

Raising a well-grown child: Popular periodicals and the cultural history of child health in the early nineteenth century

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Abstract: This paper explores depictions of child health and pedagogy in the German periodical press from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth centuries, focusing on children’s periodicals and illustrated magazines. Examining narrative, structural, material, and visual properties, I argue that journals facilitated specific functions in evolving cultural conversations about child health and education: they participated in a growing market of health; created new audiences for scientific and medical knowledge; and articulated, negotiated, and scrutinized pedagogical styles and medical ideas. I trace these functions to two main sites: first, I suggest that children’s periodicals underwent a process of narrativization and differentiation during which the Enlightenment association of physical and moral education was severed in favor of consumer appeal and literary entertainment. Second, I point out that this development contributed to a broader public scrutiny of educational styles and medical ideas: illustrated magazines drew on recent techniques of intermedial and intertextual dramatization to stage and actively modify predominant medical opinion. From this perspective, I suggest that journals can be considered structural elements in the ‘medicalization’ of childhood and pedagogy, providing a cultural counterpoint to the medical history of health and illness in the early nineteenth century. The article is a first step in a larger project exploring the material and media culture of child health in the early nineteenth century.

1. Introduction

In 1845, the newly founded Munich satirical magazine *Fliegende Blätter* [flying leaflets] (1844-1944) published a depiction of ‘pedagogy’ (fig. 1): a father disciplines his son with a club to “see whether [he] cannot teach the boy to feel some affection for [him].”¹ The irony of the representation drew on intermedial strategies that have since become familiar: the textually anchored objective of ‘affection’ was contrasted with the image of an act of physical punishment. To the reader of the early nineteenth century, the juxtaposition of text and image was, to an extent, a novelty: The *Fliegende Blätter* was the first successful attempt to establish an illustrated satirical magazine in the German lands. While the highly popular *Charivari* and *Punch* had already circulated for several years in France and England, respectively, former German attempts failed not least due to the fierce censorship of the Metternich system. However, the *Fliegende Blätter* managed to escape the censorship of the *Vormärz*.

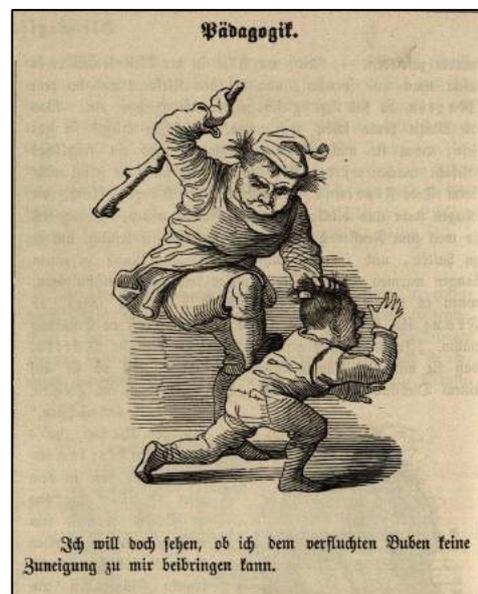


Fig. 1: Pädagogik [pedagogy]. In: *Fliegende Blätter* 1 (1844/1845) 17, p. 134.

¹ Pädagogik. In: *Fliegende Blätter* 1 (1844/1845) 17, p. 134.

This was likely due to a number of factors, including a degree of political abstinence and a focus on cultural conversations (such as national customs and mores). Yet, another not-insignificant factor was, as the literary scholar Ursula Koch has pointed out, the use of humor that allowed ambivalent messages to be hidden in image-text combinations.²

In this paper, I am not primarily concerned with strategies to elude censorship but with the cultural history of child health and pedagogy. Yet, I will argue that the medial conditions of humor — such as interactions between text and image — play an important role in this history. The depiction of ‘pedagogy’ in the *Fliegende Blätter* is a case in point: The tension between image and text opened an interpretive space that allowed for different readings of both political conditions and pedagogical practices. On the one hand, the education of the child could be related, allegorically, to the very problem of censorship: in this reading, the painful instruction of the child stood in for the education of the people through the father qua government; a pedagogy that was — as one could clearly ‘see’ — doubtful at best.

On the other hand, the satirical depiction could be related to a popular discourse about education that had been entertained by an abundance of popular medical writings since the late eighteenth century.³ The enlightened public health writings bristled with unresolved tensions between physical punishment and filial insight. For example, the 1834 *Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts für Eltern, Hauslehrer und Schulmänner* [principles of education and instruction for parents, tutors, and schoolmasters], initially written by the well-known theologian and director of the Francke Foundation August Hermann Niemeyer (1754-1828) and posthumously edited by his son, the physician Wilhelm Hermann Niemeyer (1788-1840), consciously identified itself with the Enlightenment, stating that “the noblest of all dispositions in man is his ability to reason.”⁴ Accordingly, Niemeyer postulated that child education had to follow a basic principle: “The harmony of freedom and reason let be your highest objective, because on her relies the moral and therefore unconditional and highest value of man.”⁵ Yet, this harmonic pedagogical objective did not detain the author to meet ‘evils’ such as the “abuse of the sexual instinct” with “coercive measure” and “corporal punishment.”⁶ While Niemeyer thus joined the contemporary moral crusade against masturbation, he remained faithful to the enlightened spirit in his recommendation that the child be informed of the reasons for his (or her) punishment.⁷ From this perspective, the

² Ursula E. Koch: “Die Münchener Fliegenden Blätter vor, während und nach der Märzrevolution 1848. ‘ein deutscher Charivari und Punch?’.” In: Hubertus Fischer/Florian Vaßen (eds.): Politik, Porträt, Physiologie. Facetten der europäischen Karikatur im Vor- und Nachmärz. Bielefeld 2010, pp. 199–255.

³ On medical public enlightenment: Holger Böning: Medizinische Volksaufklärung und Öffentlichkeit. In: Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur 15 (1990) 1, pp. 1–92.

⁴ “Die edelste aller Anlagen im dem Menschen ist die Vernunftfähigkeit.” August Hermann Niemeyer: Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts für Eltern, Hauslehrer und Schulmänner. Halle 1834, p. 16. .

⁵ “Die Harmonie der Freiheit mit der Vernunft lass dein höchstes Ziel sein, weil auf ihr der sittliche, folglich der unbedingte und höchste Werth des Menschen beruht.” Ibid, p. 17.

⁶ Ibid, p. 74, 81, 83.

⁷ Ibid, p. 82. On the crusade against masturbation: Michael Stolberg: An Unmanly Vice. Self-Pollution, Anxiety, and the Body in the Eighteenth Century. In: Social History of Medicine 13 (2000) 1, pp. 1–22; Franz X. Eder: Discourse and Sexual Desire. German-Language Discourse on Masturbation in the Late Eighteenth Century. In: Journal of the History of Sexuality 13 (2004) 4, pp. 428–445.

caricature in the *Fliegende Blätter* depicted a broader tension between the formation of an insightful and affective personality and the very means advertised to achieve this ‘noble’ objective.⁸

Ultimately, the two readings of the caricature – allegorical and pedagogical – merge: in Niemeier’s text and other popular medical writings, the education of children was put into the service of the education of ‘humanity’ writ large.⁹ The educators of children were always already instructors of the people; not surprisingly, educational authority fell to pedagogues and physicians – at best supported by the government. The *Fliegende Blätter* scoffed at a dense nexus of late popular Enlightenment, pedagogy, medicine, and authority.

These scoffs are the broader subject of this paper. I argue that popular magazines and journals facilitated specific functions in evolving cultural conversations about child health and education in the early nineteenth century.¹⁰ They participated in the growing market of health; created new audiences for scientific and medical knowledge, including not only, as in the case of the *Fliegende Blätter*, adult audiences, but also — as I will point out in the first part of this paper — children; and they articulated, negotiated, and scrutinized pedagogical styles and scientific and medical knowledge.¹¹ From this perspective, I suggest that journals can be considered structural elements in the ‘medicalization’ of childhood and pedagogy, indicating both historical frontiers of medical — and, to an extent, political — authority and historiographical limits of the concept of medicalization.¹² The paper thus makes a

⁸ From a different perspective, the caricature can be interpreted as a position within pedagogical discourse, siding with enlightened thought against methods of ‘black pedagogy.’ On ‘black pedagogy’ see also below.

⁹ Niemeier: Grundsätze der Erziehung, p.16.

¹⁰ For the purposes of this essay, I will use the term ‘magazine’ mainly for illustrated journals, the term ‘journal’ as a generic translation of the German word *Zeitschrift*, and the term ‘periodical’ for any type of publication characterized by periodicity and seriality. However, as indicated below, genres, forms and types of periodicals of the early nineteenth century were not clear cut. In contemporary usage, *Journal* could mean *Zeitschrift* as well as *Zeitung* [newspaper], and many publications that were entitled *Zeitung* would today qualify as journals or magazines. On typology and contemporary terminology of periodicals see: Nicola Kaminski/Jens Ruchatz: *Journalliteratur – ein Avertissement, Pfennig-Magazin zur Journalliteratur*, Heft 1. Hannover, 2017; Gowan Dawson/Jonathan R. Topham: “Scientific, Medical, and Technical Periodicals in Nineteenth-Century Britain. New Formats for New Readers.” In: Bernard V. Lightman et al. (eds.): *Science Periodicals in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Constructing Scientific Communities*. Chicago 2020, pp. 35–64; Faye Hammill/Paul Hjartarson/Hannah McGregor: *Magazines and/as Media. The Aesthetics and Politics of Serial Form - Introduction*. In: *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 41 (2015) 1, pp. 1–18.

¹¹ From a theoretical perspective, this essay draws on Gustav Frank, Madleen Podewski and Stefan Scherer’s recent proposition considering journals as ‘small archives’ that contribute to the “constitution, preservation and circulation of knowledge”: Gustav Frank: *Prolegomena zu einer integralen Zeitschriftenforschung*. In: *Jahrbuch für international Germanistik* 48 (2016) 2, pp.101–21, here p.107; Gustav Frank/Madleen Podewski/Stefan Scherer: *Kultur – Zeit – Schrift: Literatur- und Kulturzeitschriften als 'kleine Archive'*. In: *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 34 (2009) 2, pp. 3–47. Methodologically, this paper is informed by a material philological approach to journals as currently developed by the DFG-Forschergruppe ‘Journalliteratur’ <https://journalliteratur.blogs.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/> (5 January 2022). For a programmatic statement: Kaminski/Ruchatz: *Journalliteratur – ein Avertissement*, pp. 29-41. Also: Andreas Beck et al. (eds.): *Visuelles Design. die Journalseite als gestaltete Fläche*. Hannover 2019. On ‘form’ in literary studies and the history of science more broadly: Henry S. Turner: *Lessons from Literature for the Historian of Science (and Vice Versa): Reflections on “Form”*. In: *Isis* 101 (2010) 3, pp. 578–589.

¹² The utility of the concept of medicalization has been and continues to be debated in the history and sociology of medicine. I still consider it helpful for thinking about the gradual extension of medical care to children during

historiographical intervention to move the focus in the history of medicine and the sciences of the child from professional and institutional developments to the public sphere, based on an analysis of what are widely seen as key media of the nineteenth century.¹³

To argue the case, I will walk us through a selective but representative part of the media-historical landscape of German-speaking Europe in the early to mid-nineteenth century and reflect on some of the functions of periodicals for scientific and medical knowledge pertaining to child health. The periodical press of that time included a number of different, far from clear-cut types and genres (e.g., almanacs, *Intelligenzblätter* [news bulletins], newspapers, magazines/journals dedicated to various topics) and appealed to diversifying audiences (with, e.g., shifting class relations, changing roles of women and children in society, and periodicals appealing to various confessional and professional groups).¹⁴ My primary focus will be on

the modern period. The point of this paper is one of nuance: the cultural dynamics of ‘medicalization’ are complex and multifaceted and deserve close historical scrutiny. On recent debates about medicalization: Adele E. Clarke/Janet Shim: “Medicalization and Biomedicalization Revisited. Technoscience and Transformations of Health, Illness and American Medicine”. In Bernice A. Pescosolido et al. (eds.): *Handbook of the Sociology of Health, Illness, and Healing: A Blueprint for the 21st Century*. New York 2011, pp. 173–199; Robert A. Nye: *The Evolution of the Concept of Medicalization in the Late Twentieth Century*. In: *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 39 (2003) 2, pp. 115–129. On medicalization of childhood and pedagogy: Annette M. Stross: ‘Gesundheitserziehung’ zwischen Pädagogik und Medizin. Themenkonjunkturen und Professionalisierungsprobleme in Deutschland 1770 - 1930. In: *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 41 (1995) 2, pp. 169–184; Annette M. Stross: *Pädagogik und Medizin. Ihre Beziehungen in “Gesundheitserziehung” und wissenschaftlicher Pädagogik 1779–1933*. Weinheim 2000, pp. 29–196. On medicalization and child care in the nineteenth century: Ann F. La Berge: *Mothers and Infants, Nurses and Nursing. Alfred Donné and the Medicalization of Child Care in Nineteenth-Century France*. In: *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 46 (1991) 1, pp. 20–43.

¹³ Accordingly, this paper contributes to a growing body of scholarship on the role of periodicals in the cultural transmission and production of science and medicine in the nineteenth century. Case studies have so far focused on British periodicals, popular German periodicals of the late nineteenth century (notably the *Gartenlaube*), and specialized medical and scientific journals. Only a few studies have considered the depiction of science and medicine in popular periodicals in Germany in the early nineteenth century, and there is no study specifically focused on child health. On science and medicine in British periodicals: Louise Henson et al.: *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*. Abingdon 2016; Geoffrey Cantor et al.: *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical. Reading the Magazine of Nature*. Cambridge 2004. On medicine in German periodicals in the late nineteenth century: Florian Mildenerger: *Medizinische Belehrung für das Bürgertum. Medikale Kulturen in der Zeitschrift “Die Gartenlaube” (1853-1944)*. Stuttgart 2012. On specialized periodicals: Bernard V. Lightman et al. (eds.): *Science Periodicals in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Constructing Scientific Communities*. Chicago 2020; Special Issue of *Media History* 25 (2019) 2; Martina King: “Herzensergießungen kunstliebender Ärzte. Praktische Heilkunde und Literatur um 1800”. In: Alexander Honold/Grit Schwarzkopf (eds.). *Non Fiktion* 12 (2019) 2, pp. 27–65. Most scholarship on pediatrics and child health in the early nineteenth century focuses on institutional and professional developments. However, a growing body of recent work also takes into consideration broader cultural conversations and practices, examining periodicals mainly in the context of scientific and medical popularization. See: Marcus Sonntag: *Pockenimpfung und Aufklärung. Die Popularisierung der Inokulation und Vakzination. Impfkampagne im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*. Bremen 2014; Martin Dinges: *Bettine von Arnim und die Gesundheit. Medizin, Krankheit und Familie im 19. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart 2018; Emmanuelle Berthiaud/François Lége/Jérôme van Wijland (eds.): *Prévenir, accueillir, guérir. La médecine des enfants de l’époque moderne à nos jours*. Villeneuve d’Ascq 2021. For an overview of recent works on the history of maternal and infant health: Emmanuelle Berthiaud: *La santé maternelle et infantile (Europe, XVIe-XIXe siècles). État des lieux historiographique et bibliographique*. In: *Annales de démographie historique* 139 (2020) 1, pp. 27–90. For a careful account of the history of proto-pediatrics in the eighteenth century: Iris Ritzmann: *Sorgenkinder. Kranke und behinderte Mädchen und Jungen im 18. Jahrhundert*. Köln 2008.

¹⁴ The most comprehensive accounts of the periodical landscape of the nineteenth century are still provided by

illustrated interregional journals with high print runs, published for the ‘entertainment’ of an educated bourgeois readership. This sampling partly follows a pragmatic rationale of feasibility (a comprehensive review of the thousands of periodicals of the period is impossible, the illustrated journals are relatively well studied in media historical scholarship and mostly accessible through digital repositories); partly it is motivated by my interest in popular discourses concerning child health, a high print run providing a surrogate measure of popularity (even if it comes with some pitfalls). I will also include a few examples from less successful journals — the far more common fate of many titles especially during the early nineteenth century.¹⁵ The examples from these latter journals will allow me to illustrate some general trends in the evolution of notions of child health and education. The paper is not intended to provide an exhaustive analysis of the journals, but rather, to illustrate the potential of journals as a source for a cultural history of health and illness in the early nineteenth century. It is a first step in a larger project investigating the material and media culture of child health.¹⁶

The four sections of this essay roughly follow a chronological and thematic order. The first two sections focus on evolving notions of health and illness in children’s periodicals from the late Enlightenment to the Biedermeier period. In the philanthropic pedagogy of the late Enlightenment, moral and physical education were closely connected. In the first section, I argue that children’s periodicals around the time of 1800 (such as Justin Bertuch and Karl Philipp Funke’s *Journal für Kinder, Eltern und Erzieher* [Journal for Children, Parents, and Educators]) were committed to contemporary principles of moral instruction, but also sought to compete on an evolving consumer market. In this context, ideas about health and illness were primarily transmitted through short stereotypical ‘moral stories’. These stories were meant to provide sensual knowledge [*sinnliche Anschauung*] of pedagogical principles and thereby educate children in an entertaining way. Images were only sparsely used, mostly for

bibliographical works: Joachim Kirchner: *Das deutsche Zeitschriftenwesen. Seine Geschichte und seine Probleme*. Vol. 1/2. Wiesbaden 1958/1962; Alfred Estermann: *Die deutschen Literatur-Zeitschriften, 1815-1850*. Bibliographien, Programme, Autoren. 10 vol. Nedeln 1977-1981. For an overview of children’s periodicals: Reiner Wild/Otto Brunken (eds.): *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Stuttgart 2008; Peter Lukasch: *Deutschsprachige Kinder- und Jugendzeitschriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kindermedien*. Norderstedt 2014. For a useful overview of the links between journals and science, focusing on Britain: Henson et al.: *Culture and science in the nineteenth-century media. On genres from an eighteenth century perspective*: Ernst Fischer/Wilhelm Haefs/York-Gothart Mix (eds.): *Von Almanach bis Zeitung. Ein Handbuch der Medien in Deutschland 1700-1800*. München 1999.

¹⁵ I undertook the following steps in selecting periodic titles: first, I generated a list of digitally available children’s periodicals and (illustrated) interregional journals with (relatively) high print runs, mainly based on the preexisting body of scholarship (see fn. 14). The initial list included a total of 17 children’s periodicals and 21 (illustrated) journals published between 1775 and 1860. I then analyzed the source basis combining close reading of the first two annual volumes of each title with a key word search for articles of interest (“Kind” [child], “gesund” [healthy] and/or “Erziehung” [education]), focusing on the period from 1800-1860. Finally, I compared the articles among titles of (roughly) the same decade. In this essay, I have included a selection of examples that seemed to best illustrate overall trends and tendencies. As stated below, the analysis is not comprehensive but an informed selection of (assumingly) representative titles.

¹⁶ The project with the working title “Raising a well-grown child: media and material cultures of child health in the early nineteenth century” is funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (grant number: 193557). <https://p3.snf.ch/project-193557>.

instruction in natural history. In the second section, I follow the further development of children's periodicals into the Biedermeier period and argue that the formerly close connection between moral and physical education was gradually severed. Against the background of an increasing commercialization and differentiation of the periodical press, journals such as Franz Hoffmann's *Deutsche Jugendfreund* [friend of the youth] put increasing emphasis on complex plot structures, multiple and conflicting motives of action, and moments of intense suspense and tension. Issues of physical and moral education moved into the background in favor of elaborate narrative frames. I further suggest that this narrativization of children's periodicals corresponded to a broader public scrutiny of educational styles and pedagogical principles. Drawing on image-text interactions, illustrated periodicals such as the *Fliegende Blätter* recontextualized children's stories and pedagogical messages to make fun of both pedagogical convictions and contemporary political conditions. Journals now explicitly negotiated meanings and ideas of pedagogy and health.

In the third and fourth sections, I further examine this negotiation of meanings, now focusing on the newly emerging illustrated press. I argue that illustrated magazines such as the *Leipzig Pfennig-Magazin* [penny magazine] (1833-1855) and the *Illustrierte Zeitung* [illustrated newspaper] (1843-1933) drew on recently developed techniques of intermedial and intertextual dramatization to stage and actively modify predominant medical opinion. I suggest that these modifications could lead to an independent but media-specific position of journals in the popular culture of healthy upbringing. From this perspective, I conclude that popular periodicals can be considered structural elements in the 'medicalization' of childhood, providing an important basis for a broader cultural history of child health in the early nineteenth century.

2. Transmitting morally sanctioned behavior: Physical education in the *Journal für Kinder, Eltern und Erzieher*

On the 16th of January, 1805, the fifth issue of the literary journal the *Abend-Zeitung* [the Evening-Newspaper] (1805-1806/1817-1848) was published. As the better known *Morgenblatt für Gebildete Stände* [Morning Leaflet for Educated Classes] (1807-1865), the *Abend-Zeitung* belonged to the new organs of literary and cultural entertainment of the early nineteenth century that addressed a growing and slowly diversifying educated readership. These so-called 'belles-lettres journals' continued the tradition of former enlightened periodicals in seeking to educate and entertain a popular readership, but differed from their predecessors in their more stylish design and variegated content, ranging from literary publications to newest fashions.¹⁷ As such, the *Abend-Zeitung* can be considered a tiny

¹⁷ There is no sudden rupture between 'belles-lettres journals' and earlier periodicals but rather a trend towards diversification and popular appeal that gradually evolves throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and includes a number of different genres. On literary journals in the eighteenth century: John A. McCarthy: "Literarisch-kulturelle Zeitschriften". In: Ernst Fischer/Wilhelm Haefs/York-Gothart Mix (eds.): *Von Almanach bis*

chapter within a broader transition from the learned ‘republic of letters’ of the seventeenth and eighteenth to the educated public sphere of the nineteenth centuries.¹⁸

In the fifth issue of the journal, the readers could find poetic wordplay (so-called charades), the first installment of a short serial story, and literary news. They might also have stumbled over an article entitled “A word about education” [*Ein Wörtchen über Erziehung*]. The ‘word’ consisted in the announcement of a new journal of childhood education, called *Das Journal für Kinder, Eltern und Erzieher* [The Journal for Children, Parents, and Educators] (1806-1807), produced by the well-known publishers Friedrich Justin Bertuch (1777-1822) and Karl Philipp Funke (1752-1807) in Weimar and Dessau, respectively.¹⁹ The announcement was ironic in tone. The anonymous author pointed to the bulk of educational literature on the contemporary market and sneeringly commented on the state of matters: “we are now at a point where we have almost as many educators and educational books as children.”²⁰ Indeed, there was no lack of pedagogical advice books. As I have mentioned above, the eighteenth century saw a flood of writings for (popular) enlightenment that targeted children and parents and reached its zenith towards the end of the century.²¹ Widely distributed examples included the *Gesundheits-Katechismus* [health catechism] (1792) by Bernhard Christoph Faust, the elementary school book *Der Kinderfreund* [the children’s friend] (1776) by Eberhard von Rochow, and the *Guter Rath für Mütter* [good advice for mothers] (1799) by Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland.

Zeitung. Ein Handbuch der Medien in Deutschland 1700-1800. München 1999, pp. 191–206. On the genre of *Intelligenzblätter*: Holger Böning: “Das Intelligenzblatt”. In: Ernst Fischer/Wilhelm Haefs/York-Gothart Mix (eds.): Von Almanach bis Zeitung. Ein Handbuch der Medien in Deutschland 1700-1800. München 1999, pp.89–104. On the specificity of belletristic journals: Margot Lindemann: Deutsche Presse bis 1815. Berlin 1989, pp.232-247. See also: Kirchner: Das deutsche Zeitschriftenwesen, vol. 1, pp. 261–65; Sibylle Obenaus: Literarische und politische Zeitschriften, 1830-1848. Stuttgart 1986, pp. 7–22; Helga Brandes: Die Zeitschriften des Jungen Deutschland. Eine Untersuchung zur literarisch-publizistischen Oeffentlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert. Opladen 1991, pp. 148–153.

¹⁸ The classic text on the transition of the learned ‘republic of letters’ to the educated ‘public sphere’ is Jürgen Habermas: *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Neuwied 1962. It remains a matter of debate the extent to which the concept of the public sphere applies to the increasingly diverse reading audiences of the early nineteenth century: Cantor: *Science in the Nineteenth-century Periodical*, pp. 4–5.

¹⁹ F. J. Bertuch/K. Ph. Funke: *Zeitschrift für Kinder, Eltern und Erzieher*. Monats-Bericht des F.S. priv. Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs sowie auch des Geographischen Instituts zu Weimar. No. VII (Junius 1806). Bertuch was a well-known author himself, well connected in the contemporary literary scene: Gerhard R. Kaiser/Siegfried Seifert (eds.): *Friedrich Justin Bertuch (1747-1822)*. Tübingen 2000.

²⁰ “[...] und so stehen wir denn endlich auf dem Punkte, wo wir beinahe nicht weniger Erzieher und Erziehungsschriften als lebendige Kinder haben.” *Ein Wörtchen über Erziehung*. In: *Abend-Zeitung*, 16 January 1805, p. 19.

²¹ Many of the writings were written by physicians, included issues of child health and physical education, and targeted a broad readership. However, not all of them explicitly served the objective of ‘popular enlightenment.’ The *Journal für Kinder, Eltern und Erzieher*, discussed in this section, took up some of the topoi of the popular enlightenment, but clearly targeted an educated bourgeois readership. On popular enlightenment: Reinhart Siegert: “Enlightenment in the 19th century. ‘Overcoming’ or Diffusion?”. In: Holger Böning/Reinhart Siegert (eds.): *Volksaufklärung. Biobibliographisches Handbuch zur Popularisierung aufklärerischen Denkens im deutschen Sprachraum von den Anfängen bis 1850*. Stuttgart 2016, pp. LXXIX–CXV. On medical advice books more generally: Stross: *Pädagogik und Medizin*, pp. 29-100.

And yet, the author of the article in the *Abend-Zeitung* considered the new journal worthy of notice, not least because each volume consisted not only of one but of two issues: one for children, called *Der Jugendfreund* [the friend of the youth], and the other for parents, called *Der Rathgeber* [the adviser].²² Moreover, the editors of the new journal promised to be generous with images and to provide such an entertaining design for the *Jugendfreund* that “the child always waits for each new monthly issue with burning desire.”²³ In other words, the journal sought to add to the bulk of literature a genre that paired advice with amusement, addressed the entire family, and stimulated the child as a consumer. Indeed, we learn that “[...] an additional attraction recommends the journal”: “The child, whose educators prepay the entire annual volume, obtains a Christmas present of the value of at least one thaler.”²⁴ While announced design and commercial strategy attributed to the ‘new’ journal a competitive position on an evolving consumer market, educational objective and literary content closely followed the eighteenth-century tradition of philanthropic pedagogy:²⁵ “Mind and body [of the child] grow with every hour, incessantly strive for instruction, and always look for exercise and improvement,” the editors Bertuch and Funke stated in the spirit of enlightened anthropology in the first issue of the *Journal*.²⁶ In this context, the periodical was intended to help parents and educators bring the ‘natural’ infantile striving into a “coherent harmonious whole.”²⁷ This was all the more urgent in the turbulent times of the contemporary period: “the always-changing conditions of our bourgeois life, our estate, our customs and mores, our place of residence, our commerce, and even the progress of our sciences [have] a permanent influence on our domestic education and modify it.”²⁸ The journal was praised as a medium to assist educators and parents in their “everlasting studies,” while also transmitting traditional bourgeois values — a task that appeared to be critical in the wake of the French Revolution and in the middle of the Napoleonic Wars.²⁹ Both its commitment to traditional values and its effort at consumer appeal were clearly discernable in the form and content of the journal, and also informed its discussion of health

²² The genre of periodicals addressing both children and adults slowly emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century, usually including a section for children in journals primarily written for parents: Hans-Heino Ewers/Annegret Völpel: “Kinder- und Jugendzeitschriften”. In: Ernst Fischer/ Wilhem Haefs/ York-Gothart Mix (eds.): *Von Almanach bis Zeitung: Ein Handbuch der Medien in Deutschland 1700-1800*. München 1999, pp.137-156, here p.140.

²³ “[...] das Kind jedes Monatsheft immer mit Verlangen erwartet.” Ein Wörtchen über Erziehung, p. 20.

²⁴ “[...] damit ein Reiz mehr das Journal empfehle, so erhält das Kind, dessen Erzieher auf den ganzen Jahrgang pränumeriren, allezeit ein Weihnachtsgeschenk von wenigstens einen Thaler an Werth [...].” Ein Wörtchen über Erziehung, p. 20.

²⁵ The commercial print culture for families and children emerged in the last decades of the eighteenth century and included advice books, periodicals, and ephemera. According to a contemporary estimate in Britain, where the print culture developed about a decade earlier than in Germany, about 22% of print materials in the 1830s were “cheap periodicals addressed chiefly to children.” Cantor: *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical*, p. 5. On the commercialization of childhood more broadly: Anja Müller: *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity*. Burlington 2006; Megan Brandow-Faller: *Childhood by Design. Toys and the Material Culture of Childhood, 1700-Present*. New York 2018.

²⁶ F. J. Bertuch/K. P. Funke: *Plan und Ankündigung dieser Zeitung*. In: *Der Rathgeber* (1806) 1, p. 5.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 5.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 5.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

and illness, as I will show below. For example, the first issue of *Der Rathgeber* [the advisor] consciously set the journal in the pedigree of the most famous of the children's magazines of the late eighteenth century, the *Kinderfreund* [children's friend] (1775-1782) of the recently deceased Christian Felix Weisse (1726–1804), a 'friend' and 'adviser' of Bertuch for "almost 34 years."³⁰ Just like the *Kinderfreund*, the *Journal* included a framing story of a father and his two boys (Georg and Eduard) that provided continuity across the installments of the journal and was meant to further loyalty and identification among readers.³¹ However, in contrast to the *Kinderfreund*, the *Journal* not only contained two complementary titles (*Rathgeber* and *Jugendfreund*) but both titles were also clearly divided into different thematic sections. The first installment of the *Rathgeber* thus included, similarly to the *Kinderfreund*, instructive dialogues between a father and his sons, but also short essays about natural history, and a lengthy educational treatise about 'obstinacy.' Similarly, the first issue of the *Jugendfreund* contained instructive dialogues (using the same characters of a father and his two boys as the *Rathgeber*, but now adapting the dialogues to a morally commendable child's perspective), short stories, moral tales, poetry, and descriptions of animals. While separate titles and a clear division between sections were not entirely new features of such journals, they were part of a consciously chosen commercial and educational strategy:³² as the editors repeatedly put it, to include "in the manifold variety of material and form, everything that can attract the intellectual curiosity of the child and provide him with engaging entertainment."³³

The *Journal* addressed the subject of health within the larger context of physical education, paying particular attention to the interplay of nature and nurture according to the Juvenalian dictum "in corpore sano mens sana" [a healthy mind in a healthy body].³⁴ The idea that education had to include both the formation of the soul and the maintenance of the body had been a popular topic in the Enlightenment, usually underpinned with reference to John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762).³⁵ The concept of physical education was originally proposed by the French physician

³⁰ Ehrendenkmal des deutschen Kinderfreundes Christian Felix Weisse. In: *Der Rathgeber* (1806) 1, p. 9.

³¹ On Weisse's *Kinderfreund*: Reiner Wild: "Aufklärung". In: Reiner Wild/Otto Brunken (eds.): *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Stuttgart 2008, pp. 43–95; Bettina Hurrelmann: *Jugendliteratur und Bürgerlichkeit. Soziale Erziehung in der Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung am Beispiel von Christian Felix Weisses "Kinderfreund" 1776-1782*. Paderborn 1974, pp. 67-79, 198-216.

³² The different genres and modes of presentation had been in a continuous process of negotiation and experimentation going back to the 1770s. See: Wild: *Aufklärung*, pp. 72-73; Ewers/Völpel: *Kinder- und Jugendzeitschriften*, pp. 150-153. On variety of content as an aspect of the commercialization and periodization of the literary market more broadly: Reinhart Meyer: *Novelle und Journal*. Stuttgart 1987, pp. 169–190.

³³ "Es enthält, in der mannigfaltigen Abwechslung der Materien und Form, alles was die Wissbegierde des Kindes interessieren, und ihm eine anziehende Unterhaltung gewähren kann." *Der Jugendfreund* (1806) 1, p. 6.

³⁴ Ueber Eigensinn und Festigkeit. In: *Der Rathgeber* (1806) 2, p. 53.

³⁵ Further points of reference were Rousseau's *Nouvelle Heloise* (1757) and, since the 1800s, Immanuel Kant's *Über Pädagogik* (1803). Lydia Kunze: 'Die physische Erziehung der Kinder'. *Populäre Schriften zur Gesundheitserziehung in der Medizin der Aufklärung*. Marburg 1971; Josef N. Neumann: *Die physische Erziehung des Kindes. Zum Verhältnis von Medizin und Pädagogik im Erziehungs- und Bildungskonzept von August Hermann Francke (1663-1727)*. In: *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 13 (1995), pp. 267–297; Ritzmann: *Sorgenkinder*, pp. 61–65.

Pierre Brouzet (1714-1772) to point to this interplay of moral and bodily instruction.³⁶ In the medico-pedagogical advice books of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, physical education included instruction on correct clothing, diet, exercise and rest, and the training of intellectual powers and mental faculties; generally applied to both sexes.³⁷ Broadly speaking, the topics stood in the tradition of the six *res non-naturales*, reaching back to Hippocratic medicine.³⁸

The *Rathgeber* followed up on the enlightened discourse about physical education, but emphasized the interplay between pedagogical principles and healthy growth. In the article “About obstinacy and firmness” [*Über Eigensinn und Festigkeit*] the author (probably Bertuch) not only pointed out that illness favored “obstinate behavior,” but also highlighted that “some blinded parents deliberately contribute to their sick children becoming stubborn and obstinate.”³⁹ A “weak mother” and a “worried father” yielded to all the whims and wishes of their ill child, breeding a little ‘despot.’⁴⁰ If illness favored ‘spoiling,’ spoiling could generate sickness: “If one turns one’s child into an idol; nurtures and strengthens his weaknesses [...]; seeks to avert any trivial pain [...]: one sickens mind and body, intentionally suffocates already prematurely the exquisite seed for all grand, noble and manly, and causes the future youth and man infinite pain and harm.”⁴¹ Incorrect educational attitudes were directly linked to dire consequences for health and well-being.

The *Jugendfreund* complemented the pedagogical principles of the *Rathgeber* in concretely illustrating the effects on mind and body of ‘generous’ and ‘selfish,’ ‘obedient’ and ‘disobedient,’ ‘good’ and ‘bad’ behavior. The emphasis was on sensual knowledge [*anschauliche Erkenntnis*]. The journal thus joined a broader pedagogical shift in children’s literature from the teaching of moral principles through the memorization of general rules (as done, for example, in Faust’s *Gesundheits-Katechismus*) to the conveyance of the same principles through a narrative and descriptive mode.⁴² The *Jugendfreund* mainly transmitted this sensual knowledge of moral principles through the above-mentioned instructive dialogues, short stories, and moral tales. The short stories combined narrative elements with stereotypical character types. For example, the story of Emmy and Emrich in the third issue of the *Jugendfreund* used a pair of siblings to personify the dichotomy of obedient (Emmy)

³⁶ Pierre Brouzet: *Essai sur l’éducation médicale, des enfans et sur leurs maladies*. Paris 1754.

³⁷ The issue of gender in physical education warrants its own study. Generally, medical enlighteners tended to propose the principles of physical education as pedagogical guidelines for both boys and girls, even if some authors recommended only moderate physical exercise for women according to contemporary ‘manners’ and ‘decency.’ For an overview: Kunze: *Die physische Erziehung der Kinder*, pp. 64–67.

³⁸ Kunze: *Die physische Erziehung der Kinder*, pp. 108–110; Neumann: *Die physische Erziehung des Kindes*.

³⁹ “Manche verblendete Eltern tragen auch bei ihren kranken Kindern recht geflissentlich alles dazu bei, dass sie störrig und eigensinnig werden.” *Ueber Eigensinn und Festigkeit*, p. 55. Obstnacy was a popular topic in educational writings of the late eighteenth century.

⁴⁰ *Ueber Eigensinn und Festigkeit*, p. 56.

⁴¹ “Macht man also aus dem Kinde ein Abgott; nährt und stärkt man die Schwächen desselben [...]; sucht man jeden unbedeutenden Schmerz von ihm abzuwenden [...]: so macht man Geist und Körper krank, erstickt schon frühzeitig recht absichtlich den herrlichen Keim für alles Große, Edle und Männliche, und bereitet dem zukünftigen Jüngling und Manne unendliches Wehe und Unglück.” *Ueber Eigensinn und Festigkeit*, p. 58.

⁴² Wild: *Aufklärung*, pp. 63–65.

and disobedient (Emrich) behavior. In the story, the children were slowly recovering from scarlet fever at the end of the winter. Spring was coming and “the sun radiated warm and mild through the windows; the finches sang, the sparrows chirped [...] and our little ones would have liked so much to be outside in the garden.”⁴³ The seducing spring scene contrasted with the behavioral requirements for physical recovery: the mother could not allow the children to play outside, as the doctor had warned that the ‘rough’ [*rauhe*] air could be detrimental to their still fragile health. However, Emrich did not respect his mother’s advice, convinced that playing “just a bit” outside “could not harm” him. He mocked his sister who decided to stay inside and went into the garden.⁴⁴ The lesson followed promptly: in the evening Emrich could not “laugh about Emmy” anymore. His condition deteriorated, “chill and heat” returned. Emrich had to stay many more days in bed than his sister, who could play “without worries” in the garden.⁴⁵ Just as the *Rathgeber* did for parental attitudes, the story in the *Jugendfreund* tied morally sanctioned behavior in children to physical and mental health and well-being, illustrating the physical consequences of disobedience by means of a literalized example.

This implicit mode of transmitting knowledge about health and illness to children — mostly through fictive stories — was characteristic for an important part of the periodical literature of the last decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries.⁴⁶ In this regard, physical education differed from the teaching of another subject of increasing popularity among the growing bourgeois readership: natural history. According to the didactic principles of philanthropic philosophy to gradually move from sensual to conceptual knowledge, natural history had been considered a pivotal field of childhood education since the 1770s.⁴⁷ First children’s books focusing on natural history were published in the 1770s and 1780s, and the first specialized periodical, the *Physikalische Jugendfreund* [physical children’s friend] (1798-1809), came on the market in 1798. Bertuch himself had published a periodically issued *Bilderbuch für Kinder* [Picture Book for Children] that concentrated on zoological and botanical knowledge since 1792.⁴⁸ Both the picture book and the *Jugendfreund* included copper engravings of plants and animals (such as sepia and cobra). In the journal, the engravings usually figured at the end, but were referenced throughout in both factual and fictional texts. The texts ranged from descriptions of animals and instructional dialogues to

⁴³ “Die Sonne schien so warm und mild durchs Fenster hinein; die Finken schlugen, die Sperlinge ziepten [...] und unsere Kleinen wären auch so gerne draußen im Garten gewesen,” Emmy und Emmrich. In: *Der Jugendfreund* (1806) 3, p. 134.

⁴⁴ Emmy und Emmrich, p. 135.

⁴⁵ Emmy und Emmrich, pp. 135-136.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., the short stories in Weisse’s *Kinderfreund* mentioned above, Engelhardt and Merkel’s *Neuer Kinderfreund* (1794-1814), or J.P. Hebel’s calender *Rheinländischer Hausfreund* (1808-1819). On moral short stories also: Wild: *Aufklärung*.

⁴⁷ On natural history and philanthropic pedagogy: Suanne Düwell: “Erziehung durch Vorzeigung der Dinge in der Natur”. *Aufklärungspädagogik und Naturgeschichte*. In: Tanja van Hoorn/Alecander Kosenina (eds.): *Naturkunde im Wochentakt*. Bern 2014, pp. 221–238.

⁴⁸ On Bertuch’s picture book: Uwe Plötner, “‘Du fühlst, wie leicht und amüsant diese Arbeit ist...’. Friedrich Justin Bertuchs ‘Bilderbuch für Kinder’ (1790-1843)”. In: Gerhard R.Kaiser/Siegfried Seifert (eds.): *Friedrich Justin Bertuch (1747-1822)*. Tübingen 2000, pp. 533–546.

fables and tales. Dramatizations in both image (fig. 2) and text (e.g., the sepia’s “big, sparkling eyes of burning red color”) were to provide a balanced alternation between instruction and entertainment.⁴⁹

In a sense, physical education and scientific knowledge constituted two sides of the same coin: both participated in a gradual process during which the child was addressed as a consumer of instructional materials. While natural history was taught directly through images and texts, physical education was mainly transmitted through narrative examples of morally sanctioned behavior. In this process, the *Journal für Kinder, Eltern und Erzieher* occupied a transitional position: committed to philanthropic pedagogy, it sought to strike a balance between the educational aspirations of the popular Enlightenment and the commercial pressures of the evolving literary market.⁵⁰



Fig. 2: Der Secretär-Vogel mit der Brillenschlange [Secretary Bird and Cobra]. In: *Der Jugendfreund* (1806) 1, p. [49], plate 2. The image illustrates the fight of a secretary bird with a cobra, described in a natural history essay in the journal. The fight itself is a fictive dramatization of the bird’s occasional feeding with snakes. The illustration depicts the most critical moment of the fight, when the cobra “becomes angry, lifts the front part of her body, and stretches with sparkling eyes and open throat her head towards the enemy to dangerously injure him”, *ibid.*, p. 29.

3. Scrutinizing pedagogical principles: Narrativization and image-text interactions during the Biedermeier period

The effort to harmonize educational objectives with commercial interests continued throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century, running in tandem with a gradual narrativization and differentiation of children’s periodicals.⁵¹ While an appeal to the principles of physical education often remained present in publicity, the content of the journals moved to increasing literary freedom. For example, the relatively successful *Deutsche Jugendfreund* (1846-1857) [German Friend of the Youth], edited by one of the first ‘professional’ children’s

⁴⁹ “große funkelnde Augen von brennend rother Farbe,” *Die Sepia*. In: *Der Jugendfreund*, (1806) 1, p. 11.

⁵⁰ For an overview of the commercial pressures of the contemporary market for children’s literature: Klaus-Ulrich Pech: “Vom Biedermeier zum Realismus”. In: Reiner Wild/Otto Brunken (eds.): *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Stuttgart 2008, pp. 131–170. On commercialization and periodization more broadly: Meyer: *Novelle und Journal*, pp. 125–228.

⁵¹ Pech: *Vom Biedermeier zum Realismus*; Ewers/Völpel: *Kinder- und Jugendzeitschriften*.

writers, the highly prolific and very popular Franz Hoffmann (1814-1882), advertised in 1849, “purpose and ambition of the *Jugendfreund* is to advance and support the mental and physical formation of the youthful souls.”⁵² To that end, the journal included three thematic sections: the first section was primarily for ‘entertainment’ and included “stories, fairytales, fables, and parables”; the second section aimed at ‘instruction’ and covered historical accounts, reports of “regions and customs of foreign people,” and descriptions of animals; the third and last section was dedicated to the “formation of the intellect and the body” and included “riddles, charades, pictorial puzzles, easier and more difficult exercises to solve scientific problems [...]”⁵³ Despite the advertised pedagogical orientation, the ‘moral stories’ — mostly written by Hoffmann himself — occupied the main part of the journal.⁵⁴ Even if these stories often transmitted Christian virtues, foregrounded in titles such as *Der Herr hat alles wohl gemacht* [The Lord has taken care of everything] or *Ein Bibelblatt* [A page of the bible], they contained complex plot structures and were far more narrativized than their predecessors in the 1790s and 1800s: The simple dichotomy of good and bad behavior tended to give way to multiple and conflicting motives; the stories were increasingly told in serial form; suspense was generated through ‘cliffhangers’ (abrupt endings of installments at dramatic moments).⁵⁵ The moral doctrines moved into the background in favor of an elaborate narrative frame — a common characteristic of children’s literature during the Biedermeier period.⁵⁶

Physical education suffered a similar fate: in Hoffmann’s stories, the close relationship between moral behavior and physical health was severed. Sickness appeared as an outside event that complicated the actions of the protagonists. For example, the story *Der Herr hat alles gut gemacht* described a long period of suffering of a poor family of farmers, framed as a divine trial of faith. The small family, consisting of a father, wife, child and grandfather, was God-trusting and hard-working. However, over the course of the story, all members of the family but the father William fell ill and William alone had to shoulder their survival. Despite hard work, the family had to sell its fields little by little and got poorer and poorer. The doctor prescribed meat to the wife, putting further strain on William and making him susceptible to seductive offers of villains. Sickness, hunger, poverty and seductive offers led to a dramatic high point: at Christmas, the son of the wealthy count, who desired to buy the remaining property of William’s family, was killed. Blood was found on William’s clothing and walking

⁵² “Der Zweck und das Streben des Jugendfreundes ist: Die geistige und körperliche Ausbildung der jugendlichen Seelen zu befördern”. In: *Deutsche Jugendfreund*, January 1849, p. 2 (front cover).

⁵³ *Deutsche Jugendfreund*, January 1849, p. 54 (back cover).

⁵⁴ On moral stories during the Biedermeier period: Pech: *Vom Biedermeier zum Realismus*, pp. 133-145.

⁵⁵ The change is one of degree: for example, serial narration and cliffhangers could already be found in children’s periodicals in the eighteenth century (e.g., in Felix Weisse’s *Kinderfreund*), but they were carefully introduced by a framing narrative and the ending was often foreshadowed. In contrast, the stories in the *Deutsche Jugendfreund* tended to end at the most dramatic turning points of the stories without prior framing or announcement (going along with a shift from an intra- to an extradiegetic narrator). On the early history of the cliffhanger in adult literature: Gunhild Berg: “Strukturwandel der Leseerwartung. Eine Mediengeschichte des frühen Cliffhangers in Moralischen Wochenschriften”. In: Misia Sophia Doms/Bernhard Walcher (eds.): *Periodische Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts. Moralische Wochenschriften im deutschsprachigen Raum. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik, Reihe A, Kongressberichte 110* (2012), pp. 315–337.

⁵⁶ Pech: *Vom Biedermeier zum Realismus*, p. 134.

stick; the family's breadwinner was put in chains and accused of murder.⁵⁷ The first installment ended at this tragic highpoint; the reader had to wait for the next issue of the journal to know the verdict. Issues of health and illness did not appear anymore as pedagogical messages to children but fulfilled a narrative (and commercial) function within fictive stories that worked with dramatic tensions and resolutions.⁵⁸

This is not to say that physical education disappeared from children's literature but that the link between moral principles and physical and mental well-being was opened up to different uses and interpretations. Periodicals actively participated in the negotiation of meanings. This could take the form of narrativized stories on an evolving commercial market, as illustrated with Franz Hoffmann's *Deutsche Jugendfreund*, but it could also express itself in caricature, satire, and playful picture books, as I will now show with the examples of the famous children's book *Struwwelpeter* [slovenly Peter] and its subsequent adaptation by the *Fliegende Blätter*.

The *Struwwelpeter* was first published in 1844 by the physician Heinrich Hoffmann (1809-1894; not related to Franz Hoffmann) and was an immediate best-seller. The book consisted of various illustrated stories in rhymes, advertised for children from three to six years. The stories conveyed moral messages in a playful, exaggerated, and slightly ironic way. For example, in the "Story of Cruel Frederick," Frederick whipped a dog who therefore bit him. The consequences were shown in image and text (fig. 3):⁵⁹

Frederick had to go to bed:
His leg was very sore and red!
The doctor came and shook his head,
And made a very great-to-do,
And gave him nasty physic too.⁶⁰

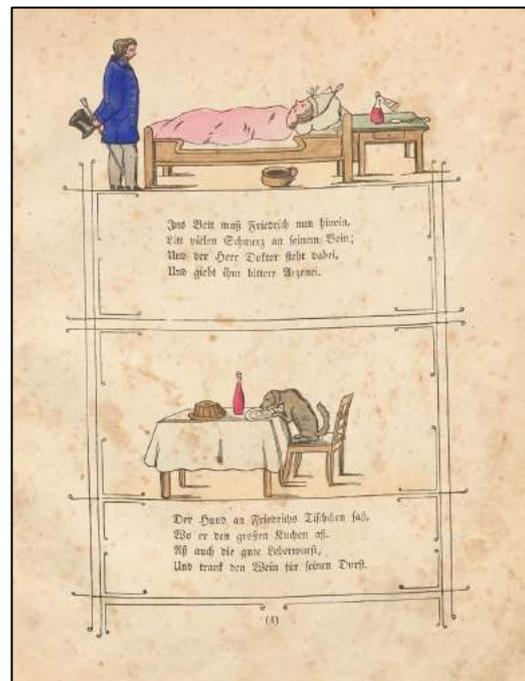


Fig. 3: Die Geschichte vom bösen Friedrich [The Story of Cruel Frederick]. Hoffmann, *Struwwelpeter*, 4.

⁵⁷ *Deutsche Jugendfreund*, January 1849, pp. 1-26.

⁵⁸ Arguably, we also see a shift from individual to social health: in the stories of the *Deutsche Jugendfreund* the social circumstances of the protagonists (e.g., poverty and hunger) became determining factors for both their actions and their physical and mental well-being. From this perspective, the stories could be related to a growing concern for social medicine, exemplified by Rudolf Virchow's call for 'instruction,' 'freedom,' and 'wealth' for the prevention of typhus. Rudolf Virchow: *Mittheilungen über die in Oberschlesien herrschende Typhus-Epidemie*. In: De Gruyter (2019); <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111683898>, pp. 162-182.

⁵⁹ Heinrich Hoffmann: *Der Struwwelpeter oder lustige Geschichten und drollige Bilder für Kinder von 3 - 6 Jahren*. Frankfurt am Main 1844.

⁶⁰ "Ins Bett muss Friedrich nun hinein, Litt viel Schmerz an seinem Bein; Und der Herr Doktor steht dabei, Und giebt ihm bittere Arznei." I used a contemporary translation: Heinrich Hoffmann: *Struwwelpeter: Merry Stories and Funny Pictures*. New York not dated [translation from 1848]. In: Project Gutenberg; https://www.gutenberg.org/files/12116/12116-h/12116-h.htm#Cruel_Frederick (16 September 2021).

For his part, the dog comfortably seated himself at Frederick's table and enjoyed his "pies and puddings." While the story certainly transmitted a moral doctrine (do not beat animals), the interplay between comic images and playful rhymes also relativized the message and lent itself to different interpretations, be it very young readers engaging with the images, or older children identifying with any or all aspect of the characters (nasty/sick boy, beaten/enjoying dog, doctor).⁶¹

The ambiguity of the moral messages of the *Struwwelpeter* was brazenly taken up by the *Fliegende Blätter* in a satirical article in 1847. In the article, entitled "The *Struwwelpeter* as Radical," the authors "fulfilled the sad but noble duty" of denouncing the *Struwwelpeter* as a "pamphlet of revolutionary propaganda." Gibing the mentality of the Metternich system, the authors pointed out that the story of the cruel Frederick was nothing less than "an apologia of communism": While "respectfulness forbids us to hypothesize who was meant with Frederick" (an allusion to the kings of Prussia), the "dog, whom the 'wicked Frederick' whips and kicks and more and more beats until 'he howls,' this dog figures in the perverse worldview of the propagandists and their party always as the people."⁶² Citing the rhymes of the "pies and puddings" that the dog devoured, the *Fliegende Blätter* asked, "Can the persuasion to rebellion be expressed more effectually than in these lines? Why the delicious enumeration of possessions, which according to godly and manly order are granted to a part of civilized society and denied to another?"⁶³

As much as the *Fliegende Blätter* 'revealed' the story of Frederick to be an allegory of rebellion, they exposed the figure of the *Struwwelpeter* (fig. 4) not to be "a scaring example of physical uncleanliness and neglect" but a student association's [*burschenschaftlerische*] depiction of an "ideal German youth": "On the left the scissors — what else do they want than mocking a part of the executive power, namely censorship that strives for sacred contracts? [...] The excessively growing nails [do they not express] the excessively growing power of the people?"⁶⁴ The accompanying illustration added a further twist to the satirical reading: the childlike figure of the slovenly Peter was put under the critical and disgusted gazes of a sleepy German philistine (with attributes of both the *deutsche Michel* and *Justitia*) and an equally satirically contorted (possibly aristocratic) public servant. The philistine's sloppily hold attributes of *Justitia* (sword and scale) not only directed mock and criticism to the institutions of worldly power, but also provided visual and thematic continuity to the

⁶¹ The interpretation of the *Struwwelpeter* remains a controversial issue: Elisabeth Wesseling: Visual Narrativity in the Picture Book. Heinrich Hoffmann's Der Struwwelpeter. In: Children's Literature in Education 35 (2004) 4, pp.319–345; Pech: Vom Biedermeier zum Realismus, pp.142–143.

⁶² "Wer unter dem Friederich gemeint ist, der ein 'arger Wütherich' genannt wird, das verbietet uns der Respekt zu vermuthen; der Hund aber, den der 'bitterböse Friederich' mit der Peitsche schlägt und tritt, und immer mehr schlägt, bis er 'sehr heult', dieser Hund gilt in der perversen Weltanschauung des Propagandisten und seiner Partei immer für das Volk." Der Struwwelpeter als Radikaler. In: Fliegende Blätter 6 (1847) 137, pp. 130-131.

⁶³ "Kann man die Verführung zum Aufruhr wirksamer aussprechen, als es hier geschieht? Wozu die leckere Aufzählung von Besitzthümern, welche, göttlicher und menschlicher Ordnung gemäß, einem Theile der gesitteten Welt gewährt und einem andern versagt sind und bleiben?" Der Struwwelpeter als Radikaler, p. 131.

⁶⁴ "Links die Scheere, — was will sie anders, als daß sie einen Theil der ausübenden Gewalt, die nach geheiligten Verträgen bestehende Censur, verhöhnt? Der im Originale rothe Rock, drückt er nicht Freude aus, die maßlos wachsenden Nägel die maßlos wachsende Kraft des Volkes?" Der Struwwelpeter als Radikaler, p. 130.

subsequent article that further developed the biting criticism of censorship using a more conventional illustration of *Justitia*.⁶⁵

Similar to the caricature of pedagogy discussed in the introduction, the satirical reading and visual presentation of the *Struwwelpeter* allowed the *Fliegende Blätter* to criticize the political conditions in Germany; in this case quite openly. This openness might have been possible because of a slight abatement of censorship in the prerevolutionary year.⁶⁶ It also drew upon the versatility and ambiguity of an evolving media culture that had opened up pedagogy and physical education to public scrutiny and satirical appropriation.⁶⁷

In the post-revolutionary years, the media culture for children continued to differentiate: periodicals specialized in subject areas (e.g., history, technical knowledge, natural history) and age groups (young children, adolescents). Issues of health continued to be addressed in short and long ‘moral stories’ now drawing on a broad stylistic variety — from captivating narratives to brief moralized vignettes.⁶⁸ Additionally, child health featured in specialized medical sections that marked a slow shift from the ‘old’ concepts of physical education to the ‘new’ ideas of ‘scientific medicine.’⁶⁹ Medical practitioners increasingly acted as regular contributors to popular magazines that became a potential means to enhance one’s public reputation and obtain a regular income.⁷⁰ A paradigmatic example were the contributions of the Leipzig physician Carl Ernst Bock (1809-1874) to the best-selling family magazine *Gartenlaube* [garden bower] (1853-1944).⁷¹ Bock popularized contemporary anatomical,



Fig. 4: Der Struwwelpeter als Radikaler [Slovenly Peter as Radical]. *Fliegende Blätter* 6 (1847) 137, p. 130.

⁶⁵ The article provided a humorous allegory of ‘preventive’ and ‘repressive’ attitudes to the press with a fictional conversation between Noah and his grandson during the ark’s embarking. The corresponding illustrations further developed and modified the figure of justice, providing both visual connection to and interpretative cue for the previous essay.

⁶⁶ In February 1847 the former Bavarian minister of the interior Carl von Abel was replaced by Ludwig von Öttingen-Wallerstein and Franz von Bercks who promised more freedom of the press: Düwell: *Erziehung durch Vorzeigung der Dinge in der Natur*, p. 202.

⁶⁷ This is not to say that the figure of the child had not been used in caricature previously (e.g., infantilization had been a popular satirical tool in and beyond the eighteenth century), but that it obtained additional valency in the illustrated satirical press of the 1840s. On this point and further appropriations of the *Struwwelpeter*: Nelly Feuerhahn: “Caricature de l’enfant, caricature pour l’enfant? L’enfance et le peuple dans les enjeux satiriques de la première partie du XIXe siècle en France”. In: Hubertus Fischer/Florian Vassen (eds.): *Politik, Porträt, Physiologie. Facetten der europäischen Karikatur im Vor- und Nachmärz*. Bielefeld 2010.

⁶⁸ See, e.g., the ‘moral stories’ in the journal for young children *Herzblättchens Zeitvertreib* (1856-1950) and in the youth journal *Des Knaben Lust und Lehr* (1857-1866), which targeted boys and concentrated on technical and scientific knowledge.

⁶⁹ On the shift to scientific medicine see also: Stross: *Pädagogik und Medizin*, p. 38.

⁷⁰ On the *Gartenlaube* as a source of income: Mildenerger: *Medizinische Belehrung für das Bürgertum*, pp. 68–92.

⁷¹ On the rise of family magazines including the *Gartenlaube*: Werner Faulstich: *Medienwandel im Industrie- und*

pathological and therapeutic knowledge about children, ranging from newborn care and educational advice to detailed descriptions of normal growth and age-specific diseases.⁷² As an active *Turner* [gymnast] and follower of Rokitansky's Vienna school, Bock took a particular position within the evolving professional and scientific landscape of medicine of the 1850s and 1860s.⁷³ However, the very fact that he could use the *Gartenlaube* as the main organ for the popularization of his ideas testified to the extent to which child health had become part of a multifaceted media landscape now addressing the entire family in a variety of formats.

4. Negotiating medical discourse: Intermedial strategies of dramatization in the Leipzig *Pfennig-Magazin*

So far, I have discussed two sites of an increasing negotiation of principles of pedagogy and physical education in the evolving media landscape of the early nineteenth century. First, I have argued that children's periodicals underwent a process of narrativization and differentiation during which moral messages gave way to captivating stories. Second, I have suggested that picture books and newly emerging satirical journals could exploit the ambiguity of pedagogical discourse to their own educational and political ends, partly drawing on the equivocality of image-text combinations (as exemplified with the *Struwwelpeter* and the *Fliegende Blätter*). In the following sections, I will further examine image-text interactions, now focusing on the illustrated press of the 1830s and 1840s. The emergence of the illustrated press (that also included the *Fliegende Blätter*) was a major media historical development of the middle decades of the nineteenth century, leading to the circulation and distribution of images in unprecedented magnitude.⁷⁴ It was made possible by recent technical innovations: improvements in xylography (notably new techniques of wood engraving) allowed one to easily print text and image in the same step; changes in stereotyping enabled the production of reusable high-quality clichés, contributing to the emergence of an international market for

Massenzeitalter (1830-1900). Die Geschichte der Medien, Bd. 5. Göttingen 2004, pp. 63–71; Dirk Stegmann: "Unterhaltung als Massenkultur? Von den Familienzeitschriften zur Illustrierten". In: Werner Faulstich/Karin Knop (eds.): *Unterhaltungskultur*. München 2006, pp. 21–32; Kirsten Belgum: *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in "Die Gartenlaube", 1853-1900*. Lincoln 1998; Claudia Stockinger: *An den Ursprüngen populärer Serialität. Das Familienblatt "Die Gartenlaube"*. Göttingen 2018.

⁷² For example: Carl Ernst Bock: *Des Menschen erste Lebenszeit. Der Neugeborene und Säugling*. In: *Die Gartenlaube* (1854) 43, pp. 515–517; Carl Ernst Bock: *Zur Gesundheitspflege und Erziehungslehre. Der Mensch im Kindesalter*. In: *Die Gartenlaube* (1855) 9, pp. 119–122; Carl Ernst Bock: *Zur Gesundheitspflege und Erziehungslehre. Der Mensch im zweiten Kindesalter*. In: *Die Gartenlaube* (1855) 10, pp. 133–134; Carl Ernst Bock: *Zur Gesundheitspflege und Erziehungslehre. Knaben- und Mädchenalter*. In: *Die Gartenlaube* (1855) 13, pp. 174–176. Also: Mildnerberger: *Medizinische Belehrung für das Bürgertum*, pp. 39–92.

⁷³ For a detailed account of Bock's position: Mildnerberger: *Medizinische Belehrung für das Bürgertum*, pp. 19–103.

⁷⁴ Hartwig Gebhardt: "Die Pfennig Magazine und ihre Bilder". In: Rolf Wilhelm/Andreas Hartmann (eds.): *Populäre Bildmedien*. Göttingen 1989, pp. 19–41; Faulstich: *Medienwandel im Industrie- und Massenzeitalter*, pp. 71–84; Andreas Beck: *Nicht alles glauben, was geschrieben steht! Wie frühe illustrierte Journale (nicht) über sich Auskunft geben. Pfennig-Magazin zur Journalliteratur, Heft 5*. Hannover 2019.

printing plates; the development of mechanical paper production and steam-powered rapid printing presses permitted high print runs for relatively low prices.⁷⁵ In this context, I will argue that illustrated magazines developed new intermedial strategies to stage and dramatize medical and scientific knowledge, thus participating and intervening in cultural conversations about child health.

An immediate fruit of the innovations in printing technique was one of the first completely illustrated and most successful journals for instructive entertainment, the Leipzig *Pfennig-Magazin* [penny magazine], widely considered a media-historical milestone. The *Pfennig-Magazin* appeared weekly in quarto format and was comparatively cheap. A yearly subscription cost 1-2 thalers. As a point of comparison, subscriptions to ‘belles-lettres journals’ such as the *Abend-Zeitung* cost about 8-10 thalers.⁷⁶ Not least due to the low fee, the *Pfennig-Magazin* reached a broad bourgeois audience with print runs up to 100’000, while the print run of successful literary journals often turned around 2000-3000.⁷⁷ Its attractiveness partly stemmed from new and innovative combinations of text and image. Images amounted in average to one fourth of the content of the ‘penny magazines’ (which included, next to the Leipzig *Pfennig-Magazin*, a number of similarly cheap, illustrated periodicals such as the Leipzig *Heller-Magazin* and the Breslau *Heller-Blatt*).⁷⁸

The penny magazines primarily addressed an adult public (even though there was also a *Pfennig-Magazin für Kinder* [penny magazine for children]), and engaged with popular contemporary topics, such as recent technical inventions, travel and city reports, scientific discoveries, and philosophical and practical instructions like “the art to get rich.”⁷⁹ They also contained articles on health and physical education. For example, issue 12 of the first annual volume of the *Pfennig-Magazin* from July 20, 1833, included a lengthy article on the health of young women in boarding schools. The author was anonymous. Presumably, it was one of the editors from the “society for the diffusion of useful knowledge” [*Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse*].⁸⁰ The ‘society’ included, among others, the Swiss publisher and

⁷⁵ Eva-Maria Hanebutt-Benz: Studien zum deutschen Holzstich im 19. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt am Main 1984, pp. 679–725; Beck: Nicht alles glauben, was geschrieben steht!, pp. 50-52. The *Penny Magazine* describes the changes from a contemporary perspective: The commercial history of the penny magazine — No I. Introduction. In: *Penny Magazine* 2 (1833) 96, pp. 377-384; The commercial history of the penny magazine — No II. Wood cutting and type founding. In: *Penny Magazine* 2 (1833) 101, pp. 417-424; The commercial history of the penny magazine — No III. Compositors’ work and stereotyping. In: *Penny Magazine* 2 (1833) 107, pp. 465-472.

⁷⁶ Obenaus: Literarische und politische Zeitschriften, p. 8; Brandes: Die Zeitschriften des Jungen Deutschland, p. 154.

⁷⁷ Obenaus: Literarische und politische Zeitschriften, p. 8; Brandes: Die Zeitschriften des Jungen Deutschland, p. 141. While Obenaus and Brandes speak of a print run up to 100’000, Katrin Löffler estimates a more realistic print run of 60’000: Katrin Löffler: “Das Leipziger 'Pfennig-Magazin'. Die Anfänge der illustrierten Presse in Deutschland”. In: Thomas Fuchs/Christine Haug/Löffler Katrin (eds.): Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte 24. Wiesbaden 2016, pp. 313–340.

⁷⁸ Gebhardt: Die Pfennig Magazine und ihre Bilder.

⁷⁹ Die Kunst, reich zu werden. In: *Pfennig-Magazin*, 18 May 1833, p. 22.

⁸⁰ As discussed below, the main part of the article was a translation from the British *Penny Magazine*, published by the British “society for the diffusion of useful knowledge” — an association of educational reformers founded in 1826. Bossange and Weber were not members of the British society and there was no formal society in Leipzig. Hence, the name was probably simply borrowed from the *Penny Magazine*, possibly for commercial purposes. See: Löffler: Das Leipziger 'Pfennig-Magazin'.

author Johann Jakob Weber (1803-1889) and the French publisher Martin Bossange (1765-1865), both promoted new printing techniques and were well connected in the contemporary literary, scientific, and medical scenes.⁸¹

The article lamented the “physical weakness” of “women in so-called boarding schools” and attributed them to three main causes: first, a “lack of adequate physical exercise”; second, “an unnatural posture of the body”; and third, “squeezing through laced stays.”⁸² These concerns were in tune with contemporary medical opinion. As mentioned above, the ideas of physical education — such as fresh air and regular exercise — were meant to apply to both sexes. In this context, many public health writers attacked contemporary pedagogical practices for young women that they considered impediments to ‘natural growth,’ including girls’ overly restrictive dresses thought to be a hindrance to free movement.⁸³ Stays were particularly harshly criticized and made responsible for an astonishing number of ills.⁸⁴ For example, in his influential *Vollständiges System einer medizinischen Polizey* [Complete system of a medical policy], Johann Peter Frank (1745-1821) attributed to laced stays not only a bad posture but also ‘infertility’ and problems of breast-feeding.⁸⁵ According to Bernhard Christoph Faust’s *Gesundheits-Katechismus*, they led to a bent and buckled body and caused cancer.⁸⁶

The article in the *Pfennig-Magazin* joined the ardent condemnation of stays drawing on recent techniques of intermedial and intertextual dramatization. Among other things, it included both contemporary and traditional sources, and arranged them pointedly. Structurally, the article began with a paragraph on the timeliness of the issue and its

⁸¹ Karl Friedrich Pfau: "Weber, Johann Jacob". In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 41 (1896); <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117165069.html#adbcontent>, pp.311-314 (17 September 2021); Nicole Felkay: *Le Musée encyclopédique du libraire Bossange*. In: *Bulletin du bibliophile* (1984) 1, pp. 33–39; Frédéric Barbier: *Au siècle de Victor Hugo: la librairie romantique et industrielle en France et en Europe*. Genève 2003, pp. 213–14. From 1834, the magazine was published by Brockhaus.

⁸² *Die üble Wirkung der unzureichenden Leibesbewegung, des eingepreßten Leibes und der Schürbrüste auf die Gesundheit junger Damen*. In: *Das Pfennig-Magazin*, 20 July 1833, p. 89. Stays was the contemporary English word for bodices and corsets.

⁸³ For example: Friedrich Ludwig Meissner: *Ueber die physische Erziehung der Kinder in den ersten Lebensjahren*. Leipzig 1824, pp. 152-163. On children’s dress: Caroline Dinsmore Alyea: *Dress, Childhood, and the Modern Body. The Body Politics of Children’s Dress Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Ph.D. diss., Havard University, Cambridge/MA, 1997.

⁸⁴ Stays had been a controversial issue in pedagogical writings since the late seventeenth century and became a prime focus of enlightened criticism at the end of the eighteenth century. The discourse was embedded in complex gender dynamics that warrant further study. Much of the existing scholarship tends to frame the medical discourse either as an attempt at freeing women (from deforming clothing), or an expression of male body politics. On liberation: Gitte Balkwitz/Marita Metz-Becker: *Schaukelpferd und Schnürkorsett. Kindheit um 1800*. Marburg 2002; Josephine Barbe: *Figur in Form. Geschichte des Korsetts*. Bern 2012. On body politics: Alyea: *Dress, childhood, and the modern body*. However, contemporary sources suggest that discourse and embedded gender dynamics were multifaceted and complex. For an account that acknowledges these complexities: Valerie Steele: *The corset: a cultural history*. New Haven 2001. For a contemporary example: C. S.: *Die Schnürbrust vor dem weiblichen Tribunale*. In: *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 6 (February, 1791), pp. 47-62.

⁸⁵ Johann Peter Franck: *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey*. Wien 1787, vol. 3, pp. 720-723.

⁸⁶ Bernhard Christoph Faust: *Gesundheits-Katechismus. Zum Gebrauche in den Schulen und bey dem häuslichen Unterrichte*. Leipzig 1794, pp. 31–32.

contemporary relevance to ‘education.’ It followed the above-cited enumeration of the consequences of laced stays that were subsequently documented with a lengthy citation from an article in the *Cyclopaedia of practical medicine*. The *Cyclopaedia*, for its part, was published as a monthly journal from 1832 to 1835 and later released as a bound volume. Historically, it was noteworthy for its emphasis on anatomical and pathological knowledge and therapeutic moderation.⁸⁷ In the *Pfennig-Magazin*, the message of the citation was altered and sharpened. Originally, the cited source was a commentary of the editor of the *Cyclopaedia*, Scottish physician and translator of René Laennec’s *De l’auscultation médiate* (1819) Dr. John Forbes (1787-1861). In the *Cyclopaedia*, Forbes’ commentary was placed in a small font in the footer somewhere in the middle of a dense treatise of fourteen pages. The main purpose of the commentary in the treatise was to document the lack of physical exercise in female boarding schools.⁸⁸ In the *Pfennig-Magazin*, the commentary was reframed into a passionate attack on stays. The article not only selectively cited those passages of Forbes’ report that highlighted the effects of assumingly widespread educational principles on natural growth, but also recontextualized the citation by means of introductory and concluding sections: the main emphasis shifted from “want of exercise” to “consequences of attempts at promoting a slender figure in girls through coercive means.”⁸⁹

The essay found its final punchline in an illustration, reproduced in figure 5. The illustration juxtaposed the upper body and ribcage of the “medical venus” — the “ideal of beauty” (fig. 5, left), with “the figure of a female pupil of a boarding school, formed according to fashion, after she has been deformed for a long time by laced stays.”⁹⁰ The illustration stemmed from yet another medical source: a prize essay of the Mainz anatomist Samuel Thomas von

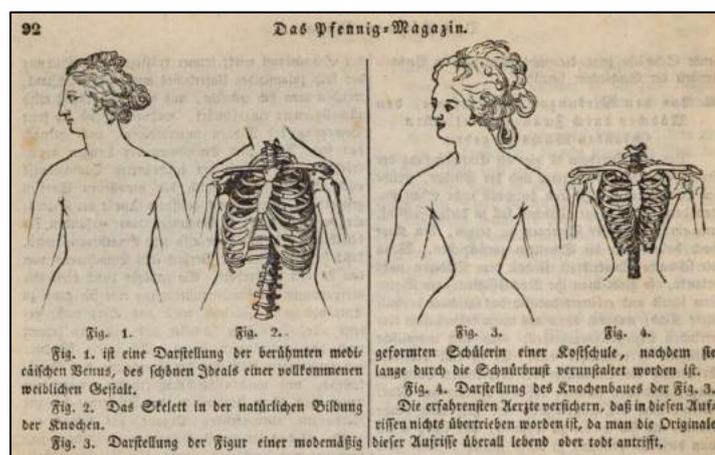


Fig. 5: Effects of tightly laced stays. Das Pfennig-Magazin, 20 July 1833, p.92.

⁸⁷ On therapeutic moderation in the 1820s and 30s with a focus on the USA: John Harley Warner: *The therapeutic perspective: medical practice, knowledge, and identity in America, 1820-1885*. Cambridge 1986, pp. 11–36; Charles Rosenberg: "The Therapeutic Revolution. Medicine, Meaning, and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America". In: Morris J. Vogel (eds.): *The therapeutic revolution: essays in the social history of American medicine*, Philadelphia 1979, pp. 3–25.

⁸⁸ John Forbes/Alexander Tweedie/John Conolly (eds.): *The Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine: Comprising Treatises on the Nature and Treatment of Diseases, Materia Medica and Therapeuties, Medical Jurisprudence, Etc.* London 1832, p. 697.

⁸⁹ "[...] Wirkungen der Versuche, den Mädchen durch Zwangsmittel einen schlanken Wuchs zu geben." Die üble Wirkung der unzureichenden Leibesbewegung, des eingepreßten Leibes und der Schürbrüste auf die Gesundheit junger Damen, p. 91.

⁹⁰ "der Figur einer modegemäss geformten Schülerin einer Kostschule, nachdem sie lange durch die Schnürbrüste verunstaltet worden ist." Die üble Wirkung der unzureichenden Leibesbewegung, des eingepreßten Leibes und der Schürbrüste auf die Gesundheit junger Damen, p. 92.

Sömmering (1755-1830) from 1793.⁹¹ In this case as well, the reference was recontextualized: contrary to the subtitle of the illustration in the *Pfennig-Magazin*, Sömmering did not compose the image on the basis of “a female pupil of a boarding school, formed according to fashion,” but through a fictive depiction of the upper body of a woman as “it necessarily would have been changed [through the wearing of laced stays], and as [Sömmering] had seen the changes in nature in front of him.”⁹² Placed at the end of the article and covering the upper third of the next page (on a new double page), the representation of the deformed female body not only brought the article to an impressive conclusion, but also remained in the field of vision of the reader as he or she moved to the following essay on the mineral kingdom. The journal capitalized on its capacity of *mise-en-page* to bring an alarming message about health and illness to the reader’s attention.⁹³

The article is interesting for another, related reason: the illustrations of the deformed female body and the condemnation of stays circulated on a European market of stereotypes and journalistic content. The original article was published already in February 1833 in a supplement of the British penny magazine; the stereotypes were then probably bought by Bossange and reused in the French *Magasin pittoresque* in May and the *Pfennig-Magazin* in July (the publishing house *Bossange père* was involved in the publication of both best-selling magazines).⁹⁴ The French article was a significantly shortened and modified version of the English original, while the German essay almost entirely reproduced the English version. However, the presentation in the *Pfennig-Magazin* differed in visual design from both French and English versions. Not only did the German article already begin on the first page of the issue (in contrast to last and third page in English and French issue, respectively), but only in the German version were the images of ‘ideal of beauty’ and ‘deformed’ female body directly juxtaposed (on a new double page). To what extent these differences testify to a conscious foregrounding and sharpening of a medico-pedagogical message, one can only hypothesize.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Samuel Thomas v. Sömmering: *Über die Wirkungen der Schnürbrüste*. Berlin 1793.

⁹² “[...] notwendig hätte verändert werden müssen, und wie ich [Sömmering] diese Veränderungen wirklich in der Natur vor mir sah.” Sömmering: *Über die Wirkungen der Schnürbrüste*, p. 9.

⁹³ The placement also followed formatting conventions of the early illustrated press that were due to technical aspects of printing: images were printed on one side of a large sheet of paper that was then folded twice to generate an eight-page issue; to avoid visual interference the reverse side was text only. As a result, images were usually to be found on pages 1, 4, 5, and 8. Yet, within and beyond these conventions, the specific placements of text and image can be read as specific choices of design and *mise-en-page*. On visual conventions: Kirsten Belgum: “Challenging Visual Constraint: How Popular Illustrated Magazines Revealed the World”. In: Andreas Beck et al. (eds.): *Visuelles Design. die Journalseite als gestaltete Fläche*, Hannover 2019, pp. 169–94. On strategies of *mise-en-page* in early illustrated periodicals: Kaminski/Ruchatz: *Journalliteratur – ein Avertissement*, pp. 19–25; Andreas Beck: *Nicht alles glauben, was geschrieben steht!*; Beck et al.: *Visuelles Design*.

⁹⁴ On the ill effects of insufficient exercise, constrained positions, and tight stays on the health of young women. In: *Penny Magazine* 2 (1833) 58, pp. 77- 80; Hygiène. Du danger des corsets trop serrés. In : *Magasin pittoresque* 1 (1833) 13, p. 99. On Bossange and clichés: Obenaus: *Literarische und politische Zeitschriften 1830-1848*, p. 47; Löffler: *Das Leipziger 'Pfennig-Magazin*; Hanebutt-Benz: *Studien zum deutschen Holzstich im 19. Jahrhundert*, pp. 695–696.

⁹⁵ The article fulfilled different functions in the respective journals. In the German *Pfennig-Magazin*, it was followed by two moderately illustrated articles on natural history and thus took a predominant position within an installment focusing on medical and scientific knowledge. In contrast, in the *Magasin pittoresque*, the article

However, they show that medical knowledge was repackaged, recycled and staged in various forms on a European market.

In summary, the article in the *Pfennig-Magazin* exemplifies how small semantic, contextual, and stylistic shifts could stage and dramatize medical and scientific knowledge; in this case, through recontextualization and *mise-en-page* of transmitted and widely held medical opinion. The article, then, constituted a manifestation of a slowly emerging media-historical function discussed for periodicals: the stabilization and modification of discourses.⁹⁶ In its contemporary characteristic, it included intermedial and intertextual techniques to mark relevance and authenticity, and to polemicize and emotionalize — techniques that were specific for the newly invented illustrated magazines.⁹⁷

5. Medial and material cultures of healthy upbringing: Product placement and domestic devices

Journal articles could also turn directly against predominant medical doctrine, especially if it corresponded to their commercial logic. This becomes clearly visible if we turn to the magazines in the middle of the nineteenth century that continued the trend to illustration and increasingly participated in the evolving commercial and material culture targeting families. I will conclude this paper by presenting two examples of this commercial and material culture of healthy upbringing.

The first comes from the *Illustrierte Zeitung* [illustrated newspaper]. Founded in 1843 as an entertainment magazine, the *Illustrierte Zeitung* put special emphasis on images and photo essays, and can be set in direct continuity to the *Pfennig-Magazin*. Page 16 of the fourth issue of the first annual volume included depictions of recent fashion, such as clothing for women and boys, some information on Spanish dance, and, notably, a new model of an old-standing device with a long cultural history, the baby walker (fig. 6). As in the case of laced stays, popular medical writers fiercely condemned the baby walkers. An often-cited witness was the Austrian physician Anton Gölis (1764-1827), who described both baby walkers and baby bodices as “useless and harmful”:



Fig. 6: Laufwagen [Baby-walker]. *Illustrierte Zeitung* 1 (1843) 4, 64.

on stays was placed after a general treatise about the moral and educational function of images and was introduced as an illustration of that function. Andreas Beck therefore puts the French version in the context of a complex self-reflection about the relationship between text and image. According to Beck, this reflection found its apex not in the illustration of stays, but in the printing of the first illustration in landscape format (of the Raphael cartoon “The death of Ananias”) on the reverse side of the page: Beck: Nicht alles glauben, was geschrieben steht!. Similarly, in the British issue, the engravings of the stays were decentered in favor of the same Raphael cartoon as shown in the French issue.

⁹⁶ Frank: Prolegomena zu einer integralen Zeitschriftenforschung.

⁹⁷ Gebhardt: Die Pfennig Magazine und ihre Bilder.

Useless, since children never learned walking steadily and confidently in them, but always awkwardly, maintaining themselves with forward-stretched arms without keeping their balance; harmful, since they constrict the breast and pull the shoulder blades too much upward, wherefore they are not to be recommended but to be taken leave of, and the natural growth of children and the formation of their powers is to be given free course.⁹⁸

However, in the article of the *Illustrirte Zeitung* none of these medical concerns was to be found. Instead, the article praised a new Parisian model of the walker, whose “advantages catch so much one’s eye that they do not need any special notification.”⁹⁹ In the subsequent description, the medical discourse was completely reversed. The article informed the reader,

Many children, who are born straight and well formed, later become stunted to higher or lesser degree, because they were too early expected to carry the entire weight of the body on their weak legs. Thanks to these artificial legs, however, they can support themselves and move everywhere without danger and fatigue.¹⁰⁰

In its new edition, the baby walker appeared as a timely means to further health and upright growth. The *mise-en-page* of the illustration of the ‘newly invented’ walker further emphasized its attractiveness as a consumer good: placed among women’s dresses of ‘newest fashion,’ ‘very popular’ boy suits and ‘graceful and passionate’ Spanish dancers, it was staged as a stylish article of bourgeois lifestyle. As such, it circulated – with the assistance of the *Illustrirte Zeitung* – on a growing commercial market of educational playthings and instructional devices: in the following decades, innovative models of baby walkers soared in numbers, adding a new dimension to the long-standing history of the walker as a popular object of the bourgeois nursery.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ “Zwecklos, weil Kinder in selben nie fest und sicher, sondern immer ungeschickt sich vorwärts haltend ohne Gleichgewicht gehen lernen; schädlich, weil durch selbe die Brust eingepresst, und die Schulterblätter zu viel in die Höhe gezogen werden, weswegen sie nicht zu empfehlen, sondern zu verabschieden sind, und dafür der natürlichen Entwicklung des Kindes und der Ausbildung seiner Kräfte freier Lauf gelassen werden muss.” Leopold Anton Gölis: *Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der Körperlichen Kinder-Erziehung in den ersten Lebens-Perioden*. Wien 1823, p.74; Diana Daniel/Marius Hug, “Mobilitätsgewinn durch Freiheitsentzug? Eine Kulturgeschichte des ‚Gängelwagens‘ von 1500-2000”. In: *Jahrbuch für historische Bildungsforschung* 20. Bad Heilbrunn 2015, pp. 21–46. For another example: Niemeyer: *Grundsätze der Erziehung*, p.49.

⁹⁹ “Vorteile [...] zu sehr in die Augen fallen, um einer besonderen Bezeichnung zu bedürfen.” *Modenbericht*. In: *Illustrirte Zeitung* 1 (1843) 4, p. 64.

¹⁰⁰ “Viele Kinder, die gerade und wohlgeformt zur Welt gekommen sind, verkrüppeln später in grösserm oder minderm Grade, weil ihnen zu zeitig zugemuthet worden ist, die ganze Last des Körpers blos auf den schwachen Beinchen zu tragen. Mittelst dieser künstlichen Beine dagegen können die Kinder sich stützen und ohne Gefahr und Ermüdung überall hin bewegen.” *Modenbericht*, p. 64.

¹⁰¹ Daniel/Hug, *Mobilitätsgewinn durch Freiheitsentzug?*, pp. 33-43. Daniel and Hug focus on US patents for baby walkers from the 1870s onwards, showing an increasing variety of models. A similar exploration for German-speaking Europe is still missing, but a preliminary analysis of consumer magazines indicates that the walkers enjoyed unbroken popularity in families — notwithstanding continued medical polemic against them. E.g.: *Der erste Schritt*. In: *Kindergaderobe* 14 (1907) 1, p. 10.

The emerging material and commercial culture of child health of the mid-nineteenth century included not only entertaining magazines and educational playthings, but also medical devices. (In)famous examples were the orthopedic instruments of the Leipzig physician Daniel Gottlob Moritz Schreber (1808-1861).¹⁰² Schreber was director of an orthopedic clinic, fellow traveler of the above-mentioned Carl Ernst Bock, and, like Bock, an active *Turner* [gymnast]. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, he promoted a number of devices to be used domestically for the “education to beauty through natural and regular promotion of normal growth.”¹⁰³ Schreber’s propositions inventively intervened into two intersecting fields: remedial gymnastics and orthopedics. Both fields drew on a long-standing tradition of obtaining a healthy and ‘beautiful’ body through exercise and behavioral modifications, and both fields enjoyed increasing popularity in the first decades of the nineteenth century. However, orthopedics tended to almost exclusively focus on correcting ‘deformities’ (such as club feet, scoliosis, bow legs), while remedial gymnastics primarily focused on bodily exercise, be it for prevention or treatment.¹⁰⁴ Now, Schreber combined the orthopedic culture of using mechanical means with the gymnastic emphasis on prevention to introduce medico-educational devices into the family household. In advice books, he praised various mechanical ‘arrangements’ to impede potentially wrong positions during daily activities. figures 7 and 8 show two examples, the so-called up-keeping device and a mechanical ‘arrangement’ [Vorrichtung] to sleep in a healthy position.

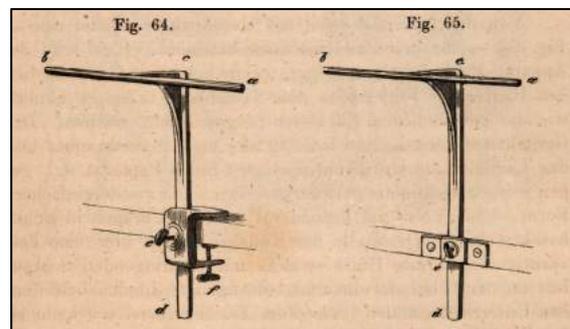


Fig. 7: Geradehalter [Up-keeping Device]. Schreber, *Kallipädie*, p. 203.

The up-keeping device (fig. 7) was specifically meant to teach children how to write beautifully, while adopting a healthy and correct posture. The iron bar was to prevent twisted and arched sitting. Sold by the “engineer Joh. Reichel in Leipzig” in two versions — a cheap and a more expensive one, Schreber promoted the device for “a flawless way of sitting” in

¹⁰² While Schreber had been decried as a ‘sadistic’ and ‘black pedagogue’ by (feminist and psychoanalyst) historiography of the 1970s and 1980s, there has been a recent reassessment of his work fundamentally challenging the premises and results of earlier scholarship: Clemens Rettschulte: *Daniel Gottlob Moritz Schreber. Seine Erziehungslehre und sein Beitrag zur Körperbehindertenhilfe im 19. Jahrhundert. Genese und historische Einordnung.* Heidelberg 1995; Nathan Stobaugh: *Don’t Wake Daddy. Martin Kippenberger and the Schreber Case.* In: *October* 166 (2018), pp. 73–104.

¹⁰³ Daniel Gottlob Moritz Schreber: *Kallipädie oder Erziehung zur Schönheit durch naturgetreue und gleichmässige Förderung normaler Körperbildung, lebensstüchtiger Gesundheit und geistiger Veredelung und insbesondere durch möglichste Benutzung specieller Erziehungsmittel.* Leipzig 1858.

¹⁰⁴ On the rise of orthopedics: Doris Schwarzmann-Schafhauser: *Orthopädie im Wandel. Die Herausbildung von Disziplin und Berufsstand in Bund und Kaiserreich (1815-1914).* Stuttgart 2004, pp. 88–146, 148–66; Matthias Hackenbroch: “Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Orthopädie”. In: René Baumgartner et al. (eds.): *Allgemeine Orthopädie. Geschichte, Diagnostik, Therapie.* Stuttgart 1981, pp. 1–68. On remedial gymnastics: Julia Helene Schöler: *Über die Anfänge der Schwedischen Heilgymnastik in Deutschland. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Krankengymnastik im 19. Jahrhundert.* Münster 2005. On education to beauty more broadly: Jean-Louis Fischer: *La callipédie, ou l’art d’avoir de beaux enfants.* In: *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 23 (1991) 1, pp. 141–58; Jean-Louis Fischer: *L’art de faire de beaux enfants. histoire de la callipédie.* Paris 2009.

schools and private households.¹⁰⁵

The mechanical help (fig. 8) for its part was to further a correct sleeping position at home. It consisted of two shoulder straps that were fixed at the bed. If the child tried to turn sideways, the straps forced her back to the dorsal position that was widely considered the only healthy position.¹⁰⁶ As

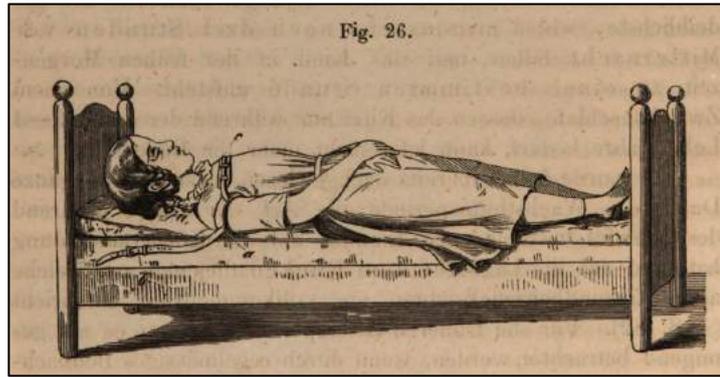


Fig. 8: 'Arrangement' for a Dorsal Sleeping Position. Schreber, *Kallipädie*, p. 174.

mentioned above, Schreber

advertised his devices primarily in quite successful trade books, and not in periodicals.¹⁰⁷ Still — and to an extent because of the fact that there now was a market for books advertising medico-educational devices for domestic use, his publications can be seen to mark a point when children were firmly established as subjects of a popular material and commercial culture of health and upbringing.

6. Conclusion

In the 1850s we approach the time when pediatrics got implemented as a distinct medical discipline, and we are also not that far away anymore from the publications of diaries of child development, most famously by Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Wilhelm Preyer (1841-1897).¹⁰⁸ In this paper, I have tried to show that medical and scientific knowledge of the child developed against the background of a considerable print and media culture that had already made the child the focus of popular and commercial interests. I have argued that journals — as a pivotal part of this print and media culture — actively participated in the framing of health and illness in childhood: narrativization and differentiation of children's periodicals severed the close ties between moral and physical education that had been forged in the late Enlightenment; satirical journals and picture books opened up pedagogical principles to public scrutiny; illustrated magazines such the *Pfennig-Magazin* and the *Illustrierte Zeitung* developed their own rhetorical and representative techniques to articulate, negotiate, question, and commercialize notions of health and illness in childhood. From a

¹⁰⁵ Schreber: *Kallipädie*, p. 203.

¹⁰⁶ Schreber: *Kallipädie*, p. 174.

¹⁰⁷ On Schreber's biography and contemporary reception: Rethschulte: Daniel Gottlob Moritz Schreber.

¹⁰⁸ On Darwin, Preyer, and child studies: Sally Shuttleworth: *The Mind of the Child: Child Development in Literature, Science, and Medicine, 1840-1900*. Oxford 2010; Elisabeth Wiesbauer: *Das Kind als Objekt der Wissenschaft. Medizinische und psychologische Kinderforschung an der Wiener Universität 1800-1914*. Wien 1982; Carolyn Steedman: *Strange Dislocations. Childhood and the idea of human interiority, 1780-1930*. London 1995.

historiographical perspective, popular periodicals can thus provide an important cultural counterpoint to the medical history of health and illness in the early nineteenth century.

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to Zeno Bampi, Johannes Görbert, Martina King, Daniela Kohler, Coralie Lamotte, Jasmine Lovey, Frédéric Mader, Linda Ratschiller, David Robertson, Benjamin Specht and the editorial team of KulturPoetik for comments on earlier versions of this paper. The research for this paper was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

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