

KÜNSTLERBÜRGERTUM

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KÜNSTLERBÜRGERTUM
– THE SOCIAL SPHERES OF BERLINER ACTORS
IN THE YEARS 1815–1848

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To my grandfather Kaaleppi Salmi (1925–1989)
who wished to become an archeologist
but ended up being an engineer

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A.S

Dramatis personae

Eduard Devrient	Actor at the Royal Theatre, the son of a Berliner merchant
Adolph Bethge	Actor at the Royal Theatre, the son of a gardener
Charlotte von Hagn	Actor at the Royal Theatre, the daughter of a Bavarian noble merchant
Louis Schneider	Actor at the Royal Theatre and later a Royal Reader at the Prussian court
Ludwig Devrient	Legendary actor at the Royal Theatre and uncle of Eduard Devrient
Karoline Bauer	Actor at the Royal Theatre, the daughter of a cavalry officer

Auguste Crelinger-Stich	First lady of the Royal Theatre, the daughter of a Berliner clocksmith
Clara and Bertha Stich	Daughters of Auguste Crelinger-Stich
Pius Alexander Wolff	First actor at the Royal Theatre, who previously worked in Weimar
Amalie Wolff	Actor at the Royal Theatre and the wife of P. A. Wolff
Moriz Rott	Actor at the Royal Theatre
Karl von Holtei	Leader of the Königstädtisches Theater and the husband of two actors at the Royal Theatre
von Brühl, von Redern and von Küstner	General Intendants at the Royal Theatre
Frederick William III Frederick William IV	Prussian kings

Other actors, singers, dancers, Berliners, servants, children

SCENE: Historical Berlin

INTRODUCTION

1. Parades

The famous Prussian painter Franz Krüger, who was also a professor at the Prussian Art Academy, painted two great paintings of ceremonial parades: *Parade auf dem Opernplatz, 'Eine Parade'* (1829–1830) and *Parade auf dem Opernplatz, 'Eine preußische Parade'* (1837–1839). The paintings are on a grand scale and they depict parades held in honour of the Russian tsar and the Prussian king respectively along the most important boulevard in Berlin. Troops are shown marching along the boulevard, whilst distinguished Berliners are illustrated as onlookers. The first painting marked the parade of Tsar Nicholas' 6th Cuirassier Regiment in Berlin in 1824. King Frederick William III liked the painting so much that he commissioned a similar painting to be produced of him leading a similar parade.¹ Scholars have emphasized that both paintings devote an extraordinary degree of attention to the spectators. In the right-hand corner of both paintings one can see many well-known and respectable Berliners. The figures are on such a grand scale that it is easy to recognize most of the faces. Indeed, one can imagine that it was perceived to be a great honour to be depicted in the parade paintings. In contrast to the visibility of the respectable onlookers, the

1 The Berliner painter Franz Krüger (1797–1857) was one of the most popular Biedermeier artists. In 1826, he was appointed to the post of Professor of the Prussian Art Academy. His main works were portraits of the elite of Berlin and he was also known as *Pferde-Krüger* (horse-Krüger), because of his many paintings devoted to equine subjects. He was married to the singer and actor Johanna Eunicke. See NDB Bd 13, 101–103. For more on Krüger's paintings, see Bartochek 2007, 11–13; Franke 2007, 34–36. Katalog 2007, nr. 99, nr. 140.

tsar and king are almost invisible. They are depicted on horseback at the rear of the pictures, where they both blend in with other riders.²

Significantly, among the respectable onlookers depicted in both parade paintings were a great number of actors³ from Berlin theatres. Why was it that actors were painted alongside university professors and rich merchants, in spite of longstanding prejudices against their profession? Whilst in some cultures actors have gained a degree of social acceptability, the tradition of wandering stage players and court jesters was still viewed with suspicion in nineteenth-century Prussia. Moreover, problems arose among spectators vis-à-vis the conflation of the private lives of actors and the roles they played on stage. The illusion of the moral ills of non-monogamous action has particularly created myths related to a lack of morality among actors.⁴ Yet, in the parade paintings the actors are portrayed in a very respectable manner. This leads one to the key question of this dissertation: what was the social position of Berliner actors and what were their spheres of social intercourse in the years between 1815 and 1848?

The Actors in the Play

The question of who can be perceived to have been an actor in Berlin between 1815 and 1848 is complex. I have limited my study to an analysis of the actors in professional drama theatres. More specifically, I have included all actors who had worked for more than a year on a professional basis in either of the two official Berlin theatres⁵.

A change in the position of professional actors in Germany began in the 1770s, when royal courts became sufficiently wealthy to hire players for permanent posts in their royal theatres. By the turn of the nineteenth century even smaller courts were able to afford their own court theatre and accompanying personnel. Ute Daniel argues that the stable nature of court posts increased the social prestige of the actors outside

2 Franke 2007, 35; Gillen 1984, 52. Lists exist that provide the names of the notable people in the images. See Katalog 2007, nr. 140.

3 In this thesis I use the gender-neutral form 'actors'. In translations, the German word *Schauspielerin* is given as actress.

4 On how people merged Mademoiselle Molière's personal life and her stage roles, see Clarke 1995, 26–27. Blanning argues that the theatre was a vital part of court representations in the eighteenth century, but that performers were seen as immoral and as vagrants. Women were especially despised in Catholic areas. See Blanning 2003, 80, 83. On the prejudices of the aristocracy and clergymen against the acting profession, see Brockett 1995, 298–299.

5 Between 1815 and 1848 there were only two theatres allowed in Berlin: The Royal Theatre and the Königstädtisches Theater which was founded in 1824. See Hübscher 1960, 15, 17; Freydank 1988, 244–245.

the theatre. Thus, court performers were integrated into the city's citizenry and were not considered to be vagrant strollers. Furthermore, social climbing in society was easier for court actors. One of the most important aspects of the present work is to understand the role of the relationship between the court and theatre and the status of court actors.⁶

However, it is important to note the distinctions within the theatrical world. Thus, contemporaries discussed whether opera was part of the theatre or a separate art form. This demarcation was exacerbated in Berlin as Carl von Bühl, the General Intendent and Gaspare Spontini, the Intendent of the Opera, separated the two forms of art.⁷ I have decided to exclude opera performers from my examination, predominantly on the grounds of classification. In essence I hold that it is more fruitful to undertake a separate study of Berlin's dramatic actors. In this regard, one can cite Ute Daniel, who argues that the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century marked an era of specialisation and professionalism in theatre. This is testified, for example, in the contracts of the Royal Theatre, which were written separately for opera employees and those of the dramatic theatre. The degree of separation is highlighted by the case of Eduard Devrient, whose contract was officially changed in 1831 because he could no longer use his singing voice.⁸ It can also be argued that opera became increasingly perceived as a noble pursuit worthy of receiving a higher income.⁹ The separation between opera singers and dramatic theatre actors also relates to whether the latter group recognized themselves as a defined body of artists. In other words, one must analyse how the actors identified to their work. It should be stressed that there were also borderline cases in this division. This is particularly pertinent in regard to the singers of the Königsstädtisches Theater, who were mainly hired as vocalists, but who also performed as actors in musical plays and vaudeville productions.

In sum, the list of 203 professional actors considered in this dissertation is relatively short and was collated by utilising theatre almanacs that announced all the actors who performed in the theatres. This list is supplemented by other printed

6 Daniel 1995, 127, 140.

7 On the competition between von Brühl and Spontini, see, for example, Hübscher 1960, 33–35.

8 The professional titles are separated in the contracts as either *Schauspieler* and *Schauspielerin*, that is dramatic actors and *Sänger* or *Sängerin*, that is, singers. On Eduard Devrient, see a letter from Fürst Wilhelm Wittgenstein to the King of Prussia 1.7.1831. Bl. 10–11, Nr 21216, I HA Rep 89, GStA PK; Kabel 1964, XIV.

9 In 1823, for example, the average salary of singers was between 1800–2000 thalers, whereas actors were paid between 1400–1800 thalers per year. See Hübscher 1960, 70.

sources.¹⁰ The list excludes amateur actors and all manner of other performers, including wandering players and those who engaged in bar vaudeville. On the other hand, censorship was so severe that it was almost impossible to perform a play in Berlin outside the space of the official theatres.

10 The *Almanach für Freunde der Schauspielkunst* was first published in 1836. Prior to this the names of actors can primarily be gleaned from biographical studies, such as *Die Königlichen Theater in Berlin. Statistischer Rückblick auf die künstlerische Thätigkeit und Personal-Verhältnisse während des Zeitraums 1786 bis 31. Dezember 1885*. See Appendix 1.

2. Timeframe

In Prussian history the years between 1815 and 1848 form a coherent time period in terms of political, social, and cultural events and, furthermore, in the development of the acting profession in the kingdom. A key feature of this study is to give a voice to an overlooked profession in an often neglected period. The use of the blanket term ‘nineteenth century’ places an emphasis on continuity rather than difference and tends to downplay the differences between the first and second halves of the century. In this thesis I argue that the first half of the nineteenth century had a special character and that it is fruitful to study it separately.

In political history the year 1815 can be viewed as a beginning of a new era in Prussia. At this time the king of Prussia, Fredrick William III assumed supreme power in the country after the defeat of Napoleon. The defenders of the Ancien Regime, led by Prince Klemens von Metternich of Austria, tried to restrict the liberal and national movements of the German Confederation by implementing strict censorship and by appointing conservative officers to prominent posts. This Metternichian system was strengthened in 1819, in the wake of the murder of the playwright August von Kotzebue by the nationalist Karl Sand. Metternich used the murder of Kotzebue as an excuse to strengthen the stance of the German Confederation against radicalism and the burgeoning nationalist movement. The resulting Carlsbad Resolutions introduced more restrictive forms of censorship and surveillance. The resolutions persecuted demagogues and outlawed the nationalistic *Burschenschafts* (student fraternities). What is more, the German Confederation ordered all member states to control public activities that could be viewed as suspicious in the eyes of the regime. Furthermore, the resolutions led to the growth of constant surveillance by the police and the censorial authorities. All public activity was suspected of being radical.¹¹ The Metternichian system controlled and censored all aspects of life. Even the cholera epidemic of 1831–1832 was used to extend surveillance. The so-called Sanitary Police (*Sanitätspolizei*) were used to disperse the crowds or gatherings in private houses by citing the risk of spreading cholera.¹² Public debate was hindered by severe censorship, restrictions on the right of assembly and a prohibition on establishing associations. The proto-political action was without exception a local phenomenon and did not spread

11 Clark 2007, 399–402; Sheehan 1989, 407–409.

12 Birkner 1995, 33–34.

to other states or cities. The mobility of ideas was the main concern of the authorities. Police surveillance, bad communication lines and unreliable postal services were all hindrances to the communication of ideas.¹³

Jonathan Knudsen points out that the restoration period imposed severe limitations on freedom especially in Berlin, as the monarch and court were based in the city. The court also brought military and administrative officers to the city. Any provocative actions against the Prussian king or his representatives were not tolerated and thus it was impossible to conduct political debate in Berlin. Indeed, the degree of censorship in Berlin was such that it was felt in all public spheres. There were no political associations, for example, as police surveillance would have immediately clamped down on such activity. Moreover, Berliners could not follow political events in newspapers, because the press did not dare to freely publish articles related to political issues.¹⁴

Furthermore, in political history the years between 1830 and 1848 are known as the *Vormärz*, which stresses the years before the March revolution in 1848. The *Vormärz* period includes the growing social unrest and the demands of the *bürgertum* for political liberties. The power of the bourgeoisie also increased at the onset of industrialisation, which brought them capital. What is more, the growing importance of education for the middle classes threatened the privileged status of the nobility. On the other hand, Ilja Mieck stresses that the *Vormärz* period started in Prussia as late as in 1840 because during the regime of Frederick William III, there were hardly any possibilities for political activity.¹⁵ The revolution of 1848 marked a political watershed that curtailed the traditional power of the Prussian court. The 1848 revolution did not conclusively reduce the power of the Prussian monarchy, but it significantly chipped away at its foundations. The revolution of 1848 also provided an impulse for the development of Prussian political parties.

In terms of social history, Berlin experienced a great spell of growth between 1815 and 1848. An unprecedented era of peace followed the 'Wars of Liberation' that concluded in 1815, which helps to explain why the population of the Prussian capital doubled in the period. In 1816 the population of Berlin was 197,000, for example, whereas in 1847 it had risen to 409,000. Furthermore, the population growth was

13 Sheehan 1978, 13.

14 Knudsen 1990, 113–114. See also Davis 2005, 265.

15 Hardtwig 1998, 7–8; Mieck 1992, 199.

accompanied by a construction boom, which resulted in the building of the *Altes Museum*, *Schlossbrücke* and *Neue Wache*.¹⁶

The first half of the century can be seen as the period of the early industrialisation in Prussia. Advancements in communication marked a milestone in the development of proto-industrialisation in the country. The first telegraph line in Prussia was constructed in 1832–1833 and the first railway between Berlin and Potsdam was opened in 1837.¹⁷ Once again, the middle of the nineteenth century in Prussia marked the watershed. James Sheehan has noted that ‘this economic growth [in this period] touched every facet of life, from the conduct of war to the character of sexual relations, from the organization of state to patterns of recreation, from what people believed to what they wore’.¹⁸ Yet, full scale industrial revolution only began in Germany in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when electronic and chemistry industries gathered around Berlin.¹⁹

Social problems also gained more attention. The population of Berlin doubled between 1815 and 1848, which led to noticeable unrest on the streets. The most well-known cases were the so-called *Schneiderrevolution* (the uprising of tailors) in 1830, when there were spontaneous uprisings against the police. In essence, the uprising was a protest against increasing rents and rapid industrialisation that was threatening the trades of traditional craftsmen. The outbursts were answered by mass arrests and increased levels of police and army control in the restless neighbourhoods.²⁰ The growth of the population was largely concentrated on the lower classes, but also included the middle classes. The growth of the lower class population led to further social impairments. This fostered more negative attitudes towards the lower classes. In 1840, contemporaries complained that Berlin had grown too much. Contemporary writers describe the 1840s as ‘the hungry forties’.²¹ The proliferation of epidemics at this time was also the result of the rapid population growth. The cholera epidemic that broke out in the Prussian capital between 1831 and 1832 was particularly harsh. Newcomers were subjected to scorn for having brought the disease to Berlin. Moreover, religious puritans associated cholera with immoral lifestyles. The

16 Mieck 1987, 480, 499. The *Altes Museum* was formerly called the Royal Museum and *Neue Wache* was formerly called the *Haupt und Königsache*.

17 Sagarra 2001, 33–35, 39.

18 Sheehan 1989, 732.

19 Lee 2001, 69–70.

20 Davis 2005, 265–266; Gailus 1984, 13; Mieck 1992, 195.

21 Mieck 1987, 479; Sagarra 1977, 330–331.

great population increase and the outbreak of mass epidemics produced an image of poverty as a new social illness.²²

In cultural terms the period between 1815 and 1848 in Berlin is described as the *Biedermeier* period, in reference to a satirical character in a newspaper. Recent historians have connected the Biedermeier period to a retrospective and nostalgic image of the first half of the nineteenth century as the cradle of virtuous family values and an introspective attitude towards domestic culture. This can also be linked to the concept of a *bürgerlich* way of living. On the other hand, reference to *Biedermeier* was utilised in early twentieth-century studies in order to denote the entire period in German history between 1815 and 1848. In both cases, the use of the term reinforced references to high culture, such as music, theatre and salons.²³

Finally, the years between 1815 and 1848 can also be defined as a coherent period in the history of theatre in Berlin. During this period, there were only two professional theatres allowed. In 1815 the Royal Theatre was finally taken under the control of the Prussian court, when Frederick William III nominated the loyal figure of Count von Brühl to be the General Intendant of the theatre. The theatrical life in Berlin was dominated by the Royal Theatre²⁴, under the strong influence of the court of Frederick William III. Berlin's second theatre, the *Königstädtisches Theater* (founded in 1824), was also firmly under the sway of the Prussian court.²⁵ In 1848, the era of court monopoly over theatrical life in Berlin came to an end, with new regulations enacted to promote the establishment of private theatres.²⁶ At least five

22 Boehn and Frevert comment on the links between cholera and other problems as a result of the rapid population growth. Only Frevert refers to a new 'social illness'. Boehn [1923], 506–07; Frevert 1984, 116–119, 125.

23 Mr Biedermeier was originally a comic character in a satirical newspaper *Fliegende Blätter* that was published in Frankfurt. The character was used to mock indolent philistines. The character became so popular and widely known that it lost its ironic meaning. Hence, by the end of nineteenth century a sense of nostalgia emerged vis-à-vis the Biedermeier era, as a golden period in family values. Boehn, Hermann and Mayerhöfer interpret the Biedermeier period as a general term for the period in Prussia between 1815 and 1848. Bernhard, Buchheim, Geismeier and Sheehan view the Biedermeier period as a cultural phenomenon. Bernhard 1983, 7; Boehn [1923], VIII; Buchheim 1966, 29; Geismeier 1982, 14–15; Hermann 1913, 6–7; Mayerhöfer 1978, 20–21; Sheehan 1989, 536.

24 Translations follow the settled forms if available. *Königliches Theater*, *Königliche Schauspiel* and *Hoftheater* are translated systematically as the Royal Theatre. The former *Nationaltheater* is translated as National Theatre. The *Französisches Theater* that worked under the Royal Theatre is translated as the French Theatre. The *Königstädtisches Theater* is used in its German form, because there is no agreed English translation.

25 Hübscher 1960, 15, 17; Freydank 1988, 244–245.

26 Williams lists five new theatres after 1848. Freydank and Ulrich detail more theatres, but most were amateur establishments. Williams 1985, 82; Freydank 1988, 254–257; Ulrich, internet-page.

new theatres were founded, which significantly increased the number of actors and transformed their profession and the theatrical life of Berlin.²⁷

In sum, the years between 1815 and 1848 in Berlin form a reasonably coherent and interesting period in terms of political history, social history and the history of the theatre. It would be easy to generalize about the nineteenth century as a whole, but I feel it is important to highlight the particular qualities that were manifested in the period between 1815 and 1848. This is especially the case when assessing the social position of Berlin's actors, as one can note a crucial difference between the monopoly period of the Royal Theatre and the time of increased competition between the theatres after 1848.

By focusing on the time period between 1815 and 1848, I concentrate on the regional history of Berlin and Prussia without adopting a nationalistic stance that posits that this area would later evolve as the German nation. I find it productive to study the history of Prussia in its own right. As Christopher Clark points out, it is possible to try to view Prussia in a more positive light. On the other hand, as Clark also stresses, I do not seek to glorify Prussia or praise the role of the Hohenzollern dynasty.²⁸ For example Richard J. Evans has criticised the need of the German historian Thomas Nipperdey to see the evident development of German nationhood in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Celia Applegate has pointed out how the study of regional history helps to prevent the adoption of a nationalistic stance. Regional history challenges the unitary and unidirectional process and gives possibilities for 'possible histories that did not happen'.²⁹

27 Gisela Schwanbeck, for example, argues that a new kind of proletarian actor emerged after 1848. See Schwanbeck 1957, 69. At the end of the nineteenth century the average wage of German actors less than those of industrial workers. Brauneck 1999, 46.

28 Clark 2007, xxii-xxiii.

29 Evans 1997, 27; Applegate 2005, 85; Applegate 1999, 4-5, 9, 25. Regional history also challenges the great unitary and unidirectional process of modernisation. See also Gall 1993a, 53; Gall 1993b, 3; Applegate 1999, 21ff.

3. Methodology

In terms of German history writing this study could be categorised as part of theatre history, social history and the history of everyday life. Yet, in essence this thesis is not a pure reflection of any of these disciplines, but is rather related to their traditions and methodology. The aim of the present work is to combine the tradition and methodology of these categories in order to support the research question. In short, I would call my approach a social history of the actors.

History of the Theatre

The history of theatre related to Berliner actors in the first half of the nineteenth century can be categorised as theatre histories, drama histories and as the history of people who worked in theatre. Such categorisations can be created following the viewpoints and emphasis of previous studies on the history of theatre.

The category of theatre history encompasses traditional presentations about the history of world theatre or works that focus on the theatre history of a certain land or period.³⁰ A common problem in such studies is the wide perspective adopted by the writers that lead to problems related to the decision making process of whether to place theatrical happenings in a historical context or whether to concentrate more closely on the development of theatrical institutions. Thomas Postlewait has criticised such periodisation in theatre histories. He points out that general theatre histories follow social, political, academic and chronological periods without any logical devotion to any of the categories.³¹ In traditional theatre histories, actors are often insignificant side stories or merely provide the basis for amusing anecdotes. A sub-category of theatre history is the institutional history of certain theatres. In such works the leaders of theatres, the repertoire and the most famous actors provide the key topics of study. Contemporary society is usually only mentioned in regard to changes of regime or by brief reference to social conditions. Institutional histories of the theatre are often made-to-order studies, commissioned by the theatre itself or

30 On the general presentation of theatre history, see Freydank, Ruth: *Theater in Berlin*. Berlin 1988; Brockett, Oscar: *History of the Theatre*. 7th edition. Massachusetts 1995; Knudsen, Hans: *Deutsche Theatergeschichte*. Stuttgart 1959.

31 Postlewait 2005, 60–61.

its sponsors in order to raise awareness of the theatre.³² However, regardless of their deficiencies, these general theatre histories and institutional histories have amassed valuable information in support of my work.

The category of drama history covers studies that concentrate on the performance of plays and on written theatre texts. The aim of these works is once again to examine past theatre performances and their importance. The classification of different plays often leads to an evaluation of the artistic value of certain theatres, repertoires and the performance of actors.³³ Historical studies related to dramatic theatre are faced with the problem of the representation of performance. This historical conundrum is caused by the question of how to recreate and analyze a certain performance or an actor's work. The text of a play and reviews do not constitute a complete insight into the whole performance. The tension between an actor and the audience, for example, is almost impossible to interpret.³⁴ The problem faced by historians of drama is to establish who decides the criteria for designating whether a particular theatre is worthy of study. Are common comedies, for example, as valuable as the masterpieces of canonized history? Are famous and talented actors more interesting in the eyes of historians than those individuals who were less gifted and have fallen into obscurity?

In this regard, Erika Fischer-Lichte, a professor of theatre studies at the Free University in Berlin, has written an important study entitled *History of European Drama and Theatre*. This work is mainly based on the history of drama, but there are also important links to contemporary society. The basis of her analyze rests on play manuscripts. She for example studies bürgerlich family ideals through an analysis of daughter–father relationships in plays.³⁵ The text-based approach adopted by Fischer-Lichte is not of paramount importance to my thesis, but does provide a useful methodology worthy of consideration. This approach is used in this work for example when discussing the bürgerlich glimpses of the court-dominated Berlin theatres.

The third viewpoint concerning the history of the theatre focusses on history of people who worked in the theatre, such as actors and directors. Typical of such

32 On the history of Berlin theatre institutions, see Kuschnia, Michael: *Hundert Jahre Deutsches Theater Berlin 1883–1983*. Berlin 1983; Genée, Rudolph: *Hundert Jahre des Königlichen Schauspiels in Berlin*. Berlin 1886.

33 For more on general presentations of drama histories, see Brauneck, Manfred: *Die Welt als Bühne*. Bde 1–4, Stuttgart 2003–2007; Fischer-Lichte, Erika: *History of European Drama and Theatre*. New York 2004; Kindermann, Heinz: *Theatergeschichte Europas*. Bde 1–10. Salzburg 1957–1974.

34 Koski 1997, 40; Carlson 2005, 61–65.

35 Fischer-Lichte 2004, 154–156, passim.

studies is a marked tendency to either praise or pour scorn on the subject.³⁶ This biased approach rarely does justice to the subject of the study. Still, the above-cited works are key studies for my thesis, while the biographical works provide valuable information on actors as individuals. Thus, when one takes into consideration the bias of the biographical authors, one can gain a rich harvest of information on the everyday lives of actors.

The social history of theatre can be seen as a second subcategory in regard to the history of people who worked in the theatre. In studies of social history related to theatre, the theatre workers are often seen as a cohesive group. Peter Schmitt has written an interesting book – *Schauspieler und Theaterbetrieb* – about the development of the acting profession in the German cultural sphere between 1700 and 1900. Schmitt studies the actors in his work in a quantitative manner, following the strong tradition of social history. He criticises earlier studies that did not pay attention to unpopular actors. This is a justifiable critique as there are very few studies on unpopular actors.³⁷ However, the grand historical scale and wide geographical scope of Schmitt's work means that a more nuanced account of actors in individual cities is not possible. Richard J. Evans has criticised Hans Ulrich Wehler's grand scale approach, whereby the individual disappears against the weight of the history of averages. Schmitt's work can be criticised in the same way vis-à-vis the peculiarities of the lives of actors in Berlin, which would be obliterated against grander historical schemes.

Michael Baker has written a similar social history, entitled *The Rise of the Victorian Actor*, which studies the British cultural sphere in the Victorian period. The main aim of this study is to highlight the improvement in the social status of British actors between 1830 and 1890. Baker argues that there was a clear difference between British, German and French actors. He particularly stresses the connection of German and French theatres to governmental institutions, whereas British theatre was primarily run by the private sector. Baker concludes that Victorian actors can be listed as part of the middle class of British society.³⁸ This argument has been heavily criticised by Tracy C. Davis, who highlights that few Victorian actors – especially women – enjoyed the respect of the middle classes in the theatre. According to Davis, the reality of the theatre for most actors was working-class wages, social exclusion and constant fear of losing one's job. Davis particularly criticises Barker for presenting

36 For positive biographies of Berliner actors, see Bobbert, Gerda: *Charlotte von Hagn. Eine Schauspielerin der Biedermeierzeit (1809–1891)*. Leipzig 1936. Altman, Georg: *Ludwig Devrient. Leben und Werke eines Schauspielers*. Berlin 1926.

37 Schmitt 1990, 1–3.

38 Baker 1978, 13, 19, 160.

only the most successful female actors of the Victorian era. As an alternative approach, Davis emphasises the need to study wider sections of the Victorian population, alongside an examination of the economic situation of the actors as a whole. Moreover, she advocates paying more attention to the sexual dynamic created by public performances.³⁹

In brief, my intention is to investigate the Berliner actors, who worked between 1815 and 1848, as a group. In light of Davis' critique, this approach encounters a problem. Namely, that there is a difference, for example, in the economic situation between the wandering players of Germany and Berliner court actors. However, I particularly want to study the Berlin actors. Undertaking a joint study of the court actors and the wandering players would most likely lead to different results, but at the same time the unique voice of the Berliner actors would be diminished.

Social History

The analysis of social groups is one aspect of social history, besides the study of industrialisation, economic history, the study of living conditions and the study of social problems. The study of social groups emerged from the concept of class and later widened to include the observations of divergent historical social groups, such as professions and marginal groups.⁴⁰ Bürgertum⁴¹ studies have a long tradition in German history writing and German social history. In historiographical terms, the various studies of the bürgertum can be divided into three main categories: traditional social history, studies concentrating on the ideological basis of the bürgertum and new forms of social history that concentrate more on the cultural definition of the bürgertum.⁴² A relatively narrow developmental time-span can also be noted in bürgertum studies. Since the 1980s, when traditional social history was dominant in Germany, more cultural definitions have emerged. In recent years these cultural definitions have been increasingly drawn to the micro level and the internal dynamics

39 Davis 1991, passim, see esp. 4, xiii–xiv.

40 On social history perspectives, see Haapala 1989, 18–25. On the 'new social history' in Germany, see Schieder & Sellin 1987, 6–8.

41 I am using the German concept of bürgertum instead of the terms middle-class or bourgeoisie, because middle class refers too widely to the people between the nobility and lower classes and contains a class definition. However, the term bürgertum is not limited to narrow class definitions. Use of the term "bourgeoisie", on the other hand, provides an overly narrow definition of the industrial, financial and propertied middle classes. For more on the problems of translating bürgertum into English, see Kocka & Mitchell 1993, x–ix.

42 See, for example, Lepsius, who has categorised the different bürgertums as being political, economic and cultural. See Lepsius 1987b, 63.

of family life. In my work I try to connect these different approaches by utilising traditional economic definitions in order to discuss micro-level narratives. I also want to emphasize that it is essential to note the three different definitions of *bürgertum*. Thus, it is necessary to bear in mind the contrasts between the economically defined *bürgertum*, their ideological definitions and definitions centred on their common culture.

Traditional Social History

Traditional social history defines *bürgertum* as a class, based on Marxist approaches to history that focus on the conflict between the owner of the means of production and the labourer. Max Weber added class identity to this perspective and argued that class is defined by economic situations. Moreover, shared economic status defines common interests and this creates cohesion inside a group and conflict between other interest groups.⁴³

In the 1980s, in particular, social historical studies have considered the creation of classes and the differences between them. Hans-Ulrich Wehler is an example of a German historian who view history as a social science. In the second volume of *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, for example, he argued that nineteenth century social structures were created by a class society that was moulded by the market economy. According to Wehler, the *bürgertum* was not the most important class in Prussia and he portrays it as being scattered and without historical continuum. On the other hand, he agrees that the *bürgertum* had a form of common culture or mentality that united the heterogeneous group. Nevertheless, he emphasizes that this culture or mentality was not coherent; rather he argues that it was actually several separate, overlapping mentalities.⁴⁴

Thomas Nipperdey is not as quantitative in his approach towards the *bürgertum*. Indeed, he gives a significant role to the concept of *bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, or civil society in German history.⁴⁵ He argues that studying the *bürgertum* entails analysing a diverse social group. He connects the concept of *bürgerlich* society to the whole process of change from a feudal society to one defined by social status. According to Nipperdey, *bürgerlich* society was divided into groups, positions and classes by life expectations, social status, education, common norms and by economic wealth. Even

43 Kocka 2001, 99; Lepsius 1987a, 80, 83.

44 Wehler 1987, 141, 174, 238–239.

45 Koselleck & Schreiner question whether ‘civil society’ is the best translation for the German ‘*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*’, as it omits connotations to medieval city inhabitants, which was a prerequisite of liberal ideologists. See Koselleck & Schreiner 1994, 13, 27–28.

though Nipperdey views bürgerlich society as providing a broad canvas of Prussian society of the period, he pays particular attention to the bürgertum as a group and its different nuances, limits and sub-groups. He particularly concentrates on a series of differences between the rural and urban bürgertum, between the economic and educated bürgertum, between the bürgertum and lower social groups and finally between the petty civil servant and higher-ranking civil servants within the bürgertum. However, Nipperdey does not question the cohesion of the bürgertum as a group.⁴⁶ Moreover, he also highlights the importance of the high arts to the bürgertum. This strengthens the idea that Nipperdey is not a traditional social historian, as his definition of the bürgertum includes intellectual and cultural elements.⁴⁷

Ideological definitions of the bürgertum

A second approach to defining the bürgertum is to view it via its ideology and ideas. The basis of such an interpretation focusses on a definition of the bürgertum as an ideological part of Prussian civil society (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*) and as a broad liberal movement.

In the 1980s Lothar Gall presented a view regarding the ideological basis of the bürgertum. He argued that the bürgertum was a product of the development of urban metropolises and the utopia of bürgerliche Gesellschaft that emerged during the Enlightenment. In his article 'Ich wünschte ein Bürger zu sein', Gall analyzes the concept of the bürgertum by studying the inhabitants (*Bürger*) of German cities. Before the Enlightenment the special position of city burghers can be defined as an estate. However, Gall argues that during the Enlightenment the concept of bürgertum was extended. He refers, for example, to Immanuel Kant's idea of a free civil society (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*), which contained citizens (*Bürgers*). Consequently, this citizen ideal helped to create the political bürgertum, which was inspired by the idea of *Bildung*. The concept of *Bildung*⁴⁸ had a variety of definitions in the German cultural sphere of the nineteenth century. Koselleck divides *Bildung* into three main categories: firstly, it refers to individual independence; secondly to lifestyle; and finally to general ideals of *Bildung*. Individual independence, or *Selbstbestimmung*, refers to each individual's potential for self-formation. Nevertheless, as Koselleck points out,

46 Nipperdey 1983, 255, 261–264. On the comprehensive views of Nipperdey, see Hein & Schultz 1996, 11–12.

47 Nipperdey (1988)1998, 8–11, passim.

48 It is hard to find an equivalent term to *Bildung* in English. It entailed much more than the institutional education received by a pupil. According to Koselleck education is 'like a sublime irony' of the concept. Self-formation would be a better translation. Koselleck 1990, 13–14.

the genius cult of the nineteenth century postulated that individuals themselves were responsible for their own *Bildung*. This self-formation is well portrayed, for instance, in private diaries, in which a dialogue between the inner and outer is undertaken. Nevertheless the belief in the responsibility to bring about one's own cultivation did not lead to passivity, as the dialogue enacted in private diaries also encouraged reciprocal action.⁴⁹ Whilst *Bildung* refers to lifestyle, the German term *Lebensführung* refers to society life and the emancipation linked to it. Berlin salons, for example, produced *Bildung* by way of their basic functions and this consequently led to emancipation. According to Koselleck, this lifestyle also included a strong Pietist foundation. Koselleck emphasises that *Bildung* did not define any certain scientific views, political statements, social positions, confessionalism, religious commitment, a philosophy of life or an artistic style. He states that *Bildung* constitutes concrete decisions; an upper category that is not defined by certain blocks or knowledge. In other words, Koselleck argues that *Bildung* is a concrete road to self-understanding. Gall emphasises that traditional social historical studies do not appreciate the importance of such self-understanding.⁵⁰

In his large project on urban members of the *bürgertum*, Lothar Gall makes a clear distinction in the position of this group between the first and second halves of the nineteenth century. He states that even though the urban *bürgertum* of the first half of the nineteenth century did not fully follow eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideas, there were a group of people in German cities who held a common belief that they were free citizens, or in other words each individual was a burgher. He points out that the common Enlightenment ideal of a future classless society was still relevant in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. The burgeoning urban *bürgertum* created a new kind of 'accomplishment elite' as a counterpart to the old closed noble elite. However, this new elite also had its social borders, which were especially maintained by materialistic and individual independency, the self-formative *Bildung* and reputation. Gall does not view pre-1848 German society as being class-based, whilst he also argues that the 'accomplishment elite' was united on the basis of its *Weltanschauung* and integration. Gall argues that this utopian aspect of the *bürgerlich Gesellschaft* was lost after 1848. The second phase emerged in the mid-

49 Koselleck also discusses the meaning of the bodily word *Bild* (image) to self-image. Koselleck 1990, 20–21.

50 Koselleck 1990, 20–24; Gall 1987, 603, 605–609, 612, 622–623. For more general information about Gall's definition of the *bürgertum*, see Hein & Schultz 1996, 11–12.

nineteenth century. After the 1848 revolution, new economic and social interests created the class-based segregation of the *bürgertum*.⁵¹

Jennifer Jenkins has also studied the ideological patterns of the nineteenth-century *bürgertum*. In that sense Jenkins follows the same traditions as Lothar Gall. In her studies of Hamburg in the last half of the nineteenth century, she emphasises that the economic, institutional, popular and political histories about the Kaiserreich have forgotten the importance of liberalism. Furthermore she emphasises the importance of the cultural institutions in creating the public sphere of Hamburg. Especially the voluntary organisations, the concepts of *bürgertum/citizenship* and *Bildung* are the keys to understand the transformation of public sphere and development of liberal politics at the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast to Berlin in the first half of the nineteenth century, as Jenkins points out, the cultural institutions were maintained by the private sector. Private ownership made the cultural institutions weaker, but on the other hand they were free from state control. Jenkins notes that resident cities, like Berlin, had a rich cultural life in the form of the royal theatres, salons and royal art collections.⁵² The example of Hamburg emphasises the importance of studying the ideological culture in the public sphere and in regard to regional cultural institutions. Each city also had its own character in terms of the formation of *bürgerlich* traditions and the public sphere.⁵³

In Berlin the Royal residence and the strong influence of restoration culture must be taken into consideration. Jonathan Knudsen argues that Berlin had its own special nature because of constant suppression. Knudsen reminds us that members of gymnastic associations, but also professors, teachers, publishers and state officials were dismissed and arrested because of their opinions. He suggests that the strong restoration culture in Berlin created the separation of the political and cultural liberalism. Cultural liberalism created a clear opposition, but it did not function in all spheres. This aspect of liberal culture was more commonly seen in associational

51 Gall 1987, 622-623; Gall 1993a, 48; Gall 1993b, 7-8. See also Hohendahl 1985, 60-61. Jürgen Kocka has also noted that the educated *bürgertum* played a more important role in forming a specific identification for the group during the first half of the century. The *bürgertum* became more fragmented in the second half of the century due to professionalisation and a division into more specialized sub-categories. Furthermore, education expanded to include a wider scope of people and it lost some of its force as a factor in social segregation. Kocka 1987b, 37-38. Peter Lundgreen also argues that the period in Prussia between 1807 and 1870 was characterised by a monopolistic emphasis on neo-humanism and that education subsequently developed in separate directions. Lundgreen 1985, 80.

52 Jenkins 2003, 2-3, 6, 9, 41-42. See also Hohendahl 2003, 10.

53 See also Lothar Gall's typology of the nineteenth-century German towns. He divides the towns into six different categories mainly on the basis of commercial, academic and residential definitions. Gall 1993b, 3-4.

life, in art life and religious and cultural circles, but not in the political sphere. Before 1848 there were several protests, but a coherent political movement did not exist.⁵⁴

The idea of a German *Sonderweg* (the special path) is one of the most widely known general theories regarding nineteenth-century ideological development in terms of the role of the bourgeoisie. According to *Sonderweg* interpretations, the failure of the liberal political movement in the 1848 revolution and German unification in 1871 were seen as a special development unique to Germany. This is also how the special development of Germany's political life was used to explain the failure of the democracy in Nazi Germany.⁵⁵ David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley are the well-known opponents of the *Sonderweg* theory. Their key arguments against the *Sonderweg* theory are that Germany was not exceptional, because no 'regular' development existed at the time. They argue that the bourgeoisie gained the power in the *Kaiserreich* through the a so-called 'silent bourgeois revolution'. By this Blackbourn and Eley assert that the bourgeoisie gained its dominance in Germany through a silent and gradual development, whereby their agenda penetrated society by means of the capitalist economic system, changes in the legislation, voluntary associations and through the emergence of a new public sphere. In political terms, the liberal bourgeoisie was incoherent. Blackbourn and Eley emphasise that if the bourgeois revolution would have been loud and visible it would have been challenged and it would most probably have failed.⁵⁶

When studying the social position of actors in the first half of the nineteenth century, the idea of a 'silent bourgeois revolution' offers interesting approaches, but also has limitations in terms of its stress on sweeping epochal generalisations. The most interesting approach developed by Blackbourn is the notion of the rise of a new public culture through the development of associational life. Blackbourn stresses the importance of voluntary associations in creating a new public sphere and a new social arena in which to act freely. These associations were not dependent on the family or the state. After 1815, in particular, a stress was placed on artistic, choral and learned societies. The 1830s and 1840s was marked by an increase in the variety of associations concentrated on social issues. These associations replaced corporative institutions, such as guilds and state-led institutions. They created communal relations between the bourgeoisie and the educated *bürgertum* and between the economic, social and moral principles that were guided by *bürgerlich* structures.⁵⁷ However, there are

54 Knudsen 1990, 128–131.

55 For more on the *Sonderweg* interpretations, see Blackbourn & Eley 1984, 2–12.

56 Blackbourn & Eley 1984, 4, 13, 16, 18.

57 Blackbourn 1984, 195–197.

some key problems that surface when seeking to adapt the idea of a 'silent bourgeois revolution' to Berlin in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first problem relates to the longer time-span. Most of the important steps in the silent revolution listed by Blackbourn took place after 1848. Such steps included the legal accountability of the bureaucracy (that was accomplished in Prussia in the 1870s) and the substantial economic growth (that reached a peak in the 1850s and 1860s).⁵⁸ Another problem in adapting the idea of a silent bourgeois revolution to Berlin in the period between 1815 and 1848, was the exceptional position of Berlin as the capital of Prussia and the residence of the Prussian king: the control that was exerted as a consequence of the presence of the king and major garrisons, made it a highly challenging to build a free literary public sphere as had already emerged in other parts of Germany.⁵⁹

Furthermore, in the 1990s Dieter Langewiesche highlighted the importance of the ideological studies of the *bürgertum*. He questioned the interpretations of social historians vis-à-vis the *bürgertum*, as he argued that they relied too heavily on their own definitions of *bürgerlich* culture. Langewiesche stressed that the concept of *bürgertum* was ripped apart by social science methodologies and consequently it was not possible to re-establish the phenomenon by using cultural definitions. He refers to both Marxist and non-Marxist studies and concludes that an ideal heterogeneous *bürgerlich* world was non-existent. Furthermore, Langewiesche questions whether the Vormärz opposition to the suppressive Prussian state was founded on liberalism.⁶⁰ I also find it noteworthy to study the cultural definitions of the *bürgertum*, although they are usable when separated from the economic and ideological definitions.

Cultural definitions

Cultural definitions of the *bürgertum* provide a third historiographical viewpoint. Since the 1980s such definitions have attained a degree of popularity in the so-called 'new social history'. One of the main aims of historians propounding cultural definitions of the *bürgertum* was to answer the critique that it was an incoherent phenomenon. Thus, it was argued that the small number of burgers and the heterogeneity of the group provided grounds to doubt the very existence of the *bürgertum* as a group or as a class. Jürgen Kocka replied to these claims in the introduction to *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert*. He argues that it is not possible to simply define

58 Blackbourn 1984, 176, 189, 192.

59 See for example Knudsen 1990, 113–114; Mieck 1992, 199.

60 Langewiesche 1997, 66–67, 74.

the bürgertum in the nineteenth century as a socio-economic class. Furthermore, he argues that the bürgertum was not an estate, as it did not have a clear judicial position in society or a politically representative organisation. However, Kocka concludes by proposing that the bürgertum should be seen as a mentality or a culture and proposes the term *bürgerlichkeit* to embody this perspective.⁶¹ Thus, Kocka posits that the coherence of the group was created by cultural unity. He suggests that the main tool for this phenomenon was the exclusion of undesirables and the inclusion of individuals from their own group. The policy of exclusion was particularly aimed at lower social groups, but was also targeted against the upper echelons of the privileged nobility. Hence, the cultural unity of the bürgertum was in large measure derived from the conscious dynamic of exclusion and inclusion. The key elements of bürgerlich culture were formal respect and honour, regular work, education, family ideals, formal behaviour and being well dressed.⁶² Stable work enabled the members of the bürgertum to enjoy a similar level of wealth and created feelings of security. A sense of unity was created by forming inclusive societies, clubs and associations. The common *Bildung* ideal created rational, non-religious forms of discussion and even had an influence on aesthetic taste. A core element of bürgerlich culture revolved around the family, which was even protected by a series of laws. According to Kocka, bürgerlich culture included nascent ideas of liberalism and tolerance.⁶³ Yet, the problem in Kocka's cultural definition of bürgertum lies in its inaccuracy. In short, it is hard to verify it numerically and it too often remains descriptive.

Wolfgang Kaschuba and Ueli Gyr are also followers of the research tradition of bürgerlich culture. Kaschuba highlights how cultural differentiation became more important for the bürgertum in the nineteenth century, as they did not have any legal privileges and there were no other formal limitations on the group. Boundaries with other groups were created through language, education, physical behaviour, table manners, home decorations, family formation, a code of honour and by adopting a wide spectrum of signal-systems for everyday life. Gyr stresses how bürgerlich norms, values and symbols were the medium of a coherent social experience.⁶⁴ A number of social historians continued to utilise cultural definitions in the three-volume work

61 Kocka 1987a, 8–9; Kocka 1987b, 42–45. In the same study Dietrich Rüschemeyer declared that the class definition is a valid term when it only refers to the industrial bourgeoisie. See Rüschemeyer 1987, 103.

62 Kocka 2004, 18–19; Kocka 1993, 5–7, 11; Kocka 1987b, 42–44; Kocka & Frey 1998, 9–10. Thomas Nipperdey criticizes the cultural definition of bürgertum, because it does not cover the entire bürgertum. See Nipperdey 1987, 143–146.

63 Kocka 1987b, 42–44; Kocka 2001, 118–119.

64 Gyr 1995, 8; Kaschuba 1993, 399.

Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert – Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich. Herein could be found a special focus on the European perspective of the bürgertum, alongside an overarching argument that the German social structures could be compared with other European social structures.⁶⁵

Correspondingly, a cultural definition of the bürgertum is also present in recent studies. Indeed, research has widened to include the study of more everyday and marginal phenomena. Manfred Hettling, for example, concludes that *bürgerlichkeit* was not fully realisable; rather it embodied the constant striving to become more *bürgerlichkeit*. Constant self-education and an emphasis on one's emotions were important elements in achieving a sense of *bürgerlichkeit*. From the eighteenth century *bürgerlichkeit* attained an aspirational status. *Bürgerlich* culture was thus a utopian target. Multiple concepts, such as the bourgeoisie, an educated bürgertum, a great bürgertum, and a small bürgertum are used to describe the social and economic nuances within this group. The ideal was uniting these groups together. Hettling adds that *bürgerlich* culture was formed inside a close-knit family and was by no means an institutionalised phenomenon.⁶⁶

The cultural definitions of bürgertum also aroused growing interest in the minor bürgertum and *bürgerlich* families.⁶⁷ Interest in the study of women and families, in particular, has brought about a widening of the cultural definitions of the bürgertum. German gender historians have recently challenged the stance of social science theoreticians in regard to public and private realms by concentrating on studies of more day-to-day and perceptible phenomena. In Rebekka Habermas' study *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums. Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)*, for example, the *bürgerlich* family is analysed by using the methodologies of micro-history and gender history. She approaches the idea of the *bürgerlich* family by drawing on the examples of a small number of families. Of special interest in her study is the portrayal of representational society life within the families.⁶⁸

The category of cultural definitions can be seen in the more psychological approach of Peter Gay. He defines the bürgertum by adopting the ambiguous term *Victorian*. According to Gay's definition, the label Victorian incorporates a wider understanding of western culture and model in the years from 1815 to 1914. He points out the polymorphous character of the bürgertum and the conflicts inside the group,

65 Kocka 1993, 3, passim.

66 Hettling 2000, 325; Hettling 2000b, 58; Hettling & Hoffmann 2000, 12, 14.

67 Lundgreen summarizes the latest German bürgertum studies of the *Bielefelder Sonderforschungsbereich*. See Lundgreen 2000a, passim. See especially. 30–31.

68 On the public and private sphere, see Frevert 1988, 15; Habermas 2000, 7–9, passim.

such as economic competition, religious differences, educational distinction, social possibilities and the improvement of the position of women. Gay emphasizes that self-definition was insufficient and argues that external barriers were also needed.⁶⁹

History of Everyday Life

Besides works devoted to *bürgertum* studies, one can observe a discernable trend in European history writing towards ideas associated with the history of everyday life. The idea of the history of everyday life, as expressed by the likes of Alf Lüdtke, is to focus on the level of ordinary people and let their voices be heard within and independent to ‘the great structures of history’. His critique is especially targeted at German social historians, who emphasise the importance of social structures. In return, the structural social historians have argued that the historians of everyday life are too obsessed with peculiarities and pay too much attention to small details.⁷⁰

The history of everyday life is suited to the current work as by studying Berliner actors as a group it is possible to try to define a smaller group under the definition of *bürgertum*. Furthermore, it provides a useful research tool for criticising the traditional structures of the *bürgertum*. On the other hand, my work does not slavishly follow the school of the history of everyday life. As Lüdtke points out, the history of everyday life is more the history of unmentionable people.⁷¹ Instead, the actors studied in my thesis were well known and even admired. This creates a need in my work to define everyday life in other terms. Hence, everyday life does not refer to marginal aspects of society, but rather to routine and day-to-day perspectives. What is more, it does not seek to discern important national events of historical worth.

The Public and Private Spheres

While discussing *bürgerlich* spheres in nineteenth-century Prussia, it is almost impossible to overlook Jürgen Habermas’ concept of the *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit*. Habermas based his theory on a study of structural changes in society from the middle ages to the twentieth century. Even though ‘The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society’ (*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*)

69 Gay 2002, xxiv–xxv, 4–5, 32.

70 Lüdtke 1995, 7–12. See also the French studies of everyday life. Perrot 1990, 5.

71 Lüdtke 1995, 3.

has provoked a lot of criticism, it is still one of the core studies in the field.⁷² A major critique against Habermas in historical studies focuses on the fact that he deals with different forms of public action on a relatively general level and over a wide time span. Indeed, Habermas does not concentrate on the specific qualities of individual countries.

From the perspective of my study, a productive aspect of the Habermasian approach is that his study of the private realm includes the internal space of conjugal families, the active participation of civil society and literary publicity. The counterpoint to the private realm is the public realm, which only contains the sphere of public authority and decision-making at the royal court. The key to understanding structural transformation, in a Habermasian sense, lies in an understanding of the public sphere as being within the private realm. The important point here is that the *bürgerlich* literary or political public sphere arose from experiences gained from the intimate sphere of the conjugal family. Moreover, a pivotal moment in the structural transformation of society, according to Habermas, which occurred during the last third of the nineteenth century, was brought about by a blurring of the boundary between the private and public realm. On one hand, the state was increasingly intervening in the private realm, on the other hand the private realm was also intervening in matters of state. This created the so-called repoliticized social sphere, in which distinctions between the public and private were no longer possible.⁷³

In terms of the present work, the Habermasian model is of merit as it does not posit a simple, clear-cut boundary between the public and private. An important aspect of the theory is to try to understand the difference between the public sphere and the public realm. If this idea is applied to restoration Prussia in the first half of the nineteenth century, then one can state that the public realm is easily observable. Hence, the police authorities and the judiciary represented the public realm. In opposition to this, the public sphere of the *bürgerlich* was present in coffee houses and in the prominent salons of private residences. The most noteworthy statement in the Habermasian model is that the line between the public sphere and the private sphere was drawn inside *bürgerlich* houses.⁷⁴ This explains why Habermas viewed the living rooms of such houses to be vital parts of the public sphere.

72 See Calhoun 1992, 1–2; Eley 1992, 289–290.

73 Habermas 2004, 59–61, 214, 267.

74 Habermas 2004, 82.

Figure 1: The Habermasian Model adapted to Berlin between 1815 and 1848.⁷⁵

Private Realm		Sphere of Public Authority [Public Realm]
[private sphere]	[public sphere]	
civil society	public sphere in the Public sphere in the world of letters (clubs, press)	State (Realm of the police)
A conjugal family's internal space	(market of cultural products) 'Town'	Court (aristocratic court society)
<i>Private rooms in the homes of the Bürgertum</i>	<i>The public rooms of the house Cafeterias, salons</i>	<i>The Prussian court</i>

The Habermasian model has also been used to create a simplified theory of society that is divided into private and public. The idea of this simplified model is that the public was a realm for men and that the private sphere was a preserve for women. The gender historian Gunilla-Friedrike Budde, for example, interprets nineteenth-century society according to such a model. Richard J. Evans also suggests that women were chained to the private sphere. Furthermore, in her early works Karin Hausen highlighted the severe division of private and public.⁷⁶ However, the most recent works by gender historians have criticised this simplified private–public division. They argue that women had the possibility for more of an active role in society. Ute Frevert points out, for example, that it is impossible to draw a conclusive dividing line between the private and public. What is more, Rebekka Habermas has carried out an extensive study of ego documents from the nineteenth century, with the aim of disproving the simplified model of the private–public division. She particularly casts doubt on the supposed increase in emotion in the private sphere that is usually linked with the model.⁷⁷ Marjo Kaartinen has also discussed the problematic notion of the private–public division. Her study concentrates on the eighteenth century, but the core of her critique can be adapted to the following century. She argues, that the terms ‘private’ and ‘public’ are artificial creations that were not used at the time.

75 Adapted parts are in italics. The parts in square brackets are from Veikko Pietilä's Finnish translation. Habermas 2004, 60; Habermas 1989, 30.

76 Evans particularly refers to Habermas. Budde 2000, 251; Evans 1993, 134; Hausen 1981, 59.

77 Habermas 2000, 259, 399; Frevert 1988, 15.

Furthermore, she points out that in structural terms the simplified model precludes the possibility of studying the active role of women.⁷⁸

It is meaningful in my thesis to study the important role of the *bürgerlich* public sphere in Prussia between 1815 and 1848, as the nature of the suppressive regime heightened the significance and importance of the informal *bürgerlich* public sphere. The sphere of public authority was reserved for the nobility, thereby leaving the *bürgertum* deprived of a channel to the highest echelons of power. This explains why the *bürgertum* of both sexes were compelled to act within a confined *bürgerlich* sphere. This is a worthwhile approach when considering the position of women in the public sphere in the world of letters, for example, as *bürgerlich* women acted as *salonnières* and the hostesses of the residential societies played an active part in the *bürgerlich* sphere. *Bürgerlich* men, who were excluded from aristocratic circles, also took part in the same circles.

The Habermasian theory also raises the question of the role of the theatre in Prussian restoration society. Can the theatre be seen as part of public authority or did it form a part of the *bürgerlich* sphere? I argue that the theatre was mainly used to reinforce the power of the court, but that it had connotations as a space in which the *bürgerlich* sphere was also able to function. T.C.W. Blanning stresses that the competition between the German princes was especially strong in terms of cultural achievements. He concludes that the cultural achievements and their institutions were a ‘constitutive element of power itself’. Ute Daniel has stressed the importance of theatre *vis-à-vis* court representation in German lands. From the end of the eighteenth century onwards the court theatres served as a medium between the court and its subjects.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the rivalry between the princes acted as a key motivating factor in support of the theatre. As Erika Fischer-Lichte and Ute Daniel have pointed out, the *bürgerlich* representation was seen via textual interpretations. The repertoire of court theatre included *bürgerlich* representations of the family and an increase in the presence of *bürgerlich* heroes in the plays.⁸⁰

Habermas also offers an interesting theory on the conceptual differences of the various kinds of representation. The representation of kings, for example, was not concerned with depicting a number of select people in a representative body; rather a male monarch sought to present himself as the embodiment of a “higher” power. To

78 Frevert 1988, 15; Kaartinen 2002, 90, 92. Also see Albisetti’s critique against Hauser’s idea of gender polarized spaces. Albisetti 2007, 28–30.

79 Blanning 2003, 59; Daniel 1995, 28–29.

80 Fischer-Lichte 2004, 156, 161, 165; Daniel 1995, 149. This question is studied more closely in Chapter II.2.

be king was to be the embodiment of an ennobled being.⁸¹ This view can be linked with Gudrun König's notion that the representations of the *bürgerlich* and of the nobility in the city sphere differed at a very basic level. Noble representations provided an image of feudal power to the common people, whereas representations of the *bürgerlich* in the city sphere were based more on equality.⁸² Indeed, representations of the *bürgerlich* included powerful symbols connected with their own ennobled status. Thus, they emphasised their own separation from commoners by dressing in expensive and representative clothes in public, which signalled that the rich *bürgertum* were an exclusive group separate from the 'lower groups'.

With these considerations in mind, my thesis can be defined using the concept of *the representative culture of bürgertum*. The representative culture of *bürgertum* can be amalgamated with historical studies regarding cultural definitions of the *bürgertum* and social studies that focus on public aspects of the *bürgertum*. The historical studies school is centred on the work of Jürgen Kocka and his followers, whilst the school of social studies usually follow the seminal theories of Jürgen Habermas. According to the definition used in this work, the historical perspective is the most important element in representations of the *bürgertum*, but it is impossible to disregard the Habermasian tradition of the *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit*. In the representative culture of the *bürgerlichkeit* the *bürgertum* is defined by cultural exclusion and inclusion. Within this broad definition it is possible to discern a form of representing the culture of *bürgertum* that is supplemented with theories based on social studies of publicity. The representative culture of *bürgertum* can be defined as the inclusion and exclusion of the *bürgertum* that took place in city spheres, society circles and in the public and social spaces of private houses. Important elements of representative culture were enacted by public appearances at cafes, as well as strolling along promenades, well-furnished homes and a lifestyle that revealed one's wealth. Kaschuba underlines the meaning of these *representative* forms when defining the cultural *bürgertum*. Secondary schools, theatre, newspapers, communities, societies, gyms and promenades in cities, for example, made it possible for members of the *bürgerlich* group to feel cohesion and to exclude others. This differentiation was a consequence of the natural adaptation of representative lifestyles. Members of the *bürgerlich* group also had to be able to underscore the costs of this representative life, which included formal teas and soirées, dance balls and society gatherings that were an expected part of the new

81 Habermas 1989, 7.

82 König 1996, 27.

culture.⁸³ Furthermore, Kaschuba argues that it was a feature of the city culture of the *bürgerlich* to create and strengthen the everyday representative city culture of the nineteenth century. Exclusion and inclusion took place, for example, in cafes, salons and societies. Whether consciously or not, the inner elements of the *bürgerlich*'s *Lebenswelt* were framed by familiar things, social gatherings and career and public occasions.⁸⁴

83 Kaschuba 1993, 403–402. For more on defining representations of *bürgerlich* culture, see Salmi 2006, internet-page.

84 Kaschuba 1993, 393–394, 401–402.

4. Künstlerbürgertum

The main argument of this work is that the social spheres of Berliner actors in the years between 1815 and 1848 should be understood with reference to *bürgerlich* culture. However, because of the peculiarities caused by their profession, including their degree of public attention and their artistic work place, it would be more accurate to define them as part of the *Künstlerbürgertum*, that is, the artistic *bürgertum*. This argument is supported by studying the lives of the actors in four different spheres, each covering a certain approach to an actor's social position. *Bürgertum* studies and studies of the public sphere have also had a strong influence on the division of these spheres. The critique against the different definitions of the economic, ideological and cultural *bürgertum* has particularly moulded the disposition of the spheres.

The first sphere focuses on the economic and educational spheres of the actors as well as examining the career paths they took in order to be on stage in Berlin theatres. The approach of the economic and educational sphere stems from traditional approaches to social history. As Eric Hobsbawm states, 'the intellectual historian may (at his risk) pay no attention to economics, the economic historian to Shakespeare, but the social historian who neglects either will not get far.'⁸⁵ In this dissertation the main premise of the first sphere is to understand the influence of economic factors and the 'traditional factors', whilst later spheres concentrate on cultural definitions. Economic factors are impossible to bypass when discussing questions of social position in nineteenth-century Prussia. Yet, economic factors alone did not define traditional social positions. Especially after the Enlightenment, education became one of the most important factors in defining social position in the German-speaking world.⁸⁶ Education suited the enlightened ideas of *bürgerlich Gesellschaft* (civil society), whereby personal qualities defined an individual's position in society. Institutional education acted as a weapon against the vested power of the nobility and provided an opportunity to advance an individual's career. German history writing usually separates the wealthy bourgeoisie and the educated *bürgertum*. According to this school of thought, the bourgeoisie included entrepreneurs and industry managers, commercial employees and banking and business workers, whereas the educated

85 Hobsbawm 1971, 25. Also cited in Haapala 1989, 21–22.

86 The German word *Bildung* is translated here as 'education' to underline institutional education and its importance to social status. The German term *Bildung* is used in the text when referring to the more cultural use of the term.

bürgertum included civil servants, lawyers, judges, doctors and professors. For the educated bürgertum the state office was more than merely a profession and a source of income; it formed a means to achieve social prestige and acceptance.⁸⁷

The approach of traditional social historians emphasizes statistical data and quantitative methods. In relation to the present work, this method is relevant vis-à-vis the collection of information about the actors, such as their income and family background. What was the family background of the actors? The meaning of education and its relevance to the bürgertum is especially important in this dissertation, because in general works that tackle the social group of the artists discussed are only vaguely referred to as actors and are often defined as being part of the educated bürgertum.⁸⁸ What were the education levels of actors and how did they try to establish an institutional form of theatrical education in order to guide Prussian stage performers? How actors came to appear on the Berlin stage in the absence of formal training institutions? Finally, what was the economic welfare of actors?

The second sphere adopted in the present work is devoted to the work place of actors and how theatrical everyday work affected their lives. What were the administrative mechanisms used to manage the actors? An examination is made of the ways in which actors formed part of court representation and how the Royal court was linked to their lives. In this regard one has to bear in mind that the Royal Theatre was formally tied to the Royal Court and that the Königstädtische Theater was strongly influenced by the Royal Court of Prussia. However, the theatre had a bürgerlich tradition and it was seen as forming part of the *Bildung* ideals of the bürgertum. This explains why the possible bürgerlich influence on the Berlin theatre is here under study. The definition of bürgertum in this sphere was framed by ideological concerns.

The special social position of the theatre in restoration Prussia, as one of the only legal forms of public life, led to actors of both sexes attracting a great deal of publicity. This phenomenon was accentuated by the growth of the mass media. Furthermore, this high degree of publicity can be linked to the growth of the romantic

87 Hettling 2000, 322, 325; Kocka 1987b, 36–37; Lundgreen 2000b, 173–174, 178. Educated bürgertum is a translation of *Bildungsbürgertum* and the term bourgeoisie is a translation of *Besitzbürgertum*, *Wirtschaftsbürgertum* and *Bourgeoisie*.

88 In 1987 Jürgen Kocka concluded that affiliated groups of the educated bürgertum, such as journalists, authors and artists, constituted a group that had not been studied in much detail. See Kocka 1987b, 36–37. In recent years a number of such studies have been undertaken. See, for example, Joachim Großmann, who has undertaken an extensive study of the relationship between Prussian artists and the bürgertum. See Großmann 1994, 12, 14, *passim*. For an example of the generalised definition of actors as part of the educated bürgertum, see Grzywatz 2003, 451.

ethos centred on individual personality. Hence, the star cult enjoyed by a number of Berliner actors is studied. How did it appear and what consequences did it have? Furthermore what was the position of actors in the burgeoning press sector and what was their relationship, as a whole, with this media?

Subsequently, the last two approaches are linked together using the methodology of 'new social history', especially in regard to bürgertum studies. Recent studies of the bürgertum form a coherent group that have purposefully created their own culture, which includes people that belong to the same culture and excludes those who are not familiar with such a culture.⁸⁹ In this work the cultural approach is divided into two parts: the sphere of representative culture and the sphere of private ideals.

The sphere of representative culture covers the representative parts of the city sphere, such as promenades, public spaces, cafés and wineries. Furthermore, representative culture was largely practiced inside the private realm, like salons, society gatherings, associational life and private household meetings. This study analyses the participation of actors in such a form of representational lifestyle. How did they take part in such representative culture? Furthermore, a study is also undertaken of how the actors represented themselves within their own homes. Moreover, this study investigates where the apartments of the actors were located and analyses how representational these living spaces were.

In the previous chapters bürgerlich culture was defined in terms of its prominent façade. However, in the private sphere, attention is turned to the internal nature of bürgerlich culture and is defined in regard to aspirations for a private lifestyle. It is possible to divide bürgerlich homes in two by applying the Habermasian model of the private and public sphere. This division is theoretical and artificial, but is nevertheless a relevant and useful tool when seeking to discuss the above-mentioned themes as separate phenomena. According to this model, bürgerlich culture was highly influenced by the private sphere and the ideals of private life practiced by representatives of this societal group in Prussia. These ideals were closely connected to representative culture, but the self-determination of bürgerlich culture can trace its origins to the private sphere. This form of Prussian culture strove to live up to the ideals of the family, morality and *Bildung*. Recent studies have pointed out that the bürgerlich private values of the bürgertum were much more than merely being the encapsulation of narrow-minded Victorian morality. This is especially evident in the

89 Kocka 2004, 18–19; Kocka 1993, 5–7, 11; Kocka 1987b, 42–44; Kocka; Frey 1998, 9–10. Gyr 1995, 8; Kaschuba 1993, 399. In an article published in 1987 Thomas Nipperdey comments on Kocka's concept of cultural bürgertum. He argues that Kocka's method does not cover the whole bürgertum, but that it is still an interesting approach. Nipperdey 1987, 143–146.

rituals that took place in private homes, religious emotionality and the emphasis on the need for a moderate lifestyle, which were all important pieces in forging private bürgerlich values.⁹⁰ Previous approaches used in the present study have already partly provided a platform for the voices of actors, but the concluding chapters analyse diaries, letters and the self-produced material of actors in order to specifically hone in on their cultural and social world.

The private sphere of actors is studied via the medium of the written word. The striving of the actors to achieve the Bildung ideal firmly connects them to bürgerlich private culture. Besides their profession, the question of how actors took part in the process of self-formation of the bürgertum is also addressed. How, for example, did actors envisage bürgerlich family ideals? Finally, what were the possibilities for active women to work and fulfill the cultural demands of society as women and wives? This is especially pertinent while bürgerlich culture foresaw the main duties of women as being centred on the house and family. Hence, how did female actors solve the problem stemming from the conflicting demands of their profession and the cultural model of femininity laid down by prevailing cultural demands? Furthermore, a discussion is undertaken of the general connotations of the sexuality of female actors, with a particular emphasis on the stereotyped and prejudiced link between prostitution and female actors.

One might ask why it is important to study Berliner actors between 1815 and 1848? What is so exceptional about these actors? In reply, I argue that the acting profession was relatively particular in restoration society: on the one hand they were an ordinary part of contemporary society, but on the other hand they were living an extraordinary life. To start with, their income was extraordinarily high compared to other contemporaries. Uniquely, female actors also enjoyed a high salary. Moreover, their profession aroused interest among contemporaries. This brought them to the dining tables of upper echelon bürgerlich societies, as well as fostering a special relationship to the royal court. What is more, their profession gave them the opportunity to perform publicly in an era when public appearances were not common. Their lives were followed in newspapers and other forms of media, which hitherto had principally been based around reporting courtly issues. Finally, actors occupied a particular position in society, in which they lived in a liminal social sphere between the respected high class and the 'suspicious' lower class. At the same time,

90 Peter Gay and Manfred Hettling have particularly stressed the importance of the private lifestyle of the bürgertum. See Gay 2002, 36; Hettling & Hoffmann 2000, 12; Hettling 2000, 325.

the actors were a vital part of ordinary bürgerlich society. They shared the bürgerlich ideals of *Bildung*, a representative lifestyle and family values. They were accepted in high social circles as a part of the bürgertum. Thus, a study of Berliner actors provides a perspective into restoration society in Prussia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet, it is also vital to stress that the Berliner actors tested the limits of ordinary Prussian society by way of their extraordinariness. At the same time, they enable us to observe much about the nature of ordinary Prussian society and its social functions.

5. Sources

The scale of this dissertation covers the lives of Berliner actors from the economic to the private spheres, and consequently the variety of primary sources is relatively wide. Hence, economic data and official documents are used as well as the private writings of the actors. What is more, public writings, such as newspapers and contemporary literary works are used as companion documents to the above-mentioned sources. It should be stressed that the focus of this dissertation is given to material that the actors produced themselves, because this gives enables a historian to undertake a close examination of their everyday lives. An especial stress is given to the diaries, letters and memoirs produced by the actors.

Diaries

This work utilises three important diaries: those of Eduard Devrient⁹¹, Charlotte von Hagn⁹² and Adolph Bethge⁹³. These sources include vital material on aspects of everyday life in the Berlin theatre as a representational lifestyle, alongside private thoughts. The diaries form the core of my work and have influenced the shape of this dissertation, and thus the stories of these three actors are emphasized. Furthermore, the diaries each portray a different story. The von Hagn diary, for example, provides wonderful insights into the life of a famous female actor who came from a noble family. Furthermore, Devrient's diary presents the opinions of one of the most famous male actors on the Berlin stage, whilst this is contrasted by the writings of Adolph Bethge, who did not enjoy a similar level of success.

Rolf Kabel published an abridged edition of the diaries of Eduard Devrient in 1964, which cover a period of sixteen years. Kabel states that he has selected the most respectable parts of the diary, before adding that the source offers great help to theatre scholars, actors and directors, but also to scholars interested in political or

91 Eduard Devrient (1801–1877) was the son of a Berliner merchant. He started his career in the Royal Opera as a baritone, but moved to the Royal Theatre in 1831 after problems with his voice. He left Berlin in 1844 to become the director of the Dresden Theatre. Finally, he achieved great success as the manager of the Karlsruhe Hoftheater between 1852 and 1870. See NDB Bd 3, 626–627.

92 Charlotte von Hagn (1809–1891) was born into a noble family from Munich. She started her acting career in Munich and was engaged to Berlin Royal Theatre in 1833. She performed successfully in Berlin until she married Alexander von Oven and left the stage. See NDB Bd. 7, 494.

93 Adolph Bethge (born 1810) began his stage career as a second class actor at the Royal Theatre in 1836 and retired in 1861. He was officially relieved of his Landwehr duties on 1.12.1848 and his retirement contract dates from 1.10.1868. See Nr 5, 11. Nl Bethge, A. VI. HA, GStA PK.

cultural history.⁹⁴ The editor's personal predilection towards the history of drama is in evidence in the published version of Devrient's diaries. The diaries mainly include remarks on plays he is reading, rehearsing, performing or had seen. A small number of remarks include social comments and views on the family. Kabel does not give a full picture of what is left out of his publication. Some of the more routine rehearsals and other ordinary matters might have been omitted. However, the edited version gives an extensive account of what Devrient held to be important in regard to theatrical art. The fact that Devrient started to write his diary in 1836, after he had achieved a stable position in the Berlin theatre world, suggests that he felt it was important to describe his successful career and theatrical events in his life.⁹⁵ The nature of Devrient's diary was probably also conditioned by the fact that his wife, Therese, read his work.⁹⁶ Thus, it is more than likely that Devrient avoided themes in his diary that would have distressed or angered his spouse.

The diary of Eduard Devrient can also be read in comparison with his public writings. Devrient wrote a long essay – *Über Theaterschule* – in 1840, for example, about the need for actors to receive a good education. His main work – the four volumes of *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst* (1848–1874) – still ranks as one of the most important histories of the German theatre. Devrient even published his private correspondence with Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich*. The family life of Eduard Devrient is also well documented, as the memoirs of the youth of his wife were published after the deaths of the couple.

Charlotte von Hagn left behind two forms of personal writing. The first are her handwritten diaries from the years 1833–1839. The diaries, which are written in four notebooks, are located in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (The Secret State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation). The first two notebooks are each approximately 120 pages long. The third notebook contains 180 pages and the fourth contains 111 pages, although approximately 69 pages are empty. There is no page numbering and the marked dates are sometimes illogical. Von Hagn did not write daily entries, but wrote on a relatively regular basis. The major themes of von Hagn's notebooks centre on her relationship to high society and on travel

94 Kabel 1964, IX–X.

95 Kabel 1964, XVIII–XIV. Furthermore, Devrient's decision to start to write his diary could be connected to the idea of diary as a tool for a biographer. On the use of diaries to help biographers, see Gay 2002, 263.

96 There are several mentions in regard to how Therese read his diary. See, for example, the diary entry of Eduard Devrient 21.2.1838. Devrient 1964, 72.

themes. Significantly, von Hagn expresses negative and sad feelings in her notebooks. In 1837 her writing becomes more irregular and between 1838 and 1839 she only wrote a few entries. The diaries were evidently revisited at a later date, as is testified by the fact that there is a notice between the lines at one point explaining that ‘Prince Wilhelm is now the Emperor of Germany, 1874’.⁹⁷

The diary material of Charlotte von Hagn has never previously been widely utilised in academia. Gerda Bobbert, who wrote a biography of Charlotte von Hagn, even claims that there is no diary to be found in the archives and states this as her reason for using other sources.⁹⁸ Bernhard Hoeft, the author of the biography of the younger years of Charlotte von Hagn knew about the existence of the diary, and was planning to publish another part of Charlotte von Hagn’s biography, but this never transpired.⁹⁹

Another form of personal writing that Charlotte von Hagn employed consisted of entries in a notebook called a *Spielgeldkalender*, that is a ‘calendar of performance money’. The calendar contained 114 pages of writing and some pictures and was edited and published in 1929 as part of the *Neues Archiv für Theatergeschichte* series. Charlotte von Hagn started to write the calendar in 1838 and up to 1839 she wrote only random entries. According to the editor of the calendar, she only started regularly writing down her performances and other comments on 12th February 1840, because on this date she secured a new contract with the Royal Theatre. The new contract offered an extra 10 thalers per performance in addition to her basic salary of 2200 thalers per annum.¹⁰⁰ This could be the main reason for listing the plays she performed in, but writing other things in the calendar could also be seen as a projection of the style of her older diaries. In the period between 1838–1839 she was still writing some things down in her diary and some in her *Spielgeldkalender*. In 1840, when she stopped writing in her diary, she began writing more regularly in the calendar.

The third important primary source for this work are the diaries of Adolph Bethge. They are a unique source that have not been used in earlier studies and are located in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. The first volume covers

97 The diary entry of von Hagn 28.12.1835. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

98 Bobbert 1936, 7.

99 The files of Charlotte von Hagn in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz are organized and commented upon by Hoeft. See also Hoeft 1926, passim. Bobbert 1936, 7. The editor of the three letters of von Hagn, Ludwig Geiger, also refers to the diary of von Hagn. Geiger 1909, 2. The possibility that the diary is a forgery can be dismissed as the handwriting in the manuscript matches other source material by von Hagn. Compare this, for example, to a letter from Charlotte von Hagn to Director Süringer, dated 28.1.1838. See EH 1978, HS, ZLBB.

100 Quincke 1929, 111–112.

the years between 1835 and 1843 and the second volume the years between 1844 and 1859. Each year is presented in a separate notebook inside the bound volumes. In total, the years between 1835 and 1848 cover approximately 1220 unnumbered, handwritten pages. The books and pages are continuous and it would have been impossible to censor or edit the text in any way whatsoever. The archival collection of Adolph Bethge also includes other material, such as documents related to his release from the *Landwehr* troops and his contract with the theatre.¹⁰¹

The style of Bethge's diary differs to those of von Hagn and Devrient, in that it was written on a daily basis. A typical feature of Bethge's diary is that it lists the events of his life, rather than reflecting his own ideas. This helps the historian to study a detailed description of the everyday life of the actor, because even routine days are described in the diary entries. However, Bethge's remarks do reveal something about the society around him and also about his own ideas. Furthermore, in contrast to the diaries of von Hagn and Devrient, Bethge's writings represent the life of a relatively unsuccessful actor of the Royal Theatre. Bethge did not secure a steady post at the theatre in the space of four years and after he was engaged he only succeeded in securing supporting and cover roles.

Rebekka Habermas notes that the diaries are ego-documents and suggests that they are vitally important primary sources when studying the eighteenth and nineteenth century *bürgertum*. She states that such material emphasizes private life and the day-to-day practices that created *bürgerlich* ideals.¹⁰² The nineteenth-century writer and salonnière Rahel Levin concludes that the diaries include the most personal level of writing that are not present in letters.¹⁰³ The literary historian Rita Calabrese remarks that the diaries do not offer any synthesis, but that their value for research derives from the fact that they live in the moment and carry out contemporary analysis.¹⁰⁴ Christina Sjöblad has categorized the themes of nineteenth century diaries. She points out that the diaries consisted of the everyday life of the authors, and were written as an aid for the mind to remember outstanding highlights. Specific themes were usually concentrated on concerns surrounding political changes. Furthermore, discussions, visits, celebrations, meetings and travels were written down in detail in diaries. In the diaries of female writers, the demands of the wife and women and the fear of marriage and childbirth were shared.¹⁰⁵ Sjöblad's categorization accords with the diaries of the Berliner, which contain discussions, visits, celebrations and travel accounts. However, an exception to Sjöblad's categorization can be found in the fact

101 See Nr 1–11, VI HA NI Bethge, A., GSta PK.

102 Habermas 2000, 23.

103 Cited in Calabrese 1988, 132–133.

104 Calabrese 1988, 129.

105 Sjöblad 2009, 343.

that the profession and theatre performances of the actors predominate in all three diaries. Von Hagn was not yet married when she wrote her diary, and thus the role of a wife is naturally not presented in her writings. However, she does write about marrying in the future and frequently comments on her fear of remaining without a companion.

Letters, Memoirs and Comparative Contemporary Material

Letters written by the actors have remained in several archives and have been published in several letter collections. One of the biggest problems concerning this dissertation is that in the past matters related to everyday life have not been considered worthy of preserving. Thus, only the ‘important’ sources were stored for posterity. Furthermore, mention of rehearsed plays has been considered a reason to preserve and publish letters.

Besides the archival documents of von Hagn and Bethge, the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz* also holds important material concerning this study. One of the most interesting materials is the official correspondence between the king of Prussia, the theatre management and the actors. The correspondence is organized according to the names of the actors and includes the files of 26 actors.¹⁰⁶

What is more, the archive holds some fragmentary material of importance to this dissertation. The files of the *Preussischer Staatstheater*, which was the successor to the Royal Theatre, for example, also include material concerning the actors. What is more, there are some records of the military service relating to the actors of both theatres and the official correspondence of the director and actor Karl Stawinsky, who worked at both theatres. Moreover, the files of the Ministry of the Interior include official documents concerning the theatre critic Moritz Saphir.¹⁰⁷

Some fragmentary letters are also found in other archives. The archive of the Theatre studies of the Free University in Berlin hold a number of letters written by the actors examined in this work.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, *Landesarchiv Berlin* and the *Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin* hold a number of letters relating to the actors. The perspective of the history of drama has probably dictated the sources selected for the archives as they mainly constitute letters about current or envisaged plays.

106 See Numbers 21206–21264, I HA Geheimes Zivillkabinett, jüngere Periode, Rep 89, GStA PK.

107 See Nr 1176, 3764. BPH Rep 119 Generalintendanz der Staatstheater. GStA PK; Nr 18. Innenministerium, I HA Rep 77 Innenministerium, Tit. 2 Spec. Lit. B. GStA PK.

108 See I Handschriften. Autographen und Bildnis-Sammlung. ThFU.

The letters of the actors analysed in this thesis have also been collected in a number of published collections. The most extensive such collection can be found in the *Schauspielerbriefe aus Zwei Jahrhunderten*, which was edited by M. Barthel in 1947. One can also refer to *Seydelmann's Leben und Wirken*, edited by Theodor Rötcher and *Drei Briefe der Charlotte von Hagn 1838–1843*, edited by Ludwig Geiger, which represent the collections related to a single actor. Martin Linzer criticises Rötcher's collection by claiming that it is 'super subjective' and repeats the romantic ideals of the writers. On the other hand, Linzer concurs with the notion that it was important to conserve the Seydelmann letters.¹⁰⁹

Memoirs represent the third category of primary source material produced by the actors. The extensive memoirs of Karoline Bauer¹¹⁰ and Louis Schneider¹¹¹ allow two new actors to be analysed in this dissertation. The memoirs of Bauer were first published as *Aus meinem Bühnenleben*. The editor of the later memoirs, which were entitled *Aus dem Leben einer Verstorbenen*, points out that it was impossible for Bauer to reveal all about her life because she was married to a notable person.¹¹² Bauer's memoirs can be placed among the growing genre of female memoir writers. The literary historian Gudrun Wedel summarizes that in the nineteenth century there were already approximately 600 memoirs published by women authors. She places the memoirs of Bauer among the genre of self-portraits of artistic women and argues that the memoirs give a realistic image of the theatre world.¹¹³ In the memoirs of Louis Schneider the key focus of the author is on 'royal achievements'. He extensively records, for example, the possibilities he has had of meeting the royal family.¹¹⁴

Memoirs as a primary source are more challenging than diaries. As Michael Maurer points out, the day-to-day perspective is eliminated in memoirs, unlike in diaries and letters. Peter Gay states that memoirs are more calculating in form than diaries. On the other hand, the writers of memoirs often use their own diaries and letters as material in order to provide a link to contemporary ideas and feelings.¹¹⁵

109 Linzer 1955, 6, 8.

110 Karoline Bauer (1807–1877) was the daughter of a cavalry captain from Baden. She was contracted to the Royal Theatre of Berlin in 1824. In 1844 she married Count Broël-Plater and left the theatrical profession. See NDB, Bd 1, 642.

111 Louis [Ludwig] Schneider (1805–1878) was the son of a Berliner conductor of the Berlin Royal Orchestra. He started his theatrical career as a young boy, but was formally contracted to the Royal Theatre in 1823. Two years after leaving the theatre in 1848 Schneider was nominated a royal reader and was awarded the title *Hofrat*. See, ADB Bd 32, 134–142.

112 Wellmer 1880, I.

113 Wedel 1988, 154–156.

114 Schneider dedicates a whole chapter to his relationship with Frederick William III. Schneider 1879a, 124–163.

115 Gay 2002, 265; Maurer 1996, 112.

Besides the material that the actors have produced themselves, this dissertation also draws upon comparative contemporary material. This material includes contemporary published writings, newspapers, journals and pamphlets. On the basis of information retrieval it would seem that there have been two important sources. One is the *Almanach für Freunde der Schauspielkunst*, which was an annual theatre chronicle that gathered together the latest theatre news in Germany. A list of theatre employees was also published in the almanachs. Another interesting contemporary source collection were the annually published address books of Berliners. Compared to the list of actors, the address books helped to locate the living quarters of actors as well as revealing the visiting hour practices of some actors.

I THE BACKGROUND FOR SOCIAL POSITIONING

1. Family

One of the greatest structural changes in the years between 1815 and 1848 was the growth of social mobility, but family background was still one of the most important factors when defining social position. In this period the Prussian nobility lost their feudal privileges, but they maintained their elevated status in the society. During this era the children of the Prussian nobility still inherited political, economical and social privileges in an indirect manner through nepotism and capital transfer. Furthermore, the majority of the sons of merchants become merchants themselves. Wealthy parents in high posts could offer capital, motivation and a solid relationship for their offspring. This hindered social mobility.¹ The main argument of this chapter is that actors came from various family backgrounds. Thus, one can find actors at this time who hailed from the nobility, the educated *bürgertum* and the bourgeoisie. One way to study this phenomenon is to examine the statistics relating to the backgrounds of Berliner actors. The only problem with adopting this method is the lack of representative statistical data. In this thesis I have utilised a list of 205 actors who were employed for longer than a year at some of the Berlin theatres. Yet, it was possible to find the family background of only 69 actors on this list when referring to research literature, biographical works and fragmented source material.²

1 Sheehan 1989, 511; Nipperdey 1983, 255–256, 258, 261.

2 See *Appendix 1*.

The statistics collated in *Table 1* were mainly gathered by referring to general biographies and special theatre-oriented biographies. One of the most important sources has been Ludwig von Eisenberg's *Grosses Biographisches Lexikon der Deutschen Bühne im XIX. Jahrhundert*. Other important sources have been the *Neue deutsche Biographie* and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.³ Usually, only the most prominent actors were granted an entry in biographical collections. This helps to explain why only 69 Berlin actors of the era can be traced in contemporary literature. It is also possible that actors from more lowly backgrounds were keen to conceal their pasts and were thus unwilling to allow such information in biographical sources.

Table 1: The known background of actors in Berlin 1815–1848.⁴

<i>Fathers' Profession</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Nobility and/or officer	14.5	10
Educated bürgertum	18.8	13
Bourgeoisie / merchant	8.7	6
Performer	47.8	33
Craftsman	7.3	5
Other	2.9	2
Total	100.0	69

Source: Appendix 1.

Tracy C. Davis has stressed that Victorian actors in Britain were an exceptional socio-economic group because they came from extremely varied social groups.⁵ The data found in *Table 1* reflects that this was also the case in Berlin between 1815 and 1848. Even if the statistical data does not give a complete picture of the backgrounds of all the actors, it does reveal that not all actors were born into theatrical families. Hence, one can find a sizeable group of actors from the nobility, different middle classes and from handicraft families.

3 For more detailed information about the sources used, see *Appendix 1*.

4 All theatre, ballet and orchestral performers are counted among the group of performers. For more detailed information, see *Appendix 1*.

5 Davis 1991, 3.

The Backgrounds of Performers

It can be noted that 48 percent of the actors listed in *Table 1* were born into families with links to the performing arts. Among this group were actors, musicians, opera singers and ballet dancers.

There were three key elements for the children of performers when deciding to follow in their parents' profession. First, it was traditional to follow in the footsteps of the parents' trade. Second, the theatrical trade in Prussia still had a strong apprentice tradition. The apprentice system still played a crucial role in training actors as no specialist school existed. The third reason stemmed from the fact that parental performers often maintained close connections to theatrical institutions and to key figures in acting circles.

One example of an actor who transmitted her stage career to her children was Auguste Stich-Crelinger. Both of her children – Clara Stich (1820–1862) and Bertha Stich (1818–1876) – worked in the Berlin theatre world. This is unsurprising when one considers that Stich-Crelinger was the leader of the actors' educational system at the Royal Theatre.⁶ Thus, she had the talent and opportunity to educate her daughters in her own profession. In short, Stich-Crelinger used her status and connections at the theatre to ensure that her daughters could perform on the stage. The official archives of the Royal Theatre reveal how Stich-Crelinger promoted her daughters. On 7th October 1833, for example, she wrote directly to the king of Prussia in regard to her daughters' debuts on stage. She sent the concert programme to the king and expressed the hope that he would observe with his own eyes the talent of her daughters. Later, she tirelessly championed her daughters in a stream of letters to the king and the general intendant of the theatre vis-à-vis the possible engagement of her daughters.⁷ The king did not necessarily read all of the letters, but Stich-Crelinger must have had some influence at the theatre, as both of her children were hired by the institution. Finally, Stich-Crelinger even used extraordinary measures to promote her daughters. When the new rising star of the stage, Charlotte von Hagn, threatened the position of Stich-Crelinger's daughters at the Royal Theatre, she wrote to the king on several occasions. The rivalry was very open. Both, Eduard Devrient and Karoline Bauer noted at the time how Auguste Stich-Crelinger was like a lioness when defending her daughters' interests.⁸

6 Almanach 1837, 9.

7 A letter from Auguste Stich-Crelinger to the king of Prussia 7.10.1833. Bl 62, Nr 21213, I HA Rep 89, GStA PK.

8 Bauer (1871)1917, 243; Diary entry of Eduard Devrient 9.2.1838. Devrient 1964, 32.

The actor Louis Schneider also hailed from a performing family. Both his parents were musicians. Schneider remembers his childhood in Berlin as a difficult time, especially when French troops occupied Prussia and the king did not offer any funds for musicians. His family survived by organising home concerts, during which time Schneider first performed in public.⁹ After 1815, when the king of Prussia regained power, the new General Intendant von Brühl offered Schneider senior a post as a chamber musician at the royal orchestra. According to the Schneider's memoirs, his father tried to negotiate contracts for his two eldest children at the Royal Theatre. He did not fully succeed, but the children did secure visiting posts at the theatre. In his memoirs Louis Schneider describes how he was allowed to come home late during his school years if he told his parents that he had been networking in theatrical circles. He explains that this was also a good excuse to neglect school work.¹⁰

Musical circles also brought important connections to the family. Schneider describes how his father enjoyed the protection of J. von Witzleben (1783–1837). His father and von Witzleben shared a passion for chamber music. As a general adjutant and personal friend of the king, von Witzleben played a pivotal part in securing Schneider senior's position at the theatre.¹¹

Berliner actors also tried to secure positions for their children on stage in other parts of Germany. The tradition of guest performances in Germany created a network of actors and theatre intendants, which was strengthened by correspondence. Karl Unzelmann, an actor from Berlin, wrote to the manager of the Hamburg theatre, for example, in order to enquire about the possibility of securing a contract for his son.¹² The Berliner actor Friedrike Krickenberg also wrote to the well-known theatre critic Ludwig Tieck in regard to patronage and possible career opportunities for her son in the theatre. On several occasions she mentions her lack of theatrical contacts as an excuse to ask for Tieck's protection for her boys.¹³ These examples demonstrate how parents actively tried to influence the prospective professions of their offspring.

9 Schneider 1879a, 1–3.

10 Schneider 1879a, 36, 45.

11 Schneider 1879a, 45, 51, 129–132.

12 A letter from Karl Unzelmann to the director of the Hamburg theatre, 25.2.1816. F Rep 241, Acc 2110 Nr 2, LAB.

13 Friedrike Krickenberg to Ludwig Tieck 6.8.1823. Schauspielerbriefe, 148–149.

Bürgertum Backgrounds

According to the statistics in *Table 1*, 18.8 % of Berliner actors came from the bürgertum. Because of the heterogeneity of the group, social historians usually divide the bürgertum into the educated bürgertum and the property owning bourgeoisie.¹⁴

Traditionally the educated bürgertum included educated civil servants, judges, protestant clergymen, professors and the so-called free professions that included physicians and lawyers. The core element of the educated bürgertum derived from individuals who had received a gymnasium or university education.¹⁵ An important cohesive element of the educated bürgertum was its sense of cultural cohesion. First, the homogenous classical-humanistic education system provided common ground for its participants. Secondly, common views were shared in regard to the field of moral and aesthetic issues. Moral standards were compared with the nobility and especially the lower classes. Members of the bürgertum recognized each other through manners, literary quotations, life principles and from the supposed possession of an 'artistic' soul. The togetherness of the group ensured that non-members were strictly prohibited.¹⁶ Scholars have criticised definitions of the educated bürgertum. An initial problem in regard to defining the bürgertum lies in the heterogeneity of a group that included various professions, income levels, class positions, wealth, life expectations, degrees of security and political orientation. However, the heterogeneous group was united by a commonly identifiable cultural basis, cultural networks, habits and a philosophy of life.¹⁷ Another problem in using the term is that it is sometimes merely connected to the political aims of the group. In terms of worldview, state officials were closer to the nobility than other members of the educated bürgertum. They did not necessarily share the liberal thoughts of the old educated bürgertum, which derived its power from the tradition of strong city administration that ran counter to centralised state power. Part of the educated bürgertum became dependent on the privileges of the old society and state monopolies. However, they still represented something new for the members of the old nobility.¹⁸ The third problem associated with the term relates to the fact that it was not used at the time. Both Peter Lundgreen and Jürgen Kocka, for

14 Blackbourn 1993, 8; Kocka 1987b, 27. See also the critique against such a division. Kocka 2004, 15–16; Kocka 1993, 3; Wehler 1987, 174–175.

15 Kocka 2004, 24; Kocka 1987b, 23–25, 34–35.

16 Kocka 1989, 18. Lepsius is more definite in his categorisation of the educated bürgertum. He concludes that the only possibility to define the educated bürgertum was through an analysis of their educational level. Thus, he states that to be part of the educated bürgertum one needed to have at least a gymnasium education and usually some form of higher education. Lepsius 1992, 8

17 Kocka 1989, 17; Kocka 1987b, 36–37.

18 Kocka 1987b, 23–26; see also Reif 2000, 11.

example, have pointed out that the term *Bildungsbürgertum* was not contemporary. In spite of this, both scholars use the term in their studies.¹⁹ Despite its shortcoming, the definition of the educated bürgertum does provide fruitful information on social positions when studying the traditional backgrounds of the actors,

Approximately one fifth of the known Berliner actors had an educated bürgertum background. One explanation for this large number is the close connection between the educated bürgertum and cultural circles. Wolfgang Kaschuba points out the very close connection between artists and the educated bürgertum. This was seen, for example, in gatherings that took place in prominent cafes and at cultural events.²⁰ Another reason is the tradition of theatre acting as part of the educational project of the educated bürgertum. From the age of the Enlightenment, the theatre was seen as important part of the *Bildung* project.²¹ This helps to explain why the theatre was a highly appreciated form of art in many educated bürgertum families. The classical Weimar School actor Pius Alexander Wolff (1782–1826) was born into a prominent family of the educated bürgertum. His father, Franz Xaver Wolff, was a well-known art entrepreneur in Augsburg. Contemporaries described Franz Wolff as intelligent and a talented writer.²² There are some hints that Wolff's parents were favourable to him pursuing an artistic career. They paid for his artistic education in Berlin, for example, as well as an educational visit to Paris. Subsequently Franz founded an amateur theatre (*Gesellschaftstheater*) at his father's home.²³

Some educated bürgertum already had a very close connection to the Royal Theatre. The fathers of the actors Therese and Hulda Erc and Friedrich Johann Rütthling were members of the educated bürgertum, having had official posts in the theatre administration.²⁴ Rütthling's necrology, stressed that he enjoyed a close relationship with his father and with the Royal Theatre. It also describes how during the christening of Friedrich Rütthling 'the great actor Fleck' raised the boy up and declared his name. Rütthling attended theatre from a very early age.²⁵ The father of the Berliner actor August Maurer (b. 1792) also enjoyed a close link to the theatre. Maurer's father was an educated private secretary of August Iffland, a former head and director of the Berlin National Theatre. Thus, it is clear that the connections of Maurer senior helped to establish August's stage career. Even when Maurer senior

19 Kocka 1989, 9; Lundgreen 2000b, 173.

20 Kaschuba 1993, 398, 405.

21 Brockett 1995, 299–300.

22 Eisenberg 1903, 1142.

23 Schauer 1858, 35–36.

24 Eisenberg 1903, 580, 856–857.

25 Almanach 1849, 76–77.

did not want his son to choose a theatrical career, Iffland took the boy on as his own private student.²⁶

In economic terms, the bourgeoisie²⁷ was the most influential group of the bürgertum. The bourgeoisie in this context includes the owners of capital, industrial entrepreneurs, bankers and employers. For members of the bourgeoisie, wealth and property brought social approval. The group can also be divided into subcategories that include great industrialists, merchants and banking groups. The era of the strong influence of the bourgeoisie began around the 1830s and became more pronounced after 1850. Thus, the bourgeoisie was a relatively new social group.²⁸

The economic bourgeoisie in Prussia at this time was a relatively cohesive group. This cohesion was preserved through family policies that included inter-group marriages, prominent lifestyles, society actions and traditions. Marital cohesion was so strongly enforced that in the 1840s nobody within the network of Berlin bourgeoisie families came from the so-called lower classes. Most Berliner entrepreneurs were the sons of bankers, merchants and industrialists. A few members of the Berliner bourgeoisie came from the old city bürgertum²⁹ or from educated bürgertum families. Group cohesion via prominent lifestyles was enacted through the purchase of expensive clothes and by ensuring luxurious living conditions. Cohesion was also consolidated by participation in exclusive associations.³⁰

A sense of cohesion was also strengthened by demarcating social lines between one's own group and others. This exclusionary policy was concentrated against other groups, such as the old city bürgertum, the nobility, the educated bürgertum and working classlower social groups. The conflict between the bourgeoisie and the nobility and the old city bürgertum stemmed from the old privileges that hindered the opportunities for the bourgeoisie to do business. Members of the bourgeoisie might have had a strong relationship with the nobility, but the privileges of the latter group still wrangled with the former. The bourgeoisie played an important role in

26 Schauer 1858, 17.

27 In this work the terms *Besitzbürgertum* and *Wirtschaftsbürgertum* are translated as bourgeoisie, even though they could be defined more precisely. In German, the word 'bourgeoisie' is used in a neutral sense. However, in English it has some negative connotations. It is used for example as a synonym for philistinism. Kocka also regards the old handicraft workers and smaller entrepreneurs as being part of the bourgeoisie. Kocka 1987b, 38.

28 Kocka 1987b, 38–39; Sagarra 1977, 285.

29 The old city bürgertum is a translation of the German word *Stadtbürgertum*. This word describes the old privileged burger estate that included handicraft workers, merchants and small traders. The estate had already lost its privileges at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See Wehler 1987, 175.

30 Blackburn 1993, 9; Sagarra 1977, 288, Sheehan 1989, 510–511; Wehler 1987, 186–187, 192, 195, 206, 208.

the dissolution of feudal privileges. According to Wehler, the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the educated bürgerium arose as a consequence of the ever-growing influence of Prussian civil servants, as well as the negative attitudes of the educated neo-classicist bürgerium against uneducated, nouveau riche entrepreneurs. However, the expansion of education and the rise of entrepreneurs from educated bürgerium families helped to dispel such biases.³¹

Referring to this background, it is harder to explain why the sons and daughters of wealthy merchants entered the acting profession. Of the 69 known actors in Berlin between 1815 and 1848, only six came from prominent merchant families. The reasons for this relatively low number can be found in the economic possibility to voluntarily choose one's own career, rebellion against one's family and desire to work in the theatre, which could have been perceived as being an integral part of a wider educational project that impacted upon the educated sons of the bourgeoisie.

Ludwig Devrient, Eduard Devrient and Karl Seydelmann all had fathers who worked in colonial trade. Their families were very prosperous and can be described as being part of the prominent bourgeoisie.³² Peter Schmitt writes that theatre history is full of cases of merchants being suspicious of their children's theatrical career choices.³³ A good example of such a sentiment can be found in the case of Ludwig Devrient. In his brief autobiography he explains how he began his career in a small theatre, but because of 'love towards his father', as he puts it, he attempted to become a merchant. This 'love' can also be interpreted as financial dependency upon his father. Subsequently, his father sent Ludwig to do business in Russia, where he only succeeded in racking up debts.³⁴ After this experience Ludwig writes that:

Die Geduld meines Vaters war erschöpft, ich würde zurückberufen, und da ich voraussah, daß der Empfang nicht glänzend sein würde, die Familie verlegen sein würde, was mit einem erwachsenen Menschen, der nichts Rechtes gelernt hatte und dessen Betragen zu keiner Hoffnung berechtigte, anzufangen sei, ging ich mit dem Rest meiner Habe zum Theater.³⁵

After failing as a merchant and disappointing his family, Ludwig took all his belongings and headed to work in the theatre. Ludwig mentions the rest of the property (*habe*) that he took with him, thereby hinting at his growing independence. He also writes

31 Wehler 1987, 197, 201–202, 206–208.

32 Eisenberg 1903, 963–965; Kosch 1953, 321, 2184; Patterson 1996, 306; Stein 1908, 5, 18.

33 Schmitt 1990, 98–99.

34 Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen, Kaste 1, Nl. 159 Ludwig Devrient, STABI PK. The autobiography was also published. See Devrient 1953.

35 Devrient 1953, 17.

about how he first began acting under the name of Herzberg. After gaining fame and his father's approval Ludwig reverted to using his real name.³⁶

Karl Seydelmann was also the son of a rich merchant. After he quit service in the Prussian artillery, against his father's will, he set out building a career as an actor. This resulted in a breakdown in his relationship with his father. As with Devrient, Seydelmann at first used a pseudonym.³⁷ The use of false names in the theatrical world indicates the fears experienced by the sons of members of the bourgeoisie in regard to dishonouring their families. One must also bear in mind that the attitudes of bourgeois fathers might have simply changed after their sons gained a degree of renown. In the cases of Devrient and Seydelmann, both actors describe how their fathers only showed signs of love after they had secured more prestigious actors positions.

Eduard Devrient was also the son of a prominent merchant, but his paternal uncle, Ludwig, might have smoothed his path into the acting profession. Hence, seeing Ludwig Devrient succeed in his career might have lessened the animosity of Eduard's father towards his son's chosen profession. The career choices of Eduard's three brothers, two of whom were actors and one who was a painter, also indicate a favourable attitude in the family towards artistic professions. Eduard began working as an apprentice to a merchant, but when he turned eighteen he asked permission from his father to begin a theatrical career. His father gave his blessing for this career switch, and consequently Eduard commenced musical studies that were supervised by Carl Friedrich Zelter, a famous composer and music teacher.³⁸

Noble Backgrounds

Up to the nineteenth century the rank of nobility in Prussia was inherited and brought automatic privileges to those who belonged to the group. In the nineteenth century, however, the nobility began to lose its privileges and membership did not automatically equate to the acquisition of wealth and power. During the nineteenth century the German nobility was tied closely to market powers and the state. The majority of the Prussian nobility still retained control of family property and formed a strong and cohesive social group that reinforced its position through inter-marriage,

36 Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen, Kaste 1, Nl. 156 Ludwig Devrient, StaBi PK.

37 Seydelmann used the name of Sporon as his pseudonym. A letter from Seydelmann to his brother, 30.10.1811. Rötischer 1845, 51. See also Rötischer 1845, 4–5.

38 Bab 1932, 115, 119.

mutual business arrangements and maintaining the means to secure favourable official posts in the military and state apparatus.³⁹

It is significant that that a number of the Berliner actors were children of the nobility and had fathers who were officers in the army. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the actors were not minor scions of aristocratic families. It is particularly evident that a relatively large number of famous female actors were of noble lineage. One such female actor with a noble background was Charlotte von Hagn, who was the daughter of Karl von Hagn, a tobacco merchant in Munich. Charlotte's grandfather, Franz de Paula von Hagn, also served as court chamberlain to the king of Bavaria. Bernhard Hoefl has collected primary sources and oral traditions related to the von Hagn family and has written the first part of Charlotte's biography. In this work he writes about how Charlotte von Hagn came to be an actor, evidently with the approval of her father.⁴⁰ Another biographer points out that Charlotte's social status was very high during her career.⁴¹ Karoline Bauer was another famous actress with a noble background. Her father was an officer in the Prussian army and her mother was born into the wealthy von Stockmar family. Karoline's father died on the front in 1809 and when her two brothers moved away from home, she was left alone with her mother. Her family decided that she would be trained to be a governess and started to receive an appropriate education in a Swiss pension. However, she successfully managed to persuade her family to endorse her wish to pursue a stage career.⁴²

Why did these noblewomen choose to work in the theatre? Was it the possibility of avoiding the traditional role of being a society lady and travelling the world? On the other hand, both Charlotte von Hagn and Karoline Bauer left the stage after they married into very prominent noble families.⁴³ The Royal Theatre was ideologically close to the Prussian court and it is possible that it was deemed more acceptable for a member of the nobility to serve the monarch on stage at this particular venue.

A theatrical career was also deemed a suitable position for noblemen. Franz von Lavallade, for example, was the son of a French officer and after initially following in his father's footsteps he became an apprentice of Ludwig Rebenstein, a well-known Berlin actor.⁴⁴

39 Sagarra 1977, 185–186; Sheehan 1989, 508; Wehler 1987, 145.

40 Hoefl 1926, 134, 138–143.

41 Bobbert 1936, 13.

42 Bauer 1880a, 7, 9.

43 Charlotte von Hagn married Alexander von Oven and Karoline Bauer married Count Ladislaus von Broël-Plater. NDB Bd 1, 642; Bd 7, 494.

44 Schauer 1858, 77.

One can also cite the example of Heinrich Schmelka (1780–1837), who pursued a career as an actor in Berlin. Peter Schmitt notes that Schmelka used a stage name and cites this as an example of how nobles working in the theatre consciously endeavoured to preserve the good standing of their families. On the other hand, Ludwig von Eisenberg argues that the Schmelka family had become impoverished before Heinrich became an actor, thereby suggesting that financial woes lay behind his decision to use a pseudonym.⁴⁵

Craftsmen and Others

A relatively small number of actors plying their trade in Berlin between 1815 and 1848 also emanated from the families of craftsmen and other relatively poor families. Hence, it can be concluded that it was not easy for individuals from this background to succeed as actors in Berlin. It is likely that the most important impediments for individuals from such a background was the fact that they could not draw on prior family connections to the theatre and suffered from a lack of means to pay for private tuition in stagecraft. The obituary of the actor Georg Krüger, for example, describes his background as being very humble and that his father, who was a craftsman, was not able to contribute financially towards the education of his son.⁴⁶

Prior to 1810, craftsmen in Prussia enjoyed a favourable status. However, in 1810 the privileges of the old guild system were revoked and Berliner craftsmen had to compete against a wave of newcomers who rushed to the city looking for employment. This is why many craftsmen subsequently became poorer and also explains why their children were compelled to find new professions in order to support their families.⁴⁷

Participation in amateur theatres provided one of the main opportunities for children from lower social groups to perform on the professional stage. Such a route to a professional career provided invaluable experience and relied on consolidating links to the relatively small circle of theatre directors and performers. Gustav Crüsemann (1803–1870), for example, began his career by following in the footsteps of his parents, who performed in the Urania amateur theatre. According to Louis Schneider, who was an apprentice of Crüsemann, his old mentor was relatively well educated and cultivate, although his standard of life and background were apparently rather peculiar.⁴⁸ It is noticeable that Schneider attaches significance to Crüsemann's

45 Schmitt 1990, 99. Cf. Eisenberg 1903, 890–891.

46 Almanach 1842, 97–98.

47 Sagarra 1977, 330.

48 Schneider 1879a, 54.

background and that he assumed that most actors came from more privileged families. It is also noteworthy that Auguste Stich-Crelinger came from a Berlin clock making family and received her basic experience of acting at the Urania amateur theatre.⁴⁹ However, there are no evident signs that her background was questioned as being unworthy of her.

A Comparison between Actors in Berlin and the Entire German speaking Area

The information collected for this work can also be compared to the social background of actors in the whole German speaking area in the period between 1801 and 1820. The comparative material is located in a study by Peter Schmitt on actors in the German-speaking world between 1700 and 1900.

Table 2: The known background of actors in Berlin 1815–1848 compared to the background of actors in the whole of the German-speaking area between 1801 and 1820.⁵⁰

<i>Fathers' position</i>	<i>Berlin %</i>	<i>Percentage of the whole German-speaking area</i>
Nobility and/or officer	14.5	2.9
Educated bürgertum	18.8	20.7
Bourgeoisie / merchants	8.7	8.6
Performers	47.8	58.6
Craftsmen	7.3	7.1
Peasantry	-	0.7
Other	2.9	-
Total	100.0	98.6

Sources: Appendix 1; Schmitt 1990, 96.

The problems with Schmitt's numbers are similar to those encountered in *Table 1*, in that he does not have more precise information about the families of the actors than that available in the present study. Researchers are thus faced with a problem when seeking to carry out in-depth studies of the individual nature of actors in Germany up to the beginning of the twentieth century. However, if this problem is acknowledged,

49 NDB Bd 3, 406.

50 The information for the whole German speaking area is from Peter Schmitt's study, which he bases on information regarding 2000 actors over a period of two hundred years. He does not provide information on the number of actors born between 1801 and 1820. Schmitt 1990, 96.

but nevertheless left to one side, the statistical data can still highlight some interesting peculiarities in the case of Berlin.

One of the biggest differences between actors in Berlin and in the wider German-speaking world relates to the number of aristocratic actors in the former. This can be largely explained by the fact that the two theatres in Berlin were of a comparatively high standard compared, for example, to some wandering troupes. Consequently, this would have had an influence on the attitudes of noble actors in regard to working in such theatres. Moreover, the close proximity of the royal court in Berlin and the lure of the big city would have also attracted noble actors more than in other locations.

One interesting feature in both tables is that no peasants were hired as actors in Berlin and they account for only 0.7% in Schmitt's study for the whole of the German-speaking world. At the time at least 60% of the Prussian population were peasants, yet why were so few employed in the theatre? Schmitt explains this question in regard to the whole German-speaking area by referring to the nature of the peasantry. He describes peasants as being less individualistic, less abstract and rational thinkers who were also less specialised.⁵¹ Yet, is it even possible to generalise about the common characteristics of 60% of the population? I argue that the predominantly urban dynamic of the theatre played a key role in assuring a lack of peasants among the acting community. Small villages did not possess the necessary financial capability to maintain a professional theatre. In larger cities the population structure was different and people had many more opportunities to partake in theatrical life – whether they were spectators or participants on the stage.

The most important point of this chapter is that the Berliner actors came from a variety of backgrounds. The available statistical data does not cover all the actors, but it does show the different groups from which the actors emerged onto the stage. The examples used in this chapter illustrate the integral role of the family in regard to an actor's career on stage. This was particularly the case in regard to the families of performers from the educated *bürgertum*, whose links to the theatre made their children's career options more geared towards the stage. It is also noteworthy that the nobility and the bourgeoisie were represented among the actors. The financial liberty to choose a career for the bourgeoisie and for the nobility was an important factor. Moreover, an individual was not handicapped in becoming an actor if they were from the nobility or the bourgeoisie.

51 Schmitt 1990, 97.

2. Education

Besides family background, education was one of the greatest definers of social status in Prussia during the restoration period. Education provided a means for individuals to be upwardly mobile and to break free of the tradition of following in the professional footsteps of one's father. On an ideological level, stressing the importance of the education provided an opportunity to criticise the status quo. This was particularly the case with the *bürgertum*, as it was important for this group to emphasise their own education when state posts were announced. Education was the key element in overcoming the inherent bias towards the nobility and nepotism when the state made appointments.⁵²

In this chapter the educational background of Berliner actors is discussed. As there was no institutional theatre education, prospective actors had to secure an education through other channels. One possible outlet for cultivating a sufficient degree of education for working in the theatre was to attend a gymnasium. Training specifically geared towards acting could be attained by taking private lessons, securing an apprenticeship or by performing in an amateur theatre. In terms of gender, the need to pursue non-institutional education in order to work in the theatre proved beneficial for budding female actors and their opportunities to receive an education.

The Institutional Cultivation of Education

On average, Prussians were a relatively well-educated people in the first half of the nineteenth century. The educational principles of the Enlightenment had penetrated to almost all sections of society. About 80% of children attended a primary school from the age of six until thirteen. Subsequently, adolescent children would begin an apprenticeship or began to work directly.⁵³ The humanistic gymnasiums provided a route to higher education and consequently a significantly greater choice of careers. Moreover, the gymnasiums fostered a spirit of camaraderie among the fellow students. Students who successfully completed their education at gymnasiums were then able to enter a university. What is more, after 1834 the final gymnasium exam – the *Abitur* – became the official qualification in order to enter the middle ranks of the Prussian civil service. This also had the effect of encouraging the state to interfere

52 Lundgreen 2000b, 173–174; Nipperdey 1983, 259.

53 Nipperdey 1983, 463; Sagarra 1977, 76–77; Sheehan 1989, 514, 519–520; Wehler 1987, 577.

in gymnasium studies. The influence of the official state authorities was seen, for example, in the official standards, state examinations, curricula and other instructions. Consequently, gymnasium education was very similar throughout Prussia. Thomas Nipperdey explains that the sense of camaraderie at gymnasiums was one of the main contributory factors behind the *bürgertum's* increased sense of togetherness.⁵⁴ However, Heikki Lempa argues that gymnasium education alone was not capable of defining the broad idea of *Bildung*. He states that it is too simplistic to solely credit gymnasiums for the development of the *Bildung* via their cultivation of skills, personality and taste and through the mastery of ancient languages. In particular, such an understanding of the role of gymnasiums omits the bodily definitions of the *Bildung*.⁵⁵ Yet all the same, gymnasiums did play a significant role in creating a sense of cohesion among the educated *bürgertum*.

In Berlin 3.0–4.4% of boys attended a gymnasium for at least one year and approximately 1.4–1.9% took the final examination. The social background of the students reflected the estate tradition of society, with some exceptions. About 17–25% of the students came from educated *bürgertum* families and about 21–35% came from families connected to the handicraft or small trades. Significantly, 5–10% of students at gymnasiums came from lower-class. Jeismann summarises that the gymnasium was not an ‘estate-school’ that was reserved for the nobility, but was a ‘state-school’, which played a very important role in educating future civil servants.⁵⁶

Scant information is available regarding the educational backgrounds of Berlin actors in the period between 1815 and 1848, but there are some guidelines that we can follow. It is highly probably, for example, that the actors were part of the 80% of the population that attended a primary school, simply because it was necessary for those working on the stage to be literate.⁵⁷ It is also possible that many of the male actors attended a gymnasium for at least one year. Some biographical data of the actors exists concerning those who attended a gymnasium in Berlin. Ludwig Devrient and Louis Angely, for example, attended the French Gymnasium of Berlin. What is more, Louis Schneider and Friedrich Lemm were students at the Werder Gymnasium, whilst Eduard Devrient was educated at the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium. Known cases from other towns include Karl Seydelmann, who studied at a gymnasium in his

54 Nipperdey 1983, 454–455; Sagarra 2001, 62.

55 Lempa 2007, 3, 5.

56 Nipperdey 1983, 459–460. Jeismann 1996, 21, 394.

57 Schmitt also points out in his study that an actor needed to be literate from at least the mid-eighteenth century. See Schmitt 1990, 111.

home town of Glatz in Silesia and Franz Wilhelm Grua, who received a gymnasium education in Mannheim.⁵⁸

The gymnasium education of the actor Johann Wauer (1783–1853) is rather curious, as according to the *Album des Königl. Schauspiels und der Königl. Oper zu Berlin*, he undertook gymnasium studies in his adulthood. The writer of the *Album* is impressed that Wauer tolerated studying with adolescents.⁵⁹ It would seem that Wauer felt that it was a prerequisite for an actor to have received a gymnasium education.

Prospective actors were not in all cases the most motivated students. In his memoirs, for example, Louis Schneider describes not being a terribly successful gymnasium student. He writes about how he let others do all the written work for him, and how he deceived the teacher and how he was lazy in every respect. On the other hand, he writes about how his teachers were satisfied in his language abilities. After a while Schneider's bad grades prompted his mother to withdraw him from the school and to ask him to concentrate on his theatre career.⁶⁰ In the obituary of Friedrich Wilhelm Lemm, the writer scornfully describes how gymnasium students sometimes got the 'theatre bug' and thought that they could become famous actors. The writer dismissively remarks that only a few of them ever succeeded and that most only ended up losing their status as a member of bürgerlich society and became unworthy 'theatre bunglers'.⁶¹ The regular organisation of declamation exams at the gymnasiums might be one reason why schoolboys may have been interested in the theatre. Schneider wrote about two such exams that he took part in. At the first he recited a brief comic poem, whilst at the second exam he declaimed a rhymed story. On this latter occasion, the famous actor Ludwig Devrient was present. After the performance Devrient approached Schneider and praised his performance.⁶²

In Prussia, successful students were able to continue their education at universities or other schools of higher education. The history of Prussian universities in the nineteenth century is described as the triumphal march of German science and the establishment of a new educational system. The University of Berlin was founded in 1810, following the principles of Humboldtian humanistics that stressed the moral and intellectual community. In this new system theological studies were replaced by

58 Almanach 1844, 124; Rötcher 1845, 1–3; Schneider 1879a, 40–41; Schauer 1858, 11; Teichmann 1863, 178; Bab 1932, 116; Eisenberg 1903, 1116.

59 Schauer 1858, 13.

60 Schneider 1879a, 40, 45–46.

61 'Theater Stumper'. Almanach 1837, 63–65.

62 Schneider 1879a, 37, 45. See also ADB Bd. 32, 135.

the freedom to choose an academic discipline suitable to an individual's scientific orientation. However, the curricula also included some practical administrative knowledge in order to prepare students for state offices.⁶³ Prussian universities played a twofold role in society, in which they acted as a training ground for state offices, whilst also aiming to produce critical thinking intellectuals. In practice Prussian universities educated future civil servants in a state-monopolised institution, which led to the production of an educated elite oriented towards the state. This was also the reason why the professional civil service in Prussia was more state-oriented than in other parts of Europe.⁶⁴

The training for professions not connected to the civil service (known as "free professions") did take place at German universities. Such professions included law, medicine and later engineering. The state authorities strictly controlled the education of these so-called free professions, as is indicated by the fact that it was deemed necessary to for students to sit a special examination.⁶⁵

Thomas Nipperdey argues that university education was for the elite and that it encouraged social division. As mentioned, Prussian universities educated men for official posts and for the so-called free professions. University education and later nominations for offices brought the educated *bürgertum* and the nobility closer together. In some cases both noble and non-noble office holders had more things in common than with their respective peers.⁶⁶

Surprisingly there were also some university-educated actors who worked in the Berlin theatre. These individuals had usually abandoned their studies or employment to become actors. In this regard, one can cite a number of former medical students, such as Johann Christian Gerber (1785–1850) and Moriz Rott (1796–1867), who received a medical education at the University of Prague. Franz Hoppé (1810–1849) also studied pharmacy prior to becoming an actor.⁶⁷ Law was another branch of education associated with actors. The theatre director, writer and actor Karl von Holtei, for example, studied law at the University of Breslau. Karl Seydelmann (1793–1843) also began to study law at the University. However, Seydelmann abandoned his studies in order to join the Prussian artillery in 1810.⁶⁸ Karl von Holtei does not describe his university education in detail in his memoirs. What soon becomes apparent, however,

63 Friedrich 2001, 99; Lundgreen 2000b, 175; Lönnendonker 1984, 38; Nipperdey 1983, 471–472.

64 Lundgreen 2000b, 173–174.

65 Lundgreen 2000b, 181.

66 Nipperdey 1983, 260, 474, 477; Wehler 1987, 210–211.

67 ADB Bd. 13, 114; ADB Bd. 8, 722; Stein 1908, 16; Schauer 1858, 61.

68 Almanach 1844, 75; NDB Bd. 9, 553.

is that he craved a theatrical career. He interrupted his gymnasium studies in order to take part in the wars of liberation. After serving in the wars von Holtei benefitted from the possibility of entering university without the relevant *Abitur* examination from a gymnasium. In his memoirs he writes that he only wanted student status because of his desire to be near the theatre in Breslau, rather than have to continue his agricultural education in a small village near his uncle. His plan was to obtain a university degree before embarking upon a stage career.⁶⁹ Besides the information cases, it should be pointed out that there was a number of uncertain references to the higher education status of the actors. The available biographical data regarding Friedrich Genée, for example, states that he had completed some university studies. It is known that Theodor L'Arronge also received training to be a secondary school teacher.⁷⁰ In both cases, the level of education the actors received is unclear.

Lack of Institutional Theatre Education

Actors did not enjoy the same level of social prestige as received by graduates of higher educational establishments. Eduard Devrient describes the pressing need for actors to have the possibility to attend a relevant professional institution in order to receive a stage-based education:

Besondere Schulen erziehen für besonderen Stände. Prediger und Lehrer gehen praktisch geübt aus den Seminaren hervor. Dem Landwirthe, dem Forstmanne, dem Offiziere gewähren eigene Akademien wissenschaftliche Fachbildung. Bedürfnisse und der Concurrrenz so mächtige Triebfeldern zum Fortschritte besitzen, ist durch liberale Institute eine wissenschaftliche Begründung, ein Recht zum Eintritte in die Kreise höherer Bildung gegeben worden. In trefflichen Kunstschulen werden Architectur, Malerei, Sculptur, selbst Musik mit Sorgfalt und edlem Geiste gepflegt und – *inmitten dieser emsigen Sorgfalt für alle, alle Stände, ist es der Schauspieler allein, der wild aufwachsen muß.*⁷¹

According to Devrient, access to institutional education led to social respect. He laments the fact that all other artistic professions, such as architecture, painting, singing and music had specialist schools, but not theatre. He emphasised that a lack of education explained why actors lacked self-esteem.⁷² Devrient also felt that theatre was not a respected art form among the public. Devrient reiterates the same concerns

69 Holtei 1843a, 407–409; Holtei 1843b, 253, 225.

70 Eisenberg 1903, 315, 577–587.

71 The emphasis in the original text is indicated by spacing. Devrient 1840, 9–10.

72 *Selbstgefühl*. Devrient 1840, 10.

twenty years later in his book series on theatre history. Herein he proclaims that only education would provide actors with the necessary means to gain social respect.⁷³

The influence of Humboldtian principles are also evident in Devrient's ideas on theatre schools. At the beginning of his book, for example, he writes about the importance of the wider meaning of education, or *Bildung*:

Welches Mittel aber ist es, das unsere hellere Zeit zur Verständigung, Ausgleichung und Zeitigung der verschiedenartigen Elemente der Gesellschaft in Bewegung setzt? Es ist Unterricht, Bildung.⁷⁴

For Devrient, *Bildung* was a key pillar of Prussian society. The humanistic ideal of *Bildung* was also seen in the curriculum of Devrient's proposal for an ideal theatre school. Thus, besides practical theatrical skills that included rhetoric, music, performance and gymnastics, Devrient also included the need to study literature, theatre history, the German language and general history.⁷⁵

Devrient also endeavoured to realise his vision of a specialised theatre school. In a diary entry in 1837, for instance, he wrote that he had discussed the necessity of a theatre school in Berlin with Spontini, the director of the city's opera. Later Devrient wrote about how he tried to found an acting school by discussing his plan with General Intendant von Redern. According to Devrient, von Redern felt that such a school would not be cost-efficient. Devrient interprets this reply as von Redern's unwillingness to relinquish control over the theatrical hierarchy.⁷⁶

Devrient was not the only individual who planned to establish a theatre school in Berlin. The earliest such attempts date from the 1770s. Moreover, from the 1830s, Count Hippolyt von Bothmer, Karl von Holtei, the theatre philanthropist Heinrich Theodor von Röscher and Louis Schneider all developed plans for theatre schools.⁷⁷ Von Holtei's idea was to establish a peripatetic theatre school, which would also benefit smaller towns other than Berlin or Vienna. Yet, prior to 1848 no such school was opened in Berlin.⁷⁸

Michael Baker argues that the lack of institutional education enjoyed by actors was the main reason behind their low status in British society. He continues by

73 Devrient 1861, 240–241, 249–250.

74 Devrient 1840, 9.

75 Devrient 1840, 29, 31, 33, 36, 38, 40, 42, 54.

76 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 29.9.1837, 24.11.1840. Devrient 1964, 26, 105.

77 Schmitt 1990, 113–114, 159, 160f.

78 Holtei's article is entitled 'Fahrende Theaterschule (Ein Traum)' and appears in Almanach 1845, 189–202.

adding the lack of specific educational qualifications meant that no individuals were excluded from the profession.⁷⁹

The proposals for specialist theatre schools had a number of opponents, who, according to Devrient, raised three main objections. Firstly, he states that opponents cited a perceived surplus of schools and universities. The second principle argument of opponents to theatre schools was that the theoretical basis of such institutions would not develop acting skills as much as simple experience on stage. The third argument was that theatrical talent was an individual gift and activity that should not be promoted in common theatre schools.⁸⁰ Devrient replies carefully to each of the above arguments. Arguably the most interesting aspect of the debate was the assumption that actors already possessed a decent level of education.

The lack of institutional education also distinguished actors from other groups of artists. Writers, for example, were more easily identified as being part of the educated *bürgertum*, with most combining an official state post with their literary endeavours. It was usual for writers to receive the necessary institutional education for the relevant post they occupied, with writing being something of a hobby. A steady post was also needed during the restoration period, when books were frequently prohibited by censors. In other words, a literary career was a perilous occupation. Only a very rare number of authors managed to live solely off their literary earning. Even the great romantic writer E.T.A Hoffmann served as a *Kammergericht* councillor in Berlin.⁸¹

Humboldt's idea of a university education included the study of music, but he was not successful in securing a professorship in the discipline at Berlin Academy of Art (*Berliner Akademie der Künste*). However, from the beginning of the nineteenth century musicians had the chance to join prestigious musical conservatories in German-speaking areas. Jörg-Peter Mittmann, who has studied the professionalisation of German musicianship, argues that orchestral musicians during the nineteenth century started to slip down the social hierarchy. He describes the gradual proletarianisation of musicians, which was due to the rapid growth in the number of musicians. An increasing number of orchestral musicians were forced into employment in the handicrafts and ceased being part of the educated *bürgertum*. Only virtuoso musicians, composers and orchestral managers enjoyed a high level of social respect.⁸²

79 Baker 1978, 19, 25–26.

80 Devrient 1840, 10–11, 13.

81 Sagarra 1977, 281–283; Steinecke 1997, 44.

82 Mittmann 1992, 242–245.

The professionalisation of painters was also not a straightforward development. Most of Berlin's professional painters, for example, were not educated in official institutions as the city still preserved a strong apprentice tradition. However, the Academy of Art in Berlin had functioned since 1696. The number of students at the institution grew rapidly during the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1827 there were 500 students, whilst only twenty years later the figure stood at 1200.⁸³

The Non-Institutional Education of Actors

As mentioned, the ways for an actor to be trained in Berlin between 1815–1848 included taking private lessons, undertaking a traditional apprenticeship or by gaining experience in an amateur theatre. In most cases prospective actors undertook a combination of these methods.

Peter Schmitt has pointed out that during the restoration period an actor's education was reliant upon the goodwill of theatre philanthropists. Schmitt argues that there would have been a need for institutional education, as the offspring from prosperous families also wanted to perform on stage. Prosperous parents wanted to educate their children in morally decent and reputable institutions. The absence of such institutions opened the market for private, non-institutionalized forms of performance education. Many writers, musicians and active actors gave private tuition. Schmitt explains that this unregulated system led to varying standards in the education enjoyed by actors.⁸⁴ Eduard Devrient complained about the random nature of securing good private tuition. According to him, most skilful actors did not care much for teaching. Devrient took declamation and dancing lessons in his youth and when he reached the status of a professional, he gave private lessons himself. His contribution to the teaching of actors can be seen in a variety of cases. For example, Devrient gave private lessons to Hulda Erc (later Lavallade), Auguste Stich-Crelinger's daughters and the nephew of the author Rellstab. In his diaries, Devrient also wrote about a certain Mitkow, who came to him for lessons. Although Devrient complains that actors were uninterested in devoting time to the private tuition of young talent, his diary reveals that he was also quite tired of teaching.⁸⁵

83 The two most well-known painters of the time, for example, were Adolf Menzel and Theodor Hosemann, who both only partially studied at the Akademie. See Großmann 1994, 35–36.

84 Schmitt 1990, 119–120, 125, 131, 161, 163.

85 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 10.2.1837, 11.2.1837, 18.12.1839. Devrient 1964, 33, 82; Devrient 1840, 22. About Devrient's private students see Bab 1932, 121; Schauer 1858, 76.

Louis Schneider's family of musicians was also ready to pay for private lessons for their children. To prepare her son for a theatrical career Schneider's mother paid the singers Eunicke and Benelli to give him private tuition.⁸⁶ Adolph Bethge started to give acting lessons at a relatively early phase of his career. He taught his first student around the same time as he secured his first six-month engagement at the Royal Theatre. Subsequently a regular flow of students went to him for tuition. Bethge usually wrote in his diary that he was 'engaged with a beginner in the forenoon'.⁸⁷ At one point, he taught students at his home on an almost daily basis. He even wrote in 1846 that for once he had an afternoon free from teaching students.⁸⁸ The names of some novice actors started to appear on the pages of his diary. Indeed, in some cases Bethge's relationship towards a number of students became very friendly. He enjoyed riding and walking, for example, with one of his long-standing students.⁸⁹ Bethge sought to teach only the most talented students. He wrote recommendations, for example, for his former student Mr. Paul. He also observed the troubles suffered by the Königsberg theatre director, who was in favour of Paul. Bethge also wrote recommendations to his former theatre in Posen on behalf of a former student.⁹⁰

For female actors, the opportunity to receive non-institutional forms of education offered unique possibilities. Any education at all was more than most contemporary women were able to enjoy. During the restoration period, women in general had very few chances to receive an education. James C. Albisetti has noted that a girl who had received 2–3 years of education around the turn of the nineteenth century was in a minority. What is more, even if girls had the chance to be educated, it rarely led to them securing an independent form of employment. Institutional education at all levels during the first half of the nineteenth century was mostly limited to men. The first form of institutional education available for women concentrated on the training of governesses. Prussia's first teacher seminar for women was founded in 1803, but its activity was short-lived. The Luisenstiftung continued its work after 1811. However, these two institutions did lead to an increase in the number of governesses. It was not until 1830, when governesses secured a legal footing for their profession. Even after this date women were legally bound to obtain the permission

86 Schneider 1879a, 52.

87 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge 27.6.1838, 24.1.1840, 4.11.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

88 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge 24.4.1846. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

89 Diary entries of Adolf Bethge 27.3., 10.4., 24.4., 1.5., 15.5., 18.5., 3.6., 17.6.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

90 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 19.4., 20.5., 22.7.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

of the family they were employed by in order to freely practice their profession. In Prussia, the governmental education of governesses began in 1832.⁹¹

The level of education of female actors was quite high when compared to contemporary Prussian standards. This could have been a consequence of the fact that female actors came from high-ranking families, which were able to pay for their daughters to take private lessons. Auguste Stich-Crelinger, for example, taught a number of female students at her home. A few letters survive that were written by Stich-Crelinger, in which she notifies her students of changes to their rehearsal timetables.⁹² Adolph Bethge also taught a number of female students. As with male students, most of the novice female actors in his diary are not named.⁹³ However, Bethge does tend to mention promising female students. Thus, one such pupil was Demoiselle Köhler, whose success at the Urania amateur theatre is singled out for praise. Bethge also began to spend time with Köhler and her family. He went to Concordia amateur theatre with his wife and Köhler, for example, and spent time at Köhler's family home, where he was accompanied by his wife and eldest daughter. Bethge regularly describes the nice gifts he received from Köhler, like a beautiful cup or a pleasant lamp he was given as a birthday present. Furthermore, Bethge spent a lot of time endeavouring to secure engagements for Köhler. He visited the director of Hamburg theatre on her behalf and wrote about her to the director of Posen theatre.⁹⁴

The female students taught by Bethge were predominantly from the educated *bürgertum*, including the daughter of a certain *Geheimrat*, the sister of Doctor Oswald, and the daughter of *Gymnasielehrer* Asmis. As well as having to pay fees, the students also gave expensive presents to their teacher on his birthday and at Christmas. One young student, for example, presented Bethge with a beautiful sugar bowl with silver tongs.⁹⁵

Charlotte von Hagn came from a wealthy family. Her father, who was a rich merchant and a nobleman, paid for her education. At the age of 15, von Hagn's father hired the famous actor Marianne Lang-Boudet, from Munich Court Theatre, to give his daughter acting lessons. By the age of 17, Charlotte had already performed her

91 Albisetti 2007, 13, 45, 84; Buchheim 1966, 109–110; Frevert 1990, 94; Hausen 1981, 69, 71; Sagarra 1977, 418.

92 The brief letters from Auguste Crelinger to Fräulein Kiesling, s.a. Autographensammlung, ThFU.

93 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 24.1.1840. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

94 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 18.10.1844, 9.1., 17.10., 21.11.1845, 27.10.1845, 9.3., 18.3., 26.10.1846. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

95 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 21.6.1843, 10.6.1844, 29.8.1845, 12.11.1847. Nr 1–2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

debut at Munich Court Theatre and afterwards she continued to be Lang-Boudet's private pupil.⁹⁶

Female actors in Berlin also had possibilities to educate themselves whilst they worked; a rare opportunity for most employed women at the time. The Prussian court offered excursions and other educational visits abroad and to other theatres. The archives of the theatre administration also reveal a case when the actor Stich requested that he and his wife, Auguste, be permitted to undertake an educational visit to Parisian theatres in 1824.⁹⁷

Karoline Bauer was another example of a well-educated daughter from a prosperous family. Bauer was already comparatively well-educated when she joined the theatre. The only decent education on offer for the daughter of an officer, such as Bauer, was to train to be a governess. After a small struggle with her family, she received permission to train and was funded to study French at a Swiss pension.⁹⁸ This alone separated Karoline from traditional female roles, as she obtained her education outside family circles. The fact that she later obtained the permission of her family to have private lessons from a female actor, and was educated to be a professional actor, showed great independence and trust in her talent.

However, one did not have to be from the *bürgertum* or from noble circles in order to have the possibility to provide one's daughter with the opportunity to undertake training in the performing arts. The Berlin actor and singer Carl Holzbrecher paid for a number of private lessons for his daughter, Julie, from his colleague Auguste Stich-Crelinger. Subsequently, Julie began her instruction in the performing arts at a very young age.⁹⁹

Besides private lessons, the experience of working in an amateur theatre was another way to gain a theatre education. One of the great stars of the Berlin theatre world was Auguste Stich-Crelinger, who had a variable educational background. She was one of the first actors who was educated at an amateur theatre. One of the most well-known amateur theatres in Berlin at the time was the Urania Theatre, which was founded in 1792 by the theatre dilettantes Johann Gottlieb Lortzing, who was a leather tradesman, and his wife Charlotte Sophie.¹⁰⁰ Auguste Celinger-Stich was the daughter of a clocksmith. She began her career at the Urania Theatre and was

96 Bobbert 1936, 15–16.

97 A letter from the actor Stich to Graf Brühl, dated 26.1.1824 and the King's approval of this request. Bl 27–28, Nr 21213, I HA Rep 89, GStA PK. Karoline Bauer also mentions this educational visit in her memoirs. Bauer (1871)1817, 237.

98 Bauer 1880a, 36, 39.

99 Almanach 1840, 64–71.

100 Both the husband and wife subsequently became professional actors. See Arnhold 1925, 133.

discovered by Countess Hardenberg (herself a former actor), who recommended the talented youngster to the theatre director August Wilhelm Iffland.¹⁰¹ Other known actors who trained at the Urania Theatre included Ludwig Rebenstein (1795–1832), Emil Franz (1808–1875) and Mr. Döring (1803–1878). Döring's father died when he was very young and he was subsequently raised by his grandfather, who was a priest in Berlin. Döring gained his first experience of theatre work on the stage of the Urania Theatre. He went on to become a famous actor after he replaced the late Karl Seydelmann at the Royal Theatre.¹⁰²

In a pamphlet entitled *Über Theaterschule*, Eduard Devrient criticises the learning process of actors in amateur theatres. According to Devrient, the problem in amateur theatres was that there was a low quality of professionalism. Amateur theatres restricted teaching to mannerism, as the roles were perceived to be too hard for their skills. Devrient describes how it was common for young actors to end up training in sub-standard theatre and were consequently only able to understand basic routines.¹⁰³ Some young actors had the possibility of receiving more extensive education than merely a few private lessons. After an actor appeared in a number of minor roles at an amateur theatre, it became possible to receive guidance from a seasoned actor. This can be described as a form of apprenticeship.

Examples of such apprentices and their mentors vary. It is often mentioned, for example, how the legendary theatre director and manager Iffland was eager to take young protégées under his wing. One of the most well-known of Iffland's apprentices was Auguste Düring (later Stich-Crelinger). Düring had performed in an amateur theatre, but when she was engaged to the Royal Theatre, Iffland offered her personal guidance.¹⁰⁴ Iffland was also the teacher of Johann Friedrich Rütbling, whose father was close to the Berlin theatre circles and who brought his son to Iffland's National Theatre at the age of five. Subsequently, Johann won a number of smaller roles and was mentored by the great Iffland himself.¹⁰⁵

Rütbling continued this tradition, as he mentored Louis Schneider after he had performed a number of minor roles at the Royal Theatre. The apprenticeship was thorough, with Schneider even residing in Rütbling's apartment during his studies. Schneider describes the strict rules enforced in the house and how he was

101 NDB Bd. 3, 406; ADB Bd. 4, 584.

102 Eisenberg 1903, 206, 279.

103 Devrient 1840, 22–23.

104 ADB Bd. 4, 584–586; Devrient 1861, 33; Schauer 1858, 24.

105 Almanach 1849, 76–77.

constantly observed by his master. Schneider also writes about how this surveillance and supervision did not help him to behave any better.

Jonas Beschort (1767–1846) provides another good example of this apprenticeship system. He was born in Hanau and his career began when he received an apprenticeship in Hamburg, where he also secured his first theatrical engagements. Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, the legendary leader of Hamburg National Theatre took him as his apprentice. He was instructed to play the roles of lovers, heroes and chevaliers in recitative theatre. Beschort's style of acting was described in public as part of the Schröder School and later in Berlin as the Iffland School.¹⁰⁶ Hence, the apprentice tradition was also recognised by contemporaries in accordance with the style of acting employed by the master.

The apprentice tradition at the Royal Theatre evolved into a proto-institutional form of theatre education. The annual *Almanach für Freunde für Schauspielkunst* lists all the theatre employees in Germany. In this list there was a section dedicated to those responsible for the Royal Theatre of Berlin's *Theater-Bildungsschule*, or theatre-education school. In 1837, for example, Auguste Stich-Crelinger was responsible for the Declamation Institution (*Deklamations-Institut*). Other departments at the school were responsible for musicians and choral singers.¹⁰⁷ The institute most probably did not amount to much more than a rehearsal venue for younger members of the theatre, as well as being a place in which actors were able to improve their elocution skills.

Actors were not able to benefit from institutional education, which contributed to a lack of professional and social status. This can be compared to the different positions of individuals in the other so-called free professions, such as artists and musicians, who were able to receive an education at gymnasium level and occasional went on to pursue university studies. The professional education of actors was mainly acquired through private tuition, experience acting in amateur theatres and, in some cases, a closer connection to theatres and their professional employees. This educational tradition was problematic in terms of the random level of quality and accessibility. On the other hand, non-institutional forms of education provided female actors with the possibility of educating themselves in an independent profession.

106 *Almanach* 1847, 82–83; Schauer 1858, 4; Hübscher 1960, 92.

107 *Almanach* 1837, 9.

3. Careers

The lack of institutional education and the variable methods of other forms of theatre education raise the question as to what other paths existed for prospective actors seeking to work in Berlin? By signing a contract of engagements actors were able to secure their status as stage performers. Winning a contract in Berlin with the Royal Theatre, in particular, promised considerable improvements to an actor's quality of life. It can be argued that there were three main ways of securing a contract with a theatre in Berlin. In most cases, actors trained in smaller theatres in other cities and then sought work in Berlin. Another career path was to take minor roles or duties in Berlin theatres and then seek to progressively win more substantial roles. Thirdly, actors were also contracted to Berlin theatres from other professions. Initial contracts were usually for between one and four years and were in most cases renewed. The financial goal for most actors was to secure a permanent contract and the guarantee of a pension. Contracts also covered holidays, costume expenses and possible benefits for acting couples.

Ways into the Profession

One of the usual forms of engagement at Berlin theatres was to initially work in smaller theatres, alongside taking the opportunity to perform in more prestigious venues as a guest performer. Such a career trajectory is well illustrated in Franz Krüger's necrology. Krüger was the son of a handicraft worker and his family could not support his education. Hence, he started to search for work around Germany in a provincial theatre. In 1812, after a few brief engagements, he was rewarded with a longer contract at Neusterlitz Theatre. He was engaged to perform the roles of first lovers. This soon led to another engagement with the National Theatre. This proved to be a turning point in his career, because in Hamburg he met Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, an actor and theatre manager and his future mentor. In essence, Schröder's instruction represented Krüger's entire education in the performing arts.¹⁰⁸ In 1818, after gaining success in Hamburg, Krüger successfully won his first guest role at the Royal Theatre in Berlin. He was not immediately hired by the theatre on a long-term basis, but he was asked to perform with the theatre again in Berlin the following year, when he was finally hired on a permanent basis. During his guest performances, he

initially played young, heroic roles that had previously been played by the seasoned actor Wauer, who was visiting Stuttgart at the time. When engaged with the theatre on a full-time contract, Krüger assumed the leading tragic roles of the late P.A. Wolff.

109

The acting career of Krüger reveals the customary way in which roles were filled at the Berlin theatre. This system – known as *Rollenfach* – was typically utilised in German theatres in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It meant that certain actors played certain types of role, such as a first lover.¹¹⁰ This policy entailed that it was necessary for theatres to begin looking for new performers when actors passed away or resigned their posts. What is more, this meant that talented younger actors were not hired if certain roles were already taken. Thus, Julie Holzbrecher was not initially hired by Berlin theatres as there were no vacant roles for young female lovers.¹¹¹

Another example of how young actors led a peripatetic lifestyle prior to securing a permanent contract in Berlin is supplied by the case of the famous virtuoso Karl Seydelmann. He left the Prussian artillery in 1813 to become an actor, initially residing in Troppau with the actor Schmidt. Subsequently, he was employed at Reichsgraf von Herbenstein's private theatre, before obtaining a position in 1816 at Breslau Theatre. By 1819 he had already become the theatre's director, but this promising career position terminated in 1820 when the theatre became bankrupt. Thereafter Seydelmann wandered around Germany and finally ended up working in Prague. With the approval of the Prague theatre manager Franz Ignanz von Holbein, Seydelmann secured an engagement in Cassel in 1822. Whilst contracted in Cassel he also made several guest performances in other cities. During one of these guest performances in 1828 he managed to secure a permanent contract with Stuttgart Theatre. Finally, Seydelmann won a contract in Berlin after the death of the legendary Ludwig Devrient.¹¹² This example illustrates that the path to a long-term contract at a Berlin theatre was long and winding. A contract at a Berlin theatre was seen as the ultimate goal for Prussian actors, yet they had to overcome limited opportunities to secure such an ambition.

Another route to securing a permanent position at a Berlin theatre was to begin by taking minor roles and then to climb the stage hierarchy. This was a particularly attractive method for young actors living in Berlin. Louis Schneider describes how

109 Almanach 1842, 98–99.

110 Doerry 1926, ix, 2–3, passim.

111 Almanach 1840, 64–71.

112 A letter from Seydelmann to his brother, dated 21.11.1811. Röttscher 1845 48–51. Almanach 1844, 75–77. In the Almanach Seydelmann's contribution to the wars of liberation is exaggerated.

he started his career at the Royal Theatre as a lamp boy. At the age of fifteen he won his first minor role. The possibility to play child roles also brought the opportunity to have a number of private lessons at the theatre. Schneider writes about how General Intendant Brühl offered declamation lessons by the conductor Seidel, acting instruction from the actor Friedrich Wilhelm Lemm and dance lessons from Laucher. At age of seventeen Schneider unsuccessfully asked for paid roles from the Royal Theatre in Berlin. In the following two years, however, he was more successful, but failed to secure sufficient engagement or a long-term contract. Schneider writes that the Royal Theatre had such high professional standards that it was impossible for a 19-year-old youngster to secure employment at the venue. He travelled for a while and worked at various theatres before returning to the Royal Theatre in Berlin when he was 22-years-old.¹¹³

Schneider's mentor Lemm also pursued a similar theatrical path. After leaving his gymnasium in order to act, Lemm worked as a scrivener for a sick friend. He tried to get an engagement at a Berlin theatre, but failed. However, he did not give up and in 1799 August Iffland offered Lemm the chance to sing in the choir of the opera and to improve his acting skills. Four years later, Lemm secured his first real engagement as a singer and actor in Iffland's theatre.¹¹⁴

The third principle way of securing a long-term career on the stage was to begin in a related profession before switching to the theatre. As mentioned, a vocal studies education had some institutional status and it may have been viewed favourably by prosperous families, who desired their offspring to have at least some form of education. This could explain why Eduard Devrient undertook vocal studies. In fact, Devrient was initially a merchant's apprentice at his father's business, before being accepted to the *Berlin Singakademie*, where he became a pupil of Carl Friedrich Zelter.¹¹⁵ In 1819, at the age of eighteen, Devrient secured his first role at Berlin's Royal Opera. In 1831, after more than a decade of singing, the quality of Devrient's voice deteriorated, after which the Royal Theatre employed him as a theatrical actor.¹¹⁶

It was rare for an actor to forego a completely different form of employment in order to pursue a stage career. One such example, however, is demonstrated by Theodor L'Arronge, who abandoned his career as a secondary school teacher in order to become an actor. In 1846, he was engaged by the Königstädtisches Theater at the

113 Schneider 1879a, 42, 48–49, 59–60. Stein 1908, 17.

114 Almanach 1837, 63–65; ADB Bd. 19, 754–756.

115 Stein 1908, 4.

116 See a letter from Fürst Wittgenstein to the king of Prussia, dated 1.7.1831. Bl. 10–11, Nr 21216, I HA Rep 89, GStA PK; Bab 1932, 124; Kabel 1964, XIV.

age of thirty-four.¹¹⁷ Adolph Bethge also switched to a career on stage after initially being a gardener. His links to the stage may have been fostered by working in the garden of Seydelmann and at the allotment of Stich-Crelinger. During his career on stage, Bethge continued to help his brother, who became secretary of the Royal Inspector of Gardens (*Gartenintendantur*), when the latter went abroad.¹¹⁸

Bethge perceived that the most important way of securing engagement at the Royal Theatre was to enlist support from within the playhouse. His two main supporters were Krüger and Stich-Crelinger. While Bethge went to Posen, for example, Krüger ensured that he would meet the right people to further his theatrical career. Krüger also insisted that Bethge should demand higher wages and better roles from the theatre in Posen. Auguste Stich-Crelinger also strongly supported Bethge's career. In his diary, Bethge clearly marks the critical moment when he heard that Stich-Crelinger and her daughters were endorsing his guest performance in Berlin. Shortly afterwards, he received a letter from General Intendant von Redern, in which he was promised three guest roles. Moreover, during his guest performances Stich-Crelinger acted on Bethge's behalf by persuading the General Intendant to engage Bethge on a permanent basis.¹¹⁹

Varying Engagements

It was the ultimate ambition of most Prussian actors to secure a contract with Berlin's Royal Theatre, which truly testified to a professional status. Permanent contracts involved negotiations with the General Intendant of the theatre, who then needed to seek final approval from the Prussian king or his chamberlain. Final contracts were usually drawn up for between one and four years and contained details of the actor's annual salary, holiday entitlements and the basic rules concerning the approval of roles and general expectations regarding behaviour. In most cases the contract was extended after the initial period. However, the most popular actors were granted permanent contracts from the offset and had pension benefits. The second tier of contracted actors only had the possibility to apply for permanent contracts and pension benefits later on in their careers.

117 Eisenberg 1903, 577–587.

118 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 28.12.1835, 26.6., 22.8., 25.9.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK. His brother's title is mentioned in the adoption contract of Aimée Jennette Bethge. See Nr 8, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

119 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 16.1., 21.1.1836, 9.2., 23.3.1838. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

The Wolffs, who were one of the most pre-eminent theatre couples in Berlin, were in a very good position to negotiate contracts with the Berlin Royal Theatre. As members of the Goethe School, they enjoyed great popularity in the German-speaking theatre world and were the leading lights of the greatest theatres in Germany. Thus, it is unsurprising that General Intendant von Brühl wanted the couple to work in his theatre. Accordingly, von Brühl wrote to Pius Alexander Wolff in August 1815 in order to inform him that he had inquired with the king of Prussia vis-à-vis the possibility of securing the engagement of the Wolffs. The king approved the idea and von Brühl asked if the Wolffs would be interested in taking up an engagement in Berlin. Furthermore, Count von Brühl asked the Wolffs to keep the matter secret during the negotiations. Pius Wolff must have answered positively, because the following month von Brühl wrote to the couple and offered a good salary, annual holidays of up to eight weeks and wardrobe expenses for Amalie.¹²⁰ The final contract, which was written especially for the couple, was signed by the Wolffs in 1816. The couple were initially engaged to play all manner of roles, whilst complying to the general rules of the theatre. The contract also stipulated that their salaries were to be raised in their second year at the theatre. An extraordinarily unusual aspect of the contract is that it was already based on a permanent arrangement and contained an agreement for a pension. Moreover, the contract stipulated that the couple were entitled to a holiday of six weeks every two years. Finally, the contract outlined the details of the special accessory fees that were paid to Amalie for her to buy shoes, clothes, gloves, feathers, flowers and jewellery.¹²¹

After the special concessions negotiated by the Wolffs, the Royal Theatre introduced a pre-printed contract, which was drawn up for shorter engagements. Hübscher refers to how such a form was used to conclude negotiations with Ludwig Devrient in 1818. These contracts became the norm and defined the division of roles and the rules that actors were obliged to abide by. Secondly, the pre-printed contract stipulated that actors were entitled to an annual four-week holiday and also states that actors were not allowed to perform in other theatres without the permission of the theatre director. The pre-printed contract was also used in Ludwig Devrient's case, but with handwritten exceptions. Firstly, Devrient negotiated a permanent contract and it also contained provisions for a pension of up to half of his annual salary.¹²²

120 Von Brühl was very interested in the costumes needed by Amalie and he wrote a new letter that outlined in more detail the kind of clothes that were required at the Royal Theatre. Letters from Brühl to P. A. Wolff 5.8., 12.9., 24.9.1815. In *Martersteig* 1879, 205–207.

121 Hübscher 1960, 64.

122 Hübscher 1960, 65–66.

The pre-printed contract can be held up as a relatively standard document agreed to by the majority of actors engaged at the Berlin Royal Theatre. Similar documents were used up to 1828. Not many original contracts are still extant, but one can refer to that of Karl Stawinsky.¹²³ Stawinsky was born in Berlin in 1794 and was the son of a civil servant. He began his career in 1810 by joining a strolling player group. In 1814 he secured his first steady engagement in Stettin, thereafter obtaining engagements in Breslau and Brunswick, before winning an engagement in Berlin.¹²⁴ In 1828 he secured a pre-printed contract with the Royal Theatre. The printed part of the contract included six paragraphs, which were accompanied by hand-written details. The first two paragraphs stipulated that the actor was to play all the roles given to him by the theatre directors and to obey all of the theatre's rules and orders. A hand-written addition also indicated that Stawinsky was also expected to fulfill directorial duties. An injunction was printed in the third paragraph in reference to other engagements during the duration of his contract, which were forbidden without the knowledge of the directors of the Berlin Royal Theatre. The contract outlined that Stawinsky was eligible to take an annual four-week holiday, with a further proviso that sanctioned longer periods. The fourth and fifth paragraphs dealt with his annual salary, which was to start at 1100 thalers before rising to 1200 thalers in the last year, and the length of his contract that is given as three years. The length of the contract and the annual salary were handwritten.¹²⁵ In brief, the salary and contract length were negotiable. The allocation of roles, the house rules and length of annual holiday were more in sync to the contracts of other actors.

The sixth paragraph was reserved for signatures, but significantly it reveals the legal status of women at the time. As an actor Stawinsky signed his own contract, thus crossing out the sections indicating that the document had been countersigned by parents, a guardian or a husband.¹²⁶ This suggests that husbands had the legal power to intervene with regard to the contracts of their wives.

The fragmentary archival material of the theatre's management provides one source when seeking to understand the engagements of the Royal Theatre. In its collection, *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz* hold a number of random files on actors employed at the Royal Theatre. In some cases, these files contain

123 See Nr. 3764, Rep. 119 Generalintendanz der Staatstheater, BPH GStA PK.

124 ADB Bd. 35, 536.

125 A contract between Stawinsky and the Royal Theatre, dated 21.2.1828. Nr. 3764, Rep. 119 Generalintendanz der Staatstheater, BPH GStA PK.

126 A contract between Stawinsky and the Royal Theatre, dated 21.2.1828. Nr. 3764, Rep. 119 Generalintendanz der Staatstheater, BPH GStA PK.

documents related to the engagement process, including the initial application of the General Intendant of the theatre to the king of Prussia.¹²⁷

The files on Karoline Bauer in this archive provide invaluable information regarding her initial engagement. The participation of the king of Prussia in the contractual process related to Bauer is surprisingly apparent. The files contain, for example, a letter from the theatre philanthrope and chamberlain Karl Otto von Arnim to the king regarding the possibility of hiring the young and talented actor. It is possible that the theatre directors at the Royal Theatre had already made enquiries regarding the matter. In his letter to the king, von Arnim describes how Bauer would bring beauty, youthfulness, artistic talent and diligence to the Royal Theatre. He suggests a two-year contract with the provision of a four-week holiday. The king approved of von Arnim's suggestion.¹²⁸ Thereafter, von Brühl drew up the actual contract and set out the king's orders. A letter also survives, in which von Brühl informs the king that he finalised the contract for Bauer, but had extended its duration to three years. The king approved the amendment to the contract and two weeks later he informed von Brühl of his favourable decision.¹²⁹

In her memoirs, Bauer describes the same process regarding her contractual negotiations. She was first engaged with the Königstädtisches Theater, but was not pleased with her stage roles and was even ready to seek work at another theatre. She records how Geheimrat von Gräfe came to her as a spokesman of von Brühl and asked whether she would be happy to become a member of the Royal Theatre. According to the testimony in her memoirs, it only took fourteen days for Bauer to switch employment to another theatre. The Königstädtisches Theater tried to renegotiate with Bauer and offered to double her salary, but she stated that she 'would rather be the third actress at the Royal Theatre than the first actress at the Königstädtisches Theater'.¹³⁰

The case of Johan Weiß provides a good example of the developments related to contracts drawn up by the Royal Theatre. Weiß began his career in 1811 at Magdeburg Theatre, from where he took up an engagement at Hamburg

127 See numbers 21206–21263, Rep. 89, I. HA, GStA PK. Among these documents are 26 folders named by the actors. This is much less than the number hired by the Royal Theatre. See also Appendix 1.

128 A letter from Chamberlain von Arnim to the king of Prussia, dated 16.10.1824 and the King's reply 21.10. Bl 1–2. Nr 21207, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

129 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia, dated 21.10.1824 and a letter from the king of Prussia to von Brühl, dated 3.11.1824. Bl 3, 7. Nr 21207, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

130 Bauer (1871)1917, 102–103.

Theatre on the recommendation of Ludwig Devrient. Weiß was a guest performer in Berlin in 1823 and consequently he secured a permanent contract in 1825 in the city.¹³¹ The original contract gained by Weiß in Berlin is not among his files in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. Instead, one finds a request on behalf of Weiß in 1823 to improve his initial contract. The request was written by the chamberlain Wilhelm Wittgenstein (1770–1851). The chamberlain describes how Weiß is a versatile actor, who is capable of performing comic and character roles in comedies and dramas and could be an understudy to Pius Alexander Wolff and Ludwig Devrient, who were apparently ‘not in their best physical condition’. Furthermore, Weiß is described as being an artistic and diligent performer who had already established a good relationship in Berlin. His new contractual conditions are quite unique. Wittgenstein describes how Weiß was originally contracted for a period of four years, but now wanted to be engaged for six years. Wittgenstein continues by stating that Weiß had debts of 2000 thalers in Hamburg and proposed that he should receive an advance payment to settle this account. Wittgenstein also proposes that Weiss be allowed to take out life insurance from a private company. Weiß would pay back the advance payment in four hundred annual instalments.¹³² The king’s approval for this kind of proposal suggests that Weiß was being actively courted by the Berlin theatre. What is more, the six-year initial contract was high.

In 1831 Weiß was 41-years-old and his six-year contract was coming to an end and the theatre directors began to prepare a new contract for him. On this occasion von Redern wrote to the king pointing out that Weiß had attained an offer from Hamburg Theatre, which guaranteed full-time engagements with a pension. In the letter to the king, von Redern continues by affirming that Weiß had surpassed all expectations that were during his time at the theatre in terms of his diligence and behaviour as an actor and director. For these reasons, von Redern requests a life-long contract and a pension for Weiß.¹³³ It is noticeable in this example that is able to exert leverage in his negotiations for a new contract by referring to a rival offer.

Another example of the development of an actor’s power of negotiations vis-à-vis contracts is provided by the case of Johann Rütthling. He began his career in 1811 as a young apprentice. The first archival material regarding Rütthling dates from

131 ADB Bd. 41, 572–573.

132 A letter from Chamberlain Wittgenstein to the king of Prussia, dated 6.6.1825. Bl 13, 19. Nr 21260, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

133 A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 11.2.1831. A letter written by Chamberlain Wittgenstein, which contains the king’s approval. Bl. 20, 11. Nr 21260, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

1825, and takes the form of a request from von Brühl to the king in regard to the possibility of increasing the actor's salary. The king reacted highly favourably to von Brühl's request for an improved contract for Rütthling. The request also touched upon Rütthling's health and petitioned for an extended holiday for the actor in order to undertake treatment at a spa. Finally, in 1829 von Redern made a request to the king of Prussia in respect to granting to Rütthling a life-long contract. Von Redern describes that such a contract would be a fitting symbol of the king's grace.¹³⁴ Rütthling's letter of thanks to the king reveals some important aspects of the meaning and importance of a permanent contract for actors. The letter was written in a very polite tone and strictly followed the necessary etiquette. The actor's main reason for writing to the king was to thank the monarch for facilitating adequate provision for his wife and children in the future.¹³⁵ The letter provides an interesting insight into polite letter conventions in Prussia in the nineteenth century, as well as revealing how permanent contracts enhanced an actor's life expectations.

Adolph Bethge's contract can be seen as an example of more obscure engagements. He was first engaged for a half a year to the Royal Theatre after his guest performances in Berlin. In his diary, Bethge describes the difficulties he faced when attempting to secure a long-term contract. Thus, he writes about how the General Intendant stalled on making a final decision *vis-à-vis* a new contract and asked the actor to take on more roles. Accordingly, between 1838 and 1843 Bethge took on more minor roles and worked without a long-term contract. In May 1843 he wrote to the General Intendant and expressed his annoyance at his situation. This letter came in response to a hint from General Intendant Karl Theodor von Küstner in January 1843 regarding an imminent improvement in the actor's contractual arrangements, which had been accompanied by an immediate 30-thaler bonus. In his analysis of the situation Bethge felt that after four years of temporary contracts, he had the right to claim a permanent position. In the letter to the General Intendant, Bethge stressed how useful he had been to the theatre and reminded von Küstner how he had learned his lines over night and had helped rescue performances from financial disaster. One of Bethge's main concerns was that he was not recognised as a full member of the Royal Theatre. As a final bargaining weapon, Bethge stated that he would be forced

134 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia, dated 2.3.1825. A letter from Chamberlain Wittgenstein to the king of Prussia, dated 18.4.1826. A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 21.8.1829. A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia 23.7.1829. The King's undated approvals to those. Bl. 1–12. Nr 21247, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

135 A letter from Rütthling to the king of Prussia, dated 25.8.1829. Bl. 13. Nr 21247, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

to seek alternative employment if a long-term contract was not forthcoming from the Royal Theatre.¹³⁶ This example also reveals the important role a permanent contract played in an actor's self-identity.

Three months after writing the letter, Bethge was offered a long-term contract with the Royal Theatre. Nevertheless, he mentions it only briefly in his diary. The original contract can be found among Bethge's literary archive. The contract is striking in the manner it describes how Bethge was obliged to accept all stage roles, irrespective of genre or whether they were minor parts. His salary was set at 600 thalers per year, but he was not entitled to a pension and the contract had to be renewed on a yearly basis.¹³⁷ Bethge may have been disappointed at his salary, as 600 thalers per annum did not represent an increase on his first contract. Indeed, the only improvement in the second contract was that he had secured official status at the theatre.

Arguments varied considerably in regard to contractual details at the Royal Theatre. One peculiar case concerned the actor August Müller, who was the husband of the famous ballerina Emilie Gasperini from The Royal Ballet. Von Wittgenstein, the royal chamberlain, wrote to the king in 1830 in regard to the desirability of contracting Müller to the Royal Theatre. The chamberlain's aim was to ensure that Gasperini remained at the Berlin Ballet. The king approved this request and Müller was hired with one of the lowest annual salaries.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, despite his lowly standing, Müller's contract was renewed and he was granted an annual 500-thaler pension.¹³⁹ This example suggests that relatively minor actors even had the possibility to receive pension benefits.

The contractual negotiations concerning Heinrich Wilhelm and Auguste Stich (later Stich-Crelinger) provide a different impression than those described above. As mentioned, Auguste was one of the best-known German female actors of her age. The renewal of the couple's contracts is also recorded in the files of the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*. The contractual negotiations involved issues related to salary, the length of the contracts, pensions, wardrobe money, holiday conditions, complimentary seats at the theatre, use of the theatre carriage and the necessity of Auguste receiving substantial roles.

136 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 13.1., 12.5.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

137 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 16.8.1843. Nr 1; The contract of Adolph Bethge, dated 15.8.1843. Nr 7, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

138 A letter from Chamberlain von Wittgenstein to the king of Prussia, dated 1.6.1830. The file contains no leaf numbers. Nr 21244, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

139 The order of the king of Prussia, dated 3.11.1852. The file contains no leaf numbers. Nr 21244, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

The Sticks had been members of the Royal Theatre for a long time, with Heinrich Wilhelm starting his career at the theatre in 1807 and Auguste in 1812. In 1821, when Auguste was 26-years-old and Heinrich Wilhelm was 27-years-old, they received serious propositions of work from Vienna, which they used as a bargaining tool with the theatre in Berlin. The Berlin theatre immediately offered them life-long contracts with pension benefits. They were also promised free seats at the theatre, meaningful roles and they were allowed to use the theatre carriage when needed. The most contentious part of the negotiations concerned their salaries, wardrobe money and the length of their annual holidays. Von Brühl initially referred the matter to the king, stating that Auguste desired a salary rise from 1500 thalers to 3000 thalers plus 200 thalers for wardrobe expenses, whilst Heinrich Wilhelm wanted an increase from 1200 thalers to 1800 thalers. The couple also asked for an annual one-month holiday and two months holiday every second year. In his letter, von Brühl proposed a combined annual salary of 4000 thalers and a shared wardrobe budget of up to 70 thalers. The king was not enthusiastic about these proposals and consequently there were an exchange of letters on the matter. Finally, the king agreed to a salary of 2700 for Auguste and 1800 thalers for Heinrich Wilhelm, but holiday leave was limited to two months every second year.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the agreed conditions were relatively good for the couple. The meaning of the rival contract offered by the Vienna Theatre was probably merely a bargaining asset. However, it is interesting to note that a permanent contract for the couple was not negotiated upon at any point. This can be explained by the fact that it was clear from the beginning that the young couple would receive such a contract. This example suggests that life-long contracts were not a particular rarity at the time in the Berlin theatre world.

Marieluise Hübscher has noted that between 1816 and 1823 the pensions of actors in Prussia were not paid directly from theatre funds; rather they were paid from the general civil service pension fund. The normal procedure was to pay half of the salary when a civil servant retired. This arrangement suited those actors who enjoyed high salaries, but was not so popular among those actors who earned less. From 1823, the pension of every performer was considered on an individual basis. Hübscher adds that in most cases actors were paid better pensions than civil servants. Issues related to contracts and pensions can be connected to a wider comparative discussion in regard to the position of the civil servants of the royal court. Thus, theatre historian

¹⁴⁰ A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia, dated 31.3., 14.4., 17.6.1821. The replies from the king of Prussia sa., 7.5., 28.7.1821. Bl. 1–26. Nr 21213, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

Oscar Brockett suggests that Berlin actors at the time can be directly compared to the civil servants of the Prussian court. Most actors enjoyed either comparable or better benefits than the civil servants of the Prussian Court. However, some regular actors had to renew their contracts after they expired. Civil servants, on the other hand, were guaranteed permanent employment and enjoyed pension benefits, which separated the majority of actors from regular civil servants.¹⁴¹

In conclusion, one can note three paths for prospective actors wanting to secure work in Berlin theatres. Firstly, most actors from outside Berlin initially performed in smaller theatres in the German-speaking world. For example, Karl Seydelman, first worked in a variety of German theatres prior to becoming one of the greatest stars at the Royal Theatre in Berlin. It was more common for native Berliners to begin by taking minor roles or duties at a Berlin theatre, before climbing the theatre hierarchy. Such a path can be seen in the career of Louis Schneider, who began working as a lowly lamp boy at the Royal Theatre. The third path to becoming an actor in Berlin was to switch from another profession, such as singing.

The contracts varied in terms of popularity and length, with actors usually being hired for between one and four years. Contracts would then be renewed if an actor had pleased the management and the court. Actors also applied for lifetime contracts, which usually included a four-week holiday, costume expenses and the guarantee of a pension. While there was no institutional education, a contract with a theatre brought institutional recognition to the actor and the acting profession as a whole.

141 Brockett 1995, 334; Hübscher 1960, 66–67; Sheehan 1989, 426–427.

4. Income

When defining the social position of a certain group, an important factor concerns the economic situation of its members. Economic welfare has an important meaning in all social questions: it reflects life standards and life expectations. The focus of this chapter is to study the income of Berlin's male and female actors. The main argument is that actors of both sexes enjoyed extraordinarily high incomes compared to their contemporaries. I first explore the actual salaries of the actors and their development. I then discuss other incomes that were derived from guest performances, grants and awards presented by the king of Prussia. Finally, I turn to the very high incomes of Berlin's female actors.

The challenges of finding reliable evidence regarding the income of actors are great, as relevant information is fragmentary. The wages of actors were widely discussed at the time, and therefore one is faced with a plethora of rumours and misleading information about income levels in the literature. Furthermore, the various grants and other cash awards that actors received, in addition to their actual salaries, complicates the issue for later scholars. In this chapter, to clarify matters, salaries are distinguished from other income sources. One of the most reliable sources in regard to salaries of the time in Prussia is the correspondence between the court and theatre managers. Some of this correspondence has survived in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, though it is fragmentary and only covers a number of the actors in Berlin. Another relatively reliable source is the *Taschen und Handbuch für Theater-Statistik*, written by Karl Theodor von Küstner, a general intendant of the Royal Theatre. Unfortunately these statistics cover only the latter part of the researched period. Also, the secretary of the theatre management, Hofrath Teichmann, listed the salaries of theatre personnel as part of his duties at the Royal Theatre. Teichmann's posthumously published *Literalische Nachlass* can also be regarded as a relatively reliable source. In Teichmann's list, salaries and other benefits are separated, which makes it much clearer for researchers. In contrast to von Küstner's statistics, Teichmann's lists only cover the years between 1790 and 1827. Some references to the salaries are also found in biographical and autobiographical sources. Unlike the above-mentioned sources, the biographical material usually only deals with an individual and in some cases the information recorded might have been falsified in order to place the writer in a more illustrious light. One of the aims of this chapter is to collate this fragmented material and, at least to a certain extent, create a general and coherent picture of the income of Berlin actors between 1815–1848.

Classification of Actors According to Salary

In brief, the salaries of Berliner actors between 1815–1848 varied from as low as 200 thalers up to 5000 thalers per year.¹⁴² Within this wage range, I have divided the actors into four categories. The first category consists of the most eminent virtuosi, who were the most sought-after actors in German-speaking theatres. The second group comprises the popular middle-caste of actors, who still enjoyed relatively favourable conditions of employment. The third group is made up of popular actors who performed supporting roles. The lowest contracted group includes actors who fulfilled supernumerary roles. These actors were mainly young novices at the beginning of their careers. These informal salary classifications are disclosed in the official correspondence of the Berlin theatre management. For example, while General Intendant von Redern negotiated a new salary for the actor Crüsemann, he refers to the salary of actor Rütbling, who was performing similar roles.¹⁴³ Likewise, while von Redern was discussing the engagement of the daughter of Stich-Crelinger, he mentions that it was common to pay novice actors 600 thalers for their first year and 800 thalers for their second year.¹⁴⁴ He thus classifies early career actors in terms of wage groups.

The salaries of the contracted actors, which are recorded by Teichmann, can be presented in the same manner as outlined in *Table 3*.

Table 3: The salaries of the actors of the Royal Theatre from 1815 to 1827.¹⁴⁵

<i>Salary</i>	Male Actors	Female actors	Both
over 2000 thalers	3	3	6
1000–2000 thalers	15	7	22
500–1000 thalers	11	9	20
200–500 thalers	7	4	11
Total	36	23	59

Source: Teichmann 1863, 437–452.

142 See Küstner 1855, 5, Teichmann 1863, 439–435; Genée 1886, 116; Hübscher 1960, 69; Schmitt 1990, 109; Wahnrau 1957, 350.

143 A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 21.7.1831. Bl 1–3, Nr 21214, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

144 A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 19.3.1835. Bl 65, Nr 21213, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

145 The table is compiled from the list of the theatre secretary Hofrath Teichmann, which collates all the salaries of the employees of The Royal Theatre, from 1815 to 1827. Teichmann 1864, 437–452. Compared to the fragmentary archive material, Teichmann's list is relatively reliable, except for the fact that the increase in Stich's salary is given as being three years later than in the official correspondence. See Nr 21207–21263, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

The new theatrical virtuosi, who were employed at the Royal Theatre of Berlin, earned the highest salaries, which in 1827 were between 2700 and 3000 thalers per year. On average, the theatre limited the top salaries to three female actors and three male actors at any one time. Ludwig Devrient received one of the highest salaries during his era and was one of the best-known actors of this day. His unique interpretations of roles, such as King Lear, Shylock and Franz Moor, are still remembered in the general overviews of theatre history.¹⁴⁶ In 1827 he enjoyed a salary of 2600 thalers.¹⁴⁷ Another example of the new brand of virtuosi performers was Auguste Stich-Crelinger. During her early career Auguste's repertoire of bravura roles included Gretchen from *Faust*, and she soon became the first lady of the theatre.¹⁴⁸ The correspondence of the theatre management reveals that by 1821 Auguste's annual salary had already risen to 2700 thalers.¹⁴⁹ Twelve years later this was still considered to be a salary appropriate for the theatre's first lady. The promising young actress Charlotte von Hagn, for example, was not hired at this salary rate, as it was restricted to Stich-Crelinger.¹⁵⁰

The French Theatre was part of the Royal Theatre, but had its own budget. According to the recorded wages of the theatre between 1828 and 1830, the salaries followed the same categories as the Royal Theatre. In 1828 the wages varied between 492–1600 thalers and in 1830 between 800–2012 thalers. Most of the wages in 1830 can be placed in the second salary class, that is between 1000–2000 thalers.¹⁵¹ The rise in salaries can be explained by an improvement in the artistic personnel of the theatre.

The Königstädtisches Theater was also able to afford high salaries, with Henriette Sontag reportedly earning between 5000 and 7000 thalers per year. In his biography of Sontag, Heinrich Stümcke details the actor's contract and states that the rather wide approximation of her salary arose from the tradition of engaging an entire family at the same time. Hence, at same time as Henriette Sontag received a contract, the theatre also negotiated the salaries of her mother and two sisters. According to Stümcke, Henriette's contract amounted to 5000 thalers per year, whilst her mother received 2000 thalers and both her sisters earned 500 thalers each.¹⁵² An annual salary

146 Brockett 1995, 336.

147 Teichmann 1863, 449.

148 Wahnrau 1957, 332, 354, 356.

149 A letter from the king of Prussia to General Intendant von Brühl, dated 7.5.1821. Bl 24, Nr 21213, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

150 A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 8.2.1833. Bl 1–2, Nr 21225, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

151 Ten out of thirteen actors in 1830 earned between 1000–2000 thalers. Söhngen 1937, 57, 83. About engaging new more talented actors see Söhngen 1937, 61–62.

152 Bauer 1880b, 170; Stümcke 1913, 39; Wahnrau 1957, 350.

of 5000 thalers was enormous by the standards of the day in Prussia, and it shows that a private theatre could offer even higher wages than the Royal Theatre. However, by the 1840s the Royal Theatre was also able to raise its wages. The General Intendant of the Royal Theatre at the time, Karl Theodor von Küstner, states that the highest annual salary for an actor in the 1840s was approximately 4000 thalers per year.¹⁵³

The next salary category, as defined above, included popular actors who could hope to earn between 1000 and 2000 thalers per annum. *Table 3* show that between 1815–1827 the largest group of professional actors belonged to this group. The median salary also fell within this group: 1200 thalers per year in 1820, which in 1827 rose to 1400 thalers. Karoline Bauer is representative of this group, having begun her career at the Königstädtisches Theater and subsequently taking up a better offer from the Royal Theatre of Berlin.¹⁵⁴ In 1825 Bauer signed a contract that guaranteed her 1000 thalers for the first year of her engagement, 1200 thalers for the second year and 1500s thaler for the third year.¹⁵⁵ Examples of male actors in this salary range include Franz Krüger and Friedrich Lemm, who both performed lead roles in classic plays, but who never reached the most exalted status on stage.¹⁵⁶ Krüger began his career in 1819 on a salary of 1100 thalers per annum, which in 1827 rose to 1600 thalers. From 1820 Lemm received a salary of 1800 thalers.¹⁵⁷

Table 3 shows that the second largest group of actors served the theatre at a lower annual salary, earning between 500 and 1000 thalers. This group can be described as the third-ranking salary category, whose salaries were below the median. Louise von Holtei (nee. Rogée) is a representative of this third group. She began her stage career in 1817 at the Berlin Royal Theatre, where she received the modest salary of 300 thalers. By 1820 her salary had risen to 700 thalers, and shortly afterwards she followed her husband, Karl, to Breslau Theatre. After the couple arrived in Berlin, Louise's salary rose to 800 thalers.¹⁵⁸ Adolph Bethge received 600 thalers per year for mainly playing supporting roles and as an understudy for other actors.¹⁵⁹

The last salary class comprises the lowest paid actors. Between 1815 and 1827 only eleven (out of fifty-nine actors) belonged to this group, most of whom were novice apprentices. Actors in this group either enjoyed wage increases or left

153 Küstner 1855, 5. Schmitt also refers to the figures compiled by Küstner. See Schmitt 1990, 109.

154 Bauer 1917(1871), 102.

155 General Intendant von Brühl's letter to king of Prussia of 21.10.1824 and a letter from the king of Prussia to von Brühl on 3.11.1824. Bl 3, 7. Nr 21207, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

156 Schauer 1858, 41; Wahnrau 1957, 285.

157 Teichmann 1863, 451, 457.

158 Teichmann 1863, 450; Bl. 1–3. Nr 21223, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

159 The contract of Adolph Bethge, dated 15.8.1843. Nr 7, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

the theatre. T. G. H. Michaelis provides an exception to this rule, as he worked for eight years at an annual salary rate of 200 thalers before it was raised to 400 thalers.¹⁶⁰ However, at this time he was still at an early phase in his career. Actors who began their careers in Berlin generally received low salaries before being awarded salaries as high as most of their colleagues. Eduard Devrient, for example, began his career in Berlin in 1819 on an annual salary of 500 thalers, but by 1827 it had increased to 1700 thalers per year. A lesser-known actor Anton Freund began his career in 1817 on an annual salary of 200 thalers, which by 1827 had increased to 700 thalers.¹⁶¹

Tracy C. Davis points out that there were enormous variations in the salaries of actors in the United Kingdom. In Britain some performers earned as much in a week, for example, as other actors received in a year.¹⁶² Salary figures in Berlin between 1815–1848 do not show corresponding discrepancies. However, one can question exactly how these figures were arrived at and what exactly was being studied. Davis' study incorporates all British performers in the nineteenth century, whereas my study is confined exclusively to professional actors in two Berlin theatres. In this city a theatre could only be opened by royal licence, which explains why there were no professional actors working outside the two official theatres. However, the study carried out by Davis draws our attention to the question of the poverty of actors in Berlin. No specialist study has been carried out on the phenomenon, but one can read in Eduard Devrient's diary, for example, that in 1840 an actors' society in Berlin initiated a subscription fund for impoverished actors.¹⁶³ This was most likely for actors who had been excluded from theatres or who could no longer perform for reasons of infirmity or age. In the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz* there is also an archival file – the *unterstützungen* (the support) – that gives us a glimpse of the conditions of less successful actors. It includes a case file on August von Zieten, who had worked at Magdeburg City Theatre until some unspecified misfortune ruined his career. In the spring of 1830 Zieten wrote three heartbreaking letters to the Prussian king, in which he relates his fear that his children will die of starvation. In the first letter he stressed his love of the fatherland and asks for a six-month contract with the Royal Theatre. The second letter reveals that this appeal failed and that his misfortunes had become more serious. In the letter he appeals to the king on the grounds of the likely extinction of the entire von Zieten family. In his third letter he relates that he had travelled to Berlin in order to secure at least a guest performance

160 Teichmann 1863, 450.

161 Teichmann 1863, 450.

162 Davis 1991, 24–25.

163 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 3.6.1840. Devrient 1964, 100.

at the Berlin theatre, but apparently General Intendant von Redern dashed this hope. He applies for a small sum of money from the king so that he could travel around the country in order to seek guest performance engagements.¹⁶⁴ It appears that a group of actors in Berlin in the 1830s had already been barred from working in professional theatres. As illustrated here, one option open to them was to travel the country in an attempt to find guest engagements. Another possibility was to find a wealthy patron, which explains why von Zieten, who came from a noble background, sought support from the king. However, it should be borne in mind that such applications to the king were undertaken using conventions typical of royal supplications, so that it is likely that the dire financial circumstances described in letters were to some extent rhetorical exaggerations.

Contemporary Comparisons

Financial issues have an affect on almost every aspect of one's lives, but it is difficult to quantify monetary benefits. One method is to compare the incomes of a profession with other jobs and trades. Accordingly, Prussian actors in the first half of the nineteenth century would have been in the high wage category. Werner Conze has summarised the income of different social groups in Bremen, with the earnings of the lowest social group being approximately 65 thalers per year. This was below the subsistence level for a family of five. The second lowest group outlined by Conze includes the families of labourers, who earned on average 155 thalers per year, which was enough to provide for a family of five. Furthermore, Conze estimates that it was necessary to bring home 400 thalers per year in order to be counted as a member of the lower-middle class. Qualification for the upper-middle class required an annual income of 800 thalers.¹⁶⁵ Similar estimates are provided by Eda Sagarra, who provides the example of a postal worker on between 300–350 thalers per year after four years of service as an example of a lower-middle class income year. She also notes that the salaries of civil servants did not significantly change in the period from 1825 to 1840.¹⁶⁶

The significance of the salaries of Berliner actors becomes clear if one compares them to the above figures. In brief, it can be stated that in the period from 1815 to 1827 approximately 80% of the actors of the Royal Theatre earned more than 500

164 The letters from August von Zieten to the king of Prussia, dated 14.3., 12.4., 19.4.1830. Nr 12549, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

165 Conze 1976, 442.

166 Sagarra 1977, 266.

thalers per year, which was on the same level as lower civil servants. Furthermore, more popular actors earned more than 1000 thalers per annum. Between 1815 and 1827 almost half of the actors at the Royal Theatre belonged to this group.¹⁶⁷ In comparison with other professions, the income of leading actors placed them among the financial upper class. At the apex of the actor's pay scale were a few star performers, whose incomes were comparable to the salaries of the highest civil servants. Count von Redern, for example, who was the President of the Chamber of War and the General Intendant of the theatre, earned 3000 thalers per year.¹⁶⁸

Nonetheless some sections of the workforce, including bankers, still considered actors to be a potential financial liability in spite of their high incomes. In his diary, Devrient expressed frustration regarding at the continuing lack of appreciation of actors. In 1840, for example, he had already enjoyed several years of receiving a high salary, but he was still not able to withdraw 300 thalers from his bank account without the authority of his brother-in-law. Moreover, Karl von Holtei wrote in a contemporary article that social acceptability for actors would come as a result of governmental respect and a high income. However, he emphasises that their true inspiration did not depend on such matters as it came directly from the soul.¹⁶⁹ Von Holtei's article points out the need for theatre employees to justify their high incomes and respect were not the norm in society for actors.

The Development of Salary Scales, 1815 to 1848

A study of the general level of the salaries of Prussian actors between 1815 and 1848 reveals three main phases of development: low salaries prior to the establishment of the Royal Theatre in 1815, a period of strong growth between 1815 and 1828, and subsequently a period of steady growth. At an individual level, it was also possible for an actor to try and raise his or her salary by exerting pressure on the management by claiming to have received offers from elsewhere. In addition, in normal circumstances the salary of an actor was also raised in recognition of their seniority.

The years prior to 1815 represent a relatively unstable period for the Prussian theatre, as the support of the court was difficult because of the French occupation. The Napoleonic wars also destabilised society as a whole, and this was reflected in theatre salaries. A comparison of salaries at the Royal Theatre before and after 1815 reveals

167 See *Table 1*.

168 Sagarra 1977, 266. Von Redern recorded his salary in his memoirs. These figures were checked by the editor of his memoirs, who referred to primary sources. See von Redern 2003, 125.

169 Von dem Berufe für's Theater'. Beiträge 3/1828.

very significant differences. According to Teichmann's list of salaries, a median salary in 1810 was 676 thalers per annum. By comparison, in 1815 the median salary was already 800 thalers per year. This general development was a result of the stabilisation of Prussian society after 1815 in general and especially the flourishing of the Prussian court and its financial affairs.

Teichmann's list also reveals a notable growth in salaries in the years between 1820 and 1827. In 1820, the median salary for an actor was 1200 thalers per year, which represents an increase of four hundred thalers per year since 1815. In 1827, the median salary was already 1400 thalers per annum, which was 600 thalers more than in 1815.¹⁷⁰ In her study of archival sources, Marieluise Hübscher has also noted that the years between 1815 and 1820 witnessed an extraordinary increase in the salaries of Prussian actors. Indeed, she notes that this growth rate peaked in 1824, after which the growth in salaries steadied.¹⁷¹ The trend towards increasing an actor's salary in the 1820s also corresponds to trends related to the German real income index. In 1815 the real income index was particularly low and rose rapidly into the 1820s. After the 1820s the real income index did not exhibit radical changes until the 1840s, when it started to drop.¹⁷²

The court correspondence offers interesting insights into how a performer might negotiate a higher salary. As mentioned, there was the possibility to exert pressure on the theatre management in order to win a better contract by claiming to have received competing offers from other theatres. This tactic is clearly illustrated in an extremely polite letter written by Madame Huber to the king of Prussia on behalf of her granddaughter, Antoinette Fournier a young actor. After a courteous opening, she writes about her granddaughter's career, describing how she had exhibited her love for the Fatherland in taking on an engagement at Berlin Royal Theatre. Fournier had visited Vienna hoping to develop her artistic talents, where she had unexpectedly received an offer for a lucrative contract from a Viennese theatre. In the letter the grandmother asks whether she would be compelled in her old age to change her beloved Fatherland.¹⁷³ Madame Huber was responsible for her granddaughter's moral welfare and was a former actress herself, who was probably well-versed in tactics designed to improve one's position in a theatre. In her letter to the king, she conflated

170 The medians are combined in Teichmann's list of the salaries of actors at the Royal Theatre. See Teichmann 1863, 437–450.

171 Hübscher 1960, 69.

172 Lutz 1998, 111.

173 A letter from Madame Huber to the king of Prussia, undated [1833]. Bl. 6–7. Nr 21223, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

an appeal to Prussian patriotism and her own old age with an attempt to advance her granddaughter's career. Huber does not directly mention her granddaughter's salary prospects at the Berlin Royal Theatre, but when von Redern summarised this letter to the king he speculated about the possibility of a new contract. However, he did not recommend such a contract as he felt it would be too expensive. In the king's reply, Fournier was given permission to accept the offer from Vienna.¹⁷⁴ Thus, Madame Huber's efforts to increase Fournier's salary at the Berlin Royal Theatre came to nothing, and they moved to Vienna.

In other cases, such as that of Ludwig Devrient, negotiations on behalf of an actor were more successful. According to the correspondence of the theatre management, the same kind of strategy was deployed in 1817, when Devrient attempted to gain a salary rise. He informed the theatre directorate that he had received a lifetime engagement proposal from the Vienna Theatre. He wrote to the Berlin theatre management that he would prefer to stay in Berlin under the leadership of the best theatre director and, as well as stressing his desire to help the Berlin Royal Theatre maintain its reputation as the best theatre in Germany. General Intendant von Küstner wrote to the king that Devrient had fallen into debt, and advised that his salary be raised and that he be given an advance payment of 4000 thalers and a lifetime contract. The king of Prussia remained suspicious until he had seen the rival contract proposal, after which Devrient was awarded a life contract with the Royal Theatre with an increased salary.¹⁷⁵

This same tactic was also employed by actors employed at the Königstädtisches Theater. Two letters in the official correspondence of the Royal Theatre, for example, reveal how Julie Holzbrecher tried to increase her salary by simultaneously negotiating with the Royal Theatre. In the first letter she was offered a three-year engagement at the Royal Theatre and 1200 thalers per year. In the second letter, General Intendant von Brühl expressed regret to Friedrich Wilhelm that Miss Holzbrecher and her father had used this method simply in order to try to improve the offer she had received from the Königstädtisches Theater.¹⁷⁶ This also suggests that the salaries paid by the Königstädtisches Theater were on a par with or even higher than those offered by the Royal Theatre, as Holzbrecher declined the Royal Theatre's offer.

174 A letter from the General Intendant to the king of Prussia and the king's reply, undated [1833]. Bl. 8–10. Nr 21223, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

175 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia, dated 3.10.1817. Bl 2–3, Nr 21215, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK; Altman 1926, 159–162.

176 Letters from von Brühl to the king of Prussia, dated 28.1.1828, 5.3.1828. Nr 21231, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

However, such tactics were not always necessary when an actor sought to increase his or her salary. It was usual that an actor's salary in the early phase of their career was lower and that it increased with the growth of professional skills and popularity. For some actors their salary increased from a trainee level to that of a top performer. Johan Wauer, for example, began his career on a very modest salary of 260 thalers per year, but by 1827 he was among the highest paid actors in Prussia on a wage of 2000 thalers per annum. For others, their salary increases were not so dramatic, but Teichmann records that every performer who continued to work in the theatre received a rise at some point in their career.¹⁷⁷

Other Incomes

A study of salaries, however, does not give a full picture of the total income of Prussian actors. Peter Schmitt has noted that irregular supplementary incomes for actors in the nineteenth century amounted to more than their formal salary.¹⁷⁸ This included fees paid for extra performances at the court, performance fees for guest performances in other theatres and extra rewards granted by the king or the theatre management.

Private performances for the court at *Prinzessinnenpalais* in the city centre and at the theatre at Charlottenburg Castle and in *Neuen Palais* in Potsdam were normal commitments for actors at the Royal Theatre. A separate fee was paid for every performance at court. The theatre in Prinzessinnenpalais on Unter den Linden, had a small stage and an intimate setting and performances were held on most Mondays. The stage at the Neuen Palais theatre in Potsdam was considerably larger and was used during the summer season as part of festivities or court dinners. Karoline Bauer was chosen to perform at the court. She describes how actors were paid 4 thalers for a performance in Potsdam and a single thaler for their performance in Charlottenburg Castle.¹⁷⁹ However, there were so few performances at the court that these extra payments did not significantly increase their total income.

In contrast, guest performances at other theatres provided an important supplementary income, especially for popular performers. If an actor was popular this could lead to invitations to perform at other theatres. Most actors used their four-week

177 Teichmann 1863, 447, 439–452. For an example of the normal application in an increase in salary and holiday benefits for the actor Lemm, see the letter from von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 26.2.1837. Bl 1, 9. Nr 21239, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK

178 He argues, for example, that the theatre director Iffland spent ten times more money than his salary. Schmitt 1990, 62.

179 Bauer 1880a, 330, 353; Schneider 1879a, 132–133; Frenzel 1959, 153–155.

holiday period to perform at other theatres. The expanding railway network increased the opportunities for actors to travel to other theatres to perform.¹⁸⁰ Indeed, these guest performances provided a regular supplementary income for the most popular actors. Between 1829 and 1846, for example, Charlotte von Hagn made a total of nineteen guest performances, which were usually scheduled during the summer holidays.¹⁸¹ Some indication of the sums paid for guest performances can be gained from a letter von Hagn wrote in 1845 to her friend, the actress and writer Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer. Von Hagn complains that her failure to win a contract with the *Theater an der Wien* had made the last month financially worthless. She describes how she had to settle for a lower paid guest performance at the Vienna *Burgtheater*. She also writes that she would have received 3000 thalers from the *Theater an der Wien*, but instead she received only 300 thalers.¹⁸² The larger sum would have been more than her annual salary in Berlin. Even so, 300 thalers was approximately as much as the annual salary for a royal postal officer. Ludwig Devrient's archival records include a letter of invitation from 1828 from the Viennese theatre director Joseph Schreyvogel. The director invites Devrient for a guest performance at Vienna *Burgtheater* and offered him twelve guest roles to choose from. The payment would be twenty Friedrichs d'or per performance, up to a total of 240 Friedrichs d'or.¹⁸³ This was approximately the equivalent of 1200 thalers, which was almost half of Devrient's annual salary. Furthermore, Devrient was also invited to smaller theatres. In 1823, for example, a theatre director in Mittau invited Devrient to perform on his stage. He apologises in advance for Devrient having to work with so many less-talented actors, but as compensation offered 150 ducats (approximately 310 thalers).¹⁸⁴ Among the extant archival records of Devrient there was also request for him to perform at Breslau Theatre. In 1824, Devrient received a letter from Regierungssekretär Steinberg. Devrient was to perform ten times at a rate of 125 thalers per performance.¹⁸⁵ When Karoline Bauer returned from a guest performance she gave in St. Petersburg, for example, she describes how she bought a luxurious fur coat with the money she had

180 Brockett 1995, 335.

181 Bobbert 1936, 150–151.

182 Bobbert 1936, 107. The sums of money were recorded in fl.C.M (florins Convention-Münze) currency. It is estimated that two fl.C.M's was the equivalent to approximately 1 thaler.

183 A letter from the theatre director Schreyvogel to the actor Ludwig Devrient, dated 9.8.1828. Nr 25. Kaste 1, Nl. 156 Devrient, Handschriftabteilung, StaBi PK. On the equivalence between Friedrichs d'or and thaler. See Shaw (1895)2005, 204.

184 A letter from the theatre director von Schilling to Ludwig Devrient, dated 19.8.1823. Nr 24. Kaste 1, Nl. 156 Devrient, Handschriftabteilung, StaBi PK.

185 A letter from Regierungssekretär von Steinberg to Ludwig Devrient, dated 25.1.1824. Nr 30. Kaste 1, Nl. 156 Devrient, Handschriftabteilung, StaBi PK.

earned.¹⁸⁶ In brief, in their prime the most popular actors could make over half of their normal annual income through guest performances.

One significant supplement to an actor's income was the rewards granted by the king of Prussia or by the theatre management. A good example of this system is seen in the case of Louise von Holtei. She was hired by a Berlin theatre at a very modest salary, but following great success the theatre management applied for increased remuneration from king Friedrich William III. Von Brühl justified the remuneration on the grounds that von Holtei had generated 3440 thalers for the theatre by acting in 'Käthchen von Heilbronn'. Friedrich Wilhelm III accepted this application and von Holtei was granted a remuneration of 100 thalers.¹⁸⁷ In another case, Karoline Bauer recorded in her memoirs that the king had granted Henriette Sontag a gift 400 Friedrichs d'or (approximately 2000 thalers) and two golden plates.¹⁸⁸

Actors had to apply directly to the king for most of the extra grants. The theatre director usually read the applications and then wrote a separate letter to the king, in which he evaluated the case. The awarding of a grant was dependent on whether or not the applicant enjoyed the favour of the court. There is considerable variation in the justifications presented to the king in applications for grants. The majority of the applications were requests for financial help in order to recuperate at health spas or to subsidise travel expenses. One also finds straightforward requests for living costs for performers and their families. Sometimes the money was requested in the form of a salary advance and sometimes simply in the form of a gift.

Recuperation at a health spa was a particularly sought after request. Actors used such trips to calm their nerves and to ease other tension-related illnesses. Such exclusive spas were especially popular in German-speaking areas.¹⁸⁹ Bauer records that the king was generous when it came to the health of his actors.¹⁹⁰ This is also reflected in official correspondence.¹⁹¹ Spas were usually visited by the whole family. In Müller's application for a grant from the king, for example, the actor stated that he

186 Bauer (1871) 1917, 198.

187 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia, dated 14.5.1825 and an undated reply from the king of Prussia. Bl 5–6, Nr 21230, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

188 Bauer (1871) 1917, 287.

189 Lempa 2007, 47–48.

190 Bauer 1880a, 346.

191 The actors P.A. Wolff, Johann Rütbling, Johann Weiß and Müller, for example, received grants for travel to health spas. A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia and the king's reply to it, dated 6.7.1825. Bl 10–12. Nr 21262; A letter from Chamberlain Wittgenstein to the king of Prussia, dated 18.4.1826, and the king's reply, dated 21.4.1826. Bl. 6–7, Nr 21247; Letters from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 19.2.1839, 24.5.1838 and the king's notes of approval, written in the same letters. Bl. 5, 7, 22, Nr 21260, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

had to accompany his ailing wife to a health spa. The king approved the application and granted 100 thalers towards the travel costs. This was a relatively large sum, considering that the actor's annual salary was only 250 thalers.¹⁹²

One did not necessarily have to be ill to receive travel grants. The king granted travel allowances, for example, to performers who were in his favour, such as Heinrich Blume who received an allowance for an art journey (*Kunstreise*).¹⁹³ Performers did in fact receive extra money to travel to guest performances in foreign theatres over-and-above the performance fees themselves.¹⁹⁴ In his diary, Devrient describes receiving a travel allowance in 1838, for example, for an educational journey to Paris. The negotiations were conducted with Geheimrath Müller, who was convinced by Devrient's arguments and promised to do everything in his power to help.¹⁹⁵

The reasons why actors petitioned the king for money varied greatly, but family misfortunes were a common theme. One such example is the case of Auguste Stich-Crelinger, who was left alone with four children after the death of her husband. She applied for financial assistance in order to help with raising her children through General Intendant von Redern. The king was asked to support the children until they turned twenty. However, the king approved support for the daughters to the age of fifteen and for the son until the age of seventeen.¹⁹⁶

In the latter part of Rütbling's career he fell into some financial difficulties due to ill-health. In 1846, Wittgenstein wrote of these difficulties to the king of Prussia, specifying the need for expensive medical treatment in spas and that he had two adult sons for whom he had to provide and to ensure an education. Hence, Wittgenstein suggested a sum of 200 thalers, which the king approved.¹⁹⁷

192 A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 14.3.1836. The file contains no leaf numbers. Nr 21244, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

193 Order of the King of Prussia, dated 14.3.1818. The file contains no leaf numbers. Nr 21209, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

194 The approval letter for a grant to actor Rebenstein for guest performances from the king of Prussia to General Intendant von Brühl, dated 5.4.1823. Bl. 8, Nr 21246, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

195 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 6.12.1838. Devrient 1964, 57.

196 A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 14.10.1833.

197 A letter from Chamberlain von Wittgenstein to the king of Prussia, dated 15.6.1846. Bl. 15, Nr 21247, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

The king's support for Georg Wilhem Krüger was explicitly recorded in the official correspondence of the theatre management.¹⁹⁸ Probably the single most interesting item in this list was an annual bonus of 200 thalers that was added to the actor's salary. In 1836 Krüger succumbed to incurable mental illness. Consequently, prior to the actor's retirement in 1837, the king supported spa treatments that were believed to be beneficial to mental health.

In some ways Karl Unzelmann is a unique case among the petitioners to the king, because his requests were deposited in the archive of a special category of the financial grants bestowed by the king and not in the official correspondence of the theatre management. In May 1817, Unzelmann requested an advance of 600 thalers from the king in order to assist him in some financial misfortunes. The king granted only 100 thalers, but also gave another 100 thalers later in the same year. Henceforth, almost every year Unzelmann received either travel expenses for spa trips or a financial grant.¹⁹⁹

One form of the king's financial support to actors took the form of loans and advance salaries. These loans and advances were applied for to meet different needs: usually they were requested to remedy a weakened financial situation that had arisen because of the death, illness or an accident in an actor's family. Thus, the king paid Ludwig Devrient's debts on several occasions up to a sum of 2000 thalers. It was also mentioned that most of the money was spent on the debts he had accrued to vintners. The money was later meant to be deducted from the actor's salary. The last advance deal was made while he was in the process of retiring from the Royal Theatre and the annual deduction sum was so small that it was possibly not

198 1821 Vorschuß von 1000 (zusammen mit Rebenstein u. Wauer), 1822 Feb Gehalts Erhöhung von 1000 rt auf 1300 rt, 1823 Nov 150 Geschenk, 1825 Nov Neues Engagement von 1600 rt den 1800 rt u 600 Gehalts-Vorschuß, 1827 Juli 60 rt 20 s Gehalts-Abzug zuseitgewehrt, 1828 März 100 rt Verschlußrest erlassen, 1830 Nov 200 Gratification pro 1831, 1831 Juli 15 rt gehaltsatzug zuseitgerücht, 400 rt Gehalts Verschuß, 1832 Jan 200 Gratification, 1833 Jan 300 Gratification, 1834 Jan 200 Gratification, 1834 Juni 200 zur Badereise, 1835 Jan 200 Gratifie, 1835 Juni 100 zur Badereise, 1836 Jan 200 Gratifie, 1836 Juni 1200 Gehalts-Verschuß, 1837 Jan 200 Gratif, 1837 Juni 70 Reise-Unterstützung, 1837 Sept 100 rt zur Brunnen-Cur, 1837 Nov 1000 Pension. A handwritten and undated list of monetary support from the king of Prussia to the actor Krüger. Bl 1, Nr 21235, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

199 Letters from the actor Karl Unzelmann to the king of Prussia; the letters from the General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia and the replies from the king. Bl. 9–42, Nr 119911, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

meant to be fully paid back.²⁰⁰ In 1824, Albert Leopold Gern received a loan of 2500 thalers when he was engaged for life to the Royal Theatre, but he was ordered to pay back 500 thalers per year from his 1600-thaler salary.²⁰¹ Devrient's nephew, Eduard Devrient, requested a large loan from the king in order to build a house. The king granted him 5000 thalers, but Devrient had calculated that the price of the whole house would rise to 8000 thalers. Devrient was meant to pay back the loan in annual instalments of 500 thalers.²⁰² Auguste Stich-Crelinger insisted that she be awarded a loan of 10,000 thalers, which she would pay back in annual 500-thaler instalments. She also promised to pay a fee of 2% interest, but she does not provide information about where she intends to spend the money.²⁰³

In summary, the performers' salaries varied between 200 and 5000 thalers, with most of the actors' salaries being in excess of 500 thalers. Most actors also had means of increasing their income by up to 50% through guest performances or by applying for special grants or loans from the king.

Extraordinary Incomes – Extraordinary Women

One of the most outstanding details regarding the income of performers relates to the extremely high income of female actors. Prussian society was based primarily on the idea that a husband or father was the main family provider and that the role of women was largely confined to housekeeping and maternal duties. In the *bürgerlich* families in particular women were not employed outside the family. This makes it all the more striking that female actors not only earned an independent salary, but that their wages were also extraordinarily high compared even to contemporary males.

In Prussian society, *bürgerlich* women were excluded from working life. Ute Frevert argues that even the impression that work was measured by time and money was reserved for men. The frenetic need to make money was separated from the

200 Letters from General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia, dated 3.10.1817 and from Wittgenstein to the King of Prussia, dated 16.10.1832. Bl 2–3, 39,41, Nr 21215, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK. The remains of Devrient's family include one copy of a letter in which Ludwig asks for a loan from the Royal Theatre to pay his debts. He lists his creditors, among whom the greatest were the restaurateurs Lutter and Wegner, who he owed 2500 thalers. A copy of the letter from Ludwig Devrient to the theatre management, dated 4.10.1824. Bl 34b. Nr 308 Bd 6. VIII HA, C, GStA PK.

201 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the actor Gern, dated 10.2.1824. Bl 9. Nr 21224, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

202 A letter from Eduard Devrient to the king of Prussia, dated 3.11.1837 and the king's approval regarding the matter, dated 13.11.1837. Bl 23–24, Nr 21216, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

203 A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia 14.7.1838 and the king's approval in the same letter. Bl 102–103, Nr 21213, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

middle class household by ensuring that servants did dirty and stressful work. The model middle class woman was to sit in a peaceful and relaxed atmosphere.²⁰⁴

There were also four salary classes among both male and female actors. In the period from 1815 to 1827, approximately 43% of female actors at the Royal Theatre enjoyed salaries over 1000 thalers per year, while 50% of men received over 1000 thalers per year. In contrast, however, 13% of female actors earned over 2000 thalers per year, while only 8% of men fell into this category.²⁰⁵ However, as Tracy C. Davis notes, female actors were only competing for roles with each other and were thus not a threat for male actors. This was the reason why the income of female actors did not directly affect the income of male actors.²⁰⁶ Yet, in a contemporary context, it was remarkable that women could be so well paid for a job outside the family. Furthermore, it is a radical variation in the social profile that their income not only exceeded the level of upper middle-class men, but was also on occasions higher than men in the same profession. Even more remarkable is the fact that these women enjoyed salaries at the same level as men at the Royal Court.

Tracy C. Davis found that the salaries of men and women were not comparable in Victorian Britain. Although it may be argued that female actors enjoyed the same levels of income as men, one must remember that they were subject to greater professional expenses, which included the need to buy and maintain more expensive stage wardrobes. In Britain there were a nominal wardrobe grant paid to female actors, but it did not cover all the costs.²⁰⁷ It was also common policy in Berlin to pay female actors a separate salary for their wardrobe, which in the case of Amalie Wolff amounted to an annual sum of 170 thalers. Similarly, Auguste Stich-Crelinger received 200 thalers annually for costumes.²⁰⁸

Indeed, Auguste Stich-Crelinger provides an excellent example of a female actor whose salary exceeded that of her male colleagues. Her salary was one of the highest at the Royal Theatre and was even higher than that of her husband. The pecking order of the family was clearly illustrated in the renewal negotiations of the Stichs' contracts. During the negotiations it was inferred that Heinrich Wilhelm Stich was not at the same artistic level as his wife. The General Intendant merely wrote that

204 Frevert 1989, 67–68.

205 See *Table 3*.

206 Davis 1991, 18.

207 Davis 1991, 35. In comparison, in early nineteenth-century Russia lead female actors were paid 1600 roubles. This amounted to 2400 roubles less than lead male actors. Schuler 1996, 4.

208 See, for example, the cases of Amalie Wolff and Auguste Stich. A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the King of Prussia 31.3.1821. A letter from the King of Prussia to General Intendant von Brühl, undated. Bl. 4, 22. Nr 21213, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK. Hübscher 1968, 63–65.

Heinrich Wilhelm was a diligent and adequate actor in comedies. Heinrich Stich's annual salary was finally settled at 900 thalers less than that of his wife.²⁰⁹

Charlotte von Hagn provides another example of a very high earning female actor. She was engaged to the Royal Theatre in 1833 on an annual salary (not including her additional income) of 2700 thalers.²¹⁰ One of the most remarkable signs of her financial independence is to be found in her *Spielgeldkalender*, a notebook in which she began listing all her performances following a new contract in which she was guaranteed 10 thalers per performance. In January 1844 she began a new series of entries in her *Spielgeldkalender*. On 6th January she wrote that she bought a folio of 5000 Hamburg stocks from a bank agency for the price of 108¼ thalers each and paid a total of 1349.24 thalers in cash.²¹¹ The second entry was on 30th January, when she wrote that she bought 10,000 stocks from the Sächsisch-Schlesische Eisenbahn for the price of 100¼ thalers each and paid a total of 2045.21 thalers. Under this entry she also wrote that she sold the stocks at 114¾ thalers each and received 2478.2 thalers.²¹² On 14th March she recorded that she sold 110 stocks and received 1349.24 thalers.²¹³ Such entries continue and involve ever-increasing sums of money, which was extraordinary during her time. There are two more remarkable extrapolations to be drawn from these entries. Firstly, it was rare that a single woman could conduct such financial decisions on her own. Usually, a father or husband was in charge of the financial decisions, even though woman had independently earned the money.²¹⁴ Secondly, the sums spent by von Hagn disclose an enormous disposable income. The salary not only took care of basic necessities, but also permitted financial speculation at a very high and risky level.

In the *Table 3*, the third salary class is defined as being between 500 and 1000 thalers. This category accounted for 39% of the female actors and was also the income level of middle-ranking civil servants. In other words, 83 of the female actors enjoyed the similar or higher incomes than mid-ranking civil servants. The significance of this statistic should not be overlooked as we revise our understanding of the status of female actors and their profession.

209 A letter of General Intendant von Brühl to the King of Prussia, 31.3.1821. A letter of the King of Prussia to General-Intendant von Brühl, undated. Bl. 4, 22. Nr 21213, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK.

210 Bobbert 1936, 57.

211 Calendar entry of Ch. von Hagn 6.1.1844. Hagn 1929, 145.

212 Calendar entry of Ch. von Hagn 30.1.1844. Hagn 1929, 145.

213 P. was most probably an abbreviation for her sister Pepi. Calendar entry of Charlotte von Hagn 14.3.1844. See Hagn 1929, 145.

214 On the position of women in the Prussian Civil Code, see Vogt 1993, 246–247.

It can be concluded that the income of actors was high. Apart from relatively high salaries, actors also received an extra income from guest performances and royal grants. Thus, in financial terms, actors ranked alongside the middle classes, with many earning as much as the upper-middle classes. Perhaps even more remarkable was the earning potential of female actors in relation to their contemporaries. Indeed, approximately 80% of female actors, for example earned more than middle-class male civil servants

II IN THE THEATRE

1. Everyday Work

The main argument of this chapter is that the working conditions of Berlin's theatres led to limited possibilities for actors in their everyday lives. Leisure time in the evenings, for example, was restricted by work, but the acting profession made it possible to enjoy free days during weekdays. Furthermore, the theatre administration implemented a disciplined regime over the everyday lives of the performers. Guest performances also ensured unique work opportunities for the most popular and diligent actors, which enabled them to travel. Working hours limited their possibility to participate in the daily routines of the *bürgertum*. On the other hand the leisure time and possibility to travel gave them opportunities to partake in *bürgerlich* culture.

The official regulations of the theatre are a fruitful primary source to study the everyday routines of the actors working at the Berlin theatres. The regulations include precise instructions on working in the theatre and are replete with warnings of strict punishments.¹ The regulations were printed in 1845, but there is evidence that these published rules had been in place for a relatively long period of time. This can be appreciated, for example, if one compares the directorial regulations with written directorial instructions given in 1828 by Count von Brühl, the general director of the

1 The printed rules are found in libraries and the LAB. Further citations refer to the published version. For the archival version, see *Reglement für die Königlichen Schauspiele zu Berlin*. Th 611 [Nr 817]. A Pr Rep 030 Titel 74. LAB.

Royal Theatre, to the director Karl Stawinsky.² The printed regulations of 1845 follow von Brühl's earlier instructions exactly in regard to punishments and the definition of misdemeanours. It is interesting to compare the official regulations with private writings about the theatre in order to note the manner in which rules were or were not implemented in various circumstances.

Work Routines of the Actors

The versatile theatre professional, Karl von Holtei, described the daily routine of his wife-to-be, the young actor Julie Holzbrecher:

Einziges Kind ihrer sie vergötternden Aeltern war sie steter Gegenstand der zärtlichsten Sorgfalt und Pflege und behielt, während alles, was zu des irdischen Daseins Noth und Plage gehört, ihr ferne stand, die volle Verwendung ihres recht bedeutenden Jahrgehältes zu selbsteigner Verfügung, die sich denn auch, wie bei einer jungen Schauspielerin leicht erklärlich, in glänzender Toilette kund gab, so daß ich sie früher vor näherer Bekanntschaft häusig im Scherz unsere kleine Prinzessin genannt hatte. Die Mühen und Lasten der Häuslichkeit kannte sie nicht. Ihre Zeit ward getheilt zwischen ihren Rollen, Sprach- und Musik-Studien, Lecture und Putz.³

Von Holtei described Julie's life as being extremely carefree and secure. Such an opinion was cited in order to extol the virtues of his wife-to-be, who was prepared to forsake her theatrical lifestyle to become the spouse of a theatre poet. It is possible that von Holtei exaggerated the ease and comfort of her past life, but the most interesting aspect of his reminiscences is the last sentence about her daily life. It gives a good indication of the daily routine of a young, female actor. This routine included acting, speech and music rehearsals and lectures. It can be seen from other fragmentary sources that the everyday life of other actors was similar: daytime rehearsals, evening performances on certain days and a relatively large amount of free time.

By following the daily diary of Adolph Bethge between 1838 and 1848 it is possible to clearly observe his work routines. Mornings were usually reserved for rehearsals. If Bethge had no scheduled rehearsals, he either studied his lines at home or visited some of his colleagues or family. Afternoons were reserved for students to take acting lessons. Evenings were mostly reserved for performances. If there were no performances, Bethge often went to see a play or concert, or spent time with friends or family. After performances, Bethge would often visit friends or family members.

2 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the theatre director Stawinsky. 22.3.1828. Nr 3764, BPH Rep 119, GStA PK.

3 Holtei 1859b, 134–135.

Exact descriptions of rehearsal routines are quite rare among autobiographical sources. Most diary entries that relate to rehearsals are brief, most probably because they were regarded as being too mundane to be worthy of extended descriptions. When the rehearsals were described in more detail, it was normally because of an unusual event, such as a conflict. In memoirs, rehearsals are seldom mentioned.

In his diary, Bethge conscientiously lists all the rehearsals in which he participated. He does not describe the rehearsals in detail, with the vast majority of his entries being laconic in tone: 'rehearsals in the morning' and 'reading rehearsals in the morning.' On average, Bethge attended two or three rehearsals every week.⁴ The timetable of the rehearsals was also noted in Eduard Devrient's diary. He records that it was routine to begin all the rehearsals at ten o'clock in the morning, which would then be followed by lunch.⁵ In some cases, it was possible to have morning rehearsals and a performance in the evening, but such cases were relatively rare and were connected to performances in which a visiting star was participating. Such an occasion took place when Eduard's brother, Emil, visited the Royal Theatre in 1839. The same practice was adopted when Eduard visited Stuttgart Theatre. However, this convention annoyed Eduard Devrient, who wrote in his diary in 1838 that he was tired of rehearsing and performing on the same day.⁶

The most common daily scenario, however, was that morning rehearsals were not followed by evening performances. In his memoirs, von Holtei mentions in passing the rehearsals of a play entitled *Minette, oder die verwandelte Katze* at the Königstädtisches Theater. The dress rehearsal for the play lasted from midday until five o'clock in the evening, after which the actors were free.⁷ In September 1834, Charlotte von Hagn describes a post-rehearsal social event hosted by the Hirsch family. She writes about how she recited funny stories to the society and that other guests laughed. On another occasion, von Hagn describes how rehearsals lasted until eight o'clock, after which they went to a flower exhibition and to see the antique collections of the king of Prussia. In a third example, she describes how they had rehearsals before noon and after lunch she went to visit the dramatic poet Ernst Raupach in order to

4 See, for example, the diary entries of Adolph Bethge 17.2.1844, 17.3.1844, 18.3.1844, 15.2.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

5 The diary entries of Eduard Devrient that contain the starting time of rehearsals are dated 1.9.1838, 7.1.1839, 7.1., 28.2., 23.5., 17.8.1840, 3.6., 17.6.1841, 24.6.1842. Devrient 1964, 51, 60, 84, 92, 100, 102, 117, 118, 152.

6 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 4.2.1838, 5.2.1839, 25.8.1840. Devrient 1964, 32, 67, 102.

7 Holtei 1859b, 36.

read through a role.⁸ Charlotte von Hagn also notes that there were weekdays without any theatre work. For example, one Wednesday she wrote about how she had just had an English lesson in the morning and that in the evening she went to listen to a concert.⁹ Such working conditions gave performers the possibility to participate in social events and to be seen in prominent cafés and promenades.

Theatre directors strictly controlled rehearsals¹⁰ at the Royal Theatre. Their authority was reinforced by the threat of strict punishments. The regulations of theatre stipulated that punishments were due to those actors who disturbed the rehearsals or the direction. A fine had to be paid, for example, if someone carried out auxiliary activities, laughed or arrived late for rehearsals. During pre-rehearsals, performers were expected to already know their roles by heart and thus if an actor forgot his or her lines they were duly fined. In the main rehearsals fines were doubled.¹¹ Yet, in theory the artistic merit of the actors was respected while the directors were in charge of the rehearsals and the plays. In 1828, General Intendant von Brühl instructed his director Stawinsky to respectfully and calmly deal with his actors. If negative remarks needed to be made regarding an actor's performance, the director was advised to give feedback in person or in writing, rather than in public.¹² This instruction accords with the honour-bound culture of nineteenth-century Prussia, but may also reveal some improper practices that von Brühl wanted to eradicate from his theatre. It suggests that some directors needed to be instructed not to shout at actors in public. Actors could also officially complain about badly directed rehearsals. Auguste Stich-Crelinger wrote to the theatre directory in 1831, for example, that there had not been all the stage props had been available for a pre-rehearsal the day before and stressed that it was essential for the play to have them all available for the rehearsals. Stich-Crelinger wrote that she was disappointed in the work of the theatre personnel. General Intendant von Redern replied to Stich-Crelinger that the individuals in question had been notified of their inappropriate behaviour.¹³ Thus, this incident

8 Diary entry of von Hagn dated 28.6.1833, 19.3., 30.9.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

9 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 30.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

10 The rehearsals were divided into script rehearsals and theatre rehearsals. Theatre rehearsals were divided into pre-rehearsals, main, or dress, rehearsals and repetition rehearsals, where old plays were refreshed.

11 Küstner 1845, 41–46.

12 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the theatre director Stawinsky, dated 22.3.1828. Bl 47–48, Nr 3764, BPH Rep 119, GStA PK.

13 A letter from Auguste Stich-Crelinger to General Intendant von Redern and his reply, dated 14., 15.1.1831. Bl 78–79, Nr 3764, BPH Rep 119, GStA PK.

reveals that leading female actors held significant sway at the theatre and were able to freely vent their concerns.

Naturally the key part of the working life of a Berliner actor centred on performances at the theatre. The frequency with which an actor performed depended on their popularity and scope of roles, but on average it was common to expect between two and four performances per week. The performances usually began at six o'clock, but the theatre started to swarm with activity up to two hours before the performance, when the house started to prepare and the actors started to arrive. The theatre started to calm down around nine o'clock or ten o'clock in the evening, when performances were over.

From Adolph Bethge's diary we can calculate the average frequency of the performances for lower-wage actors. If all the performances in which Bethge participated for from 1839 to 1847 are calculated according to the amount of weeks in the year, the actor had approximately two to three performances per week, depending on the week and the season. Most years Bethge worked without enjoying long holidays or guest performances abroad.¹⁴ Charlotte von Hagn's *Spielgeldkalender* reveals that a leading female actor was expected to perform between two and four times a week during peak periods.¹⁵ Thus, both Bethge and von Hagn had several days a week when they did not have to perform. However, performances were often on Sundays and holidays. Bethge also had to perform at Christmas and it was hard for him to obtain a holiday, even for important family occasions. He did not even get a day off when his brother married. He reluctantly had to leave the wedding for an evening performance, and then returned to the reception after the play.¹⁶

A choreographed routine dictated the arrival of actors at the theatre. Female actors were collected from their homes by a special carriage that conducted them to the theatre. Male actors had to make their own way to the theatre. Use of the theatre carriage was strictly regulated, such as a rule that ensured that a specific route was followed and that no actor was permitted to delay the vehicle for more than five minutes at her home.¹⁷ The regulations of the Royal theatre also precisely outlined

14 According to his own remarks, Bethge performed in 64 times in 1839, 81 times, in 1840, 99 times, in 1842, 127 times in 1843, 142 times in 1844 and 179 times in 1847. Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 31.12.1838, 31.12.1839, 31.12.1840, 31.12.1842, 31.12.1843, 31.12.1844, 31.12.1847. Nr 1–2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

15 Weekly performances can be calculated by dividing the monthly amounts. The monthly performances outside the holiday and guest performance seasons varied from between 8–17 performances per month. Most months von Hagn performed between 10–13 times. Hagn 1929, 124–153.

16 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 19.7., 22.7.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

17 Reglement für die Königlichen Schauspiele zu Berlin, § 190–193, Bl 7. Th 611 [Nr 817]. A Pr Rep 030 Titel 74. LAB.

the desired etiquette for actors arriving at the theatre. It was decreed that all theatre personnel should enter the theatre through the door next to the Catholic Church. A signing-in book was placed at this entrance, in which all personnel had to mark their arrival. Fifteen minutes before the performance, the clocking-in book was checked to make sure that all personnel were in attendance. Punishments for absenteeism varied from fines to being placed under arrest.¹⁸

The theatre employed a considerable number of personnel to help with preparations for performances, such as theatre servants, wardrobe assistants and hairdressers. Theatre servants helped actors to prepare for performances, and their working day started at eight o'clock in the morning. At this time they were at the beck-and-call of the theatre director and the theatre manager. Two servants started their day at 5.30 PM and were solely responsible for ensuring the smooth running of evening performances. The wardrobe personnel had to prepare the dressing rooms of the actors two hours before a performance. Hairdressers, dressers and their servants were also ordered to be ready to serve actors two hours before a performance.¹⁹ Employee records of the Royal Theatre from the 1840s, during the leadership of General Intendant von Küstner, have survived, which disclose the number of servants. Von Küstner summarises that he hired over two hundred wardrobe personnel for the opera and theatre, among whom were hairdressers and their assistants and various wardrobe servants. The largest group were the dressers, who could number forty for popular performances.²⁰ Traditionally, servants remained anonymous in the memoirs and diaries of actors, except for when they did something wrong. During his guest performance in Schwedt, for example, Louis Schneider complained that he had had to prepare for the performances without hairdressers, a costumier and theatre servants. Charlotte von Hagn also noted the absence of theatre servants, including when her rival, Auguste Stich-Crelinger, reserved their services for her daughters.²¹

After the actors had dressed for a performance it was customary to gather in the theatre's assembly room in order to focus on the upcoming show. The theatre regulations banned all disruptive behaviour in the assembly room, even to the extent that actors were banned from reading public newspapers.²² Performances usually

18 Küstner 1845, 24, 46–47.

19 Küstner 1845, 51–52, 75–76.

20 Küstner 1855, 11–12.

21 Schneider 1879a, 66; Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 13.6.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

22 Küstner 1845, 26.

commenced at six o'clock.²³ The performances were strictly supervised, with several regulations specifically designed to minimise disruption. Punishments were even enforced in order to prevent actors from missing their cues. Moreover, it was also stipulated that intervals between acts should not last longer than five minutes, unless a scenery change demanded longer. Furthermore, the actors were strictly forbidden from mingling with the audience during a play and during intervals. Drunkenness was strictly prohibited and guilty parties were liable to receive a one-month fine or could even be placed under arrest.²⁴

Dangers existed during performances, such as the possibility of accidents on stage and fires. In her diary, von Hagn describes one accident that took place while she was performing in Heinrich von Kleist's grandiose historical play *Kätchen von Heilbronn*. The incident occurred when Charlotte was wearing a helmet and managed to fall over a shield she was carrying when exiting the stage. She fainted and her colleagues had to carry her to her dressing room. She suffered injuries to her arms and legs, but after being bandaged she returned to the stage to thank the audience for their concern. Von Hagn writes about using ice bandages to relieve the great pain she was in over the following two days. However, she suffered no lasting effects because of this accident.²⁵ Adolph Bethge also records an accident caused by a coulisse hitting Mrs. Crüsemann, while she was acting. The stage master had lost control of the coulisse, which consequently swept Mrs. Crüsemann to the floor. A prolonged interval was taken to treat the actor, but it transpired that she was only suffering from shock.²⁶

Fire posed a serious and constant danger in the theatre, as naked flames illuminated the auditorium. A letter from the mother of Pius Alexander Wolff reveals the fears that people had related to the outbreak of fire in the theatre. In the letter, the mother expresses her relief when she heard that her son was not in Berlin when the theatre had burned down.²⁷ This catastrophic event had taken place on July 29th 1817, during the daytime when no performance was taking place. However, one man did perish in the flames and the actors were most probably traumatised by the experience. Furthermore, von Küstner's employment records show that the Royal Theatre took action to prevent future conflagrations by employing eleven staff to take

23 See, for example, the theatre advertisements in Freydanck 1988, 180, 230, 232; Wahnrau 1957, 314, 342, 366; Weddigen 1904, beilage.

24 Küstner 1845, 23, 47, 49, 51.

25 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 2–3.8.1835. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

26 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 15.7.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

27 A letter from the mother of P.A. Wolff to her son, dated 26.10.1817. In Marterstein 1879, 225–226.

care of the gas and oil illuminations. The theatre also employed three head firemen and thirteen fire watches in order to prevent fires.²⁸

Performances usually finished at around nine or ten o'clock in the evening.²⁹ In their diaries, both Eduard Devrient and Charlotte von Hagn express their appreciation of the acclaim they received after performances. In von Hagn's case, she counted the exact number of times she returned to the stage to take the audience's applause during a guest performance in Vienna.³⁰ In Devrient's diary, he expresses his relief when he and his fellow actors were called back on stage by the audience after a performance of Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*.³¹ It is interesting to note that the theatre regulations stipulated how to receive the acclaim of the audience. Paragraph 112 outlined that if an actor was called back to the stage, she or he had to return in haste to thank the audience in silence.³² This rule can be seen as part of the censorship policy adopted by the theatre management, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

After performances it was still possible to take part at social gatherings or to go to restaurants or wine bars. In his memoirs, Carl von Holtei describes how it was popular for actors to gather in the *Tollhaus* restaurant after performances.³³ In his diary, Bethge also describes some enjoyable moments after performances. In July 1842, for example, he went for a post-performance wheat beer with a colleague. Furthermore, after a performance in February 1843 he accompanied Auguste Stich-Crelinger to her home, where he drank a few glasses of punch. After a while Bethge describes how Mr Stich-Crelinger returned from a court ball in a glittery costume.³⁴

In brief, it can be stated that rehearsals and performances were geared toward the evening. What is more, performers also had the possibility to take part in social gatherings after productions had finished. Actors also had free days and free time during a normal working week.

The Administration

The theatre management also had a strong influence on the lives of the performers. The management of the Royal Theatre was led by a general intendant, who was oriented

28 Freydank 1988, 166; Küstner 1855, 12

29 See, for example, the theatre advertisements in Weddigen 1904, beilage.

30 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 4.10.1835. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

31 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 10.1.1839. Devrient 1964, 61.

32 Küstner 1845, 50–51.

33 Holtei 1843b, 248; Holtei 1859b, 13.

34 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 26.7.1842, 28.2.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

towards the court. The management of the theatre was extremely hierarchical and all key decisions were directed via the general intendant. For example, when actors petitioned the king for extra benefits or an extension to their contract, their request was first directed to the general intendant, who presented it to the king if it was deemed acceptable.

The bureaucratic organisation of the theatre management can be seen as a microcosm of the whole bureaucratic edifice of the Prussian state. As Clark argues, King Frederick William I (1713–1749) constructed the foundation of the bureaucratic practices of the Prussian administration.³⁵ By 1815, Prussia was mainly led and organised by bureaucrats. Sheehan argues that the main character of the Prussian state lay in its hierarchical bureaucracy.³⁶

The bureaucratic and hierarchical period in the history of the Royal Theatre in Berlin began in earnest when Count von Brühl became the general intendant in 1815. Prior to von Brühl's appointment, the manager of the theatre had been a talented actor from a lower social class. In his respected theatre history, Eduard Devrient describes how the new administration implemented a policy of total bureaucracy for the theatre. According to Devrient, it had been customary for all theatre matters to be handled verbally, whereas the regime of von Brühl introduced a mass of paperwork.³⁷ A key part of the bureaucratic administration centred on adhering to the chain of command. All official matters related to actors had to be approved by the general intendant before they could advance along the chain of command. The levels of bureaucracy were such that a joke circulated at the time regarding how an inspector was even employed to check left boots, whilst another inspector was employed to check right boots.³⁸ A letter from P.A. Wolff to Ludwig Tieck, a friend and author, provides a good example of the attitudes of the actors towards the chain of command. Therein, Wolff expresses his annoyance about not being able to communicate directly with the king regarding grievances.³⁹

35 Clark 2007, 89.

36 Nipperdey emphasises that Prussia was not an arbitrary police state; rather it was a lawful state that was governed by bureaucrats. Sheehan devotes an entire chapter in his book to defining the monopoly of the bureaucratic administration in Prussia during the restoration period. Alf Lüdtke goes even further and claims that the hierarchical power of bureaucrats was maintained by the application of the threat of direct physical force. See Nipperdey 1983, 331; Sheehan 1989, 425–441, esp. 433; Lüdtke 1989, xvi

37 Hübscher 1960, 15, 42. Devrient was especially upset about the growing number of administrative personnel. Devrient, 1861. 13–14.

38 Ebert 1991, 188–189; Martersteig 1904, 247.

39 A letter from P.A. Wolff to Tieck, dated 5.12.1824. Schauspielerbriefe 202–203.

The regulations of the theatre also display strict hierarchical order. Thus, the first paragraph of the document underlines the subordination of all employees of the theatre to the power of the general intendant. Furthermore, if employees do not obey the general intendant, a series of punishments are enforceable, which range from verbal and written reprimands, fines, arrest and dismissal. Moreover, other paragraphs set out the relationship between the directory and employees. Paragraph three, for example, stipulates that all punishments are to be endured in a calm manner and without any outbursts.⁴⁰ This rule insinuates that the theatre authorities encountered problems when meting out punishments.

Eduard Devrient's summary of the new levels of bureaucratic paperwork are reinforced by referring to the regulations, especially in regard to the paragraph about requests made to the general intendant. Hence, it was prescribed that written requests had to be brought to the office of the directory during office hours. Moreover, it was decreed that it was not allowed to hand requests personally to the general intendant during rehearsals.⁴¹

During the period between 1815–1848 there was three general intendants at the Royal Theatre, who were all aristocrats and endorsed the bureaucratic-hierarchical system. Theatre histories of Berlin are often structured according to the tenure of the general intendants.⁴² However, in this study an emphasis is placed on their influence on the lives of the actors. In this sense, it is possible to discern a strengthening of powers of the administration starting from the tenure of von Brühl and lasting up to the stewardship of von Küstner.

The first general intendant was Count Karl von Brühl (1772–1837), who is usually perceived to have been a fragile dilettante.⁴³ He began his career as general intendant at the same time as the king became the formal patron of the National Theatre, which occurred after the death of the famous theatre director August Iffland in 1814. Marieluise Hübscher portrays von Brühl as an art-loving follower of Goethe, who believed that theatre was not merely a venue for light entertainment, but also played an important educational role. Yet, Hübscher also views the Prussian theatre at the time as, first and foremost, a representational medium for the Prussian court.

40 Küstner 1845, 9–10.

41 Küstner 1845, 10.

42 Wahnrau and Freydank, for example, constructed their dispositions by drawing on the general intendants. See Wahnrau 1957, 8–9; Freydank 1988, 7–6.

43 Karl von Brühl (1772–1837) was the son of a Prussian colonel. He became acquainted with the classical school of the Weimar theatre during family visits to the Royal Court of Weimar. In 1830 he became the manager of the Berlin Museum. NDB Bd 24, 662.

Thus, according to Hübscher, von Brühl fulfilled his duty towards the court in terms of a supervisory role connected to the finance ministry and to court ministers.⁴⁴

In his theatre history, Eduard Devrient describes how von Brühl was an educated man, who knew a great deal about theatre, poetry and music. Moreover, he was especially interested in costumes and stage production.⁴⁵ This interest can be observed in the engagement process of the Wolff couple. In the surviving letters, it is discernable how much weight von Brühl placed on appropriate costumes. The issue of costumes already became an important question when they were negotiating contracts. Furthermore, after the couple had agreed to sign for the theatre he wrote a detailed letter regarding costumes, in which he urged Amalie Wolff to immediately contact him if she needed any help on the matter.⁴⁶

In her memoirs Karoline Bauer undertakes detailed descriptions of von Brühl. In general, she praises him as being artistic and well-educated. She continues by noting that positive jokes about von Brühl were circulating among the performers. Nevertheless Bauer criticises the general intendant vis-à-vis his failure to intervene in problems related to the monopoly of roles of certain actors. More specifically, Bauer was dissatisfied that von Brühl wanted to please Auguste Stich-Crelinger at the expense of others. She also believed that the personnel of the secretariat had too much power because of von Brühl's lack of leadership.⁴⁷

Von Brühl's career as general intendant of the Royal Theatre ended in 1828, when he dramatically resigned in a letter to the king, citing artistic differences. Hübscher states that the resignation was a result of differences of opinion with Wilhelm von Wittgenstein, the finance minister that set the budget for the Royal Theatre. Hans Knudsen, on the other hand, claims that von Brühl resigned because of the censorship of Heinrich von Kleist's play, entitled *Prinz von Homburg*.⁴⁸

The second general intendant was Count Wilhelm Friedrich von Redern (1802–1883), who was viewed more as a leader than as an artistic dilettante.⁴⁹ Gerhard Wahnrau claims that most people were surprised when the twenty-six year old chamberlain of Crown Princess Elisabeth was nominated as vice-general intendant

44 Hübscher 1960, 16–17.

45 Devrient 1861, 10.

46 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to Amalie Wolff, dated 26.5.1816. Martersteig 1879, 215.

47 Bauer (1871)1917, 200, 204, 211–212.

48 Hübscher 1960, 49; Knudsen 1959, 246.

49 Wilhelm Friedrich von Redern was the son of a chamberlain to the Prussian court. After receiving a gymnasium and university education he also served as a chamberlain at the Prussian court. In 1861, Wilhelm I appointed him grand chamberlain of the court. ADB Bd 27, 522–523.

in 1828 and then general intendant of the Royal Theatre in 1830.⁵⁰ In his history of the theatre, Devrient portrays the young Count von Redern in rather a negative light. Indeed, he states that von Redern only accepted the post in order to have access to higher positions at the court. Moreover, Devrient claims that von Redern assumed the post without bringing to the position the necessary respect and willingness to work.⁵¹ More specific criticisms surface in Devrient's diary, particularly in regard to royalty fees. Devrient felt that the fees offered by von Redern were not sufficient compensation for the author.⁵² The general intendant also trusted Devrient when seeking to resolve the conflict between von Hagn and Stich-Crelinger. Consequently, Von Redern asked Devrient to negotiate with both parties in order to find an amicable solution. When von Redern left his post in 1842, Devrient wrote the following remark: 'I am sorry that we are going to lose him. I also told him that and it seemed that it made him feel good. We departed with friendly words.'⁵³ In bureaucratic administrative culture that even that kind of warmth between the superior and employee was an indication relatively good relation.

In her diary, Charlotte von Hagn's judgements on von Redern's competence vary according to her mood and the degree to which he had acquiesced to her wishes. In the main, von Hagn perceived that Count von Redern lay behind Stich-Crelinger's power in the theatre.⁵⁴

In 1842, Count von Redern suddenly resigned from his post and Count Karl Theodor von Küstner was appointed as his replacement.⁵⁵ Wahnrau claims that none of the available sources explain this sudden action, but he suggests that von Wittgenstein was behind the manoeuvre. The finance minister wanted to reduce the expenses of the theatre and von Redern was deemed to be unsuitable for such a task. However, Count von Küstner was known for his monetary acumen. In general, von Redern had continued the policy of his predecessor in regard to placing artistic concerns above financial matters.⁵⁶ In his autobiography, von Redern wrote bitterly

50 Wahnrau 1957, 352.

51 Devrient 1874, 152.

52 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 18.12.1837, 26.2.1838, 1.6.1841. Devrient 1964, 30, 34, 117.

53 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 11.12.1837, 26.5.1842. Devrient 1964, 30, 148.

54 Diary entry of von Hagn 3.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

55 Karl Theodor von Küstner (1784–1864) was the son of a merchant from Leipzig. He studied law at university and was a lieutenant in the so-called Wars of Freedom. He managed the Leipzig Theatre between 1817–1828, the Darmstadt Court Theatre between 1830–1831 and the Munich Court Theatre between 1833–1842. The king of Bavaria raised him to nobility in 1837. ADB Bd 17, 440–442.

56 Wahnrau 1957, 367–368.

about how von Küstner promised to make savings of 100,000 thalers to the theatre's budget, but could never proceed with implementing such austerity measures. Von Redern continues on a highly personal note that von Küstner was the ugliest person alive and that he had only recently been raised to noble rank.⁵⁷ This embittered reminiscence strengthens Wahnrau's argument that von Redern was replaced because the finance minister wanted to reduce the expenditure of the theatre.

Wahnrau labels von Küstner a hyper bureaucrat (*Hyperbürokrat*), who was more interested in administration than the artistic product staged by the theatre. Von Küstner himself wrote in his autobiography that he faced opposition from within the theatre, with some of the personnel opposing his strict regimen. This is confirmed by Moritz Rott, who seldom describes the happenings of the theatre in his letters, when he described von Küstner as someone who is righteous and likes strict order: 'Mr. v. Küstners management is *severe*, yet he is righteous.'⁵⁸ The description is similar to the manner in which von Küstner presents himself in his autobiography.

The von Küstner regime at the theatre brought more bureaucracy to the everyday lives of the theatre's actors. Eduard Devrient experienced this quite suddenly when he went to theatre bureau in order to submit his holiday application and experienced much more meticulous the new general intendant was. Thus, the new general intendant asked more questions, abolished two of his holiday days and presented a new travel route. Finally, von Küstner informed Devrient that he could not discuss issues related to travel expenses⁵⁹ Prior to this incident, Devrient wrote in his diary about rumours that were circulating regarding a new general intendant. He speculates that von Küstner would bring new reign of austerity and order to the theatre: 'how about the art, poor art – no one is thinking of it'.⁶⁰

In her memoirs, Karoline Bauer describes how the secretary of the theatre management was much higher up the hierarchy of the theatre than the famous actors. She cites the example of the theatre secretaries Johann Friedrich Esperstädt and Johann Valentin Teichmann, who she claims had more power to decide what plays were performed than successful actors, such as P.A. Wolff and Ludwig Devrient.⁶¹ Charlotte von Hagn exemplifies the disdain towards the theatre's administration, as

57 Redern 2003, 232–233. ADB Bd 17, 440–442.

58 A letter from Rott to Maria T, dated 3.7.1842. BRD 1867, 92–93; Küstner 1853, 173; Wahnrau 1957, 372–373.

59 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 19.5.1842. Devrient 1964, 147.

60 'aber die Kunst, die arme Kunst – an die denkt niemand'. A diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 2.12.1841. Devrient 1964, 133.

61 Bauer (1871)1917, 211–212.

she wrote in her diary in 1834 that she hated the ‘half-human’ bureaucrats who want to prohibit everything.⁶²

The theatre’s administrative bureau had a conceptual meaning for the actors. In 1841, for example, when Eduard Devrient was already an experienced singer and actor, he wrote bitterly about how he had to audition for a role in the *Büro*. In his memoirs, Louis Schneider also mentions the *Büro* as a place in which actors received reprimands. Indeed, Schneider wrote about two occasions when he was called to the *Büro*. His first visit to the office had been as a result of over exuberant celebrations to mark the tenth anniversary of his literary association, when the singing of the national anthem had got out of hand. Schneider’s second visit to the bureau occurred as a result of the management being dissatisfied at his inappropriate translation of a play by Alexander Dumas.⁶³

For Adolph Bethge the *Büro* was a place he visited regularly. His duties included being an understudy for actors, and hence he was often called to the office to receive new roles. The expectations of the management towards Bethge were relatively demanding. Sometimes the actor was ordered to the *Büro* in the morning to be informed that he had to step into a role that very evening. Naturally, Bethge fretted that it was impossible to adequately do justice to these roles. On the other hand, Bethge was viewed favourably by the administration because of his flexible attitude. For example, when he wanted an extension to his holiday in 1842, the bureau was willing to grant his request. On one occasion, von Redern even paid a gratuity fee of 25 thalers for Bethge on account of the actor’s willingness and flexibility as an understudy.⁶⁴

The severe regulations of the theatre management were manifested in the theatre in the form of trials against those who had broken the rules. In his diary, Bethge records how such trials were organised and led by von Küstner. In 1846, for example, Bethge described an incident in which the actors Rott, Rütbling, Botticher and Müller had taken clothes from the theatre wardrobe and had worn them in a masquerade. The actors were called to a trial in which they had to give a statement. Finally, the costumier was found guilty of breaking the theatre rules and was duly punished. Bethge felt that the entire trial was a farce. On a second occasion, a year later, a trial was held as a result of the alleged fraud of the loge master Lehmann. The

62 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 6.4.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

63 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 6.5.1841. Devrient 1964, 114; Schneider 1879a, 248, 356.

64 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 17.5.1839, 24.1.1841, 6.3.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

trial lasted from 9 o'clock in the morning to half-past seven in the evening. According to Bethge, Lehmann spoke freely, whilst von Küstner was less than transparent in his questioning. The trial was reported in the newspapers. In his diary Bethge condemned the representatives of the public authorities who had not done their duty in protecting the theatre from such scandals.⁶⁵ These trials were held during years of political instability. Thus, they could be interpreted as an attempt by von Küstner to strengthen his position by displaying a strong hand. Yet, one must question whether such a tactic was successful, as even the normally loyal Bethge was against the trials.

One important and much-discussed duty of the theatre bureau was to assign roles for each actor. Theatre regulations decreed that the general intendant had the supreme power to decide the roles given to actors. Every Friday the schedule for the following week would be pinned to the door of the directory and all performing personnel were obliged to note down their roles. The supreme authority of the general intendant was established in the 1816 regulations of the theatre.⁶⁶ However, in practice the theatre intendant did not enjoy the supreme power that was written in the theatre regulations. Star performers exerted considerable pressure when roles were assigned, for example, and even used threats to ensure that they got their way. Indeed, the sway of leading performers, such as Auguste Stich-Crelinger, Charlotte von Hagn, Ludwig Devrient and Karl Seydelmann, was such that the theatre management often bowed to their demands. The monopoly on roles created by the special status of the star performers also resulted in conflicts between performers.

One of the most known and referred conflicts was between Auguste Stich-Crelinger and Charlotte von Hagn. The cause of the conflict was the determination of Stich-Crelinger to secure her daughters the opportunity of performing at the Royal Theatre. However, Charlotte von Hagn was enlisted from Munich in order to play the roles of the young lovers before the daughters were hired by the theatre. In her diary, Charlotte von Hagn describes how the conflict ignited in February 1836. At the time von Hagn had just returned from a guest performance in Magdeburg, and noticed that Stich-Crelinger's daughter, Clara, was playing a role that had been assigned to her. When she became aware of this perceived infringement, she wrote immediately to the theatre administration. Moreover, von Hagn wrote in her diary that she had become ill because of the stress induced by the affair and highlighted that the theatre public had apparently insisted on her playing the role. Indeed, according to von Hagn, the

65 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 28.1.1846, 25., 28.8.1847. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

66 Küstner 1845, 30, 35. The regulation of 1816 is cited in Hübscher's dissertation. See Hübscher 1960, 28.

clamour was such that the director of the play had to plead for the audience to calm down.⁶⁷ Eduard Devrient also described this conflict in his history of the German theatre. He clarifies that von Redern intervened in the conflict the following day, but that von Hagn was ill and did not show up at the theatre.⁶⁸ This incident led to a lasting hatred between the two female actors and their supporters.

Both sides used all possible means to vanquish their enemy. Charlotte von Hagn used her good relationship with the court, whilst Auguste Stich-Crelinger used her status as the first lady of Berlin theatre to support her daughters. Years later, for example, von Hagn wrote to an admirer, Polizeipräsident Carl Gerlach, in order to solidify her support in her battle with her rival. She also noted in her diary that Gerlach was favourable towards her.⁶⁹ On the other hand, Stich-Crelinger wrote several letters to the theatre management and directly to the king, in which she claimed that her daughters had been mistreated and that they should be awarded leading roles on a par with those given to von Hagn. She complained to the king that von Hagn sought to monopolise the stage in Berlin and asked the king to free her daughters from the shadow cast by her opponent.⁷⁰

The rivalry was also commented upon by other contemporaries and has been analysed by scholars. In the memoirs of von Redern, for example, one finds lengthy descriptions of the struggle. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the rivalry occupied more space in his memoirs than any other event in his long career.⁷¹ The contemporary writer Carl Streckenfuss described the Stich-Crelinger–von Hagn conflict as an even contest, but that Madame Stich-Crelinger had eventually won the battle on behalf of her daughters.⁷² Eduard Devrient also wrote in his diary that he had become extremely frustrated by the long-running rivalry:

'Der Narr seiner Freiheit'. Das Publikum war sehr aufgeregt. die Partein für Clara Stich und Fräulein von Hagn sehr laut. Beim Hervorrufen mußten Weiß und ich Fräulein von Hagn festhalten, sie wollte nicht erscheinen. Wie lange wird diese wiederwärtige Parteiung sich noch fortspinnen?⁷³

67 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 23.2.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

68 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 22–23.2.1836. Devrient 1964, 4.

69 A letter from Charlotte von Hagn to Polizeipräsident Gerlach, dated 19.11.1836. Autographensammlung, ThFU; A diary entry of von Hagn, dated 17.11.1836. Bd 3 Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

70 See, for example, letters from Stich-Crelinger to Count von Redern, dated 20.11.1841 and to the king of Prussia, dated 2.3.1842. Bl 117–118, 129–130, Nr 3764, BPH Rep 119, GStA PK.

71 Redern 2003, 178–179.

72 Cited in Wahnrau 1957, 356–357. See also the anonymous contemporary article about the quarrel in *Morgenblatt* 4.5.1836.

73 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 21.3.1836. Devrient 1964, 4–5.

Charlotte von Hagn had been hurt by the hatred shown towards her by the supporters of Stich-Crelinger.⁷⁴ The hostilities between von Hagn and Crelinger continued for years and manifested itself in different forms, but the core element of the dispute stemmed from the division of leading roles.⁷⁵

The power of Stich-Crelinger in being able to assign the roles she wanted for herself is evident in a letter from Angely, an actor and playwright to Weiß, an actor and the director of the Royal Theatre. Angely informs Weiß that he had been authorised by Madame Crelinger to notify him that she and her daughters were now prepared to perform in one of playwright's plays.⁷⁶ This is one example of the power exerted by Madame Crelinger when seeking to influence the assignment of roles.

The monopoly on roles enjoyed by Stich-Crelinger began long before von Hagn came to the Royal Theatre. In the 1820s, Karoline Bauer began her career in the shadow of Stich-Crelinger. She wrote about the restrictive monopoly enjoyed by Stich-Crelinger, who had the right to choose the roles she wanted. After Madame Unzelmann and Madame Komitsch had made their choices, the young, second-rank female actors were left with only insignificant roles. Bauer was forced to play 'trouser-roles' and even described an accident in her early career when the monopoly system was explained to her. On this occasion, Stich-Crelinger came to see the new female actor and made it very clear that Bauer would have to endure the same role monopoly system as Stich-Crelinger had suffered when she had entered the theatre. Bauer continues by adding that she partially understood Stich-Crelinger's stance.⁷⁷

It would be easy to see the conflict over the leading female roles as consolidating evidence of the traditional myth of female divas. This is why it is noteworthy to observe that male actors also clashed on the issue of the monopoly of leading roles. When Pius Alexander Wolff was hired to the Royal Theatre of Berlin, for example, he was confronted by the famed actor Ludwig Devrient. A deal was struck whereby Wolff had the first choice on tragic roles, but Devrient could choose first from comic roles. However, this arrangement led to conflict between the star actors.⁷⁸ Wolff himself wrote a letter to von Brühl, in which he complains about minor roles he had been awarded. He did not want to perform supporting roles, at the expense of securing leading parts.⁷⁹ Ludwig Devrient's nephew, Eduard, wrote in his history of German

74 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 21.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

75 See, for example, the struggle over the loge seats for von Hagn's sister. A diary entry of von Hagn, dated 9.4, 10.4.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

76 A letter from Louis Angely to Weiß, dated 7.10.1835. Autographensammlung, ThFU.

77 Bauer (1871)1917, 187–188, 239–241.

78 Brockett 1995, 336; Altman 1926, 167.

79 A letter from Brühl to P. A. Wolff, dated 3.1.1827. In Martersteig 1879, 274–275.

theatre that the Wolff couple had difficulties settling down to life in Berlin. Eduard explains that his uncle Ludwig always blamed the Wolffs for all unpleasantries.⁸⁰

Besides Ludwig Devrient, the leading actor Karl Seydelmann had the chance to choose his roles. This angered the second rank actors, including Moriz Rott and Eduard Devrient, both of whom wanted to leave Berlin. Rott wrote to his friend that his talents were being wasted in Berlin.⁸¹ Eduard Devrient wrote in his diary about his competitive relationship with Seydelmann and complained about being in his rival's shadow.⁸²

Accordingly, the general intendant had the theoretical power to select actors for particular roles, but the unwritten dependency on a select number of star actors made it hard to implement this in practice. Thus, in practice the famous actors exerted enormous leverage over the selection of roles.

Guest Performances and the Virtuosi

A vital aspect in the careers of leading actors was the chance to take on guest roles in other theatres. Such guest performances played an important part in the growth of a virtuoso culture. The growth of such a phenomenon relied upon the publicity and charisma of individual performers. Audiences increasingly insisted that there should be a star performer on stage if they were to attend the theatre. This trend made theatre managers increasingly willing to hire leading actors for guest performances.⁸³ The situation was beneficial to both the theatre management and actors as audiences flocked to performances, thereby bringing in increased profits and favourable publicity. However, travelling too much could have also negative effects on the careers of the stars of the Berlin stage. Besides the travelling actors, the resident actors in Berlin benefitted because of the possibility to hold down better roles.

Guest actors usually performed in a series of productions when on tour. In 1839 Seydelmann wrote that he had acted in six performances in eleven days in Halle and had performed in ten productions in ten days in Stettin. He added that 'the journey was calculated to the day. That demands diligence!'⁸⁴

80 Devrient 1861, 28, 39–40.

81 'durch Brachliegen meines Talentes'. A letter of Rott to Maria, dated 8.1.1842. BRD 1867, 64.

82 Eduard Devrient, dated 2.10.1841. Devrient 1964, 124.

83 Schmitt 1990, 194–197; Brockett 1995, 335.

84 A letter from Karl Seydelmann to his friend August Gerstel, dated 4.12.1839. Röttscher 1845, 159.

In most cases the guest performances by Berlin actors were a great success. Pius Alexander Wolff wrote to a friend about his guest performance in Dresden, for example, proudly proclaiming it to have been such a great success that they wanted to hire him. However, von Brühl had heard about the plan and obtained a king's order to make sure Wolff returned to Berlin.⁸⁵ Charlotte von Hagn also enjoyed great acclaim for her guest performances like in St. Petersburg in 1833 and in Vienna 1835. In 1836, she performed in a number of smaller theatres, where her popularity was apparently even greater. In Bad Doberan, for example, she describes how court musicians were hired to serenade her under her hotel window, where the high society of the town also gathered in her honour. This experience made her appreciate the satisfaction she gained from her stage career. A few months later she enjoyed even greater popularity in Breslau. At the end of her last performance in the town, over 60 people rushed on stage to hand her bouquets and other gifts. Moreover, on her way to her hotel after the performance, people surrounded her carriage and shouted praise to her. Apparently it was almost impossible for the driver to steer the carriage through the crowd. At the hotel von Hagn was also met by a large crowd, who serenaded her at her window, before embarking upon a torchlight procession in her honour.⁸⁶ This degree of popularity can be easily explained, especially in regard to smaller towns. After all, it was a rarity to be able to savour the stagecraft of leading actors in towns outside Berlin. However, von Hagn's success in Vienna and in St. Petersburg also reflects the fact that the leading stars could also win acclaim in large cities.

However, an increase in the number of guest performances could also damage a performer's career. In 1836 von Hagn began to be concerned that a long sequence of guest performances, which had met with great acclaim, was taking a toll on her reputation in Berlin. Thus, von Hagn felt that guest performances were a mixed blessing. Indeed, she ultimately came to the conclusion that they were hindering her career and having a negative impact on her mental health. As early as November 1835, when von Hagn had just returned from a successful trip to Vienna, she was concerned about developments in Berlin in her absence. She wrote to Johann Esperstedt, for example, about her concerns regarding how the theatre administration was dealing with the length of her holiday and in regard to possible deductions from her salary.⁸⁷

On her return from Breslau in October 1836 von Hagn was once again concerned about the length of her holidays. Her opinion was that the problems had

85 A letter from P. A. Wolff to Ludwig Tieck, dated 16.1.1825. *Schauspielerbriefe* 1947, 202–203.

86 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 16.8., 2.9., 29.9., 7.10.1833 Bd 2, 13.10., 20.10., 29.10.1835, 14.8.1836 Bd 3, 12.10.1836 Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

87 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 25.11.1835. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

arisen as a result of a conspiracy by Madame Stich-Crelinger. She made the following entry in her diary a few days later:

Nun nach den ich bereits den 3 tag hier bin. Diese neue Abscheulichkeit bin ich aber auf keinen Fall bereit zu ertragen u. wird mir nicht Gerechtigkeit so bin ich fast entschloßen Berlin für immer zu verlassen. – – Es ist schändlich wie man mich hier behandelt. Überall werde ich auf G[r]ünden getragen, meine Talent giebt mir Gelegenheit in 6 Wochen so viel zu verdienen als ich hier in ganzen Jahre als geholt bekomme und dennoch sucht man bei jeder Gelegenheit mir mehr zu thun. Und warum um einen böser Weib seinen Willen zu thun dem ich in Wege stehe.⁸⁸

She was thinking of permanently leaving Berlin because of what she perceived to be disgraceful behaviour. In her mind she felt that other theatres were showing a greater level of respect by paying her a salary worthy of her talent, which was much more than she was earning in Berlin. In her diary, von Hagn lamented the fact that von Wittgenstein, an old friend, had turned against her when they had been discussing the length of her holidays. Moreover, she woefully noted that only the king and old Timm (a chamberlain to the king) were her supporters.⁸⁹ In the following year this sense of bitterness reached a culminating point. During the year she visited Brunswick, Hannover, Weimar, Frankfurt, Karlsruhe, Baden Baden, Schwerin, Mannheim and Leipzig, and in most of these cities she was greeted with enthusiasm and was invited to high society gatherings.⁹⁰ In contrast to this she felt that she was not sufficiently respected in Berlin.⁹¹ Indeed, when she returned to Berlin after her summer holiday she wrote of her desperation at how the city only brought sorrow into her life.⁹²

Furthermore, those around her in Berlin started to question why von Hagn felt the need to travel away from Berlin. Eduard Devrient wrote in his diary that Charlotte was worried about the negative impact of constant travelling on her career:

– – Fräulein von Hagn aber wieder zu viel. Das ist die Koketterie eines öffentlichen Mädchens; geht sie auf diesem Wege weiter, steigert jede ihrer Reisen diese Charge ihres Spiels, so wird sie bald ausgezischt. Welch ein Jammer, soviel Talent, Geist und Anmut auf solche Wege geraten zu sehen!⁹³

However, von Hagn, wrote that she had never acted better in the same play and that her performance had been met with great acclaim. In the same summer, von Hagn

88 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 16.10.1836. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

89 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 16.10.1836. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

90 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 1.3., 3.3., 25.3., 9.8., 10.8., 15.8., 11.9., 2.10. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK. See also, Bobbert 1936, 150.

91 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 16.10.1837. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

92 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 21.10.1837. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

93 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 31.5.1837. Devrient 1964, 19.

noted how even the king had politely marked how sad it was that she was travelling all the time. However, Charlotte still felt that the king supported her travelling.⁹⁴ In 1838 von Hagn began to write more seldom entries in her diary, with the majority concerning holiday-related issues or travel matters. Her sense of frustration was growing stronger. On April 2nd she wrote the following entry:

Ich will mein Tagebuch enden da das Leben seine Bedeutung für mich verloren. Ich hoffe keine Beziehungen mehr zu den Menschen. Ich bin nichts mehr als eine Ameise die ein Sommer arbeitet um im Winter nicht zu verhungern u. genieße nicht einmal die Freude, daß mir diese rage Thätigkeit Vergangen oder Zerstörung gewährt, die mich meinen Stumpsinn entzieht. Nichts intereßirt mich mehr.⁹⁵

She compares herself to an ant that works tirelessly in the summer in order to survive for the remainder of the year. This entry reveals great dissatisfaction at her career and life. The diary entry was written after her guest performance in Breslau. In his diary, Bethge wrote that he had received a letter from theatre director Vogt in regard to the fact that von Hagn had not wanted to meet anyone in Breslau and did not enjoy her time in the city.⁹⁶

On the other hand, guest performances were a way for younger performers to gain experience on stage in Berlin, when the most popular actors were on tour. This is suggested, for example, by Karoline Bauer, who wrote that she had the possibility to take on better roles in Berlin when August Stich-Crelinger was away.⁹⁷

The acting moved the focus of a working day to the evening because of performances. The profession also included the possibility for free days during the week and free afternoons, when there were no rehearsals or performances. Furthermore, the theatre administration strictly regulated the lives of actors, and even had the authority to arrange trials to sentence violators of the house rules. Indeed, the severe rule of the theatre administrators over the division of roles also caused conflict between the actors. Guest performances entailed diligence, but often brought great acclaim, especially for the most popular actors. Guest performances also offered the possibility to travel. Moreover, the system of guest performances enabled resident actors to gain experience on stage when guest actors were on tour.

94 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 6.6., 3.8.1837. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

95 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 2.4.1838. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

96 Diary entry of Adolf Bethge, dated 27.3., 7.4.1838. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

97 Bauer (1871)1917, 242.

2. Theatre as Part of the Court

After the clouds of the French revolution and Napoleon had evaporated from the Prussian sky in 1815, Frederick William gained full power over his country. The legitimate power of monarchs was enshrined in the Congress of Vienna, and had been championed by Prince von Metternich and the conservative powers of the German Confederation. The conservative idea of restoration was intended to prevent new waves of revolutionary upheaval. This was supposedly secured by introducing a strict sense of order, instead of freedom. The Metternichian supporters believed in authority and not in the opinion of the masses. This was why conservatives in Prussia viewed absolute monarchy as the only possible bulwark against revolutionary chaos. Furthermore, Thomas Nipperdey has concluded that Minister Hardenberg's constitutional work did not succeed after 1815 and that consequently Prussia was devoid of channels for liberal sentiment until 1848. In other words, King Frederick William III held supreme authority in Prussia.⁹⁸ In this system it was obvious that the sections of society that had a good relationship to the king and court gained a privileged position.

The relationship between the Berliner actors and Prussia's supreme monarch was complex. First, the performers were part of the court theatre tradition and most of them officially worked as servants of the court. What is more, the actors enjoyed wide popularity and admiration among the public and also in court circles. However, because of the popularity of theatre among the general public, the court felt threatened as they perceived the general public to be a potential threat to the monarchy. With this complex relationship in mind, the main argument of this chapter is that the court had a strong influence on the lives of the actors and that they were in part tightly bound to the court. Three underlying causes can be listed as regards the formation of the special relationship between the court and Berliner actors. Firstly, one can cite the long tradition of European court theatre, whereby theatre formed an integral part of the representation of the court. Second, one can point to the popularity of theatres in nineteenth-century Prussia and the court's willingness to control the theatre and thereby its effect on public opinion. Thirdly, the king and other important members of the court shared a personal interest in the theatre and this forged a more personal relationship between court and performer.

The Court Theatre Tradition

The long tradition of theatre at European courts helped to foster the special relationship between Berliner actors and the Prussian court. In particular, the theatre tradition at the court valued actors as a vital part of the court's representational image to the world. Moreover, this tradition brought actors closer to the royal family, as they often performed in intimate court surroundings in the presence of the monarch.

The European tradition of court theatre was closely tied to court life and the projection of its official culture. The theatre historian Fischer-Lichte has compared the similarities between the great age of the French theatre in the seventeenth century and the pompous court festivities of Louis XIV, which were a form of theatrical spectacle. In these spectacles, the king was the director and the leading actor. What is more, theatres formed a vital part of Louis XIV's festivities. According to Fischer-Lichte, the gestures and expressions performed by actors in the theatre were an 'idealised mirror image of court life'.⁹⁹ This is an example of the close relationship between court representation and the theatre. Blanning also points out that the theatre in German-speaking areas was vital to the representation of the court.¹⁰⁰

The court theatre tradition became established in Germany in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Admiration of the French court and guest performers from France and Italy spawned imitators at German courts.¹⁰¹ Court theatre in Germany became increasingly important towards the close of the eighteenth century. Ute Daniel argues that the new, popular national theatres were merely another form of court theatre, as they were economically dependent on their respective courts.¹⁰² In addition, Ralf Zerback suggests that all German theatres were essentially a gift from princes to *their* people. He writes about the symbiosis of national theatre and court theatre, which created a sort of 'labile power balance' between the *bürgerlich* hopes and the court's desire to project an official image.¹⁰³

In Berlin, the history of the theatre followed the same lines of development as in other German courts cities. The court invited guest performers and some strolling players also visited the city. However, the actual history of a regular theatre culture only actually begins in the last third of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ In 1786, for example, the National Theatre was founded in Berlin. The actor, dramatist and

99 Fischer-Lichte 2004, 97–99, 128.

100 Blanning 2003, 83.

101 Brockett 1995, 293–295; Fischer-Lichte 2004, 146.

102 Daniel 1995, 13, 118.

103 Zerback 1996, 223–224.

104 Knudsen 1959, 239–240, Wahnrau 1957, 20–21, 37–38.

theatre director August Wilhelm Iffland considered the National Theatre to be one of the most important theatres in the German-speaking world. Iffland was especially well-known for his historical spectacles.¹⁰⁵ Iffland was born into a *bürgerlich* family and can already be considered to have been a court-minded individual before he was appointed the head of the National Theatre. After the French Revolution he became a staunch anti-revolutionary. Indeed, in 1791 he wrote a play entitled *Die Kokarden*, which was full of anti-revolutionary sentiment. He also improved his social status by marrying the daughter of a well-respected Privy Council (*Hofrat*). In Berlin, he became a court favourite. In 1810, Frederick William III appointed him to the third class of the *Roter Adlerorden* (a Prussian chivalry order).¹⁰⁶ Iffland's loyalty to the court raises questions about the traditional interpretation of Iffland and the National Theatre as the embodiments of *bürgerlich* culture. In 1811, the National Theatre was renamed the Royal Theatre (*Königliches Theater*). After Iffland's death in 1814, King Frederick William III appointed Count von Brühl as the general intendant of the Royal Theatre. Von Brühl, had a long background at court, and his appointment is seen as the final act whereby the theatre became subordinate to the court.¹⁰⁷

The Royal Theatre formed an important part of the representation of the Prussian court. On the one hand, it was part of Prussia's external image to other European courts, and, on the other hand, it also embodied the official image of the court to Prussian subjects. The importance of the Royal Theatre to the monarchy is demonstrated in terms of the financial support it received from the court. As Minister von Hardenberg mentioned to General Intendant von Brühl: 'You produce the best theatre in Germany and after that let me have the expenses'.¹⁰⁸ It was important for the Prussian court to be seen in the eyes of other courts to be pre-eminent in cultural affairs. In other words, an appreciation of theatre was important way emphasising the court's prestige. It was particularly important for Frederick William III to highlight his importance among other royal families after the defeat of Napoleon.

Other royal families were also frequently present at the Prussian court performances and attended Berlin's Royal Theatre. In 1828, for example, Prince Leopold (later King Leopold I of Belgium) visited Potsdam and a group of actors were

105 The Berlin theatre was intentionally founded rather late. The Paris Opera, for example, opened its doors in 1672 and even the National Theatre of Sweden was opened already in 1773. Brockett 1995, 305; Knudsen 1959, 240–242.

106 Daniel 1995, 218–219.

107 Wahnrau 1957, 279–281, 288.

108 'Machen Sie das beste Theater in Deutschland und danach sagen Sie mir, was es kostet'. Originally cited in Devrient 1861, 10. Later cited for example in Freydank 1988, 158; Hübscher 1960, 17; Knudsen 1959; Martersteig 1904, 247.

ordered to perform a play entitled *Hottentotten* at *Neues Palais*.¹⁰⁹ Theatre companies were also sent abroad to represent the king of Prussia. Thus, in 1830 and 1835 actors from the Royal Theatre performed at conferences between the Prussian king and Tsar Nicholas I in Schwedt and Kalisz respectively. The meeting in Schwedt was organised on the pretence that it was a military manoeuvre, but the main idea lying behind the conference was to negotiate between the anti-revolutionary powers of Europe.¹¹⁰ The later conference in Kalisz was held to celebrate co-operation between the Prussian and Russian armies and Nicholas I requested the attendance of the Berlin theatre company at the conference.¹¹¹ Louis Schneider, who performed in Schwedt, describes the pride Frederick William took in the Prussian performers. Indeed, after one performance the king apparently rushed on to the stage in order to personally introduce the actors to the tsar.¹¹²

The position of the theatre as a projection of the court also brought financial benefits to the performers. Daniel suggests that the stable working conditions of the court theatres enhanced the social and financial status of the actors. The tradition of court theatre enabled the formation of a group of full-time actors, who were granted relatively good incomes and pension benefits.¹¹³ Peter Schmitt argues that in the period between 1815–1848 actors were becoming more aristocratic in their outlook, rather than being embodiments of *bürgerlich* cultural mores. Indeed, the cultural historian Karl Buchheim states that some of the performers actually belonged to aristocratic circles.¹¹⁴ As discussed in Chapter I.4, the financial benefits enjoyed by Berliner actors were relatively good, but a large income alone was not enough to rank the actors as being legitimate members of the aristocracy. However, actors from the Royal Theatre were particularly close to court circles because of the intimate nature of court performances. This environment made it possible for the actors and the monarchy to enjoy a more personal relationship.

On a theoretical level, there was also a difference between court musicians and court actors. The prestige of court actors was enhanced by the visual nature of their work. The expressions and gestures of the performers were a vital part of the performance. In contrast, musicians could be hidden behind a curtain or concealed in an orchestra pit. Furthermore, while it was culturally acceptable to converse

109 Bauer 1880b, 273–275.

110 Redern 2003, 146.

111 Redern 2003, 177.

112 Schneider 1879a, 101–102.

113 Daniel 1995, 140.

114 Buchheim 1966, 127; Schmitt 1990, 102.

during a play, it was almost impossible to completely ignore the visual nature of a play. Performances at *Prinzessinnenpalais* in the city centre and at the *Neues Palais* in Potsdam were standard for actors employed at the Royal Theatre. The possibility to perform in court circles was also a mark of respect for the performers and was a sign of being in the king's favour. The main consequence of these court performances for the actors was to foster a close relationship to the royal family. The theatre stage at the *Prinzessinnenpalais* on Unter den Linden, was small and intimate. It was renovated in 1826 and enlarged, but there was still no room for an orchestra. The music had to be played in a room close to the stage. Performances took place almost every Monday. After rehearsals, the performers and administrative personnel were served a *Déjeuner à la fourchette*, which consisted of cakes and dessert, whereas the other staff at the theatre were served a cold breakfast in an adjoining room.¹¹⁵

The theatre stage at the *Neues Palais* in Potsdam was considerably larger. It was mainly used during the summer season as part of court festivities and dinners. At noon there was usually a festive dinner, after which the guests would take a stroll in the gardens or halls of the palace. The day would culminate with an evening performance in the theatre. The repertoire at both palace theatres consisted of light comedies, ballets and French vaudevilles. After Frederick William IV ascended the throne, the theatre at the *Neues Palais* in Potsdam was reorganised. In 1841, the author Ludwig Tieck was appointed to reform the theatre along classical lines, yet he still retained the services of the actors from the Royal Theatre of Berlin.¹¹⁶

Frederick William III was eager to attend both the rehearsals and performances of Royal Theatre productions that were performed at either the *Prinzessinnenpalais* or the *Neues Palais*. This practice brought a certain formality and regulation to these occasions.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, a number of the actors described the element of informality at these performances in comparison to normal court etiquette.

For Louis Schneider performances at court were associated with a notable air of anxiety. For example, during the winter season he was invited almost every Monday to performances at the *Prinzessinnenpalais*. The monarch often appeared among the actors during rehearsals and after performances and was keen to engage in conversation. Indeed, a tradition developed whereby the king appeared in the 'blue room', which was where the performers gathered after a performance, where he would select an actor he wished to address. Other members of the royal family

115 Schneider 1879a, 132–133; Frenzel 1959, 155.

116 Frenzel 1959, 153, 155–156, 166.

117 Frenzel 1959, 152–53.

were also interested in meeting the performers and gathered in the blue room after performances.¹¹⁸

In a letter to a friend, Karl Seydelmann describes his first performance at the palace. Thus, he writes that the rehearsals took place at ten o'clock in the morning. Seydelmann also describes how the men wore black during the performance, as etiquette dictated, whereas the women wore simple dresses. After the performance the king conversed with Stawinsky, Crüsemann and Auguste Stich-Crelinger and her daughter Clara. Seydelmann himself later spoke with Princess Elisabeth and wrote admiringly that her royal light had dazzled him.¹¹⁹

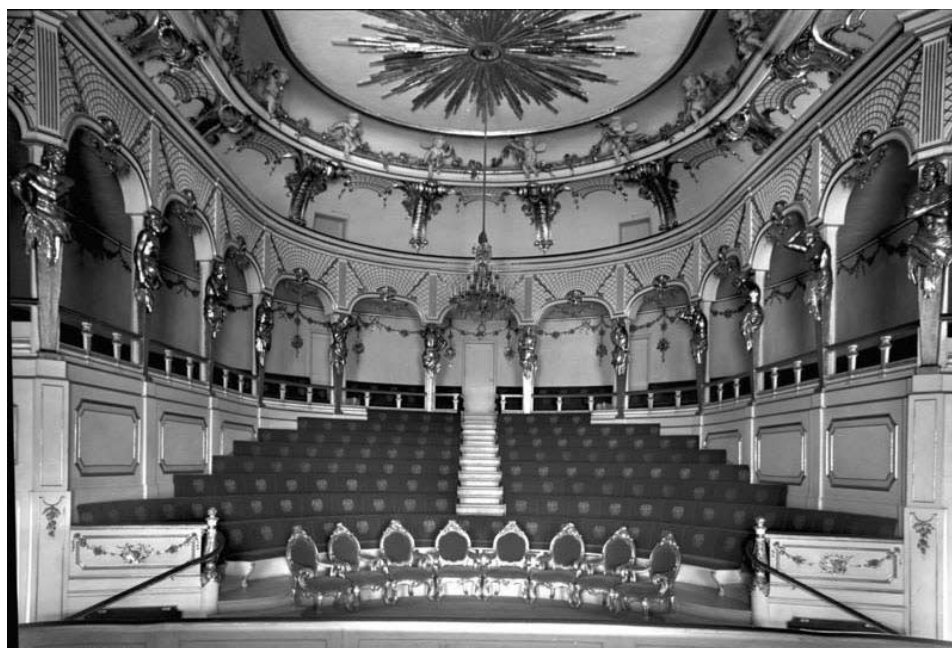
In addition, Charlotte von Hagn was also eager to write about the performances at *Prinzessinnenpalais*. Indeed, one of the main topics in her diary concerned the different occasions when she mixed in aristocratic circles. In 1836, for example, von Hagn proudly wrote about how the king had flattered her during a rehearsal and performance that took place in the *Prinzessinnenpalais*. After the performance the king and two princes went to the blue room in order to talk to the actors. On this occasion, von Hagn was jealous of how the princes mainly talked with the ballerinas. A month later she wrote about a prestigious dinner held after a performance, which had been attended by Prince Albrecht. Furthermore, a week later von Hagn describes how the king followed the rehearsals at the palace as usual. Charlotte made exact notices of the seating order in the auditorium and interprets that she was in the king's favour, as he offered his seat to a certain Schröck in order to take a chair next to her during the dance rehearsals. According to von Hagn, a select gathering met in a 'small room' after the performance, during which time she recited some funny stories that amused both Prince Albrecht and the king.¹²⁰ In brief, these examples testify that a certain informality existed between the royal family and the actors. Formality was still in evidence, but the performers enjoyed a privileged degree of intimacy with the royal family.

However, not all actors enjoyed a close bond with the royal family, as is testified by the case of Eduard Devrient. It is more than likely that he was not among the group of performers that were invited to the *Prinzessinnenpalais* performances, but he did perform in Potsdam, as his laconic reports bear witness. In these entries he appears more interested in describing the journeys than his relationship to the court. During Frederick William III's lifetime Devrient's diary contains only a few

118 Schneider 1879a, 132–133. See also Bauer 1880a, 330.

119 A letter from Karl Seydelmann to a friend, dated 14.11.1838. Röscher 1848, 154.

120 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 12.2., 14.3., 22.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.



Picture 1: The intimacy of the stage at *Prinzessinnenpalais* is evident if it is compared to the stage at *Neues Palais*.

references to the king, who he personally never met. It is known that the king once relayed an instruction to Devrient via von Redern, regarding the need for the actor to appear happier when seeing a girl in a certain play. Devrient did not appreciate this criticism.¹²¹

Devrient enjoyed a less distant relationship with Frederick William IV, as it is known the pair did converse on at least one occasion when the crown prince (as he was at the time) thanked the actor for reading at Fürst Radziwill's dinner party.¹²² Yet, Devrient remained less awed by royal attention than, for example, Seydelmann or von Hagn.

Performances at the royal residence in Potsdam were more seldom, simply because of the distance from Berlin, yet they still formed part of an actor's duties. Charlotte von Hagn was often called to perform at the royal residence, especially during the summer. On such occasions von Hagn slept in the royal residence itself and had the possibility to view the castle and its gardens in the care of the high society of the court. Moreover, she had ample opportunities to encounter the royal family in informal situations. In the summer of 1834 von Hagn resided for a relatively long

121 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 5.6, 18.12.1837, 6.10.1838, 26.12.1838, 24.4.1839, 2.7.1843. Devrient 1964, 19, 30, 57, 59, 75, 179.

122 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 22.1.1839, Devrient 1964, 65–66.

period in Potsdam. During this time she carefully describes all the situations in which she mixed with the royal family. For example, she narrates her encounter with Prince Albrecht in the residence's garden, although she does acknowledge that he was more interested in Hulda Erck. She also describes how she was escorted around the royal family's smaller Marmorpalais. She returned to the same garden while performing in Potsdam in October 1834, and wrote in her diary that she had encountered Prince Albrecht and the Prince of the Netherlands.¹²³

The call to perform in the palace was also an honour for the actors. Indeed, only the actors that the king approved of were given permission to perform. This is well portrayed in Schneider's memoirs:

Schuldenmacher oder Personen, die dem Könige durch allerlei Immediat-Eingaben lästig wurden, besonders aber solche, deren bürgerliches und sittliches Betragen nicht ganz makellos war, erscheinen nie auf dem Palais, und wurde eine Rolle, die sich vorzugsweise für sie eignete, lieber weniger gut besetzt, was oft genug Anlaß zu klagen und Beschwerden gab.¹²⁴

Schneider points out that the king paid close attention to the performers that were called to perform at the palace. Thus, Karoline Bauer explains that Auguste Stich-Crelinger was not invited to the intimate court performances after a scandal involving Count von Blüchen.¹²⁵ This refers to an incident in which the husband of Auguste Stich-Crelinger chanced upon the young aristocrat in Auguste's dressing room. The husband, Heinrich Wilhelm Stich, flew into a rage and a fight ensued, which resulted in him receiving minor injuries.¹²⁶

The construction of a railway to Potsdam in 1837 made it considerably more convenient for Berliner actors to rehearse and perform at the royal residence. Indeed, Bethge wrote in his diary that it only took 36 minutes to get to Potsdam. Moreover, after the rehearsals he had the opportunity to take a promenade and to drink coffee with Heinrich Blume. In the evening he travelled back to Berlin by train. On another occasion Bethge took part in a spectacular performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in Potsdam. On the morning of the performance the actors had their final rehearsal. At midday Bethge wandered around Potsdam with a colleague, and in the evening the performance took place in *Neues Palais*. The railway also made it possible for Bethge to rehearse in Potsdam in the morning and to perform in Berlin in the

123 Diary entries of von Hagn 1–2.6., 14.10.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

124 Schneider 1879a, 132–133.

125 Bauer 1880a, 351.

126 ADB Bd 36, 136. The medical report on Stich's death was sent to the king of Prussia on 5.10.1824. Bl 30, Nr 21213, I HA Rep 89, GStA PK.

evening.¹²⁷ Bethge's invitation to perform in Potsdam did not lead to more intimate encounters with the royal family, as he tended to spend time with other actors.

In brief, the intimate performances at court enabled some actors to enjoy exceptionally close contact with the royal family. The possibility to be addressed by a royal in cosy surroundings after a performance made this situation even more uncommon. The chance to walk in the royal gardens, dine in the royal residence and to personally converse with members of the royal family offered the actors a rare glimpse into the shielded world of the Prussian monarchy. However, these privileges were reserved for those performers that were personally approved by the king. It is also possible that loyalty towards the king was higher among those who formed part of the inner court circle and who were called to perform at court.

Control of the Repertoire

The third reason for the special relationship between the court and Berliner actors arose because of the popularity of the theatre among the masses. The popularity of theatre increased the court's willingness to control public opinion through the artistic medium. General Intendant von Redern's description of the court position regarding the theatre succinctly encapsulates the place of the Royal Theatre in official culture:

Ein gutes Hoftheater galt damals als ein Ausdruck fürstlicher Würde, es gehörte in den Bereich der Politischen Berechnung, indem es das Publikum von den revolutionären Ideen abziehen sollte, die über Alpen, die über den Rhein kamen. Bei dem Könige kam, wie schon bemerkt, auch noch wirkliche Theaterlust dazu. Er war stolz auf den Zustand seiner Bühne, er freute sich, wenn den Vorstellungen Gutes nachgerühmt würde.¹²⁸

The main point in this quote is that the general intendant admits that theatre formed part of the prestige of the monarchy and belonged to the sphere of political calculation. On the other hand, it suggests that the personal tastes of King Frederick William III were able to influence the direction of the theatre. The monarch was proud of the theatre and he keenly followed its rehearsals and productions. He enjoyed the success and popularity of the Royal Theatre. In short, one can cite three reasons why the Prussian court sought to control the repertoire of the theatre: the king's personal

127 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 1.7.1839, 14, 10.10.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

128 Redern 2003, 153.

approval, the need to prevent revolutionary ideas and the aim of maintaining the status of the theatre.

Frederick William III's personal taste is often discussed when addressing the restrictions placed on the theatre.¹²⁹ The theatrical taste of the king was well known among his contemporaries. Karoline Bauer describes her first meeting with Frederick William, in which he expressed his dislike of 'nonsense' and 'wrappings' in plays. The king was clearly delighted when Bauer told him that her next play would be a light comedy.¹³⁰ Bauer summarises later that the king did not seek artistic inspiration from the theatre, rather he simply wanted to be able to relax. Thus, Bauer describes how the king had allegedly noted to her that 'there is so much tragedy in real life, why see it in the theatre?'¹³¹ In addition, the general intendants shared the same view about the king's personal taste. Von Brühl wrote to Pius Alexander Wolff that it would be unwise to perform tragedies in Potsdam when the king would be in attendance.¹³² Von Redern also wrote that the king did not want to be excited in the theatre, but that he did want to be amused.¹³³ The similarity of the testimony by Bauer and von Redern about the king's taste strongly suggests that it was indeed well known.

The idea that the king used theatre for relaxation was also evident in the monarch's behaviour and attire in the theatre. The king only wore his finest uniforms in the theatre when the occasion was a high-level state visit. He liked theatre because he could be in his loge without disruptions.¹³⁴ The idea is consolidated by a contemporary drawing made by Fritz von Witzleben, in which the king is portrayed behind the curtain. The drawing reflects the monarch's attitudes towards the audience and his presence in the theatre. It was not a pompous representation of a "sun king"; instead it evokes the king's yearning for privacy in the theatre.

Frederick William III's personal liking for light comedies ensured that many such productions were staged in Berlin theatres. Von Redern laconically stated that the king ordered the plays he wanted to see.¹³⁵ The theatrical tastes of Frederick William IV, who came to the throne in 1840, differed from those of his father, but the repertoire of the Royal Theatre remained unchanged. However, the new monarch did start to

129 Hübscher argues that the theatre was an extremely important representative medium for the court Eyliz, an elderly scholar emphasises the king's own interest in theatre. Hübscher 1960, 17; Eyliz [1940], 4.

130 The original words were *Brimborium* and *Empallage*. Bauer 1880a, 328.

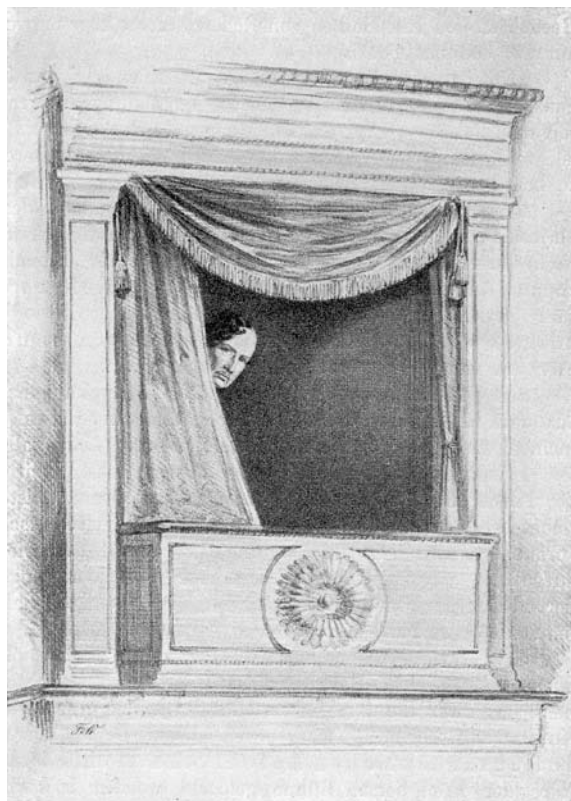
131 Bauer 1880a, 334.

132 A letter from Brühl to P. A. Wolff, dated 11.11.1818. In Martersteig 1879, 240–242.

133 Redern 2003, 151.

134 Bauer 1880a, 332, 350.

135 Redern 2003, 152.



Picture 2: Frederick William III in a theatre loge

develop a court theatre in Potsdam. He appointed the romantic dramatist Ludwig Tieck to reform the court theatre in Potsdam in order for it to act as a counterbalance to the light repertoire of the Royal Theatre. Von Küstner became general intendant at the Royal Theatre, who, as mentioned, was loyal to the court and promised to reduce the budget of the theatre. Von Küstner, had to balance the growing demands of the audience and the anti-revolutionary programme of the court.¹³⁶

The light comedies performed by the Royal Theatre not only pandered to royal tastes, but also expressed restoration ideology. The light comedies could be directed in a way that supported the status quo, and can be compared to the historical films and musicals that were produced during the Second World War, which were intended to distract the masses from their worries.¹³⁷ In restoration Prussia the light comedies were used to counter revolutionary and anti-aristocratic ideas. The liberal author Willibald Alexis wrote in an irritated manner that as long as Frederick William III was alive, the repertoire in Berlin theatres would not change.¹³⁸ The frustrated author

136 Brockett 1995, 337; Flashar 1979, 359; Frenzel 1959, 165–167; Martersteig 1904, 339.

137 For more on escapism during war, see Sedergren 1999, 33–35, Kuparinen 1998, internet-page.

138 Bobbert 1936, 42.

felt that young, liberal authors did not have a chance to have their plays performed on stage while Frederick William III was on the throne.

The golden age of light comedies was between 1830 and 1840. At the same time, one-act plays and *Singspiele* also increased.¹³⁹ Johann Valentin Teichmann, the official secretary of the Royal Theatre's *Generalintendanz*, recorded all the new plays performed at the theatre. The list is printed in *Literarischer Nachlass*, and a study of it makes possible some quantitative remarks regarding the plays performed at the Royal Theatre. Of course a list of plays does not tell the whole story, but it does give some insight into the repertoire selection policy. By comparing the number of light comedies, dramas and tragedies it is hard to distinguish a difference in outlook between the first two general intendants. During the tenures of the first two general intendants, for example, light comedies were dominant over other genres. During Brühl's directorship, an average of 17.8 light comedies were staged per year in comparison to 6.6 dramas and 3.1 tragedies. During Von Redern's tenure as general intendant there were an average of 17.2 new light comedies per year, in comparison to an average of 5.9 dramas and 3.6 tragedies. In total, between 1815 and 1842, there were almost twice as many new light comedies per year than new dramas and tragedies combined.¹⁴⁰

In brief, light comedies were the predominant genre of the theatre's repertoire. Most of the light comedies were by local playwrights or were imitations of French vaudeville. However, the German plays were harmless when compared to French vaudeville. If irony was to be found in German plays, it was likely to be present in tragedies.¹⁴¹ Brauneck describes the world of light comedies as *kleinbürgerlich*. In other words, the plays were not written for an educated and critical audience, but were targeted to the wider masses. Brauneck implies that the light comedies were not based on intelligent jokes, but were popular for fight scenes. A drunk was also a very popular character in the plays. In contrast, erotic insinuation was never used in light comedies of the Biedermeier period.¹⁴²

Popular writers of light comedies that appeared on stage between 1815–1842 included Ernst Raupach and August von Kotzebue.¹⁴³ Sengle suggests that Kotzebue's comedies were anti-idealistic and anti-bürgerlich. Their popularity in the restoration period is explained by the idea that their plays imagined the triumph of the old order

139 Sengle 1972, 417–418.

140 For the list of the new titles performed at the Royal Theatre, see Teichmann 1863, 390–405.

141 Sengle 1972, 417–418. Williamson 2000, 942.

142 Brauneck 1999, 109.

143 For the list of the new titles performed at the Royal Theatre, see Teichmann 1863, 390–405.

of society. The critics of Kotzebue saw him as the epitome of aristocratic corruption and perceived that he was a buttress for absolute monarchism.¹⁴⁴ Kotzebue was murdered in 1819 by Karl Sand, a nationalist *Burschenschaft* enthusiast. Subsequently, he became a martyr for restoration autocracy, and was used as ammunition for the restrictive Carlsbad Degrees, which restricted civic organisations and liberties.¹⁴⁵

Ernst Raupach, was a professor who moved from St. Petersburg to Berlin and wrote comedies for the Royal Theatre and for the Königstädtisches Theater. Sengle mentions that Raupach was strongly dependent on restoration ideology when writing his comedies. Karoline Bauer writes that Raupach was highly appreciated by the court, but states that Raupach was only behind Humboldt in order of precedence at the royal tea parties.¹⁴⁶

The most questionable comedies at the time were anti-Semitic, such as Karl Sessa's *Unser Verkehr*. Wahnrau notes that this play was brought to the Berlin stage to ensure a box-office hit, even though such plays were forbidden in most German cities. The play was a cruel parody that mocked Yiddish jargon and converted Jews who could not hide the Yiddish elements of their speech. The play was a straight attack against Jewish acculturation. Hence, the Beer family from Berlin, who had converted to Christianity and were enthusiastic theatre lovers, were naturally upset about the performance of the play.¹⁴⁷

The popularity of the light comedies among courtiers presented Berliner actors with a unique opportunity. The constant need for new light comedies opened the way for them to write their own scripts. Louis Angely, Friedrich Beckmann and Karl von Holtei were accepted comedy playwrights at the Königstädtisches Theater, whilst Pius Alexander Wolff, Louis Schneider and Carl Blum wrote for the Royal Theatre.

Louis Angely was one of the most popular writers in the French vaudeville tradition, although his plays lacked the crucial element of social criticism that was vital for the genre.¹⁴⁸ Friedrich Sengle points out that Angely's plays embodied the predominant cultural mores of the restoration era. He refers to Goethe's judgement of Angely's military comedy *Sieben Mädchen in Uniform*, which, according to the great writer, was 'Viennese stupidity' that had spread to Berlin and that championed the police state.¹⁴⁹

144 Sengle 1972, 415–416.

145 Clark 2007, 399–401.

146 Sengle 1972, 421–422; Bauer (1871) 1917, 144–146.

147 Wahnrau 1957, 323; Clark 2007, 266; Hertz 2007, 141.

148 Brauneck 1999, 109; Wahnrau 1957, 346.

149 Sengle 1972, 462–463.

Karl von Holtei's light comedies *Wiener in Berlin* and *Berliner in Wien* are good examples of plays that touched on humour related to local peculiarities. Typically humour was based on distortions of dialect words, but he did not have the same satirical tone as Angely. Von Holtei was a former actor but his plays were popular and secured him the position of secretary to the director and dramatist at the Königstädtisches Theater.¹⁵⁰

One of the most popular stage roles at the Königstädtisches Theater was that of 'Nante', who was created by the actor Friedrich Beckman. In Glassbrenner's play *Berlin wie es ist – und trinkt*, Nante was a drunken wanderer. Later Beckmann also wrote sequels featuring this popular character. One of Beckmann's most popular comedies was *Eckensteher Nante im Verhör*.¹⁵¹ Beckmann and Nante were in the king's favour, as is demonstrated by the fact that the monarch requested the actor to perform his most famous role in 1833 at the conference of Schwedt.¹⁵²

Pius Alexander Wolff also had the possibility to write plays for the Royal Theatre. He had been part of Goethe's Weimar school, but in Berlin he mainly concentrated on writing light comedies. Wolff's plays reveal a meta-level to the milieu around the theatre. One of his comedies, *Kammerdiener*, received its premiere at the Royal Theatre in 1828.¹⁵³ Bauer describes how it was obvious that the role of the swindler in the play drew on an actual scandal, in which a fraudster had used a false aristocratic persona in order to attempt to fraudulently marry the famed actor. Wolff even tried to persuade Bauer to play the lead role in the play. This incited a furore among Bauer's supporters, who declared Wolff a hypocrite.¹⁵⁴ Wolff wrote another play – *Der Hund des Aubri* – in which he parodied René-Charles de Pixérécourt's French melodrama. The parody was considered to be so inferior to the original that Goethe refused to stage the play at his theatre in Weimar.¹⁵⁵

Louis Schneider also comments upon his ability to write light comedies that were admired by the king. He describes, for example, how the king had liked one of his light comedies and after its premiere he was offered new productions. Schneider's light comedies were well suited to be staged at court.¹⁵⁶ Wahnrau even describes Schneider as the playwright in residence at the Royal Theatre. He wrote a considerable number

150 Brauneck 1999, 109; Wahnrau 1957, 346.

151 Brauneck 1999, 109.

152 Schneider 1879a, 62–63. See also Redern 2003, 146–147

153 Teichmann 1863, 398.

154 Bauer 1880b, 138–139.

155 On the earlier parody of *Hund des Aubri*, which instigated Goethe's resignation from the Weimar Theatre, see Wahnrau 1957, 323.

156 Schneider 1879a, 151–152.

of successful plays, such as *Der Reisende Student*, *Der Heiratsantrag aus Helgoland*; *Der Kurmärker und die Picarde*; *Der Schauspieldirector* and *Der Kapellmeister von Venedig*. However, by studying Teichmann's list of new titles at the Royal Theatre, it is evident that not many new plays by Schneider were performed.¹⁵⁷ It would seem that most of his plays were more appreciated on the stage of the *Prinzessinnenpalais*.

In brief, Berliner actors had the possibility to write plays if they were devoid of revolutionary or anti-aristocratic connotations. The administration preferred light comedies and writing such works provided actors with the possibility to express artistic sentiments to at least a limited degree. Furthermore, the chance to write light comedies provided actors with a real opportunity to win favour with the king and thereby secure a better position within the theatre hierarchy. The restoration policy in Prussia regarding theatrical productions was also marked by strict restriction on unsuitable plays. During the period, theatre was one of the few institutions that was allowed to have reach out to a wide audience. This explains why the censorial administration was interested in the activities of the theatre.

The history of restoration censorship begins with the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when the old regime wanted a return to the power of absolute monarchs in Europe. This so-called Metternichian system was based on the idea of a powerful court aristocracy that was supported by a strong administration and an unflinching degree of censorship. The Metternichian system received impetus after the murder of Kotzebue in 1819. Thus, Prince Metternich used Kotzebue's murder as an excuse to strengthen the stance of the German Confederation against radicalism and the burgeoning nationalist movement. Consequently, the Carlsbad Decrees were imposed in the German Confederation, which introduced more restrictive forms of censorship and greater surveillance.¹⁵⁸

Censorship was not a new phenomenon in the theatre. In the seventeenth century, for example, censorship was already in place in Spain and England. It was usually implemented by imposing licences on the leading acting troupes and their plays.¹⁵⁹ However, Manfred Brauneck has argued that the censorship imposed upon theatres in Prussia in 1820 was noteworthy for its severity, as nearly every new play needed to gain the approval of the police authorities. However, the Royal Theatre was not subject to this law as the general intendant was loyal to the court and could decide what plays were performed.¹⁶⁰

157 ADB, Bd 32, 137; Wahnrau 1957, 360; Teichmann 1863, 390–405.

158 Clark 2007, 399–402; Sheehan 1989, 407–409; Williamson 2000, 891.

159 Brockett 1995, 196, 236.

160 Brauneck 1999, 19.

Prussian censors were on the lookout for plays with revolutionary or radical content. Even a play with mildly anti-aristocratic sentiments was deemed to be revolutionary. Indeed, it was enough to provoke censure if a play portrayed a middle-class character in a good light and an aristocrat as a fiend. Furthermore, the censor's judged that a play was subversive if they deemed that it was supporting revolutionary forces, such as Polish nationalists. Schiller's *The Robbers* (*Die Räuber*), for example, was pulled from Berlin theatres using the new powers available to the authorities by the Carlsbad Decrees. It was performed again in 1825, but was once again banned after Frederick William III saw the play and became alarmed that the theatre had become a nest of revolutionary vipers. Frederick William IV was initially against bringing *The Robbers* back to the Berlin stage, but the play was produced in Berlin in 1843. In the eyes of the court, the leading character in the play was a rebel who joined a band of outlaws. Whilst the protagonist ultimately surrenders to the authorities, the play was interpreted as flirting with anarchism. Equally, Houben suggests that Heinrich von Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg* was banned in 1828 because it did not present the true worth and significance of the great Elector.¹⁶¹

In her memoirs Bauer criticised the censorship system in Prussia. She describes, for example, how Gotthilf August von Maltiß' play *Der Alte Student* was banned in 1828 at the Königstädtisches Theater. The censorial authorities interpreted that the play was overly sympathetic to the nationalist hopes of the Poles.¹⁶² A daring anonymous commentary on the play also appeared in the *Berliner Schnellpost*:

Er [the play] Enthält die Worte 'Vivat Polonia!' und in der Vorrede die Aufführung der Gründe, weshalb man den Verfasser von Berlin verbannt hat. Das die Dichter sich nicht bezähmen können, wenn es so fort geht, müssen sie freilich fortwährend von der Censur am Sängelband geführt werden!¹⁶³

This expression of sympathy for the Polish cause led to the imposing of a ban on the poet's work.

Louis Schneider was very loyal to the court, but even his work was strictly monitored. After he journeyed to Paris in 1830, for example, he translated what he considered to be a harmless play, entitled *Stockholm, Fontainebleau et Rome*, by Alexander Dumas. The play portrayed the adventures of Queen Christina of Sweden in the seventeenth century, which Schneider abridged and renamed *Monaldeschi*. The play was approved to be performed, but it was withdrawn just before the opening

161 Houben 1926, 39–40, 121. For a short analysis of *Die Räuber*, see Meech 2008, 85–86.

162 Bauer 1880a, 335.

163 *Berliner Schnellpost* 17.11.1828.

night. The official reason for the action was that the leading male actor had fallen sick. However, Schneider later heard from a family friend, General von Witzleben, that the play had been withdrawn because it was deemed inappropriate to perform a play so close to the revolutionary events of 1830 that contained the abdication Queen Christina and depicted the monarch ordering the murder of an opponent.¹⁶⁴

In 1844, a decree was issued by Frederick William's cabinet that banned all stage depictions of the Hohenzollern dynasty. This order was a reaction to Karl Gutzkow's comedy *Zopf und Schwert* that included a depiction of Frederick William I.¹⁶⁵ The cabinet order was also invoked to ban Julius Mosen's *Andreas Hofer* and *Trompeters an der Katzbach*, which dealt with the rebellion of the young Friedrich the Great against his father. Such historical events were deemed to be unsuitable for the stage.¹⁶⁶

In brief, any hint of anti-monarchist sentiment in a play was strictly prohibited. This atmosphere of paranoia lasted for the whole restoration period. Censorship of plays performed at the Königstädtisches Theater was even more painstaking, as the general director of the theatre was not directly appointed by the conservative court circles.

Special Personal Relationships Between the Court and Performers

There were two particular forms of relationship between the court and Berliner actors that deserve closer study: one concerns the relationships based on a shared sense of nobility and the other was based on a conservative, militaristic ideology that was embraced by many actors. The development of the relationship of Charlotte von Hagn to the court provides a good example of an aristocratic dynamic. In the beginning of her career von Hagn was already able to secure a good position because of her noble background. However, she particularly benefitted from developing a close relationship to the Russian court and especially to Tsar Nicholas I. Louis Schneider and Adolph Bethge provide examples of actors with militaristic and conservative outlooks. The revolutionary events of 1848 brought the ideological worldviews of the Berliner actors to the fore.

Charlotte von Hagn began her career at the Royal Theatre in 1833, after initially acting in Munich. At this time she already ranked as a prominent figure, but was not among the first tier of female actors in Berlin.¹⁶⁷ As Eda Sagarra notes,

¹⁶⁴ Schneider 1879a, 242, 246–248.

¹⁶⁵ Frederick William IV's cabinet order, dated 23.4.1844. Houben 1926, 123.

¹⁶⁶ Houben 1926, 124.

¹⁶⁷ Bobbert 1936, 30.

Prussian court culture was open to members of their aristocratic 'family'. It was easier for a young noble lieutenant to ease into court life, than for a distinguished civil servant.¹⁶⁸ Hulda Bobbert, the biographer of von Hagn, notes that the court saw the actor as part of the 'family' and her 'court ability' also eased her way into other elite circles.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, she was not part of the upper circles of the aristocracy and did not enjoy the total support of the king. Hence, Frederick William III refused to write a letter of recommendation for von Hagn when she was about to depart to Russia.¹⁷⁰

A crucial factor in von Hagn's acceptance into the inner circles of the aristocracy stemmed from her relationship to the Russian court and especially to Tsar Nicholas I. Von Hagn's special relationship to the Russian court dates from 1833, when she made a guest performance in St. Petersburg. At this time she was granted an audience with the tsar's family and Nicholas I himself showed some interest in her. In her diary, von Hagn noted that the tsar had told her that she had confused him. This entry refers to the fact that Nicholas had seen von Hagn play a trousers-role, and as a joke he presented her to his companions as if she was a major in the Russian army. In 1834, when Nicholas was visiting Berlin, von Hagn received an invitation from the tsar to attend a private ball. Consequently, the attention of the Russian monarch acted as a catalyst for von Hagn's rise among the Prussian aristocratic elite. Princess Elisabeth came to talk to von Hagn, for example, who read a poem in honour of the royal's birthday.¹⁷¹ This level of royal attention was exceptional, even for the members of the nobility.

One of the most important turning points in von Hagn's relationship with the tsar (and in her whole career) was a performance at a conference in Kalisz that was attended by both the king of Prussia and the Russian tsar. In her diary von Hagn expresses her total admiration of the tsar, who she refers to as 'this godlike man'. The tsar also paid close attention to Charlotte von Hagn, and on several occasions he entered her dressing room. After her first performances, the conversations in her dressing room were more formal, with Nicholas politely wishing her good luck. However, Nicholas became increasingly informal and was not adverse to asking questions about von Hagn's personal life. The atmosphere of romantic love in the meetings was hinted at by Nicholas' humorous jealousy regarding a kiss von Hagn

168 Sagarra 1977,

169 Bobbert 1936, 31.

170 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 8., 9.7.1833. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

171 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 12.10., 21.11.1833, 29.10.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

had given to someone else. Nevertheless, moral standards were protected with vigour in the theatre. According to von Hagn, the most morally suspicious incident during her time at the theatre occurred during a performance, when the tsar rushed into her dressing room before she was properly dressed. She describes how the tsar immediately turned his head away from the door. Louis Schneider describes this same incident in his memoirs, when the tsar entered von Hagn's dressing room at an inopportune moment.¹⁷² Nothing more morally dubious is noted in the accounts of von Hagn and Schneider, but one must remember that they were unlikely to have recorded a more damaging indiscretion.

Karoline Bauer even mentions how her 'lovely colleague Charlotte von Hagn was especially distinguished by the 'handsomest man of all the Russians' Bauer was referring to von Hagn's guest performances in St. Petersburg and Kalisz.¹⁷³ Significantly, the memoirs written by Schneider and Bauer confirm the tsar's interest in von Hagn and provide an external perspective on the relationship.

An important consequence of von Hagn's close relationship to Nicholas I was that it focussed the attention of the Prussian aristocracy on the Kalisz conference. Von Hagn writes about how she had the honour to converse with nearly all the princes and dukes attending the conference during the last great military parade of the meeting.¹⁷⁴ Her popularity among the conference participants is also confirmed by General Intendant von Redern, who was in charge of the theatre troupe at Kalisz. In his memoirs, he writes about how Charlotte von Hagn had a very important role in Kalisz and how she conquered all with her joyful face.¹⁷⁵

After the Kalisz conference, aristocratic interest in von Hagn followed her to Berlin. A few months later, for example, von Hagn was summoned to meet three aristocratic countesses, who suddenly wanted to see her. Charlotte recorded that she must have established a good reputation, as why else would these countesses have sought her acquaintance? However, the reception von Hagn received was not as warm as she had hoped.¹⁷⁶ It seems probable that the interest of the Russian tsar in von Hagn had also awoken the interest of the aristocratic ladies.

In the eyes of the royal family, Charlotte von Hagn had risen in the social hierarchy. In 1836, Frederick William donated an expensive painting to von Hagn,

172 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 10., 12., 15., 19., 21., 22.9.1835. 1835. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK. See also Schneider 1879a, 206–207.

173 Bauer 1885, 151.

174 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 21.9.1835. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

175 Redern 2003, 177.

176 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

which was by Julius Schoppe and was entitled *Templer und Jüdin*. Von Hagn responded by letter to the king and described the monarch as her 'first friend'. Von Hagn was also employed as a means of maintaining close links with other European royal dynasties. Hence, when von Hagn visited the spa town of Bad Doberan, the Prussian royal family asked the actor to send greetings and present luxurious gifts to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and his wife, who were the son-in-law and daughter of Frederick William III.¹⁷⁷

On several occasions von Hagn also sensed that she was much valued by the Prussian king. For instance, when the problems with her holiday arrangements were reaching a climax, she wrote that the king and Timm were her only supporters. In 1839, when she was leaving Berlin for St. Petersburg for a long residence as a guest performer, she also stated that the king was her only true supporter.¹⁷⁸

Another important factor in von Hagn's relationship with the court, was the support she received from high aristocratic patrons and admirers. One of the most important patrons of von Hagn was Chamberlain Karl Timm. Timm was especially known for organising breakfasts and dinners, at which the king had a tendency to appear without warning.

Karoline Bauer describes these events at the new Potsdam Palace, before von Hagn was contracted to the Berlin theatre. Bauer describes how only she, Henriette Sontag and four dancers were invited to the Timm's table. She adds that the dishes were the same as those served at the Royal table. Moreover, Bauer describes how it was customary for the king to appear in an informal outfit after they had finished eating, when he sought to engage the female actors in conversation. Bauer gives an example of a typical topic of conversation, in which Frederick William had joked that she should not ruin his lieutenants, who were apparently agonisingly in love with the actor.¹⁷⁹

At a later date Von Hagn also participated in the breakfast and dinners organised by Timm. She writes that the king was always in a good mood when he appeared after dinner. On one occasion, von Hagn describes how the king talked to her for a long time and in a friendly manner when she was still sitting at Timm's table. Charlotte was greatly impressed that the king made time to speak to the actors.¹⁸⁰

177 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 19.7.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

178 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 16.10.1836, Bd3, 6.3.1839, Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

179 Bauer 1880a, 354.

180 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 2.6.1835. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

The opportunity to form a personal relationship with the Prussian monarch opened up many possibilities for an actor in a closed society. The close relationship that von Hagn enjoyed with the king and his staff offered the actor a means of bypassing the troublesome bureaucracy. On one occasion, for example, the king granted holiday leave for von Hagn whilst they were at Timm's dinner table, thereby ensuring that the actor avoided having to go through the lengthy application procedures. Von Hagn also used her close relationship with Timm to relay matters of importance to Frederick William. For example, when she tried to get her sister an improved contract at the Royal Theatre, she wrote to Timm in order for the chamberlain to refer the matter to Frederick William. After the contract for her sister was sealed, the whole family had dinner at Timm's residence. Von Redern was aware of von Hagn's unofficial channel to the king. He wrote that he was about to resign his office in the aftermath of the conflict between von Hagn and Stich-Crelinger, when the former intervened and used her influence with 'Papa Timm'.¹⁸¹

Von Hagn also enjoyed the influential patronage of the government minister Prince Wilhelm Wittgenstein. His main assistance for von Hagn came during the Stich-Crelinger conflict. Wittgenstein intervened in the conflict by advising von Hagn to submit a resignation letter to the king.¹⁸² Von Hagn followed this advice, which came from one of the king's closest confidantes, as she then knew that she would receive the full support of Frederick William.

Prince Wittgenstein also played a pivotal role in securing von Hagn's access into aristocratic circles in Berlin after the Kalisz conference. He personally invited her to prestigious social events, for example, where she records that she conducted herself gracefully. Female actors were attractive figures among aristocratic circles, but they were seldom invited to their soirées. In the wake of von Hagn's acclaim at the Kalisz conference, she became a figure worthy of attention in the eyes of the aristocracy. She became the girl that fascinated the king and Prince Wittgenstein. Shortly after the Kalisz conference, von Hagn was invited to a social gathering hosted by Prince Wittgenstein. In her account of this event, she notes that she felt naïve when faced with the odd quietness of the others. She also observed that the so-called 'grand society' spent a great deal of time conversing about boring things and that she was glad to leave. Her remarks betray her as an outsider in aristocratic circles. Her embarrassment was normal, as members of high society did not immediately accept

181 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 16.8.1835 Bd 2, 31.12.1835, 13.6.1836, Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK; Redern 2003, 180.

182 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 10.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

newcomers into their midst. However, later in the same year she was again invited to a soirée hosted by Prince Wittgenstein, where she met Prince Oldenburg, who was one of her greatest admirers. On this occasion she writes that she enjoyed her time in society.¹⁸³

Even when Wittgenstein was in his sixties, his patronage maintained a romantic air. After a dinner at Timm's, for example, Wittgenstein teased von Hagn by saying that she would have to buy him an expensive jewellery box when they married. However, Charlotte interpreted this remark as mere humour. On the following day, Prince Wittgenstein escorted Charlotte and other ladies around the grounds of the Royal palace. Charlotte wrote in her diary that they walked arm-in-arm with Wittgenstein. Later Charlotte heard rumours that an elder statesman had married a young girl from Dresden and confessed that she was afraid that it was Wittgenstein. She became calmer when she heard that Wittgenstein was not the statesman in question. Furthermore, Wittgenstein was part of von Hagn's everyday life. In April 1836, for example, she was suffering from painful toothache and she had to undergo a dental operation. The operation was carried out at her home on a sofa. Charlotte wrote how the 'brave' Prince Wittgenstein came to her and was very sympathetic and supportive. During the actual operation he withdrew bashfully to another room. Von Hagn's relationship with Prince Wittgenstein came to an end when she felt that he had turned against her in a matter pertaining to her holiday leave. At the time she wrote in her diary that Prince Wittgenstein became hateful when he had dared to discuss, in a negative tone, the length of her holidays.¹⁸⁴

An actor who displayed a militaristic or conservative ideology also benefited from a closer relationship with the Prussian court. In Prussia militarism was closely linked to the king and the court. Indeed, the king was commonly viewed as the 'father' of the officer corps, as well as being 'the first soldier'. The rank of officer also opened the doors to the court. Once again, it was easier for an officer to be received at court than for civil servants.¹⁸⁵ This is why a previous military position enabled some actors, such as Adolph Bethge and Louis Schneider, to draw closer to the court. One can note a particularly strong link in this regard in Louis Schneider's career.

183 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 15.1., 19.1., 3.4., 1.6., 1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

184 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 20.4., 23.5., 13.6., 19.6., 16.10.1836. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

185 Büsch 1981, 58–60; Frevert 2004, 82; Sagarra 1977, 234–235.

Louis Schneider wrote much in his memoirs about his interest in military issues. He had volunteered for military service at the age of seventeen. He describes this period in his memoirs: 'I was attracted by the order, exactness and the rules of my position.'¹⁸⁶ He served as a so-called 'one-yearer', which was an option for educated men. For non-educated recruits service time was three years. Ute Frevert suggests that it was relatively rare for middle-class men to be interested in a career in the army. Methods of avoiding obligatory service were myriad, even though it offered many a respectable status as an officer.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, it could be argued that Louis Schneider's wish to volunteer showed exceptional enthusiasm for military service.

His patriotic father had probably influenced his son's thinking and choices. The military was highly respected in the Schneider family and they had links to the Prussian military nobility. These links did much to smooth Schneider's path into the army. General von Witzleben was a close friend of Schneider's father, and orchestrated an inspection in which the king addressed Schneider during his basic training. Schneider wrote that such things had never previously happened at his regiment.¹⁸⁸

Prussian conscription was divided between service in the army and the *Landwehr* (territorial army). Normally a recruit served in the army for between one and three years or in the *Landwehr* for four weeks per year. In some cases, the non-commissioned officers of the army were also persuaded to take part in *Landwehr* exercises. The educated one-year recruits were seldom interested in taking up officer posts in the *Landwehr*. However, this was not the case with Schneider, as he joined the military unit immediately after he had finished his one-year military service. He wrote in his memoirs that he was such an enthusiastic participant in *Landwehr* exercises in 1830, that he had been commended by the commanding officer of the battalion.¹⁸⁹

Schneider also displayed his enthusiasm for militarism in civilian matters. Von Hagn wrote in her diary, for example, about Schneider wearing his corporal's uniform during an Orthodox mass held at a church in Kalisz during the conference of 1835, where the Russian tsar's family was present. Women were dressed in their representative attire and men in uniforms. Frevert has argued that the possibility of wearing a military uniform acted as a rare motivating factor for middle class recruits

186 Schneider 1879a, 54–55.

187 Frevert 2004, 52–55.

188 Schneider 1879a, 129–132.

189 Schneider 1879a, 54–55, 106–110; Frevert 2004, 56, 63–64.

to join the *Landwehr*. The uniform brought respect to its wearer and it could be decorated in the finest manner.¹⁹⁰

Adolph Bethge was not as interested in the activities of the *Landwehr* as Schneider. Indeed, in 1836 he wrote that he felt sad for the poor people who had to take part in the Sunday exercise of the *Landwehr* troops. Bethge describes these exercises as limitless forms of insanity, and unsurprisingly he had applied for deferment from the service. However, Bethge did end up serving in the *Landwehr*, but his attitude remained negative. He wrote how one early Sunday morning he had to take part in a *Landwehr* assembly, and had laughed at an old, simpleminded captain. Bethge underlined the word simpleminded in his diary to highlight the statement. The *Landwehr* assemblies were held every October. Bethge mentions the assembly in 1844, 1845 and 1846, before he was finally relieved of his duties in 1849.¹⁹¹

Basic duty of a soldier in the Prussian army was to serve his majesty and his fatherland, in harmony with royalist and conservative ideology. The army was against liberal, constitutional and democratic ideas. Moreover, the military mindset of the king raised even ordinary soldiers above 'normal civilians'. For officers, the honour was even greater. Schneider describes how his devotion to the army forged a special relationship to the king. Indeed, Schneider wrote that Frederick William regularly addressed him in the 'blue room' after palace performances.¹⁹²

Besides Schneider's devotion to military service, his close relationship to the king was bolstered by the military literature that he wrote. His career as military writer started after a *Landwehr* course, in which Major von Ivernois had asked Schneider to write a guidebook for the troops. Schneider completed the manual, which was entitled *Instruktionen für den Landwehrmann*, with great speed. With the help of General von Witzleben the guidebook was shown to Frederick William III, who reacted positively to the publication. The first edition of 1000 copies was soon followed by a much larger print run of 84,000 exemplars. Schneider also produced a revised edition – *Soldatenfreund, ein Lesebüchlein für den preußischen Infanteristen* – that catered to ordinary soldiers and went through a print run of 211,000 tomes. The king was so pleased with this publication that he subsequently rewarded Schneider with the prestigious gold medallion of the arts and sciences. Furthermore, Schneider

190 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 11.9.1835. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK; Frevert 2004, 59.

191 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 4.4.1836, 20.10.1839, Nr 1, 6.10.1844, 12.10.1845, 11.10.1846. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK. See a release certificate from the Landwehr troops 1.12.1849. Nr 5, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

192 Schneider 1879a, 116–117, 133–134; Frevert 2004, 71, 82.

established a monthly journal in 1833 for soldiers and non-commissioned officers that was entitled *Der Soldaten-Freund. Zeitschrift für faßliche Belehrung und Unterhaltung des Preußischen Soldaten*. The magazine pleased the king and the court a great deal and made Schneider a particular favourite in the eyes of the king. Schneider wrote that the king was pleased to see him in the 'blue room' before the publication of *Soldatenfreund*, but subsequently became noticeably more cordial. Indeed, Schneider writes that Frederick William started to shout his name when he arrived at the door of the 'blue room' and always wanted to discuss the latest issue of his journal. One can easily comprehend that Schneider's star rose considerably because of his publications. The *Soldatenfreund* and the eponymous journal were also appreciated by Tsar Nicholas I. Schneider describes that the tsar had addressed him behind the scenes in Kalisz in order to inform the actor that he had read the latest edition of the journal and that he liked his writing. Schneider continues by proudly stating that the tsar had shaken his hand and had cordially patted him on the shoulder. Other sources also describe how Schneider received a glittering ring every year for 18 years from the Russian monarch in gratitude of the actor sending his military journal to the tsar. Schneider's journal was appreciated in high circles, but Frevert argues that it did not gain wide popularity among the troops and thus its conservative message largely fell on deaf ears.¹⁹³

Conservatism was one of the leading ideologies in Berlin during the first half of the nineteenth century. Conservative ideology in Prussia at the time can be defined as the fear of revolution and other forces that could potentially destabilise society. Accordingly, advocates of such an ideology believed that order was best maintained through the authority of an absolute monarch. This form of conservatism can be viewed as the counterbalance to the power of liberalism. Prussian conservatives were typically also opponents of nationalism, which was viewed as opposing tradition and legitimacy. The only valid form of patriotism for conservatives was to display loyalty to the king and realm. The followers of conservatism in Prussia were mainly the powerful elite.¹⁹⁴

Schneider ranks as a supporter of Prussian conservatism, but did not belong to the governing elite. Pekka Suvanto defines such an ideology as 'peoples' conservatism', which was based on admiration of the monarch and was not related to the power ambitions of the nobility.¹⁹⁵ In his memoirs, Schneider provides exact details of all his social interactions with the king he so admired. Indeed, he reserved a complete chapter

193 Schneider 1879a, 54, 106–108, 116–117, 134, 207–208; ADB, Bd 32, 136–138; Frevert 2004, 74.

194 Suvanto 1994, 65–66; Nipperdey 1983, 313–314, 318; Hughes 1988, 80.

195 Suvanto 1994, 65.

of his memoirs to describing his meetings with the king, who is also mentioned in several other chapters. Schneider proudly remarks that the king willingly addressed him after performances in the so-called 'blue room'. Schneider also described that he was honoured to take part in the Schwedt and Kalisz conferences.¹⁹⁶

Schneider's conservative monarchism is in evidence, for example, when he wrote about the death of Nicholas I:

Seit dem Tode meines Vaters 1839 und dem 7. Juni 1840, dem Sterbetage König Friedrich Wilhelms III., habe ich keinen so tiefen Kummer empfunden, wie bei der ganz unerwarteten Nachricht von dem Tod des Kaisers Nikolaus. – Nun war kein Monarch mehr in Europa, der neben dem Willen auch die Kraft hatte, die Revolution in allen ihren Formen und Konsequenzen zu bekämpfen, – –¹⁹⁷

Schneider regarded the death of Nicholas I as nearly being on a par with the death of Frederick William III, because he felt that they were the two main bulwarks against the horrors of revolution. Schneider's memoirs were only published in 1879, and thus they are a relatively challenging source when seeking to study his ideology before 1848. In other words, he wrote his memoirs more than 30 years after the events he describes. One must bear in mind that Schneider's later success at court, the outcome of the revolutionary year of 1848 and the beginning of the German Empire in 1871 could have all influenced his latter recollections. However, other contemporaries do describe Schneider as being an extremely patriotic person. The liberal author Theodor Fontane, for example, concludes in his memoirs that Schneider was a pleasant person, although his political views and artistic tastes were disgusting. Fontane records that Schneider felt true patriotic love towards the king.¹⁹⁸

Even though his attitude towards the *Landwehr* was not wholeheartedly positive, Adolph Bethge appreciated the king of Prussia and the monarchist traditions around him. This is testified, for example, by Bethge's genuine concern when Frederick William III fell gravely ill in 1840. The death of the king was discussed in detail in his diary. Bethge's respect for the recently deceased king was also demonstrated in 1840 by the fact that he chose to baptise his son Friedrich Wilhelm. Bethge's Prussia patriotism is also in evidence when he writes about the murder attempt on Frederick William IV in July 1844. Bethge was terrified by the attempt and viewed the culprit

196 The whole chapter is entitled 'Im Palais König Friedrich Wilhelms III'. Schneider 1879a, 63–65, 108, 116–117, 133–134, 404.

197 Schneider 1879a, 404.

198 Küstner 1853, 193–194; Fontane 1898, 404, 416, 418, 425.

as worthless scum. Bethge also records how he could not read Bishop Eylert's book about King Frederick William III without tears welling up in his eyes.¹⁹⁹

The Revolution of 1848

The conservative thoughts of Berlin actors became clearly visible in 1848, when revolution broke out in Berlin. The revolution started in March and only lasted for a month. Support for the revolutionary cause lasted longer, but was largely extinguished by close of the year. The failure of the revolution partly stemmed from its disparate motivations and multifarious actions, but it should be stressed that one of the main groups that supported the revolution were liberal elements in Berlin, who demanded a constitution and other political reforms.²⁰⁰ During the revolution in 1848, to avoid greater conflicts between citizens and the military, Frederick William IV made some concessions. He even wore a black, red and gold tricolour rosette in front of Berlin University. This act convinced the revolutionaries that they could carry out a 'civilised revolution', in which there was no need to loot the royal palace and abolish the nobility. However, when the liberal movement tried to restrict the king's power over the army, the monarch suddenly changed his view about the revolution. His enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause came to an end and the liberal movement was too weak to challenge the monarch's authority. What is more, the king did not implement the promises he had made earlier about the liberalisation of the state, as well as supporting a hardline reaction to events in Prussia after 1848.²⁰¹

Revolutionary events are well described in Bethge's diary. He was clearly upset about the turmoil around him and his attitude was extremely hostile towards the revolutionaries. Indeed, Bethge enlisted in the anti-revolutionary forces while he served in the *Bürgerwehr*²⁰² troops. He referred to the revolutionaries as 'the rabble' (*Pöbel*) and as 'swine-dogs' (*Schweinehunde*). Furthermore, Bethge underlines the

199 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 1.6.–7.6., 6.9.1840, 6.3., 26.7., 25.9.1844. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

200 The period before the March revolution in 1848 is called Vormärz, while the development of the liberal ideas of the age are underlined. Hentschel 1980, 188–189; Lutz 1998, 228–229; Nipperdey 1983, 396, 399; Richie 1998, 126–127. However, Langewiesche points out that liberals were not a coherent group. He defines a group of separate economic liberals, who protected their commercial rights at the expense of small traders. This, for example, undermines the image of a coherent ideology of the *bürgertum*. This is why it is impossible to define an exhaustive definition of *bürgerlich* ideology. It must be handled as a larger image that allows for divergence. Langewiesche 2000, 12.

201 Richie 1998, 127–131.

202 *Bürgerwehr* was a militia that was founded in 1848 in order to protect properties in Berlin. The *Bürgerwehr* was dominated by the military and it was abolished in 1849 because it did not impress the officials. For more on the *Bürgerwehr*, see Lüdtke 1989, 188; Frevert 2004, 124.

disrepute of the revolutionaries by writing a story about a drunken revolutionary who had died. In the story a woman locates the name of her husband in a heroic death-roll of revolutionaries. Bethge also expresses his superior social status by stating that there were mainly servants in the funeral procession of revolutionaries. He also underlines the riotous nature of the revolutionaries by describing how they destroyed Jewish clothing stores, which were being defended by the king's troops. Bethge was also clearly ignorant of the motivations lying behind the revolution. He wondered why an elderly gentleman, for example, went along with the antics of hooligans and not only rebellious students.²⁰³

In contrast, Bethge wrote several entries in his diary in which he approves of the harsh measures of the army. At an early phase in the revolution, for example, he writes indifferently of how the soldiers had inflicted bloodshed on the rebels. A few days later he once again records how the army had fired on the masses, and states that there had been some unfortunate collateral damage. He also thought that it was wrong that fallen revolutionaries were honoured with grand funeral processions and laurel crowns, whereas heroic soldiers were buried in silence. On March 18th students had barricaded the city's bridges, and Bethge wrote that he admired three virtuous gentlemen who tried to stop these hooligans. Moreover, he wanted to mock revolutionary symbols, such as the tricolour that he thought made the city look like a rag chamber.²⁰⁴

During the revolution, Bethge initially simply stayed at home. However, by the end of March 1848 he was enlisted into the ranks of the *Bürgerwehr* militia. His service mainly included undertaking parades and security duties. He does not record any actual conflict between his troops and the revolutionaries. The most exhausting mission for Bethge entailed guarding the palace of the Prince of Prussia during the night of the 19th and 20th May 1848. His last militia duty took place on 15th June 1848.²⁰⁵

Other actors are also recorded as being strongly against the revolution. However, a number of actors did display a degree of support for the revolution. Bethge records that after March 21st, when the acute revolutionary situation in Berlin had dissipated,

203 Diary entries of Adoph Bethge, date 15.3., 18.3., 22.3., 23.3., 5–6.4.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK. Pöbel was a word that the economic bourgeoisie and the educated bürgertum used about the lower classes. Gailus points out that the use of the word said more about the user than the target that it described. Gailus 1984, 1.

204 Diary entries of Adoph Bethge, dated 14.3., 15., 18., 20., 22.3.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

205 Diary entry of Adoph Bethge 28.3., 20.4., 12.5., 19.5., 4.6., 15.6.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

everyone at the theatre wore the revolutionary red, black and yellow rosette. According to Bethge, this had been the recommendation of Professor Werder. Yet, Bethge was pleased that the majority of actors shared his contempt for the revolution.²⁰⁶

Not surprisingly Louis Schneider was also strongly against the revolution. In his memoirs he refers to the revolution as the ‘disaster of the year 1848’. He wrote how he opposed the revolution and did not consent to wear the revolutionary cockade. He explains that this stance made him persona non grata and that he had wanted to leave Berlin. He felt passive and felt that Prussian society was going backwards. He left his home only when necessary in order to fulfill his professional duties.²⁰⁷ Besides his own memoirs, other sources also record Schneider’s devoted attitude to resisting the revolution. Bethge wrote in his diary, for example, that Schneider held a powerful position in the theatre and that he had given an overview about the military movements. In the memoirs of von Küstner, who was general intendant at the theatre in 1848 and an arch conservative, it is described how a group of people gathered around his house in order to try and force Schneider from his post at the Royal Theatre. Von Küstner judged this to be an acute threat to Schneider. In the eye of the revolutionary storm, Schneider held a reactionary speech at a *Landwehr* gathering. His loyalty towards the King was unshakeable. Later, Bethge wrote that the theatre’s support fund (*Unterstützungsfond*) needed a new secretary, because Schneider had announced that he did not want to associate with the theatre. This stance was dangerous in such a revolutionary atmosphere and Schneider was forced to flee from his duties at the theatre. He travelled to Hamburg, where he was also regarded as being too reactionary and so he set out for St. Petersburg. Schneider’s loyalty towards the king and his tribulations during the revolutionary upheaval were rewarded in 1850, when he was appointed to the fourth class in the *Roter Adlerorden* and gained the title of *Hofrat*. At this time he was also hired to be the new Royal Reader at the Prussian court.²⁰⁸

As Bethge records, the majority of actors were in his opinion against the revolution. However, he does record an example when a conflict arose after an actor named Michaels signed a manifesto stating that he suspected that the Prussian army was unwilling to protect all Berliners. Schneider took on Michaels and harangued him in public at the theatre. Bethge strongly condemned Michaelis’ actions and

206 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 21.3.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

207 Schneider 1879b, 6, 30–31, 45.

208 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 21.3., 26.6.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK; Küstner 1853, 193–194; ABD, Bd 32, 138; Wahnrau 1957, 322; Weddigen 1904, 194.

thought that Schneider's anger was justified.²⁰⁹ Eduard Devrient no longer lived in Berlin at the time of the 1848 revolution, but he did comment on the event in Berlin from his new home-town of Dresden. Amidst the radical upheavals of March 1848, he questioned the motives of the king of Prussia. Devrient questioned how the king could issue a plea asking his subjects to forget unpleasant matters when there were Berliners lying on the streets. He was very upset about the king's military actions during the revolution. However, composer Richard Wagner describes in his memoirs how Eduard Devrient was a member of a moderate group of reformers, who were afraid of radical revolution.²¹⁰

Louis Schneider also explains in his memoirs how the theatre management committee dealt with a letter they received from Auguste Stich-Crelinger on 27th March, in which she expressed her desire not to work in the slavish theatre in Berlin.²¹¹ Schneider links Stich-Crelinger's letter with the revolutionary mood of the time. In contrast, it is interesting to note that Bethge was hyper critical of any revolutionary sentiment and condemned some of his friends as swine-dogs for tacitly supporting the revolution. However, such remarks are not addressed to Stich-Crelinger, who was one of his closest colleagues.²¹²

The special relationship between the Berliner actors and the royal had a number of positive consequences in restoration Prussia. The possibility to climb the career ladder, as in the case of Schneider, brought access to privileged individuals at court, and, in regard to von Hagn, it produced better job opportunities in Berlin and abroad. Furthermore, the culture of court patronage meant that actors received lavish gifts, favours and financial perks. One enormous benefit of fostering a personal relationship with a powerful member of court was that it enabled actors to circumvent the tiresome bureaucratic administration, as is demonstrated to good effect by Charlotte von Hagn.

The theatre acted as a representative space for the court and this was recognised by the actors. Three main reasons for this can be listed: firstly, the theatre had traditionally been, and remained, an important way in which the court could express its official culture. This had a positive influence on the financial position of the actors and as a member of the representative staff of the court. Furthermore, the desire of the court

209 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 25.3.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

210 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 20.3.1848, Devrient 1964, 423–424; Wagner 2002, 364.

211 Schneider 1879b, 32.

212 See, for example, the diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 16.5., 2.6., 17.6.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

to control the output of the theatre led to severe censorship. This hindered artistic expression, but, on the other hand, the court's stated preference for light comedies enabled popular actors the possibility to write their own comedies. Finally, the actors were able to foster a special relationship with the royal court. Such a relationship was aided by the performer already having a noble background, military merits and a conservative ideology.

3. Glimpses of Liberalism, Nationalism and Bürgerlich Traditions in the Theatre

The court had a strong hold on theatre life of Berlin between 1815 and 1848. The most obvious targets for the court authorities were overtly liberal and nationalistic plays. Liberal or openly nationalistic plays were strictly forbidden. However, I would argue that the theatre still included elements of liberalism, nationalism and bürgerlich traditions. These bürgerlich elements, in particular, could be interpreted through the *Bildung* tradition. These connotations could arise from within elements of classical plays or through the portrayal of a non-noble protagonist. What is more, the theatre could also be seen as the one of the only gathering places for the bürgertum. However, in this chapter I argue that a bürgerlich culture did not reign at the Königstädtisches Theater.

The Bildung Tradition and the Bürgerliches Trauerspiel

The Prussian court had a strong influence – particularly in financial terms – on the founding of German national and court theatres in the eighteenth century. However, the importance of bürgerlich influence on the shape of Prussian theatre should not to be totally overlooked. Bürgerlich influence was evident, for example, in the enlightened bürgerlich theatre tradition and in *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* (bürgerlich tragedy).

The bürgerlich tradition can be seen as a phenomenon that emerged from a mixture of economic potential and Enlightenment ideas. The Prussian economic bourgeoisie, who were trading all across Europe, had seen theatres in London and Paris and sought to import such models to their homeland. Moreover, the educated bürgertum followed the philosophical ideals of the Enlightenment and understood that a theatre could be an important educational institution. Both of these groups had the financial resources and the artistic vision to establish theatres that expressed their educational and philosophical ideals.²¹³

The enlightened bürgerlich tradition is strongly evident in the works of Professor J.C. Gottsched (1700–1766) and G.E. Lessing (1729–1781). Gottsched was one of the most important Prussian theorists in eighteenth century to raise the status of theatre.

213 Meech 2008, 65–66; Brockett 1995, 301–302, 305; Bruford 1965, 260–261.

He linked the Enlightenment ideas to the theatre as an educational, civic institution. Prior to this, the image of the theatre had suffered from negative connotations linked to such things as strolling players and *Hanswurst* comedies. Gottsched's main idea was that theatre was the best medium to educate people to become virtuous and moral individuals.²¹⁴ Lessing and the Hamburg National Theatre, which had been founded in 1765, also played an important role in improving the position of the theatre in eighteenth-century Germany. The experiment in enlightened theatre did not last long, but Lessing's development of *Hamburger Dramaturgie* was to strongly influence nineteenth-century German theatre. Lessing's main idea was that theatre could be used as to inculcate morals in the audience by evoking compassion towards the hero of the play. He rejected noble heroes and replaced them with *bürgerlich* heroes that reflected the background of the audience. This became the basis of *bürgerliches Trauerspiel*. Classical examples of such plays are Lessing's *Miss Sara Simpson* (1755) and *Emilia Galotti* (1772).²¹⁵ In Britain, one can point to a similar ethos in George Lillo's *The London Merchant or the history of George Barnwell* (1731). The speech of the hero in Lillo's play explicitly represents a form of self-awareness that understood the higher values of his class. However, the German *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* developed in a different direction. In Germany, the importance of family and family values were more important for the *bürgerliches Trauerspiel*. The family was understood as an emotional space, in which fathers were with their children. In the *Bürgerliche Trauerspiel* the family unit usually consisted of only a father and a daughter. The mother of the family was already dead or remained on the periphery. Besides Lessing's works, Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* (1784) can be listed as an example of a German *bürgerliches Trauerspiel*. Theatre had been the most important social institution for the *bürgertum* because of the composition of the audience for over 150 years.²¹⁶

Prior to 1815, the director, playwright and actor August Wilhelm Iffland brought some *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* to the stage in Berlin. The repertoire in Berlin at the time was mainly composed of plays by Iffland and Kotzebue, but also included classic works by Goethe, Schiller and Shakespeare.²¹⁷ The repertoire changed dramatically after 1815, and especially after the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. However, if one studies the list of plays performed in Berlin in 1816, it is possible to state that a number were *bürgerliches Trauerspiel*. There were three performances of Lessing's

214 Brockett 1995, 299–300; Fischer-Lichte 2004, 148; Meech 2008, 69.

215 Meech 2008, 70–72; Kaiser 1979, 75–76.

216 Fischer-Lichte 2004, 152–156; Meech 2008, 71–72.

217 Brockett 1995, 312; Knudsen 1959, 240–242. Wahnrau 1957, 247.

Emilia Galotti, for example, and a performance of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*. In total, however, such plays made up only a small minority of the repertoire.²¹⁸

Ute Daniel argues against the notion that there was a *Verbürgerlichung* in German theatre between 1770 and 1850. By *Verbürgerlichung* she means the widespread idea of an increase in *bürgerlich* power in theatre. However, she does concede that it is possible to find some forms of historical literary aspects that supported *bürgerlich* ideas. Firstly, it is possible to note that non-nobles began to play the roles of protagonists in various plays. This pleased the *bürgerlich* audience, but Daniel argues that it was not seen a vehemently anti-noble phenomenon. Secondly, it is possible to discern a rise in the number of plays that were directly targeted against the nobility. However, as pointed out earlier, *bürgerlich* themes in Berlin concentrated on family life and private love. In brief, Daniel summarises that if one uses literary and historical terms, it is possible to claim that there were some ideas stemming from the *bürgertum* in Prussian theatre. In contrast, she argues that these factors did not entail that the *bürgertum* was able to exercise more power in the theatre. If defined in terms of social history, it would be incorrect to claim that the power of *bürgertum* was increasing in the theatre. Daniel suggests that there still was a form of growth in consumerist ideology in the theatre. Not even the Prussian court was able to finance the every more lavish productions of the theatre without an increased cash flow. The audience even protested against certain plays. Daniel denies that this would have been as a result of *Verbürgerlichung* in the theatre, because the nobility was more eager in its demands. Fischer-Lichte points out that during the court theatre period, the theatre lost its importance as a forum of *bürgerlich* culture and self-understanding. It became a place for private entertainment and edification.²¹⁹

The balance between the needs of the court and the *bürgerlich* audience was most fully achieved in the plays of Ernst Raupach. If we study Teichmann's list of new plays performed at the Royal Theatre, Raupach's name appears the most. Erika Fischer-Lichte notes that Raupach knew how to satisfy and influence the *bürgerlich* audience. She describes how Raupach's trivial historical dramas seduced the *bürgerlich* audience by encouraging a self-identification with a great German past.²²⁰

218 For this work I have listed all the theatre performances announced in the official *Vossische Zeitung* in 1816. In particular see the theatre advertisements on 11.1. 23.7., 27.7., 31.8.1816. See also Teichmann 1867, 365–366, 354, 391.

219 Daniel 1995, 131, 149–152; Fischer-Lichte 2004, 155, 201.

220 Fischer-Lichte 2004, 232–233.

Liberalism in the Theatre

A definition of non-institutional liberal ideology is necessary in order to study liberalism in Berlin theatrical life between 1815 and 1848. This is because political liberalism in an institutional environment did not have any room to grow and function in Berlin during the period. The German Confederation ordered all member states to control all public activities, such as societies, clubs and everything that could be interpreted as politically active after the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. The authorities sought to curtail political movements by imposing rigid censorship, the prohibition of assemblies and strict limitations on the freedom of the press. Clandestine political activity was almost always undertaken at a local level and did not gain wide popularity. This was brought about by intrusive police surveillance, poor communication and an unreliable postal service. Furthermore, in German-speaking Europe, there were no large political capitals, such as Paris and London, where members of the intelligentsia could gather.²²¹ Jonathan Knudsen argues that Berlin was a particularly awkward place to promote public political debate. Police control and surveillance in the city created an atmosphere in which it was impossible to express one's political views. Knudsen describes that a sense of hyper alertness of the censorship reigned in the city, which was exacerbated by random and unnoticeable pressures in political matters and in all public spheres. The state authorities did not accept any form of public political participation. There were, for example, no political societies because the police were meticulous in enforcing a ban on such associations. Berliners were also not able to follow political issues in newspapers, as reporters were not allowed to write about politics. Consequently, some Berliners read newspapers from other areas.²²² This is why it is hard to define liberalism as an institutional political ideology. However, the traditional study of liberal ideologies is only limited to political parties and their predecessors.²²³ Besides the politically institutionalised movements, it is also worthwhile to discuss about the cultural aspects of liberalism. This is particularly important in the context of the history of the Berlin theatre between 1815 and 1848,

221 Sheehan 1978, 13.

222 Knudsen 1990, 113–114.

223 Langewiesche, for example, defines the cultural trends as liberal thoughts in economics and the social environment, whilst high cultural and religious circles were not a part of his concept of liberalism. He only discusses the constitutional movement as part of the liberal movement, without any cultural definitions. Also Sheehan summarises that it is hard to define political liberalism during the period when political action was forbidden. He concentrates only on politically liberal institutions and their followers. Sheehan argues that the cultural definition of liberalism is too scattered. Furthermore, Nipperdey mainly studies the political liberal movement that sought to build a constitutional state that was lawfully governed. See Langewiesche 2000, 4; Sheehan 1978, 5–6; Nipperdey 1983, 286, 290.

when political participation was practically impossible. The cultural definition of the ideology differs from traditional definitions in that there was no clear organisation or pre-written and coherent ideological background. The idea of a non-institutional liberal ideology arises from Jonathan Knudsen's critique against the traditional study of nineteenth-century ideologies. He does not accept incoherency as a reason not to study non-institutional ideologies. Indeed, he emphasises that not even all institutional liberals supported all the basic ideas of the political liberal movement.²²⁴ One aspect of the culture of non-institutional liberalism was that disparate groups of authors resisted the 'tyranny' of the restoration regime.

Heinrich Heine describes the situation of liberal authors in Germany in his well-known satirical verse epic 'Germany, a Winter's Tale' (*Deutschland ein Wintermärchen*). In this poem he criticises the Prussian authorities and the state of restoration politics. He concludes his critical journey on the stage of the Royal Theatre, where he refers to the king of Prussia and the state of poetry in Prussia:

Der König liebt das Stück. Jedoch
Wär' noch der Autor am Leben,
Ich riethe ihm nicht sich in Person
Nach Preußen zu begeben.

Dem wirklichen Aristophanes,
Dem ginge es schlecht, dem Armen;
Wir würden ihn bald begleitet sehn
Mit Chören von Gensd'armen.

Der Pöbel bekäm' die Erlaubniß bald
Zu schimpfen statt zu wedeln;
Die Politzei erhielt Befehl
Zu fahnden auf den Edeln.

O König! Ich meine es gut mit dir,
Und will einen Rath dir geben:
Die todten Dichter, verehere sie nur,
Doch schone die da leben.²²⁵

Heine emphasised that a classical satirist, such as Aristophanes, would not have had the possibility to write freely in Prussia. The plight of contemporary poets and dramatists was also stressed when Heine directly addressed the king and asked him

224 Knudsen 1990, 111–112. Sheehan also mentions the ideological atmosphere of the first half of the nineteenth century, when quiet resistance was more important than 'traditional political participation'. Sheehan 1989, 449.

225 Heine (1844)2006, 103–104. Hannu Salmi also uses this quotation in his report on my licentiate thesis.

to not only respect ancient writers but also living literary figures. This epitomises the situation faced by contemporary poets, in which either prison or exile awaited those who fell out of favour with the court.

The doors of the theatre were also officially closed to openly liberal writers, such as those connected to the so-called Young Germany movement. Members of this group did not even share a common political ideology and was in effect more defined by the censorial authorities. This adverse situation for writers reached breaking point when Karl Gutzkow published a work entitled *Wally*, in 1835. Subsequently, a series of laws were introduced, whereby the works of Gutzkow, Heine, Laube, Wienbarg and Mundt were all prohibited. This decree brought together a group of young authors out of adversity that came to be known as the Young Germans. For most of the group, the ban on their work entailed either the complete cessation of their literary output or exile. However, the likes of Laube and Mundt made peace with the authorities and gained a respectable status in restoration society.²²⁶ In brief, the liberal authors did not have the possibility to earn their living by writing for the theatre. Brown suggests that this was probably one reason why they tried to connect with their audience by publishing pamphlets and journals instead of drama. The Young Germany movement had to wait until after 1848 to see their plays on stage, when independent theatres were established that were interested in staging plays by liberal playwrights.²²⁷

Texts by the Young Germany were not completely censored, but were harshly revised. Bethge recorded in 1845, for example, that a performance of Gutzkow's *Das Urbild des Tartuffe* included a line that provoked a storm of applause. The conservative actor wondered how it would be possible to repeat such a line in the following performance. Bethge also despised an actor named Hendrics, who had recited a sentence forbidden by the censors. In the same month Heinrich Laube's *Rococo* was also performed at the Royal Theatre. In the play, contemporary problems in France were concealed, but in his diary Bethge merely noted that the play was not bad, but that there were some immoral things in it.²²⁸

Nationalism in the Theatre

Like other ideologies in the first half of the nineteenth century, nationalism was also incoherent ideology. It is possible to study the nationalism of the first half of the century

226 Sengle 1971, 180–182; Sheehan 1989, 579–580.

227 Brockett 1995, 332; Brown 2008, 156.

228 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 8., 19.3.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

without the predominant connection to the 'great story of German unification'. In contemporary studies the grand story of German unification is not seen as the natural consequence of earlier national feelings.²²⁹ The early forms of German nationalism can be divided into three different forms. Firstly, it was a wide cultural phenomenon. Secondly, it can be seen as part of the liberal movement. Thirdly, it can be seen in a more strict sense as only being an anti-French and xenophobic phenomenon. Despite this, it did not evolve during the first half of the nineteenth century into an organised political movement, and it should be separated from Prussian patriotism that sought to honour the king of Prussia.

The roots of cultural nationalism in Prussia can be traced to the beginning of the *deutsche Bewegung* and the onset of the romantic movement in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The early forms of cultural nationalism can be observed in the raft of anti-French literature and the stories emanating from the *Sturm und Drang* movement, which glorified a great German past. J.W. Goethe, Friedrich Schiller and J.G. Herder, for example, were part of the *Sturm und Drang*.²³⁰ Furthermore, nationalism as a cultural phenomenon in German-speaking areas was based on ideas about the German language and the *Volk*. These ideas were particularly evident in the writings of Herder. He felt that the German language had an intrinsic role to play in defining Germany. According to Herder, the German *Volk* did not stem from the culture of the elite. Instead, it was forged in pre-intellectual forms of life. The whole of mankind, in Herder's opinion, existed only in separate *Völk*. What is more, the followers of cultural nationalism stressed the importance of German habits, folktales, literature and history. An important rhetorical strategy was to stress the inevitability of achieving a single German nation. Society had a natural line of development that culminated in the harmony of folk, nations and the state.²³¹ It was essential for early German nationalism that it was supported by the educated cultural elite (the *Bildungsbürgertum*). This group felt strongly attracted to *Volk* culture. Hannu Salmi highlights how the German *Bildungsbürgertum* produced a consciousness of cultural products that were necessary for national needs. This was motivated by the objective of forging a culturally coherent nation.²³²

Secondly, early nationalism can also be defined as part of the liberal movement of the early nineteenth century. In some cases, there were not much difference between liberalism and nationalism. Thomas Nipperdey argues that in the first half of the

229 See for example Applegate 2005, 85.

230 Salmi 1999, 39.

231 Nipperdey 1983, 301, 305; Salmi 2002, 67; Salmi 1999, 41–42.

232 Salmi 1999, 42–43, 194; Salmi 2002, 68.

nineteenth century 'liberalism and nationalism were not walking hand in hand – they were identical'. He mentions that early nationalism was based on autonomy and self-determination, as well as being expressed by liberals who opposed tyranny. Michael Huges agrees with this view and describes that the liberal movement was very close to the national movement. On the other hand, Eric Hobsbawm argues that the combination of nationalism and liberalism was rather 'a logical chain of association rather than logic necessity'. Nationalism and liberalism were new phenomena and were both opposed by conservatives. This explains why liberalism and nationalism had a common enemy.²³³

The great difference between nationalism and liberalism was that the former ideology drew impetus from a sense of hate towards the French and other aliens. The Napoleonic wars, the French policy of aggrandizement and finally the wars of liberation, were the basis for this anti-French nationalism. Other pivotal moments in the development of a xenophobic form of German nationalism involved the turmoil in France in 1830 and the Rhine Crisis of 1840. The Rhine Crisis occurred because of a growing sense of resentment against the French that was articulated by demands for the return of certain areas bordering the Rhine. Anti-French feelings also heightened the German sense of cultural nationalism. This was visible, for example, in the popular songs and poems of the period, such as *Die Wacht am Rhein* (1840) and *Deutschlandlied* (1841). In some circles a war against France was even desired.²³⁴

Greenfeld stresses that the early forms of nationalism in Germany were a phenomenon centred on the educated *bürgertum*, which was influenced by a form of Romanticism that was shaped by the Enlightenment and by Pietism. Moreover, Greenfeld argues that the nobility rigidly avoided this national movement.²³⁵

German national sentiment grew during the Napoleonic wars at the turn of the nineteenth century. This development was also reflected in the theatrical world. The rise of national theatre emerged as a protest against French power. The administration did not tolerate any open critique against the French rulers, which explains why national feelings were hidden within plays. Plays, such as Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* (1801) and *Wilhelm Tell* (1804) veiled anti-French ideology behind historical events. It was in this historical context that theatres gained a reputation as a forum for social protest.²³⁶

233 Nipperdey 1983, 308; Hughes 1988, 69–78; Hobsbawm 1994, 50.

234 Hughes 1988, 78; Nipperdey 1983, 305.

235 Greenfeld 1992, 277–278, 287, 293; Also see Wolfgang J. Mommsen, who links neo-humanistic nationalism and the *bürgertum*. See, Mommsen 2000, 26.

236 Brockett 1995, 331; Salmi 2002, 70.

The national feelings that were awakened in German-speaking areas during the Napoleonic era were viewed with suspicion in the new political reality of restoration Prussia. Proponents of German nationalism were not in favour of the Prussian court, and national sentiments were not allowed to be aired in Berlin theatres. Yet, early expressions of cultural nationalism took forms that were almost impossible to hide from the stage. This arose from the combination of cultural nationalism with the staging of classical plays. As Hannu Salmi states, even Shakespearean plays could be seen in the German cultural sphere as symbols of national self-understanding.²³⁷

In historical terms, the cultural nationalism in the theatre was linked to the idea of *Bildung*. For example, Johann Friedrich Löwen dwelled upon the absence of German national theatre in his *Geschichte des deutschen theaters* in 1766. He suggested that German national theatre could be accomplished by creating the theatre as a moral school for the people with the drama acting as the supplement to law. This idea was also common to other Enlightenment writers such as Gottsched, Joann Elias Schlegel, Lessing and later also Schiller and Goethe. Ute Daniel even argues that in the project of national theatre the idea of *Bildung* or moral education was more important than nationalism.²³⁸

Celia Applegate has studied the nation and culture in 1820s Berlin by focusing on the revival of Bach's Saint Matthew Passion. Her key argument is that the nationalisation process of German music was achieved by writing about it. Reinhardt Meyers follows the same lines when discussing about the national theatres in Germany. He points out that the national theatre tradition in Germany is mostly a construction of literature and theatre historians, who wanted to foster a coherent story of national theatres. Mayer refers to the early phase of the national theatres and points out that only the literary world was talking about such institutions in the eighteenth-century, while especially in resident cities, in particular, the theatres were financed and run by royal courts. In this sense the people who wrote about the theatre were able to construct a 'national' dynamic to national theatres.²³⁹ However, in theatrical art the German language employed, was a form of cultural nationalism. The plays were written (or translated) and performed in German. The use of the national language unites the theatre to the national project more closely for example, than the musical world.

237 Salmi [1990], 30.

238 McCarthy 2003, 78; Daniel 1995, 118.

239 Applegate 2005, 49; Mayer 1983, 124–125.

In the period between 1815 and 1848 it is significant that not many classical plays were staged in Berlin, although works by Shakespeare and Schiller were performed during the tenure of general intendant von Brühl. In 1816, for example, Berlin staged eleven productions of tragedies by Shakespeare, including six performances of *King Lear*. Furthermore, in the same year there were 27 performances of plays by Schiller, including *Jungfrau von Orleans* and *Wilhelm Tell*.²⁴⁰ General Intendant von Küstner described the problems of individuals interpreting the plays in their own way. He wrote in his diary, for example, about how the theatre had become a political club, instead of an artistic institution. He saw Schiller's classical play *Wilhelm Tell* as an example of such provocations, which sought to discuss politics on stage.²⁴¹

One reason for the success of plays by Shakespeare and Schiller was the proficiency of certain actors. Pius Alexander Wolff, for example, was an exponent of the Weimar school of classical drama and was appreciated as the foremost actor of his ilk of the era. Ludwig Devrient was also well-known for his powerful interpretations of Shakespeare's *King Lear*.²⁴² Thus, even if certain plays were censored, an actor's style could have been interpreted as classical or 'Shakespearian', which in turn could have been interpreted as sympathetic towards national sentiments.

Friedrich Sengle argues that there was a clear development in the repertoire of the Royal Theatre in Berlin between 1815 and 1848. During the tenure of von Brühl, the first general intendant displayed some interest in the notion of theatre as art. Sengle argues that von Brühl respected charismatic actors, such as Ludwig Devrient and Pius Alexander Wolff. Devrient continued the tradition of Iffland's *bürgerlich* school, whilst Wolff was a representative of the respected classical school of Goethe in Weimar.²⁴³

Count von Redern, who began his tenure as general intendant in 1828, oversaw a repertoire that focussed on grand productions and increased the number of ballets and operas. The third general intendant, von Küstner, who took up the post in 1842, had to walk a tightrope between 'modern' writers and growing suspicion of the court. During the volatile years of the 1840s, it was important for the Prussian court to prevent any provocative productions on stage.²⁴⁴

240 See the theatre advertisements in *Vossische Zeitung* in 1816.

241 Küstner 1853, 192–193.

242 The two actors were also competing for classical roles in Berlin. On P. A. Wolff's artistic style, see, for example, Wahnrau 1957, 320–321. On Ludwig Devrient's classical roles, see, for example, Brockett 1995, 335–336; Genée 1886, 109.

243 Sengle 1972, 344–345.

244 Sengle 1972, 345.

The possibility for actors to voice or show political sympathies was kept to a minimum. It became practically impossible to improvise or amend performances in order to reflect political sentiments. On the other hand, some actors did have the possibility to organise concerts and other events in the theatre. One of the court's most trusted actors, Louis Schneider, was in charge of organising musical concerts in order to raise funds for war invalids. This was acceptable because it was deemed to be part of the militaristic agenda of the court. At one such fundraiser, the repertoire included a march called the 'Preussenlied', where the fatherland, king and Prussianness were praised. The king approved of the march, but he was annoyed by the overall performance. The monarch later informed Schneider that he himself wanted to decide when he should be saluted. Moreover, it is possible that there could have been muted expressions of German nationalism among the audience. This possibility is strengthened by reference to another concert organised by Schneider. In 1837, for example, organised a concert to celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Sonntagsverein*. Schneider writes that it was his aim to perform pieces from the European folk tradition, rather than to rebel against the authorities. In his memoirs, Schneider stresses that all the songs were selected to reflect the love of the people for their ruler and fatherland. Among the songs performed, for example, were *La Marseillaise*, *God Save the Queen* and *Ich bin ein Preuße*. However, Schneider admits that the concert got out of hands, with a larger audience than expected, who also participated in singing with the choir. In Schneider's opinion the bad publicity received by the event was largely exaggerated. He did not like the fact that liberal newspapers reported the concert. Schneider was first ordered to be reprimanded by the general intendant of the theatre and after this he had to visit the police president. Schneider felt that the reaction to the concert was out of all proportion to what had actually transpired on stage.²⁴⁵ Schneider underestimated the impact of that event, but it can be argued that there were other occasions when the censors were not able to totally control the situation.

Controlling Bürgerlich Outbursts in the Theatre

In 1842 Eduard Devrient noted an incident in which it was possible to discern some signs of anti-noble *bürgerlich* solidarity on stage that had avoided censorship, during a performance in Potsdam:

245 Schneider 1879a, 137–140, 341–358.

Fuhr nach Potsdam. Spielte Abends ‚Treue Liebe‘ vor vollem Hause. Der König war mit Humboldt und seinem Adjutanten gegenwärtig. Alle Rollen, welche das Verhältnis von Bürgerlichen zu Adligen berühren, die sonst vom Publikum lebhaft aufgenommen werden, gingen hier mit einer Art von ängstlicher Stille hin.²⁴⁶

Berlin audiences were provoked by viewing plays that handled the relationship between the bürgertum and the nobility. In Potsdam such connotations were disliked and they were passed over in fearsome silence. A text itself did not necessarily have to include any hint of bürgerlich ideology, but that an audience could interpret a play according to its own ideological beliefs. The royal court and the theatre management tried to curtail such vague extolments of anti-noble sentiment by controlling the work of the actors and the behaviour of the audience. Even the construction of hierarchical spaces in the theatre can be seen as a manifestation of the court's power over the masses.

A great concern for the state authorities was the possibility that performers would deviate from the script in order to incite the audience. This explains why the authorities tried to control performances as much as possible. The most frightening possibility for the authorities was that an actor would start to improvise. This is why improvisation in all forms was strictly forbidden in the regulations of the theatre. Punishment for offenders was also harsh, varying from a fine of up to three months of an actor's wages up to arrest. Karoline Bauer recalled an occasion when Spitzender and Unzelmann were arrested after they improvised on stage. If a performer wanted to suggest minor changes, he or she had to apply to the general intendant prior to the main rehearsal.²⁴⁷

Some actors disliked the administrative control exercised over them. This can be gauged to a certain extent by referring to remarks made by Adolph Bethge, who was charged with carrying out inspections of performances. In the summer of 1844, General Intendant von Küstner suggested to Bethge that he should become a theatre inspector. Bethge took the position and thenceforth made several remarks on a weekly basis about the content of theatre performances. He does not often describe what his job entailed, but, for example, he once wrote how ‚stupid Grua‘ changed some words while performing and that Döring and Franz had let the audience applaud them for too long.²⁴⁸ Bethge felt that any opposition to the management was simply pure stupidity. He had fully internalised his duties as an inspector for the management.

246 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 30.3.1842. Devrient 1964, 143.

247 Küstner 1845, 48; Bauer 1880a, 336.

248 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 26.6.1844, 6.7.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

The diaries written by Bethge reveal that he was not well thought of in some theatre circles. It would be reasonable to think that this stemmed from his position as the theatre inspector. In December 1844 Bethge begins to describe feelings of hate that had been directed at him. On one occasion he also describes how his entry into the theatre assembly room silenced the pleasant hum of voices, as Blume ordered everyone to be quiet. The following day it was uncovered that Blume had spread a rumour that Bethge was the 'henchman' of General Intendant von Küstner and that was why he had told everyone to be quiet. Bethge was upset about these claims and went to talk with Auguste Stich-Crelinger, who firmly supported him. Stich-Crelinger told Bethge that Krüger had warned her about the inspector, but that she had dismissed his opinion. At rehearsals a few days later, Stich-Crelinger took a strong stand against the rumourmongers and defended Bethge. Furthermore, General Intendant von Küstner supported Bethge, which suggests that he was favoured by the management. A few weeks after the incident at the assembly room, von Küstner granted Bethge a salary increase of 40 thalers, because he felt that he had saved him from lot of trouble and had the interest of the management in mind. Küstner concluded that Bethge was not considered to be a revolutionary.²⁴⁹ The explanation given by von Küstner suggests that Bethge had been working for the intendency.

The incident with Krüger resurfaces every now and then in Bethge's diary. In April 1845 Bethge, for example, Bethge wrote how Krüger wanted to make clear that he was not behind the malicious rumours. Bethge concludes that he had lost the confidence of Krüger. On the other hand, this can be seen as an attempt by Krüger to improve his position in the eyes of the theatre directors. Later in the same month, an actor named Lippe, who was a protégé of Blume, remarked that he did not want to have any dealings with Bethge. Rumours regarding Bethge resurfaced in 1847, when he wrote that a worm was gnawing at his heart and had obtained more to eat, while the old rumour that he was a spy for von Küstner had spread in wider circles.²⁵⁰

One hint of the close relationship between von Küstner and Bethge emerges in reference to a dinner that took place on the eve of the 1848 revolution. On March 3rd 1848, Bethge recorded in his diary how he had enjoyed a dinner with von Küstner.²⁵¹ It is revealing that von Küstner was keeping his 'henchman' satisfied before the revolutionary upheaval.

249 Diary entry of Adoph Bethge, dated 11.19.12.1844, 3.1.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

250 Diary entry of Adoph Bethge, dated 5., 28.4.1845, 9.11.1847. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

251 Diary entry of Adoph Bethge, dated 2.3.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

Another concern of the state authorities was the potential for spontaneous outbreaks from the audience. In the official regulations, actors were ordered to work for the benefit of the theatre. In practice this meant that it was forbidden to try to assemble a group of loud admirers in the audience. Moreover, it was also strictly forbidden to give out prior information about upcoming schedules.²⁵² In reality, however, groups did assemble in the audience and sometimes loud shouting ensued between different parties. In 1840, Seydelmann wrote the following to a friend:

- - Die Hiesigen Theezirkel hüsteln und krächzen jeden Abend eine Neue ‚jöttliche‘ Melodie und die Generalintendanz der Königlichen Schauspiele steht gerüstet, den Patriotismus jeden Augenblick als Entreact abfingen zu lassen.²⁵³

The ‘local tea-circles’ were bürgerlich groups who gathered in local salons and cafés. According to Seydelmann, they raised a horrible noise every evening. Seydelmann felt that it was the duty of the general intendant to control the audience and to be prepared to clamp down on any hint of patriotism. The house rules of the theatre stipulated that this was the duty of the house police (*Hauspolizei*). In General Intendant von Brühl’s instructions to the theatre directors from 1828, there is an unambiguous paragraph that states that the theatre director must comply with the orders of the theatre police. If an individual caused trouble it was the duty of the house police to call other police to the theatre. These duties were justified by stating that they were in place as a fire safety measure.²⁵⁴ Fire safety was also used as an excuse to disperse crowds that had gathered to protest against the monarchy.

Bethge also describes severe outbreaks of disorder during performances, such as the bad behaviour of a former opera singer in the theatre. However, his diary entries also reveal that strict order also reigned during the majority of performances inside the theatre. Bethge mentions that a disreputable opera singer named Scharpf came loudly into the parterre and did not remove his hat. A gendarme immediately accosted him and asked what he wanted and what his name was. Scharpf answered that the gendarme should address him politely because he could be a baron or a count. The gendarme was ready to arrest the man, but he yelled that he was once a great opera singer who had served in the royal opera for two years.²⁵⁵ It is likely that Bethge

252 Küstner 1845, 23.

253 A letter from Seydelmann to Gutzkow, dated 9.11.1840. Röttscher 1845, 306.

254 Reglement für die Königlichen Schauspiele zu Berlin, Bl 1, § 4–19. Th 611 [Nr 817]. A Pr Rep 030 Titel 74. LAB. A letter to the director Stawinsky from General Intendant von Brühl, dated 22.3.1828. Nr 3764, BPH Rep 119, GStA PK.

255 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge 27.8.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

wrote this entry to reproach the 'big mouth'. On the other hand, it reveals the extent to which severe order was maintained in the theatre. If an individual contravened the rules of etiquette that reigned in the parterre it was possible to be arrested.

General Intendant von Küstner describes the problems related to spontaneous outbreaks of bad behaviour in the audience. He wrote in his diary how during a line in *The Royalist*, by the court favourite Raupach, in which the king recites 'Von Gottes Gnaden bin ich König' was met with loud approval from the royalist party in the theatre, but had also aroused disapproving shouts. Von Küstner also cited a performance of *Antigone*, in which the democratic party had called for a loud burst of approval during a scene when a prophet is talking to the king. Von Küstner was of the opinion that he had no way of preventing such an incident.²⁵⁶

One of the best-known rivalries between different groups in the theatre audience concerned supporters of Auguste Stich-Crelinger and Charlotte von Hagn. Matters got out of hands in the audience on a number of occasions and this provoked the interest of the police president. Charlotte von Hagn's diary provides an interesting insight into the role of the police in the theatre. Von Hagn writes that in March 1836, while the conflict between the actors was at its peak, the police president personally visited her dressed in a ridiculous disguise. He wanted to discuss the importance of a speech that she was asked to deliver to the audience after her first performance after a prolonged absence from the stage. Charlotte willingly showed him the prewritten speech that she was to deliver and was willing to co-operate with the official. The following day she petitioned the king in order to ask to be able to speak after her performance. The king allowed her to speak to the audience, which had filled the theatre, and her speech met with great success. In her diary, von Hagn states that her speech focussed on how she was devoted to her work and how it was her only desire to serve the public. Subsequently, at the following Saturday's performance the rival party of Stich-Crelinger was more vociferous. Von Hagn describes indecencies were directed at her for the first time in her career. Such opposition was not tolerated and von Hagn wrote how the police made two arrests. One arrest was made by the police president himself and a second troublemaker was caught by the theatre personnel as he tried to run away. He was locked in a small cabin until the gendarme corps took him away.²⁵⁷

The measures to maintain order in the theatre were indeed quite radical. These measures gain more significance when they are interpreted via the study of

256 Küstner 1853, 192–193.

257 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 16., 17., 19.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

contemporary opinion. In his book *Portraits und Silhouettes*, the theatre critic Gustav F. Kühne described the schism between Stich-Crelinger and von Hagn. He wrote that there were no other 'isms' in Berlin other than 'Crelingerism' and 'von Hagnism'. It is noteworthy that Kühne states that the battle lines were like those between aristocrats and democrats.²⁵⁸

This poses an interesting question about the motives of the followers of both actors. Was there a strict demarcation line between liberal and aristocratic followers in the theatre? Von Hagn was known for her good relationship with the court and she was of aristocratic descent. Thus, court supporters in the theatre audience could have seen von Hagn as a representative of the court. Alternatively, the more liberal sections of the audience could have expressed their dissatisfaction with court policy by singling out von Hagn for criticism and abuse. Furthermore, the theatre was seen by the censorial authorities as a dangerous forum for democracy, in which the craving of actors for public approval was reminiscent to some of dangerous allure of democracy. This would also explain why the police president was so interested in von Hagn's speech.

One important bürgerlich dynamic of the theatre focussed on the physical space of the auditorium. During the restoration era the theatre was one of the few places where a mass of people could legally assemble. In other words, the theatre was one of the only places in which the bürgerium could meet each other as a group and show external signs of a shared outlook. After all, it is important to stress that most of the theatre audience came from the middle classes.²⁵⁹

Thus, theatre could have been seen as a key gathering place for the bürgerium, but it also strongly epitomised the hierarchical status quo in Prussian society, which underlined the supreme power of the aristocracy. This is well seen in the physical structure of the theatre, as can be seen in Picture 3, where the hierarchical structure of society was imitated in the seating arrangements.

In this picture, the royal loge is situated at the highest point of the auditorium and it is surrounded by seats reserved for the elite of Prussian society. The stalls were reserved for the masses. According to the hierarchical dispensation of seating space, a theatre represented a microcosm of the inequalities of society. In short, the power of the king and the nobility were strikingly apparent.

258 Kühne 1843, 315.

259 Fischer-Lichte 2004, 155; Kaschuba 1993, 401.



Picture 3: The Royal Theatre, seen from the stage

The Myth of the Königstädtisches Theater as a Bürgerlich Institution

The Königstädtisches Theater was founded in 1824 by a private company led by the merchant Friedrich Cerf, and soon became known as a theatre for the *bürgertum*.²⁶⁰ Karoline Bauer, who performed at the theatre, described the difference between it and the Royal Theatre. She uses the definition ‘people’s theatre’ to differentiate it from the Royal Theatre. Furthermore, she testified that all Berliners talked about ‘our theatre’, because it was not owned by the state. She emphasises the civic role of the theatre by stating when it opened the theatre was perceived as a venue for those who drank the waters of the River Spree, or in other words Berliners.²⁶¹ This statement is quoted in many histories of the Prussian theatre without comment. However, one can question the extent to which the Königstädtisches Theater was a *bürgerlich* institution. In

260 Freydank 1988, 224–225; Wahnrau 1957, 336.

261 Bauer (1871)1917, 93–94.

Bauer's case, it can be questioned why an actor from a privileged background wanted to stress the special status of the Königstädtisches Theater in her memoirs?

The motives lying behind why the court would allow a privately owned theatre in restoration Berlin have been widely discussed. According to the opinion of some, the theatre was permitted because of the personal relationship of Friedrich Cerf with the Prussian court. It has also been stated that the theatre was tolerated because it pandered to the king's fondness for light comedies. In 1940 Wilhelm Eylitz argued that Friedrich Cerf was raised by a Jew, but that he also had a close relationship to Frederick William III.²⁶² More critical studies have pointed out that the Königstädtisches Theater was established to act as a publicity tool for the court under the pretext that it demonstrated a degree of tolerance towards the *bürgertum*. Yet, at the same time the court was able to control public opinion by shaping the repertoire of the theatre. It can be unequivocally stated, however, that without financial support and political approval the theatre would not have viable.²⁶³

Friedrich Sengle points out that the private theatre was expected to perform plays with a more liberal outlook, but that the theatre's board of directors were actually dutiful followers of the monarchy. According to Sengle, this is apparent in the repertoire of the theatre. The position of the institution as the 'people's own theatre' is well seen in the manner in which it was subjugated by the authorities. In the regulation that permitted the theatre to perform plays it was stated that its repertoire could only include light comedies. A ruling also decreed that the theatre could also only stage productions first performed at the Royal Theatre after a period of two years had elapsed.²⁶⁴

A sense of bitterness aimed at the rigid censorship and strict rules is evident in the memoirs of a number of people who worked at the Königstädtisches Theater. Karl von Holtei, for example, who directed at the theatre, wrote of his dismay at the rigid censorship that prevented reforms in the theatre. The general intendant of the Royal Theatre could also ban plays that he deemed to be unsuitable for the Königstädtisches Theater.²⁶⁵ In his memoirs, von Holtei wrote about the repertoire of the Königstädtisches Theater in the following manner:

262 Eylitz [1940], 60–61. See also Freydank 1988, 223–224; Wahnrau 1957, 336.

263 Brauneck 1999, 42; Möller 1996, 25.

264 Sengle 1972, 342, 462–463; Wahnrau 1957, 398.

265 Holtei 1859b, 95.

Und wo blieben nun die gehofften National-Dichter der Deutschen, die ein Volkstheater schaffen sollten und wollten, die mit kühnen Verheißungen ihre Feder dem neuen Unternehmen gewiecht hatten? Es trat Keiner hervor.²⁶⁶

In this quotation von Holtei expresses the same hope as is evident in the memoirs of Bauer, in that the theatre would become a true expression of the people's wishes. Nevertheless, this was a distant hope. Other contemporaries criticised the position of the Königstädtisches Theater, such as Karl Gutzkow, who claimed that General Intendant von Küstner did not allow the Königstädtisches Theater to perform the *Three Musketeers*.²⁶⁷

State control of private theatres was also common in other parts of Europe. In restoration France, for example, private theatres were obliged to apply for a licence in order to open their doors to the public. The importance of the licence was justified by the fact that theatres were able to mould the minds of people. This was why they had to take responsibility for their actions. Applicants for the license had to affirm their high moral stance and loyalty to the ruler. Furthermore, the licence holders were placed under police surveillance.²⁶⁸

Glimpses of liberal, nationalistic and bürgerlich sentiment in Berlin theatres in the restoration period were weak in most cases. The plays that could be interpreted as revolutionary or anti-monarchist were systematically banned. Some bürgerlich themes could be interpreted in the plays, such as bürgerlich protagonists, but the *Verbürgerlichung* of the whole theatre would be an exaggeration. The bürgertum experienced some feelings of togetherness in the common space of the theatre, yet the space was strongly structured and controlled by the royal authorities.

266 Holtei 1859a, 253.

267 Gutzkow (1846), internet-page.

268 Hemmings 1994, 162–163.

III SPHERE OF PUBLICITY

1. The Cult of Stardom

A number of actors in Berlin, including Ludwig Devrient, Karl Seydelmann and Henriette Sontag, gained great acclaim during their careers in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ Star actors drew the masses to the Berlin theatres, who increasingly became attracted to individuals rather than performances. This new wave of acclaimed Berliner actors were popular among Prussian royalty and the *bürgerlich* public, and were aided by improved transport connections, the growth of the mass media and the rising cult of stardom. As pointed out in earlier chapters, the Berliner actors attained an aura of mystery when working in the royal theatres, where they received the protection of the court. They formed part of the official culture of the monarchy, yet at the same time they were also a separate entity.² Furthermore, the rising *bürgertum* felt that theatre was an ideal medium to express their suppressed needs. Hence, this also ensured that actors were representatives in the struggle for a more *bürgerlich* form of Prussian society. Furthermore, improved transport connections made it possible for the most successful performers to journey throughout the German-speaking world and to gain wider audiences and greater popularity.³

In addition, one should also note the growing influence of the mass media and the rising cult of stardom. These elements are discussed in the next two chapters.

1 Brockett 1995, 335; Boehn [1923], 469; Ebert 1991, 212–213; Hermann 1913, 22.

2 Braudy even argues that the royal actors took the place of monarchs. Braudy 1997, 331–332.

3 Brockett 1995, 335.

The current chapter focusses on the new cult of the star actor. I argue that this star cult emerged in Berlin in the first half of the nineteenth century, in the form of romanticised heroic actors, as well as in the rise of the phenomenon of mass admirers and even manifested in the manner in which the public grieved the death of actors.

Attention to Personality in the Nineteenth Century

Richard Sennett has placed great emphasis on the changes that took place in the realm of publicity in the nineteenth century. He argues that the changes were caused by the growth of industrial capitalism, growing secularisation and changes in the common beliefs of European populations. Moreover, publicity was bolstered by the preservation of the impressive forms of official culture prevalent in court traditions of the eighteenth century. Sennett highlights how the public culture of the nineteenth century influenced perceptions of self-identity and image. Unlike in the eighteenth century, personality became the most important character of an individual, and people started to observe such traits. This increased focus on personality also incorporated greater degrees of attention being concentrated on “star” performers. The culture of personality encouraged an artist to see himself or herself as a special person. Indeed, only performing artists were accorded this lofty status in Prussia in the 1830s and 1840s.⁴ Erika Fischer-Lichte has adapted Sennett’s ideas about the increased degrees of attention paid to personality in the nineteenth century and suggests that it had far-reaching consequences in the theatre. According to Fischer-Lichte, for example, it gave actors the possibility to become widely appreciated celebrities. She highlights the case of Ludwig Devrient, as one such star actor and suggests that they were special because they succeeded in evoking ‘real’ feelings among audiences. It is also noteworthy that the new focus on the personality of the performer was a consequence of the spirit of romanticism. The theatre historian Oscar Brockett suggests, for example, that the reason for the rise of star actors in the nineteenth century was because of the contemporary romantic spirit, which extolled individual genius.⁵

The semantic model of the theatre theorist Michael L. Quinn provides a useful perspective when analysing the growth of interest in the personality of the performers in the nineteenth century. Using semiotic models, he has studied the conflict between the personality of an actor and the character of their role. Quinn postulates that an

4 Sennett (1974) 1993, 19, 127, 195, 197. Sennett mainly focuses on Paris and London, and such wide generalisations are questionable in regard to Berlin.

5 Brockett 1995, 335, Fischer-Lichte, 2004, 203–204.

audience always mixes part of the personal level of the actor with their on-stage role. Thus, in the case of star actors, the personal level actually takes precedence over the role.⁶ This phenomenon also increased the interest of audiences towards the personal lives of performers. Leo Braudy persuasively argues that the nineteenth century spawned what he calls the frenzy of renown, or in other words the frantic need to seek fame. One element in this development was the dual nature of the theatre, which was embodied by the actors, who performed roles on and off stage as star performers. In other words, the performers were willing to share their personal lives, whilst at the same time the audience was becoming increasingly interested in the stars.⁷ The confusion between the star and their stage persona resulted in the public wanting to share aspects of the personal lives of actors. This development partially helped to create the new culture of fame that was emerging in the nineteenth century.

Richard Sennett points out that large cities attracted a great mass of rootless people during the rapid shift in urban industrialisation. The new inhabitants of the expanding urban metropolises became disconnected from their rural communities and had to be reconciled to the faceless mass culture of the city. These people needed new targets for their affections. Between 1815 and 1848 Berlin experienced extraordinarily rapid population growth. Within less than forty years the population had doubled.⁸ Sennett's theory could be appropriate when seeking to explain the growth in the popularity of Berliner performers. Actors were ubiquitous in the city and they represented a reassuring presence to the masses amidst a faceless cityscape.

The rising cult of the star actor was also a general European phenomenon in the nineteenth century. Various types of performers in different countries attained great fame and attracted a considerable number of admirers. As a new trend, their personal lives also came under the spotlight. The most well-known example outside the theatre was the Italian violinist Nicolo Paganini. Paganini was not only known for his skill as a musician, but was also a constant source of interest in regard to his private life. The fame that Paganini enjoyed was well described in a famous contemporary caricature, in which people are depicted treading on each other in desperate attempts to glimpse the violinist.⁹ In her memoirs, Karoline Bauer describes Paganini's visit to Berlin. She writes of the mystifying rumours that were told about Paganini and that he was happy to play along with them. This created a public clamour for tickets to attend his concerts. Furthermore, the contemporary singer and salonnière Wilhelmine Bardua

6 Quinn 2005, 40–54, esp. 43–46.

7 Braudy 1997, 14, 333.

8 Mieck 1987, 480, Sennett (1974) 1993, 123, 130–131.

9 Sheehan 1989, 534; Wahnrau 1957, 362–363. The caricature is reprinted in Wahnrau's book.

noted that he was an ‘exceptional man’, who attracted the whole world to listen to him play the violin. She also pointed out the exceptional cost of tickets for the concerts.¹⁰

Romantic Heroes in Berlin

In Berlin in the first half of the nineteenth century it was possible to note the growth in interest in the personality of performers. One can even claim that the frenzy of renown was taking its first steps. According to Eduard Devrient, romantic heroes at the beginning of the nineteenth century became virtuosi by the middle of the century. However, Devrient described how romantic heroes were true artists, whilst the mid-century virtuosi were more interested in fame and popularity than the art of the theatre.¹¹ Yet, it is also possible to study romantic heroes as part of the upsurge in interest towards the personality of performers.

The idea of a romantic and heroic actor can be linked with the entire romantic culture of the nineteenth century. Romanticism had advocated the unnatural, mystical and unexplainable as counterweights to enlightened and rational views of life. This interest in mystical and unexplainable things could have also had an effect on the idea of actors in the theatre. The fact that actors were seemingly able to mystically change their character in seconds on stage was a great platform to generate a cult of romantic heroes. Ludwig Devrient is seen as one of the great romantic heroes of the nineteenth century. Simon Williams concludes: ‘Devrient has become part of the legend of romantic Germany, a wild genius, driven by his appetites to an early death, a prodigy whose interests in the weird and grotesque have suffused his reputation in a nimbus of diabolic light.’¹² Ludwig Devrient’s romantic heroism can be traced divided into three elements. Firstly, he was known for his furious stage presence, which is cited in several descriptions. Secondly, he lived a typical bohemian lifestyle that involved frequenting wine bars and social events. The third element in Devrient’s embodiment of romantic heroism were his links to romantic literary circles, especially that of E.T.A. Hoffmann

During his career Devrient performed approximately 500 different roles, which included some of the great dramatic characters and amusing roles in local comedies.

10 Bauer (1871) 1917, 157–158, 161. Wilhelmine Bardua’s *Die Schwestern Bardua*, cited in Berliner Leben, 194–195.

11 Devrient 1861, 191, 196–197, 207. Williams agrees with this summarisation. See Williams 1985, 81–82.

12 Williams 1985, 67.

His most admired roles were as Franz Moor, King Lear and Shylock. Williams summarises, that all who saw Devrient act were in awe of his uncanny ability to personify his famed lead roles. It is more than likely that this stage presence helped to create an aura of mystery around Devrient's off-stage persona.¹³ The contemporary German philosopher Hermann Ulrici provides the following description of Devrient's performance of King Lear:

Unnatürliche oder außergewöhnlichen Bewegungen; er spielte die Szenen fast nur mit den Augen und unterstützte den Ausdruck des Blickes nur durch entsprechendes Mienenspiel und durch eigentümlich bedeutsame Finger- und Handbewegungen.¹⁴

Moreover, Ludwig Rellstab provides a vivid account of Devrient's portrayal of Franz Moor in Schiller's *The Robbers*:

- - and [he] stood once again with his face to the audience. But he was no longer the same person whom a few moments before we had seen leaving, full of resolute malice. His features were pallid, his muscles quivered as if trembling with fever, his teeth rattled together, his hollow eyes rolled uncertainly here and there, his hair was standing on end in terror.¹⁵

Karoline Bauer also describes Devrient's ability to sparkle in evening performances, even when he had spent the morning drinking at the Lutter and Wegner wine bar.

Aber stand er taumelnd vor den Lampen – so war er wie elektrisiert! Flugs erhaschte er das Stichwort – sein Auge blitzte auf ... und er spielte wie ein Gott – oder wie ein Dämon: alles bezaubernd – alles mit sich fortreißend – nicht am wenigsten seine Mitspieler.¹⁶

These quotes belong to the tradition of nineteenth-century theatre, which are replete with exaggerations and hyperbole, but they contributed to the forging of an image Devrient as a romantic hero. Devrient's famed stage presence, in which he could transform himself in a matter of seconds into something frightful and unreal, was perfectly suited to contemporary ideas of romantic heroes. Furthermore, the fact that later theatre histories also chose to repeat these testimonies shows how the myth of Devrient as the romantic hero par excellence was maintained long after his death.

The idea of proto-bohemian behaviour can be connected to Devrient's alcohol consumption and the stories about his behaviour in the Lutter and Wegner wine bar. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the bohemian lifestyle of artists and

13 Brockett 1995, 335–336; Kindermann 1964, 246–247; Williams 1985, 67, 75.

14 Ulrici, cited in Kindermann 1964, 247.

15 Rellstab, cited and translated in Williams 1985, 71–72.

16 Bauer (1871) 1917, 261.

actors in Berlin had not yet evolved into a recognisable phenomenon. Nevertheless, Devrient's behaviour can be seen as a formative phase in the creation of a stereotypical form of bohemian lifestyle connected to artists and actors.

In studies about general alcohol consumption in the nineteenth century, it has been customary to link the extent of intake with poverty and its generally negative effects on the lower classes. Alain Corbin suggests, for example, that it was as late as 1870s when the negative effects of alcohol consumption were first noted on a larger scale. Medical research increasingly came to link alcohol consumption to the immorality of the proletariat, which was labelled alcoholism. At the same time, attitudes towards alcohol consumers began to change. A trend towards decreasing alcohol prices made it possible for more people to have access to liquor. Previously high levels of alcohol consumption had only been possible among the highest social circles. The alcohol consumption of lower groups immediately gained a questionable reputation.¹⁷ Hasso Spode, who has studied German drinking culture, argues that cheap spirits had a pernicious effect on the working classes. Prior to industrialisation, spirits were mainly seen as prestigious drinks of the urban elite.¹⁸ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, alcohol usage was not a strange phenomenon in Berlin. Beer was perceived as a common thirst quencher, whilst expensive wine was reserved for the upper classes to enjoy in cafés and salons.¹⁹ Of course alcohol was a danger to the elite, but it was not considered to be as problematic as the forms of alcoholism that were linked with pauperism.

How did contemporaries view the alcohol consumption of Berliner actors? Eduard Devrient can be viewed as being representative of bürgerlich ideals of moderation in regard to drinking. In his diary he constantly expresses his disapproval of the drunkenness of his colleagues. In 1837, for example, Devrient wrote down a discussion that had taken place between himself and Johan Weiß. They both poured scorn on a performance that they believed had been ruined by the drunkenness and immorality of the cast. Both Weiß and Devrient thought that their colleagues were falling by the wayside.²⁰

17 Corbin 1990, 633, 635, 638.

18 Spode 1993, 193–195.

19 The American traveller John Russel wrote about the drinking habits of Berliners: 'Neither are the lower orders of the Prussians at all a noisy people in their amusements; to smoke and drink beer, or wine, if they be rich enough to afford it, is the highest enjoyment of the ordinary people.' Russel 1828, 51. Gailus points out that beer and the cheap spirits (*Branntwein*) were strongly connected with the lowest classes in the *Vormärz* period. Gailus 1984, 8, 10.

20 Eduard Devrient, 19.7.1837. Devrient 1964, 19. Later Devrient disapproved of the drunkenness of his colleagues when they were returning from a performance at Potsdam. Eduard Devrient 2.7.1843. Devrient 1964, 179.

Furthermore Eduard Devrient did not view the alcohol consumption of his uncle, Ludwig, in a romantic light. Eduard Devrient stated clearly that drink had ruined his uncle's remarkable career. Eduard Devrient commented on the alcohol consumption of his uncle in his book about theatre history of Germany:

Er unterlag immer wiederkehrenden Unterleibsleide, seine Haltung war gebrochen, die Hände, verkrümmt, ließen keine selbständige Bewegung der Finger mehr zu, die Sprache war matt geworden, sein Gedächtniß, schon immer treuenlos, lies ihn jetzt zu Zeiten ganz im Stich.

Eduard Devrient thought that it was only polite not to allow his uncle to go on stage when he was under the influence of alcohol.²¹ Eduard Devrient's negative attitudes towards alcohol consumption are also evident in the earlier volumes of his theatre history, when he wrote about an incident that had shamed his profession. The incident in question involved a famous Berliner actor, who had performed dead drunk and who had become embroiled in infidelity issues. According to Devrient, the actor's shameful behaviour had hindered the chance for all his fellow actors to be accepted as full members of society. Devrient continues by stating that it was lucky that people did not generalise about his event in regard to the whole profession.²² Karoline Bauer also comments on Ludwig Devrient's alcohol consumption in her memoirs:

Der geniale Mann war schon eine Ruine als Mensch und Künstler, rettungslos dem Trunk und anderen aufreibenden Leidenschaften ergeben, und steckte bis über die Ohren in Schulden. Da zogen wir uns vorsichtig zurück. Devrient heirathete die junge üppige Tänzerin Brandes – und wurde in dieser unpassanden Ehe, die auf der einen Seite von der Sinnlichkeit, auf der andern von niedriger Berechnung geknüpft war, nur noch unglücklicher.²³

– – oder Abends in Lutter&Wegners Weinstube um den weinseligen Ludwig Devrient, der dann zuweilen, durch etliche Flaschen Burgunder und Sekt animirt, den sprühenden Geistern den diabolischen Richard III und Goethes Mephisto vorspielte – die der gebrochene Künstler auf der Bühne nicht spielen dürfte.²⁴

Bauer did not tolerate the drunkenness of Ludwig Devrient and felt that he had become a mere shadow of his former self. She also refers to an unsuitable marriage that Devrient had entered into. Yet, she softened her harsh critique with a slight sense of compassion. She describes how she felt pity for the actor, for example, when he

21 Devrient 1874, 171–172.

22 Devrient 1861, 239–240.

23 Bauer 1880b, 24–25.

24 Bauer 1880b, 46.

had to live in the same city as Moritz Rott, who was performing Devrient's famous roles with great success.²⁵

On the other hand, the drinking habits of artists had long been seen as somehow being part of the creative process or a sign of an artistic soul. Spode mentions that 'artistic drinking' was one form of typical German drinking habits. Artistic forms of drinking entailed finding inspiration for works through the consumption of alcohol. As an example of such drinking, Spode highlights the literary circles of Berlin and Weimar during the era of Romanticism.²⁶

Ludwig Devrient's drinking habits were also romanticised. There are several reminiscences, for example, of Devrient and E.T.A. Hoffmann frequenting wine bars. These events were even immortalised in paintings and anecdotes. The most well-known pieces of art depicting the drinking exploits of Ludwig Devrient and E.T.A. Hoffman are a painting by Hermann Kramer, dating from 1843 and a painting by Karl Themann that is used today as the logo for Lutter & Wegner sparkling wine. Both later paintings might have been influenced by Hoffmann's own sketch from 1817 that he sent to Ludwig Devrient.

Sparkling wine (*sekt*) plays an important role in anecdotes about Devrient. According to one such tale, the derivation of the word *sekt* can be traced to an occasion when Devrient entered the Lutter & Wegner wine bar after a performance of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. In the play Devrient had recited the following line: 'Bring er mir Sect, Schurke! Ist denn keine Tugend mehr auf Erden?'. In the original English script Shakespeare refers to sherry, but the waiter in the wine bar did not understand this reference and brought sparkling wine for Devrient. Another anecdote refers to how Devrient used to sit alone with two glasses of sekt after the death of Hoffmann, and used to talk to his late friend. In another version of the anecdote, Devrient visits Hoffmann's tombstone, where he drinks sparkling wine out of one glass and pours the contents of a second glass over the grave.²⁷

The legends surrounding Devrient and Hoffmann lived on into the 1840s. For instance, Ernst Dronke claimed that the paintings of the pair still hung on the walls of the Lutter & Wegner wine bar long after their deaths.²⁸ The anecdotes and the paintings do not convey the destructive power of alcohol that most probably sent the artists to the grave at relatively young ages. Indeed, the paintings and anecdotes romanticise the image of two friends, whose friendship continues beyond the grave.

25 Bauer (1871) 1917, 263.

26 *Zechkunst*. Spode 1993, 264–265.

27 Bab 1954, 227–229. See also Piana 1957, 210.

28 Dronke (1846) 1987, 56.



Pictures 4, 5, 6: E. T. A. Hoffmann and Ludwig Devrient, Lutter & Wegner. The first picture is an oil painting by Hermann Kramer, dating from 1843. The second painting is a version by K. Themann and the third is a contemporary drawing by E.T.A Hoffmann, from 1817, which depicts him inviting Devrient for some salad and port. This drawing was probably the inspiration for pictures 4 and 5.

The paintings also portray the image of two intelligent and civilised artists drinking a bottle of sparkling wine. No negative connotations are present in the paintings; rather their alcohol consumption is depicted as a lofty expression of their artistic genius.

Ludwig Devrient was also closely tied to the romantic literary circles of the nineteenth century. This was mainly because of his intimate friendship with Hoffmann. Indeed, the friendly relationship between the pair ensured that Devrient was immortalised as the character of Little Garrick in Hoffmann's novel *Seltsame Leiden eines Theaterdirektors* of 1818. The main theme of the novel centres on the compulsive need of actors to speak about themselves and their desire to be in the spotlight at all times. Only one actor in the novel – Little Garrick – is portrayed as transcending these traits and it has been interpreted that he referred to Ludwig Devrient.²⁹ In the novel Hoffmann describes the magnificent portrayal of Franz Moor in Schiller's *The Robbers* by a genial actor, or in other words Devrient.³⁰ The praise heaped upon Devrient by the revered Hoffmann would have had a powerful effect on to the latter's public image. In brief, it can be claimed that Devrient's romantic and heroic image was created by a combination of stage presence, glowing descriptions of his acting, a pre-bohemian lifestyle and his links to romantic literary circles.

Mass Admiration of Leading Actors

Ludwig Devrient's nephew Eduard ranks his uncle as one of the artistic heroes of the theatre, whilst his followers merely reflected the decay of the profession.³¹ The less than flattering descriptions of contemporary Berlin actors made by Eduard can be interpreted as the embittered remarks of a man who had not scaled the same heights as his uncle. Despite Eduard Devrient's negative comments, one can observe certain developments in the profession. One important change, for example, was the great amount of fanatic admirers that worshipped the new generation of virtuosi. However, it can be noted that this extraordinary level of fame was reserved for only a few star actors. What is more, whilst the 'frenzy of renown' was discernible, it was not yet the most important reason for performers to choose their profession. The negative effects of fame were also experienced in terms of a lack of privacy and also in hostile attacks against the stars.

29 Williams 1985, 69–70.

30 Hoffmann (1818)1958, 501–502.

31 Devrient 1861, 206–207.

One of the most well-known cases centred on a great furore surrounding the beautiful singer and actor Henriette Sontag. An outbreak of ‘Sontag Fever’ apparently occurred in Berlin between 1825 and 1827, which was marked by episodes of mass hysteria in Berlin.³² Sontag has been called one of the first modern stars and has been described as a *cause célèbre*, in that she was a phenomenon that caused that a great public stir.³³ It is also claimed that ‘Sontag Fever’ resulted in a public clamour for information concerning her activities, what make-up she used and even how often she took baths.³⁴ Various studies also cite anecdotes about Sontag’s fame. One of the most popular tales concerns a group of Göttingen students, who pulled a post-carriage that Sontag had used to a river in order that no one else would be able to use the same carriage as the divine Henriette.³⁵

Karoline Bauer also comments on the unprecedented popularity gained by Sontag. Bauer writes that laurels lost their leaves and that bouquet prices rose in the 1820s because of the sheer number of gifts given to Sontag. She also recites an anecdote about Sontag, in which a piano teacher named Berger had become exasperated at the hysteria surrounding the star. Consequently, Berger endeavoured to escape ‘Sontag Fever’, but was unable to find a wine bar or society gathering in which the ‘epidemic’ was not rife. Bauer also notes the enormous amount of admirers that Sontag had attracted. She describes how after one of Sontag’s performances, for example, the whole of Alexanderplatz was full of her admirers and that all the streets on her way home were bathed in flowers.³⁶

Moreover, Bauer describes how after an evening performance it had proved almost impossible for Sontag to make her way home in her famous red carriage, as her way was blocked by ‘admirer guards’. Indeed, an air of jealousy tinges Bauer’s description of how ‘this heathen god’s house’ was decorated with hundreds of floral bouquets. Indeed, Sontag’s admirers also gathered in front of her house with torches and musical groups and were not too tired to cheer their favourite actor. Sontag then appeared on her balcony and dropped a handkerchief to a lucky bystander. This apparently made the crowd cheer even more.³⁷ Such a dynamic between the performer and her adoring admirers was similar to royal traditions of making an appearance on a balcony. This public pageant can be compared to Braudy’s idea of the transferral of

32 Freydank 1988, 229.

33 Stümcke 1913, 51.

34 Wahnrau 1957, 348–349.

35 Boehn (1923), 470.

36 Bauer (1871)1917, 267–268; Bauer 1880b, 170, 199.

37 Bauer (1871)1917, 280.

royal honour to celebrities. He also compares the role of a monarch with a leading actor and asks whether the latter was actually more handsome and skilled.³⁸ Yet, in Berlin it appears that the fame enjoyed by actors working in favour of the court.

In brief, the new celebrity culture was epitomised in the so-called ‘Sontag Fever’. On the other hand, it is also noteworthy how the celebrity phenomenon was self-perpetuating. As Braudy has shown, famous people were compared to and sought to emulate their predecessors.³⁹ One can question Bauer’s motives, for example, in writing so extensively on Sontag’s fame. It seems likely that Bauer herself was affected by the cult of the star performer. It is also noteworthy that Bauer’s testimony is widely used in later theatre histories.⁴⁰

This new celebrity culture is also amply demonstrated in Charlotte von Hagn’s diary. Multiple entries attest to her fame and how audiences reacted to her outside the theatre. Her writings can be partially seen as forming part of her own self-validation, but on the other hand they are also a great source when seeking to understand how she reacted to her enormous success. If divided into themes, the diary entries that touch on her fame can be seen as descriptions of popular acclaim, remarks on individual admirers and their actions and finally the negative consequences of losing one’s privacy.

On several occasions von Hagn describes where, when and how she had received popular acclaim. When embarking on a journey to Russia, for example, von Hagn describes how a crowd of Berliners had gathered under her window to pay their respects. She describes how she was both heartened and sad to hear shouts of ‘stay here’, ‘come back’ and ‘vivat’, as well as being serenaded by a group of twenty-two musicians. On another occasion, von Hagn was about to depart from a Leipzig theatre when a crowd of curious people gathered outside the venue and prevented her from getting to her carriage. She wrote that it was so crowded that she had had to spray eau de cologne on people’s faces in order to get through. She later apologised for her actions, although she also noted that one of her admirers had expressed his pleasure at being doused in eau de cologne. In smaller towns her popularity tended to be even greater. When von Hagn was leaving Breslau after a guest performance, for example, the attention she received was enormous. Von Hagn had already been astonished about the attention she had received in the theatre, when over sixty people had rushed onstage to hand her bouquets and other gifts. Afterwards, a crowd had

38 Braudy 1997, 331–332.

39 Braudy 1997, 4.

40 Boehn [1923], 470; Freydank 1988, 229–231; Stümcke 1913, 42, 50; Taylor 1997, 138;

also surrounded her carriage outside the theatre. The actor describes how it was almost impossible for the driver to depart. What is more, at her hotel people gathered under her window, where she was honoured with a serenade and a torchlight procession.⁴¹

If one compares the adulation centred on Sontag and von Hagn it is possible to discern certain conventions. Moreover, von Hagn's diary can be seen as part of a cultural trend towards self-reverence based on comparisons with preceding stars of the stage. Indeed, the adulation described by von Hagn is strikingly redolent of the praise that had previously been lavished upon Sontag

However, Charlotte von Hagn's diary provides a glimpse into a more private realm than the anecdotes about Sontag. Von Hagn also describes the desperate advances of some of her admirers that she deemed worthy of entry in her diary, even if she considered them to be mere annoyances. For instance, she describes how a young admirer had sent her three desperate love letters, which were returned with a note expressing the futility of writing such epistles. Another 'tragicomical' young admirer is also described as coming to the door of von Hagn's home, only to be spurned by the actor. In a third example, a young man is described as coming to the door of her home. He apparently asked Charlotte's sister for a picture of the actor 'with such speed as if his life depended on it'. Charlotte did not want to give him a lithograph and felt his enquires were somewhat inappropriate. Charlotte von Hagn was already questioning the desire of young men to seek an audience with her. She wrote that her sisters had enlightened her as regards her popularity in Prussia, which meant that everyone wanted to be graced with her presence.⁴² In brief, this was still a relatively harmless form of celebrity culture. On the other hand, young men were taking the liberty of knocking on the door of her private home door, with some even seeking to gain an audience. Approaches from unacquainted men went strictly against the codes of honour and decorum adhered to by many single women. Thus, it would have been viewed as morally lax if von Hagn would have been favourable towards these approaches.

Charlotte von Hagn's growing sense of annoyance at these intrusions into her privacy become ever more apparent in her diary. In one entry from 1836, for example, in the wake of the public disagreements between von Hagn and Stich-Crelinger, she writes of her frustration at being accosted whilst promenading with her sisters in

41 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 7.3., 12.8.1833, Bd 2, 12.10.1836. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

42 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 12.6., 13.8.1834, Bd 2, 17.4., 19.6.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

Berlin's Tiergarten.⁴³ Her celebrity status had begun to hinder her daily routines and this upset the actor. At this time, the negative publicity she received regarding her rivalry with Stich-Crelinger might have also had an affect on how von Hagn reacted to the public.

The theatre director Karl von Holtei raised the same issue vis-à-vis the celebrity culture of Berlin. In his memoirs, for example, he writes how Berlin was a city in which 'persona publica' and 'persona grata' could not hide.⁴⁴ In other words, the cult of celebrity in Berlin had reached a level whereby it had begun to disturb the everyday lives of performers.

Indeed, celebrity culture also took on some threatening forms. In October 1834 von Hagn wrote in her diary of a terrifying incident that had occurred the previous evening, when she had been reading the lines of a new role until midnight. As she put out a lamp, she heard the sound of a stone flying through her window. The stone landed in the spot where she had just been reading. In her opinion only good luck had saved her from being hit. She then went to another room, where she thought she would be safe. Suddenly, however, a larger stone was thrown through the window of this room. The diary records how von Hagn dreaded being attacked by more stones and that her servant had taken her in a shivering state to her sisters. After a while, the night watch came and told her that the troublemaker was a young shop worker, who had previously threatened the actor. Von Hagn was so shocked after the event that she went down with a fever. She later notified the president of the Berlin police about the incident and he promised to take care of the case.⁴⁵ This incident can be seen as the most negative form of Berlin's celebrity culture. Being a public figure at the time made individuals the target of attention that was not initially connected to a specific person; rather to the institution that one represented.

Public Grief

Philippe Aries has theorised that people in the nineteenth century began to grieve the 'death of others', particularly in regard to romantic ideas connected to loved ones. At this time images of grieving lovers appeared in paintings and memorials.⁴⁶ This phenomenon can also be seen in regard to the rise of grieving for the loss of famous people. Braudy divides fame into four elements: a person and an accomplishment,

43 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 20.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

44 The terms were written in Latin letters. Holtei 1859b, 89.

45 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 25.10.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

46 Aries 1985, 241–243; Aries 1994, 56.

as well as their immediate publicity and how posterity comes to regard them.⁴⁷ The death of a famous actor attracted the attention of the public and formed part of their legacy that made them partially immortal. Mass grieving was evident after the deaths of Ludwig Devrient, Karl Seydelmann and Louise von Holtei. Commemorative publications and memorial poems represent one form of this public outpouring of emotion. Besides honouring the passing of the actors, they also helped to consolidate the romantic hero myth of living actors.

Ludwig Devrient lived a controversial life and his last years on stage were not the most glamorous. Still, his death on 28th November 1832 was a huge event for the theatre community and for the whole of Berlin. Georg Altman describes that Devrient's funeral procession consisted of colleagues, as well as other artists, writers and admirers.⁴⁸ In honour of Devrient's career, the literary historian Heinrich Schmidt published a memorial book entitled *Ludwig Devrient. Eine Denkschrift*. Schmidt expressed his poetic admiration for the actor:

Denn nicht ohne Blumen darf das Grab eines Mannes sein, der in ewig reger Thätigkeit den vollen, frischen Blütenkranz der Kunst für seine Zeitgenossen wand.⁴⁹

Schmidt also compared Devrient to Socrates, Shakespeare, Raphael and Michelangelo. Comparing Devrient to such figures helped to raise the acting profession to the level of philosophy and classical art. Moreover, he ranks the Berlin actor as an equal to the French actor François-Joseph Talma and the British actor and playwright David Garrick. Furthermore, the intellect of the actor was highlighted: 'Devrient was a genius in every meaning of the word.'⁵⁰ This kind of praise was sometimes also heaped on living actors.

Karl Seydelmann was one of the most respected actors at the Royal Theatre. After his death, the writer and theatre theorist Theodor von Röttscher published a book entitled *Seydelmann's Leben und Wirken*. The book follows in the tradition of vividly describing the acting style of the subject. In this manner the memory of an actor's stage charisma was preserved for future generations. Von Röttscher concludes his eulogy to Seydelmann by praising how the actor performed at the highest level until the end. His last performance was in Iffland's *Advokaten*, and von Röttscher

47 Braudy 1997, 15.

48 Altman 1926, 270.

49 Schmidt 1833, 6.

50 Schmidt 1833, 10, 12.

describes how during the play the actor sensed that this was to be his last performance and that was why the script of *Advokaten* was buried with the great master.⁵¹

Adolph Bethge provides a detailed account of Seydelmann's funeral, which he states began with a gathering in the house of mourning. Bethge mentions that the mourners included a delegation from the Art Academy of Berlin, as well as many unfamiliar faces. After the gathering, a funeral procession set out for Berlin's main Catholic church. An orchestra playing chorals marched in front of the four-horse hearse carrying the actor. When the procession arrived at the church the police could not maintain order because a large crowd had gathered to pay their last respects. A choir sang hymns both before and after the burial.⁵² Such expressions of public grief at the funerals of leading actors, which included processions and choral singing, can be compared to similar rituals undertaken at royal funerals.

Louise von Holtei died at the young age of twenty-five. Her untimely death was deeply felt by many and in her honour a collection of memorial texts and poems was published. In these writings grief was expressed in romantic terms, which was particularly poignant because of the sense that she had been cut off in her prime. A poem by Pius Alexander Wolff eloquently epitomises this form of poetic grieving:

Der Zeit gedacht' ich, als zum letztenmal'
Ich vor dir stand – und sieh! – ein Sonnenstrahl
Erhellte jetzt, wie Damals, Herz und Zimmer

Die halb geschloss'nen Augen öffnen sich,
Du richtest dich empor, du blickst um dich,
Und durch die Seele strahlt der Hoffnung Schimmer.⁵³

The publication of necrologies constituted another form of public memorial for famous actors who had passed away. The annual *Almanach für Freunde der Schauspielkunst* was honouring the lives of recently deceased actors by publishing mini biographies. Necrologies were also published in official newspapers. The deaths of less revered people were mentioned in the announcements section, but famous actors were accorded separate obituaries. One such actor afforded this honour was Gottfried Koselitz, whose obituary was published in *Vossische Zeitung* in 1818.⁵⁴ Such an honour was reserved for the highest circles of society.

51 Rötcher 1845, 165,172, 174.

52 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 21.3.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

53 The last verses of P. A. Wolff's poem to the memory of Louise von Holtei. BGS 1925, 61.

54 *Vossische Zeitung* 8.9.1818.

Seydelmann's necrology in the *Almanach* of 1844 was over fifty pages in length. The actor was described as one of the 'heroes of the art' and a 'genius of all situations'. Furthermore, less renowned actors were also remembered in glorified terms in the *Almanach*. The obituary of Jonas Beschort in the 1844 edition of the *Almanach* provides a good example of such a necrology. It is much shorter than that for Seydelmann, but it also underlines Beschort's talent and his important legacy for German art. The obituary concludes by proclaiming that Beschort lived a life that was good, long, artistic and bürgerlich.⁵⁵

The novel phenomenon of focussing on the personality of an actor created a burgeoning star cult surrounding Berliner actors. The initial signs of such a development can be seen in the romantic stories and myths linked to the life of Ludwig Devrient. Furthermore, the fanatic admirers of the young female actors, such as Henriette Sontag and Charlotte von Hagn, also indicate the rise of a celebrity culture in Berlin. Lastly, the public rituals of grieving, as witnessed at the funeral of Seydelmann, demonstrate the manner in which actors were beginning to receive unprecedented levels of attention and adulation.

55 *Almanach* 1844, 71. 82–84.

2. Actors and the Mass Media

Actors were already public figures in the nineteenth century. This section studies the position of the actors in the public sphere in regard to newspapers and other forms of mass media. The main argument advanced is that actor occupied a new and unique position in regard to the media in restoration era Prussia. New forms of mass media were still in the process of negotiating their output and had already found fuel from the world of theatre. The culture of restoration-era Prussia valued theatre-related issues as a rare outlet to voice a degree of freedom of expression. Furthermore, for some journalists, theatrical scandals provided opportunities to establish a reputation in the news media. Newspaper publicity provided actors with the attention that many of them craved, but was accompanied by a corresponding loss of privacy. Literary publicity can be seen as part of the cultural fabric, in which a great deal of interest centred on a performer's personality.

The increased levels of publicity enjoyed by actors in the mass media also transformed notions of honour in society. I argue that the changing concept of honour split in two directions. On the one hand, society still adhered to an old form of honour, which glorified kings and aristocrats through mass spectacles and gatherings. As Braudy argues, the older notion of honour, which had been previously reserved for monarchs and distinguished aristocrats, was now directed towards leading actors. The simultaneous growth of the mass media and theatre culture in restoration-era Prussia dramatically enhanced the status of actors.⁵⁶ A new media culture emerged that name-dropped leading actors, singers, writers and aristocrats in newspapers that were approved by the court. This phenomenon can be interpreted as one example of the transformation of the traditional code of honour away from being the sole preserve of the aristocracy. On the other hand, honour was very closely connected to moral standards and the protection of an individual's good name. In the culture of nineteenth-century Prussia, personal honour held great importance. High society circles, in particular, learned to value honour as one of the most important virtues. This was seen, for example, in the culture of duels. Frevert suggests that a duel was not simply a test of ability, but was also a display of honour.⁵⁷ One of the arguments of this section is that mass publicity facilitated the expansion of the old

56 Bernhard 1983, 202, 204; Braudy 1997, 13–14; Koszyk 1966, 14, 59, 62. See also Kallioniemi 2000, 101.

57 Braudy 1997, 3, 14; Frevert 1995, 3.

code of honour to include actors. Nevertheless, compared to kings and aristocrats, the personal honour associated with actors did not follow the same path. It can even be claimed that mass publicity diminished the 'good name' of actors. Their honour was increasingly questioned and satirised in newspapers. Therefore, they can be viewed as being at the vanguard of a new code of honour.

Official Newspapers

The power and influence of newspapers grew in restoration-era Prussia, even though their output was severely curtailed by harsh levels of censorship. In Berlin between 1815 and 1848 there were three official newspapers loyal to the king of Prussia: *Die Kgl. privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung* (also known as *Vossische Zeitung*), *Die Berlinischen Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* (also known as *Haude-Spenerische Zeitung*) and *Allgemeine Preußische Staatszeitung*. Each publication was strictly regulated by the censors, who dictated the content of the newspapers. Articles had to avoid dubious themes, such as contemporary politics. Consequently many stories focussed on passive subject matter, such as descriptions of distant lands. Official newspapers were often described as the worst offerings of the German mass media. Berliners who wanted to follow political issues in Germany had to read newspapers from other regions. However, the lack of contemporary politics in Berlin newspapers ensured that theatre reviews formed a crucial role in the publications. Bodo Rollka notes that there was a discernible increase in the quantity of theatre reviews during the politically restless years between 1830 and 1848. Yet, even theatre reviews could be interpreted as dangerous in restoration-era Prussia, with accusations that some articles concealed a political subtext. Indeed, it was possible to read political undertones in criticism directed at the Royal Theatre. Literary magazines also had a bit more room to express critical reviews.⁵⁸

If one studies the content of *Vossische Zeitung* in more detail it is possible to form a general picture of the subject matter of the newspaper. The format of the newspaper was very similar on most days. Firstly, the newspaper published official announcements from the Prussian court, which were followed by articles by royal correspondents throughout Europe. The third section usually contained a brief article, such as a necrology or a short biography of a historical nobleman. The fourth part of

58 Bernhard 1983, 202, 204; Houben 1926, 78; Koszyk 1966, 14, 59, 62; Knudsen 1990, 113; Rollka 1985, 201. On the contemporaries, see, for example, Arnold Steinmann. Briefe aus Berlin, quoted in *Berliner Leben*, 262.

the newspaper contained literary reviews and theatre reviews, as well as an upcoming theatre schedule. The final section, contained commercial and non-commercial announcements.⁵⁹

The theatre reviews were relatively short and descriptive, providing a list of the relevant play's main actors. The comments of individuals on the performance of actors were usually conducted in a good spirit. In a review of a performance of *King Lear* in 1816, for example, Ludwig Devrient was praised for his performance of the title role. The reviewer remarked that Devrient had exceeded his high expectations and wondered 'how it is even possible for one man to achieve such perfectness?' The only minor criticism levelled by the reviewer was that Devrient was too young to play *King Lear*.⁶⁰ In a review of *Nathan der Weise*, the reviewer stressed the performance of Lemm, the lead actor. The official review of the performance was also accompanied by letters of praise from readers.⁶¹ Sometimes these letters took on the form of a eulogy.⁶² The following quote is probably the most typical review style for either a leading or supporting actor:

Als Iphigenia (in Göthe's Iphigenia auf Tauris) erfüllte Madam Wolff ganz die gespannte Erwartung des Publikums auf eine Rolle, die sie unter den Augen des großen Meisters aufgefaßt und angeeignet hat.⁶³

Herr Mattausch gab den alten Baron überaus natürlich und ähnlich; Herr Beschort (obschon heiser und unwohl) den Hauptmann, Hr. Gern den Schulzen überaus bieder und brav. Daß Hr. Unzelmann zu stark und Dlle Düring zu empfindsam auflegte, mag die Schuld der Rollen seyn. Hr. Maurer gab den Eifersüchtigen, und die Duellscene sehr gut, so wie Hr. Stich den Bedienten und Hr. Gern den Haushofmeister unterhaltend und komisch. Hr. Lemm hätte eine undankbare rolle.⁶⁴

Reviews focussing on leading roles would typically provide a brief summary of the character, along with comments on the performance of the actor. Reviews of supporting roles were usually not much more than a list of actors, rather than an evaluative description. However, the evaluation was often relatively positive.

59 Vossische Zeitung, passim, for example, 2.3.1816. Rollka 1996, 264–265. For a more in-depth view of the different quantities of literature presented in the official newspapers, see Rollka 1985, tabellen 1–6, 441–446.

60 Vossische Zeitung, 1.2.1816.

61 Vossische Zeitung, 26.2.1816.

62 Vossische Zeitung, 2.3., 9.4.1816.

63 Vossische Zeitung, 9.5.1816.

64 Vossische Zeitung 21.5.1816.

Satirical Newspapers and the Case of Moritz Saphir

In the nineteenth century Berlin also witnessed a growth in unofficial satirical newspapers and publications. In restoration-era Prussia the possibility to publish 'non-political' theatre reviews and humorous riddles provided a rare avenue for public expression in the print media. The first representative of such satirical journalism was Moritz Gottlieb Saphir (1795–1858). He was born into a Hungarian Jewish family and received his education in Prague. Mary Townsend regards Saphir as the creative force behind the entire nineteenth-century Berlin humour industry.⁶⁵

Saphir began his journalistic career in Berlin by publishing a scandalous poem dedicated to Henriette Sontag. After receiving a letter of thanks from Sontag, Saphir revealed that the poem was written in an acrostic manner, whereby the capital letters formed a message that stressed that the whole poem was a monstrous irony (*ungeheure Ironie*). This sparked a furore in Berlin and Saphir gained popularity as a satirical journalist. The scandal also resulted in Saphir receiving a six-week prison sentence for libel. On the other hand, he won the attention and respect of many Berliners, who thereafter avidly read his articles.⁶⁶

After bursting onto the stage of Berlin journalism, Saphir founded his own newspaper – *Berliner Schnellpost für Literatur, Theater und Geselligkeit* – which began life as an early form of a scandal magazine. Houben suggests that the theatre acted as a substitute target, instead of the authorities, when it was impossible to discuss political issues. The authorities were well aware of this knew channel, as is revealed by Minister von Bernstorff, who remarked to General Intendant von Brühl that 'there should be at least one bone for an angry dog'.⁶⁷

The *Berliner Schnellpost* contained theatre, opera and concert reviews, as well as poetry, short stories, correspondent reports and short debate articles on earlier reviews. For the modern reader the scandalous content of the newspaper appears relatively tame. The furore created by the newspaper can be best understood by analysing the responses they generated among contemporaries. The culture of publicity was still developing and libellous actions were relatively common. Moreover, humour and irony were hard to detect and recognise in press articles. Townsend concludes that it is even hard for present day Berliner enthusiast to understand Saphir's humour.⁶⁸

Theatre reviews mainly concentrated on describing the plots of plays. Actors were usually mentioned by name, but their performance was only described in brief,

65 Townsend 1992, 35; Boehn [1923], 392.

66 Townsend 1992, 36; BLKÖ XXVII, Bd 27, 69.

67 Houben 1926, 79.

68 Townsend 1992, 38.

with standard comments, such as ‘he was great’ or ‘he was not suitable for the role’⁶⁹ A number of the most negative comments were targeted against the Königstädtisches Theater. The female actor Gehse, for example, was described as being a simple choir girl, who behaved like a great star in the Königstädtisches Theater.⁷⁰ This would have been interpreted as an attack on the actor, due to the honour code of the time.

A negative attitude towards the Königstädtisches Theater was also clearly visible in an article by Saphir, entitled ‘Satisfaktions-Predige’, which was published on 25th May 1829. Saphir wrote that he had been commenting on the theatre in the *Berliner Schnellpost* for three years. Initially, Saphir writes that he had enjoyed the productions staged at the theatre, although success resulted in the actors resting on their laurels. According to Saphir, the theatre reached a low point when it hired Henriette Sontag. Subsequently, the theatre was plagued with financial troubles and the king had to intervene in order to save the theatre. As a result, the repertoire of the theatre was cut back, but Saphir still complained that ‘the rubbish is still rubbish and the cut backs have not had an effect on the bad quality of the theatre’.⁷¹ These comments reveal his negative attitude towards the theatre and its leaders. Saphir’s hardening stance towards the Königstädtisches Theater is explained by the fact that his position in Berlin was becoming weaker, as he was losing the support of the king. Hence, he was becoming increasingly aggressive in his writings.

Besides *Schnellpost*, Saphir started to publish a daily newspaper entitled *Berliner Courier ein Morgenblatt für Theater, Mode Eleganz, Stadtleben und Localität*. The newspaper was published six days a week, and like the *Berliner Schnellpost* it concentrated on theatre reviews, anecdotes, silly poems, riddles, fashion descriptions and forthcoming theatre performances.

Theatre reviews always appeared at the front of the *Berliner Courier*, with the exception of irregular opera reviews. Significantly, reviews of performances at the Königstädtisches Theater always appeared after other theatre reviews. The reviews also had a certain format. Firstly, a play was introduced by providing a plot summary alongside general remarks. This part also contained evaluations of the actors. The second part of the review was usually related to miscellanea, such as the size and quality of the audience. This section occasionally also included information on the stage designs and whether the actors were called back by the audience after the play.⁷²

69 *Berliner Schnellpost* 18.9.1827, 10.1.1829, passim.

70 *Berliner Schnellpost* 5.2.1829. The general director of the Königstädtisches Theater, Karl von Holtei, also felt that his theatre was receiving the unfair attention of Saphir. Holtei 1859a, 325.

71 *Berliner Schnellpost* 25.5.1829.

72 *Berliner Courier*, 1827, 1830, passim.

The reviews were mainly positive, such as the one written on 19th February 1827 about a performance of the comedy *Maske in Maske* at the Royal Theatre:

Im Ganzen gut! Herr Rütbling (Johann) höchst belustigend; sein Anzug könnte aber wohl ohne Bortenrock und Spitzdegen gehen; Beides hemmt hier den Lauf der Laune. Hr. Krüger, Hr. Gern Sohn, die Damen Komitsch und Dötsch waren gut.⁷³

The performers were considered to have acted exceedingly well and a critical tone was only directed at the costume designs. The *Berliner Courier* not only appreciated comedies, but also classical works staged in Berlin. Saphir wrote that a performance of Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*, for example, was such masterpiece that he could not describe it in an ordinary manner. In a lengthy review, he stated that all the actors had excelled in their roles.⁷⁴

In comparison, Saphir could also write in a negative manner, which was relatively rare in the first half of the nineteenth century Berlin. His negative comments were usually directly contrasted with positive reviews. In a review of a performance at the Royal Theatre in 1827, for example, Saphir wrote that Karoline Bauer was lovely, but that Bader's performance had been met with silence. Another contrasting review related to a performance at the Königstädtisches Theater, in which Saphir praises the orchestra, but lambasts the bass singers.⁷⁵

In some cases his criticism was subtler, such as when he praised the acting talents of P. A. Wolff and Ludwig Devrient in a review of Shakespeare's *King John*. Saphir's concealed criticism came in the later part of the review, when he wrote that both actors had been called back to the stage after the performance. However, he adds that Ludwig Devrient had already left the theatre, thereby insinuating that the actor was already in a bar.⁷⁶ It was well known in Berlin that Ludwig Devrient spent much of his time in the *Lutter and Wegner* wine bar both before and after performances. Saphir did not have to write that Devrient enjoyed the atmosphere of the wine bar more than the applause of the audience, as his meaning was implicit.

One of Saphir's most savage attacks on actors was centred on a certain French actor named Françoisque. Hence, in a scathing review of the Frenchman's performance in a play, Saphir implored Berliners to wash the stage after such a non-entity of an actor had been in the theatre. Consequently, the king ordered the arrest of Saphir, as he feared that the French actor would sue the reviewer, thereby leading to severe

73 Berliner Courier, 19.2.1827.

74 Berliner Courier, 4.3.1830.

75 Berliner Courier, 1.2.1827, 17.2.1827.

76 Berliner Courier 2.2.1827.

financial implications for the journalist. Francisque did not sue Saphir, and after a while the journalist was allowed to continue publishing his newspaper.⁷⁷ The French Theatre, which worked under the stewardship of the Royal Theatre, had also suffered harsh reviews by Saphir. His main critique was targeted at the hypocrisy of Berliners who went to see French plays, even though they only understand half of the dialogue.⁷⁸ Saphir also reserved strong criticism for the theatre's actors:

Da haben sie einen Mr Gaviniés un einen Mr Francisque für Liebhaber und jugendliche Helden; Hilf Himmel welche Erbärmlichkeit! Sie können weder gehen noch stehen noch sprechen, noch gestikulieren; wenn es Deutsche wären, hätten sie ausgelacht; aber sie kommen von Frankreich, und man findet sie charmant.⁷⁹

This mocking was targeted directly at the actors and at the hypocritical nature of the audience.

The Königstädtisches Theater was also the focus of regular critiques in the *Berliner Courier*. The newspaper was particularly annoyed at the theatre's lack of punctuality and its poor stage designs.⁸⁰ The newspaper also wrote the following about Kotzebue's light comedy *Der Rechbock*: 'The female singing was decent, but the male voices made the ears hurt'⁸¹ The remark that the male singers inflicted pain upon the ears of the audience can be interpreted as a harsh critique of the professional actors. Even the shareholders of the Königstädtischer Theatre complained to the king of Prussia about the level of persecution inflicted on the theatre by Saphir. The shareholders claimed that Saphir was spreading a rumour that the theatre was on the verge of bankruptcy, and consequently the theatre was unable to attract respected actors.⁸²

Saphir was not immune to the severe censorship that was so prevalent in restoration-era Prussia. The problem for censors was that the king approved of the *Berliner Courier* and thus it was not easy to stifle the newspaper. This is probably why the *Berliner Courier* was first censored by Minister Wittgenstein himself. Saphir

77 Townsend 1992, 37. The complaint of the actor Francisque to the king of Prussia, dated 28.3.1828, and an example of the Schnellpost. Bl 99–100, Nr 18, Tit. 2 Spez. Lit B., Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern, I HA, GStA PK.

78 See Schnellpost 18.2.1828. Cited in Söhngen 1932, 44.

79 Berliner Courier 18.2.1828. Cited in Söhngen 1932, 51.

80 For remarks on production failures, see Berliner Courier, 16.2., 19.2.1827. On the starting time, see Berliner Courier 22.2.1827

81 Berliner Courier 6.2.1827.

82 Townsend 1992, 39.

played cat and mouse with the censors on a number of occasions, as he knew that he enjoyed the king's favour .⁸³

Heinrich Houben has reprinted a theatre review from the *Berliner Courier* of 29th October 1827 that had initially been forbidden by Geheimrat Grano. The following paragraph had initially been censored:

Lieber Leser! wenn ich sage lieber Leser, so weißt Du schon lieber Leser, daß nicht der Schuh irgendwo drückt! Wo? das darf ich Dir nicht sagen, denn heute sagte mir eine Caryatide: 'Sei hart wie Eis, sei stumm wie Stein, die Nemesis zählt alle ein!' aber ich gebe Dir das Wort, lieber Leser, wir finden uns wenn nicht diesseits, doch jenseits, sonst ,hieß ich nicht der Tell!' ⁸⁴

The allusions to the censors being Saphir's nemesis probably explain why the text was banned. The journalist added that 'the caryatid had warned him to be quiet, otherwise the goddess of revenge is going to be harsh tonight.' Sexual innuendo was also forbidden in Saphir's reviews. Among the censored parts of the *Berliner Courier* was an article in the 27th October 1827 edition, in which the outlook of female actors had been discussed:

In lebenden Bildern wußte ich woraus, daß 'der Slavenhändler' am meisten gefallen werde, denn da war am meisten zu s c h a u e n. Ja, eine solche Slavin hab ich mir lange gewünscht!⁸⁵

Saphir also knowingly toyed with the censors. In a review, for example, he changed the original sentence about a female actor who was performing as a sleepwalker from 'nacht auf dem Dache' to 'nakt auf dem Dache', or in other words 'naked on the roof'. This caused a scandal and ensured that Saphir remained the talk of the town for many months.⁸⁶

The *Berliner Courier* became more political in and around 1830, in the sense that it devoted more space to actual events that had taken place in Prussia, instead of limiting itself to theatrical events. Indeed, in 1830 the newspaper was completely banned, which is all the more striking as Saphir had enjoyed the favour of the king. On 14th November 1829 Saphir wrote on press freedom and this was a step too far

83 Houben 1926, 79, 81.

84 The censored version of the *Berliner Courier* 29.10.1827. Bl 57, Nr 18, Tit. 2 Spez. Lit B., Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern, I HA, GStA PK. See also reproduction in Houben 1929, 80.

85 The censored version of the *Berliner Courier* 29.10.1827, Bl 59, Nr 18, Tit. 2 Spez. Lit B., Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern, I HA, GStA PK.

86 Townsend 1992, 41. Count von Brühl also complained about this article to the king in a letter dated 2.3.1828. Bl 88, Nr 18, Tit. 2 Spez. Lit B., Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern, I HA, GStA PK.

for the authorities. Criticising the Prussian state was too much for the censors and the *Berliner Courier* was banned for a while.⁸⁷ On 1st March 1830 Saphir published an extra edition of the *Berliner Courier*, in which he wrote a long response to the censor's critique, which had questioned the truthfulness of the newspaper anecdotes. Saphir responded that whilst political newspapers had to abide by the truth, such rules did not apply to a satirical publication, such as the *Berliner Courier*. The daring part of the article was that Saphir included was a footnote that ironically cited the truthfulness of the political newspapers.⁸⁸ This had a double meaning, as it referred to the first scandal that Saphir had caused in Berlin, as well as to the dubious truthfulness of the official newspapers.

During this crisis Saphir remained popular among Berliners. Townsend notes that the *Berliner Courier* was read by all Prussian social classes. In early 1827, the newspaper had 2500 subscribers, which amounted to a considerable readership in a city of 200,000 inhabitants.⁸⁹ Still, it could be claimed that Saphir's publications were merely for the educated and upper classes. This can be seen, for example, in the style of writing found in the quote that was censored. An understanding of such a text required a deep knowledge of classical mythology, which was mainly taught in gymnasiums. Furthermore, Saphir was not rejected by the cultural circles of Berlin. He was accepted into the literary circles of the time, for example, where his writings were not spurned. He also acted in an association called 'Tunnel über der Spree', which included a number of prominent Berliners and had a good relationship with Hegel.⁹⁰

The writings of Saphir strongly influenced Berliner actors. Indeed, a number of actors were the targets of Saphir's poisonous pen. Saphir also continued to concentrate his venom on Henriette Sontag, after beginning his career with an attack on the singer and actor. One such incident occurred when admirers of Sontag lavished praise on the actor after her last performance prior to embarking on a long journey to France. Saphir decided to mock the adulation Sontag was receiving by writing a poem in which he compared her to a choir girl with a shady reputation.⁹¹

Saphir also used the *Berliner Schnellpost* as a vehicle for channelling his criticism of Sontag. In one of the first editions of the magazine, for example, Saphir reviewed

87 Houben 1926, 82; Townsend 1992, 41; Rollka 1985, 127f.

88 *Berliner Courier* Beilage, 1.3.1830.

89 Townsend 1992, 38.

90 Pinkard 2000, 542; Townsend 1992, 39. Hegel also appeared as a second in an intended duel between Saphir and Schall, who was Sontag's admirer. Pinkard 2000, 543–544.

91 Pinkard 2000, 542.

a play entitled *Gefallene Sternchen und Sterne*. He wrote that Sontag's performance in the play was more suppressive than impressive.⁹² Furthermore, in several editions of the *Berliner Schnellpost* published in February 1826, Sontag increasingly became the target of cruel jokes. Saphir also responded to positive reviews of Sontag by writing satirical retorts. Thus, in 1826 the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* published a glowing description of Sontag as a 'Sonntagskind im Schnee', in reference to her performance as a lucky 'Sunday-Girl' in an opera entitled *The Snow*. Saphir responded to this praise by penning an ironic poem, in which supporters of Sontag and supporters of singer Seidler engage in a heated dialogue. At the end of the poem there was a malicious reference to eulogy:

Sontagianer.
 Ach, giebts ein schönes Sontagskind im Schnee?
 (Echo auf berlinisch) Nee!⁹³

Once again, two days later Saphir penned a scathing review about Sontag's singing performance, in which he questions her talent. More specifically, he claims that she always sings in *mezza voce*, that is in half voice, and then cuttingly remarks that one would need to hear her sing twice in order to hear a complete rendition.⁹⁴

These severe reviews had a major impact on Sontag, who complained to the king on 5th March 1826 about the distractions caused by the *Berliner Schnellpost*. She expressed particular concern about the fact that Saphir was printing stories about her domestic life:

Daß Herr Saphir auf schnöde Weise die Wohltat der Preßfreiheit mißbraucht, indem er häusliche Verhältnisse und Begebenheiten einzelner Personen auf entstellende Weise in seinem Blatte an das Licht zieht.⁹⁵

She continued by emphasising that her health and cheerfulness were being threatened by Saphir's hostile barbs and asks for protection from the king, as she pleads that she is merely a helpless child.⁹⁶ Furthermore, Sontag wrote a personal response to Saphir, which was published in *Berliner Schnellpost* on 6th March 1826. In the letter, Sontag asks why Saphir and his colleagues constantly questioned her talent. Saphir added flattering footnotes to Sontag's letter, but they were laced with

92 The word play was between the words *wirkend* – *wirkend*. *Berliner Schnellpost* 9.1.1826.

93 *Berliner Schnellpost*, 25.2.1826.

94 *Berliner Schnellpost*, 27.2.1826. Also Stümcke refers to this review. See Stümcke 1913, 55.

95 The letter from Sontag to the king of Prussia, dated 5.3.1826. Bl 4, Nr 18, Tit. 2 Spez. Lit B., Rep. 77. Ministerium des Innern, I HA, GStA PK. See also Stümcke 1913, 56; Townsend 1992, 36.

96 The whole letter is reprinted in Stümcke 1913, 56.

irony. In the same edition of the *Berliner Schnellpost*, two other responses were printed in support of Sontag, which Saphir again comments on in the form of irony-tinged footnotes.⁹⁷

The actors Karl von Holtei and Louis Angely of the Königstädtische Theater were also the victims of scathing attacks by Saphir and his colleagues.⁹⁸ Saphir often attacked Louis Angely in the *Berliner Schnellpost*. The attacks were mostly harmless, such as in March 1829, when Saphir accused Angely of writing two-a-penny plays.⁹⁹

Karl von Holtei also received his share of criticism from the pen of Saphir, in terms of his role as the director of the Königstädtisches Theater, but also as a performer and dramatist. Von Holtei's dramatisation of Faust was particularly criticised by Saphir, who labelled it a new 'folk edition' that did not bring anything new to the stage.¹⁰⁰ In his memoirs, von Holtei describes how he first became acquainted with Saphir in Prague, when they established a friendship. However, Saphir wanted to establish a new theatre magazine in Berlin and insisted on receiving annual financial support from the Königstädtisches Theater, which von Holtei refused to sanction.¹⁰¹ This early financial setback in Saphir's career looms large in his subsequent negative attitude towards the theatre.

According to von Holtei, a complete breakdown in his relationship with Saphir occurred when the journalist wrote a review about a small book dedicated to the memory of Louise von Holtei. Von Holtei accused Saphir of writing a piece that mocked his closest friends. After von Holtei objected to Saphir's review, their paths went in different directions. The relationship became irretrievably damaged when Saphir started to publish his own newspaper.¹⁰²

Townsend has analysed the motivations lying behind Saphir's scandalous articles on actors and has noted that there he harboured no personal hatred against actors *per se*. In a sense he used the actors were as scapegoats, as it was impossible to criticise the authorities. Townsend also states that Saphir's aggressiveness has been exaggerated and that his publications mainly featured light entertainment, or were works that were 'quickly forgotten and useless', as Saphir himself noted.¹⁰³

Yet, the actors themselves felt that the mockery directed against them was unjustified. Indeed, it can be seen as a significant factor in creating a negative

97 *Berliner Schnellpost*, 6.3.1826.

98 Houben 1926, 81.

99 *Berliner Schnellpost* 24.3.1829.

100 *Berliner Schnellpost* 17.1.1829.

101 Holtei 1859a, 323.

102 Holtei 1859a, 324–325.

103 Townsend 1992, 38–39.

atmosphere against the actors as a profession. Eduard Devrient, who was not one of the actors that Saphir mocked, stated that it was simply the journalist's mission to create scandals and to fire out witty remarks. Devrient also attacked Saphir's style of writing as forming the template for the wave of trashy magazines that spread all over Germany. Soon every town had its own gossip newspaper.¹⁰⁴ Karoline Bauer also felt that Saphir had treated actors in an unjustifiable manner. In both her memoirs she describes an unknown journalist who started to write insulting articles and satires of the actors. Bauer spends considerable time describing Saphir's bad character and ugly outfits. She concludes that Saphir did not only despise other people, but also himself. Bauer was also upset that Saphir claimed that actors only performed because of the large sums they earned.¹⁰⁵ Saphir continued to upset the Berliner actors many years after his deportation from Berlin. Charlotte von Hagn wrote in her diary, for example, how Saphir had annoyed her in 1835, by writing a negative review whilst she was in Vienna.¹⁰⁶ In brief, Saphir placed an unfavourable light on actors in the press; a method deemed unjustifiable by the performers themselves.

Actors and Berlin Newspapers

The actors also expressed their position in Berlin's newspapers. Firstly, the performers were concerned about what was being written about them in the public media. They were naturally proud of the good publicity that positive reviews brought, but were afraid of bad reviews. Thus, they actively endeavoured to improve their image in the reviews, which had come to play such a significant role in the dissemination of their public image.

Eduard Deverient was especially concerned about his image in the newspapers. His fears were particularly heightened by the negative reviews of Friedrich Wilhelm Gubitz in *Vossische Zeitung*. Devrient claimed that the bad reviews of his performances in the *Vossische Zeitung* were not wholly accurate, as he received glowing reviews in the *Spenerscher Zeitung*. Devrient wrote in his diary that he was so annoyed about the reviews in the *Vossische Zeitung* that he contemplated moving away from Berlin to avoid the agony.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that Devrient was exaggerating his feelings towards

104 Devrient 1861, 203–204

105 Bauer (1871) 1917, 146–147, 151, 153; Bauer 1880b, 7, 54–55, 72.

106 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 24.11.1835. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

107 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 22.1., 15.9., 15.11.1841. Devrient 1964, 110, 123, 133. Gubitz was not the only critic who criticised Eduard Devrient. For example, Dr. Klein, who visited Devrient, did not understand his artistic nature. See diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 14.11.1841. 18.5.1842. Devrient 1964, 132, 147.

the reviews, but this example suggests that at the very least he paid considerable attention to the reviews.

Pius Alexander Wolff was also definitely annoyed about negative theatre critiques of his acting. His literary archive contains a handwritten poem that encapsulates the frustration he felt towards reviewers:

'Nen Schuft, der sich verkappt für Geld',
 Und meuchlings nach dem Menschen rennt,
 In Wälschland man Banditen nennt;
 In Deutschland heist ein solcher Held
 Ein anonymer Recensent.¹⁰⁸

Wolff accused anonymous reviewers of being masked rogues. This poem demonstrates the frustrations felt by a number of Berlin actors at the newspaper reviews, as well as the anonymous culture whereby actors did not know the identity of a reviewer. In other words, they did not possess the possibility to influence the reviews.

Yet, good reviews bolstered the self-esteem of the actors. The case of Charlotte von Hagn is a good case in point. In the midst of her quarrel with Auguste Stich-Crelinger, von Hagn had withdrawn to her apartment and was not attending the theatre. However, she wrote in her diary how much encouragement she had received from reading positive endorsements in the Berlin newspapers.¹⁰⁹

Decades later Eduard Devrient analysed the growing position of the newspapers in the first half on the nineteenth century. When writing about the drunken reputation of his uncle, he asked in critical tone whether the newspapers provided audiences with the possibility to judge the private life of actors.¹¹⁰ He also lambasted theatre reviews as merely being included to sell more newspapers, with no editorial concern about whether the articles were truthful. In other words, he argued that the press were more interested in scandals than for reporting what serious theatre theorists were writing about performances.¹¹¹ The motives of the newspapers were also questioned in contemporary writings. Karl Seydelmann wrote the following, for example, to a friend in 1839:

Wie viel ist schon über mich geschrieben und gefalbadret worden. Wie wenig davon hat den Kern der Sache und meine eigenthümliche Beziehung dazu berührt. Kein

108 A poem from Wolff's literary collection. In *Martersteig* 1879, 287.

109 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 8.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

110 Devrient 1861, 239.

111 Devrient 1861, 202–203.

wunder, da die Eitelkeit der Schreiber meistens nur von dem Schreiber spricht. Diese Herren wollen zunächst sich selber sprechen hören.¹¹²

He perceived that the problem derived from the fact that journalists were more interested in promoting themselves, rather than providing an objective viewpoint on the performance of actors. On another occasion, in 1841, Seydelmann expresses the view that the lack of political journalism was the basis behind the interest of publishers in scandalous material related to the theatre:

Je ärmer des Deutschen politisches Leben, je reicher ist des Deutschen *chronique scandaleuse*. Ehrabschneiden, Klatschen, Lästern, Lügen. Diese Bubenkünste blühen und gedeihen in dem theuren Vaterlande durch die Gunst der „freien Presse.“¹¹³

In a third letter, Seydelmann comments on the treatment of Charlotte von Hagn and Auguste Stich-Crelinger in the newspapers. He was of the opinion that the rivalry did not pose a large threat for von Hagn, because she was multi-talented and was better able to weather the media storm. However, he was more concerned about Auguste Stich-Crelinger and the negative effects of the intrigues of the so-called ‘elegant papers’ against Stich-Crelinger. Consequently, Seydelmann was also afraid that the newspapers would start ridiculing him. Indeed, he questioned whether he would be forced to ‘perform in a wardrobe’.¹¹⁴

However, the actors also had the possibility to influence the newspapers and the journalists. Indeed, Devrient commented on the symbiosis of actors and journalists in his history of German theatre. The actors needed the newspapers to gain more publicity and hence more popularity. Consequently, the actors’ need for popularity brought them into the orbit of journalists, who they sought to influence by giving them free tickets, loans, presents and even cash. According to Devrient, journalists became ‘paid applauders’, who were reeled in by the popularity of the actors. In turn, the journalists helped to create the ‘masterless’ actors, who were not interested in stagecraft but only in their own popularity. On the other hand, Devrient understood how young journalists needed the fame of actors. For an unknown journalist, for example, the easiest way to gain fame was to write a sensational article on the theatre.¹¹⁵

112 A letter from Seydelmann to Goldner, dated 5.8.1839. Rötischer 1845, 292.

113 A letter from Seydelmann to Gerstel, dated 6.11.1841. Rötischer 1845, 164.

114 A letter from Seydelmann Goldner, dated 5.8.1839, 7.1.1841. Rötischer 1845, 292–293, 312.

115 Devrient 1861, 202, 204, 206–207.

Eduard Devrient wrote that Karl Seydelmann was a virtuoso who knew how to manipulate his public image in newspapers. Indeed, Devrient suggests that Seydelmann saw the press as part of the artistic profession. As proof Devrient points out how Seydelmann was the first actor to publish his own letters.¹¹⁶ Seydelmann also tried to influence journalists behind the scenes in order to secure better reviews, particularly through correspondence and by sending out invitations for dinner. In August 1840, for example, Seydelmann complained to the journalist Gutzkow: ‘Why have you turned your back on me?’ He then continued by stressing how he was afraid to read Gutzkow’s latest book, entitled *Tagebüchern aus Berlin*, because he was fearful of reading negative remarks. Seydelmann complained that he was even afraid of reading newspapers that included reviews about himself. He tried to explain this fear by emphasising his vulnerability as a human being, rather than as an actor, and explains that he tried to appeal to the humane side of Gutzkow. Half a year later Seydelmann wrote again to Gutzkow in order to placate the journalist by inviting him for a visit to ‘find peace after five years of hostility’.¹¹⁷

Eduard Devrient also tried to influence journalists. Indeed, in 1837 one can discern a change in his attitudes as he wrote in his diary that it was despicable when an artist was forced to beg for better treatment from a journalist. He wrote this after he had heard how Seydelmann had written to the journalist Rellstab in order to ask for better treatment. Nevertheless, Devrient wrote an entry in his diary in 1838 about how he had persuaded journalists to write more favourable comments about a play that had received bad reviews. However, Devrient was less successful in favourably influencing Rellstab on later occasions. In his diary, for example, he wrote how the theatre reviewer Dr. Klein had visited his home, but remained highly critical of the actor. Indeed, the discussion between Devrient and Dr. Klein grew so heated that Therese Devrient and her sister had to calm the adversaries.¹¹⁸

Similarly, Charlotte von Hagn was aware of the possibility of influencing official newspapers. During her conflict with Stich-Crelinger, for example, von Hagn had retreated from the stage because of her disapproval of the situation. One of her main demands in returning to the stage was that theatre audience was to be made aware that she had been the innocent party in the conflict. In a diary entry from a couple of days later, von Hagn expressed her satisfaction about how the newspapers

116 Devrient 1874, 206–207.

117 Letters of Seydelmann to Gutzkow, dated 18.8.1840, 7.1.1841. Röscher 1845, 303–304, 310–311.

118 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 26.11.1837, 15.1., 17.5.1838, 18.9.1842. Devrient 1964, 28–29, 31, 41, 159.

had favourably described her situation. Furthermore, a peculiar example of how actors used newspapers to further their own interests was when von Hagn wanted to publicly rebuke von Württemberg for ending their close relationship. Von Hagn notified the newspaper that she was seriously sick in order to make von Württemberg feel awkward.¹¹⁹

In one long letter Stich-Crelinger also explains to the reviewer how important it was for her reputation to receive good reviews. She was upset that a reviewer had written in a newspaper that she was performing using the typical *manier*. Stich-Crelinger explained to the reviewer that *maniers* were the only way to differentiate between the roles, especially for female actors who did not have the possibility to use as much make-up, costumes and had less vocal range than male actors. Stich-Crelinger suggests that they could maintain a private correspondence or meet each other in order to resolve the falsehood contained in the reviews.¹²⁰ This example shows that Stich-Crelinger was not afraid to directly contact reviewers, who in her opinion were not treating her in an equitable manner. This also demonstrates that Stich-Crelinger's level of tolerance towards bad reviewers was low.

The theatre management was also involved in seeking to influence reviews. General Intendant von Brühl, for example, tried to console his favourite actor, Pius Alexander Wolff, when he had complained about bad reviews. Count von Brühl informed Wolff that he had asked the Police President le Coq to ensure that actors received some protection against the cruelties meted out by journalists. Furthermore, von Brühl told Wolff that he had a friendly relationship with journalists and had asked them to only review productions after the third performance.¹²¹ This letter suggests that the theatre management was ready to use the censorial authorities in order to exert pressure on reviewers. What is more, von Brühl used his personal influence to sway reviewers. Gerhard Walther argues that a new, open attitude towards the newspapers was evident during the tenure of General Intendant von Küstner, between 1842 and 1851. This open co-operation with the press also brought him opponents, as is demonstrated by readers' letters in Berliner newspapers, which complained that even the worst actors were able to continue performing in von Küstner's theatre if they were able to maintain a good relationship with the newspapers.¹²²

119 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 13.3., 15.3.1836, Bd 3, 10.12.1836, Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

120 A letter from Auguste Crelinger to an unknown reviewer, 14.1. s.a. Autographensammlung, FuTH.

121 A letter from Brühl to P.A. Wolff, dated 23.8.1817. In Martersteig 1879, 220.

122 Walther 1968, 11–13.

Attempts by actors to ensure good reviews were even directed towards satirical publications. In an 1827 edition of the satirical *Theater-Almanach*, for example, one can find an article that contained fictitious letters from actors to journalists and vice-versa. A 20-year-old reviewer purportedly wrote one such letter to a female actor, in which he praises her outlook and talent. He begs for the chance to meet the female actor in private in order to show his admiration her face-to-face. The female actor replied that she was impressed by his review and asked him to accompany her to lunch, where the best champagne would be waiting. The use of champagne to bribe reviewers plays a central role in the fictitious letters of the young debutante to the journalist. The same publication also included a letter in which a famous singer wrote to her patron, and a letter from the patron to a journalist.¹²³ The satirical content of the letters was directed against the singer, who uses her powerful patrons to influence the journalists.

Other Printed Material

Actors were also the subject of attention in other publications, such as books and in the form of popular traditional printed caricatures. One of the most well-known books was a satirical account written in 1826 about Henriette Sontag, which was entitled *Henriette, oder die schöne Sängerin* and was written by Freimund Zuschauer. Later, it was revealed that Zuschauer was a pseudonym used by Ludwig Rellstab (1799–1860).¹²⁴ The book was mainly targeted against the outbreak of so-called ‘Sonntag fever’ in Berlin. Despite claiming not to be a personal attack on the actor, it did succeed in wounding her honour, as well as a number of her colleagues and a variety of well-known Berliners.

The image of female actors conveyed by the book was not very flattering, as it suggested that they were only interested in their male admirers. One of the central chapters of the book also ridiculed the bitter envy of the other female actors and singers towards Henriette Sontag. Indeed, the book contains a fictional scene in which Auguste, the leading female actor of the theatre, and Caroline, the leading singer of the opera are discussing how to damage Sontag’s reputation the most. The names were thinly veiled references to Auguste Stich-Crelinger and Caroline Seidler (1790–1872). Interestingly, the public image of these performers was indeed cruel, and in the book they are depicted as if they would do anything to regain the attention

123 Berliner Theater-Almanach 1827, 171–172, 177–179.

124 Rollka 1985, 211.

of their male admirers. The following dialogue centres on their efforts to find suitable journalists in order to ridicule Henriette Sontag:¹²⁵

A u g u s t e. Da ist z. B. der Recesent Schillibold Axecca; der muß mir eine Kritik gegen die Henriette schreiben. Er könnte z. B. sagen „Er würde sehr gern etwas an ihr loben, wenn er nur nicht bei ihrem Spiel und Gesang eingeschlafen wäre.“¹²⁶

A u g u s t e. Wahrhaftig, ich weiß auch schon ein Blatt dazu, es kommt jetzt eine neue Zeitschrift von Sassian heraus.

C a r o l i n e. Wie? eine Zeitschrift von Sassian? Wie ist das zu Verstehen?

A u g u s t e. Je nun, der Redacteur heißt Sassian, ein äußerst witziger, scharfsinniger Kopf. Das Blatt heißt, die Höllenpost. Diese Post soll der übermüthigen Henriette schlechte Neuigkeiten bringen!

C a r o l i n e. Mädchen, Du entzückt mich.¹²⁷

This scene interestingly suggests that the female actors were eager to undermine a young colleague, whilst Rellstab also implies that the female actors exerted a strong influence on the content of what journalists wrote. In this regard, it is also noteworthy that the journalists depicted by Rellstab are quite easy to recognise behind their pseudonyms. Schillibold Axecca was simply a twisted form of Willibald Alexis and Sassian referred to Saphir. Furthermore, Saphir's *Berliner Schnellposten* was renamed in the book as *Höllennpost*, that is, 'Hell Post'.

Karl von Holtei was also portrayed in Rellstab's book in order to underline the main line of attack against Sontag, which claimed that she was not worthy of the money or acclaim that she was receiving. Von Holtei is depicted as the director who had released Sontag from her Leipzig contract by providing lots of money. This portrayal of von Holtei also included a semi-concealed critique against the excessive wages earned by Sontag. Karl von Holtei's 'hidden' personality is also easy to discern from the following rhyming couplet used in Rellstab's description: 'Aus diesen Fesseln macht dich Gold frei, So wahr ich heiße Carl von ***'. The furore created by the publication of the book was so great that The Ministry of the Interior intervened in order to identify the author, who was subsequently sentenced to six months in prison.¹²⁸

Karoline Bauer was also upset about the content of Rellstab's book, describing it as an attempt to sully the name of Henriette Sontag and a worthless way to drag down the names of other performers. According to Bauer, the book was read by

125 Rellstab 1826, 20–30.

126 Rellstab 1826, 26.

127 Rellstab 1826, 28.

128 Rellstab 1826, 10, 12; Stümcke 1913, 58, 66.

everyone, thereby suggesting that the reading public were fascinated in the theatrical milieu in Berlin.¹²⁹ Thus, it can be also interpreted that Bauer saw the book as an attack against the whole profession, not only against Henriette Sontag.

Ludwig Rellstab also launched an attack against Berlin actors in *Berlins Dramatische Künstler, wie sie sind*, which was published in 1829. The book's preface stressed that it was only meant for people interested in theatre and for careful leaders of the theatre.¹³⁰ However, the contents of the book reveal that objective descriptions of the actors was not the main concern behind Rellstab's decision to write the book. Indeed, a foretaste of the scandalous material found in the publication can already be found on the first page of the book, which again carried a pseudonym. The front cover also had an English quote: 'the truth has a good face, but bad clothes'. Yet, it should be stressed that the book also contains a number of positive reviews of actors. Karoline Bauer was praised as being a great actor, for example, who was enjoyable as Präziosa and worthy as Anastasia. However, Stich-Crelinger was praised the most, being described as the 'Cousin of Thalia, the full natural sister of Melpomène'. Furthermore, the singer and actor Mr Blume was valued as being 'a great master of dramatic art' and Rellstab understands why he was the first favourite of Berliners.¹³¹ However, the book also seeks to reveal the 'ugly truth' about the actors. For some, the negative critique is still connected to their profession, but for some it is more about revealing scandalous material. In Eduard Devrient's case, there was still a connection to his work, as he is described as an example of the weakness of the theatre, whereby singers merely call themselves actors and do not perform that well. Rellstab also accuses Devrient of writing awful plays and of being unworthy of being known as a theatre writer (*Bühnendichter*).¹³² Furthermore, the description of actor Ludwig Devrient portrays him as an 'old beer drinker', who was unable to hear the prompter on stage and who was an object of laughter for the audience.¹³³

It was a common tradition to comment on the theatre and about actors when writing general descriptions of Berlin. Indeed, it had become customary to make disparaging remarks about the theatre. This tendency was also common in contemporary books that occasionally refer to Berliner actors. In a book on Berlin, the well-known social critic, Ernst Dronke (1822–1891), for example, wrote in harsh tones about Berliner actors and about how the Royal Theatre had become

129 Bauer 1880b, 193–200.

130 Rellstab 1829, III–IV.

131 Rellstab 1829, 16, 18–21. Melpomène is the muse of tragedy.

132 Rellstab 1829, 27–28.

133 Rellstab 1829, 22–26.

a second class theatre. Some of the theatre's elder actors were honoured by polite remarks, but younger performers tended to be the subject of a torrent of abuse.¹³⁴ For instance Dronke described Klara Stich as a humble talent, whose acting was constrained and lacked spirit and whose pronunciation was monotonic. Dronke continued by declaring that Mrs. Lavallade embodied the worst traits of sentimental monotonism and that she had a hideous voice. Furthermore, Dronke describes the acting of Mr. Grua as backward and that his voice had no content. Moreover, Mr. Rott was a good comedian, but unfortunately this trait was also described as being observable in his tragic roles. Finally, Dronke concludes that it was a great mistake to hire mediocre talents, such as Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, to the Royal Theatre.¹³⁵ Even a Finnish visitor to Berlin in the 1840s – the journalist and philosopher Johan Vilhelm Snellman – saw it as his duty to comment on the city's theatres. Thus, in his travel account entitled *Saksan matka* he expresses his dissatisfaction at the quality of the Royal Theatre. He states, for example, that Berliner actors were no more than cold, calculated performers.¹³⁶ It is hard to imagine that such large scale criticism would not have had some affect on the profession as a whole.

At the same time, the actors were praised in many publications. One can cite the publication of a poem written by Eduard Devrient in 1836 in honour of the actor Beschort. Devrient's a poem is addressed to an elder colleague, and compares the old master's skills and talents to the contained power of vintage wines. The poem was printed on beautiful paper with expensive decorations.¹³⁷ Prominent poets also expressed their gratitude towards actors in poems. August Wilhelm von Schlegel, for example, wrote poems in honour of Charlotte von Hagn, which included the following lines:

Die Schönheit ist der Götter erste Gunst!
 Aus Blüten der Natur erwächt die Kunst.
 Im Seite Klarheit Klarheit, tief Gefühl im Hertzen;
 Der Sitten Adel, wie im Ernst, in Scherzen;
 Der Sprache Wohl laut aus beseeltem Mund:
 Dies macht nur halb Charlottens Wesen kund.

134 Dronke (1846) 1987, 323. Some parts of this critique are missing in the earlier reprints of the work. See Dronke (1846) 1953.

135 Dronke (1846) 1987, 324, 327–329.

136 Snellman 2001, 263.

137 Devrient 1836, 2.

The praise of one of Germany's greatest living poets was a mark of great esteem for Charlotte, but her entry in her calendar suggests that she was rather blasé about the honour.¹³⁸

Less serious printed material, including leaflets and printed caricatures, was also targeted against Berlin's actors. The censors found it almost impossible to restrict such publications, as they were distributed by hand in towns. Pamphlets and caricatures were even used in questionable ways to blackmail their targets.

In May 1836, Charlotte von Hagn wrote in her diary about how she had received a threatening letter from a bookseller named H. Schiele. The bookseller was attempting to blackmail the actor in a thinly veiled offer to help prevent a scandalous leaflet being distributed throughout Prussia. Von Hagn replied that she not going to be blackmailed and she subsequently took up the matter with the police president. The police immediately went and searched the premises of suspected authors of the leaflet, who von Hagn thought could be either Joseph Wilhelm Löbell or Adolph Glassbrenner.¹³⁹ This incident is interesting in three ways. Firstly, von Hagn did not given in to the demands of the blackmailer, but actively sought to punish the writers. Another significant feature of the incident is the great influence von Hagn felt she enjoyed over the authorities. Apparently the authorities acquiesced to her demands and punished the publisher. Thirdly, it is noteworthy that von Hagn appears to have felt threatened by the so-called liberal writers. After all, von Hagn refers to the famous author and historian Löbell and the author and storyteller Glassbrenner.

In 1837, Charlotte von Hagn was again the target of a pamphlet. In her diary Charlotte describes that a scandal began when a leaflet entitled *Palais u. Diaman'* was published, which claimed that Prince L¹⁴⁰ had bought valuable diamonds to an actress. No full names were disclosed, but the inferences to von Hagn were unmistakable. The actor reacted immediately by writing to the police president and demanded that the leaflet should be banned throughout Prussia. However, the pamphlet was not totally without connection to real events. Sixteen days before the pamphlet was published, for example, von Hagn remarks in her diary that a certain Prince L, had made an outrageous suggestion that she could not accept. Furthermore, after the pamphlet was published, Charlotte received jewellery worth 1700 thalers. She wrote in her diary

138 The later editor of the *Spielgeldkalender* traced the poems, and they were also published in an anthology of Schlegel's works in 1841. A calendar entry of Charlotte von Hagn, dated August 1841. Hagn 1929, 130–131.

139 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated .5.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

140 Prinz L. was most probably Prince Felix von Lichnowsky (1814–1848). He was a Prussian officer in Berlin, who went Spain in 1837 and was known to take part in duels. See, for example, ADB Bd 18, 533–534.

that it was impossible to even imagine that she could have been so light-minded as to have accepted such a gift. Police Minister Rochow was informed about the factual grounds of the case, and according to von Hagn he understood that it was only correct to protect the actor's reputation in this matter. For 'Prince L' the consequences were even worse. A few days later, Charlotte wrote how Prince L. had been involved in two duels and had lost both of them.¹⁴¹ After the scandal had peaked, Charlotte wrote the following in her diary:

Ihr selbst wollte ich doch nicht mehr sehen da ich eine Sclawin der öffentlichen Meinung bin u. anfangs eben so ängstlich auf meinen Ruf zu achten, als irgend eine gut Spieß-Bürgern Berlins.¹⁴²

The scandal made her feel enslaved to public opinion, which she thought reflected narrow-minded petty-bourgeois thinking. These sentiments can be interpreted as evidence of anti-democratic and anti-middle-class thinking.

Charlotte von Hagn also described some caricatures that offended her. Thus, while she was discussing a new contract in Berlin, a nasty caricature was published that mocked these negotiations. Von Hagn wrote that Minister of the Interior Arnim, had pre-warned her that about the appearance of such a caricature, which he vouched was not suitable for female eyes. In the caricature von Hagn was personified by the character of Jungfrau von Orleans, whilst the king of Bavaria was portrayed as a bear and a third person was illustrated as the image of General Intendant von Redern. Von Hagn continues her description by writing that Prince Wittgenstein had ordered the police president to ban the publication. Furthermore, von Hagn discloses that one of her admirers had bought 500 copies of the leaflet for 50 thalers, and she wonders whether she can show her gratitude by compensating him for the sum in question.¹⁴³ The caricature was in many ways against Prussia's censorship policy. Firstly, it mocked one of the crown heads of Europe. Secondly, it mocked a court representative, in the form of General Intendant von Redern, and lastly it attacked one of the courts protégées.

In September 1834, another publication offended Charlotte von Hagn. On this occasion she does not provide a full description, but she wonders how people can be so cruel to her. The next day she writes that she angrily boxed the ears of Arnim,

141 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 16.1.1836, 1.1., 2.2.1837. Bd 3–4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

142 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 12.2.1837. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

143 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 20.5.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

and swore that she would not be able to forgive him.¹⁴⁴ She probably expected that Arnim should have protected her from such insults.

In brief, the actors held a unique position in the media of restoration-era Prussia. Official newspapers and satirical journals often discussed individual actors, as well as the profession as a whole. Other publications, such as pamphlets and caricatures, used the theatre and actors as subject matter. Restoration society was based on strict honour codes, which placed great emphasis on a virtuous public image and strong desire for privacy. In such a culture it is easy to imagine how being a 'public figure' might have influenced actors. Furthermore, actors were vulnerable to the criticisms and insults of journalists and publishers. The tendency to redirect criticism of the state authorities towards the theatre had a strong influence on the public image of actors. The considerable degree of publicity actors received in the mass media brought notable side effects. On the whole, the greatest worry that actors had was a fear of losing their privacy. On the other hand, actors already had the opportunity to try and manipulate journalists and they gained hordes of passionate admirers. As a whole, development in regard to the mass media and publicity in the first half of the nineteenth century in Berlin can be linked to broader European changes in celebrity culture.

144 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 27.–28.9.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

IV REPRESENTATIVE LIFESTYLES

1. Representative Bürgerlich Spheres

In the public sphere representative bürgerlich culture was concentrated on promenades, cafés and, more particularly, exclusive salons and society gatherings. In this cultural setting, the bürgertum maintained elements of inclusion, but also erected barriers against the nobility and ‘lower groups’. An essential feature of such actions was the fact that the ‘lower groups’ in Berlin were not able to afford a similar lifestyle. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that inclusive and exclusive actions were carried out by the bürgertum on a daily basis in everyday life.¹ The main argument of this chapter is that Berlin actors comprised an important section in the sphere of representative bürgerlich culture. Indeed, the actors participated in the representative rituals of promenading, as well as visiting cafés, salons and other society gatherings. Furthermore, the actors had the time and the economic possibilities to partake in the highly representative spa culture.

Promenades

In nineteenth-century Prussia, gardens were one of the most important spaces for representative culture. In Berlin, the main public spaces focussed on a central area

1 Kaschuba 1993, 399, 403–402.

that incorporated the Tiergarten and Unter den Linden. At the end of the eighteenth century the Tiergarten became accessible for non-nobles, thereby epitomising the opening up of city space for the *bürgertum*. At this time the Tiergarten was remodelled as an English garden. In the nineteenth century Peter Lenné was in charge of the development, and his ideological task was to utilise the garden in order to educate and civilise people. Unter den Linden was a grand European boulevard, with magnificent façades that were emphasised by the city's first street lights.²

Gudrun König, who has studied German walking habits between 1780 and 1850, highlights the importance of promenading in *bürgerlich* culture. She points out how public walks in the city formed one of the core elements in creating a communal *bürgerlich* culture. During promenades it was important for a family to present itself to the public and to demonstrate its prestige. The wealth of families was shown in their attire and in other external forms. Moreover, the fact that the head of a family was able to take part in a city promenade reflected that he was not chained to the workplace. Promenading also provided an invaluable opportunity to display family offspring. City promenades acted as a vital presentation ritual for girls of a marriageable age. Furthermore, family hierarchy was emphasised and renewed, with the most important members of the family, including parents and grandparents, walking ahead. Furthermore, Heikki Lempa stresses that promenading was a routine of seeking and receiving social recognition.³ The private writings of Berliner actors display elements of *bürgerlich* representation that emphasised family ideals and that were extolled in the public sphere during promenades. Furthermore the promenades were also seen in terms of healthy life.

The representational nature of the promenades can be seen, for example, in the writings of Eduard Devrient, Charlotte von Hagn and Adolph Bethge. In his diary, Devrient mentions some city walks that can be interpreted as part of the representative culture of the *bürgertum*. This is especially the case when the Devrient family moved near to the Tiergarten. Devrient, for example, describes how they went walking with the composer Felix Mendelssohn. Devrient writes about how they discussed important issues concerning theatre education.⁴ In being able to walk with Mendelssohn in public, Devrient was demonstrating his ability to mix with the cultural elite. Similarly, the representative meaning of promenading is apparent in the diary of Charlotte von Hagn. She wrote:

2 König 1996, 38; Saarinen 1999, 87, 194.

3 König 1996, 224, 229–230; Lempa 2007, 176–177.

4 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 17.4.1842. Devrient 1964, 142.

Mit M. Spodt Sängerin von Wien unter den Linden *promenirt*. Es freut mich immer wenn ich sehe, daß mein Äußeres den heuten auffüllt, u. dass ich nicht nur als Künstlerin allein gefalle. – einer unverzeihliche Schwäche von mir, der ich mich schäme.⁵

The attention and respect that she apparently received while promenading proved to her that she could regard herself as a respected citizen and not simply as an artist. The use of Latin when writing 'promenirt' also indicates that von Hagn did not consider promenading to be a simple stroll, but rather something that had a specific foreign sensibility. Furthermore, Adolph Bethge frequently promenaded with his colleagues, including during his first spell of guest performances in Berlin. During these promenades he records that he discussed his career prospects with Auguste Stich-Crelinger and conversed with a certain Mr. Bercht on Unter den Linden about the madness of contemporary Berlin theatre.⁶ These examples suggest that promenading acted as a forum and time for actors to deal with professional issues.

Promenading can also be linked with bürgerlich family ideals. This can be seen in the writings of Berliner actors. Devrient, for example, wrote how his family took a Sunday walk in the Tiergarten. He describes the walk as a beautiful moment in which family and friends were able to bond.⁷ Karoline Bauer describes how promenades enabled her to socialise with her family and to view the 'lost idyllic past of Berlin':

An schönen Sonn- und Feiertagen zog der Berliner – den riesigen roten, grünen, blauen Familienschirm mit blinkendem Messingbeschlag, von gebildeten frauenzimmerlichen Seelen poetisch ‚Parasol‘ genannt – unter dem linken Arm in rechten Hand die lange buntbetroddele ‚kalte‘ Pfeife, denn bei Geld- oder Leibesgefahr durfte auf offener Strasse nicht geraucht werden, – mit Weib und Kind und Kegel und selten fehlendem Kinderwagen hinaus in die romantische Gefilde von Pankow, Stralau, Treptow, Schöneberg, Charlottenburg, Moabit – –⁸

When Adolph Bethge came to Berlin as a young married man, he proudly wrote in his diary about how he went promenading with his wife. The following day he again wrote about how he had been promenading with his 'married half'. Thereafter, Bethge wrote on several occasions how he went promenading with his

5 In the original text the emphasised word is in Latin letters. Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 28.3.1833. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

6 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 24.3.1838, 18.6.1839. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

7 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 12.5.1842. Devrient 1964, 146.

8 Bauer (1871) 1917, 70.

family.⁹ These examples show the ideals of family-oriented city walks. It would seem that Berlin actors longed for the family-centred ideals of *bürgerlich* culture that were highlighted during promenades.

Another vital part of culture of promenading was to encounter other members of the same social group. Formal encounters also created greeting rituals. It became de rigueur, for example to remove one's hat when greeting an acquaintance, which was viewed as an important sign of representative politeness and fostered feelings of ritual togetherness.¹⁰ For an unmarried female actor, such as Charlotte von Hagn, promenades played an important role in presenting oneself in public and facilitated approaches by noticeable men. Indeed, she wrote precisely whom she had encountered during her promenades, most likely as they were being evaluated as possible marriage candidates. However, as an unmarried woman, she was always accompanied by a family member or a close friend while promenading, as it was not deemed suitable for single women to walk alone in the city. An example of an approach made during promenades occurred when von Hagn was walking in Unter den Linden with her sister and her friend Louise Tresko. A young man approached von Hagn and asked whether she was the sister of *Demoiselle Löwe*, a well-known opera singer. On this occasion Charlotte suspected that she was the victim of horse-play. Encounters during promenades also constituted an unofficial way for men to instigate contact with ladies. On occasions, Charlotte von Hagn also used a carriage when promenading in the Tiergarten. Von Hagn describes how she was in a carriage en route to promenade in the Tiergarten, with her sister and mother, when one of the carriage horses fell. The situation was salvaged with the help of V. von Möllerschmit, who offered to take them to the Tiergarten in his beautiful carriage. Furthermore, she wrote how she encountered Prince von Wittgenstein while promenading on Unter den Linden. He had not acknowledged von Hagn and her sister, but Charlotte actively sought to engage him in conversation by asking him where he was going. He answered that he was about to go riding, but Charlotte wrote that he seemed to be too well-dressed for such a pursuit and suspected that he was concealing his real destination.¹¹ Von Möllerschmit and von Wittgenstein were both notable persons in

9 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge 1821.1838, Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK. On family promenades, see the diary entries of Adolph Bethge, *passim*. See, for example, 30.6.1838. Nr 1. 2.1.1844, 7.9.1848. Nr 2. VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

10 König 1996, 259; Bausinger 1987, 127.

11 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 22.6., 22.7.1835. 22.4.1836. Bd 2–3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

Berlin, and von Hagn would have entertained hopes of securing a prestigious match with such eminent gentlemen.

Finally, promenading was linked to the idea of a healthy lifestyle. It was important for contemporaries to stress the natural elements they had encountered during their walking trips. It was perceived that promenading offered a moderating force to the anxieties of city living.¹² In the summer of 1835, von Hagn visited Pfaueninsel, which was a castle on a small island near Berlin. Her company included two barons and an English nobleman, whose names were sufficiently prestigious to warrant inclusion in her diary. She enjoyed a lot of the trip, writing about how good it felt to escape the poisonous air of Berlin, where the 'the most innocent talents are misinterpreted'.¹³ This view typifies the belief of many contemporary Berliners that access to 'pure' nature made them healthier. Yet, the possibility to enjoy a day trip outside urban areas was restricted to the highest circles of society. For von Hagn, the unhealthy elements of society would have been members of the lower classes.

Adolph Bethge also commented on the healthy aspects of promenading. In several diary entries he writes how he had been on a bracing (*tüchtig*) promenade.¹⁴ Bethge felt that vigorous walks were beneficial in calming his nerves. Thus, in the midst of family troubles centred on the supposed mental illnesses of his sister, Bethge wrote how he had taken a vigorous promenade with his brother and discussed hard issues. Moreover, when Bethge was upset because of the desecration of a graveyard, he wrote how he had taken a vigorous walk until it was dark in order to forget about the narrow-minded people that carried out the wanton act of vandalism. In addition, when he was stressed during his contract negotiations, he wrote how he needed to go on a bracing walk around Exerzierplatz, as it was impossible to sit at the dinner table.¹⁵

It is also noteworthy that Berlin actors allotted space in their concise diary entries for their thoughts about promenades. The diary entries of Bethge, which are particularly brief and that largely focus on theatrical events and family celebrations, frequently mention how he went for promenades. This indicates the important place occupied by promenades in the daily lives of actors. One can also argue that

12 König 1996, 13.

13 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 31.7.1835. [sic.] Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

14 See, for example, the diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 19.5., 9.7.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

15 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 13.12.1838, 5.5.1841, 28.2.1844. Nr 1–2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

promenading was something that was perceived to be acceptable and a virtuous undertaking for educated people.

Other Public Places

The bürgertum also gathered in other public places, such as at theatres, concert halls, museums and exhibitions. Several new public buildings were built at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as Frederick William III aspired to emulate the grandeur of Paris. The court's trusted architect, Friedrich Schinkel, was hired to implement this dream and in the first half of the nineteenth century he designed the most prominent public buildings in Berlin. Schinkel's classicism was embodied in the Königliches Schauspielhaus, which was constructed in 1821 and the Royal Museum, which was built between 1825 and 1828.¹⁶ Significantly, the new public buildings were accessible for the bürgertum, thereby providing a new public forum for the rising class. Yet, these new public buildings were bestowed with royal titles, thereby emphasising that they were the gift of a 'good king' to his subjects. For some it might have been more important to be seen in the theatre, rather than to actually see a play performed.¹⁷ Furthermore, interest in high arts created an exclusive social circle. One way to define this social circle is to define it as bürgerlich art opinion. The high arts were part of the everyday life of the bürgertum. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the importance of dilettantes in the high arts decreased as it became increasingly institutionalised. The value of dilettantes also reflected *Bildung* ideals. It was not clear who had sufficient levels of *Bildung* and who had the right to define high art.¹⁸ Manfred Hettling summarises the self-formation of *Bildung* as the idea that reading and trips to the theatre fashioned the bürgertum as a social group.¹⁹

Actors were seen as dynamic participants in the new public spaces – and not only as performers. They regularly went to other theatre performances besides their own, as well listening to concerts. Eduard Devrient meticulously recorded in his diary the concerts and theatre performances that he had attended. These entries were primarily

16 Nipperdey 1988, 533–535; Sheehan 1989, 527–529; Taylor 1997, 121. From 1845 the Royal Museum was known as Altes Museum and Königliches Schauspielhaus is currently known as Konzerthaus.

17 See also Chapter II on the position of theatre between the bürgertum and the nobility. Zerback 1996, 222–224.

18 Schultz 1996, 48.

19 Hettling 2000, 334.

based on the quality of the performances.²⁰ Charlotte von Hagn's diary also contained several remarks about performances that she had seen. One particular performance reveals the ritualistic and representative nature of sitting among the theatre audience. Von Hagn describes how she had to follow the codes of social behaviour when watching a play in Breslau, which threatened to be violated when a young lieutenant had tried to push his way to her box. Charlotte wrote how everyone was looking on at the unfolding offstage drama, which she ended by giving the lieutenant 'the cold shoulder'. However, the lieutenant pretended not to understand the message and thus von Hagn pretended to have a sore throat in order to avoid communicating with the officer. Von Hagn writes that she wanted her actions to be clear interpreted by the parterre. However, von Hagn goes on to describe how the spurned lieutenant turned his attention to a group of ladies in an adjacent loge, who were also treating him with scorn. According to von Hagn, it was only when the audience began voicing their displeasure with the officer that he chose to retreat from the box in shame.²¹ This example suggests that the theatre was an important place for young men to make advances, but etiquette demanded that they be made in a decent manner. Furthermore, this diary entry emphasises how offstage drama among the high society attendees could be as enticing to the audience as the onstage performance. What is more, this example highlights the moral codes and culture of decent behaviour that reigned in the Prussian theatre in the first half of the nineteenth century.

It is hard to calculate how often Adolph Bethge visited the theatre from his diary entries, as he tended to list the whole repertoire of the theatre and opera for each night irrespective of whether he was in attendance.²² However, several entries do analyse the quality and success of a play or concert that he had seen. Yet, if only these occasions cited it can still be stated that Bethge often frequented the theatre and concert halls. Interestingly, Bethge reveals that it was possible for him to leave the theatre or opera if there was more interesting company to be found somewhere else. In one entry from 1843, for example, Bethge wrote that he had left an opera performance after the first act and went to the apartment of Jacobi. Apparently there were also other friends in the apartment, who played the piano and sang lied-songs.²³

20 See, for example, the diary entries of Eduard Devrient on 4.2, 27.3.1836, 4.3., 31.5.1837, *passim*. For a critique of the state of the theatre, see, for example, the diary entries of Eduard Devrient on 11.8.1836. Devrient 1964, 4, 5, 7, 15, 18–19, *passim*.

21 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 21.9.1836. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

22 He was for example listing the performances as usual while he was on his quest performance journey in Posen. Diary entry of Adolph Bethge 17.3.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

23 Diary entries of Adolf Bethge, dated 19.9.1839, 9.2.1842, 11.4., 20.7.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

Theatre formed part of the high culture of the educated class and thereby stage performers acquired glamour courtesy of their profession. They were versed in classical texts and the latest trends in their field and thus were able to partake in cultivated discussions about the theatre. This professionalism can be compared to the place of musicians in Prussian society. As Jörg-Peter Mittmann has pointed out, musicians knew the art of music so well that they were capable of discussing it in educated circles, where the cohesion of the group was created by the cultivation of aesthetic taste. Indeed, music formed one of the most important parts of such cultivation. Mittmann reasons that a knowledge of music ensured that musicians were able to identify themselves as members of elite social circles.²⁴ Moreover, female actors were in a better position – vis-à-vis social acceptance among the elite – than their contemporary peers. Tracy C. Davis claims that the female actors in Victorian Britain did not gain scientific qualifications, but did receive emotional and intellectual benefit from their profession.²⁵ Female actors gained some intellectual knowledge because of their profession and that they were able to utilise this in social circles.

In addition to the theatre and concerts, museums and exhibitions also played an important role in educated representational culture. Charlotte von Hagn was a regular visitor to various exhibitions in Berlin. Her diary entries testify, for example, that she visited the antique collection of the king of Prussia, which she compares to the collections of the king of Bavaria. Two days after visiting the antique collection of the king of Prussia, she also records that she visited the Prussian Egyptian collection, which impressed her greatly. Indeed, she wrote long entry about how astonished she was about the idea of seeing things that had belonged to a family that lived 3 000 years ago. She was especially intrigued by the sight of mummies.²⁶ In the same manner Bethge frequently visited museums and exhibitions. For instance, he visited the Zoological Museum and the Tiergarten with his wife and friends, after rehearsing at the theatre in the morning. In the Tiergarten they had listened to a concert in a pavillion.²⁷ What is more, Bethge visited an annual art exhibition and he describes the paintings that he had liked. He was particularly impressed by two Dutch paintings and remarked about their unmatched size. He went to the exhibition again a few days later with a colleague and for a third time with his family. After a few months he visited an exhibition at the Gropius Institute with his mother and father-in-law. He was impressed by the anamorphic optical images of Cologne Cathedral, which

24 Mittmann 1992, 237, 255.

25 Davis 1991, 15.

26 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 24.6., 26.6.1833. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

27 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 21.5.1841. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

presented changes from its present day appearance to how it could appear in the future, as well as an image of women gathered around Liszt at a concert. Similarly, Bethge was thrilled after attending a handicraft exhibition. He visited the exhibition three times, along with his wife and sister. Bethge paid special attention to the miniature mountain railroad that was built for the exhibition.²⁸ These exhibitions were more for entertainment rather than high art, yet it is important to note that Bethge was accompanied by his family and friends. Such visits were part of the representative bürgerlich culture.

Charlotte von Hagn had the possibility to travel because of her social position and profession. In a sense, she was undertaking the first journeys of what can be regarded as a modern form of tourism. An interesting tourist attraction that Charlotte von Hagn visited was the Vienna Catacombs. Count Waldsam had invited von Hagn to see the catacombs while she was a guest performer in the city. Von Hagn precisely describes how they descended into the catacombs, during which time several skeletons had scared her. However, she wrote exultantly about how she admired the architecture of the caves. After the visit she describes how she felt relief and that her mundane affairs now seemed easier to handle.²⁹ Yet, such tourist attractions were reserved for elite visitors.

An even more exiting form of leisure, according to von Hagn, was to go to hospitals to see performances by mentally ill patients. The fame of such performances had arisen at the beginning of the century, when Dr. Justinus Kerner started to give performances with his patients, who suffered from hysterical depression. Kerner performed magnetic performances with his patient and attracted a wide audience of educated men for the performances.³⁰ First von Hagn sought to attend a performance at the Charité Hospital in order to see such a show in the company of her friend Louise Tresko. However, the pair were late for the show and von Hagn wrote in her diary that she was disappointed at missing the performance by mentally ill patients. Later, the whole von Hagn family unsuccessfully tried to acquire tickets to see a performance of a 'magnetic doctor' (*magnetiser Doktor*). However, von Hagn was able to see the show the following night at the Charité hospital. Charlotte meticulously describes how they went to the hospital after dark and how on arrival a young boy had led them to the 'delirious' (*Delirianten*) room, where all the patients were supervised. The performance began with a doctor anesthetising the patients. Von

28 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 18.9., 25–26.11.1842, 3.1.1843, 12.9., 2.10., 22.10.1844. Nr 1–2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

29 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 15.12.1835. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

30 Waterfield 2002, 129–130.

Hagn then proceeds to describe how she witnessed a frightening scene in which a woman grabbed the doctor's hand and spelled his name, as well as then seizing her own hand. Not surprisingly, von Hagn left the institution filled with fear at what she had experienced.³¹ Adolph Bethge also went to the Charité Hospital, when Doctor Hoffmann was giving a guided tour. Bethge describes his amazement at the order and cleanliness of the institution. He also writes about meeting an insane patient named Johanna Bessel, who told him her tragic history and how she had ended up in the hospital. This meeting had a strong impact on Bethge, who subsequently wrote a short story about her a day after the visit.³² These visits to the mental asylum can be classed as part of *bürgerlich* culture, but can also be explained by the actors' professional desire to be acquainted with madness at close hand.

In brief, public places, such as theatres, concerts museums and exhibitions, allowed actors to be part of the representative culture of the *bürgertum*. Their profession even encouraged them to partake in the representative culture and gave them intellectual capital in terms of being included among the cultivated spectators.

Cafés and Wineries

Restoration-era Prussian society offered only limited possibilities to gather in open, public places, with commercial cafés and wine bars being developed as important places for expressing representative lifestyles. The cafés and wine bars also highlighted the exclusive character of representative lifestyles. Less wealthy members of Prussian society were not financially able to spend leisure time in cafés and wine bars. Public separation was not a new phenomenon in Prussia, but the burgeoning café culture included representative practices of everyday *bürgerlich* life. In other words, meetings at cafes became regular events for the *bürgertum*.³³

Ilja Mieck points out that one cannot even think of political discussion in Berlin without stressing the importance of cafés. Cafés were a pivotal part of the discussion culture in Berlin. Mieck dates the growth of the café culture in Berlin to the 1820s. The first café in Berlin was founded as late as 1818. Here it was possible to read newspapers and spend general leisure time, which essentially followed wider European trends. However, the prevalence of censorship in restoration Prussia increased the importance of Berlin's cafés. The interior space of cafés provided Berliners with

31 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 12.8.1834. Bd 2; 20.4, 21.4.1837 Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

32 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 27, 29.4. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

33 Kaschuba 1993, 401–402.

the chance to read newspapers that were otherwise not permitted in the city. This was a particularly popular pastime in Café Stehley, which was renowned for its wide collection of newspapers. The café was established on Gendarmenmarkt, near the Royal Theatre, and its attractive Venetian interior was well liked by its customers, who were able to read newspapers and freely discuss issues amidst the conducive environment of bespoke cabinets.³⁴

In his book on Berlin in the 1840s, the social critic Ernst Dronke (1822–1891) describes the importance of Berliner cafés in helping to forge and maintain networks and social relationships among the elite social circles. Dronke writes that specific user groups frequented certain cafés. Officers and young fashionable men gathered at the Kranzler on Unter den Linden, while noisy students frequented another café on Unter den Linden. The ‘big-bellied bourgeoisie’ and stockbrokers met at a café located in Königstädt, whereas bankers and landlords gathered in Josty on Unter den Stechbahn. Similarly, Café Stehley on Gendarmenmarkt had a specific clientele. Thus, Dronke describes that before noon respected secret counsellors (*Geheimrat*) and administration counsellors (*Regierungsrat*), gathered at the café to discuss the latest news. At around noon, however, it was common for a small group of officers to gather at the café, who were interested in culture or wanted to meet friends from the university. Later in the afternoon, university staff, teachers and the intelligentsia flocked to the café. They had the habit of withdrawing to the side cabinets to read aloud the daily newspapers and to comment on recent events.³⁵ In brief, Café Stehley was frequented by an elite clientele in relation to Berlin’s café culture of the age. This is noteworthy, when undertaking a study of the representative lifestyles of contemporary. Dronke continues his description of the customer rituals of the café by stating:

- - folgen die Heroen der Oper, des Balletts und des Schauspiels. Die Szene ist auf einmal umgewandelt, und statt der geheimnisvollen diplomatischen Stille herrscht jetzt ein lautes wirres Treiben. Es wird gelacht, disputiert, intrigiert, sogar Verschwörung angezettelt – alles in Theaterangelegenheiten.³⁶

The arrival of university staff was typically followed by people from the theatre, who seemingly brought vivacity to the café. From this account one can conclude that the actors were regular customers at a café reserved for the elite. It is possible that Eduard Devrient regularly visited Café Stehley. His diary contains entries in which he

34 Dronke (1846) 1987, 42; Calkings, internet-page; Mieck 1987, 589; Taylor 1997, 118.

35 Dronke (1846) 1987, 41–42, 45, 47. See also Mieck 1987, 589.

36 Dronke (1846) 1987, 44.

describes leaving his apartment and heading to a peaceful cabinet in order to read the theatre reviews of the *Spencersche Zeitung*.³⁷

Besides cafés, actors were also regular customers of Berlin's wine bars. The status of wine bars was higher than that of normal bars, which were seen as disreputable. Wine bar customers were usually from high society.³⁸ As mentioned, Ludwig Devrient was one of the most well-known customers of the wine bars. Even general histories of Berlin usually mention how Ludwig Devrient spent his leisure time with E.T.A. Hoffmann in the renowned Lutter & Wegner wine bar, which was situated behind the Royal Theatre.³⁹ Ludwig Devrient's biographer concludes that his subject did not feel comfortable at social gatherings in private houses. Altman describes, how Devrient would much rather in the cabinet furthest from the wine bar entrance. He would start his day with rolls and a glass of port. Rehearsals at the nearby Royal Theatre began at twelve o'clock, but Altman notes that Devrient received several fines for absenteeism.⁴⁰ Louis Schneider provides further evidence of Ludwig Devrient's habits in Lutter & Wegner. He also connects the wine bar culture more widely to other actors:

Doch muß ich auch wenigstens etwas Gutes von mir berichten. Ich ließ mich weder zum Trinken verführen, obgleich es der Berühmte L. Devrient geradezu darauf anlegte, da er mich öfter mit ins Weinhaus nahm und mich traktierte; noch rührte ich eine Karte an, wiewohl das Spiel damals unter den jungen Schauspielern grassirte. So machte ich denn auch keine Schulden, sondern sparte, um Bücher und Kupferstiche ankaufen zu können – –⁴¹

While describing about how he avoided being in debt by not gambling, he mentions the habit of young actors to follow Ludwig Devrient to the wine bar.

In his diary Adolph Bethge also mentions visits to wine bars and taverns (*Kneipen*). The Lutter & Wegner wine bar was a place where Adolph Bethge went after performances in order to take supper and discuss matters.⁴² Bethge normally went to taverns with colleagues and would drink a glass of wine or a wheat beer and would play billiards. He tended to frequent taverns if the theatre was full for a

37 See, for example, Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 22.1., 15.11.1841. Devrient 1964, 110, 133.

38 See, for example, Dronke (1846) 1987, 55–56.

39 See, for example, Saarinen 1999, 129.

40 Altman 1926, 244–245.

41 Schneider 1879a, 50.

42 See, for example, the diary entries of Adolph Bethge on 8.6., 5.9.1846. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

performance. He was also partial to having a couple of beers between rehearsals.⁴³ Along with conducive working hours, Bethge had the possibility to finance social entertainments on working days. Nevertheless, Bethge's attitude towards immoderate drinking was negative. This is demonstrated when a theatre director named Vogt visited Berlin and, according to Bethge, drank too much. On the first day of Vogt's visit, Bethge describes how they went to a *Conditorei* to drink some cheap red wine. The following day Vogt drank champagne and red wine in the morning in a graveyard, while honouring his past colleagues. Bethge then describes his relief when he was relieved of Vogt's company when the theatre director went to Charlottenburg. On the third day of Vogt's visit the same amount of drinking continued and Bethge reproached Vogt for criticising the play they went to see, as he felt he was too drunk to comment. On another occasion Bethge disapproved of a situation when four people in a theatre parterre were so drunk that they managed to steal all the attention from the actual play.⁴⁴ In brief, Berlin's cafés and wine bars were important places for actors in the public sphere, although immoderate drinking was not tolerated by all.

Balls and Opera Balls

Balls provided an excellent forum for actors to become acquainted with noteworthy people and to seek to become part of Berlin's official representative culture. A number of notable balls were held in theatres, and thus actors were natural participants. Furthermore, guest actors were in demand at local balls. Even actors of low status were invited as guests to balls.

Karoline Bauer was a renowned Berlin beauty and was often invited to high society balls. In her memoirs she describes the prestigious balls organised by General Intendant von Brühl. Bauer writes that the king insisted that members of the opera, theatre and ballet participated in von Brühl's balls, which she described in the following manner:⁴⁵

There is hardly any dancing. People converse, observe, pass in review, and envy each other's toilettes. The gentlemen move about in the hall, the ladies sit mostly upon raised seats along the walls. The king walks untiringly through the crowd, and speaks

43 See, for example, the diary entries of Adolph Bethge on 15.2., 29.4., 20.8.1839. 14.2., 20.2.1842 Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

44 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 18–20.5., 8.6.1839. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

45 Bauer 1880a, 329.

affably to everybody. At the same time he looks around, smiling like a father who is pleased to see his children enjoy themselves.⁴⁶

The king's insistence in the participation of actors at balls ensured that they formed an intrinsic part of the social events. The nature of such balls was well portrayed by Bauer, who emphasises that the important part of the occasions was not dancing; rather it was to be seen and to be present in high society. A participant's attire was important at balls. As an example of the importance of dress, she highlights the ball of Valentini, the Italian language master. She went to the ball dressed as Papageno and her friend and author Rellstab went as Papagena. She mentions that the ball included such esteemed guests as Prussian royal princes and August Wilhelm von Schlegel.⁴⁷ It is noteworthy that actors were part of the prestigious balls of Berlin's high society.

The actors were also invited to the social circles and balls of the bourgeoisie. Bauer describes the refreshing artistic circle of the Ludoff family, for example, who were part of the upper-industrial bourgeoisie of Berlin. She mentions how she had become acquainted with many famous people through Ludoff's social events. Bauer also suspected that her fame had played a key part in securing her invitations. In her memoirs she also mentions how Mr. Ludoff's intentions in inviting her to the events was wholly honourable. The Emler family, which had made its money in the tobacco industry, was another bourgeois family that invited Bauer to their social events. The balls of this wealthy merchant family attracted over a hundred people. The garden at the family's residence was the meeting point for poets, musicians, painters, singers and other friends of the family. Indeed, Bauer praises these parties as events that never lacked people who would raise a toast or sing a drinking song.⁴⁸

Charlotte von Hagn was also an active guest at high society balls, especially when she was a guest performer in smaller towns. In February 1836, for example, when she was in Magdeburg, she felt that she had finally entered the best possible society as she was invited to attend a ball organised by Minister Klewitz. In her diary she recorded with pride how she had been introduced to the Bavarian Consul. In April 1837, when she was performing in Hannover, she again records her attendance at a ball that was organised by Count Plater to honour the Duchess of Cambridge. Von Hagn meticulously records the most notable noble guests who attended balls and especially those who had been introduced to her. She also emphasises that the

46 Bauer 1880a, 327–328. Translation from Bauer 1885, 129.

47 Bauer 1880b, 27.

48 Bauer 1880b, 11–15, 17, 27; Bauer (1871) 1917, 133–135.

honorary guest had conversed with her for over half-an-hour.⁴⁹ The detail with which von Hagn notes these events suggests that she held great social stock in their worth.

However, even less renowned male actors, such as Adolph Bethge, were invited to balls. For instance, he was very impressed with a Jesters' Ball (*Narreball*). Social hierarchy was temporarily inverted at this ball, and Bethge describes his amusement at the announcement of the jesters' code of conduct for the evening. The code was outlined by the actor Rütbling, who was also named as jester president. Other actors were named as jester chiefs and some actors amused the audience in women's costumes. Songs were sung by the jesters, who also imitated the ballers.⁵⁰ Bethge took part in a great costume ball at the Opera House. He describes how the opera hall was brilliantly decorated and how the whole of Berlin's high society was present. The royal family was dressed in Tyrolean costumes while General Intendant von Redern wore the costume of a drunken cobbler.⁵¹ The possibility to take part in such events did not raise actors to the level of the nobility, but it did confirm that they had established a higher social standing than most Berliners. In some sense the actors could be seen as the 'strange birds in the gage' in order for the nobility to raise the status and entertainment level of their balls.

Spas

Spas were another way of showing one's wealth and public status, whilst also endeavouring to lead a healthy life by taking the waters. Heikki Lempa has noted the great change in spa culture at the turn of the nineteenth century. Spa towns had developed in the eighteenth century as exclusive retreats for the European elite. In fact, the social diversity among the clientele of spas was quite wide – from peasants to aristocrats – but the social distinction were made in spattial terms by excluding the lower classes from the *Hauptallee* (the main promenading street), casinos and ballrooms. Daily schedules followed regimes designed to maximise health benefits. Thus, the drinking of water that supposedly healed was scheduled for mornings, while the periods after breakfast and lunch were usually reserved for socialising and promenading and evenings were allotted for dancing. Daily routines were designed to minimise excitement, which was believed to have a negative impact on nerves. Yet, stress was not absent from spas, as the air of freedom also encouraged flirting,

49 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 18.2.1836, Bd 3, 1.4.1837, Bd 4. Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

50 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 3.3.1840. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

51 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 5.2.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

dancing and gambling. Indeed, matchmaking was an integral part of the culture of spa resorts. Gudrun König has questioned whether spa resorts offered were frequented more as a venue for social gathering than for their purported therapeutic qualities. She concludes that contact with nature did make spa resorts therapeutic, but that other spa activities made it more of a social happening. Dancing was never forbidden in spa resorts; indeed it was encouraged in small doses. Balls were typically held two times a week, which often attracted onlookers who wanted to observe noteworthy participants.⁵²

Charlotte von Hagn's time at the spa resort of Doberan on the Mecklenburg coast in the summer of 1836 provides a typical example of a beneficial holiday. The official reason for her visit to the spa was because of medical reasons. She had applied to the king to be exempted from her stage duties for two weeks in order to strengthen her nerves at a spa. However, the real reason for her journey was to socialise with noteworthy people, which is revealed in her correspondence with the host of the spa in Doberan. Similarly, when she arrived, she complained at the lack of dignitaries who had greeted her. This oversight on the behalf of the town authorities was redeemed the following day when the Grand Duchess⁵³ (*Grossherzogin*) invited von Hagn for an audience. At this audience von Hagn presented gifts from the Prussian royal family, which she had been entrusted to deliver. However, her stay at the spa was not totally dedicated to leisure pursuits, as she also performed in eight plays in the relatively short space of twenty-two days. On the other hand, she still had plenty of time for leisure activities in the spa town. As custom demanded, von Hagn usually spent mornings taking the waters at the spa. After this, she usually went to a salon and had dinner. She also participated in walks to a local dam in the company of nobles. Her prestigious company was emphasised in her diary. She was also invited to a great ball in honour of the victorious wars of liberation, but she felt sick and did not participate. Day trips to nearby towns were another popular form of leisure activity for residents at spa resorts. Thus, von Hagn undertook such a day trip to Rostock, when she was again in the company of aristocrats. They visited the General Blücher Memorial, which von Hagn examined so closely that she wrote down Goethe's verse inscription. Later they went on to an old church where Charlotte admired a copy of a Rubens' painting. After enjoying a supper in a restaurant they continued their journey to the spa resort of Travemünde. They stayed the night in a flimsy hovel, where von Hagn

52 König 1996, 222–223; Lempa 2007, 47–48, 52–53; Lempa 2002, 48–50, 71–72.

53 The 'Grand Duchess' in question was most probably Princess Alexandrine of Prussia (1803–1892), the daughter of Frederick William III. She had married Paul Frederick of Meckelnburg-Schwerin.

professed that she witnessed human suffering.⁵⁴ Lempa considers that such day trips were in line with contemporary ideas on health, which stressed that the production of passive motion helped to move bodily fluids.⁵⁵ It seems more than likely that von Hagn spent these day trips in eminent company and enjoyed a fair share of luxuries. Thus, the flimsy hovel described by von Hagn may well have been wholly adequate accommodation.

Other actors were also able to spend some of their leisure time at spas. Rott mentions spending three weeks at Freienwald Spa, for example, whilst Rütthling, Weiß and Müller all received grants to travel to health spas.⁵⁶ Indeed, some actors received several grants, which were always based on medical factors. Applications for grants varied from those citing general health problems to those that stated general difficulties in life.⁵⁷

Karl Seydelmann also describes his time at the famous spa resort in Carlsbad. He describes the spa as being a boring place, as the resort was devoid of wealthy individuals. He even lists all the important people present in Carlsbad in a letter, as well as complaining that he was tired of simply drinking water and wine.⁵⁸ His second letter from Carlsbad displays an even wearier tone, in which he despairingly claims that he was surrounded by monkeys and donkeys.⁵⁹ These scathing observations by Seydelmann once again highlight the importance of social prestige at spa resorts. Thus Seydelmann echoes the sentiment that a trip to a spa resort was pointless if the venue was devoid of a healthy dose of European high society.

Actors were conspicuous in Berlin public spaces, cafés, wine bars and other high-ranking social gatherings, as well as participating in promenades and in the burgeoning spa culture. Promenades played an important role for actors in terms of representation, as they enabled them to emphasise family ideals, and provided opportunities to meet

54 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 10.6, 29.6, 23.7, 24.7, 1.8., 3.8, 14.8, 8.8, 9.8, 12.8.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

55 Lempa 2007, 52.

56 A letter from Rott to Maria, dated 7.8.1842. BRD 1867, 101.

57 A letter from Chamberlain von Wittgenstein to the king of Prussia, dated 18.4.1826 and the king's reply, dated 21.4.1826. Bl. 6–7, Nr 21247, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK; Letters of General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 19.2.1839, 24.5.1838 and the king's approvals, which were written in the same letters. Bl. 5, 7, 22, Nr 21260, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK. A letter from General Intendant von Redern to the king of Prussia, dated 14.3.1836. The file contains no leaf numbers Nr 21244, Rep 89, I HA, GStA PK. See also Chapter I.4.

58 A letter from Seydelmann to Hofrat Teichmann, dated 20.7.1841. Rötischer 1845, 318–321.

59 A letter from Seydelmann to Glassbrenner, dated 5.8. 1841. Rötischer 1845, 338.

prospective spouses, as well as maintaining the ideal of a healthy life. Actors also formed part of the audience in theatres, concerts, exhibitions and even in popular magnetism shows. Café culture acted as one of the most important representative and inclusive elements of *bürgerlich* culture, and thus played a key role in the lives of actors. Furthermore, actors were welcome guests in the leisure spaces of the upper *bürgertum*. Indeed, the visibility of actors at opera balls and among the nobility raised their social status. Moreover, the opportunity to spend leisure time at spas linked actors to the representative culture of the *bürgertum*. The testimonials of actors also indicate the importance they held in socialising at spas with prestigious members of Prussia's elite. Lastly, one can state that *bürgerlich* family ideals and *bürgerlich* ideals of a healthy life are evident in the popularity of promenades and spa resorts.

2. Social Networks and Salons, Private Homes and Associations

Private homes were a key element in the *bürgerlich* culture of the nineteenth century. Homes were an important sphere for reinforcing private morals and *bürgerlich* modesty. Yet, homes were also the centre of *Geselligkeit*, or an active social life. One can ask whether homes should be treated as part of private life or as part of the public sphere. Jürgen Habermas resolves this problem by arguing that the dividing line between the private and public spheres occurred inside private households. Thus, according to Habermas, bedrooms and the private rooms of the house belonged to the private sphere, whereas guests rooms, such as salons, belonged to the public sphere.⁶⁰ This division provides the basis for the following chapters. Homes as part of the public sphere are discussed in chapters IV.2 and IV.3, whilst homes as part of the private sphere are discussed in Chapter V.1. Chapters IV.2 and IV.3 are divided, with the present chapter handling the homes of others and the following chapter focussing on the representative aspects of the homes of actors.

The importance of homes as the centre of social life has been defined in several studies. Gisela Mettele argues that homes were the core of *bürgerlich* public sphere, for example, and states that homes also had an important role in the self-determination of the *bürgertum*. Rebekka Habermas agrees with this idea and highlights how *bürgerlich* social life was based on small, intimate gatherings, including dinners and get-togethers. Such gatherings took place within the narrow circle of family and friends. Rebekka Habermas states that this sphere of family and friends should be studied as part of the *bürgerlich* public sphere.⁶¹ Habermas lays emphasis on the importance of public spaces at home, as this made it possible to view women as public subjects. The strict division between public and private prevented women being perceived as active subjects in society. *Vereine* (associations), salons led by women, and everyday gatherings at private homes played a major role in developing the self-understanding of both men and women in Prussia's *bürgerlich* society.⁶² The main argument of this chapter is that Berliner actors between 1815 and 1848 strove

60 Habermas 2004, 82.

61 Habermas 2000, 139–140; Mettele 1996, 155–156. See also von Saldern 1997, 170; Jenkins 2003, 48.

62 Habermas 2000, 141–143.

for these bürgerlich representative ideals in respectable salons, associational life and in gatherings in private homes.

Berlin Salons

Salon meetings and private gatherings were vitally important places in the creation and strengthening of representative bürgerlich culture. This was also a more private form of representative culture, in which the repressive system of public order in Prussia was unable to penetrate. Private gatherings and salons can even be seen as one of the most important dynamic forces in the foundation of bürgerlich society. Petra Wilhelmy-Dollinger suggests that salons formed an important part of Berliner social life, or *Geselligkeit*. German *Geselligkeit* was exhaustingly formal and far removed from bohemian artistic values. Salon life was institutionalised and organised, with regular meeting times and venues. Discussions formed the most important part of salon culture, with the most important themes concentrating on literature, music and art. Wilhelmy-Dollinger also argues that salon culture played a central role in the Prussian break away from an estate-based society. In this sense, salons formed part of the bürgertum's fight against the nobility and the estate system that maintained the status quo.⁶³ Yet, at the same time the nobility also ran salons, in which bürgerlich participants did not usually feel comfortable. The varying salons were generally separated between those for the nobility and those for the bürgertum.

Wilhelmy-Dollinger's listing of the salon participants indicates that actors were well represented in these social gatherings. The likes of Henriette Sontag, Fanny Lind, Karl von Holtei and Charlotte von Hagn, for example, all frequented salons. Indeed, Wilhelmy-Dollinger mentions that Sontag had her own musical salon in Berlin in the 1840s, after her marriage with Count Rossi and her retirement from the stage.⁶⁴ Female actors were the core participants of salons during 'the golden age of Berliner salons' between 1770–1806. Deborah Hertz even sees the importance

63 Wilhelmy-Dollinger 2000, 11, 38, 121, 126–127. Mustakallio provides a summary of critiques regarding the study of salon culture. The target of her critique is to question the claimed tolerant atmosphere of the salons towards social classes and religions. Mustakallio 2003, 100.

64 Wilhelmy-Dollinger 2000, 146, 150, 170, 173.

of female actors in the salons as evidence of the dramatic improvement of the social status of their profession in general.⁶⁵

Actors were much sought-after in bürgerlich salons and they were regular guests in the salons of the Mendelssohn family and Rahel Varnhagen (1771–1833). This was largely because of the strong relationship between the theatre and salon culture. It was common to gather at salons after theatre performances, for example to discuss how the show went.⁶⁶ In her memoirs Karoline Bauer provides plentiful descriptions of her visits to Varnhagen's salon. She mentions that her first visit to the salon was in the company of Sontag, her duet partner. Bauer gives a precise list of the famous and influential people that took were present at the salon.⁶⁷ Music was an important part of Varnhagen's salon, which explains why Sontag was the special guest. Sontag was also one of Varnhagen's protégés.⁶⁸

Personal relationships also played an important role in the salon frequented by Eduard Devrient, who enjoyed a very close relationship to the Mendelssohn family. Between 1829 and 1830 Devrient even lived in Mendelssohn's garden villa in the city palace in Leipziger Straße. The actor also cooperated closely in artistic affairs with the composer Felix Mendelssohn, such as overseeing a major production of J.S. Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion*.⁶⁹ In her memoirs Therese Devrient, the wife of Eduard, wrote about how her family had enjoyed their time at the Mendelssohns and how they had met many notable persons, including the composers Carl Friedrich Zelter and Gaspare Spontini, as well as the violinist Niccolò Paganini. She also mentions meeting academics, such as Alexander von Humboldt and Eduard Gans. Furthermore, she notes having met important women, including Henriette Hertz and Rahel Varnhagen.⁷⁰ Wilhelmy-Dollinger has a high opinion of the Mendelssohn Salon in Berlin. This was because the progenitor of the family – the enlightenment philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) – played a pivotal role in the development of Berlin's salon culture. This salon culture was maintained after the

65 Deborah Hertz has studied the salons in detail in the period between 1790-1806 and argues that the decline of the true salon culture of Berlin took place in 1806, because of the increasing sense of Christian patriotism that emerged during the French occupation. She argues that the basic idea of salons became controversial. Themes like the dialogue between the nobility and the commoners, sexual license, and relations to Jewish wealth and culture were not tolerated in the post-1806 atmosphere. In the pre-1806 period, Hertz stresses the importance of noble and non-noble dilettantes who participated in salons. Hertz 2005, 7, 180–183, 184–186.

66 Wilhelmy-Dollinger 2000, 15.

67 Bauer (1871) 1917, 109–124.

68 Wilhelmy-Dollinger 2000, 142.

69 Fanny and her husband, the artist Wilhelm Hensel, subsequently lived in the garden villa. *Musikallio* 2003, 86; Devrient [1908], 349; *Berliner Biographien*, internet-page; Taylor 1997, 147.

70 Devrient [1908], 249–250.

Napoleonic Wars by Lea Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1777–1842), the wife of Moses son Abraham (1776–1835). After the death of Lea, the salon was continued by her daughter Fanny Hensel (1805–1847). The Mendelssohn Salon was especially known for its musical recitals on Sundays. Marja Mustakallio argues that it is hard to say whether people were seduced at the salon by the music performed or the people that were in attendance.⁷¹

Actors also visited aristocratic salons, such as those hosted by Prince Anton Radziwill and his wife Louise Radziwill as well as Bettine von Arnim. Wilhelmy-Dollinger describes the Radziwill's salon as being the most important venue among musicians and singers – as well as among aristocrats. Furthermore, the salon was unique in being able to stage plays in its own private theatre. This naturally increased the need to call actors among the salon guests. Bettine von Arnim (1785–1859) was an important and idiosyncratic salonnière in nineteenth-century Berlin. She did not organise regular gatherings and she usually only assembled a small, exclusive group.⁷² At least the actors Eduard Devrient, Charlotte von Hagn and Karoline Bauer were part of von Arnim's exclusive salon.⁷³ A common interest in the theatre and cultural life seemingly determined the composition of this salon. Eduard Devrient noted in his diary that he had visited aristocratic salons, with particular detail devoted to occasions in which the composer Prince Radziwilli had been present. At these events Devrient recognised a clear distinction between himself and the nobility, but also felt that he had been accepted into elite circles because he had been repeatedly invited. These events also provided ample opportunities to advance an actor's cause. Devrient met Alexander von Humboldt at a salon, for example, and was able to ask the professor for a recommendation to secure a study trip to Paris. However, Devrient was also frustrated by high-society circles, including expressing disappointment at the fact that the nobility only tended to view art as entertainment. He also wrote about how his life was becoming increasingly more miserable because of this attitude, commenting that his 'glimpse of the [aristocratic] sun' had made him open his eyes.

71 Wilhelmy-Dollinger 2000, 19, 151–152; Mustakallio 2003, 109. Wilhelmy-Dollinger lists Karl von Holtei and the singer Therese Devrient as regular guests at the Mendelssohn Salon. Therese Devrient was Eduard Devrient's wife, who was a housewife, but who took part in events organised by the Singing Academy.

72 Wilhelmy-Dollinger 2000, 149, 157–158; Hertz 2005, 271.

73 Bauer (1871) 1917, 129; Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 27.3.1840. Devrient 1964, 95. Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 20.5.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

He was making a clear distinction between the aristocracy, who were ignorant of the nobility of art, and his own sophisticated artistic milieu.⁷⁴

The representative nature of salons is evident in contemporary literary descriptions, to the extent that modern researchers tend to list precisely who participated in which salon and the extent of their prominence. Participation in a prominent salon fostered a sense of community, which was of vital importance in bürgerlich gatherings.

The Importance of Vereine

The important place of *Vereine* (associations) was another feature in the representative culture of the bürgertum in the first half of the nineteenth century. Public gatherings were rare and were usually impossible to organise, thereby ensuring that exclusive associations became important gathering places for the bürgertum. Associations played a pivotal role in terms of representation and in forging networks, and acted as safety valves for the abundant sense of political frustration. Such societies also provided a channel to discuss issues in either a professional or dilettantish manner. Exclusive *Vereine* provided an important channel for becoming acquainted with similar-minded people. As Sheehan suggests, these associations were only open to individuals who had an education and the economic means to take part in such activities. Michael Sobania emphasises the exclusiveness of these associations, in which inclusion was usually determined by the recommendation of members and after receiving the approval of a committee. Annual subscription rates were also typically prohibitive to less affluent members of society. In Sobania's examples annual membership dues ranged from between 8 to 10 thalers. Furthermore, Kaschuba stresses that associations provided one of the most important means of social networking for the bürgertum.⁷⁵ As mentioned, associations also acted as safety valves for political frustrations, as it was illegal in Prussia to found political societies. This helps to explain why resistance against the autocratic regime was concentrated in non-political organisations, including professional associations and clubs. The yearly meetings of professional associations of teachers and literary critics, for example, soon engendered political opposition.⁷⁶ Jonathan Knudsen suggests that liberal political views were shared in different associations and in religious or high-cultural circles in Berlin,

74 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 17., 18.1., 22.1.1839, 9.11.1842. Devrient 1964, 63–66, 164.

75 Kaschuba 1993, 402; Sheehan 1989, 535; Sobania 1996, 177–179.

76 Langewiesche 2000, 23; Sheehan 1978, 13–14.

where state officials were on the alert for any political activities. Consequently, many professors, teachers, publishers and civil servants were arrested for disobeying the authorities.⁷⁷ The associations were also important in a professional sense. Individuals were attracted to associations as the best means to share professional concerns. What is more, one should not diminish the non-political aspects of associations, which promoted literary evenings, concerts, balls and other cultural events.⁷⁸

Berliner actors were members of several regular associations and other occasional societies. The literary association called *Der Berliner Literarische Sonntagsverein* 'Tunnel über der Spree' was one of the most well-known societies that included actors. Several actors also assembled in professional theatre associations and some other charitable societies. There are also hints that some actors, especially those of the older classical school, were freemasons.

The 'Tunnel über der Spree' association was founded in 1827 and gathered together the crème de la crème of Berlin's cultural circles. Its members included civil servants, lawyers and noble officers, actors and other artists. One of its most notable and longest-serving members was the writer Theodor Fontane (1819–1898). In his autobiography, entitled *Von Zwanzig bis Dreißig*, Fontane mentions that actors were prominent among the membership of the society, and places a particular emphasis on the participation of Louis Schneider and Friedrich Lemm.⁷⁹ Louis Schneider was also an important member of the *Sonntagsverein*, acting at various times as its chairman, secretary and treasurer.⁸⁰ The *Sammlung Tunnel Archive* at Humboldt University Library does not list Adolph Bethge as being a member of the society, but he was probably a guest at the association on several occasions. He mentions, for example, how he participated in 'Schneider's Sonntag Verein', where on one occasion he read the poems of Heinrich Schmidt. The same occasion also included Schneider reading from his own fantasy work and a vocal recital by the singers Mantius, Botticher, Mickler and Behrend. Bethge also describes an event in the *Englischen Hause* (English House) as a joyful occasion, no doubt helped by the fact that he drank champagne up until half-past three in the morning.⁸¹

An important function of the *Sonntagsverein* was to facilitate meetings with prominent figures. Hence, although Eduard Devrient was not a member of the

77 Knudsen 1990, 128–130.

78 Sheehan 1989, 535; Sobania 1996, 185–187.

79 Fontane 1898, 257–264, 404. See also Hofer 2008, internet-page.

80 See the online catalogue of the 'Sammlung Tunnel' at the Library of Humboldt University, Berlin. See <http://katalog.ub.hu-berlin.de/tunnel/>.

81 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 3.12.1839. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

association, he was invited to some events held by the weekly society.⁸² It is noteworthy that he provides a detailed list of the participants of the meetings of the literary association, which is mainly comprised of members of the educated *bürgertum*.⁸³ These diary entries suggest that associations played an important role in representative and social life. Moreover, actors were included among those members of the educated *bürgertum* who were treated as respected guests and full members of associations.

However, the *Sonntagsverein* had political connotations, with Theodor Fontane also summing up the ideology behind the 'Tunnel über den Spree' as one based on a strong longing for freedom, but with a great fondness for conservatism.⁸⁴ The hint of the association's political ethos can also be seen in the manner in which it celebrated its 10th anniversary in 1837. As mentioned in chapter II.3, the concert of national songs, which Schneider had organised, got out of hands and the excitable audience started to sing along. This event gained a lot of attention in liberal newspapers and resulted in Schneider encountering some troubles with the authorities.⁸⁵ The singing of national songs was interpreted as being against the king, because the growth of nationalist sentiment threatened the king's position as the basis of the state. In addition, Eduard Devrient also cites some discussions held at the *Sonntagsverein* that could be interpreted as being political. He states that most of the discussions touched on the decline of the theatre and literature, but that they also debated a human rights trial, the marriage law and the immaterial property law.⁸⁶ These topics were clearly within the sphere of political ideas.

At the same time, actors participated in associations that were restricted to their own professional circles. One of the most important of these associations was the Society of Dramatic Artists (*Verein Dramatischer Künstler*). Devrient was a founding member of this association, when it was established in 1836.⁸⁷ However, Devrient soon began to wonder how long this 'shaky hut' was going to last. Thus, it came as no surprise to the actor that the association came to an end in May 1840.⁸⁸ However,

82 See the catalogue of the 'Sammlung Tunnel' at the library of Humboldt University, Berlin. See <http://katalog.ub.hu-berlin.de/tunnell>.

83 Devrient lists, for example, Raupach, Chemisso, Eichendorff, Gubitz, Veits, Professor Gans, Professor Heyse and Professor Dirichlet. Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 14.11.1836, 16.1.1837, 11.1.1839. Devrient 1964, 9, 13, 61–62.

84 Fontane 1898, 257–264, 404.

85 Schneider 1879a, 341–358.

86 Eduard Devrient 14.11.1836, 16.1.1837, 18.12.1837, 29.10.1842, Devrient 1964, 9, 13, 30, 61–62.

87 Kabel 1964, XV.

88 *Geschmolzene Häuflein*. Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 26.1.1836, 16.5.1840. Devrient 1964, 3, 99–100.

from references in Bethge's diary in the 1840s it appears that the association was soon re-established in a similar form. The association appears to have had four main functions: to gather some actors together for leisure activities; to improve the position of actors in society; to commemorate the memory of departed actors and, finally, to reward distinguished actors.

An entry in Bethge's diary from the summer of 1845 provides a fitting example of the pleasure actors enjoyed in the association. In this instance, Bethge describes how there were only eight members present, but that they spent a splendid time together. At a fine dinner table, Schneider read his works aloud and Bethge recited the minutes of the last meeting.⁸⁹ A fragmentary letter from Eduard Devrient to Louis Schneider also highlights the unofficial atmosphere of the actors' association. Devrient wrote the letter because Schneider was not able to attend a meeting of the association because of ill health. Thus, he describes what had transpired at the meeting, which included several toasts to the health of Schneider. However, Devrient goes on to write that the meeting had been largely unremarkable, apart from reciting some vulgar French and German anecdotes.⁹⁰

The official aim of the association was to improve the income and educational levels of actors.⁹¹ Devrient himself was not too pleased at the goals of the association, recording his frustration at how the gatherings merely contained discussions regarding the details of some performances and the qualities of a guest artist: 'What is the use of such an association if it does not actually cultivate its members?'⁹² Only on one occasion in his diary does Bethge mention how Schneider had presented new ideas on how to improve the pensions and salaries of actors.⁹³

The association also honoured the memory of deceased actors and celebrated the careers of actors that had retired. The memory of deceased actors was commemorated by producing items of remembrance and by taking care of their families. Bethge was actively involved, for example, in the commissioning of a bust of the late Seydelmann. The bust was produced by the sculptor Kisch, and Bethge made several visits to the artisan's atelier to see the work in progress. In April 1844, Bethge made several remarks on how he had collected money for the support fund, which was probably collected to aid the family of Adolphine Neuman, who had recently passed away.

89 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 7.6.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

90 A letter from Devrient to Schneider, o.D. EH 1907, HS, ZLBB.

91 Kabel 1964, XV.

92 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 31.1.1837, 1.8.1837, 16.5.1840. Devrient 1964, 13, 20, 99–100.

93 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 20.3.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

Events honouring actors that had retired varied from money prizes to festivities. In one general assembly of the association, Bethge records how they decided to reward the actors Freund and Bader, who had recently retired. Freund was presented with an album honouring his career on stage and in which Bethge had also written an acrostic poem. Bethge also described the 50th anniversary festivities in honour of the actor Madame Schröck that the association had organised. This event included a quartet of male actors, participants of the theatre management and a speech delivered by Auguste Stich-Crelinger on behalf of the entire theatre staff.⁹⁴

Actors were also involved in other societies, in addition to the *Sonntagsverein* and their professional associations. Bethge's diary, for example, reveals that he took part in a breathtaking array of associations. He organised concerts and collected money for the *Eisernen Fond*, as well as participating in the Craftsmen's Society (*Handwerkverein*). Moreover, he also organised a concert for the Philharmonic Society (*Philharmonische Verein*).⁹⁵

It can be assumed that a number of actors, especially those of the older classical school, were also linked to freemasonry. A letter written by P.A. Wolff, for example, who was a leading actor of the classical Weimar School, suggests that he had close links to freemasonry in Weimar. In the letter, Wolff writes to his lodge brother, K.L. Oels, when he was about to relocate to Berlin from Weimar:

Zwölf Jahre habe ich in Weimar gelebt, meinen Herd habe ich hier erbaut und freundlich lächelten mir die Laren. Kriegesschrecken und Siegesfreuden habe ich mit Euch geteilt und zwei Lustra hindurch war mein Wandel so, daß man mich am Anfang des dritten der Ehre würdig fand, unter unsere maurerische Verbindung zu treten, – – unter manchem Guten, was mir hier wiederfuhr, vielleicht *das Beste!*⁹⁶

Wolff refers to the twelve years that he had lived in Weimar, where he had settled and experienced the war times and two purifying *Lustra*⁹⁷ rituals in their masonry relationship. If Wolff was a Freemason, it is a clear sign of cultural respect. Freemasonry was open to the aristocracy and was more exclusive than other associations. Wolff's involvement with freemasonry in Weimar was probably linked to Goethe's status in

94 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 21.6.1842. Nr 1, 20.4., 21.3., 29.3., 1.4., 9.4., 3.5.1844, 20.3., 5.4., 9.4., 26.4.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

95 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 29.8., 3.9., 6.9., 3.10., 13.11, 14.11, 20.11.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

96 A letter from P.A. Wolff to K.L. Oels. In Martersteig 1879, 280–281.

97 *Lustra* is plural form of *Lustrum* that is an old Roman cult catharsis organized every five years.

the local lodge.⁹⁸ This connection might have also led to other classical Weimar-style actors being initiated into Freemasonry.

Visits in Private Homes

Private homes were also an important representative sphere in addition to salons and *Vereine*. The restrictive nature of restoration culture in Prussia ensured that private discussions had to take place in private venues. Hence, the meaning of visits to private homes can be seen in social, representational, professional and political matters. One dominant feature in all the diaries written by Berliner actors at the time is that they frequently mention visiting private homes.

Charlotte von Hagn received numerous invitations to visit the homes of noteworthy bourgeois and aristocratic individuals. Charlotte felt more comfortable among the nobility, but she still felt there were some social distinctions between herself and the high aristocracy. In the private gatherings of the bourgeoisie, von Hagn sometimes felt a bit frustrated. She writes that she needed a larger social gathering to be happy, as she found some smaller societies to be quite boring. In March 1836 von Hagn was invited to a society gathering hosted by Countess Linar. She felt in a more genial mood at this event and even managed to practice her English with Countess Westahla, who became sentimental after drinking a few glasses of champagne and subsequently confessed her love to the actor. In the summer of 1836, von Hagn was invited to the salon of Princess Marianne, the wife of Prince Albrecht. Von Hagn recorded that the prince was not there and the atmosphere was therefore comfortable. She felt that the royal family was very warm towards her and conversed with her a lot, but she confesses to having felt a bit bored in their company. The actor also wrote in her diary about a soirée hosted by Prince von Wittgenstein, at which Prince Oldenburg was also present, who flattered von Hagn. This flattery ensured that von Hagn enjoyed the evening.⁹⁹

Nevertheless, irrespective of these examples, Charlotte von Hagn did feel some uncertainty when in aristocratic societies. After the Kalisz Conference, von Hagn was increasingly invited to attend the high society gatherings held by Prince von Wittgenstein. She describes how she behaved gracefully, despite the unexpected presence of men at her first such event. A couple of nights later she was again at a

98 For more on Goethe's relationship to Freemasonry, see Bauer & Müller 2000, 9–16.

99 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 27.3.1833, 30.6.1833. Bd 2; 3–4.4., 19.6.1836. Bd 3; Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

social event hosted by Prince von Wittgenstein, and sensed that the odd quietness of the others was a result of her naivety. She writes about how the so-called 'great society' talked about boring things and that she was glad to leave this questionable conversation.¹⁰⁰ Her sense of frustration can be seen as a normal reaction, if she felt that high society had not accepted her as a member of their clique. In September 1836, she wrote the following entry in her diary after a night spent at another high society gathering:

Männchen hat ich auch z. E. es ist mir jedesmal unangenehm unter vielen Menschen erscheinen zu müssen. Mir ist es in so hohen Gesellschaft immer ein drückendes gefiel, weil ich meinen Stand nicht vergessen kann.¹⁰¹

She essentially felt a certain pressure regarding her place in society. However, she does not reveal whether she felt pressure in regard to her unmarried status, her profession or her background.

Adolph Bethge's diary also makes reference to his wide social circle of friends from beyond the theatre. An important part of this social circle revolved around visits to private homes. Indeed, this can be seen as an important part of the social and representational life of the *bürgertum*. Bethge and his wife, Jettchen, regularly visited a number of families, including the Hedemanns, Montags, Guinands and the family of Inspector Hibeau. The home of Madame Hedemann was a particular favourite of Bethge and his wife regularly, with the hostess being Seydelmann's sister and a widow of a Prussian officer.¹⁰² After performances, Bethge and his family often went to the home of Mr. Montag, who was an organist and a teacher at St. Hedwigschule. Indeed, Bethge played music at the home on several occasions.¹⁰³ Inspector Hibeau worked at the Louisen Fund and was a teacher and provided Bethge with an outlet for male discussions. Hibeau also acted as a conduit for Bethge to associate with more prominent circles, such as Professor Dielitz.¹⁰⁴ In the summer of 1846, the Guinand family also begins to appear on the pages of Bethge's diary. Mr. Guinand was a copper engraver and was also Bethge's neighbour. At the time, Bethge wrote, for example, how he had been to an enjoyable party at the Guinands in the Tiergarten.

100 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 15.1., 19.1.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

101 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 4.9.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

102 See, for example, the diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 21.4.1844, 7.1., 30.5.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK. Adressbuch 1845.

103 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 9–10.9.1844, 10.11., 14.11.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK. For information about Montag's profession, see Adressbuch 1845.

104 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 14.1., 23.1., 7.3., 29.6.1846. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK. For information about Hibeaus' profession, see Adressbuch 1846.

Thenceforth, Bethge and his family were frequently in the company of the Guinand family, including every New Year's Day. Bethge also records that music enjoyed a prominent place at the Guinand social events.¹⁰⁵ In social terms, the family friends of Bethge were part of the *bürgertum* or the lower *bürgertum*. They all embraced the culture of visiting the private abodes of family friends and were also happy to receive guests at their apartments.

Visits to social events at private homes also enabled actors to raise work-related issues. Important social relationships between actors and other performing artists, such as composers and musicians, for example, were furthered via these formal and informal visits. Most of such work-related interactions were conducted within private houses. Adolph Bethge also volunteered to run errands in order to further his own practical issues. Contract negotiations were an important matter that was handled inside private homes. In 1844, for example, Bethge was negotiating a renewal of his contract, but initially, it seemed that General Intendant von Küstner was not keen to renew his contract with the theatre. Consequently, the actor began to worry and paid several visits to people that he thought could favourably influence von Küstner's decision. On one occasion, for instance, he visited his colleagues Schneider, Rechnungsath Geiling and Geheimrat Tieck in order for them to sway the opinion of the general intendant.¹⁰⁶

Eduard Devrient also discussed work-related issues at visits to private homes. Thus, his diary records how he went to the home of General Intendant von Redern in order to discuss changes to the theatre's repertoire because Charlotte von Hagn had insisted on playing a certain role. Devrient first went to meet General Intendant von Redern at his home, after which he went to meet Auguste Stich-Crelinger at her home to conduct further talks. Yet, ultimately Devrient's efforts were fruitless as von Hagn got what she wanted. Indeed, Devrient wrote a frustrating entry in his diary rueing the fact that he had invested much energy in attempting to sway opinion for nothing.¹⁰⁷

One of Eduard Devrient's most important personal relationships was with the composer Felix Mendelssohn. The Mendelssohn home acted as a portal for Devrient enter into high society and a place where he could share his artistic concerns. The young actor went to many official salon meetings at the Mendelssohn household, but he also spent a lot of time at informal gatherings at the family home. Eduard wrote

105 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 28.7., 24.12.1846, 1.1., 13.10., 31.12.1847. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK. For information about Guinand's profession, see Adrressbuch 1846.

106 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 6.3.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

107 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 9.2.1838. Devrient 1964, 32.

in his diary how he discussed a wide variety of matters with Felix, including his hopes and expectations regarding his future.¹⁰⁸ Eduard Devrient wrote a book about his friendship with Felix Mendelssohn, which Celia Applegate claims overestimates his influence on the artistic career of the composer. Devrient himself stresses the people he introduced to the Mendelssohn soirées.¹⁰⁹ Devrient's influence was probably not as strong as he described. However, it is important to highlight that the friends enjoyed a relationship that was both private and professional, but, crucially, was not conducted within any institution; rather their meetings occurred at private homes. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Devrient also stresses the importance of the people who visited the Mendelssohn home. The importance of the people that gathered together in private homes lies in the fact that they were individuals who discussed new ideas during a restrictive period in Prussia's history.

Generally, scholars regard professional associations and societies in restoration-era Prussia as forming the core of bürgerlich public identity and the principle crucible for proto-political action.¹¹⁰ When reading the private diaries of actors from the period, one cannot escape the need to reconsider the meaning of more restrictive and closed social circles. As highlighted in earlier chapters, openly political actions were impossible in Prussian society during the restoration era. This explains why most political thought was channelled into associations, such as professional clubs and literary societies. Yet, such associations were still supervised by the authorities and thus political discussion remained limited in such social gatherings. This is why it is vital to look more closely at the friendships of Berliner actors in order to analyse them in terms of expressions of proto-political thinking. In this regard it is important to note that intimate friendships created a rare opportunity to discuss proto-political matters.

The idea of a relationship between proto-political thinking and intimate friendships is evident in the contemporary writings of the American Henry E. Dwight. He travelled throughout northern Germany and observed the country from the standpoint of an American republican. His *Travels in the north of Germany, in the years 1825 and 1826* portrays a depressing image of the political climate in Prussia. Thus, Dwight immediately emphasises that it was not possible to publish any literature on the political rights of man in Prussia. The American reasoned that the enforcement of strict press censorship had had the desired effect of instilling fear

108 See especially, Devrient [1908], 309, 349; Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 22.6.1838, 25.4., 11.6., 4.10.1841, 27.12.1843. Devrient 1964, 45, 116, 117, 196, passim.

109 Applegate 2005, 24. See also Devrient 1869, 36–37.

110 See, for example, Sheehan 1978, 14; Langewiesche 2000, 23–25.

among ordinary people. Dwight also argued that every Prussian was conscious their public actions were being monitored at every corner. This created a climate of fear in which Prussians did not speak freely in unfamiliar circles. Dwight also wrote:

He soon feels that it would be equally dangerous in conversation, as he is never sure that he is safe, unless when conversing with an intimate friend. He does it then in a whisper, and with feelings half suppressed. What he says excites his own mind and that of his companion only to momentary thought, and, as he sees no hope of change for the better, he soon relaxes into his former apathy on these subjects.¹¹¹

Dwight had studied theology at university and his father was the president of Yale, but his attitudes were more or less liberal when compared to official Prussian ideology. His analysis on the extreme limits to freedom of speech in the public sphere in Prussia resonate with several diary entries by actors. Eduard Devrient, for example, tried hard to avoid any kind of proto-political conversation in public, but writes of several such discussions at the homes of friends. The subject matter of these conversations varied from expressing support for liberal authors to general opposition to corporal punishment and proclaiming the desire for a constitution. Devrient records one occasion in his diary, for example, when he visited Felix Mendelssohn and the pair discussed the political writings of Glassbrenner. Arguably a spirit of enlightened tolerance reigned at the Mendelssohn home, which encouraged more open political debates than in other Prussian intellectual households. In her memoirs, Therese Devrient mentions how it was uncommon for women to participate in political debate, but that it was actively encouraged at the Mendelssohns.¹¹² This suggests that political issues were often debated in this enlightened environment.

Professor Werder was a family friend of the Devrients and often visited their home, whilst Eduard also visited the academic's apartment. Their friendship was based on a mutual love of the dramatic arts, but sometimes their conversation drifted to political matters. Devrient was a fierce opponent of corporal punishment, for example, and he records how he got into an argument on the subject with Werder at the dinner table. Devrient wrote that he had voiced how he felt that corporal punishment was inhuman and far removed from the grace of god, religion, truth and love.¹¹³

Seiffarth was one of the most liberal-minded of Devrient's friends. Devrient and Seiffarth talked for a long time about the deficiencies of the Prussian administration

111 Dwight 1829, 166.

112 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 11.6.1841. Devrient 1964, 117; Devrient [1908], 349.

113 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 4.3.1837. Devrient 1964, 14.

when compared to constitutional states. They also talked freely about the limits of censorship. Years later Devrient wrote with indignation about Seiffarth's attitude to viewing the opinion of others as tyrannical if it ran counter to his own.¹¹⁴

A noticeable increase in political conversations at various private homes is discernable in Eduard Devrient's diary in 1843. At the beginning of this year Devrient visited the home of his friend Reichardt, where they discussed and condemned the suspension of the *Leipziger Zeitung*. Four months later, Devrient records how a discussion took place at Veit's home regarding the despotism of the king. In June Devrient also wrote about how he had had a discussion with Geppert about the state of the Ministry of Culture and on the political situation in general. Devrient felt that the situation in Prussia was sad and alarming.¹¹⁵ However, Adolph Bethge did not write down much information about political conversations in his diary. Even the phrase 'discussing politics' does not appear until 22nd August 1844, when he recorded that he had discussed politics with his landlady. Moreover, Bethge chose to disregard a neighbour who wanted to discuss politics with him in the tumultuous year of 1848.¹¹⁶ In general, the rise in references to political discussion in the diaries of actors accords with the observations of historians, including Ilja Mieck and Jonathan Knudsen, who have pointed out that the politicisation in Berlin only began in the 1840s because of the impossibility of political movement during the Restoration regime¹¹⁷ Studying personal relationships and discussions is an important way of understanding proto-political thinking in restoration-era Berlin. Ideological debates that took place within friendly, educated circles grew in importance in relation to the weakness of political movements and the strict censorship system that curtailed mass movements

Actors were well represented in salons and society gatherings. Moreover, associational life and gatherings in private households were essential in shaping the representative aspects of bürgerlich culture. Indeed, actors were in demand in at least three ways at salons and society gatherings. Firstly, they were invited because of personal friendships, such as that which existed between Eduard Devrient and Felix Mendelssohn. Secondly, they were able to offer specialist opinions on musical and theatrical subject matter, which were core themes of salon discussions. Finally, they were also invited to

114 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 2.12.1839, 7.3.1841. Devrient 1964, 81–82, 112.

115 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 1.1.1843, 1.4.1843, 11.6.1843. Devrient 1964, 167, 173, 177.

116 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 22.8.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

117 Knudsen 1990, 113; Mieck 1992, 199.

perform dramatic works and to participate in musical performances, which offered a cultural outlet for the salon programmes. In terms of associational culture, the Berliner actors took an active role in the highly cultivated *Sonntagsverein* and in their own professional associations. In more general associations, both networking and political considerations played important roles. What is more, professional associations played a pivotal role in helping to advance the position of professional actors.

I want to underline the public meaning of representative private homes in restoration-era Berlin. Representative forms of behaviour in private homes can be divided into three areas: social gatherings among family and friends; professional issues that were dealt with in private homes; and, lastly, proto-political developments that took place in private homes because it was forbidden to discuss such matters in public places. Actors took an active part in the discussions and meetings at such representative Berliner households.

3. Prominent Homes of Actors

Actors formed an important part of representative culture in the homes of Berlin's high society. However, one can also investigate the homes of the actors themselves and assess how representative they were. The main argument of this chapter is that the domestic environment of Berlin's actors accorded with the representative norms of the *bürgertum*. Firstly, the apartments of the actors were located in *bürgerlich* residential areas. Secondly, the furniture and appliances in the apartments also demonstrated *bürgerlich* qualities. Finally, the actors' apartments were suitable for representative gatherings and the visiting culture of their profession.

Location

The location of an apartment played an important role in the representative culture of nineteenth-century Prussia. In her extensive study on the living standards of nineteenth-century Germany, Adelheid von Saldern has emphasised how a prestigious address and a respectable marriage were the two most important signs of social position.¹¹⁸ When one studies the addresses of Berliner actors, one can discern that they generally lived in the prestigious quarters of Berlin. This is seen in a list of the addresses of Berliner actors (see Appendix 2) that pinpoints the known living quarters of actors in 1825, 1835 and 1845. The list was compiled by referring to a list of all the actors living in Berlin between 1815 and 1848, which was then compared to the address books of Berlin for the years 1825, 1835 and 1845. Some addresses of actors were also gleaned by referring to relevant information in theatre almanacs.

A study of the map found in Appendix 2 allows one to observe a certain cohesion in the locations of the homes of actors. With only a few exceptions, all the actors lived close to the theatres in which they worked. Hence, the actors of the Royal Theatre and the French Theatre lived in the nuclear centre of Berlin, whereas the actors of the *Königstädtisches Theater* lived near their own theatre at Alexanderplatz. Both theatres were located in respectable quarters of the city.

As historians Sonja Günther and Ekkehard Wiest have pointed out, Friedrichstadt was the most prestigious residential quarter in Berlin in the nineteenth century. Friedrichstadt was the most prestigious residential quarter in Berlin in the

118 von Saldern 1997, 154.

nineteenth century. The district was bordered by Unter den Linden to the north and Wilhelmstraße to the west and began from the Royal Castle. The palaces of the nobility and the most important administrative buildings were located on Unter den Linden and Wilhelmstraße. The upper bourgeoisie lived in the other parts of Friedrichstadt, such as on Leipziger Straße where the houses formed a solid classicist exterior. Social diversity was also visible inside the houses. The first floors of these opulent residences were usually reserved for servants, whilst the upper floors were larger and more representative of the worldly concerns of the owners.¹¹⁹

The actors of the Royal Theatre and the French Theatre mainly lived in the residential quarters in Friedrichstadt, particularly in Mohrenstraße, Leipzigerstraße and Friedrichstraße, which were home to the upper bourgeoisie.¹²⁰ The close proximity of the theatres undoubtedly influenced the actors when choosing to live in Friedrichstadt, but a large income was also needed to live in this area. Ludwig Devrient lived in Charlottenstraße in Friedrichstadt, just behind the Royal Theatre. The central location of Devrient's apartment, which was among the educated high bürgerium, is documented in E.T.A. Hoffmann's famous drawing 'Der Kunzische Riß'. This depicts Hoffmann speaking to Ludwig Devrient, his neighbour, from a window of his eight-room apartment.¹²¹

The number of actors in the French theatre was relatively small and changed relatively often, in comparison to the Royal Theatre.¹²² The performers of the French Theatre mainly lived in Friedrichstraße and Jägerstraße, which were in the heart of the city centre. The only exception was the actor Alix, who stayed in Berlin for several years and lived in Zimmerstraße, which was still part of Friedrichstadt.¹²³ In other words, even the actor with the most remote address from the French Theatre still lived in the most respectable area of Berlin.

It can also be noted that during the 1830s actors began to choose to live away from the theatre (largely to the south). This did not constitute a dramatic change, but might have reflected a small reduction in living standards. On the other hand, the spread of actors' apartments follows the growth of Berlin at the same time. Ilja Mieck points out that 1828 marked a clear turning point in the construction of new houses inside the city walls. There was also increased pressure on rent prices because of the

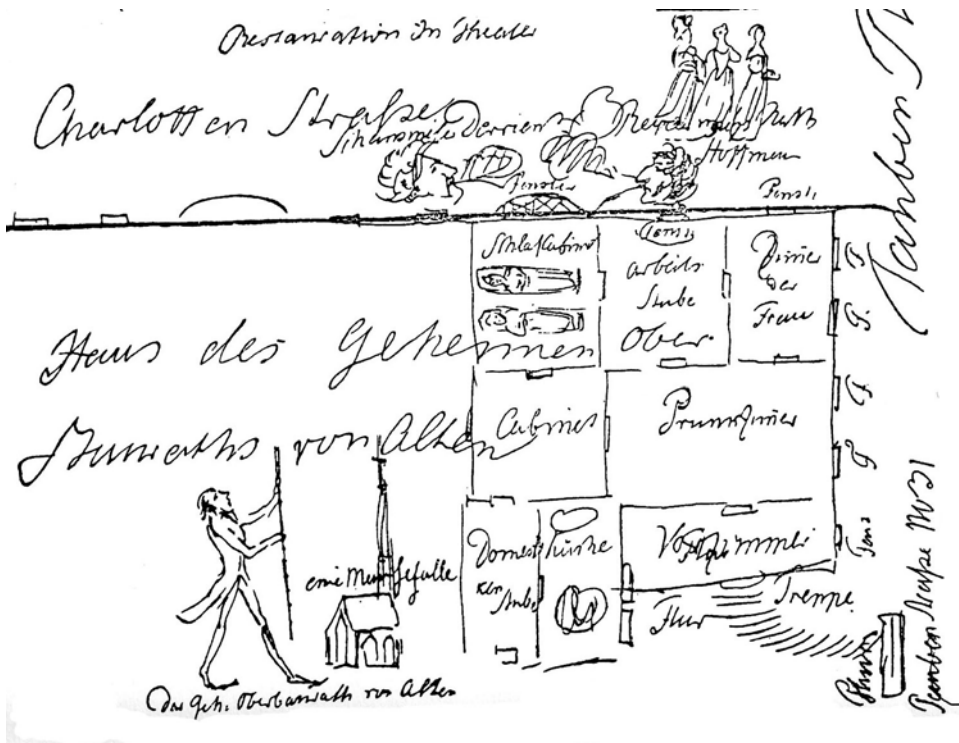
119 Dronke (1846) 1987, 30; Günther 1984, 62-63; Saarinen 1999, 133; Wiest 2003, 145.

120 See Appendix 2.

121 See, for example, Weddigen, appendix Karikatyr nach einer Zeichnung von E.T.A. Hoffmann.

122 On the changes in the personnel of the French Theatre, see, for example, Söhngen 1937, 88-89.

123 See Appendix XX.



Picture 7: Detail of a drawing by E.T.A. Hoffmann from a letter to Kunz from 1815. Hoffmann is talking to Ludwig Devrient in his apartment on Charlottenstraße.

enormous growth of the city.¹²⁴ One can also note a slight disparity in the residential abodes of ‘normal’ and star actors. Thus, one can note that actors with lower salaries moved further away from the theatre in the 1840s, whilst leading performers moved to more prestigious living quarters. For instance, the popular actor Crüsemann moved to the desirable Wilhelmstraße 71 in the 1840s, which was situated near the Hotel of Prince Friedrich. Furthermore, Charlotte von Hagn moved onto Unter den Linden.¹²⁵

Although most of the actors of the Royal Theatre lived in Friedrichstadt, some lived in other bürgerlich neighbourhoods, such as Medizinviertel. This was a residential area near Charité Hospital, to the north of Friedrichstadt. Ernst Dronke has described the area as being a slightly less expensive residential area for the middle classes. Dronke also notes that homeowners in the area rented their properties, whilst also offering services, such as breakfast.¹²⁶ The neighbourhood offered respectable living quarters for the bürgerthum and at 1.5 kms from the Royal Theatre it was still

124 Mieck 1987, 494–495.

125 Adressbuch 1836; Adressbuch 1845.

126 Dronke (1846) 1987, 37.

relatively close to actors' place of work. Louis Schneider and Heinrich Blume are two examples of successful actors that lived in Medizinviertel.¹²⁷

Some actors also lived near the Tiergarten on Bellevuestraßen and north of Hallsches Tor.¹²⁸ These districts were not inhabited by the upper bourgeoisie, but were still respectable bürgerlich areas. Eduard Devrient built a house for his family on Bellevuestraße, which his wife considered as an advancement in their living standards. What is more, the Devrients' new home even helped to increase their social life. Prior to living on the Bellevuestraße the Devrients had lived at the garden villa of the Medelssohn-Bartholdy family on Leipziger Straße.¹²⁹

Ekkehard Wiest has quantitatively analysed Berlin's city quarters. His study is based on the idea of comparing the professions of certain streets and city quarters in Berlin. Wiest describes the Alt-Berlin, that is the area around Alexanderplatz, as the most populated and lively neighbourhoods in the city centre. It was the centre of small trade. Wiest also presents the neighbourhood as a rich venue for the city's public life, which included churches, gymnasiums, a postal headquarters, the Ministry of the Interior and the police headquarters. Most of the residents belonged to the middling or lower bürgertum. The poorer and lower classes populated the streets at the east end of the city quarters.¹³⁰ Ernst Dronke also points out that the middling bürgertum and the merchants lived in the vicinity of Alexanderplatz on the other side of the Spree in Königstadt.¹³¹ This district was convenient for actors working at the Königstädtisches Theater, as the theatre was located on Alexanderplatz. Most of the actors at this theatre lived within a radius of 1.5 kilometres from the Königstädtisches Theater. However, a number of female actors who worked at the Königstädtisches Theater, including Miss Blumenthal and Miss Therese Erc, as well as several male actors, lived in the upper-bourgeois living quarters in Friedrichstadt.¹³²

Furthermore, the contemporary social critic Ernst Dronke analysed the lower-class residential areas of Berlin. He reported how the living quarters of Berliner workers began to the south of Hallsches Tor, whilst the poverty-stricken sections of the city's population lived in flimsy shacks and cellars around the factories on the edges of the city.¹³³ There are no indications that any of the actors lived in such neighbourhoods.

127 Adressbuch 1825; Adressbuch 1845.

128 See Appendix 2.

129 Devrient [1908], 349, 395–396, 399.

130 Wiest 2006, 141–143.

131 Dronke (1846) 1987, 30.

132 Almanach 1837, 199. Therese's sister, Hulda, was a singer at the Royal Opera and lived at the same address as Therese. See Almanach 1837, 8–9.

133 Dronke (1846) 1987, 30.

One can gain a new perspective if a comparison is made between the residential areas inhabited by Berlin's actors and the locations of bürgerlich salons. Petra Wilhelmy-Dollinger has extensively studied Berliner salons and has drawn up a map in which she locates bürgerlich and aristocratic salons. It is noteworthy that the locations of the living quarters of Berliner actors are almost identical with the sites of bürgerlich salons. The Gendarmenmarkt area was home to the most bürgerlich salons, as well as the homes of a large number of actors. Moreover, Wilhelmy-Dollinger also indicates that a number of bürgerlich salons and actors' apartments were located outside Friedrichstadt on Bellevuestraße, near the Tiergarten and on Marienstraße in Medizinenviertel. However, there were not as many bürgerlich salons in Königstädt, where most of the actors of the Königstädtisches Theater lived, although a number of actors did live in this area. Thus, both Spandauer Straße and Neue Friedrichstraße contained bürgerlich salons and actors' apartments.

An actor's social status was partly determined by living in a prestigious area. The majority of actors lived in exclusive residential areas, which reinforced their privileged social status. Actors strengthened this perception by publishing their address in Berlin's address book and later in the theatre almanacs.

House Furniture and Appliances

The interiors of bürgerlich houses were also important in terms of representation. It was envisaged that apartments should express the status of their owners and be fitting venues to receive eminent guests. The living room played a pivotal role in the domestic space of bürgerlich houses, representing the closed social circle of the family and a peaceful and safe atmosphere. The representative meaning of the living room is highlighted in contemporary epithets, such as *the good room*, *the social room* and *the visiting room*. The living room in bürgerlich homes was also in other diverse ways, such as being a space to listen to family piano recitals or where the lady of the house could write letters.¹³⁴ The dining room was another important representative room in bürgerlich homes, acting as the space where guests and family would eat together.¹³⁵ The public sphere of the home was usually crowned by a small garden terrace, where family and friends could gather. The desire for privacy was typically ensured by a number of strategically placed trees and other well arranged flora. The garden was

134 In German *gute Stube*, *Gesellschaftszimmer*, *Visitenzimmer*. von Saldern 1997, 167; Sheehan 1989, 537–539; Mettele 1996, 162–163; Zinn 1979, 20–21.

135 Hermann 1913, 10.

also a source of romantic inspiration and was utilised for social games. A small garden could also produce beautiful flowers and fruit for the family.¹³⁶

The so-called *Biedermeier* style was much in evidence in regard to the furnishings of bürgerlich apartments, which tended to follow an ethos of modest and functional comfort. The apartments typically featured large windows and mirrors in order to maximise the amount of light within the rooms. The use of colour within the apartments also tended to be restrained, with paintings and silhouettes also used as substitutes for expensive wallpaper. If wallpaper was used, it usually only adorned the walls of rooms used to entertain guests. The piano was one of the most important objects inside the living room and represented one of the most important symbols of bürgerlich family culture.¹³⁷ Appliances also had to embody the bürgerlich domestic ideal, including a fitting porcelain service that could enable several tea and dinner settings per day. The most valued porcelain service was kept on display on open shelves, thereby serving as a functional decoration of the house. Furthermore, the choice of furniture and linen also followed the practical, modest and durable *Biedermeier* style.¹³⁸

The best sources for providing insights into the internal space of a bürgerlich home are provided by the diary and memoir of Eduard and Therese Devrient respectively. In her memoirs, for example, Therese provides precise descriptions of every apartment in which the couple lived in Berlin, along with a commentary on its social status.

The young married couple acquired their first apartment in 1824, which was located on Rosenstraße 1, near the royal quarters. Therese describes how she was excited about the prospect of living in this apartment and about her new life as a housewife. She emphasises how everything was new in their apartment, with the draws smelling of fresh wood and May flowers providing a pleasant fragrance throughout the rooms. The walls of their living room were painted pink and the room had light-coloured curtains. A beautiful sofa was located in the middle of this room, which was large enough to accommodate a musical quartet and a modest audience. Therese stresses that all the tableware was new and that the cutlery shined. She also describes relishing the fact that her tablecloth and other linen still had a certain stiffness. After starting a family, the Devrients lived for a year in the garden villa of the Mendelssohn-Bartholdy residence on Leipziger Straße, in the centre of

136 Bernhard 1983, 71–73.

137 Bernhard 1983, 279; Weber-Kellermann 1983, 60; von Saldern 1997, 157.

138 Bernhard 1983, 280; Hermann 1913, 9–11.

Berlin. However, Therese soon came to feel that this apartment was too small for a family with four children.¹³⁹

The Devrient family moved into their third apartment in Berlin in 1830, which was on Markgrafenstraße, in the southern corner of Friedrichstadt. Therese soon became disappointed in the apartment as it overlooked a carpenter's shop and a poor residential area, in which she could hear noisy children. However, Therese did come to like the garden of this apartment. The other rooms of the apartment were small, but Therese liked the fact that it had a four-window salon. The salon became the workroom for Eduard and was also the focal point of the family's social and musical life.¹⁴⁰ Wiest classifies Markgrafenstrasse as being not one of the most respected residential streets, but that it was still one of the most highly respected streets among the *bürgertum*.¹⁴¹ When compared to Therese's testimony, it reveals her high expectations of the living standards.

In 1837, the Devrients built their own home, as mentioned, on Bellevuestraßen. Therese stresses the elegance and luxurious decorations of the house, in comparison to her former abode. The house also had a private garden, which is described in Eduard Devrient's diary. The garden was used to receive guests and serve refreshments for visitors, and therefore must have embodied the ideals of *bürgerlich* representative culture. For Eduard Devrient himself, the garden was a place where he could be calm and provided a cosy environment for intimate family and social gatherings.¹⁴²

The Devrients aspired to live in an ideal *bürgerlich* domestic environment. Representative salons, good-quality furniture and appliances and a garden were vital components of such a *bürgerlich* domestic ideal. Furthermore, Therese's memoirs highlight how they wanted to separate themselves from their poorer neighbours on Markgrafenstraße.

The diary of Adolph Bethge provides another interesting insight into the interiors of the homes of actors. He does not make in-depth descriptions of his own home, but rather comments on his regular visits to the Stich-Crelinger residence. The descriptions of these visits give some indication of the living standard of Auguste Stich-Crelinger and her banker husband. The garden of the Crelingers' second property often appears on the pages of Bethge's diary. The Crelingers lived at Behrenstraße 28, which was in an extremely affluent area in central Berlin. The *Adressbuch* of 1838 also

139 Devrient [1908], 289, 349, 351.

140 Devrient [1908], 351–352.

141 Wiest 2006, 134.

142 Devrient [1908], 395–396, 399; Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 21.5., 18.8., 9.9.1837, 11.6.1838, 16.4.1842. Devrient 1964, 18, 22, 24, 44, 146.

notes that the Crelingers owned a property at the Knie in Charlottenburg.¹⁴³ This was most probably the property to which Bethge often refers. He records in his diary, for example, how he began his career in 1838 as a gardener to the Crelinger family in Charlottenburg. Bethge worked for the Crelingers for several years and describes the respectability of their garden.¹⁴⁴

Servants were a common feature of *bürgerlich* culture during the nineteenth century and were a vital part of the social group's representative domestic culture. It was deemed to be a practical necessity to employ servants in *bürgerlich* households, but they also served to bolster the family's social prestige. It was customary for housewives to be able to demonstrate a degree of idleness in regard to undertaking practical household chores. Even the less affluent *bürgertum* employed a servant or servants for their households.¹⁴⁵ However, Eduard Devrient does not write a great deal about his servants, but on one occasion he does mention how a babysitter brought his children to the theatre while Therese was on a holiday. Eduard Devrient's letters also reveal in passing that there were servants in the house. However, Devrient's reticence about mentioning his servants was in line with *bürgerlich* family ideals. According to Peter Gay, the Victorian family was a closed unit that did not include the servants, which represented the clearest sign of a class-defined society.¹⁴⁶

In the memoirs of Karl von Holtei, the actor and theatre director describes the apartment he rented in Berlin after he had undertaken a long journey from Paris. Von Holtei explains how he was able to sumptuously decorate two living rooms with the help of friends and patrons. Von Holtei also ensured that he employed a servant, who was dressed in a livery with yellow collars to remind the owner of his homeland of Saxony. Von Holtei explains that he did not have any aristocratic aspirations in seeking to show his armorial bearings. Indeed, he later laughed at himself because of what he came to see as his immoderate foolishness.¹⁴⁷ In sum, von Holtei felt that he needed two beautiful living rooms in order to reflect his social standing. Furthermore, von Holtei had the financial means to hire a personal servant that he dressed in a livery.

143 Adressbuch 1838. Am Knie is now known as Erns-Reuter Platz.

144 Bethge took care of the Stich-Crelinger garden in Charlottenburg. See the diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 19.4.1838. Nr 1, 26.5.1844, 29.6.1844, 2.8.1845, 29.5.1845, 3.4.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

145 Blackburn 1993, 10–11; Frevert, 1990, 93, 97; Gay 2002, 202; Hausen 1988, 101; Mettele 1996, 162.

146 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 16.1.1840. Devrient 1964, 87; The letters of Eduard Devrient to Therese Devrient, dated 22.6, 25.6.1836. BED, 43, 45–46; Gay 2002, 268.

147 Holtei 1859b, 37–38; By using the 1825 address book of Berlin, it is possible to locate the apartment at Mohrenstraße 50, which is in the centre of Friedrichstadt. See Adressbuch 1825.

One popular form of accommodation, especially for unmarried, young and fatherless female actors, was to live in an apartment owned by a wealthy patron. When in Berlin for the first time, Henriette Sontag initially lived with her mother and sister in Justizrat Ludoff's garden villa. The young Karoline Bauer also lived with her mother in the house of Doctor Kinkel when first in Berlin. This apartment was deemed sufficiently respectable to be able to receive a delegation of theatre directors and Lieutenant-Colonel Treskow.¹⁴⁸ Patrons provided respectable living quarters for young, female actors at an advantageous price, whilst the presence of mothers and sisters was sensed as adding to a morally decent environment.

Receiving Guests at Home

The reception of guests at private homes formed a remarkable part of bürgerlich social life. Homes were not merely the private domain of a family, but they were also an important part of the public sphere of bürgerlich society. From the eighteenth century the urban bürgertum had fostered feelings of unity in theatres, concert halls and especially within private homes. Gisele Mettele argues that bürgerlich social gatherings in private homes became more formal in the nineteenth century. These private receptions evolved as an important element of the bürgerlich public sphere.¹⁴⁹

Moments when guests enjoyed tea, for example, at private gatherings formed an important part of bürgerlich representative social life and was meant to reflect a charming intimacy. Such private receptions consisted of dancing, music, acting and also discussions about art and music. Piano and vocal performances by female members of the host family were common and symbolised the civic culture of the household. Prussian state censorship did not permeate the walls of private homes, and thus an air of liberty reigned within this space. In private homes, for example, everyone was invited to perform and everyone had the possibility to take part in the discussions.¹⁵⁰

Actors entertained friends and family in their private homes on almost daily basis. The social life within the homes of actors is once again well illustrated in the diary and memoirs of Eduard and Therese Devrient. Therese highlights the vibrant social gatherings in their first apartment in Rosenstraße. She emphasises that there

148 Bauer (1871) 1917, 74–75, 77–78, 179.

149 Mettele 1996, 155, 165.

150 Mettele 1996, 156, 158, 160, 166; Nipperdey (1988) 1998, 42.

was seldom an evening when they did not entertain guests in their apartment. Therese stresses that their social life became even more active when they moved to Bellevuestraßen. She writes that music was constantly heard and emphasises how artists and educated people, including Dr Härin (Willibald Alexis), Taubert and Mendelssohn were frequent guests.¹⁵¹ A letter from Felix Mendelssohn to Eduard Devrient also describes how he enjoyed his time at his friend's tea-table and added that he would rather discuss issues in such an environment rather than trying to write them on paper.¹⁵² Here again the importance of intimate private gatherings, 'Tees', played a crucial role in keeping friends in touch. Equally, a plethora of entries in Eduard Devrient's diary describe the visits of famous theatre artists or musicians. Devrient typically describes the atmosphere of the evening or refers to the discussions. For instance, Devrient wrote how the composer and conductor Heinrich Marschner (1795–1861) spent an evening at their home, where he was exceedingly playful and was open to discuss any topic.¹⁵³ After the visit of the author and theatre critic Ludwig Rellstab (1799–1860), Eduard wrote how Therese had reprimanded him for being too frank in conversations.¹⁵⁴ Eduard Devrient also mentioned other theatre professionals and musicians that had visited his household.¹⁵⁵ The Devrients, for example, welcomed the Danish actor Nielson and his wife into their home. However, this was not a private meeting between the Devrients and the Nielsons, as a sizeable audience listened to the Danish actor reciting a number of his poems in Devrient's living room. Eduard wrote in his diary that he was extremely pleased about such artistic performances being hosted in his own home.¹⁵⁶ Professor Karl Werder was also one of the most regular visitors to his household. The family felt free enough to discuss private matters with Werder, which sometimes developed into debates.¹⁵⁷

Charlotte von Hagn regularly noted the people she invited to her home, or to her private apartment when she undertaking a guest residence. She records a small gathering in her home, for example, after a performance in Berlin, which had been attended by W. Moritz Komtalois and Baron Beer. At the soiree they had read

151 Devrient [1908], 291, 384–385, 399.

152 A letter from Felix Mendelssohn to Eduard Devrient, dated 29.10.1829. Devrient 1869, 87.

153 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 24.7.1837. Devrient 1964, 19.

154 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 16.9.1837, 16.9.1841. Devrient 1964, 25, 123.

155 For example, the aesthetic Moriz Carrière, the theatre poet Karl Gutzkow and the author and theatre director Heinrich Laube. See the diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 10.11.1838, 9.6.1841, 14.3.1842. Devrient 1964, 55, 117, 142.

156 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 11.6.1838. Devrient 1964, 44.

157 See, for example, the diary entries of Eduard Devrient on 11.8.1836, 25.11.1837, 3.12.1837, 4.12.1837, 4.3, 22.6.1838, 25.4., 11.6., 4.10.1841, 27.12.1843. Devrient 1964, 7, 9, 14, 45, 116, 117, 196, *passim*.

[*Torquato*] Tasso aloud, which had been followed by a small discussion, some music and the donning of masks. The whole evening had pleased von Hagn very much. The sisters of von Hagn were usually present at these occasions, with her sister Pepi sometimes preparing dinner.¹⁵⁸ Most of these guests were actors and singers.

Colleagues also frequented the informal gatherings at the homes of actors. Von Hagn regularly visited the Krüger family, as one of her close friends was Minna Krüger. Other close friends of the family also often dined at the Krügers, and von Hagn wrote in her diary how she was always made to feel so 'bürgerlich' by the Krügers. In this context, the meaning of bürgerlich can be interpreted as a positive home-like feeling. Adolph Bethge also visited his colleagues for informal teas or dinners. For example, after one performance, Bethge went to actor Rott's apartment, where young musicians performed quartet music. In Bethge's opinion the musicians played in a refreshing and lively manner.¹⁵⁹ These small social gatherings were central to living an authentic bürgerlich life.

Bethge's diary also reveals the visiting culture inside the Crelinger family. Bethge greatly esteemed the Crelinger family and makes extensive remarks concerning his relationship with them. He frequently visited the Crelinger family either alone or with his whole family and would enjoy dinner or they would just drink coffee. Bethge also played music with Auguste Stich-Crelinger, or went shooting with Mr. Crelinger. On several occasions Bethge also went to the theatre with the Crelingers and travelled with them from Charlottenburg to central Berlin.¹⁶⁰ The private gatherings hosted by the Crelingers were usually relatively modest. In an invitation to a guest, Auguste Stich-Crelinger stated that she would simply offer bread, butter and tea and that the evening would be very informal.¹⁶¹

Not all actors were enamoured with this bürgerlich expression of social etiquette. Georg Altman notes how Ludwig Devrient was not interested in the so-called *gute Stube*, or formal teas, even though he would have been a welcome guest at such occasions. Ludwig Devrient regularly visited only two homes: the household of his brother Philip and the house of a colleague named Eunicke. These visits became

158 Pepi, for example, prepared a dinner for eight people, including Schodel, Krüger Galen, Stawinsky and Krammer. Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 27.3.1834, 17.7.1835. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

159 Diary entry of von Hagn 5.5.1833. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK; Diary entry of Adolf Bethge 29.3.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

160 Bethge visiting Crelingers se e.g. diary entries of Adolph Bethge 24.5.1838, 24.5.1843. Nr 1, 15.8., 18.10., 4.12.1844. 19.7., 3.9., 17.9., 7.11., 8.11., 10.11.1845. 14.7., 10.8., 9.10.1846. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

161 A letter from Auguste Crelinger to Mr Mantius 25.1.sa. Autographensammlung, ThFU.

more seldom as time passed. Later, Ludwig Devrient sometimes also visited the home of Philip's son Eduard Devrient, but this was irregular and he was usually modestly dressed.¹⁶²

Work at Home

Besides informal tea and family dinners, the apartments of actors played an important role as a means of providing a professional space to discuss important matters. The private homes of actors were used to hold consultation hours, interviewed prospective students and even held entire theatre rehearsals at their private homes.

Mettele notes that it was common in bürgerlich houses to have visiting hours at around eleven o'clock and noon, when it was possible to pay a visit without a prior appointment.¹⁶³ This social etiquette was also common among Berlin's actors. A number of actors specified precise consulting hours at their homes. Indeed, it is interesting to note that regular actors also had consulting hours, as well as the successful actor and directors. Louis Schneider, for example, held consulting hours from seven to nine in the morning, whilst Karl Stawinsky held his consultations from eight to ten in the morning. What is more, Heinrich Blume held his consultations from eight to ten in the morning and from four to five in the afternoon.¹⁶⁴ It seems likely that the consultation hours of actors differed from the more usual midday hours because they had morning rehearsals.

Eduard Devrient's diary also reveals how his apartment also served as a place for consultations and even as a venue for theatrical stage trials. Devrient published an announcement in the Berlin address book regarding his consultation hours, which were from three to half-past five in the afternoon.¹⁶⁵ He also recorded details of some of these visits in his diary, which were mostly in regard to professional matters. Devrient often received visits from authors, who wanted to promote a new play in the hope that it would be staged at the Royal Theatre. In addition, novices received lessons from Devrient at his home or simply wanted him to pass judgement on their stage talent. At some point these visitors began to disturb Devrient, as he wrote in his diary that his private home had become something of a temple of practice.¹⁶⁶ It seems that Devrient still hoped that he could preserve some privacy in the more

162 Altman 1926, 241–243.

163 Mettele 1996, 165.

164 Adressbuch 1845.

165 Adressbuch 1836.

166 See, for example, the diary entries of Eduard Devrient on 13.1, 18.12.1839, 2.10.1841, 13.4., 17.4.1842. Devrient 1964, 62, 82, 123, 142, 144.

representative quarters of his apartment. In some senses the home was reserved for family, friends and respectable guests.

Similarly, Adolph Bethge announced his consulting hours in Berlin's address book. In the address book of 1846, for example, he titles himself as the 'royal actor and theatre inspector'. His consultation hours were stated as being from 2pm to 4pm.¹⁶⁷ This was the same time of the day as he received acting students. Moreover, his apprentices regularly visited his house.¹⁶⁸

It was also possible to officially invite people to talk over professional matters at private residences. Auguste Stich-Crelinger, for example, sent a message to Concert Master Ganz in which she requested a meeting the following day between 11am and 1pm.¹⁶⁹ The need to visit private homes on professional matters was not seen as being impolite or obtrusive; instead, the representative rooms of homes were a common place for actors to discuss professional matters.

In April 1836 the dramatist and author Baron Maltig visited Charlotte von Hagn in order to discuss his new tragedy.¹⁷⁰ It was deemed acceptable for theatre personnel to visit the homes of female actors. Female actors, such as Stich-Crelinger and von Hagn, were influential in the theatre and they were consulted on professional matters in the same manner as their male colleagues. When Bethge was a guest performer, he visited both Auguste Stich-Crelinger and Charlotte von Hagn.¹⁷¹ It was possible that he was attempting to secure support from the leading ladies of the Berlin stage to solidify the engagement. It is noteworthy that such attempts to win favours were carried out by undertaking official visits to the homes of the female actors.

Entire theatrical rehearsals were also performed at the private homes of actors. Auguste Stich-Crelinger was sufficiently successful, for example, to be able to afford a large enough house to accommodate reading rehearsals. Thus, in 1844 Bethge records such a rehearsal at Stich-Crelinger's apartment. Eduard Devrient also held rehearsals at his apartment. He records in his diary, for example, how he hosted an unofficial reading circle in his apartment that listened to the actor Seydelmann read a play entitled *Egmont*.¹⁷²

167 Adressbuch 1846.

168 See, for instance, the diary entries of Adolf Bethge on 27.3, 10.4, 24.4, 1.5, 15.5, 18.5, 3.6, 17.6.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

169 A letter from Auguste Stich-Crelinger to Concert Master Ganz s.a. Autographensammlung, ThFU.

170 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 21.4.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

171 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 19.2., 22.2.1838. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

172 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 30.4.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK; Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 22.2.1839. Devrient 1964, 73.

Actors practiced the ideals of *bürgerlich* representation in their own homes. This was carried out in terms of the location of their apartments, the representative furniture, appliances and wares owned by the actors and by the social and professional activities that could be conducted inside the apartments. The actors of the Royal Theatre typically lived in highly respectable neighbourhoods, such as Frierdichstadt or Medizinenviertel, whilst the actors of the Königstädtisches Theater tended to live closer to their workplace in what were respectable *bürgerlich* residential areas. None of the actors studied in the present work lived in Berlin's poorer areas. The example of Eduard Devrient highlights how the house of a second-strand actor contained interior decorations and design deemed sufficiently respectable to host soirées and teas. Moreover, the apartments of actors were not only large enough in terms of their representational social life, but also to receive work-related guests and to conduct theatre teaching and even to host large-scale theatre rehearsals.

V PRIVATE LIFE

1. The Literary Private Sphere

The private production of literature was one of the most important features of the private self-formation of the *bürgertum*. Koselleck theorises that this was part of the *Selbstbestimmung* of *Bildung* culture. In other words, it was part of a culture in which people created an image of themselves. As he points out, the process of self-creation was strongly connected to the writing of diaries.¹ The main argument of this chapter is that actors created a strong link to the *bürgerlich* ideals of self-formation by reformulating their lives via diary writing and other private literary interests, such as correspondence, reading and studying.

Diaries: Writing and Self-Understanding

In historical terms, diaries evolved from calendars, family chronicles and simple household lists into more detailed descriptions of private life and to an introspective dialogue with the self. In Prussia, the Pietist tradition also exerted a strong influence on the nature of private diaries. A milestone in the history of diary writing relates to the publication of Johann Caspar Lavater's introspective diary, entitled *Geheimes*

1 Koselleck 1990, 20–21. The literary historian, Christine Sjöblad argues that writing a diary played an important role in the whole notion of western self understanding. Peter Gay states that diaries played a special role in the way that they could be present everywhere. Writing a diary was a special form of privacy, which reflected a respectful process in *bürgertum* society. Gay 2002, 265; Sjöblad 2009, 22, 345. On the self-formation of *bürgertum*, also see Hettling 2000, 331–333.

Tagebuch einem Beobachter seiner Selbst, in 1771, which quickly gained attention across Europe. The idea of the author, a Swiss priest, was to help Christians in their goal of self-reflection. Lavater's work more or less set the mould for private diaries and his influence can be clearly seen in several later diaries. The Pietist tradition used the diary as a literary tool capable of enhancing an individual's ability to understand inner religious expressions. The Pietist tradition also empowered women, in the sense that they were also able to write diaries and to search for religious truths within themselves. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the diary as a literary form showed some signs of fading. However, the diary experienced a revival in popularity in France in association with an increased interest in understanding one's own psyche. In France this new genre of diary writing became known as 'le Journal intime', or intimate diaries. Sjöblad argues that this development in France was effectively a turn away from an urge to sense God towards a striving to find oneself. Emotional energies that were directed towards God, in the form of prayers, were now written in diaries. Börner states that many intimate diaries were literary forms of ascetic self-torture. There were also examples of such writing in Germany, such as the existential and pathetically self-centred diary of E.T.A. Hoffmann.²

Yet, diary writing in Prussia in the nineteenth century was essentially a phenomenon of *bürgerlich* culture among both men and women. An oft-cited quote in regard to this phenomenon, by the Austrian author Gottfried Keller, is that a 'man without a diary is like a woman without a mirror'. This sentiment stresses the importance of the diary for nineteenth century male culture, but dismisses its impact on women. However, since the 1980s scholars have paid more attention to the fact that middle-class women in Prussia frequently wrote diaries.³ Consequently, a greater emphasis has also been placed on the *bürgerlich* tradition of diary writing. Christina Sjöblad argues that the lower classes in Britain and Sweden, as a whole, did not write diaries.⁴

It seems likely that a variety of Berliner actors wrote diaries, although my research only uncovered three extant examples, written by Adolph Bethge, Eduard Devrient and Charlotte von Hagn. The diaries can be categorised into four main themes. Firstly, the diaries provided commentaries on performances that the actors had seen. Secondly, all diary writers listed the plays in which they had performed. Indeed, Bethge also lists the plays in which he had no involvement. Thirdly, one

2 Boerner 1969, 42, 47–48; Calabrese 1988, 131; Sjöblad 2009, 8, 25.

3 Calabrese 1988, 129. See also, Sjöblad 2009, 25–26.

4 Sjöblad 2009, 344.

can discern that the diary writers – particularly Eduard Devrient – sought to write for future readers. Furthermore, the diaries can be interpreted as forming part of the introspective tradition of the genre, whereby the diary acted as a trusted friend. Finally, such writing can be linked the process of the self-formation of bürgerlich identity.

The diaries written by Devrient and Bethge contain extensive critiques of Berlin's theatres. Performances in which they had participated or had seen were usually analysed in detail and often in a very critical tone. For example, Devrient criticised the play *Herrin von der Else* by Karl Blum. He stated that the first three acts were relatively good because of the acting of Charlotte von Hagn, who had 'elaborated the veracity, subtlety and grace [of the role] through charming nuances'. However, he continues by complaining that the fourth and fifth acts were intolerable because Blum's over reliance on rhetorical clichés. He also noted that not even von Hagn could save the production and thus the 'play stole the crown from her and her acting'. Devrient concludes by writing that the play was so full of unlikelihoods that it simply lost its effect.⁵

Devrient not only criticised the plays he saw, but was also critical of a number of the plays in which he performed. For example, he referred to a production of *Macbeth* in which he was playing the part of Malcolm. According to Devrient, the whole play was performed in too cold a manner: 'It was disgusting to experience such a performance, without any warm of life and without any artistic spirit, performed with empty declamation and position, and without any lively feelings of inner state – it is a misery'.⁶

Bethge was also very critical of play in which he had performed. For a performance of Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, he wrote, that Stich-Crelinger played Isabella in a comic manner, rather than as a tragic figure. However, her daughter Clara was less monotonic than usual. Bethge could also be very self-critical, as he was appalled at how he had performed his small part in the play, as he had confused his words.⁷

Bethge was also very scathing about other performances. Actors were usually the target of his critique, as in December 1842, when he slated the production of *Die*

5 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 10.1.1837. Devrient 1964, 12.

6 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 20.12.1836. Devrient 1964, 10.

7 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 15.5.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

*Geschwister*⁸ as being unworthy for court theatre. He listed the main characters and insisted that each leading actor was unsuitable for their roles. He began by aiming his venom at Mr. Rohede, a guest actor, who he described as ‘a miserable clumsy lout’ and who ‘spoke quite badly and wore a natural moustache’. He continued by complaining that Eduard Devrient was a bad comic actor. Bethge was a little less damning of Crüsemann, who he writes performed relatively well, but did criticise his appearance, which he states resembled a chubby boy, as being unfitting for his role of Justice Counsellor However, Bethge ends his review on a positive note by praising the performance of Franz.⁹

Bethge did not only restrict his critiques to theatre productions, but also wrote extensive reviews about opera and other concerts that he attended. He, for example, wrote a long critique about a production of Bellini’s *Norma* at Berlin’s Opera House. He described the lead singer, Mrs Hassellbärth, who was a guest performer from Vienna, as having a beautiful and delicate voice. However, he found her recitative unpleasant, as she handled it in a *parlando* style. His use of the professional Italian opera terminology also suggests that he was familiar with the genre. Bethge continues by making negative appraisals of all the other main performers.¹⁰ The bitter tone evident in both diaries can be seen as a sign of the relatively lowly positions held by Bethge and Devrient in the Berlin theatrical world. In short, neither of them had risen to the highest echelons of their profession and thus bitterness towards rival actors, who had enjoyed more success, is understandable.

The process of writing in-depth reviews of performances can be seen as part of an actor’s self-education, whereby they seek to improve their own skills by analysing the interpretations of other performers. The fact that actors were also critical about their own performances reinforces this interpretation. This can be compared to writers jotting down important ideas in their diaries in order to gather ideas for future works. In literary terms, Peter Börner outlines how the diary served as a workshop for nineteenth-century authors, whereby creative ideas could be worked into shape.¹¹

Furthermore, private commentaries on performances enabled actors to formulate their ideas, which could subsequently be used in discussions in cultivated social circles. Indeed, discussions in salons and other high-society gatherings often

8 The play in question was most probably by Emanuel Leutner, rather than the play of the same name by Goethe. Emanuel Leutner was a pseudonym used by Raupach. On the use of pseudonyms by Raupach, see DBE, Bd 8, 210.

9 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 27.11.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

10 The italicised words in Latin letters appear in the original diary. See the diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 9.5.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

11 Börner 1969, 23.

tackled the theatre and theatre performances. Manfred Hettling describes *Bildung* as a permanent process of self-perfection (*Selbstvervollkommnung*) that was at the core of bürgerlich culture. One of the ways in which this culture fostered a sense of togetherness was via the consumption of high arts. Artistic hobbies brought along so-called social capital.¹² In this sense, diaries can also be seen as an educational tool. Thus, initial thoughts on actors and theatre productions were first developed in written form in diaries and only then would they be voiced in public circles. On the other hand, it could be possible that the ideas expressed in diaries were not intended to be shared with a wider audience.

The exact listing of productions is another dominant feature of the actors' diaries. There could have been two main reasons for this tendency: to gather and cultivate knowledge of the plays performed, or in order to accurately calculate an actor's salary. However, Adolph Bethge lists all the plays that were performed at the Royal Theatre, regardless of his own participation.¹³ On the other hand, Eduard Devrient and Charlotte von Hagn only listed the plays in which they had performed or had attended at the theatre. As with the critiques about performances, the listing of plays could have served as a useful memory aid for self-education and as reference material for cultivated discussions.

Charlotte von Hagn kept a special form of notebook – a *Spielgeldkalender* – that enabled an actor to record performance earnings. The calendar contained 114 pages that listed the profit von Hagn made from each play, alongside some other brief comments. She mainly used a *Spielgeldkalender* because of a new contract she signed on 12th February 1840, when she was promised an extra fee of 10 thalers per performance.¹⁴ This might explain why Devrient and Bethge also listed the plays in which they performed. They might have felt that it was prudent to list the performances in order to claim benefits or to query discrepancies with the theatre management.

The third dominant feature of the actors' diaries was that the narrative was intended for a larger audience and to provide relevant (and vetted) material for future biographers. This tradition was common in the European diary-writing tradition.¹⁵ Eduard Devrient's diary provides an example of a literary output that was most likely envisaged for a wider audience. The tone of the diary – and the fact that Devrient

12 Hettling 2000, 331–333.

13 It is hard to tell when he had seen a play and when he merely lists its name. See, for example, his trip to Posen on 17.3.1842. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

14 Quincke 1929, 111–112.

15 See Boerner 1969, 18; Gay 2002, 263.

published other ‘private documents’ – suggests that he craved a readership for his literary endeavours. Devrient’s correspondence was widely published during his lifetime. His letters from Paris (*Briefe aus Paris*) were published in 1840, whilst his correspondence with Felix Mendelssohn, entitled *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich*, was first published in 1869. A posthumous collection of letters between Eduard and Therese, entitled *Jugenderinnerungen* of Therese Devrient and the *Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard und Therese Devrient* was also edited and published by their son Hans Devrient.

The tone of the diary is partly characterised by a sense of self-satisfaction. The fourth entry of the diary, for example, notes how he met a hungry, young boy on his way home. Devrient writes about how he gave the boy money to buy bread and adds a self-congratulatory note about the virtue of not holding great stock in wealth. Such an attitude is absent later in his diaries, which could indicate that Devrient wanted to establish his compassionate nature in the eyes of his readers at an early stage of his diary.¹⁶ Devrient started to write his diary in 1836, after he had already gained a stable position at the Royal Theatre and was a founding member of the actors’ association in Berlin.¹⁷ This suggests that his diary was envisaged as a key source material for a future biographer or to be simply read by a wide audience.

The diaries of Berlin actors also functioned as trusted friends. The diary of Charlotte von Hagn was the most personal of the three actors. Thus, whilst Devrient and Bethge referred to some personal miseries, fears and misfortunes of fears, von Hagn was much more open in expressing her feelings. Even the title of her diary – *Meine Klagen*, or ‘My Complaints’ – suggests a highly personal work. In the first volume of her diary, which was written between 1830 and 1832, the strongest emotions displayed centre on her fear of not being truly loved by anyone and the death of her father. Her father died on 9th July 1830, when Charlotte was nineteen. This was a turning point in her life and also marked a new stylistic phase in her diary entries. Thereafter, the tone of her writing becomes darker and more personal. In August 1830 she wrote how tears had fallen down her cheeks because of her grief at the loss of her father. At this time she also expressed a feeling that she has lost all the trustful people that were once close. In October of the same year her diary entries took on an every darker hue, with sentiments such as ‘death is the only joy for humans’ being commonplace. She also tended to express her disappointment at failing to find a suitable husband. She wrote in March 1830, for example, about her

16 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 28.1.1836. Devrient 1964, 3.

17 Kabel 1964, XVIII–XIV.

disappointment in men and questions how it is even possible for women, whose natures are all loveliness and perfection, to fall in love with such animals as men, before adding: 'Men are dishonest snail-souls. Betrayers all, all, all!' In her next entry she wrote that all her acquaintances are hoping that she would marry, although she reveals her fears about growing old without a companion.¹⁸ This sentiment is also evident in October 1836, when she had experienced a setback in choosing a future husband. Thus, she confides with her diary and confesses that she fears being alone for her whole life and that she wishes she were dead:

Mein Loos ist ewige Tauschung. Ich soll ungeliebt – vielleicht – unbewanit in das Grab sinken. Seit einiger Zeit haße ich helle Farben – schwarz verletzt meine Augen die sich mit Thränen so vertraut gemacht, nicht so sehr wie jede andere Farbe. Wäre ich todt!¹⁹

Here, her diary takes on the guise of a trusted friend, with whom she is able to disclose her darkest fears and thoughts.

The pivotal role played by von Hagn's diary in her life is testified by an entry from April 1838, which was written after she had had a furious quarrel with the Crelinger family. After a long period of inactivity in regards to her written entries, von Hagn wrote that she would like to end her diary, because she felt that her life did not have any meaning. Moreover, her next diary entry was only written in July 1838, when she began a series of guest performances in Hamburg.²⁰ This suggests that her diary entries reflected her hopes in life and thus a lack of activity was symptomatic of her bleak state of mind. Thus, on the one hand her diary was a comfort, but on the other hand it was a place to record her eventful life.

The diary of von Hagn is the closest of those written by Berlin actors to the introspective diary tradition outlined by Christine Sjöblad. She divides diaries into two categories: introspective diaries that were only meant for the writer and diaries that were targeted towards a readership. According to Sjöblad, introspective diaries had a number of discernible qualities, which included being written on a daily basis. They should also adopt a first-person voice and should concentrate on providing a self-examination of the private life of the writer. Moreover, the author's own ideas should predominate, diary entries should be relatively long and the author should give no indication that it is envisaged as a publication. In short, introspective diaries provided

18 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 8.3., 23.3., 9.7., 12.8. o.D.10.1830. Bd 1, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

19 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 28.10.1836. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

20 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 2.4., 15.7.1838. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

a means for writers to scrutinise themselves.²¹ The most noticeable difference between von Hagn's diary and the introspective diary, as defined by Sjöblad, is that it was not written on a daily basis. She wrote her diary randomly and there were sometimes long breaks between entries. Furthermore, there are elements of self-preservation, but the diary as a whole is not fashioned according to the tradition outlined by Sjöblad.

The expressions of melancholy that permeate von Hagn's diary are a distinctive feature that closely ties it to the introspective diary genre. The sense of melancholy in von Hagn's diary is connected to her feelings of loss, such as after the death of her father. Later, her feelings of melancholy evolve to become a more general feeling of unhappiness at the lack of respect she enjoys from her colleagues and peers.

Von Hagn first mentions her feelings of melancholy on 16th January 1830, after the death of Münzel, when she wrote that sadness felt all-consuming. After the death of her father she wrote that 'dying is the only happiness in life'. Moments of increased happiness tended to occur when she travelled to another town to perform. However, when she made a series of guest performances in Berlin, she confesses to her diary that she still felt a sense of melancholy despite her own success. What is more, she wrote in her diary in the spring of 1833 that the sense of melancholy that had troubled her in the previous year had recently shown some signs of re-emerging.²²

It would seem that von Hagn's stage career led to stress and anxiety, despite its success. Von Hagn was well aware of the constant pressure to be popular among the public and the need to fight to be regarded as the first lady of the theatre in Berlin. A more negative attitude in her diary can typically be linked with sense of melancholy that she felt if she received poor reviews. Thus, in 1834 she started to feel melancholic after she received a stinging review of her performance in a play, which also coincided with her sisters being in Danzig. At this time she felt that she had no friends and wrote in her diary that 'death would be a welcome guest in my friendless life' Her mood only improved when she received confirmation of a series of guest performances in Potsdam Palace. As mentioned, Auguste Stich-Crelinger was her fierce stage rival and the competition between them bothered her constantly. In 1836, for example, she fell into a melancholic mood during the height of her spat with Stich-Crelinger and even tendered her resignation in order to oppose Stich-Crelinger's power in the

21 Sjöblad 2009, 344.

22 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 16.1., 16.6., Oct.1830, 18.3.1831 Bd 1; 5.5.1833. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

theatre.²³ At this time she even wrote down her melancholic feelings in her practical *Spielgeldkalender*:

Ich fühle um das Leben das ich lebe zu ertragen, ist hin u. da eine freudige Unterbrechung die mir nur von außen kommen kann, so nothwendig, denn meine Langweile oder Melancholie überwältigt mich oft so ungeheuer; daß ich das Joch gewaltsam abschütteln möchte.²⁴

She later wrote the following:

Ich bin wieder tief melancholisch und sehne mich zu sterben weil das Leben mir nirgends mehr Trost u. Freude biethet. Was andere entzückt ein zu erwartender Kunsttriumph betrübt.²⁵

However, von Hagn's sense of melancholy was caused by her fear of losing her position in the theatre and of ceasing to be the focus of public acclaim.

It seems that von Hagn wrote down her negative feelings in her diary in order to ease her sense of melancholy. As Sjöblad highlights, it was apparent that bürgerlich women in nineteenth-century Europe used their diaries as a therapeutic relief.²⁶ Other methods adopted by von Hagn to prevent outbreaks of melancholia were surprisingly practical. Thus, she wrote that she staved off melancholy by eating ice cream. On another occasion she remarked that only the company of Count Wallenstein late into the night held her melancholic feelings at bay. She also wrote in her diary that she must keep her mind busy with her English studies in order not to slip into a state of melancholia.²⁷

Kirsi Tuohela has written a study about how women expressed their sense of melancholy at the end of the nineteenth century. She defines melancholy as an emotional discussion with oneself, alongside a social and cultural epithet that is negotiable. She is keen to stress the benefits of studying experiences of the illness, rather than the diagnosed disease. Furthermore, she points out that melancholia was a phenomenon particularly common in the nineteenth century. The agony of Werther in Goethe's *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers* (1774) and Chateaubriand's *René* provided archetypes for the nineteenth-century obsession with melancholia.²⁸

23 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 14.10.1833, 9.10.1834 Bd 2; 7.3.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

24 A calendar entry of Charlotte von Hagn, dated 9.3.1845. Hagn 1929, 158.

25 A calendar entry of Charlotte von Hagn, dated 9.3.1845. Hagn 1929, 158.

26 Sjöblad 2009, 149.

27 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 15.10.1834 Bd 2; 17.12.1835, 20.4.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

28 Tuohela 2008, 29, 253.

Charlotte von Hagn did not connect her own melancholia and with a diagnosed mental disease. The difference in her thinking comes across vividly when she describes the mental disease of her colleague Georg Wilhelm Krüger (1791–1841). Krüger was a respected actor at the Royal Theatre, but his hypochondria reached such a level, as his obituary points out, that he finally withdrew from the stage.²⁹ Von Hagn was a close friend of Krüger's wife, Wilhelmine, and several diary entries refer to the painful situation of her friend. In May 1834, for example, Krüger was under the supervision of a doctor when Charlotte and Wilhelmine went to visit him. Charlotte wrote that they were so ashamed at his condition that they hid under their parasol so that nobody would recognise them. Charlotte then describes how Krüger thought that he was an officer in the Russian army named von Reichstadt and was a lover of the empress of Russia. Later on that same summer, von Hagn refers to how she heard from Krüger's brother about how he had run away from his home and left a note, in which he explained his urgent need to go to St. Petersburg in order to see his mistress. After this incident, von Hagn heard from Wilhelmine that her husband had sold his clock for 20 thalers so that he could buy a pistol to commit suicide. He also left a note to the king in case he did not return home. However, it appears Krüger drank too much alcohol and forgot about his intention to kill himself. Charlotte von Hagn was worried about how her friend would handle her unfortunate situation, but at no point connected her own melancholia with the mental illness suffered by Krüger.³⁰

Bethge rarely divulges any of his inner feelings in his diary, apart from mentioning some problems or happy events connected with his family. One of the most stressful events recorded in his diary related to the supposed insanity of his sister. In the summer of 1844, Bethge began to write about his sister's mental health problems. According to Bethge's diary the illness confined his sister to bed. The purported insanity of his sister led Bethge to write of his sad feelings on the pages of his diary. Thus, he expresses concern about his mother's feelings and hopes that his sister will soon come to understand the pain she is inflicting on the family.³¹ The death of family members, colleagues and friends also prompted Bethge to express his fears and feelings in his diary. He writes of his sadness and concern for his family on hearing of the death of his brother-in-law. The death of Seydelmann, who was a tutor, colleague and dear friend to Bethge, was one of the most crushing blows faced by Bethge. He describes the funeral ceremony in his diary:

29 Almanach 1842, 103.

30 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 8.5., 1–2.6.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

31 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 12.7, 21.7, 23.7, 25.8, 31.8.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

Den Kirchhof war längst leer – – ich konnte mich noch nicht entfernen – – ich hatte einen Freund und tüchtigen Ratgeber verloren – – so lange ich den Sorg noch sehen konnte heilt es mich, denn sprach ich mein Gebet, und suchte meine Wohnung.³²

Even Seydelmann's death did not lead to more self-reflective passages in Bethge's diary. Bethge's only expression of emotion concerned how happy he was to be with his family at the beginning of each New Year.

Eduard Devrient also uses his diary as a general account of his day's events, rather than as a medium to express his inner feelings. The fleeting glimpses of emotion are wholly centred on feeling that he is under appreciated by his peers, or concern his frustrations with his poorly sister-in-law. He writes, for example, about how 'for ten years already this breach has hampered our family's happiness'. Some of his worries stemmed from work-related issues, such as in January 1837 when Devrient wrote of his concerns at not being able to write in peace or to secure sufficient roles at the theatre.³³

None of the actors studied in the present work confided in their diaries, but von Hagn's style of entries can be linked to the tradition of the intimate diary. As Gay points out, the diary acted as a companion and confidante for many middle-class people in the nineteenth century. What is more, Peter Börner refers to how diaries acted as safety valves, whereby they were used to express one's worries and to engage in a spiritual dialogue. Börner uses metaphors, such as mirror and whip, to explain the function of diaries as part of self-analysis.³⁴ In this regard, one can see how the lonely Charlotte von Hagn used her diary as a companion and as a trusted friend. Both Bethge and Devrient were married and had several friends with whom they could talk and to whom they refer in their diaries. However von Hagn's diary portrays the image of someone bereft of people with whom she could confide her innermost concerns.

A common feature of all three diaries is that there is no mention of love interests or sexual desires, which reflects the bürgerlich culture of diary writing in the first half of the nineteenth century. Fanny Hensel (1805–1847), a noted salonnière composer and the wife of the court painter Wilhelm Hensel, belonged to the same artistic milieu in Berlin as the actors. Maria Mustakallio has studied her diaries and has noted that they contain some unusually frank disclosures, such as a description of

32 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 21.3.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

33 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 5.1.1837, 14.2.1838, 4.2., 10.6.1839, 10.10.1841. Devrient 1964, 11, 33, 67, 76, 128.

34 Boerner 1969, 20–21; Gay 2002, 260–261.

resting her head on her husband's shoulder. Yet, despite these descriptions of tender moments, her diary is not erotic or scandalous and could have been read aloud in family circles.³⁵ In the case of Eduard Devrient, it is mentioned that his wife read his diary, which would mean that it would have been extremely unwise for him to have included controversial or scandalous material.³⁶

The regular writing of diary entries could have also played a role in the self-formation of a distinct *bürgerlich* form of *Bildung* culture. Adolph Bethge's diaries span a period of 24 years, in which he made daily entries. In sum, the manuscript edition of his diary, between 1835 and 1848, covers approximately 1220 pages. Bethge tends to list daily events in his life, more than expounding his own ideas. Eduard Devrient was a prolific diary writer, even in an age of diary writers, and his archive includes 40 booklets that relate to each year that he made entries.³⁷ The sheer volume of writing suggests the importance he attached to his diary entries. One of the most important features of such a form of diary writing, in terms of self-formation, was that one needed a pool of source material in order to satiate the desire for recording events. Hence, the need to draw on a reservoir of cultural knowledge and activity may have encouraged diary writers to soak up as many artistic mediums as possible.

Such an idea is strengthened by the tradition of diary writing. From the eighteenth century diaries were used to practice writing in *bürgerlich* homes.³⁸ Diary writing was seen as a way to teach children to live a regular life and to write in a correct manner, with parents usually correcting grammatical mistakes and providing general life instruction.³⁹ In adulthood the writing of a diary could still be a learning experience, but individuals were their own judges and created their own internal dialogues via the medium of the page.

In brief, many Berlin actors embraced the diary tradition in Prussia, thereby linking themselves with a core element of *Bildung* culture; namely the promotion of individual self-formation. Firstly, actors learned how to apply themselves in their profession by analysing performances by themselves and by colleagues. Secondly, they treated diaries as a trusted friend and used them to understand their own inner feelings. This is particularly the case in Charlotte von Hagn's diary. Thirdly, diaries provided actors with a private means to perfect social roles and opinions, or to court interest from future biographers, as in the case of Eduard Devrient. Finally, the regular

35 Mustakallio 2003, 33–34.

36 See, for example, diary entry of Eduard Devrient 21.2.1838. Devrient 1964, 72.

37 Kabel 1964, ix.

38 Boerner 1969, 42.

39 Gay 2002, 261–262.

writing of a diary united them to the process of self-formation in which the nature of the literary form encouraged them to actively participate in social and artistic events.

Correspondence as a Life-Planner and Practical Tool

In the private sphere letters display many features similar to traditional forms of diary writing. On the other hand, the writing of a letter is a dynamic action that is targeted towards another individual. In terms of bürgerlich culture, the practice of writing letters can be seen as one of the core elements in the goal of achieving *Bildung*. The time an individual spent at a writing desk in bürgerlich living rooms represented a valuable cultural moment.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, most of the letters written by Berliner actors between 1815 and 1845 have either been destroyed or have disappeared. Furthermore, most of the extant letters written by actors merely focus on practical matters related to the theatre, with little emphasis on private matters. The Berliner salonnière Rahel Levin astutely noted that diaries contain the most personal things that are not present in letters.⁴¹ However, it is possible to cite one piece of published correspondence regarding an assumed love affair involving the actor Moriz Rott. Yet, in critical terms this correspondence is questionable in terms of its authenticity. The private correspondence between Eduard and Therese Devrient can also be found in published form, which provides unparalleled insights into the marital dynamics of a well-known Berlin couple. What is more, it is interesting to examine how the actors wrote about the culture and etiquette of letter writing in their diaries.

Surviving letters written by Berliner actors are awash with references to preparations for performances and the art of theatre. Significantly, discussions focussing on theatrical art were a core element of the *Bildung* ideal. Letters written by P.A. Wolff, for example, include extensive thoughts on the contemporary state of theatre in Prussia. Karoline Bauer also describes at great length the state of the theatre in Hamburg. Furthermore, Karl Seydelmann describes in detail his guest performances in Berlin.⁴² Most of the fragmentary archive of letters by Berliner actors

40 Gay 2002, 258–259.

41 Calabrese 1988, 132–133.

42 A letter from P.A. Wolff to Tieck, dated 16.1.1820; A letter from Karoline Bauer to Tieck, dated 24.5.[s.a.]; A letter from Karl Seydelmann to Glasbrener, dated 26.10.1839. *Schauspielerbriefe*, 198-200, 222-224, 277.

in restoration-era Prussia address the same topics.⁴³ Furthermore the recipients of the letters and discussion partners illustrate how actors were closely tied to the elite of the theatre establishment and to *Bildung* culture. For example, the actor P. A. Wolff wrote to Ludwig Tieck, who was one of the most respected poets and critics, and requested that he review one of his plays.⁴⁴

It is also noteworthy that female actors were considered to be on an equal footing with their male peers when corresponding about art. The letters of Charlotte von Hagn, for example, include discussions with male correspondents about the theatre and its workers. An even better example of the artistic nature of the correspondence of a female actor can be seen in the letter of Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer to Heinrich Laube. Birch-Pfeiffer was hired by the Royal Theatre in 1843, whilst Laube was a dramatist, theatre director and a member of the Young Germany movement. In their correspondence, they discuss the state of theatre throughout Germany, as well as their own work.⁴⁵

The published correspondence between Moriz Rott and ‘a dame’, entitled *Briefwechsel zwischen dem Künstler und Schauspieler Moriz Rott und einer Dame*, provides an example of a more private collection of letters. However, one needs to be cautious when studying this source, as the original letters are not available and thus the published volume could easily contain elements of fiction.

In the book, a lady named Maria von T is stated to have written down the correspondence between herself and Moriz Rott. The letters are initially passionate, with Rott proclaiming his love for Maria and the nobility of her heart. However, he also beseeched Maria to banish the shame that Rott had caused her by his flirtatious attempts to catch her eye.⁴⁶ Maria answers in a polite and distant tone, but confirmed that she wanted to continue to be friends with the artist.⁴⁷ Rott then calmed Maria’s anxieties by promising to assure everyone that she had not become involved in anything that could be interpreted as indecent. At the same time Rott insinuated that he was striving for a closer relationship:

43 See, for example, a letter from Auguste Crelinger-Stich to the court musician Wieprecht o.D. F Rep 241, Acc 1844 no 2, LAB. A letter from Ludwig Devrient to the Court Theatre in Frankfurt am Main 1831. F Rep 241 Acc 554, nr 7, LAB. The letters of Louis Angely to an unknown recipient, dated 23.8.1824 and 30.4.1829; A letter from Louis Angely to Weiss, dated 7.10.1835. I Handschriften, Angely Louis, ThFU.

44 A letter from P.A. Wolff to Tieck, dated 16.1.1820; a letter from Karoline Bauer to Tieck, dated 24.5.[s.a.]. *Schauspielerbriefe*, 198-200, 277.

45 A letter from Charlotte von Hagn to an unknown recipient 1838. DBH 1901, 4–5; See, for example, the letters from Laube to Birch-Pfeiffer, dated 26.11., 6.12.1846. CBP 1917, 18-22.

46 A letter from Rott to Maria, dated 17.9.1841. BRD 1867, 14–15.

47 A letter from Maria to Rott, dated 12.9.1841. BRD 1867, 12.

Ich werde es nie gestehen, daß eine Frau meine Fingerspitze drückt – aber ich sprech' es gern aus, daß Sie mich kalt und entfernend behandeln; finden sie nicht Gutes darin?⁴⁸

In other words, both parties were worried that their correspondence was breaking a code of decency. This was especially the feeling for Maria, who was married and who made great efforts to preserve her good name. Thus, she writes that she repeatedly showed her husband the content of the correspondence between herself and Rott. This openness with her husband evidently cooled Rott's ardour as he thereafter restricted himself to making polite compliments in his letters. Finally, Maria transforms herself into Rott's patroness and sent precious gifts to him.⁴⁹

However, after a period of time Rott suddenly tried to test the limits of decency in their correspondence by describing his loneliness and how there was no good genius in his household. He continues by adding that he would kiss Maria's hand for an hour if she would once visit his apartment. In reply, Maria expresses her longing for them to undertake a long river journey together.⁵⁰

The letters of Rott to Maria also made insinuations about his latest romantic conquests. Thus, Rott enthused about how he was distractedly happy because of a new crush, but that there was no possibility of marriage because the girl was already married and was a Catholic. Later a family acquaintance of Maria, a certain Mr. K, entered into a quarrel with Rott in regard to his artistic nature for the dispute was that according to Maria, Mr. K's wife was deeply in love with Rott.⁵¹

These fragments provide rare allusions to the sexual lives of the Berlin actors, yet one must remain sceptical as to their authenticity. Most of the letters contain themes about art and interpretations of the theatre, but a discernible tension is still evident between the male and female correspondents. This intensity is created by the use of euphemisms, an air of jealousy and the subtle testing of the limits of decency.

The letters of Eduard and Therese Devrient conform to the main parameters of bürgerlich culture. Their correspondence includes deep expressions of love and longing, as well as noticeable concern about their children. The married couple also record the most representative social events they have attended, thereby emphasising

48 A letter from Moriz Rott to Maria, dated 17.9.1841. BRD 1867, 16.

49 BRD 1867, *passim*.

50 Rott's letter to Maria, dated 28.12.1841, and Maria's reply to Rott, dated 5.1.1842. BRD 1867, 57–58, 61.

51 Before the quarrel Maria refers to the love of Mrs. K for Rott. See Maria's letter to Rott, dated 11.10, 5.–6.11. and 24.11.1841. Rott's letters to Maria 17.11., 27.11.1841 ja 3.3.1842. BRD 1867, 28, 30, 35, 38–39, 44, 79.

the importance of social relations. The loving nature of their correspondence is surprisingly visible in many letters. Thus, Eduard wrote about how elevated their love was, how it had grown over the years and how Therese would stay in his heart forever. He continues in the same tone: ‘You make me so indescribably happy, you lovely pig-head with your shimmering wings.’⁵² Therese also expressed her love towards Eduard. The construction of an idealised love in the correspondence was also commented upon by Therese, who mocks Eduard for expressing his love more in letters than when face-to-face with her.⁵³ The letters also display the couple’s level of love for their children and their concern about their education. Hence, Eduard comments on Therese’s methods of education and describes how he was longing to see his children. In reply, Therese wrote descriptions of what the children were doing and how they were behaving.⁵⁴

However, the main focus of the letters is dedicated to providing a description of social events, particularly in regard to eminent persons. Thus, Eduard recorded the representative happenings in Berlin, such as a concert recital at the residence of Prince Albrecht, when Therese was abroad. Eduard confesses to not being especially excited about this occasion, but wrote to his wife that it marked progress in courtly life. On another occasion, Eduard described his visit to the author Goldschmidt. He also summarised the political situation in Bavaria and Greece, as well as commenting on the Düsseldorf School of Art and corporal punishment.⁵⁵

When Eduard was abroad he took a keen interest in noting down the professional discussions he had taken part in and the events in which he had participated. In Düsseldorf, for example, he met the theatre manager Immermann and later wrote a precise account of his meeting to Therese.⁵⁶ The correspondence between Eduard and Therese reveals that the pair respected each other’s opinion on a wide variety of matters, ranging from the upbringing of their children to professional concerns. Thus, Therese often went to see Eduard’s performances and made harsh comments when necessary. Furthermore, they rehearsed roles together, with Therese even demanding cuts to a play entitled *Herr Baron* that had been written by Eduard.⁵⁷

52 Letters from Eduard Devrient to Therese Devrient, dated 14.6, 17.7.1834. BED, 8–9, 15.

53 A letter from Therese Devrient to Eduard Devrient, dated 17.6.1836; A letter from Eduard Devrient to Therese Devrient, dated 4.7.1836. BED 10, 56.

54 See, for example, the letters of Eduard Devrient to Therese Devrient, dated 14.6, 17.7, 18.7.1834 and a letter from Therese Devrient to Eduard Devrient, dated 12.6.1834. BED 8–10, 15, 16.

55 Letters from Eduard Devrient to Therese Devrient, dated 19.6.1836, 25.6.1836. BED, 35, 49–50.

56 A letter from Eduard Devrient to Therese Devrient, dated 14.11.1839. BED, 62–64.

57 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 3.11.1838, 5.1.1839, 18.1., 10.9.1841, 7.4.1843. Devrient 1964, 53, 60, 108, 122, 174.

The act of writing a letter is also worthy of note, as it occupied an important place in the life of a well-educated member of the *bürgertum*.⁵⁸ The diaries of Berliner actors also provide insights into the actual habits of their letter writing. Indeed, actors mention letters on several occasions in their diaries. Thus, one finds references to how the actors devoted considerable time to the task of writing some letters and how they organised their lives via the process of writing letters. Indeed, one of the most interesting diary entries concerns the latter function of letter writing, in the sense that they were kept as a sort of document of the author's past life.

The writing of letters by Berliner actors can also be linked to the culture of the self-formation of character that was a strong feature of *Bildung* ideals. The act of re-reading old letters made a writer think of his or her past life and earlier accomplishments. Thus, Devrient mentions in his diary that he and his wife consciously took stock of the year that had just passed by going through their correspondence. Devrient came to the conclusion that his wife was much more mature than him and that he did not want to be the pretentious, hot-headed, gullible scamp that he saw reflected in his letters. Later, Devrient wrote about how he had discussed the artistic career of the Devrient brothers with the author and theatre critic Rellstab and had subsequently decided to write down some things about their lives. Consequently, he decided to organise the entire correspondence between his brother and himself.⁵⁹ Adolph Bethge also wrote diary entries about how he had spent a whole day at home reading his letters and his subsequent concern about his lack of artistic education.⁶⁰ Moreover, Charlotte von Hagn wrote in her diary about how she had asked Count Blome to return her letters when she had noticed that a romantic relationship with him was not possible.⁶¹ These examples suggest that the letters written by the actors were carefully preserved as documents of a past life. The possibility that other people would be interested in their contents only increased the need to preserve the letters. However, letters also served as a method of self-examination.

Reading and Study in the Private Sphere

The private literary sphere was not only fashioned by writing, but also included the act of reading, which can be linked with the *bürgerlich* ideology of avoiding laziness

58 Mustakallio 2003, 35.

59 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 31.12.1836, 18.6.1838. Devrient 1964, 44.

60 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 22.2.1839. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

61 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 29.1.1830. Bd 1, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

and idleness.⁶² It was believed that reading books and newspapers was a good way of countering idleness. However, as mentioned earlier, diaries promoted self-formation through the need to reference cultivated actions on the pages of diaries.

Devrient's reading can be divided into three categories, which were connected to work ethics, self-education and a way of cultivating expressions of emotion. In his diaries, Devrient often cites the literature that he had read. His most common type of entry simply lists the name of the book, but in several entries he describes that he continued to read after supper or how he had read into the evening. He often read manuscripts related to the theatre, as well as contemporary non-fiction works and newspapers.⁶³

Devrient also actively published his writings, with his greatest literary opus being the four-volume history of German theatre. This work, which he began to write in 1842, still ranks as one of the most comprehensive works on the subject.⁶⁴ Several of his diary entries record how he spent evenings and free time writing his book and collecting source material.⁶⁵ This can be read as a sign of the overarching work ethic of *Bildung* culture.

Reading and commenting on newspapers can also be interpreted as part of the process of self-education and self-formation. Devrient's diary also contains numerous comments on newspaper articles that he had read. For example, he made notes on an article regarding opposition to the king in Hanover, which express his satisfaction at the opposition to tyranny. He also commented on articles that appeared in *Konversationslexikon* and *The Times* and reflected that only princes were able to exercise political power in Germany. What is more, his diary was the forum in which he expressed his fears about future political developments. Ironically, the limitations on the freedom of the press led Devrient to scrutinise newspapers even more closely. In 1843, for example, when new censorship laws were introduced and the *Leipziger Zeitung* and *Reinische Zeitung* were prohibited, Devrient wrote in his diary that he had read all the recent issues of these newspapers and had found nothing to complain about.⁶⁶ These issues were not available in public, but it seems they were discussed in

62 For more on bürgerlich hatred of laziness, see Hettling & Hoffmann 2000, 15.

63 See, for example, diary entries of Eduard Devrient 19.5., 21.5.1836, 21.12.1837, 12.10.1838, 7.9.1842. Devrient 1964, 17–18, 30, 52, 157.

64 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 19.8.1842. Devrient 1964, 156.

65 See, for example, the diary entries of Eduard Devrient on 26.8., 4.9., 7.9., 8.9., 1842. Devrient 1964, 156–157.

66 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 19.7., 21.7.1839, 11.2., 20.6., 1.1., 7.1., 30.1., 26.2.1843. Devrient 1964, 77, 90–91, 167–168, 170, 177.

private company. The medium of diary writing also provided a safe forum for risky ideas.

Devrient was also voracious reader of fiction and poetry, which was somehow also used to tap into the romantic era's fascination with the emotionally sublime spirit. One of the best examples of such a desire occurs when Devrient wrote about how he had read Friedrich Schiller's poem *Die Künstler*. He extols the poem's beauty, nobility and tenderness: 'How noble it is to die for eternal purpose!'⁶⁷ Fittingly, the poem praises the work of an artist and can be seen as Schiller's attempt to achieve beauty via moral elevation.⁶⁸ Devrient's respectful reading and commentary on such poems epitomises the idea of filling the deficit of spirit in the world with beauty and genuineness, which was also a hallmark of *Bildung* aspirations.

Devrient was also emotionally touched when he read Shakespeare. Thus, after reading *Julius Caesar* he exclaims: 'Ah, what poetry'. Furthermore, after reading aloud *Hamlet* with his wife he praises how the play astounded them.⁶⁹ They also read tales to each other, with Eduard concluding that such works provide a mirror to the inner soul of humans.⁷⁰

The appreciation of a variety of art forms was one of the most important aspects in the formation and reformation of *Bildung*. Koselleck emphasises that a certain element of dilettantism formed a special part of *Bildung*. This type of dilettantism was most evident during artistic moments and artistic pleasures, which deliberately sought to stimulate private and individual emotions. In social terms, *Bildung* was open to everyone because reciprocal forms of self-contemplation were accessible to all classes. Yet, in effect, the production of high art created an elitist circle, which excluded people by defining the correct manner of dilettantism that controlled the cohesion of the group.⁷¹

The aspirations of actors to achieve the *Bildung* ideal firmly connects them to bürgerlich private culture. This was facilitated by the intrinsic relationship between actors and high artistic culture. Besides their profession, the actors took part in the process of the bürgertum's self-formation by producing diaries, letters and maintaining a private literary culture. Diaries provided actors with a medium in which to list and comment on plays. Actors also used diaries as a trusted forum for expressing ideas, as well as

67 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 22.8.1843. Devrient 1964, 186.

68 See, Schiller [1890], 62–73.

69 Diary entries Eduard Devrient, dated 3.11.1838, 3.12.1838. Devrient 1964, 53, 57.

70 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 11.12.1842. Devrient 1964, 134.

71 Koselleck 1990, 28–30, 36–37.

providing an excellent source of material for posterity, which either they themselves, or future biographers could draw on. All these features can be linked to the bürgerlich diary culture of the era. Furthermore, other private and exclusive types of writing and reading also provided a link to educated bürgerlich culture.

2. Family Life

David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans have argued that the family was the most important medium for bürgerlich symbols and culture, because lifestyle and symbols were transferred to the next generation within a family. Common family ideals were able to stabilise the cohesive quality of the domestic group in the eyes of outsiders. Bürgerlich family culture also expressed the socio-cultural ideals of the lower bürgertum. Thus, the family unit was greatly esteemed in bürgerlich culture and formed a coherent value system in most circles.⁷² Peter Gay suggests that in the nineteenth century the bürgertum transferred to a new level as an ideology, with the importance of the home and family being underlined by time spent within the domestic hearth. Gay notes that the bürgertum of the nineteenth century were born, suffered ill health and died at home. The bürgerlich family created its own internal and private unit inside the household.⁷³

The bürgerlich family ideal has been a matter of much debate. Some scholars have argued that there is a certain idyllic picture to be found within bürgerlich families. According to this view, the most common elements of the bürgerlich family ideal were an idyllic sense of togetherness and deep feelings of love within the family.⁷⁴ Rebekka Habermas has countered this argument by stating that this idyllic picture of bürgerlich family life did not represent everyday realities. In effect, she emphasises that this view is too stereotypical, and she provocatively asks why there has been so much attention paid to this misleading idyllic picture. It needs to be stressed that even though bürgerlich families were aware of and sought to conform to idyllic representations of the family in art and literature, this did not necessarily mean that they lived by these ideals. Habermas underlines that this idyll was not spawned from an increase in the levels of tenderness between parents and children. Indeed, she claims that no new forms of relationship developed between parents and children during the nineteenth century.⁷⁵

Peter Gay agrees with this view of the domestic environment of the bürgertum. Indeed, he draws attention to the fact that studies of the nineteenth-century nuclear family are dominated by the interpretations of the Frenchman Frédéric Le Play

72 Blackbourn 1993, 10–11; Evans 1993, 115. See also Hettling 2000, 333.

73 Gay 2002, 36, 46, 268.

74 See, for example, Bernhard 1983, 62; Budde 2000, 255, 261.

75 Habermas 2000, 260–261, 264.

and the German Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, which were both expounded around the middle of the nineteenth century. They limited the study of bürgerlich family life by emphasising that nostalgic family ideals did not exist in reality, as they were essentially a literary creation. In contradistinction to this approach, Gay suggests that increased financial prosperity among the bürgertum produced an environment in which parents had more money, but less time to devote to their children. In effect, the family provided a convenient rationale for earning more money. Thus, the breadwinners could excuse their pursuit of wealth by pointing to a desire to achieve financial security and comfort for their close family. Gay does not want to set family ideals on a pedestal, but he does outline the close emotional ties that existed within the family. He describes the family as a narrow echo chamber, in which noises could not be blocked.⁷⁶ In light of the latest research on bürgerlich families, one can argue that they did not live up to all the standards of the family idyll, but that they sought to portray such an image in memoirs and family portraits. In this chapter I argue that Berlin actors aspired to realise bürgerlich family ideals. This can be seen in the desire to reproduce and underline the family idyll in their private writings, as well as in their attitude towards the education of their children. Furthermore, the bürgerlich familiarisation of religion is evident in their autobiographical texts.

The Family Idyll of Actors

Actors described and thereby reproduced the bürgerlich family idyll in their diaries. In his diary, for example, Eduard Devrient pronounces his deep respect for his family and proclaims its power to revive his spirits. He wrote: ‘The happier a man is in his home and in his heart, the more capable he is of working outside the home because of the power that this engenders’.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Adolph Bethge also wrote about his idyllic home life and how he spent a lot of time with his family. Several entries in his diary testify that he had spent the day with his family, which were usually devoted to visiting family friends, his sister or to spending time at their country residence

76 Gay 2002, 39–41, 43–44. Riehl defines himself as a historian of nature, who categorises natural groups, which include estates, professions and family. He expresses the hope that his writings would offer an artistic “house book” to maintain the family idyll, as well as providing a scientific contributions. See Riehl 1856, v–vi.

77 ‘Je glücklicher man in Hause und im Herzen ist, je mehr drängt es, die dadurch gewachsene Kraft nach außen tätig zu zeigen.’ Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 5.1.1837. Devrient 1964, 11.

in Wilmersdorf.⁷⁸ Bethge, for example, describes how he and his family had spent a joyful day at Moabit, in his brother's garden. On another occasion, Bethge describes how his whole family visited the Schlossgarten in Charlottenburg. After that they went to Monbijou and Bethge's son, Alexander, gathered together a beautiful bouquet from the garden.⁷⁹

Descriptions of family idylls was especially evident during New Year and birthdays celebrations. Bethge started almost every New Year, for example, with an entry in his diary regarding his wish for family happiness for the forthcoming year. In 1843, while he was thinking of the well-being of his family, his youngest brother apparently came into his room with a bouquet of flowers. This gesture brought Bethge much happiness. His family also had a custom of exchanging presents at New Year.⁸⁰ New Year's Day also made Eduard Devrient sentimental. He describes how his wife and children came into his room and sang for him on New Year's Eve, which made him feel as calm as a child. Devrient states that his son, Georg, sang precisely and clearly, whilst his son Richard sang in a deep monotone. Devrient continues by proclaiming that such moments in childhood elevated young souls.⁸¹ Birthdays were also celebrations when the scenes of the family idyll were reproduced. On his thirtieth birthday, for example, Bethge stated in his diary that he wanted to celebrate the occasion with his family. Furthermore, Charlotte von Hagn also spent her birthdays with her family and close friends. Thus, von Hagn wrote that she spent her 25th birthday with Minna Krüger, a dear friend.⁸²

On the other hand, there were also actors in Berlin who did not feel the need to describe their idyllic family life. In Louis Schneider's memoirs, for example, references to his family are almost totally lacking. He does not even mention his wife or children in the first volume of his memoirs. In the second volume of this work, his wife and daughter are only mentioned in passing. Thus, Schneider merely records that he and his wife had walked by the sites of the revolution moments before the upheaval. His daughter is mentioned in reference to the fact that she had left Berlin after the revolution.⁸³ Schneider's lack of detail about his family life can be interpreted

78 For relevant diary entries by Adolph Bethge, see, for example, those on 6.2, 18.4, 22.4.1844, 11.11.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

79 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 28.4.1847, 6.10.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

80 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 1.1.1843, 31.12.1845, 1.1.1846. Nr 1–2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

81 Eduard Devrient 30.12.1838. Devrient 1964, 59.

82 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 17.10.1840. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK; Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 23.3.1834. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

83 Schneider 1879a, passim; Schneider 1879b, 11, 102–103.

as conforming to the etiquette of writing public memoirs. Yet, it also suggests that he did not value his family life as having any relevance to his public life.

The quintessential *bürgerlich* family was not restricted to a nuclear unit, as it also included sisters, aunts and other relatives who would actively participate in the everyday life of the family.⁸⁴ Hence, the Devrient household included Leonore, the sickly sister of Therese. Leonore was seriously ill and a spinster and therefore the Devrients followed convention by offering to take care of her. However Eduard was evidently not entirely happy with this arrangement, as he expresses how her illness was a burden on the family. Indeed, Eduard complains on several occasions in his diary about how difficult it was to live with his sister-in-law. Thus, he writes that she could be jolly in the morning, but quarrelsome by the evening. Yet, he does concede that Therese had no other close family and that Leonore provided her with much needed company. He also acknowledged that it was necessary to take care of the sick. Devrient occasionally even refers to Therese and Leonore as his madams.⁸⁵

No extended family members lived with Adolph Bethge, but his diary includes frequent entries describing his visits to his mother and brothers.⁸⁶ He sometimes visited his mother alone, but on other occasions he went with his whole family. His mother's birthday, in particular, was an occasion that brought together his entire extended family. As mentioned, Bethge also spent a lot of time with his brothers. For example he and his wife went to the home of his brother, Friedrich, on a Sunday morning in January 1843, and then they all went to the opera in the evening. After the opera they returned to Friedrich's apartment, where they relaxed until three in the morning.⁸⁷

Bethge indicates if someone belongs to his close family circle by using their first name or a term of endearment. Such people included his wife, descendants, siblings and his in-laws. However, he refers to most of his close friends by their last names, such as Hedemann, Montag, and Crelinger. Bethge did not even refer to his wards by their first name. The only exception to this rule was Bethge's close friend

84 Budde 2000, 261.

85 A diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 14.2.1838, 4.2., 10.6.1839, 10.10.1841. Devrient 1964, 33, 67, 76, 128.

86 In February 1844, for example, he visited his mother on fourteen occasions. See the diary entries of Adolph Bethge on 4, 6, 7., 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25, 27, 28, 29.2.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

87 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 22.1., 13.7.1843, 11.10.1845. Nr 1–2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

Ferdinand Roth, but even he was referred to using both his first and last names.⁸⁸ This indicates the small scale of the bürgerlich family, in which the degree of intimacy ensured the use of first names. The use of the first names brought the inner circle of the family together and excluded outsiders from the core of the family.

The Upbringing of Actors' Children

One of the most important duties of a bürgerlich family was to transfer their value system to their children. Manfred Hettling and Stefan Ludwig Hoffmann have adapted Reinhart Koselleck's term 'moral inner circle' in order to argue that the family functioned as such a unit in order to implement these values in communicative space. Thus, even if a child went to school, the home remained the most important environment for his or her upbringing. This was particularly the case in regard to the inculcation of moral values and religious sensibility. More specifically, the values that were transferred within the home focussed on respect for assiduous labour, the need for control over one's life, decent behaviour and the benefits of cleanliness.⁸⁹

In his study of nineteenth-century American attitudes to fatherhood, Shawn Johansen argues that a too literal interpretation of the private and public spheres overlooks the role of the father inside the family. He outlines a general direction of thought, which posits that the role of women inside families was increasing, whereas the role of men was diminishing. However, Johansen suggests that the roles of both men and women increased in the United States during the nineteenth century. He categorises the roles of middle-class American men as providers, teachers, caregivers and governors. He emphasises that the provider role involved not only taking care of economic necessities, but also entailed providing for possibilities, information, morals and the knowledge of how to blend into middle-class culture. As teachers, men took care of both secular and religious matters. Johansen points out that the governor role necessitated setting down regulation and general rules.⁹⁰

Male actors do not often mention their children on the pages of their diaries, but when they do it is in a loving manner. This can be linked to the notion of nourishing family ideals. The diaries of male actors do reveal that they consciously sought to transfer values to their offspring. This can be seen, for example, in the

88 Clara Stich was also mentioned by both her first and last names, but this was probably done to distinguish her from her sister, Bertha. See, for example, the diary entries of Adolph Bethge on 15.8.1844, 29.5, 12.9, 17.10.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

89 Blackburn 1993, 9–11; Evans 1993, 115; Hettling & Hoffmann 2000, 12; Gay 2002, 42–43.

90 Johansen 2001, 8–9.

desire to secure obedience and to ensure that children worked diligently – especially in regard to music.

Devrient mentions his children relatively seldom in his diary, but when he does he displays a deep tenderness for them. Devrient, for example, observed how ‘calm Marie’, his firstborn, was a promising singer and describes how there was an inner joy in her voice. He continues by adding that the ‘bold and young Felix’ was poetry and soul personified. He lists his youngest children by name and adopts epithets, such as ‘powerful Richard’ and ‘cunning Otto’. Finally he joyfully proclaims that his children are ‘the true source of life’ and adds that ‘all these precious things I may lay on the hands of my beloved wife Therese.’ Devrient expresses strong feelings towards his children, but also mentions that it was his wife’s duty to take care of them. Devrient later worried about the reputation of his children and questioned whether his bad position in the theatre was affecting them in a negative way. Thus, he worriedly asks himself whether the atmosphere of discord and gossip at the theatre had been noted by his children.⁹¹

Devrient raised his children to obey their father. This is evident, for example, when his daughter Marie was considering her future. At this time, Devrient stresses in his diary how important it was that his family should obey his opinion.⁹² The value of a diligent work ethic is also evident in Eduard’s attitude towards the letters he received from his children. In correspondence between Eduard and his wife, Therese, for example, it is evident that he adopted an intolerant attitude towards the spelling mistakes present in letters he had received from his children. In reply to his wife’s plea, Eduard admits that he should be more lenient with his children. Nevertheless, a few days later he carried on correcting the spelling mistakes made by his son in a letter.⁹³

Furthermore, Adolph Bethge’s ideas on upbringing were targeted towards ensuring the obedience of his children. However, he maintained that too much pressure in a household would be harmful. One can discern a hint of his methods for raising his children in one diary entry, when he admits to slapping his adolescent brother on the face at his mother’s house. He later felt remorseful, but not because he thought his act was wrong, but rather because he was worried that he had caused

91 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 2.10.1841, 7.9.1942. Devrient 1964, 124, 157.

92 Devrient evidently first reflected on his role as a father with his friend Felix Mendessohn. Later he came to the conclusion that his fatherly judgement should be obeyed. See the diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 25.3.1841 and 27–28.12.1843. Devrient 1964, 113, 196–197.

93 A letter from Therese Devrient to Eduard Devrient, dated 25.6.1836; Letters from Eduard Devrient to Therese Devrient, dated 30.6.1836 and 3.7.1836. BED, 47, 51, 55.

unease in his mother's house.⁹⁴ This attitude to his younger brother was most probably similar to his stern approach towards his own children. What is more, Bethge sought to imbibe his musical skill and work ethic into his sons. He records, for example, how he played and practised with his children. Thus, in 1848 he happily wrote in his diary how his son Franz had made tremendous progress in playing the violin, which he had demonstrated when playing at his grandmother's apartment.⁹⁵ Bethge recognised his son's talent and later organised for him to play with Haake, a well-known chamber musician.⁹⁶

These examples regarding upbringing are good illustrations of Johansen's ideas vis-à-vis values of fatherhood in middle-class America in the nineteenth century. The provider as a caretaker of the possibilities and knowledge to enter into *bürgerlich* culture are evident in the upbringing methods of both Devrient and Bethge. Key elements in conforming to the ideal of a *bürgerlich* lifestyle involved obeying one's father, a diligent work ethic and the basics of a literary and musical culture.

Religious Life of Berlin's Actors

Religion played an important role in *bürgerlich* family ideals. Rebekka Habermas stresses the importance of piety within the family. Religiosity was particularly strongly felt within the *bürgerlich* private sphere. For protestant members of the *bürgertum*, religion was not as much a matter of ritual, rather an inner state, or a religious spirit. Habermas argues that *bürgerlich* religious attitudes were based on a virtuous outlook, or a form of religious *Bildung*. This new form of religiosity led to the transfer of religious practice away from churches towards the more private atmosphere of the home. When these higher moral codes were transferred to within the domestic realm it also entailed the privatisation of *bürgerlich* values and morals.⁹⁷ According to Habermas, the form of piety practiced inside *bürgerlich* houses can be described as one based on the 'familiarisation of religion'. By using this phrase, Habermas emphasises the change that occurred when religious rituals switched from the public domain of churches to the private realm of the family circle. In practice, this 'familiarisation of religion' increasingly resulted in weddings and christenings taking place in private homes. Emotional sensitivity was a key element in the *bürgerlich* value system. Thus, religion was a tool to bring emotions within the domestic sphere. Reading the Bible

94 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 6.9.1840. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

95 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 25.6., 23.8.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

96 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 17.9.1848. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

97 Habermas 2000b, 169–170, 172.

or singing hymns was deemed to be an appropriate way to attain the desired levels of emotional piety. The singing of hymns within a home environment was also suited to the purpose of creating a sense of togetherness and in fostering a deep spiritual connection. Habermas also highlights the increasing sacramentalisation of the private domestic sphere. Moreover, Habermas states that religion gave a new (and genuine) *bürgerlich* face to the family.⁹⁸ A certain familiarisation of religion is evident in the life of actors. It can even be argued that institutional religion had lost its sense of purpose for some actors, but that they remained in need of religious emotions and piety in a domestic environment. Thus, the family circle increasingly came to be seen as the appropriate space to display pious devotion.

The rituals of the *bürgerlich* family idyll came to the foreground on festive occasions, such as christenings, Christmas and at Easter. Religious events and festal days divided *bürgerlich* life into specific periods. Hence, Christmas was a celebration for the whole family that revolved around a feast. The family-oriented atmosphere of Christmas is even interpreted in the Christmas carol 'Silent night', in which idyllic and peaceful family ideals are epitomised by the holy couple, who sense the harmonious family atmosphere in their stable.⁹⁹

Devrient describes his family's Christmas preparations at their home and comments on the childish enthusiasm of his whole family. He also writes in his diary about how the whole family enjoyed a sense of togetherness by lighting candles, decorating the apartment and playing music.¹⁰⁰ This image perfectly portrays the *bürgerlich* family ideal and the need to feel genuine emotion. However, one can note the absence of institutionalised religion.

Furthermore, Adolph Bethge makes no association between Christmas and religious ritual in his diary. However, he does stress the importance of being with his family. The careful preparations for Christmas are precisely recorded every year in his diary. He writes how he is keenly awaiting the chance to spend Christmas with his children and how the children rejoiced when they were given handmade luxuries. At Christmas Bethge emphasises that the happiness of his children was his utmost concern and he explicitly expresses the joy he and his wife obtained from their children. Indeed, Bethge was even able to enjoy Christmas amidst an atmosphere otherwise dominated by the recent death of his brother-in-law, Eduard Lachman. Bethge drew some comfort from the joy of his children in his company, such as

98 Habermas 2000b, 174–177.

99 Bernhard 1983, 279; Martin-Fugier 1990, 285–286; Sheehan 1989, 539.

100 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 11.12., 24.12.1841. Devrient 1964, 134.

observing the pleasure of his nine children on Christmas Eve.¹⁰¹ All these examples highlight the importance Bethge attached to observing the joy of his children. However, his children do not appear in his diary as much at any other time of the year. The emotions he attached to Christmas were generated by the happiness of his children and thus were not necessarily derived from religion.

In one case study, Habermas suggests that the death of the father in the family heralded the introduction of a sense of religiosity in the household.¹⁰² The Devrient family provides a similar example, as Eduard's religious feeling is more pronounced when he contemplates the early death of one of his children. The memory of this premature death is also evident during the emotional moments of family celebrations. Hence, whilst the family Christmas preparations in 1841 were largely a time of joy in the Devrient household, Eduard did not forget to recollect his deceased child at a moment of happiness.¹⁰³ In the same year, Eduard wrote to his wife, who was travelling, about how he had often visited the cemetery. Here he had thought a great deal about the spirit and affection of their daughter Anna, who had died in September 1839. He continued by adding that his Sunday pray was that he would learn to love his children more, as he did not have this chance with Anna.¹⁰⁴

Death was also contemplated on the anniversaries of the birthdays of the dead. Devrient wrote in his diary about how he had visited his father's grave, which proved to be a solemn occasion. He wrote that seeing the graves of his parents, uncle and 'little Gustav' had given him more of an idea of eternity than any poem. The grave of Gustav had a particular affect on Devrient, who wrote that under a small black cross sleeps 'all our hopes of an enjoyable and beautiful life'. He concludes by stating that 'even the sky is blue and sunny, flowers and bushes are blooming – the spirit of death follows us.'¹⁰⁵

What is more, the death and remembrance of deceased family members did not draw von Hagn closer to the church, as she preferred to express her grief at home within family circles. In her diary in the summer of 1836 von Hagn wrote that her family had prayed for and remembered deceased friends and family members. This remembrance ritual had taken place at her home in the company of her sisters and

101 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 24-25.12.1836, 24-25.12.1837, 24-25.12.1838, 24-25.12.1839, 24-25.12.1840, 24-25.12.1841, 24-25.12.1842, 24-25.12.1843, 24-25.12.1844, 24-25.12.1845, 24-25.12.1846, 24-25.12.1847. Nr 1-2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

102 Habermas 2000b, 177.

103 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 11.12.1841. Devrient 1964, 134.

104 A letter from Eduard Devrient to Therese Devrient, dated 25.6.1841. BED, 106.

105 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 20.5.1836. Devrient 1964, 6.

mother.¹⁰⁶ The death of von Hagn's father, much earlier in her life, was one of her greatest misfortunes. Indeed, the sadness she felt at his death is one of the main themes in her early diary entries. Nonetheless, this grieving process did not lead her to write about religiosity on the pages of her diary. Immediately after his death she wrote about how she belonged 'to the people of the graves' and how she felt that her life was only one long, unbroken night. A short time afterwards, she also wrote that only death could bring glory to people. However, none of these entries include Christian vocabulary or mention Christian rituals that she used or participated in to bring her solace.¹⁰⁷

Rebekka Habermas suggests that institutional religious rituals were not totally absent from the religious life of *bürgerlich* families. Indeed, she argues that sermons and the Holy Communion were the most important religious rituals observed by such families. As mentioned, the communal singing of hymns among Protestants also created a sense of coherence. The Holy Communion effectively represented the same thing as the *bürgerlich* private sphere: virginal naturalness, pure emotionalism and genuine peace with others.¹⁰⁸

Eduard Devrient recorded some visits he made to church. However, these entries are usually full of bitterness, as he accused the official church of lacking emotion. At Easter in 1840, Devrient mentions how he and his family had visited a church, concluding that the sermon of the priest was childish. A year later, Devrient described the confirmation of his daughter Marie with a lack of enthusiasm. The first sermon of the service had lasted for an hour, and according to Devrient, it had been devoid of content. Moreover, in his mind the Bible quotations that were read after the confirmation were as lifeless as a stone. This led him to proclaim: 'How powerful is the religiosity that we practice at home!'¹⁰⁹ Devrient's diary reveals how he contrasted the emotional warmth provided by the domestic environment with the coldness of the church. In this sense, his religious feelings accord with Habermas' idea regarding the emotional need for religiosity in *bürgerlich* homes. Furthermore, Devrient's comments on sermons reveal that he respected such rituals and expected them to be full of power and faith. It is also interesting to note that in 1823 Therese Devrient (nee. Schlesinger) converted to Protestantism from Judaism, during a wave of such actions. Fanny Hensel (nee. Mendelssohn) argued that converted families

106 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

107 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 9.7., 28.10.1830 Bd 1, 5.7.1836, Bd 3, Nr1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

108 Habermas 2000b, 181–184.

109 Diary entry of Eduard Devrient, dated 19.4.1840, 25.3.1841. Devrient 1964, 97, 113.

had to be 'the perfect manifestations of *bürgerlichkeit*', as Jewish converts were not allowed to make mistakes.¹¹⁰ Still Eduard Devrient do not see that their family would have been obliged to visit church every Sunday. The *bürgerlich* religiosity was allowed to be practiced at home and not only in church.

Easter was one of the rare occasions when Bethge regularly went to church. Besides this festival, he only went to church for christenings, confirmations and wedding ceremonies. At Easter Bethge's family usually took part in the communion service and visited the grave of his friend and colleague Seydelmann.¹¹¹ In 1839, the christening ceremony of Bethge's first son was held at his home. The baptism took place on a Sunday, but only after Bethge had returned from rehearsals at the theatre. Bethge lists the witnesses at the christening, who included his 'beloved siblings', Louis Mischke and his wife, Miss Auguste Schmidt and Lieutenant Martini. Immediately after the christening Bethge had to leave the gathering in order to perform at the theatre.¹¹² It is interesting to note that the christening was held at home, rather than in a church. It is unclear whether this decision was determined by Bethge's tight schedule or on principle. The former would seem to be more likely, as Bethge's next son was baptised at Jerusalem Church. However, the occasion was a small affair, with only Bethge's mother and stepfather, his brother Friedrich and Auguste Schmidt attending. The ceremony itself was not described in his diary. Bethge devotes the greatest degree of attention to describing the atmosphere after the baptism, in which the guests apparently enjoyed each other's company at the home of the proud father.¹¹³ Furthermore, the confirmation of his son is only mentioned briefly, as Bethge simply states that he went with his children to Sophienkirche, where Emil was confirmed, before spending the afternoon at home. He does not describe the sermon or the atmosphere in the church, which suggests that he was not particularly impressed by ecclesiastical rituals.¹¹⁴ Weddings provide another occasion when Bethge mentions the church in his diary. The wedding of Bethge's brother, Alexander, involved a traditional church ceremony, after which there was a dinner at the home of Alexander's friend. This resulted in rare praise for a preacher, who Bethge describes as being old and respectable, as he apparently delivered a pleasant sermon. Despite this praise, Bethge was more interested in providing a detailed description of events

110 Devrient [1908], 252–258; Mustakallio 2003, 44; Hertz 2007, 209.

111 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 5.4.1844, 10.4.1846, 2.4.1847. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

112 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 13.1.1839. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

113 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 6.9.1840. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

114 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 23.9.1845. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

that took place outside the church, such as how he had to go to the theatre before the sermon. He also records how he arranged a drinking table in one of the back rooms of the house, where it had been possible to drink and play games.¹¹⁵

Institutional religion was also seldom mentioned in von Hagn's diary. Her only recorded attendance at church was limited to occasions when she was in esteemed company. Thus, she went to church during the conference in Kalisz, as she wanted to see the tsar of Russia and the Prussian royal family. A similar motivation lay behind her visit to a Berlin church in 1836, when she wanted to meet the Prince d'Orleans and the Prince de Nemours. Von Hagn writes with enthusiasm about how she and her sister had sat so close to the princes that they could see them. However, she was frustrated that she was not presented to the French guests.¹¹⁶ It would seem that the church was more of a place to see and be seen than a place for religious worship.

In theatre circles priests were also viewed in a comic light. On one occasion, a bishop tried all means to diminish the influence of the theatre as he thought it was sinful. Hence, he had not attended a single performance since 1805. This particular bishop was evidently the regular butt of the actors' jokes. Blume jokingly remarked on one occasion, for example, about his the desire to whistle at the bishop's red socks.¹¹⁷ This mocking and scornful attitude to priests reveals the less-than devout religious mentality of a number of Berliner actors.

It is evident how Berlin's actors described their ideas of a family idyll on the pages of their diaries. When children were mentioned, which was relatively seldom, they were described in a loving tone. Furthermore, the happiness of family gatherings was underlined. The brief references to theories of upbringing suggest that a belief in diligence and the need to obey the father were inculcated in their children. It can also be argued that the familiarisation of religion was seen in the lives of some of the actors: the institutionalised church was seen as lacking emotion and religious feelings were rather expressed at home.

115 Diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 22.7.1843. Nr 1, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

116 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 15.5.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

117 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 31.6.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

3. Female Actors

Marriage was traditionally the only way in which a woman could succeed in bürgerlich culture. It was impossible for a woman to live on her own and to earn an independent living. In most cases it was even impossible for bürgerlich women to walk unaccompanied around Berlin or to attend a social gathering without a companion.¹¹⁸ Women from a bürgerlich background were largely excluded from pursuing a working career by a lack of education. However, some women were able to educate themselves. Women could become teachers, governesses, artists and writers, and it has been pointed out that women were also able to perform a number of religious duties. However, it is interesting to note that the profession of female actor has not been thoroughly researched in terms of work and middle-class women in the German cultural sphere.¹¹⁹ This is not to suggest that female actors have been ignored, as numerous biographical and theatre-related studies have been undertaken. In terms of biographies, one can mention Gerda Bobbert's study of Charlotte von Hagn and Else Hes' work on Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer. These works are both rapturous descriptions of the lives of famous female actors. A second approach pays more attention to the women's social problems in the theatre or concentrates on the history of the oppression of women in the theatre. An example of such a work is Gisela Schwanbeck's study of the social problems of female actors over the course of three centuries. Schwanbeck argues that if one adopts a broad historical perspective, it is possible to claim that female actors enjoyed a relatively good position in society in the post-1815 period, as they received a good income and pension benefits. She describes this period as the era of prima donnas, emphasising the power of the leading female actors in the theatre.¹²⁰ Tracy C. Davis has also studied the social position of women in nineteenth-century British theatre. Indeed, the lack of work on female actors in nineteenth-century Prussia, means that Davis' research acts as an important comparative yardstick. She has extensively studied the social identity of Victorian female actors and argues that the theatre offered independent women the possibility to enjoy unparalleled freedom. However, the theatre was like Pandora's Box for some women, as it was full of potential dangers. Overall, however, Davis argues that the

118 Frevert 1990, 95; Hausen 1988, 94–95; Rosenbaum 1982, 340; Weber-Kellermann 1983, 63.

119 Budde 2000, 265–267; Frevert 1990, 94; Gay 2002, 207.

120 Schwanbeck 1957, 61–64.

theatre was still a good career option for most women, as with a little luck it offered the possibility of fame and riches.¹²¹

The main arguments of this chapter are that Berlin's female actors were an extraordinarily active set of independent women, especially when one bears in mind the restrictive nature of restoration-era Prussia. Moreover, it should be stressed that female actors were still considered to be morally suspect by elements within Prussian society because of their profession. What is more, female actors were particularly prone to approaches by male colleagues and wealthy and influential men, irrespective of whether these were welcome. However, there are no signs that female actors resorted to prostitution in Berlin, which runs contrary to some stereotypes. Yet, they also employed strategies for solving the disparities between the cultural model of the compliant wife and doting mother, with the pursuit of a full-time career on stage. Some female actors left the stage when they married, but there were also women who continued to pursue successful theatre careers after marriage.

Active Women

I have already discussed the position of female actors in Prussian society. Most of the social opportunities provided by their profession did not correspond with the ideals of traditional *bürgerlich* women. In earlier chapters a focus was placed on the different ways in which a woman could train in order to enter the acting profession, such as through an apprenticeship. What is more acting offered women the possibility to engage in independent work, to earn a considerable sum of money and to enjoy public acclaim.

As pointed out in Chapter I.4, the income level of female actors was extremely high, especially when one considers that it was rare for middle-class women in Prussia during the nineteenth century to have the opportunity to earn a living through work. Indeed, the salaries of the majority of female actors were on a par with those of educated civil servants, although a select group of leading performers earned more money than officials at the royal court.

Chapter I.2 discussed how the apprentice system made it possible for women to be trained as actors. Private lessons represented another channel for prospective female actors, but the fees restricted this option to women from wealthier backgrounds. Some female actors also had the possibility to educate themselves while working.

121 Davis 1991, 15–17.

What is more, educational trips to theatres in other towns and cities constituted a core part of a woman's theatre education.

As discussed in Chapter III, female actors led a completely different lifestyle to other women from a similar *bürgerlich* background. It was not common, for example, for typical *bürgerlich* women to appear on the pages of newspapers, as this went against the contemporary honour code that frowned on public displays of either praise or criticism. However, female actors were the subject of theatre critiques, rumours and public speeches.

Karin Hausen has studied the ideal definitions of women and men in nineteenth-century encyclopaedias, and highlights how writers sought to create differences between the sexes. In 1815 Brockhaus, women were classed as being family-oriented, whiny and tender. In comparison, men were described as being creative, powerful and capable of exerting influence outside the home. In the 1848 edition of the Meyer encyclopaedia, it was stated that women were more emotional, whilst men were stricter and more hardhearted. Weber-Kellerman argues that these ideals were also seen in attitudes towards the upbringing of children. Thus, boys were encouraged to use reason, whereas girls were taught to be proficient in needlework and housekeeping.¹²²

However, these traditional definitions do not match the lifestyles enjoyed by female actors in Prussia in the restoration era. Most female actors were purposeful and knew what they wanted. This was certainly the case with Auguste Stich-Crelinger, who can be seen as an example of an extraordinary woman who transcended *bürgerlich* cultural norms. Her parents worked in the handicraft industry and she was discovered acting in an amateur theatre by the theatre director Iffland. She soon rose to become one of the most *fêted* female actors at the Royal Theatre and she also gained widespread acclaim by undertaking numerous guest performances. Her first husband was the actor Heinrich Wilhelm Stich, with whom she had two daughters (Bertha, born in 1818, and Clara, who was born in 1820). Stich died in 1824, but she went on to consolidate her burgeoning career before in 1827 she married the banker Otto Crelinger.¹²³ Considerable talent and willpower was required for Stich-Crelinger to escape her background and to become one of the great divas of the stage in restoration-era Prussia. What is more, at a critical phase in her promising career she gave birth to two daughters and successfully managed take care of the young girls after the death of her first husband.

122 Hausen 1981, 54–55; Weber-Kellermann 1983, 54–55.

123 NDB Bd. 3, 409–407.

Stich-Crelinger was a strong woman, who wanted to consolidate power in her own hands. In her memoirs, Karoline Bauer describes Stich-Crelinger as disagreeing with everyone, but that nobody wanted to upset her. Bauer also noted that traditional roles were not suitable for her because there was 'something so noble in her'.¹²⁴ Stich-Crelinger gave strict orders to a theatre director, for example, concerning how she did not approve of the construction of a black water pump near her garden.¹²⁵ She scolded a reviewer of a play entitled *Kabale und Liebe* in which she had performed, warning that she would not accept this kind of unfair public criticism. Furthermore, she also questions his criticism of the performance of one of her daughters.¹²⁶ These letters reveal that Stich-Crelinger was an active and powerful woman, who aggressively asserted her rights and did not conform to the inconspicuous model of the typical bürgerlich woman. Moreover, the letters that Stich-Crelinger sent to the theatre management of the Royal Theatre also testify that she was able to exert substantial influence. In November 1826, for example, she exceeded her holiday allocation and was ordered to return to Berlin. However, she refused to do this and tendered her resignation.¹²⁷ Stich-Crelinger was duly punished for her obstinacy, but she did not back down. Indeed, she even dared to defy the royal court in this matter and also threatened to resign from this body.

Charlotte von Hagn also possessed an extremely strong character, and in her diary she describes Stich-Crelinger, her bitter rival, in an extremely negative hue. However, the public dispute that erupted between Stich-Crelinger and von Hagn, revealed the enormous authority enjoyed by the former in the Berlin theatre world. The diary of Adolph Bethge also provides invaluable insights into the personal character of Stich-Crelinger. As mentioned, he worked as a gardener for Stich-Crelinger, but was also a family friend who enjoyed considerable support from the famous actor when building his own career on stage.¹²⁸ Bethge's diary is a highly significant source on Stich-Crelinger as it provides a rare glimpse into the life of the Stich-Crelinger family, which is devoid of the competitive sentiments of rival female actors. Stich-Crelinger's influence in the theatre is well documented by Bethge, who gratefully acknowledges her support. The influential actor intervened on Bethge's behalf to General Intendant

124 Bauer (1871) 1917, 242–244.

125 A letter from Auguste Stich-Crelinger to 'Herr direktor' 25.9.sa. I Handschriften. ThFU.

126 A letter from Auguste Stich-Crelinger to an unknown recipient. 14.1.sa. I Handschriften. ThFU.

127 A letter from von Wittgenstein to the king of Prussia, dated 13.11.1826. Bl. 38–44. Nr 21213, I HA Rep 89, GStA PK.

128 On one occasion Bethge was in low spirits when working in Crelinger's garden, which had caused concern to Auguste and her husband. See a diary entry of Adolph Bethge, dated 2.8.1845. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

von Küstner, for example, when he was negotiating a renewal of his contract. On another occasion, when Bethge was accused of being a spy of General Intendant von Küstner, Stich-Crelinger was unwavering in her backing. Indeed, she endeavoured to quash the rumours against Bethge by publicly stating her support at a theatre rehearsal.¹²⁹ Bethge's descriptions suggest that Auguste Stich-Crelinger was highly influential in theatre circles and was in a position to promote her favourites.

One can gain a degree of information about the position of female actors in Berliner society by analysing the city's address books. In these annual publications individuals are listed by their last name and profession. One interesting feature of these books is the inclusion of most female actors. This suggests that female actors were respected as private professionals, who were deemed worthy of mention irrespective of their marital status. Thus, Auguste Stich-Crelinger warranted her own paragraph that was independent of her second husband, Otto Crelinger.¹³⁰

The example of Auguste Stich-Crelinger highlights how female actresses could gain a good position in restoration society through their working careers. They were visible and respected members of the theatre community and were influential and active in their demands.

Sexuality and Female Actors

Three major problems can be linked to the acting profession in restoration-era Prussia, which all seem to be linked to the mixed feelings that female actors evoked in terms of the bürgerlich culture of decency and the idealisation of virginity.¹³¹ A significant problem for female actors centred on the unwanted approaches of male actors and members of the audience. Female actors also suffered from the traditional depiction of them as merely being the mistresses of wealthy and influential men. Furthermore, this image helped to engender an imaginary link between prostitution and female actors. Finally, the erotic content of some stage productions led to unwarranted aspersions being cast on female actors.

129 Diary entries of Adolph Bethge, dated 12.3., 12.12., 14.12.1844. Nr 2, VI HA NI Bethge A., GStA PK.

130 In some cases a young female actor was not mentioned if she was living with her husband, who was also an actor. Addressbuch 1845.

131 Victorian culture was extremely sensitive to idealised notions of virginity. Thus, the necessity not to 'ruin' an unmarried daughter was one of most significant tasks for Victorian-era families. Furthermore, the protection of a woman's virginity became a symbol of class status. For more detail on this subject, see Gay 2002, 76–77.

Tracy C. Davis has paid particular attention to the position of female actors in the theatre. One of her main arguments is that young, female actors, ballerinas, choristers and apprentices were exposed to the sexual harassment of older male actors, although she believes that this was far less common towards the leading female stars.¹³²

It is possible to discern a number of fragmentary contemporary remarks that refer to sexual harassment in Berlin theatres. Eduard Devrient criticised the behaviour of Seydelmann, for example, who had ‘thrown his web’ over the young Clara Stich, which he described as villainous and shameful for a married man. Devrient adds that Seydelmann’s wife had warned her husband that Clara Stich was never going to be his mistress, but had subsequently followed him at all times.¹³³ However, one must judge Devrient’s statement in a critical light as Seydelmann had been hired to replace Ludwig Devrient, which aroused Eduard’s hostility. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that Devrient articulated that he felt that it was improper for a married man to try and seduce a young, female actor.

Female actors tended to warn each other if they knew that a male actor had a bad reputation. Thus, Karoline Bauer records how she was warned about Ludwig Devrient’s predilection for young, female actors. Indeed, Bauer wrote in her memoirs about how Ludwig Devrient was eager to consult with her, but she knew she needed to be on guard because of prior warnings about his lecherous behaviour.¹³⁴

Furthermore, the writings of a number of female actors also refer to improper advances that men made outside the theatre circles. In his study on the social relationships in German theatre, Julius Bab states that it was exceptionally hard to know how respected men in ‘good society’ interacted with female actors.¹³⁵ Karoline Bauer openly states in her memoirs, for example, that Prince August of Prussia made improper advances to her. Bauer mentions that the royal court intervened to end her suffering, but that the prince then targeted a young ballerina.¹³⁶ This part of Bauer’s memoirs can be read as her attempt to portray herself as a desirable woman, who dazzled court circles. On the other hand, it also reinforces the notorious reputation that Prince August had gained.

Charlotte von Hagn and Karoline Bauer described some of these unwanted advances, with their attitude always being unresponsive. Von Hagn was strict towards

132 Davis 1991, 16, 18, 87–88, 92.

133 Eduard Devrient 27.8.1841. Devrient 1964, 120–121.

134 Bauer 1880b, 24.

135 Bab 1915, 56.

136 Bauer described the prince as a dreadful sultan. Bauer 1880a, 403–404, 409, 416.

unwanted advances, following contemporary codes of honour. Her old English teacher, a certain Mr Schmidt, was known as a Casanova, for example, and apparently tried to trick von Hagn by playing on their professional past. In her diary, von Hagn records how she very quickly set the man straight. She also writes about how a Portuguese nobleman wanted to pay her a visit, but that she did not like the idea. He remained insistent, but she refused him in a cold manner and made it clear that only men who were properly introduced to her in advance could converse with her during visiting hours. On a third occasion, in January 1836, von Hagn describes being at an aristocratic masked ball with her sisters, where Count Schulenburg quickly retreated from their company when her sisters sternly notified him that they were decent girls.¹³⁷ All these examples emphasise how Charlotte von Hagn wanted to underline her decency – even in her private diaries.

The writings of female actors also contain some references to the dishonest reputation of the dancers. Von Hagn notes in her diary, for instance, that on one occasion after the king had left dance rehearsals in Potsdam, the princes Carl and Albrecht ‘had their fun’ with the chorus dancing girls. Indeed, the noise of this ‘fun’ was so loud that the French actors found it difficult to rehearse. What is more, von Hagn records that some Spanish dancers were sent home from the Kalisz Conference, because they had behaved indecently and had caused indignation.¹³⁸ Karoline Bauer also refers to malicious gossip about a harem of dancers at the court of King Frederick William III, in which Chamberlain ‘papa’ Timm was the ‘first Eunuch’. However, she defends the reputation of the king by arguing that Chamberlain Timm had testified that the monarch was too shy for any love affairs and thought that it would have been an insult against the late Queen Louise. However, Bauer does confirm that the king liked to pat young female actors and dancers and give them presents. Thirdly, she suggests that the king was genuinely interested in the theatre and wanted to protect the reputation of his actors. As an example, Bauer highlights how the king was keen to know about an actor’s reputation before he would consider hiring them for the Royal Theatre. Furthermore, Bauer records an occasion when the king prohibited a young and beautiful female actor from dancing with a duke, who was making inappropriate advances. According to Bauer, the king informed the female actor that: ‘He is a *mauvais sujet* – his intentions are not honest – and he will hurt your reputation. And a good name is dearer than much fine gold.’ Moreover, Bauer claims that the king

137 Diary entries of von Hagn 13.4., 28.9.1834. Bd 2; 30.1.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

138 Diary entry of von Hagn, dated 17.9.1835. Bd 2; 23.5.1836. Bd 3, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

was a complete gentleman in regard to defending his actors against malicious attacks in newspapers and other publications. Bauer concludes that King Frederick William III 'valued the woman in us higher than the artist.'¹³⁹

These examples are interesting in many ways. Firstly, they discuss the stereotype of the indecent dancer and highlight that such insinuations affected women in this profession, irrespective of whether or not they were based on fact. This explains why Bauer laid particular stress on the king's patronage of his dancers. On the other hand, Bauer's memoirs reveal that she was well aware of the need to be seen to be a moral and virtuous lady. The idea that a woman could lose her good reputation if she danced for too long or too enthusiastically with a male in public was linked to the necessity of preserving a virginal image.

Karoline Bauer herself was linked to one unlucky advance by a so-called gentleman of good standing. She describes the incident in her memoirs, but interestingly the affair was also re-enacted on stage. This provides a valuable perspective on the general views of Prussian high society regarding the moral decency of female actors. Thus, Bauer describes the case of Count Samilov, which occurred in 1827 when she became engaged to a young, handsome Russian nobleman, who promised to give her an annual allowance of 6000 thalers and did not insist that she need to retire from the stage. On the eve of their marriage Count Samilov was revealed to be a charlatan, who was actually a valet named Grimm from St. Petersburg who had stolen a great sum of money. After a trial, Grimm ended up in Spandau Prison and Bauer wrote that 'Berlin showed me its sympathy by sending me a quite excessive number of invitations. Everyone wanted to cheer me up and show me that I had lost nothing in their estimations as a result of this experience.'¹⁴⁰ This quotation clearly suggests how important it was for Bauer to maintain a decent public image, despite feeling that she had been publicly deceived.

After the incident, Pius Alexander Wolff wrote a play entitled *Kammerdiener*, which drew inspiration from Bauer's unhappy engagement. This is an interesting case, as the play is essentially a meta-level commentary on the life of contemporary actors. The play's plot centres on a swindling valet – Baron Schniffelinsky – who attempts to defraud wealthy women of their money. The leading female protagonist is mocked in regard to her desire to climb higher in society by marriage. However, the play does not allude to any sexual adventures.¹⁴¹ Bauer did not object to the play,

139 Bauer 1880a, 334–335. The quotations are from the English translation of Bauer's memoirs. See, Bauer 1885, 137.

140 Bauer 1880b, 137.

141 Wolff s.a., passim, see, for example, 6, 10.

describing it as a great success. Indeed, she was even willing to 'gaily and pertly' take on a role as a waiting maid 'as if the Kammerdiener Affair did not concern me at all'. Disgruntled friends of Bauer were prepared to protest during performances of the play, but in the end the production ran without commotion. Indeed, the derogatory stereotypes of Jews in the play caused more uproar than the participation of Bauer as a waiting maid.¹⁴²

In all the above-mentioned examples of unwanted advances it was important for female actors to retrain a respectable public image. Thus, unannounced attention by men was not tolerated, even during official visiting hours. It was imperative that men of good society should not think that female actors were indecent women and that society should not view them in a negative light.

Links to prostitution remained one of most enduring prejudices against female actors. These biases can be traced back to the ancient Greek *auletrides*, or flute girls. In the seventeenth century theatres were closed because of accusations of immorality and prostitution. One of the reasons why prostitution and female actors were linked was because audiences confused the identity of actors with the roles they played. This blurring of personas helped to generate wild rumours of sexual liaisons between female and male actors. Such rumours also tended to exaggerate the reputation of female actors being sexually active.¹⁴³

Davis concludes that such prejudices were based on the fact that female actors worked publicly and performed to anyone who was able to pay enough. On the other hand, Davis refutes the notion that female actors in Victorian Britain actually worked as prostitutes. She admits that female actors may have been the mistresses of wealthy men, but stresses that this cannot be equated with prostitution.¹⁴⁴ I am inclined to agree with this stance, vis-à-vis female actors in Berlin, as no evidence exists to suggest that prostitution was practiced by stage performers. It is possible that any scandalous indiscretions could have been hushed up, but the available source material contains no allusions to any such cover ups in regard to the immorality of female actors.

The first study to tackle the phenomenon of prostitution in Berlin was published in the 1840s by Ernst Dronke. Thus, in a work entitled *Berlin*, which does not exclusively focus on prostitution, the author criticises contemporary social conditions in Berlin. Dronke undertakes a close examination of both the theatre life and prostitution, but does not connect the two. According to Dronke, it was possible

142 Bauer 1880b, 138–139. The English translations Bauer 1885, 272–273.

143 Bush-Bailey 2007, 15–16; Nicholson 1997, 295–296; Pullen 2005, 3. Clarke uses the wild rumours that circulated about Mrs. Molière as an example. See, Clarke 1995, 26.

144 Davis 1991, 69, 78, 80.

to list the categories of prostitutes in Berlin, such as girls who wander from house to house; girls who frequent wine bars and taverns; street girls; women who practice prostitution in their own homes and occasional prostitutes. None of the groups listed by Dronke were connected with female actors in any form whatsoever.¹⁴⁵

A report by Dr. Behrend, which was published in 1850, provides another independent source that deals with prostitution in Berlin in the first half of the nineteenth century. The aim of the report was to consider the feasibility of legalising brothels in Berlin.¹⁴⁶ The only reference to the theatre contained in the report cites the Berlin decency code of Berlin from 1829, which states:

Lohnhuren sollen zu den Tanzböden nicht zugelassen werden – – und namentlich auf öffentlichen Spazierengängen, nicht sehen lassen. Der Besuch der öffentlichen Schauspiele ist ihnen bei Vermeidung sofortiger Verhaftet und dreitäger Gefängnisstrafe untersagt.¹⁴⁷

The need for such a regulation suggests that there may have been some confusion among the theatre audience regarding the vocation of female actors. However, Behrend evidently did not deem it necessary to write about the links between female actors and prostitution in his report.

Davis argues that some female actors in Victorian Britain were mistresses of wealthy men, but that this was not prostitution. A similar phenomenon can be noted in Berlin. Thus, Karoline Bauer married Prince Leopold and was also briefly engaged to the charlatan Count Samilov. The diaries of Charlotte von Hagn also reveal her close links to Prince von Wittgenstein and even to Tsar Nicholas I. Yet, these close relationships were far from prostitution and it can be argued that they were not even mistress-patron relationships.

In her study, Davis stresses that it would be more fruitful to study the parallels between the theatre and prostitution, rather than trying to find female actors that practiced prostitution. Hence, she aims to illustrate how the place of women in the profession of acting could be associated with prostitution. Davis points out, for example, that female actors mingled in close proximity with prostitutes in pubs, public gardens, theatres and at concerts. She even emphasises that part of the theatre audience was comprised of prostitutes. Furthermore, she suggests that theatres tended

145 Dronke (1846) 1987, 67–68.

146 Behrend 1850, 1–2.

147 Behrend 1850, 255.

to be located in areas in which sensual pleasures were readily available, whether of an erotic or gastronomic variety.¹⁴⁸

It is hard to pinpoint the exact locations where Berlin's prostitutes congregated in the first half of the nineteenth century. Rüdiger Hachtmann locates a hub of prostitution in Berlin on the Kronenstrasse and Siebergasse and in particular on a street called Neue Königsmauer.¹⁴⁹ If Dronke's thoughts about prostitution in Berlin in the 1840s are reliable, it would seem that prostitutes did not congregate close to theatres. Dronke provides a list of places linked to prostitution in Berlin. Thus, he mentions that prostitutes used to gather at the Colosseum on Jacobstrasse, as well at Friedrichstädtische Halle and in the Villa Bella at Oranienburger Tor. These places were located at some distance from both Berlin theatres. However, it is possible to connect the Krollische Establishment with both prostitution and the theatre. Thus, according to Dronke this venue was a dance hall for the elite, which also attracted prostitutes.¹⁵⁰ Cabaret performances connected the Krollische Establishment with the theatre, but it should be stressed that these shows only began in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁵¹

The case of the Krollische Establishment provides a pertinent example of the different cultural dynamics at play in Berlin in the first and second halves of the nineteenth century. In short, the associations between prostitution and female actors actually increased in the latter part of the nineteenth century in Berlin. Thus, moralistic literature, for example, increasingly began to link prostitutes and female actors.¹⁵² One explanation for this development could be related to the fact that the acting profession in Berlin underwent significant change around the middle of the century. The easing of censorship made it possible to establish new theatres, and consequently the number of actors in the city grew enormously. This vast growth meant that actors were increasingly emerging from the lower classes. It is possible that this development encouraged a greater degree of prostitution among actors. In brief, it is important to note the difference cultural dynamics at play in the first and the second halves of the century.

A third problem that arises when considering the way in which the bürgerlich code of honour related to female actors, lies in the fact that the basis of their work involved trying to entertain spectators. In his studies on the sociology of theatre,

148 Davis 1991, 80–83.

149 Hachtmann 2006, 193, 203.

150 Dronke (1846) 1987, 66.

151 Freydank 1988, 240.

152 Patterson 1996, 100–101.

Julius Bab argues that the acting profession has always been dependent on the body. Consequently, he rejects the idea that female actors were only looked at in an honourable manner in bürgerlich society.¹⁵³ The theatre offered spectators a rare space in which they were able to legitimately look at the female body. This was particularly the case in regard to bürgerlich culture, which sought to conceal an individual's sexuality. Davis also emphasises problems related to *mise en scène*. Thus, she traces how the sexual attention of the audience in British theatres was especially targeted on women. Indeed, Davis describes how some theatre costumes played on contemporary notions of fetishism and thereby suggested sexual availability. This merely exacerbated the blurred perception of Victorian audiences vis-à-vis the actor and her role.¹⁵⁴

In Berlin, however, the theatre authorities endeavoured to stifle sexual tensions by enforcing regulations. Hence, the 107th paragraph of the theatre regulations stipulated that sexual connotations on stage were strictly prohibited and that it was important to practice decency on stage. The regulations also specify that actors should stand about four to five feet from each other. Moreover, handshakes, embraces and other forms of close contact were to be avoided among men and especially between the sexes. Kissing was only allowed if the playwright explicitly indicated the need. In such cases, the kiss was to be feigned.¹⁵⁵ These regulations suggest that there was a great concern among the theatre officials regarding the need for decency on stage. Furthermore, this concern even extended to the conduct of female actors when they were in transit to the theatre. Thus, female actors were escorted to performances and rehearsals using a special theatre carriage.¹⁵⁶ The use of a special carriage served a practical function, but it also illustrates how it was not deemed appropriate for women to travel on their own in the city.

Marriage: A Hindrance or an Opportunity?

One of the most characteristic problems for female actors was to try and juggle their stage career with a family life as a wife and mother. Susanne Kord argues that the basic stereotype of the immorality of female actors was created by the idea that they were professionally geared towards craving love and adulation both on and off stage. Furthermore, the church was strongly against female actors. Davis suggests, however,

153 Bab 1915, 55–56.

154 Davis 1991, 105, 115, 143.

155 Küstner 1845, 48–49.

156 Reglement für die Königlichen Schauspiele zu Berlin, § 190–193, Bl 7. Th 611 [Nr 817]. A Pr Rep 030 Titel 74. LAB.

that theatre could also act as a springboard to marriage, with the immoral reputation of female actors necessitating that women needed to highlight their decency.¹⁵⁷ Davis also emphasises various social and family-oriented problems resulted from attempts to keep a female actor's private life separate from her professional status. The need to perform in the evening also proved challenging in terms of taking care of the family. Indeed, Davis claims that the career of the Victorian female actor was a constant struggle between needing to make compromises in terms of the demands of motherhood and marriage, while seeking to pursue an independent career.¹⁵⁸

Eduard Devrient was forced to consider the position of the female actor in Prussian society when his daughter announced that she wanted to perform on stage. In his diary, Devrient describes how he discussed the options open to his daughter with his friend Rellstab, with the pair also touching upon whether female actors made good wives. Devrient concluded that it would be a great misfortune for his daughter if she were to pursue a career as an actor. His primary concern, as a father, was that nobody would take a female actor as a wife. Devrient felt that it was more important for his daughter to end up in a decent marriage, than to build an independent stage. He did not see the theatre as a way to a good marital match. It is noticeable that Devrient, an actor himself, is frank about the problems of his profession. Thus, he lists the changeable mood of the audience, the need to be popular and the tiresome working conditions under the theatre management. However, Devrient does not specify the problems faced by female actors, as he merely refers to 'the usual thoughts of people'.¹⁵⁹

Davis also recognises the problems and trauma experienced by middle-class parents in accepting that their daughters could choose an acting career in Victorian Britain. The greatest problem, she suggests, was that parents were alarmed that their unmarried daughter would be working in close proximity with male actors. The most rigidly conservative families in Britain perceived that it was worse if their daughter was working on stage than if she was a prostitute. It was felt that at least prostitutes carried out their work in the private sphere, while actors were vulnerable to public scrutiny. Davis also highlights the paradoxical choices faced by Victorian parents:

157 Davis 1991, 18.

158 Davis 1991, 55; Kord 1997, 360. An example of the religious bias of commoners is revealed in Charlotte von Hagn's diary, when she describes her steamship journey to St. Petersburg. A woman came to her and requested that she leave the theatre as only then would her Christian soul be saved. See the diary entry of von Hagn, dated 12.9.1833. Bd 2, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

159 Diary entries of Eduard Devrient, dated 6.12., 29.12.1843. Devrient 1964, 194, 197.

they did not want their daughters to become actors, but on the other hand many paid for them to have private acting lessons.¹⁶⁰

When free from family concerns, Devrient was able to contemplate the positive possibilities of a woman on stage. He wrote from Paris to his wife, for example, about Elisa Rachel (1820–1858), who was forced to retire from the stage because of her marriage to a duke. Devrient wrote:

Sollte sie die Herrschaft über die Bühne gegen die Sklaverei der Etikette, die Freiheit des individuellen Schaffens gegen das drückende Gefühl tauschen, in den vornehmen Kreisen nur ein kaum geduldetes Glied zu sein?

Devrient questioned why Rachel had given up her great career in order to be constrained as a wife without any freedom. This letter reveals that Devrient perceived that female actors were able to live more freely than the wife of a noble. In other words, Devrient realised that a leading female actor was able to enjoy a superior life than an aristocratic lady restrained by etiquette.

A number of female actors resolved the dilemma between pursuing a career and marrying by leaving the stage after they wed. This can be interpreted as recanting the errors of their former life. The role of a respected housewife did not include the possibility for another existence. On the other hand, some saw marriage as providing the chance to avoid the inglorious fate of elderly female actors, who were no longer hired for glamorous roles and enjoyed every decreasing levels of fame. Charlotte von Hagn, Karoline Bauer and Johanna Eunicke, for example, all retired from the stage after they married. In the cases of Bauer and von Hagn, their noble background may have been the key to their marriage. Yet, it is important to note that a theatre career was not considered to be a hindrance to a good marriage. Still, they probably all considered that it was not possible for an elderly female actor to survive without being in a marriage. In the cases of Bauer and von Hagn, it is entirely possible that financial considerations lay behind their decisions to marry wealthy gentlemen.

Charlotte von Hagn was the offspring of a noble family from Munich. She only married in 1846, when she wed Baron von Oven, after which she retired from the stage. However, prior to this, a stream of eligible bachelors had courted von Hagn, who she turned down in order to continue her stage career. According to her diaries, one of her most conspicuous suitors was Prince Karl Adam Wilhelm von Württemberg (1792–1847). They first met in Vienna 1835 and on their third meeting the prince proposed. Von Hagn was initially afraid that the marriage would

¹⁶⁰ Davis 1991, 72–73, 97.

be impossible, although her stance soon softened. In 1836 they met in Tepliz and once again discussed the possibility of marriage. At the time the whole of Prussian high society was aware of von Württemberg's courting of von Hagn. Indeed, Chamberlain Timm brazenly asked whether they were already close to sleeping with each other. At this juncture, von Hagn wrote in her diary about how she had begun to reconsider her career and her whole existence. She questioned her own talent, which she had developed over the preceding five years. At this time of uncertainty, von Hagn unsuccessfully tried to conceal the relationship. On her way to the spa resort, she was apparently about to write to her beloved, but hesitated as she was afraid that her travel companions would become aware of to whom she was writing. After arriving in the spa town of Doberan, von Württemberg wrote to von Hagn that he had not yet asked for his mother's consent for the proposed marriage. By this time, Charlotte was becoming increasingly desperate about her predicament. Her long-standing friends Riebeunpiere and Arnim warned Charlotte about von Württemberg's bad reputation. Finally, in November 1836, von Württemberg notified her that his mother did not approve of the match. In contrast to von Hagn's earlier behaviour, she took the news quite calmly and wrote about how at least she had her art and the theatre and that she was making realistic plans to recover from this setback.¹⁶¹

Count Blome had also proposed to von Hagn in 1835, but she came to the conclusion that she did not like him, let alone love him and that her acceptance would lead to an unhappy marriage. She also pointed out the difference in their social positions. After rejecting Count Blome, von Hagn heard from a friend that the aristocrat had publicly stated that he would not have married an actress anyhow. At this time, von Hagn wrote in her diary about how the sadness she felt at the public abuse aimed at her. Yet, she also expressed disappointment when she heard that Count Blome had become engaged in November 1837, commenting in her diary that she had begun to fear the she would die alone.¹⁶² This case is interesting because it reveals von Hagn's ideas on social position and refers to the poor reputation of female actors in the marriage market.

However, her stage background did not ultimately hinder her from marrying the aristocratic Baron von Oven. Gerda Bobbert explains that von Hagn married von Oven in order to gain financial security. Indeed, Bobbert attributes a string of cancelled performances in 1845 to von Hagn's growing sense of unease regarding her

161 Diary entries of von Hagn, dated 8.10, 11.11, 11.12.1835, 10.2, 15.7, 16.7, 20.7, 17.8, 20.8, 21.8, 1.9.1836, Bd 3, 13.11.1836, Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

162 Diary entries of von Hagn on 26.7, 31.7.1835. Bd 2; 19.1.1836. Bd 3; 28.10.1836. Bd 4, Nr 1, VI HA NI Hagn, GStA PK.

personal life.¹⁶³ After marrying von Oven, von Hagn withdrew completely from her former life and was not allowed to keep in contact with old stage acquaintances. In 1848, von Hagn wrote a letter to the actor and playwright Madame Birch-Pfeiffer, a former friend, in which she expresses her bitter disappointment at being prohibited from write to any of her old acquaintances. She had only been allowed to write to Birch-Pfeiffer because she had lost a baby – a misfortune shared by her former friend. The unhappy marriage of von Hagn ended in 1851, but she never returned to the stage.¹⁶⁴

Karoline Bauer's mother was also of noble ancestry, being part of the illustrious Stockmar family. Indeed, Karoline's cousin was Baron Christian Stockmar, who probably instigated her first, short marriage in 1829 with Prince Leopold von Coburg, who later became the king of Belgium. The conditions of this marriage were such that she had to leave the stage. In her memoirs, she recalls a conversation with Amalie Wolff during her engagement to von Coburg. In the conversation, Wolff, an elderly female actor, gave advice to the younger female actor and suggested that she should choose marriage instead of a career on stage:

'You know how happy I am as an actress.'

'Nonsense, lassie. You know very well that one does not remain twenty and pretty for ever! And have not you, too, had remarkable experience on the stage? Are you not almost obliged to fight with Stich for every new role as dogs do for a bone? And does not even little, insignificant Leonhardt snatch from you many a pretty, youthful part because she is patronised by Prince Karl? Was it not last year that the pretty goose, Mdlle. K-, was allowed to play your 'Preciosa' here because she was the mistress of the Grand Duke of Baden, and the latter had given her a letter of recommendation to Prince Wittgenstein? And may not any booby of a critic, who would fain make you happy with his love, and who you cold shoulder, cut you up in his paper with impunity? [...] But alas, alas, if you become old upon the stage, and yet must play for your daily bread! There is nothing more melancholy than to behold an actress playing a comic matron whose heart bleeds, and whose teeth have fallen from her mouth.'¹⁶⁵

In referring to this quote, Bauer was probably articulating her own fears of staying on stage and not marrying a wealthy nobleman. The fear of being compelled to play unglamorous roles would have been real for Karoline Bauer, as many of her contemporary female colleagues had already married and left the stage. Furthermore, the quotation also suggests that favouritism existed for the mistresses of men of high rank. What is more, the critics, who felt spurned by leading female actors, had the

163 Bobbert 1936, 102.

164 Bobbert 1936, 140. NDB Bd 7, 494–495.

165 Bauer 1880b, 316–317. The English translation is from Bauer 1885, 341.

power to mock stage performers in print. However, Bauer's morganatic marriage with Prince Leopold was soon dissolved and she returned to the stage.

Years after her ill-fated marriage with Leopold, Bauer again reached a point when she had to contemplate retiring from the stage. Her biographer, Lier, suggests that Bauer felt lonely and vulnerable after the death of her mother in 1842. Consequently, in 1844 she married Count Broël-Plater and left the stage for good. The marriage was later described as being an unhappy one. The editor of the second edition of Bauer's memoirs claims that Bauer calculated that she would attain prosperity and a noble family by marrying Broël-Plater. Yet, it transpired that she came to be a prisoner in her own home with a pedantic tyrant as a husband. In her memoirs, Bauer describes feeling like an 'impotent slave' in the marriage, as her husband was selfish, violent, cold and tyrannical.¹⁶⁶ In brief, Bauer was able to marry, despite her reputation as a leading female actor, but her husband vehemently opposed any association with her former career.

The singer and actor Johanna Eunicke came from a respected musical family. She provides an example of a female actor that did not marry into noble circles, but left the stage after her marriage. In contemporary terms, her husband, the acclaimed painter Franz Krüger, would have been deemed a good match. Thus, when the couple married in 1825, he had just been made a professor and a member of the Academy of Berlin, and consequently Johanna Eunicke withdrew from the stage.¹⁶⁷ Because of her husband's profession, it was economically possible to withdraw from the stage. On the other hand, one might ask whether it would have been culturally too suspicious even for an Academy professor to have a wife that was an actor.

In the cases of Karoline Bauer and Charlotte von Hagn, family background played a more important role in their marriages. They both came from noble backgrounds and were thus eligible to marry noblemen. It is noteworthy that their stage careers did not prevent them securing a noble match. Yet, in spite of these marriages there were still some people in Prussian society who believed it was questionable to marry a female actor. The pressure to leave the stage after marrying provides a strong indication that female actors were not socially acceptable in elite circles once betrothed.

However, not all female actors left the stage after marrying. Thus, most female actors who married an actor or a musician continued to work. One can argue such husbands were better able to understand the desire of female actors to continue their

166 Hollander 1917, vi, viii. ADB Bd. 55, 667–672. Bauer 1880b, 133.

167 Eisenberg 1903, 244. Bartoschek 2007, 12.

careers after marriage. Moreover, in some cases it could have also been financially beneficial for the wife to continue her career. What is more, a small number of female actors – most notably Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer and Auguste Stich-Crelinger – did not marry fellow performers, but were able to remain on stage.¹⁶⁸

Amalie and Pius Alexander Wolff were one of the most well-known couples associated with the classical Weimar style of acting. They were already married when they secured a joint contract with the Royal Theatre in 1815. The contract stipulated that Pius Alexander would receive 1200 thalers per year and that Amalie would receive 1800 thalers per annum.¹⁶⁹ They were both highly respected actors and Amalie's opportunity to work on stage was not questioned when she married. The level of respect enjoyed by the couple is evident in a poem that was published in *Vossische Zeitung* 1826 after they had returned from a holiday in Nice and Provence.

Als ein König wär geboren
Ist mein Herz des Sanges voll,
Da ich Euch, Ihr schönen Beide
Feierlich begrüßen soll.

Und ich mag es wohl verstehen;
Seid ihr nicht ein Furstenpaar,
Wie Ihr auf der Bühne wandelt
Künstlerthronen in dem Haar?¹⁷⁰

H. A. Lier concludes that Pius Alexander benefited enormously in an artistic sense from his marriage with Amalie. After Pius Alexander's death, Amalie Wolff continued to receive acclaim for her stage performances.¹⁷¹

The two wives of Karl von Holtei, who were both actors, were also able to continue with their stage careers after their respective marriages. In his memoirs, von Holtei even dismisses the necessity for his first wife, Louise, to be part of bürgerlich family life. He felt that their relationship had been nurtured via their common bond to the theatre:

Meine liebe zu ihr gehörte nicht ins bürgerlich-solide Familienleben; sie war ein Kind der Poesie, von Theaterträumen gewiegt und gepflegt, von reiner Bergluft umweht; sie bedürfte des romantischen, romantischen Elements, um sich heimlich zu fühlen. Ihr Dasein theilte sich zwischen Bühnenleben und Häuslichkeit: in ihre Grafenorter

168 For a detailed list of female actors and their marriages, between 1824 and 1848, see, Salmi [2002], Appendix 2.

169 A contract signed by Brühl, dated 21.10.1815. In Martersteig 1879, 206–207.

170 Martersteig 1879, 172.

171 ADB Bd. 44, 45–51.

Häuslichkeit war ich nicht gedungen; bei ihrem dortigen Bühnenleben hatt' ich eine große Rolle gespielt; wir hatten uns nur mit Theateraugen gesehen.¹⁷²

Louise followed von Holtei to Breslau Theatre, but the couple soon returned to Berlin after he became embroiled in a dispute with the Breslau theatre management. In Berlin, Louise undertook a guest performance at the Royal Theatre, which was facilitated with the help of P.A. Wolff, who was an old friend of von Holtei. However, von Holtei notes that Louise did not enjoy the same level of favour as before she was married and had children. However, despite these frustrations Louise was offered a contract at the Royal Theatre and she did not hesitate in accepting.¹⁷³ Karl von Holtei's willingness to leave Breslau was such that Louise effectively took a 400-thaler salary cut when moving to Berlin. Thus, in the extant contract negotiations it states that Louise was ready to accept an 800-thaler salary in Berlin, while her salary in Breslau had been 1200 thalers per year.¹⁷⁴

Furthermore, the total authority of the husband over his wife's life in restoration-era Prussia is evident in remarks made by von Holtei when describing his second marriage to Julie Holzbrecher. He records how there had been no opposition to Julie continuing to work at the Königstädtisches Theater, but that he had had to sign her new contract on her behalf. In other words, he had to officially sanction his wife's career.¹⁷⁵

The playwright and actor Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer can be considered as a unique example of a female actor who married outside theatre circles and continued to work. Birch-Pfeiffer was happily married to a Danish diplomat, who did not obstruct her theatrical career and her cosmopolitan lifestyle. Thus, in 1843 she was contracted to the Royal Theatre. Her position in bürgerlich society was extraordinarily high, whilst combining a career that saw her work as the manager of Zürich Theatre. She moved to Berlin because at the request of Karl von Küstner, her old friend and the general intendant of the Royal Theatre.¹⁷⁶ Powerful and successful women could be seen as too overbearing for their colleagues. Thus, Karoline Bauer described Birch-Pfeiffer as

172 Holtei 1843b, 386–387.

173 Holtei 1859a, 194–195, 199.

174 A letter from General Intendant von Brühl to the king of Prussia, dated 23.12.1823. Bl 2 Nr. 21230 I. HA Rep 89, GStA PK.

175 Holtei 1859b, 176. On the position of married women in the Prussian Civil Code, see Vogt 1993, 246–247.

176 Hes 1914, 2, 8–9.

a woman who had ensured that her husband served the family and that he was at her beck-and-call.¹⁷⁷

In brief, female actors in restoration-era Prussia did have the opportunity to remain on stage after they married. Most of these women, however, were the spouses of performers, but a small minority did have husbands outside the sphere of the theatre.

Female actors had the opportunity to pursue active and independent careers. An exceptional example, in this regard, is the career of Auguste Stich-Crelinger, who rose from a relatively humble background to become one of the greatest stage divas of her time. However, some prejudices against female actors are evident, especially in regard to the unwanted advances of wealthy men. What is more, the profession allowed women to be objectified on stage. Once again, however, it should be stressed that no evidence suggests that female actors became involved in prostitution in Berlin between 1815 and 1848. Female actors in Berlin adopted strategies aimed at overcoming the discrepancies between the cultural norms for female behaviour and their profession. Some female actors retired from the stage after marriage, which was particularly common in noble circles. Yet, marrying a fellow performer did not necessitate that a female actor had to abandon her career. Auguste Stich-Crelinger provides an example of a female actor who married a wealthy banker, but was still able to continue her successful career.

177 Bauer 1880b, 28–29.

CONCLUSION

We have examined the lives of Berliner actors in terms of their social background, as well as analysing their career paths and the publicity that came with success on the theatre stage. We have also studied how the actors sought to conduct themselves in the public sphere and in social gatherings in their own homes. Finally, we have examined the domestic lives of the actors and their private literary worlds.

In the period between 1815 and 1848 Berliner actors came from various backgrounds and lacked an institutional training for their profession. However, in economic terms they were well provided for. Many of the actors came from families with links to the performing arts. What is more, many actors emanated from highly respectable bürgerum households, with a small number even having a noble background. However, a lack of professional institutional training and education excluded the actors from being included among the traditional groups of the educated bürgerum. Nonetheless, some male actors had attended gymnasiums and studied at university, although nobody received an institutional education to become an actor. Berlin's actors approached a stage career in various ways, owing to the lack of institutional training. Some took acting lessons before they went on stage and others worked as theatre apprentices. The generous salaries received by actors, which were on the same level as the highest civil servants, helped to raise their social prestige. It is also noteworthy that female actors earned sums that were normally reserved for men in restoration-era Prussia.

The daily routines of Berliner actors were also dictated by the demands of the theatres, which were typically based around rehearsals during the day and

performances in the evenings. In some ways the unusual working hours of Berlin's actors were restrictive, but they did enjoy free afternoons and days off during the week. Guest performances also provided actors with the opportunity to travel and to earn more money during their holiday season. However, the extremely hierarchical theatre administration was a hindrance to the actors, who were hampered by regulations and the repressive nature of the authoritarian regime. Moreover, the selection policy vis-à-vis roles generated divisions between the administration and the actors, as well as between the performers themselves. The theatre was seen as *the* representational place for both the bürgertum and the royal court, but actors enjoyed the favour of both groups. A number of actors enjoyed favour with the royal court, such as the aristocratic Charlotte von Hagn and Louis Schneider, who was a distinguished military officer. The theatre authorities did not advocate liberal, nationalistic or bürgerlich ideas, but audiences tended to view plays in political and cultural terms. The genre of the *bürgerliche trauerspiel* enabled bürgerlich ideas to be expressed and observed on stage, with the theatre being a traditional gathering place for the bürgertum.

The theatre in Berlin occupied a special position in society as one of the only legal forms of public life. Consequently, actors attracted an exceptional degree of publicity; a phenomenon that was accentuated by the growth of the mass media. Furthermore, this increased level of publicity directed at actors can also be linked to a growing social fascination with celebrity personalities. This socio-cultural trend can be traced to rise of romantic heroes, which led to a more general admiration by the mid-nineteenth century of virtuoso artistic performers. Publicity in newspapers reinforced this development, but also introduced negative aspects into the lives of the most popular actors. The satirical articles of the journalist Moritz Saphir, in particular, were perceived as insulting invasions of actors' privacy. Saphir concentrated his venomous pen on the actors of the Königstädtisches Theater and the French Theatre. Furthermore, the actors in Berlin were the victims of negative publicity in other published material, such as books and caricatures. In bürgerlich culture, honour and reputation were important elements of social position. This is why even the mention of an actor's name in a questionable context could be interpreted as weakening their social position.

Important elements of the representative culture of the bürgertum were enacted through public appearances at cafés, as well as by taking promenades, and by furnishing homes in a fitting manner. In short, Berlin actors sought to promote a lifestyle that revealed their wealth and epitomised the representative features of bürgertum culture. Thus, they participated in social activities, such as promenades

on Unter den Linden, concerts and museum visits, as well as partaking in social gatherings at private homes and salons. Furthermore, actors took an active role in Berlin's associational life, in terms of generally respected societies as well as in professional associations. The representative culture of the *bürgertum* was also evident in the lifestyles of the actors. Their houses were located in respectable areas of the city, for example, and were furnished for entertainments and to deal with professional issues at home.

The aspiration to achieve a private *bürgerlich* lifestyle is another aspect in the cultural definition of the *bürgertum*. This culture revolved around family circles. Thus, in private actors endeavoured to embody the principles of a respectable *bürgerlich* lifestyle. This was especially important in terms of raising children and in private forms of religiosity. The private diaries of Eduard Devrient, Charlotte von Hagn and Adolph Bethge have been studied in order to analyse the private literary sphere of Berlin's actors. These diaries played an important role in reorganising and reformulating their lives. The diaries written by these actors also functioned as key developmental tools in helping them to recall and analyse the plays in which they performed. The diary of Charlotte von Hagn was treated as 'a trusted friend', in which she confessed all her worries and fears. Furthermore, writing and reading played an important part in the lives of Berlin's actors, with the former, in particular, closely linking them to private *bürgerlich* culture. However, female actors were hindered in their aspirations to achieve an idyllic *bürgerlich* family lifestyle by general suspicions about their moral decency and because of the position of female actors as workingwomen. Many of the female actors were not suited to the traditional model of a wife and some left the stage to appease their husbands. However, one can note a number of female actors who were able to marry, whilst continuing to pursue successful careers and flourishing social lives. Problems also existed vis-à-vis the profession of female actors and sexual connotations, as they received unwanted advances from male colleagues and from the audience. However, there is no proof that prostitution was practiced by professional female actors in restoration-era Berlin.

Actors formed their own social group that partially followed the multiple definitions of the *bürgertum* within their own broader social sphere. According to traditional definitions, Berlin's actors belonged to the *bürgertum* because of their income levels. Indeed, leading actors can be regarded as belonging to the upper echelons of the *bürgertum*. However, the actors lacked institutionalised training and education that would define them more closely to the educated *bürgertum*. In ideological terms, their profession linked them to conservative royalists, as well as

to bürgerlich circles. Finally, if the bürgertum is defined in terms of cultural forms, then the Berlin actors fulfilled most of the bürgerlich criteria, such as a representative lifestyle and their aspirations to realise a private bürgerlich lifestyle. Yet, at the same time, actors were excluded from the conventional parameters that delimited bürgerlich lifestyle because of the publicity they attracted on stage and in newspapers, as well as the untraditional position of female actors. This is why my main argument posits that Berliner actors can be defined as being part of the *Künstlerbürgertum*, which only partially conformed to the economic, ideological and cultural definitions of the bürgertum. The *Künstlerbürgertum* can also be understood as an umbrella concept, which includes those professional groups, such as artists, musicians and actors, that did not fulfil the traditional definitions for inclusion within the educated bürgertum, yet which shared cultural inclinations.

By studying the *Künstlerbürgertum* sub-group, which included the actors that worked in the two Berlin theatres, it is possible to widen the entire concept of the bürgertum. Thus, this study offers a new perspective on German bürgertum studies. It has been my intention to open a dialogue between the economic, ideological and cultural definitions of the bürgertum. I have argued that it is possible to amalgamate these different approaches within a study on Berlin actors, by developing the notion of the *Künstlerbürgertum*. The economic, ideological and cultural approaches to bürgertum studies have much in common. Firstly, economic factors exerted a great influence on ideological thought and cultural lifestyles. It was impossible to implement a representative bürgerlich façade, for example, without a financial foundation. However, it is important to stress that there were also ideological and cultural elements, such as the upbringing of children, that were not wholly dependent on financial resources. Thus, the desire to epitomise bürgerlich ideals in the private sphere could be seen as a more significant manifestation of social aspirations than income level.

In traditional theatre histories, the attention of scholars is usually concentrated on periods deemed to be artistically productive. However, social historians and historians of everyday life have broadened the discourse on historical studies to include the poorer sections of society often overlooked. Berliner actors were accorded celebrity status in restoration-era Prussia and have not been overlooked by historians. However, this study has approached the study of the actors from a fresh perspective. Thus, I have not sought to write a traditional biographical work about a single actor; rather I have endeavoured to study the actors as a group. In the biographies that focus on a single actor, there is a tendency to exaggerate artistic geniality and scandalous

anecdotes. This approach can be avoided by studying the professional group as a whole, as in the present study.

By focussing on the first half of the nineteenth century, I have stressed the need to view the period as distinctive and worthy of detailed study. Thus, the severe nature of Prussian politics in the restoration-era, when censorship was so severe, was a phenomenon particular to this period. In effect, my study has sought to hermetically seal restoration-era Prussia, in order to dissociate the period from later historical and political developments in Germany. Finally, I have endeavoured to use tools in my study that are relevant to analysing Berliner actors, a special professional group in restoration-era Prussia. The same approach, which includes in-depth studies of the family backgrounds and private lives of actors, could be applied to studies of other similar professional groups.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover:

Franz Krüger, Parade auf dem Opernplatz (1824–1830). Oil on canvas.
Digitalised by Andreas Praefcke http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Franz_Kr%C3%BCger_Parade_auf_dem_Opernplatz_Berlin.jpg [accessed on 6.6.2011]

Picture 1:

Potsdam, Sanssouci, Theater im Neuen Palais
Bundesarchiv, Bild 170-660 / Max Baur / CC-BY-SA

Picture 2:

Frederick William III in a theatre loge
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Hermann Kramer, Lutter und Wegner (1843). Oil on canvas.
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E.T.A. Hoffmann, drawing on a letter (1817)
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Picture 6:

K. Themann, E.T.A. Hoffmann und Ludwig Devrient. Oil on canvas.
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Picture 7:

E. T. A. Hoffmann, Kunzscher Riß (1815)
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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Alte Deutsche Biographie
BED	Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard und Therese Devrient
BGS	Blumen auf das Grab der Schauspielerin Louise von Holtei geborne Rogée
Bd.	Band
Bl.	Blatt
BLKÖ	Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich
BRD	Briefwechsel zwischen dem Künstler und Schauspieler Moriz Rott und einer Dame
CBP	Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer und Heinrich Laube im Briefwechsel
DBH	Drei Briefe der Charlotte von Hagn 1838-1843
FT	The French Theatre
GStA PK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz
KsT	Königstädtisches Theater
LAB	Landesarchiv Berlin
NDB	Neue Deutsche Biographie
Nl.	Nachlass
o.D.	ohne Datum
RT	The Royal Theatre
s.a.	sine anno
StaBi PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz
ThFU	Institut für Theaterwissenschaft der Freien Universität Berlin
ZLBB	Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin

APPENDIX 1

<i>Title and name</i>	<i>Lived</i>	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>Father's profession</i>
Mad Adami, Auguste geb. Herbert	1815–1886	KsT	craftsman ¹
Mr Alix		FT	
Herr Angely, Louis	1788–1835	KsT	performer ²
Mr Armand de Bongars		FT	
Mad Bader, Sophie nee. Laurent	1813–1832	RT	
Herr Bader, Karl Adam	1789–1870	RT	performer ³
Mr Baron A.		FT	
Herr Bartsch, Johann Leopold Gustav	1797–1840	KsT	civil servant ⁴
Dlle Bartsch		KsT	
Herr Bassel I		RT	
Herr Bassel II		RT	
Dlle Bauer, Karoline	1807–1877	KsT/RT	Officer ⁵
Herr Beckman, Friedrich	1803–1866	KsT	craftsman ⁶
Mad Beckmann, Adele nee. Muzzarelli	1816–1885	KsT	performer ⁷
Herr Benda, C. A.	1766–1824	RT	
Herr Bercht, Julius	1811–1887	RT	
Herr Berger		RT	
Mad Beschort, Therese nee. Zuber	1765–	RT	
Herr Beschort, Friedrich Jonas	1767–1846	RT	
Herr Bethge A.	b. 1810	RT	
Herr Bethmann	1774–1857	RT	
Mad Birch-Pfeiffer, Charlotte	1800–1868	RT	officer ⁸
Herr Birkenruth		KsT	
Herr Blume Heinrich	1788–1856	RT	civil servant ⁹
Dlle Blumenthal		KsT	performer ¹⁰
Herr Boden		KsT	
Mad Brice, nee. Gillotte, marr. Franz		FT	
Herr Buggenhagen		RT	
Herr Burghardt, Karl Franz	1807–1857	KsT	
Herr Busolt		RT	
Herr Böttcher/ Bötticher, Louis	1813–1867	RT	performer ¹¹
Herr Castan		KsT	
Mr Castelli, A		FT	

1 Eisenberg 1903, 16.

2 NDB Bd 1, 219.

3 Eisenberg 1903, 40.

4 DBL

5 Eisenberg 1903, 59; Stein 1908, 2.

6 Eisenberg 1903, 74–76; Devrient 1861, 47; Hübscher 1960, 188; Patterson 1996, 5847–5849; Stein 1908, 3.

7 Eisenberg 1903, 74.

8 Eisenberg 1903, 98–99; Kosch 1953, 148; Patterson 1996, 300; Stein 1908, 3.

9 Devrient 1861, 23; Eisenberg 1903, 106; Hübscher 1960, 98.

10 NDB Bd 1, 713.

11 Eisenberg 1903, 109.

<i>Title and name</i>	<i>Lived</i>	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>Father's profession</i>
Mr Clozel		FT	
Mlle Clozel		FT	
Dlle Clozel		FT	performer
Herr Cläpius		KsT	
Mad Crelinger-Stich, Auguste, nee. Düring	1795–1865	RT	craftsman ¹²
Mad Crüsemann nee. Lanz		RT	
Herr Crüsemann, Gustav	1803–1870	RT	
Mr Delvil		FT	
Mad Delvil		FT	
Mlle Deschanel		FT	
Herr Devrient, Eduard	1801–1877	RT	merchant ¹³
Herr Devrient, Ludwig	1784–1832	RT	merchant ¹⁴
Dlle Dieckmann		KsT	
Herr Dietrich	d. 1823	RT	
Herr Döring	1803–1878	RT	civil servant ¹⁵
Dlle Edelin		FT	
Dlle Ehnes		KsT	
Dlle Eichbaum		KsT	
Herr Eichenwald, Wilhelm	d. 1873	KsT	
Herr Eicke		KsT	
Herr Engelhardt	1802–1870	RT	
Dlle Erck, Therese		KsT	civil servant ¹⁶
Herr Erl, Joseph	1811–1874	KsT	merchant ¹⁷
Mad Esperstedt Amalie nee. Hudemann	1785–1861	RT	civil servant ¹⁸
Dlle Eunicke, Johanna	1800–1856	RT	performer ¹⁹
Mad Eunicke, Therese nee. Schwachhöfer	1774–1830	RT	performer ²⁰
Herr Findeisen		KsT	
Herr Fisher A.		RT	performer ²¹
Mad Fleck, Wilhelmine Louise	1794–	RT	performer ²²
Mad Fleck-Schröck, Sophie Luise	1777–1846	RT	performer ²³
Dlle Fournier, Antoinette (marr. Kronser)		RT	performer ²⁴
Mr Francisque		FT	
Herr Franz, Emil Karl Friedrich	1808–1875	RT	performer ²⁵
Herr Freund, Anton	1798–1869	RT	

12 NDB Bd 3, 406f.

13 Hübscher 1960, 117; Patterson 1996, 306; Stein 1908, 4.

14 Brockett 1995, 335–336; Kosch 1953, 321; Patterson 1996, 306; Stein 1908, 5.

15 Eisenberg 1903, 206

16 Eisenberg 1903, 580; Wahnrau 1957, 354.

17 Eisenberg 1903, 236–237.

18 Eisenberg 1903, 241–242.

19 Daughter of Friedrich and Therese Eunicke. Eisenberg 1903, 244.

20 ADB Bd 6, 431.

21 ADB Bd. 7, S. 78–79.

22 Eisenberg 1903, 266

23 NDB Bd 5, 227.

24 She was raised by her aunt Mad Huber. Schauer 1858, 77.

25 Eisenberg 1903, 279.

<i>Title and name</i>	<i>Lived</i>	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>Father's profession</i>
Herr Fritsch		KsT	
Mlle Garique		FT	
Herr Genée, Friedrich	1796–1856	KsT	civil servant ²⁶
Herr Genieschen, F. Ludwig	1806–1840	KsT	civil servant ²⁷
Herr Gerber, Johann Christian	1785–1850	KsT	
Herr Gern, Albert Leopold	1789–1869	RT	performer ²⁸
Herr Grabowsky, Carl	1805–1873	KsT	
Mad Grabowsky, Luise Marianne nee. Bessel	1816–1850	KsT	officer ²⁹
Herr Grimm		KsT	
Herr Grobecker, Philipp	1815–1883	KsT	
Mad Grobecker, Wilhelmina	1819–1848	KsT	
Herr Grohlmann		RT	
Herr Grua, Franz Wilhelm	1799–1867	RT	performer ³⁰
Herr Grünh		KsT	
Mr Guéry		FT	
Fäul Hagn, Aug. von		RT	nobility
Fräul Hagn, Charlotte von	1809–1891	RT	nobility ³¹
Herr Hahn		KsT	
Herr Hartmann, A		RT	
Dlle Heigel		KsT	performer ³²
Herr Heinrich, J. W.		RT	
Herr Hendrichs, Hermann	1809–1871	RT	civil servant ³³
Herr Herdt, Samuel Georg	1755–	RT	
Mad Herdt, Dorothea Charlotte nee. Rademacher	1764–	RT	
Herr Hiltil, Georg Johann	1826–1878	RT	performer ³⁴
Herr Hochstedter		RT	
Mad Holtei, Julie von nee. Holzbrecher	1809–1839	KsT	performer ³⁵
Herr Holtei, Karl von	1797–1880	KsT	officer ³⁶
Mad Holtei, Louise von nee. Rogée	1800–1825	KsT	nobility
Herr Holzbrecher, Carl David	1779–1830	RT	
Herr Hoppé	1810–1849	RT	performer ³⁷
Dlle Hähner		KsT	
Herr Hänsel		KsT	
Mr Isidore		FT	
Herr Kaler von		KsT	

26 Eisenberg 1903, 315–316.

27 Eisenberg 1903, 317; Wahnrau 1957, 340.

28 His father was actor J. G. Gern. Devrient 1861, 23; Eisenberg 1903, 319–320; Freydank 1988, 158; Hübscher 1960, 97; Kosch 1953, 545; Stein 1908, 7.

29 Eisenberg 1903, 342–343.

30 Eisenberg 1903, 357; Kosch 1953, 628; Stein 1908, 7.

31 Bobbert 1936, 14, 102–103; Devrient 1874, 180–183; Kosch 1953, 671.

32 ADB Bd 11, 309–310.

33 Eisenberg 1903, 416.

34 Eisenberg 1903, 435.

35 Eisenberg 1903, 449.

36 Eisenberg 1903, 449–451; Kosch 1953, 835–837; Patterson 1996, 326; Stein 1908, 9.

37 ADB Bd 13, 114.

<i>Title and name</i>	<i>Lived</i>	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>Father's profession</i>
Herr Kaselitz		RT	
Mr Kime		FT	
Dlle Kindler		KsT	
Herr Kindler		KsT	
Dlle Kniesche, F.		KsT	
Mad Komitsch, Friedrike		RT	
Mad Krickeberg, Sophie Friedrike	1770–1842	RT	performer ³⁸
Herr Krüger, Eduard		RT	performer ³⁹
Herr Krüger, Georg Wilhelm	1791–1841	RT	craftsman ⁴⁰
Mr Lafitte		FT	
Dlle Lankestre		FT	
Herr Lang, Johann	1800–1874	KsT	
Mad Lange	1802–1853	RT	
Mad Lanz		RT	
Herr L'Arronge	1812–1873	KsT	
Herr Lavallade, Franz von	1812–1883	RT	nobility ⁴¹
Mad Lavallade, Hulda von	1818–1860	RT	civil servant ⁴²
Herr Lemcke		RT	
Herr Lemm, Friedrich Wilhelm	1782–1837	RT	merchant ⁴³
Dlle Leonhardt	1811–1899	RT	officer ⁴⁴
Herr Lindow		KsT	
Herr Liphart		KsT	
Herr Lombard	d. 1830	RT	
Dlle Löhmann		RT	
Herr Marchion de, Heinrich	1816–1890	KsT	
Mr Marius		FT	
Mad Marius		FT	
Herr Mattausch, Franz	1767–1833	RT	
Herr Maurer, August Wilhelm	1792–	RT	civil servant ⁴⁵
Herr Mesiter, Carl August	1818–1876	KsT	
Herr Meyer, Ludwig	1802–1862	KsT	
Herr Michaelis, T G H		RT	
Herr Mickler		RT	
Mr Montaland		FT	
Mr Morand		FT	
Herr Müller, A		RT	
Mad Möser		RT	
Dlle Neumann, Adolphine	1822–1844	RT	performer ⁴⁶
Herr Oberhoffer, Karl	1811–1885	KsT	
Mr Pécéna		FT	
Dlle Peroni	1813–1895	KsT	

38 Devrient 1861, 36; Eisenberg 1903, 549; Hübscher 1960, 118.

39 ADB Bd 17, 229–230.

40 ADB Bd 17, 229–230.

41 Eisenberg 1903, 579; Wahnrau 1957, 354.

42 Eisenberg 1903, 580; Wahnrau 1957, 354.

43 Devrient 1861, 25; Eisenberg 1903, 592–593; Hübscher 1960, 106–107; Kosch 1953, 1209–1210; Stein 1908, 13.

44 ADB Bd 53, 58–59.

45 Schauer 1858, 17.

46 Eisenberg 1903, 718.

<i>Title and name</i>	<i>Lived</i>	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>Father's profession</i>
Herr Plock		KsT	
Herr Pohl		KsT	
Dlle Quint		KsT	
Herr Rebenstein, Ludwig	1795–1832/4	RT	
Herr Rechbaum		KsT	
Herr Rechfeldt		RT	
Herr Reussler		KsT	
Herr Richter	d. 1824	RT	
Mad Rott		KsT	
Herr Rott, Moriz	1796–1867	RT	merchant ⁴⁷
Herr Rütbling, Johan Friedrich F.	1793–1849	RT	civil servant ⁴⁸
Mad Saint-Aubin		FT	
Mr Saint-Aubin		FT	
Mad Schaffner		RT	
Herr Schmelka, Heinrich Ludwig	1780–1837	KsT	nobility ⁴⁹
Herr Schneider, Louis	1805–1878	RT	performer ⁵⁰
Herr Schrader, G A		KsT	
Mad Schulz		KsT/ RT	
Dlle Schulz	d. 1845	RT	
Herr Schwanfelder		KsT	
Mad Schwanfelder nee. Siebert		KsT	
Dlle Schön, W		RT	
Dlle Schöne		RT	
Dlle Sebastiani		RT	
Dlle Seidler, Karoline	1790–1872	RT	performer ⁵¹
Herr Seydelmann, Karl /Carl	1793–1843	RT	merchant ⁵²
Mr Sigart/Sigaurt		FT	
Dlle Sontag, Henriette	1806–1854	KsT	performer ⁵³
Herr Spitzeder, Josef	1796–1832	KsT	performer ⁵⁴
Dlle Spizeder, Betty	1808–1872	KsT	nobility ⁵⁵
Fäul St. George von		KsT	
Herr Stawinsky, Karl	1784–1866	RT	civil servant ⁵⁶
Dlle Stich, Bertha	1818–1876	RT	performer ⁵⁷
Dlle Stich, Clara	1820–1862	RT	performer ⁵⁸
Herr Stich, Heinrich William	1794–1824	RT	
Herr Stölzel		KsT	
Dlle Sutorius		RT	
Herr Titschow		RT	

47 Devrient 1874, 178, 183, 209; Eisenberg 1903, 851; Patterson 1996, 353; Stein 1908, 16.

48 Devrient 1861, 23. Eisenberg 1903, 856–857; Stein 1908, 16.

49 Eisenberg 1903, 890–891.

50 Devrient 1861, 37. Eisenberg 1903, 899–900; Kosch 1953, 2050–2051, Stein 1908, 17.

51 Eisenberg 1903, 956–957.

52 Eisenberg 1903, 963–965; Kosch 1953, 2184; Stein 1908, 18.

53 Eisenberg 1903, 978–979; Wahnrau 1957, 347.

54 Eisenberg 1903, 984.

55 Eisenberg 1903, 984.

56 Devrient 1861, 42; Eisenberg 1903, 990–991; Hübscher 1960, 118; Kosch 1953, 2287; Stein 1908, 19.

57 She was daughter of Auguste Stich–Crelinger. Eisenberg 1903, 168.

58 She was daughter of Auguste Stich–Crelinger. Eisenberg 1903, 168.

<i>Title and name</i>	<i>Lived</i>	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>Father's profession</i>
Dlle Unzelmann, Bertha		KsT	performer ⁵⁹
Herr Unzelmann, Karl Wilhelm F.	1753–1832	RT	educated bürgertum ⁶⁰
Dlle Unzelmann, Wilhelmine	1802–1871	RT	performer ⁶¹
Mad Urbaneck, nee. Ritzki		KsT	
Herr Waltz, A F		RT	
Herr Wauer, Johan G. C.	1783–1853	RT	craftsman ⁶²
Herr Weiß, Johan Gottlieb Ch.	1790–1853	RT	orphan ⁶³
Dlle Werner, A		RT	
Herr Weygoldt		RT	
Herr Wiehl	d. 1847	RT	
Dlle Vierreck	d.1856	RT	
Herr Wiese		RT	
Herr Vieweg	d. 1821	RT	
Mr Villars		FT	
Dlle Willmanns		RT	
Herr Winterberger		RT	
Mad Wolff, Amalie	1780–1851	RT	performer ⁶⁴
Herr Wolff, Pius Alexander	1782–1828	RT	educated bürgertum ⁶⁵
Herr Voss		KsT	
Mad Wrocher/m, Wilhelmine von	1798–1839	RT	performer ⁶⁶
Fäul Zahlhas, Johanna von	1818–1875	KsT	
Herr Zschiesche, August	1800–1861	RT	performer ⁶⁷
Herr Zwick	d. 1824	RT	

59 ADB Bd 39, 324–325.

60 Devrient 1861, 6; Hübscher 1960, 97.

61 Devrient 1861, 36; Hübscher 1960, 113–114.

62 Eisenberg 1903, 1095–1096; Hübscher 1960, 98; Patterson 1996, 369.

63 Devrient 1861, 36; Hübscher 1960, 117–118.

64 Eisenberg 1903, 1140–1141; Hübscher 1960, 103–106; Stein 1908, 20.

65 Devrient 1861, 31–33; Eisenberg 1903, 1142–1143; Hübscher 1960, 93; Stein 1908, 20.

66 Eisenberg 1903, 1151; Wahnrau 1957, 354.

67 Eisenberg 1903, 1116.

APPENDIX 2

The list of Known Addresses of Berliner Actors in 1825, 1835 and 1845

The Addresses of the Actors of the Königstädtisches Theater in 1825

Alexanderstrasse 22	Meyer, Ludwig
Alexanderstrasse 37	Spitzeder, Josef
Alexanderstrasse 37	Spizeder, Betty
Alexanderstrasse 44	Genée, Friedrich
Alexanderstrasse 58	Bauer, Karoline
Französischerstrasse 43	Rebenstein, Ludwig
Bischofstrasse 22	Angely, Louis
Friedrichstrasse 214	Schmelka, Heinrich Ludwig
Mohrenstrasse 50	Holtei, Karl von
N. Königstrasse 23 u.24	Sontag, Henriette
Schönhauserstrasse 26	Bartsch F.

The Addresses of the Actors of the Royal Theatre in 1825

Behrenstrasse 51	Bethmann
Charlottenstrasse 32	Devrient, Ludwig
Französischerstrasse 43	Bader, Karl Adam
Französischestrasse 12	Unzelmann, Karl Wilhelm F.
Französischestrasse 48	Schneider, Louis
Friedrichstrasse 171	Rüthling, Johan Friedrich F.
Friedrichstrasse 67	Mattausch, Franz
Jägerstrasse 10	Unzelmann, Wilhelmine
Kanonierstrasse 28	Beschort, Friedrich Jonas
Krausenstrasse 62	Fisher A.
Krausenstrasse 63	Freund
Kurstrasse 25	Michaelis, T G H
Königstrasse 25	Müller, A
Leipzigerstrasse 20	Richter
Leipzigerstrasse 42	Wauer , Johan G. C.
Leipzigerstrasse 52	Berger
Leipzigerstrasse 91	Gern, Albert Leopold
Leipzigerstrasse 91	Krüger, Georg Wilhelm
Markgrafenstrasse 38	Eunicke, Johanna
Markgrafenstrasse 38	Eunicke, Therese g. Schwachhöfer
Markgrafenstrasse 81	Grohlmann
Markgrafesnstrasse 32	Lemm, Friedrich Wilhelm
Mohrenstrasse 12	Werner, A
Mohrenstrasse 20	Mad Lanz
Mohrenstrasse 23	Krickeberg, Sophie Friedrike
Mohrenstrasse 33	Crüsemann, Gustav

Mohrenstrasse 50	Holtei, Louise von
Mohrenstrasse 55	Crelinger, Auguste, g. Düring heir. Stich
Schiffbauerdamm 20	Blume Heinrich
Kronenstrasse 30	Beschort
Taubenstrasse 34	Wolff, Pius Alexander
Taubenstrasse 36	Esperstedt Amalie geb. Hudemann
Werd. Rosenstrasse 1	Devrient, Eduard

The Addresses of the Actors of the Königsstädtisches Theater in 1835

an d. Stralauer Brücke 1.	Beckman, Friedrich
Büschingpl. i. Eltschigsch.	Bartsch F.
Holzmarkt 2	Holtei, Julie von
Holzmarkt 2	Holtei, Karl von
i. Pankow 40	Schmelka, Heinrich Ludwig
Königsg. 7	Genée, Friedrich
Landsbergerstrasse 51	Schwanfelder, Herr
Markgrafesenstrasse 34	Erck, Therese
Neue Königstrasse 21	Schrader, G A
Neue Königstrasse 78	Castan, Herr
Prenzlauerstrasse 35	Cläpius, Herr
Prenzlauerstrasse 35	Plock, Herr

The Addresses of the Actors of the Royal Theatre in 1835

Bellevue 1	Wolff, Amalie
Charlottenstrasse 16	Rott, Moriz
Charlottenstrasse 3	Müller, A
Charlottenstrasse 36	Weiß, Johan Gottlieb Ch.
Charlottenstrasse 40	Krickeberg, Sophie Friedrike
Charlottenstrasse 53	Hochstedter, Herr
Französischestrasse 44	Grua, Franz Wilhelm
Friedrichstrasse 140-141	Bercht, Julius
Friedrichstrasse 146	Krüger, Georg Wilhelm
Friedrichstrasse 22	Gern, Albert Leopold
Friedrichstrasse 79	Hagn, Aug. von
Friedrichstrasse 79	Hagn, Charlotte von
Friedrichstrasse 20	Leonhardt
Jakobstrasse 94	Hartmann, A
Jägerstrasse 72	Komitsch, Friedrike
Kanonienstrasse 39	Wiehl, Herr
Kanonierstrasse 28	Beschort, Friedrich Jonas
Kronenstrasse 18	Freund
Leipzigerstrasse 110-110	Rüthling, Johan Friedrich F.
Leipzigerstrasse 46	Crelinger, Auguste, g. Düring heir. Stich
Leipzigerstrasse 67	Esperstedt Amalie geb. Hudemann
Leipzigerstrasse 83	Blume Heinrich
Linden 124	Heinrich, J. W.
Margrafenstrasse 39	Möser
Markgrafenstrasse 102	Devrient, Eduard
Nied. Wallstrasse 6	Michaelis, T G H
Potsdamerstrasse 5	Lemm, Friedrich Wilhelm
Schumannstrasse 1	Franz, Emil Karl Friedrich
Schützenstrasse 27	Krüger, Eduard

Thurmstrasse 58	Wauer , Johan G. C.
Universtätsstrasse 3	Bader, Karl Adam
Wilhelmstrasse 117	Unzelmann, Wilhelmine
Wilhelmstrasse 71	Crüsemann, Gustav
Zimmerstrasse 55	Waltz, A F

The Addresses of the Actors of the French Theatre in 1835

Friedrichstrasse 175	Edelin
Friedrichstrasse 182	Lancestre
Friedrichstrasse 80	Deschanel
Jägersstrasse 55	Castelli, A
Jägerstrasse 67	Marius
Taubenstrasse 22	Morand
Zimmerstrasse 46	Alix

The Addresses of the Actors of the Königstädtisches Theater in 1845

Neue Königstrasse 46	Adami, Auguste geb. Herbert
Kaiserstrasse 31	Quint
Landsbergerstrasse 3	Grobecker, Philipp
Neue Königstrasse 84	Bartsch F.
Neue Königstrasse 84	Grimm
Prenzlauerstrasse 12	Hänsel
Shiessgasse 20	Kniesche, F.

The Addresses of the Actors of the Royal Theatre in 1845

Alte Jakobstrasse 132	Bethge A.
Alte Schönhauserstrasse 30	Grua, Franz Wilhelm
Berlinerstrasse 10 E. (in Charlottenburg)	Michaelis, T G H
Charlottenstrasse 96	Hendrichs, Hermann
Dorotheenstrasse 5	Crelinger, Auguste, g. Düring heir. Stich
Dorotheenstrasse 8	Stich, Clara
Friedrichstrasse 125	Franz, Emil Karl Friedrich
Friedrichstrasse 166	Wiehl
Friedrichstrasse 29	Gern, Albert Leopold
Friedrichstrasse 154	Hagn, Aug. von
Jerusalemstrasse 1	Zschiesche, August
Jerusalemstrasse 63	Krüger, Eduard
Kronenstrasse 46	Rott, Moriz
Leipzigerplatz 3	Müller, A
Leipzigerstrasse 110	Rüthling, Johan Friedrich F.
Leipzigerstrasse 23	Blume Heinrich
Leipzigerstrasse 45	Birch-Pfeiffer, Charlotte
Leipzigerstrasse 77	Lavallade, Franz von
Leipzigerstrasse 77	Lavallade, Hulda von
Lindenstrasse 35	Komitsch, Friedrike
Lindenstrasse 8	Heinrich, J. W.
Marienstrasse 2	Schneider, Louis
Markgrafenstrasse 34	Fisher A.
Markgrafenstrasse 79	Wauer , Johan G. C.
Mauerstrasse 69	Stawinsky, Karl
Mittelstrasse 35	Schön, W

Mohrenstrasse 22, 23	Weiß, Johan Gottlieb Ch.
Mohrenstrasse 58	Möser
Mohrenstrasse 58	Werner, A
Mohrenstrasse 61	Bader, Karl Adam
Thurmstrasse 58	Hartmann, A
Unter den Linden 46	Hagn, Charlotte von
Wilhelmstrasse 71	Mad Crüsemann (geb. Lanz)
Wilhelmstrasse 71	Crüsemann, Gustav
Wilhelmstrasse 99	Mickler

The Addresses of the Actors of the French Theatre in 1845

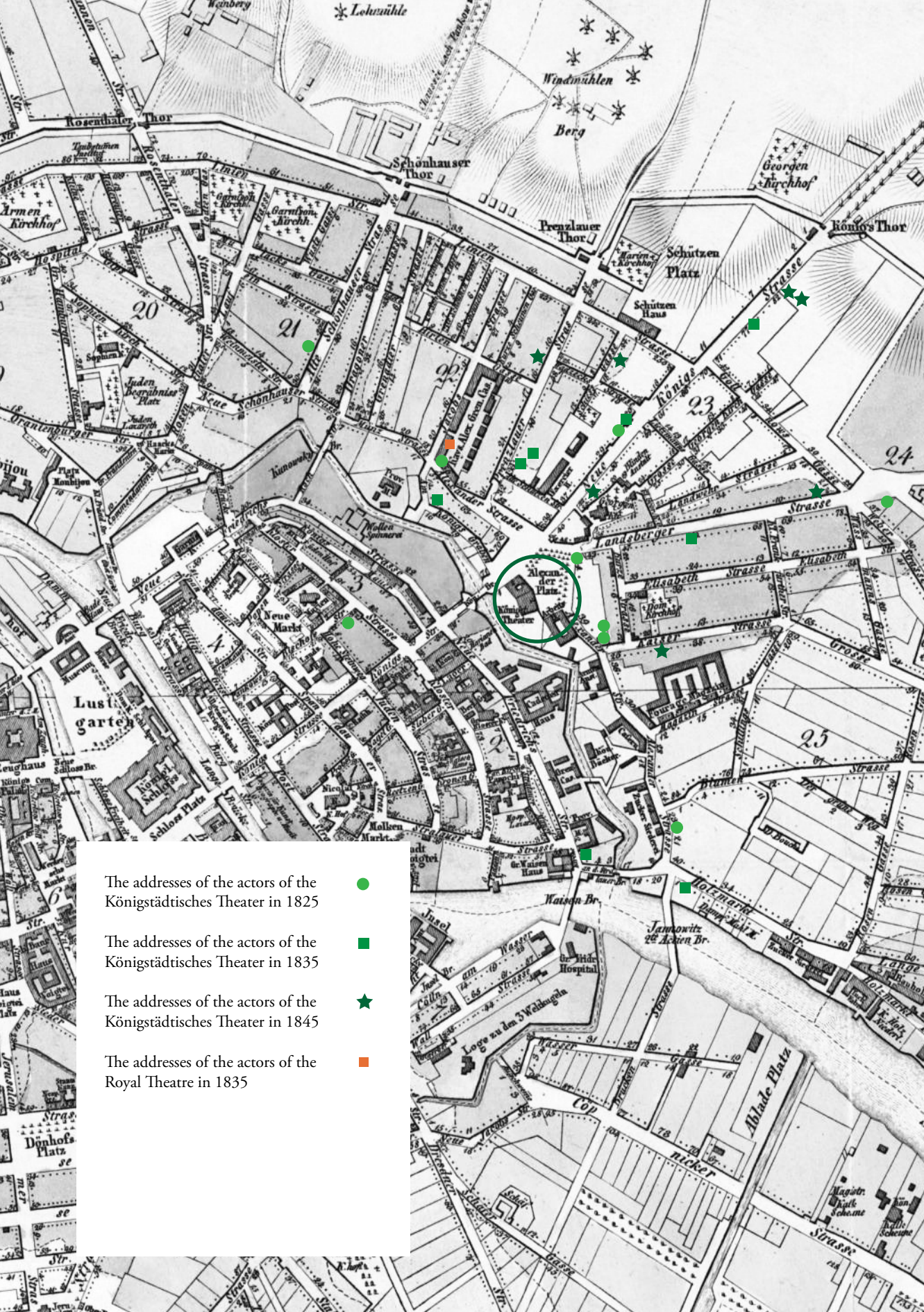
Friedrichstrasse 180	Pécéna
Markgrafenstrasse 64	Baron A.
Mohrenstrasse 4	Villars
Taubenstrasse 40	Francisque
Zimmerstrasse 46	Alix



The addresses of the actors of
the Royal Theatre
in 1825 ●
in 1835 ■
in 1845 ☆

The addresses of the actors of
the French Theatre
in 1835 ■
in 1845 ☆

The addresses of the actors of
the Königstädtisches Theater
in 1825 ●
in 1835 ■



The addresses of the actors of the Königstädtisches Theater in 1825



The addresses of the actors of the Königstädtisches Theater in 1835



The addresses of the actors of the Königstädtisches Theater in 1845



The addresses of the actors of the Royal Theatre in 1835

