observe Catholic holidays; workers who chose to honor their religious commitments faced lost wages,

[129] BAT Abt. 86, Nr. 0019, letter from Herr Benz, Pfr in Wolfersweiler, describing the incident.
[130] How deeply class conflict played into the uprising at Isbert's arrest can be deduced from the fact that even after Isbert's departure from St. Wendel, when the military had long since secured control of the town, irate residents attacked the military commando's leader and the local mine owner with stones as they sat in the local tavern's garden. The attack managed to wound the mine owner in the neck. *Niederrheinische Volkszeitung,* 13 July 1874.
[131] Jonathan Sperber, "Der Kampf um die Feiertage in Rheinland-Westfalen 1770-1870," in *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 123-36. See also Mallmann, "Aus des Tages Last," 161.

fines, and, in some cases, lost their position altogether. For example, workers at the Phillippi-Cetto foundry received punitive fines after they missed work to attend the Bishop of Trier's visitation and Catholic Reichstag deputy Hermann von Mallinckrodt's funeral.[132] The Central=Werkstätte der Rheinischen Eisenbahn's decision to stop recognizing Annunciation Day as a holiday, denounced by the *Trierische Volkszeitung* as "a constraint on the conscience" (*Gewissenszwang*) of Catholic workers by Protestant employers, illustrated the on-going conflict between workers and employees over religious holidays.[133] As a result, the devout observance of religious holidays became linked to efforts to defend workers'autonomy and limit employers' ability to control workers' lives.

Industrial workers in the Saarland also conveyed their simultaneous support for the Catholic church and disdain for the Prussian government through their active involvement in the Marian apparitions in Marpingen. In July 1876, the Church-State conflict erupted in the miner-peasant community after three young girls claimed to have seen the Virgin Mary in the woods outside of the village. The Prussian state moved quickly to suppress the "German Lourdes" but Catholics refused to accept Protestant officials' judgment in this matter and embraced the area as a pilgrimage site.[134] Miner-peasants played important roles in the conflict with the state at Marpingen; in addition to their active participation in skirmishes with the military over access to the site, the claim of Nikolaus Recktenwald, a 38 year old miner, to have been cured by the

[132] LHAK Bestand 655, 149 Akte 1174 Gesetzwidrig Anstellung von Geistlichen.
[133] *Trierische Volkszeitung,* 24 March 1876. See similar reports concerning the Krupp factory in Essen *Trierische Volkszeitung,* 13 January 1876, and workers fired in Bochum *Trierische Volkszeitung,* 8 February 1876. See also Zenner, "Probleme des Übergangs von der Agrar- zur Industrie- und Arbeiterkultur im Saarland." Employers also sought to compel their Catholic workers to follow their lead in other matters, firing workers who voted in opposition to their wishes and banning Catholic papers in the interest of maintaining peace in the workplace. For voting, see *SonntagsBlatt,* 26 November 1874, *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 5 November 1873. For newspapers, *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 18 July 1873, *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* 4 November 1873.
[134] Blackbourn, *Marpingen*. Efforts by the state to control access to the site led to violent clashes between pilgrims and local residents on one side and Prussian troops on the other, resulting in multiple arrests.

apparition lent masculine credence to the girls' story, helping to establish the vision's legitimacy in the popular mind.[135]

Historians agree that Marpingen served as an important vehicle for mobilizing industrial workers and miner-peasants in the Kulturkampf. The battle over access to the pilgrimage site (and thus over the apparition's validity) embodied the direct, emotional piety that characterized working-class religious practice and reflected the importance of the faith's mystical elements to a group living on the edge of desperation.[136] In Gottfried Korff's assessment, Marpingen

> "translated the Kulturkampf's political- intellectual rhetoric into the language of practice and rituals, and embedded them in the structures of popular mentality. This double aspect made it on the one hand a means of protest and agitation and on the other an intensification of the milieu's values and self-understanding. Ritual and worship transferred these religious and political ideologies into the popular understanding and world view (*Orientierungshorizont*) of lower class Catholics."[137]

Marpingen played a special role in working-class Catholics' religious life precisely because the Catholic faith's mysteries effectively compensated for the daily uncertainty and oppression they experienced. Furthermore, those (Prussian Protestants) attempting to deny them access to the miraculous were also responsible for their insecurity and sense of displacement.

In this way, the struggle over apparitions in Marpingen became a fight against the changing conditions of life and work in an industrial society as well as providing religious justification for violence against symbols of state power.[138] Although backwards-looking in its

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[135] Ibid, 120.
[136] Mallmann, "Die neue Attraktivität des Himmels."
[137] Korff, "Kulturkmpf und Volksfrömmigkeit," 142-3. Mallmann argues that workers' sense of persecution made them receptive to the notion of supernatural help; thus Marpingen offered an escape from the bourgeois reality imposed on their daily lives. "Die neue Attraktivität des Himmels."
[138] Mallmann, "Aus des Tages Last," 165.

intentions, historians note that for working-class Catholics in particular, Kulturkampf activism helped ease the difficult transition into modernity.[139]

Just as the Westphalian aristocracy recognized public Kulturkampf activism's distinct advantages, industrial workers employed religious protests to express their socio-economic grievances. While the nobility used its alliance with the Church to bolster its social and political prestige against the onslaught of an industrial bourgeoisie and interventionist state, workers found in the Church an ally in their struggles against predominantly Protestant employers. Adherence to Catholicism brought the workers concrete advantages, offering practical help in the here and now as well as a vision of future happiness in eternal life.

Mostly importantly, religion helped workers come to terms with industrialization's negative impact on their lives and allowed them to preserve a sense of self-worth threatened by the disruptive forces of modernization. While this self-maintenance ultimately offered workers little pratical defence against their lives' material transformation, the empowerment workers found in Kulturkampf activism helped them adjust to modernity's harsh realities and eased their transition between older and newer ways of life. Participation in the Kulturkampf allowed workers to transfer their socio-economic frustrations onto the religious conflict; activism on behalf of clergymen offered the happy coincidence of resistance against those responsible for workers' own misery.

Far from a superstitious dependence on priests, Kulturkampf activism represented a rational decision by Catholic workers given the support they received from the Church and oppression they experienced at the hands of the Prussian state and liberal Protestant bourgeoisie.

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[139] Altermatt, "Katholizismus: Antimodernismus mit modernen Mitteln," 33-50. See also Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*.

Ultimately, class shaped not just how workers participated in the Kulturkampf, but also their choice to defend the Church and how they understood the conflict.

Clearly, class influenced industrial workers' and Westphalian aristocrats' Kulturkampf activism, affecting both its form and purpose. Both groups distinguished themselves in their determined support of Church interests throughout the conflict yet each group's activism reflected their unique circumstances and social position. Modernity, particularly its economic consequences, threatened both groups' social standing and self-image; as a result, both groups found in Kulturkampf activism a means to defend their social position. Yet, examing their activism's distinctive forms highlights how class status combined with perceptions of self-interest to shape Kulturkampf activism. It also underscores Catholic agency at all social levels; Catholics's decision to rally to the Church's aid reflected not mindless obedience but rational decision-making based on both religious faith and calculations of self-interest.

Kulturkampf Activism's Broader Social Motivations

While exploring working-class and aristocratic Catholic activism demonstrates the fusion of socio-economic self-interest and religious faith for those particular groups, looking more broadly at the types of Kulturkampf measures that provoked popular reactions reveals that a strong connection between socio-economic concerns and Kulturkampf protests existed amongst the larger Catholic population as well. As with working-class and noble Catholics, Catholics as group responded most often and enthusiastically to anti-clerical measures which posed a danger to their economic interests as well as their faith.

For example, battles over school inspectors, monastic orders, or confessionally-mixed schooling frequently drew large crowds of angry protestors; the battles surrounding the school oversight laws represent some of the struggle's fiercest. However, these conflicts also reflected economic interests as much as divergent reactions to modernity or approaches to education. Catholic resentment against these laws reflected ideological differences with liberal reformers regarding education's purpose and the Church's role in education; it also reflected the two opposing camps' different economic outlooks and positions.[140] Catholic protests against clerics' replacement as school inspectors drew on concerns that increases in the number of instructional hours and subjects covered would create a serious economic burden on rural populations which relied heavily on youth labor.[141]

Furthermore, the salaries of secular school inspectors and professional teachers increased local communities' financial burdens, as did the need to build larger schools. In fact, in the conflict over a confessionally mixed upper-level girls' school in Osnabruck, the Catholic press immediately pointed out that the proposed school would likely require "another new expensive building . . . built from community funds."[142]

These bread and butter financial considerations merged neatly with the belief that school legislation contributed to the larger class conflict that underscored Kulturkampf laws. For many Catholics, the Kulturkampf's education legislation threatened Catholic beliefs and way of life as well as their communities' coffers. The proposed changes in the educational system represented the liberal, bourgeois world view and the industrial capitalist economy's needs far more than ultramontane Catholics' beliefs or rural or industrial families' economic needs. As in so many

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[140] Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School*; Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 235-53.
[141] Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*, 136-147; Föhles, *Kulturkampf und katholisches Milieu*, 66-71.
[142] *Westfälischer Merkur,* 13 November 1873.

other areas of the conflict, the proponents of these new ideological and financial threats were the same bourgeois, Protestant oppressors who mocked Catholics for their spiritual and material backwardness. The fight over the Kulturkampf's educational legislation turned on class issues as much as cultural ones.

Legislation directed against religious associations formed a key component of Kulturkämpfers' efforts to reform and secularize Prussian schooling. While 1872 saw the Jesuits' expulsion from Germany and efforts to replace religious instructors with professional, secular teachers, the 1875 Congregations law abolished all religious orders in Prussia with the exception of those engaged in nursing work.[143] For Catholics who protested against these measures, economic concerns again mingled with religious ones. While local populations truly mourned the loss of the monks and nuns who had so selflessly devoted themselves to education, caring for orphans, and other acts of charity, communities also feared their expulsion's social and economic consequences.[144] Replacing monks and nuns as educators posed a serious financial burden on the local population; in many communities, schools operated by the local convent represented girls' only opportunity for higher education. The closing of monastic orders also meant that communities had to provide financially for the many orphans previously cared for by these religious communities. Eleanor Föhles notes that inadequate government funds meant that these children wound up either in dubious foster care arrangements or were forced to leave Germany with the nuns.[145]

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[143] For the text of the law, see Ernst Hubert and Wolfgang Hubert, *Staat und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert : Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Staatskirchenrechts*, 2 vols (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1973.)
[144] Estimates figured the cost of hiring lay teachers to replace members of the religious orders at 962,000 Marks a year for the 228 towns and communities in Prussia's Catholics regions. Quoted in Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 88.
[145] Föhles, *Kulturkampf und katholisches Milieu*, 68-70.

As with the school laws, the Orders law excited a great deal of popular resistance, with communities employing every effort to secure exemptions for their local religious community and, if these proved unsuccessful, turning out by the hundreds to express their gratitude and dismay when state officials forced the monks or nuns to depart. The *Westfälisher Merkur* mournfully recounted the departure of Bochum's Redemptorist order, highlighting prominent citizens' and estate owners' (*angesehensten Bürger und Gutsbesitzer*) presence amongst the crowd gathered to say farewell while also recalling the Brothers' unwaivering efforts on behalf of the community's less fortunate residents.[146] In Paderborn, the local Franciscan order's eviction proceeded less peacefully; officials charged with the monastery's closure faced an angry crowd who removed the building's doors to prevent their being locked and stoned police trying to enforce the dissolution order.[147]

The wave of activism triggered by the school laws and the law banning religious orders demonstrates the close connection between religious and financial interests in popular Kulturkampf protests. While Catholics resented anti-clerical legislation and expressed their solidarity with clerics, they reserved their greatest vehemence for protests against measures that also posed a threat to their financial well-being. The particular vehemence with which Catholic communities opposed these measures illustrates that calculations of self-interest fuelled Catholic crowds as much as religious devotion and gratitude.[148] In many cases, the closing of monasteries and new educational policies dealt especially harsh blows to laboring and rural communities who could least afford the anti-clerical legislation's negative consequences.

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[146] *Westfälischer Merkur,* 3 October 1873.
[147] Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*, 92.
[148] Föhles argues that the protests in Kevelaer were linked not just to the monastery's closure but also reflected the community's fears about the anti-clerical legislation's possible financial repercussions for a town whose economy centered around the pilgrimage trade. Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu,* 54.

Here again, the cultural conflict's two sides also opposed one another in the class struggle. The men closing the monastery and removing the priest from his position as local school inspector were the same men refusing to allow workers time off for Catholic holidays or advocating for an industrialization that threatened local artisans. Kulturkampf activism reached its peak and took its most violent forms when class interests combined with religious sentiment, when Catholics perceived Kulturkämpfer as both their material and ideological opponents. In this way, class served to determine, shape, and motivate popular resistance to anti-clerial legislation.

The Ties that Divide: Kulturkampf Activism and Class Conflicts within the Milieu

Historians have identified the Kulturkampf as a primary factor in German Catholics' politicization and the Catholic milieu's solidification, arguing that the Kulturkampf's depiction as a social and religious conflict united Catholics in spite of their social differences.[149] In this view, the experience of the Kulturkampf led Catholics to set aside social differences amongst themselves in order to combat the larger, external (Protestant) threat to their religious beliefs. While certainly correct in that Catholics from various social backgrounds did rally to the Church, this understanding ignores the ways in which Kulturkampf activism allowed Catholics to advance their social position within their own community as well as defending it against outside attacks. Socio-economic concerns and religious faith together may have helped Catholics to 'imagine' themselves as a unified community fighting a common enemy; however, the sense of

[149] Altgeld, *Katholizismus, Protestantismus, Judentum*, 200-201. See also Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat;" Mooser "Katholische Volksreligion, Klerus und Bürgertum;" Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety;" Föhles, *Kulturkampf und Katholisches Milieu*.

common persecution did not eradicate awareness of socio-economic differences within the Catholic community.[150]

Even amongst the Church's most ardent supporters, class interest divided Catholics in terms of how they understood the conflict, how they participated in it, and what they sought to gain from their partisanship. Kulturkampf activism offered a means to contest class relationships within the Catholic community, to defend one's socio-economic position at the local level, or protest against the perceived oppression of one group of Catholics by another. A Catholic's decision to take part in the Church-State conflict could signify a protest against class tensions that existed within, as well as outside of, the Catholic community.

As already discussed, studies of the Church-State conflict have paid particular attention to bourgeois reactions to the struggle; the Protestant bourgeoisie counted amongst some of the most fervent Kulturkämpfer while bourgeois Catholics found their religious commitments at odds with their class loyalties.[151] The feeling that the bourgeoisie supported (or at least failed to actively oppose) the campaign against the Church weakened bourgeois Catholics' (potential) leadership roles within the milieu.

In his study of the complex social relationships demonstrated by Catholics' participation in *Katholikentagen*,[152] Josef Mooser argues that although bourgeois Catholics composed the majority of the organization's membership until the 1890s, they often found themselves passed over for leadership roles. He notes that the organization preferred to elect noblemen to serve as

[150] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983.)
[151] Blackbourn and Mergel, among others, have convincingly argued for a lack of strong (male) bourgeois support for the Church, a fact that affected how ultramontane Catholics perceived the members of this group. Michael Gross argues that liberals saw the Kulturlampf as "their" contribution to German unification, *The War on Catholicism*, 240-291.
[152] Annual conferences of Catholics from throughout the country at which key issues facing the Church could be discussed in front of a large audience.

session President and that when bourgeois members were selected as speakers, the choice frequently reflected their profession and/or speaking ability (deputies to the Landtag or Reichstag, lawyers, and jurists) rather than their economic importance. For Mooser, the organization's preference for leadership from the clergy or the nobility, coupled with its disregard for monetary achievement, reflected the negative view of the bourgeoisie that existed within Catholic circles, an image that included even bourgeois Catholics willing to agitate for their faith.[153]

This unwillingness to allow bourgeois Catholics a prominent role in Catholic gatherings illustrates how class tensions created rifts within the Catholic community. The disdain felt by many bourgeois Catholics for ultramontane piety has been well documented by historians who cite it as a reason for the absence of strong bourgeois leadership or support for the Church's cause. Without disputing such interpretations, this chapter follows Mooser and Mergel by suggesting instead that scholars explore how these same class tensions affected relationships within the Catholic community. It was not just that bourgeois Catholics rejected ultramontane piety; ultramontane Catholicism often rejected them as well. Many Catholics associated the bourgeoisie with irreligiosity and took pride in not belonging to a class that had abandoned its religious faith.[154]

In addition to creating divisions within the milieu, this suspicion of the bourgeoisie also meant that for certain elements of Catholic society, the Kulturkampf represented an opportunity

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[153] Mooser acknowledges the long held belief that bourgeois Catholics' rejection as milieu leaders reflected this group's failure to adequately embrace the more ultramontane piety that characterized Catholicism in this period. He also argues that class status created a disparity in values between the bourgeoisie and larger Catholic community. While bourgeois Catholics were valued for their charitable works, their economic and educational achievements (the achievements most sacred to members of this class) counted for little within the Catholic community. Mooser, "Volk, Arbeiter und Bürger," 259-271. See also Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 250-279.
[154] Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 257.

for upward social mobility. It helped secure Catholic aristocrats' dominant position but it also brought lower middle-class Catholics into positions of power normally reserved for elites.

As Christoph Weber observes in his work on the Center party's origins, lower middle-class Catholics used the religious issue to challenge the existing political constellation, citing both bourgeois Catholics' questionable commitment to the Church's defense and their too-close-for-comfort connections to the Prussian state as reasons to bring forward new candidates without previous ties to the local power structure. Weber asserts that "through such strategies, the Center Party's founding also served as a revolt of the younger Catholic politicians who had their bases in the new Casinos, against the older "Honoraries" who stood outside of Catholic political organizational life."[155]

The Kulturkampf also offered less socially-prominent Catholics a new claim to power and influence based not on wealth but on active engagement for the Church.[156] In particular, the committees formed to administer Church assets after the 1876 legislation removed them from clerical control offered devout but less successful Catholics the chance to gain greater social importance by securing a committee position. Because local priests often exercised a great deal of control over the committee's composition and exerted significant effort to ensure that only 'reliable Catholics' received positions, these elections tended to pass over bourgeois candidates in favor of men unquestioningly loyal to the Church. Selection for a role as administrator of Church property and funds elevated these men to new positions of prominence and power within their communities.[157] For some Catholics fervent loyalty to their faith went hand in hand with

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[155] Weber, *Eine starke, enggeschlossene Phalanx*, 110. See also Anderson, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History."
[156] Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*, 256-7, 306.
[157] This process worked from the other side as well as since the government also needed reliable citizens to sit on local school boards or county councils. Religious tensions often kept Catholics from accepting such positions that

socio-economic aspirations as the religious conflict offered new ways to improve one's social standing.

But intra-community class conflict extended beyond just distrust of the bourgeoisie. The religious struggle covered a wide variety of class tensions within communities, including those within the priesthood itself. Just as the Kulturkampf represented a cultural struggle to determine the new Reich's character, the ultramontane movement signified a class conflict within the Church itself. First, the priesthood's composition shifted to include a growing percentage of new clerics from farming or less elite social backgrounds.[158] No longer an aristocratic preserve, the average Kaplan in the Kulturkampf stood much closer to the people.

While historians argue that this helped Catholic clerics to maintain a closer connection to their parishioners than the more elite Protestant clergymen, the clergy's proletarianization also contributed to class tensions within the Church itself. Differences of opinion emerged regarding how the Church should respond to the government's challenge, particularly over what role the Catholic masses should play in the conflict and what the proper relationship between Church and people ought to be. The higher clergy often viewed with misgiving the growing bond between 'red Kapläne' and the emerging working class, fearing a lack of correct moral behavior by the workers and the lower clergy's willingness to encourage this group's political aspirations.[159]

Furthermore, although the state intended the Kulturkampf laws to break bishop's hierarchical control over the lower clergy and many state officials bemoaned the fact that 'innocent' priests and kaplans suffered imprisonment as a result of episcopal intransigence, in

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could compromise their loyalty to the Church and thus new avenues for social mobility opened up for Protestant or lower-status Catholics willing to appear friendly to the government. LA NRW Abt. Westfalen Nr 819 Pfarrstelle zu Eggenrode 1873-1884 24 Jan 1874 Letter from Amtmann to Landrat

[158] For Catholic clerics' background, see Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten.*

[159] Mallmann, "Aus des Tages Last"; Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf*, 44.

many cases the lower clergy themselves adopted a more confrontational attitude towards the state, inciting their parishioners' active demonstrations against the laws.[160] Ulrich Fohrmann writes of the pressure applied to Trier's Bishop Eberhard by his diocese's lower clergy who felt that he failed to come out solidly enough in opposition to the anti-clerical laws. In fact, the tension between Eberhard (who would die a martyr's death during the conflict) and Friedrich Dasbach, a radical Kaplan turned publicist, gave a particular flavor to the Kulturkampf in Trier as Dasbach's aggressive attitude towards the state, combined with his success as a polemicist, pushed Eberhard to publicly proclaim his opposition to the anti-clerical measures sooner and more virulently than he would have preferred.[161]

Dasbach was far from the only example of this phenomenon. In Polch, Kaplan Volk's fervent defense of the Church turned the local population against the community's elderly and ailing priest who sought to maintain his good relationship with the local government. The situation in Polch became so strained that the local population actually attacked the priest's home when he failed to act decisively enough in support of Volk.[162] Likewise, Niendorf's fiery Kaplan Büning played on class conflicts to convince working-class villagers to actively protest against Kulturkampf measures. In their reports, local officials mentioned both the class conflict that underscored the power struggle within the local clergy and the local priest's inability to reign in his radical Kaplan. Officials noted that despite his tense relationship with the propertied classes,

[160] Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf*, 125
[161] Ulrich Fohrmann, "Georg Friedrich Dasbach – Gedanken über einen Ultramontanen," in *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 79-108; Persch and Schneider, *Geschichte des Bistums Trier*, 98 and 619.
[162] LHAK Bestand 403, Akte 10810.

Büning commanded the support of the workers who continually pressured the local priest to show greater enthusiasm for the fight against the state.[163]

Examples like Polch and Niendorf illustrate how social conflicts existed not just between Catholics and Protestants or between bourgeois and non-bourgeois Catholics; class differences also characterized relationships within Catholic communities throughout the Rhineland and Westphalia. Class divisions influenced how different groups of Catholics within the same community understood and responded to the struggle.

In fact, Catholics might offer little active protest against anti-clerical legislation until they felt their personal interests threatened. Such situations often grew out of a community's internal class divisions, as in Bochum where class tensions and competition amongst local clergy for access to building funds led the city's working-class Catholics to feel that their spiritual needs were neglected in favor of constructing private churches for wealthy citizens. Antonius Liedhegener argues that Bochum's Catholic working class showed little enthusiasm for the conflict until the state sought to close down the Redemptorist cloister that provided for their spiritual needs.[164] The workers in Bochum tied their Kulturkampf activism to their own spiritual well-being and self-interest, an understanding formed largely through class tensions within the city and workers' growing sense of insecurity. These workers entered the struggle due less to an amorphous sense of Catholic duty or outrage over the abuses of an over-bearing state but rather a real assault on the Church's presence in their lives. The state's deicision to persecute the wing of the Church that cared for them, attacking one of their few places of refuge and support in an

[163] LA NRW Abt. Westfalen Nr 502 Staatsfeindlichen Agitation Kap Buening 1875-1877.
[164] Liedhegener, *Christentum und Urbanisierung*, 436-9.

otherwise harsh world, spurred Bochum's working-class Catholics into active resistance to anti-clerical legislation.

As this section demonstrates, class influenced Catholic communities' internal reactions as well as their efforts to resist external encroachments by the (Protestant) bourgeoisie, Prussian state, and (Protestant) factory owners or mine officials. How Catholics reacted to anti-clerical legislation reflected their class standing and their perception of class interest; this fact held true even for conflicts within Catholic communities. While scholarly depictions of the Kulturkampf frequently portray the conflict as a class struggle between Catholics and Protestants, this emphasis on socio-economic and cultural divisions between the confessions at times obscures the Catholic community's internal class conflicts. Struggles to gain or maintain status within the milieu informed Catholics' Kulturkampf actism as well; these conflicts deserve closer attention as they shaped both how Catholics participated in the Church-State conflict and the formation of the Catholic milieu itself.

Class and Kulturkampf Activism: Reappraising a Complex, Multi-faceted Relationship

Ultimately, the Kulturkampf united Catholics against anti-clerical oppression but Catholic activism neither erased social inequalities within the community nor prevented Catholics from recognizing and contesting the milieu's socio-economic differences. Understanding how class influenced the Kulturkampf means exploring not just how class tensions paralleled religious ones, but also examining how class standing shaped Catholic participation in the struggle and how the religious conflict allowed Catholics to address class tensions within their own ranks.

While the Kulturkampf united Catholics against their common enemies and offered them a means through which to protest class inequalities or defend their socio-economic position from Protestant elites, it also underscored the inequalities within the Catholic milieu itself. Sometimes Kulturkampf activism reinforced and justified these inequalities; at other times it provided a vehicle through which to contest those relationships. Noting the class divisions between Catholics and Kulturkämpfer, scholars have long portrayed the Kulturkampf as a socio-economic and cultural struggle; however, historians need to focus on how the conflict impacted socio-economic inequalities within the Catholic milieu as well as on the class tensions that divided Catholics from their anti-clerical opponents.

This chapter contends that class played a tremendous role in shaping Catholics' reactions to the anti-clerical legislation. It argues that beliefs about class influenced the struggle's discursive portrayal as each side employed a rhetoric laden with socio-economic value judgments to bolster their position while attacking their opponents. Peppered with phrases like *Pöbel*, *angesehene Bürger*, and other references to social standing, anti-clerical and ultramontane publicists' discursive strategies placed class at the conflict's heart as each side stressed their claim to represent "*Der Kern des Volkes*." Class also influenced if and how individual Catholics participated in the Kulturkampf. Class affected Catholic activism by creating distinctions within the milieu even as the anti-clerical legislation drew Catholics closer together; as with gender and age, class standing impacted what individuals Catholics stood to lose or gain through their intervention in the struggle.

Exploring how class affected Catholic reactions to anti-clerical measures not only draws attention to distinctions within Catholic reactions; it also illustrates that Catholics used their activism to pursue their own self-interest. Although expressed in radically different ways, both

Westphalian aristocrats and industrial workers in the Saar and Ruhr regions found a happy coincidence between their efforts on the Church's behalf and their efforts to secure their own social position. Yet, despite sharing similar goals, their activism's distinctive forms and focus reflected the two groups' dramatically different socio-economic positions. In fact, this chapter concludes that Catholics reacted most vehemently to Kulturkampf legislation when anti-clerical measures threatened their spiritual and material well-being. Far from meek subjects blindly following their priests' marching orders, attending to the impacts of class on Catholic activism further underscores Catholic agency rather than clerical control.

Finally, this chapter also suggests that socio-economic conflicts within the Catholic milieu motivated and shaped Catholic activism as much as external class conflicts. While the struggle united Catholics in the face of external oppression, internal social distinctions remained. Just as Kulturkampf partisianship helped individual Catholics defend their self-interest against external threats, efforts to improve one's position within the Catholic community also motivated the active defense of Church interests. As the community closed ranks in the face of external attack, demonstrating a firm public commitment to the Catholic cause offered the potential for upward social mobility within the local community as well as a new stage on which to jockey for position.

While this chapter offers greater attention to previously under-valued aspects of the complex dynamic between class status and Kulturkampf activism, more research will be required to understand the extent of the class dynamics at play in the religious struggle as well as social status's multiple influences on how Catholics understood and participated in the Kulturkampf.

CONCLUSION:

As the Kulturkampf escalated into a true struggle for German culture, Catholics in Prussia and throughout the Reich joined their bishops, priests, and Kapläne in a highly effective campaign of passive resistance against anti-clerical legislation. The conflict mobilized Catholics of all ages, classes, and genders in the Church's defense. However, while most Catholics rallied to the Church, they did not all express their support in the same ways. Men protested differently from women, nobles differently from rural tradesmen, members of the urban bourgeoisie, industrial workers or miner-peasants, and children's participation differed from that of adults.

In exploring those differences in Catholics' activism as well as the discursive meanings attached to it, this dissertation highlights how factors such as gender, age, and class all informed Catholic activism, inspiring individual Catholics' involvement in the Church-State conflict while also constraining it. Man or woman, child, adolescent or adult, noble, bourgeois or laborer; an individual Catholic's status frequently determined not just if he or she chose to actively defend the Church but influenced his or her activism's form, limits, and goals as well. Catholics' reactions to Kulturkampf legislation illustrated their efforts to defend the Church and their understanding of the conflict as a wider confrontation between opposing world views, a battle that encompassed much more than simply the rights of the Church.

Assessing Activism's Distinctive Forms

At the most basic level, this dissertation revealed Catholic activism's diverse forms. Even as protest united Catholics in the Church's defense, their efforts on its behalf were never uniform. How individual Catholics protested anti-clerical legislation varied greatly and reflected their age, gender, and class status. Whereas previous scholarship portrayed Catholic protests either as uniform and undifferentiated or as an expression of class or gendered interest, closer attention to those protests' forms demonstrates the multiple motivations and constraints that shaped Catholic activism.[1]

To begin with, not all Catholics protested against anti-clerical measures; as scholars frequently point out, bourgeois men often kept their distance, particularly from pilgrimages, processions, and more emotional and public forms of piety such as the Marian apparitions at Marpingen.[2] Amongst those Catholics who came to the Church's defense, activism took multiple forms that underscored distinctions and inequalities within the Catholic community and reinforced the Catholic social hierarchy. For example, the multiple deputations that travelled to episcopal sees to present loyalty addresses perfectly illustrated these distinctions; the masses waited outside while the high-ranking amongst them met with the bishop. Similarly, when a *gesperrt* priest returned to his community after a prison term, prominent men from the

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[1] For examples of works that draw few distinctions between Catholics (often due to their focus on the conflict's political dimensions), see Anderson, *Windthorst*; Heinrich Bornkamm, *Die Staatsidee im Kulturkampf* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969); Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf*; Sperber, *Political Catholicism*. For a discussion of class-based activism, see Altgeld, *Katholizismus, Protestantismus, Judentum*; Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*; Mallmann, "Volksfrömmigkeit, Proletarisierung und preussischer Obrigkeitsstaat"; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*. For works that reference activism's gendered dimension, see Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*, Blackbourn, *Marpingen*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus;* Gross, *The War Against Catholicism;* Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*.

[2] Bourgeois men did remain completely aloof from the conflict but most chose to display their support through more "suitable" means such as signing petitions, heading delegations, or coordinating political activities through the Mainz Association. For bourgeois men' distance from ultramontane Catholicism, see Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession*; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*.

community spoke words of honor and greeting, young girls dressed in white offered him flowers and garlands while the community's women remained silent on-lookers. In this way, protesting Kulturkampf legislation drew the Catholic community together, uniting them in a common goal while also buttressing the milieu's internal distinctions and status hierarchies.

In addition, investigating the different forms that Catholic activism took demonstrates that although Catholics protested against the Kulturkampf as an expression of their religious feelings, they also tailored their protests in ways that served their individual interests and revealed their personal stakes in the conflict. Catholics' reactions to anti-clerical legislation showed not only their concern for the Church's rights but also their understanding of the conflict's broader implications and personal stakes. For example, in their enthusiastic defense of clerics, Catholic young people also defended their traditional social privileges and communal roles much the same way that Catholic miner-peasants contested their socio-economic alienation and exploitation through their devout piety and staunch partisanship on clerics' behalf. Through their activism, Catholics defended the Church's status in German society as well as their own; exploring the differences in how they did so shows the diverse concerns that motivated individual Catholics' participation in the conflict and shaped the forms their involvement took.

Assessing activism's distinctive forms also illustrated how Catholics' lived experience shaped their participation in Kulturkampf protests. When Catholics sought to contest anti-clerical legislation, they drew on their own life experiences to justify their actions and they expressed their support in ways compatible with their social and gender status. For example, Catholic youth employed contemporary beliefs about youthful license to defy state officials in ways adults dared not. Wealthy Catholics used their high profile to draw attention to subtle acts of defiance, transforming social practices into demonstrations against state policy. Catholic women placed

their resistance within their rights as guardians of their families' morals and religious life, invoking gendered division between public and private to criticize the expansion of state power into areas previously considered within the domestic sphere. These differences reveal that while Catholics' activism reflected a shared religious faith, it also illustrated very different life experiences. The Kulturkampf threatened different Catholics in different ways; their protest actions highlight how they understood those threats and attempted to cope with them.

Furthermore, exploring how Catholics responded to the Kulturkampf in different ways and how their reactions reflected perceptions of their own self-interest illustrates Catholics' agency in the conflict. Catholics decided for themselves if, when, and how to involve themselves in the Church-State conflict; they often based these decisions not on an abstract concern for the Church's rights in German society but rather on more personal assessments of self-interest. For example, in Bochum, workers remained indifferent to the Church-State conflicts' impact on the city until government officials ordered the closing of the Redemptorist cloister that provided their pastoral care.[3] Unmoved by earlier actions against the Church's rights or position in society, these Catholics entered the fray only when the anti-clerical campaign affected their personal access to pastoral care and welfare. Throughout the conflict, Catholics chose forms of protest that highlighted their particular concerns and reflected their individual social position; these distinctions underscored Catholics' independent agency (their ability to protest if, when, and in ways they believed suitable) as well as their activism's self-directed (and at times self-serving) nature.

Far from uniform reactions choreographed by clerics, Catholics' Kulturkampf activism reflected individual Catholics' measured decision to get involved in the conflict in particular

[3] Liedhegener, *Christentum und Urbanisierung*, 436-9.

ways. While priests influenced how Catholics responded to anti-clerical measures, particularly by stressing the importance of non-violent, passive resistance, they never completely controlled Catholic activism. Catholic men, women, and children often disregarded clerics' efforts to control popular reactions and instead engaged with liberal Kulturkämpfer or state officials in the ways they saw fit, if they chose to get involved at all. In highlighting the relationship between Catholics' Kulturkampf activism, lived experience, and personal interests, the preceeding chapters demonstrated that Catholics engaged in the Kulturkampf not as clerical puppets but rational agents. Priests neither commanded nor compelled their activism but instead embodied just one of the many factors that motivated and shaped Catholics' reactions.

The diversity and distinctions within Catholics' Kulturkampf activism also demonstrated Catholics' interactions with broader German society. Analyzing the different ways in which Catholics reacted to anti-clerical legislation contradicts images of Catholic communities as isolated from external influences, revealing instead that their efforts to defend the Church led Catholics to contest or seek accommodation with beliefs about gender roles, the public-private divide, national identity, and many other debates in contemporary German society. Hardly an isolated milieu impervious to outside influences, Catholics' participation in the Church-State conflict illustrated their engagement in the struggle to define national identity, men and women's gendered spheres, and young people's importance to Germany's future. While Catholics' often held views that differed from those of liberal Protestants, their behaviors and rhetoric during the Kulturkampf clearly demonstrated their awareness of Kulturkämpfers' perceptions of them and visions for Germany's future.

It also showed Catholics' willingness to engage with the processes of modernity. By protesting against the Kulturkampf, Catholics also protested against the aspects of modernity that

directly threatened them, often by simultaneously embracing the elements of modern society from which they benefitted. Interpreting Catholic activism as a rejection of modernity or a way of using modern means against modernity itself[4] obscures how Kulturkampf activism helped Catholics come to terms with the changes to their lives and communities. Catholics' protests against anti-clerical legislation allowed them to contest certain forms of modernity while finding accommodation with others; the different ways that individual Catholics participated in Kulturkampf protests also reflected their different relationships to and negotiations with modernity's impact on German society.

As Oliver Zimmer argues with regards to nineteenth-century German's changing conceptions of place, rather than seeing modernity as a "fait accompli that they could either accept or resist," viewing modernity's "dislocation" as a process that "prompt[ed] men and women to foster novel strategies for relocation" highlights average Germans' agency even in the face of rapid change. In the same way, investigating exactly how Catholics reacted to Kulturkampf legislation and how those reactions varied amongst individuals reveals that for Catholics, as for Zimmer's townspeople, "defense of the status quo was in fact an inherently creative activity."[5]

Kulturkampf Activism and Nineteenth-Century Germany's Historiographic Landscape

Through its focus on the nuances of popular reactions to anti-clerical legislation, my work returns Kulturkampf studies to the realm of social history by emphasizing historical actors

[4] For Catholicism as anti-modern, see Kaufmann, "Katholizismus und Moderne als Aufgaben künftiger Forschung." For Catholicism as modernization against modernity, see Ebertz, "Ein Haus voll Glorie, schauet…"; Loth, "Integration and Erosion: Wandlung des katholischen Milieus in Deutschland"; Blackbourn, "Progress and Piety."
[5] Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 295-298.

and their behaviors. While most recent works on the period take a cultural approach, concentrating on liberals' and Catholics' discursive portrayals of themselves and their opponents,[6] this dissertations examines Catholics' actions, pointing to the significant differences between male versus female, adult versus child, elite versus mass involvement in the conflict. It takes those differences seriously, arguing that they illuminate how the era's multiple transformation affected different individuals in distinctive ways.

Certainly, in assessing Catholics' Kulturkampf activism, the preceeding chapters considered the discourses that surrounded those behaviors and how Catholics responded to the conflict's rhetoric. As the individual chapters observed, Catholics were hardly immune from contemporary beliefs about things like the feminization of religion, the gendered division of public and private, or hegemonic conceptions of masculinity or citizenship. However, an intensive focus on Catholics' behaviors throughout the Kulturkampf returns scholarly attention to the historical actors themselves, highlighting the distinctions that existed within the Catholic milieu and the different pressures that encouraged and constrained an individual's willingness and ability to jump into the fray.

Considering how ideas about gender and age influenced Catholic activism involves reflecting on debates about the feminization of religion, particularly how contemporaries' feminine gendering of religion influenced both men's and women's Kulturkampf activism. In many ways, research into Catholic reactions to anti-clerical legislation confirms existing scholarship concerning contemporaries' perceptions of religion as a feminine activity and scholars' assessments of religious practice as a means for women to gain or exert power in

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[6] Hiort, "Constructing a Different Kind of German"; Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*.

society.[7] For example, religion's coding as a female matter offered Catholic women a justification for their involvement, shaping the rhetoric that surrounded their activism and the ways in which they expressed solidarity with the Church.

Furthermore, because nineteenth-century Germans understood religion as a female activity belonging to the private sphere of home and family, viewing the anti-clerical campaign from a Catholic, female (as opposed to a liberal, male) perspective shifts the conflict's meaning from a struggle to maintain the public sphere's masculine integrity[8] to an effort by Catholic women to defend the private, domestic sphere from an unwanted intrusion of government power. Through its attack on religion (a women's issue) and the Church's presence in the public sphere (often embodied by women's involvement in religious devotions or charitable activities) the Church-State conflict also represented an attack on women's interests, mobilizing Catholic women against what they characterized as an attack on their power within the female, domestic realm.

Beliefs about religion's feminization also shaped how Catholic men (and anti-clericals) conceived of women's involvement. For many Catholic men, religion's association with "female" traits and the private sphere made women's activism acceptable, providing it remained within the boundaries set by women's roles as wives and mothers. Kulturkämpfer, on the other hand, viewed religion's feminization as a further reason to remove it (and Catholic women) from the public sphere.[9]

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[7] McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube?"; Schneider, " Feminisierung der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert; Allen, "Religion and Gender in Modern German History," Van Osselaer and Buerman, "'Feminisation' thesis"; Meiwes, *"Arbeiterinnen des Herrn";* Krause, *Marienkinder;* Mergel, "Die subtile Macht der Liebe.
[8] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*.
[9] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus*; Walser Smith, *German Nationalism*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Heinen, "Umstrittene Moderne."

But the feminization of religion also created difficulties for Catholic men, problematizing their activism on the Church's behalf. Contemporary discourses about religion as a feminine activity allowed Kulturkämpfer to portray male piety and support for Church as effeminate behaviors.[10] Conscious of these accusations, Catholic men struggled to reconcile their faith with hegemonic conceptions of masculinity.

However, researching the reality of Kulturkampf protests also reveals the limits of the feminization thesis. Shifting focus away from the sensationalism of women's involvement in popular protests by demonstrating both the limits of female activism and the masculine dominance of community reactions illustrates that Catholic men played important, decisive roles in the conflict. It also makes clear that while Catholic men's acceptance of religion as a special area of female concern led them to grant Catholic women a say in religious matters, Catholic men themselves remained active and dominant figures in Catholic religious practice as well as in Kulturkampf activism.

Demonstrating Catholic men's highly public and dominant positions within their communities' efforts to resist anti-clerical legislation complicates the secularization thesis's portrayal of religion as something devalued by men and thus increasingly left to women.[11] Exploring the extent of Catholic men's involvement in Kulturkampf activism, this dissertation supports Bernhard Schneiders' criticism of the feminization thesis as defining religious piety too narrowly.[12] Following Schneiders' call for a broader interpretation of religious piety, looking at how Catholic men intereceded for their Church and how they portrayed their activism reveals that Catholic men's commitment to the faith rivalled that of Catholic women. Certainly, Catholic

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[10] Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*; Borutta, *Anti-Katholizismus;* Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religion Conflict*; Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*; Busch, *Katholische Frommigkeit und Moderne.*
[11] McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit- männlicher Unglaube?"; Mergel, "Die subtile Macht der Liebe."
[12] Schneider, " Feminisierung der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert." See also Anderson, "The Limits of Secularisation."

men expressed their piety in different ways, just as their efforts to defend the Church took different forms from those of female Catholics, but their Kulturkampf activism showed Catholic men to be equally pious and willing to express their religious beliefs in ways compatible with (and often unique to) the masculine sphere.

Analyzing the impact of age, class, and gender on Catholic activism also addresses historical research on separate spheres ideology and the gendered division between public and private. Contemporaries' acceptance of the gendered division between public and private spheres of life justified Kulturkampf activism (particularly women and girls' involvement in the conflict) but also shaped and constrained it. Catholics' activism frequently demonstrated how thoroughly Catholics had internalized the gendered division of public and private. For example, young Catholic men stood guard while *gesperrt* clerics held illicit Church services and young boys scouted the area for gensdarmes, both activities that reflected a gendered claim to outdoor space. However, Catholic girls and young women conveyed their support for clerics by taking up collections from friends and family or decorating Church altars or clerics' residences, indoor, domestic activities appropriate for young females. Amongst older Catholics, the ideology of separate spheres placed similar spatial limits on women's activism while creating rhetorical gendered constraints for Catholic men (criticized for defending a feminized faith.) In both calling forth and setting the boundaries for an individual Catholics' Kulturkampf activism, contemporary understandings of the gendered division of public and private as well as the wide-spread acceptance of separate spheres ideology all influenced Catholics' resistance to anti-clerical legislation. Exploring the nuances of Catholic activism demonstrates how deeply these ideologies penetrated nineteenth-century German society.

Investigating Kulturkampf activism's diverse nature also shows how discourses about separate spheres empowered women as their competency and authority within the private, domestic sphere grew. Within the scholarship focused on nineteenth-century gender relations, many historians have demonstrated how separate spheres ideology "compensated" women for their exclusion from the public sphere by increasing their authority and respect within the private sphere, providing them a base from which to exert power in society.[13] Exploring how debates about gender and separate spheres influenced Kulturkampf activism contributes to these debates by illustrating how Catholic women employed the rhetoric of separate spheres to justify their activism while also asserting a claim to power. Catholic women criticized anti-clerical legislation as an intrusion into the feminine, private sphere of home and family, an area assigned to women. By asserting a gendered claim to competency, women condemned Kulturkampf policies and an encroachment of state power into their domain while also asserting a gendered right to a voice in their families' religious practices and the nature of their children's education. They also defended their own access to religiously-oriented social activities and charitable work.

Finally, this dissertations joins other recent works in stressing Catholics' active participation in German society.[14] Through their Kulturkampf activism, Catholics both contested and sought accommodation with the liberal, Protestant vision of German society. Even as they defended the Church, Catholic men and women still conveyed their willingness to engage with the process of nation-building and larger social issues. Rather than simply rejecting mainstream visions of femininity and masculinity, Catholics tried to reconcile their activism with broader interpretations of gender roles and the public/ private divide. Viewing Catholics' Kulturkampf

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[13] Krause, *Marienkinder;* Mergel, "Die subtile Macht der Liebe"; Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class*.
[14] Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany*; Hiort, "Constructing a different Kind of German"; Zalar, "The Process of Confessional Inculturation"; Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*.

activism as a process of negotiation with German society (even if the process involved efforts to reject and/or modify certain aspects of that society) shows their willingness to engage with liberal Protestants. Catholics did not simply retreat into isolation but reacted to the world around them, asserting their social vision and self interest. However, through their references to gender roles or young people's symbolic representation of the nation's future, Catholics showed that they shared many of the same ideological references as their opponents. Far from refusing to integrate or accept the new nation, Catholics labored to preserve a place for themselves within German society and come to terms with that society's changing realities.

Ultimately, researching nuances in Catholics' Kulturkampf activism highlights the differences that existed within the Catholic community. It also illustrates that Catholics reactions to the Church-State conflict reflected their lived experience and social background. It demonstrates how the anti-clerical struggle mixed with other social pressures and affected individual Catholics in distinctive ways; Catholics' Kulturkampf activism involved more than a simple "defense of religion." These pressures in turn produced diverse reactions amongst the faithful; Catholics protested not just in defense of the Church but also to preserve their own way of life and perceived self-interest. Investigating if, when, and how particular Catholics chose to get involved in the Church-State conflict provides insight into how they understood and sought to come to terms with the multiple factors affecting their lives in a period of tremendous change and uncertainty. The Kulturkampf affected every Catholic but not in the same way; activism carried different meanings, benefits, and consequences for young and old, wealthy or poor, man or woman. Exploring those different meanings offers a window into a complex and shifting period of German history.

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General Vikariat AA IV A 125 7	Maigesetze
General Vikariat AA IV A 125 8 Bd 1-3	Untersuchungsakten in dem Verfahren gegen Brinkmann und Genossen
General Vikariat AA IV A 125 9	Anschuldigungsschrift gegen Brinkmann
General Vikariat AA IVA 125 14	Ausgewiesene Pfarrer
General Vikariat AA IA 27/3	Ergebenheitsadresse
General Vikariat AA IA 27/4	Ergebenheitsadresse
General Vikariat AA IX A18	Brief General Vikar Giese to Anton de Waal
J 013	Seppenrade
J010a	Kalkar St Nikolai
J 104	Eggerode (St Mariä Geburt)
J193	Freckenhorst St Bonifatius
J211	Ginderich St Mariä Himmelfahrt
Nachlässe Wilhelm Cramer	A 21 Kulturkampf

Bistumsarchiv Trier

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Abt. 86, Nr. 0001-0022	Kulturkampf und Klerus in der NS-Zeit

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I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXa, Nr. 8 Bd IV 1867-1876
Monatsberichte der Regierung zu Münster
I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXIIIa, Nr 8 Bd IV 1872-1880
Monatsberichte der Regierung zu Koblenz
I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXIVa, Nr 7 Bd III 1869-1875
Monatsberichte der Regierung zu Köln
I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXVa, Nr. 2 Bd X 1874-1880
Monatsberichte der Regierung zu Düsseldorf
I. HA Rep 76 II Sekt XXVIIa Nr. 1, Bd V 1867-1876
Monatsberichte der Regierung zu Trier
I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. I, Abt II, Nr 45, Bd I 1846-1927
Die statistischen Nachrichten über Angelegenheiten der katholischen Kirche Bd. I 1846-1927
I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. I, Abt IX, Nr 24
Der Entwurf eines Reichsgesetzes betr. Die aus dem Amte entlassenen oder wegen unbefugter Vornahme von Amtshandlungen bestraften Kirchendiener (Gestz vom 4. Mai 1874) und dessen Ausführung
I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. I, Abt XIII, Nr 17, Bd I 1872
Die Ausführung des Reichsgesetzes vom 4. Juli 1872 wegen des Ordens der Gesellschaft Jesu und anderer verwandter Orden
I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. I, Abt XIV, Nr 1 Bd III 1854-1880
Die Wallfahrten und Abstellung der Missbräuche, desgleichen die öffentlichen Prozessionen
I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. Ia, Abt I, Nr 111
Die politische Haltung der katholischen Geistlichen, sowie die katholischen Vereine und die ultramontane Presse
I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. Ia, Abt I, Nr 207 Bd I 1873-1879
Die kirchenpolitischen Gesetzentwurfe im Allgemeinen-Gesetze vom 11, 12, 13 und 14 Mai 1873, 20 und 21 Mai 1874 und 22 April 1875.
I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. Ia, Abt I, Nr 216
Der Kaplan Laaf zu Essen Bd I 1874-1882
I. HA Rep 76 IV, Sekt. 10, Abt. II, Nr 17, Bd I 1875-1876
Die Ausführung des Gesetzes vom 22. April 1875 hinsichtlich der Einstellung der Leistungen aus Staatsmitteln für die römanisch-katholischen Bistümer und geistlichen in der Provinz Westfalen, sowie –in Band II- des Abänderungsgesetzes vom 14. Juli 1880
I. HA Rep 76 IV, Sekt. 10, Abt. VII, Nr 3
Die katholischen kirchen und die Anstellung der Pfarrer und Kirchenbedienten
I. HA Rep 76 IV, Sekt. 10, Abt. IX, Nr 4, Bd I 1867-1890
Das politische Verhalten der katholischen Geistlichkeit in der Provinz Westfalen
I. HA Rep. 76 IV Sekt. I, Abt IX, Nr 24
Der Entwurf eines Reichsgesetzes betr. Die aus dem Amte entlassenen oder wegen unbefugter Vornahme von Amtshandlungen bestraften Kirchendiener (Gestz vom 4. Mai 1874) und dessen Ausführung
I. HA Rep 76 IV, Sekt. 10, Abt.XII, Nr 8,

Die Ausführung des Gesetzes vom ii. Mai 1873 bezüglich der Vorbildung und Anstellung der katholischen Geistlichen, sowie (in Band IV) des Abänderungsgesetzes vom 14. Juli 1880, 11. Juli 1883 und 21 Mai 1886.

I. HA Rep 76 IV, Sekt. 13, Abt. II, Nr. 23

Die Ausführung des Gesetzes vom 22. April 1875 hinsichtlich der Einstellung der Leistungen aus Staatsmitteln für die römisch-katholischen Bistümer und Geistlichen in der Rheinprovinz; sowie – in Bd IV- des Abänderungsgesetzes vom 14. Juli 1880

I. HA Rep 76 IV, Sekt. 13, Abt. XII, Nr.13

Die Ausführung des Gesetzes vom 11. Mai 1873

I. HA Rep 76 IV, Sekt. 13, Abt. XII, Nr. 14

Die Ausführung des Paragraph 6 des Gesetzes vom 11. Mai 1873 über die Vorbildung und Anstellung der katholischen Geistlichen in der Rheinprovinz

I. HA Rep 77 Tit.310 Lit L Nr 1

Das Verfahren gegen einzelne katholische Geistliche 1872-1874

I. HA Rep 77 tit.310 Litt M Nr 1

Das Verfahren gegen einzelnen katholische Geistliche 1843-1866

I. HA Rep 77 Tit.310 Litt P Nr. 1

Das Verfahren gegen einzelnen katholische Geistliche 1846-1871

I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 310 Nr. Lit W Nr. 3

Das Verfahren gegen einzelne katholische Geistliche 1872-1874

I. HA Rep 77 Ministerium des Innern Abt. II Tit. 327 Nr. 1

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Die wegen Verhütung und Störung des öffentlichen Gottesdienst ergangenen polizeilichen Verordnungen

I. HA Rep 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 415 Nr. 48

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I. HA Rep 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 415 Nr. 66

Ddie Streitigkeiten zwischen Protestanten und Katholiken über die gemeinschaftliche benutzung von Kirchen 1856-1885

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Die polizeiliche Ueberwachung der Predigten im Freien, sowie in Gebaeuden, die zur Abhaltung des oeffentlichen Gottesdienst nicht geeignet sind. – Desgl. Der Missionsfeste. 1857-1910

I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 415 Nr. 71 Bd. 1

Verzeichnis der auf Grund des Reichsgesetzes v.4.5.1874 ausgewiesenen, internierten, expatriierten und aus dem Bundesgebiete aus gewiesen Geistlichen und anderen Religionsdienern

I. HA Rep 77 Ministerium des Innern Abt. II Tit. 499 Nr. 7

Bei besonderen Veranlassungen stattgehabte Volksfeste oder öffentliche Feierlichkeiten 1835-1915

I. Rep 77. Tit 505 Nr.2 Vol. V 1852-1914

Die gegen Volksaufstände und Tumulte in Kölnischen Regierungsbezirk zu nahmenden Sicherheitsmassregeln

I. HA Rep 77. Tit 505 Nr.3 Vol. VI 1858-1907

Die gegen Volksaufstände und Tumulte im Düsseldörfer Regierungsbezirk zu nahmenden Sicherheitsmassregeln
I. HA Rep 77 Ministerium des Innern Abt. II Tit. 508 Nr 8
Die bei den Durchführung der neuesten Gestze über die katholische Kirche- und-Klosterwaltung in einzelne Bezirke den Kreis Westphalen … 1875-1876
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Die gegen Volksaufstände und Tumulte im Münsterschen Regierungsbezirke zu nahmenden Sicherheitsmassregeln
I. HA Rep 89 Nr. 22809 Kirchenpolitische Gesetzgebung, Bd 2 1874-1884
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BR 0004, 1613	Ultramontanen Landrat
BR 0007, Nr 252	Tumult bei Calcar Tüffers
BR 0007, 8803	Jahrestag Pius IX
BR 0009, Nr 8083	Unruhe in Mülheim
BR 0009, Nr 8942	Ausführung der Kirchengesetze Cöln
BR 0020, Nr. 83	Landratsamt Erkelenz Einführung des Kirchen-Gesetzes
BR 0022, Nr 83	Euskirchen Zeitungsberichte
BR 0022, Nr 253	Euskirchen Heilighalten Sonn und Festtagen
BR 0025, Nr 216	Landratsamt Grevenbroich Verhalten der kath Geistlichkeit
BR 0026, Nr 623	Landratsamt Gummersbach Ausführung des Gesetze vom 11 Mai 1873
BR 0027, Nr 36	Landratsamt Heinsberg Zeitungsberichte
BR 0033, Nr 1	Landratsamt Lennep Ultramontanismus
BR 0035, Nr 88	Landratsamt Moers Zeitungsberichte 1860-1880
BR 0035, Nr 405	Landratsamt Moers Wallfahrts und Prozessionen
BR 0038, Nr 495	Landratsamt M Gladbach Ausführung der Maigesetze
BR 0037, Nr 92	Zeitungsbericht Landratsamt Mülheim-Rhein
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BR 0044, Nr 698	Landratsamt Solingen Zeitungsberichte
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Landesarchiv NRW Westfalen (LA NRW Westfalen)
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1956	Fellenz in Haustadt
1960	Glees in Wawern

1961	Gombert in Mehring
1962	Gondorf in Ittersdorf
1966	Heinen in Neunkirchen
1971	Imandt in Dillingen
1972	Isbert in Namborn
1973	Junk in Pronsfeld
1975	Kautz in Bliesransbach
1976	Kiefer in Wiesbaum
1977	A. Kraemer in Bombogen
1979	Kaes in Üss
1983	Leusch in Kinheim
1984	Maringer in Niederbettingen
1988	Pies in Eisenschmitt
1989	Pies in Eisenschmitt
1994	H. Schmitt in Dudweiler
1996	Schneiders in Trier
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2004	H. Thielen in Neunkirchen
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Newspapers

Eucharius
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Neue Moselzeitung
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Schlesisches Kirchenblatt
SonntagsBlatt für katholische Christen
Trierische Volkszeitung
Westfälischer Merkur
Westfälisches Kirchenblatt für Katholiken

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