

Anticipation and Invention: Ideology and Intellectual History from London to Vienna,
1700-1900

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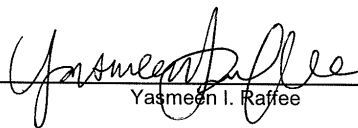
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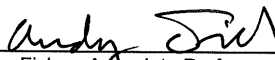
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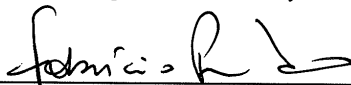
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ABSTRACT

Blood, Soil, and Iron: The German Ideological Origins of Zionism and Lebensraum

This research paper explores the intellectual atmosphere of fin-de-siècle Germany (and to a certain extent, central Europe), that gave rise to the political ideologies of Zionism and Lebensraum. There are many grounds that render Lebensraum and Zionism ripe for ideological comparison, one of them being that they are both Settler Colonial ideologies, according to the definition set out by Patrick Wolfe. Firstly, both ideologies are examined within the framework of Settler Colonial theory, followed by an analysis of the events that led up to German unification in 1871; this would lay the political groundwork from which Zionism and Lebensraum would spring forth. Finally, a more holistic view of nineteenth century European politics is taken into account, stressing the importance of Social Darwinism and German *kultur* in Vienna in the context of the genesis of both Zionism and Lebensraum.

Garden of Earthly Delights: Women, Sexuality, and Sensibility in Vauxhall, 1688-1815

This paper explores, in a general sense, the effects of the Enlightenment in Britain during the Long Eighteenth Century. More specifically, however, it explores the effects that the Enlightenment had on women in Britain, and how and why the late eighteenth century can be viewed as a 'golden age' for British women; Vauxhall pleasure gardens is used as a case study in which these developments can be seen firsthand. Firstly, a theoretical exploration of the Enlightenment is undertaken, in which a paper-specific definition of the Enlightenment is established within the context of leading scholars in the field. Another area of theory is then explored, this time in the realm of Habermas and the public sphere, which also serves to contextualize the rest of the paper. The rise of commercial capitalism in Britain is then analyzed, as it was fundamental in forming the culture of leisure which allowed women greater public visibility. The rest of the paper explores individual conditions and/or paradigms that existed in Vauxhall that exemplified the effects of the Enlightenment in Britain and how they in turn affected women, such as the masquerade, sensibility, celebrity culture, and the printing press.

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The writer would also like to extend her appreciation to Professors Anna Bonnell Freidin and Megan Holmes of the University of Michigan for constant inspiration and offering advice and guidance on the pursuit of academia. Also, Professor Nancy Reale of New York University has also inspired the author by demonstrating the importance of interdisciplinary research, as well as the power of the humanities to connect peoples across time.

Finally, the writer humbly acknowledges this portfolio and everything that has come before and after it would not have been possible without the help and support of her family and friends, especially Arya Stark Raffee and Grover Robert Raffee. Thanks also to Julian Fellowes for providing essential emotional support in the form of Downton Abbey. Last but not least, it is her true pleasure to acknowledge the contributions of Vast Early Boys Club, as well as the infrastructure that made the organization possible, namely Brickhouse Tavern, the Green Leafé Café, and Mellow Mushroom.

Dedicated to the memory of King Richard III of England
Loyaultie Me Lie

Intellectual Biography

Coming into my first year in graduate school, I did not have a definitive idea of what area of history I wanted to specialize in. I did have a few areas of concerted interest, however; the Late Medieval and Early Modern era, which has been a favorite of mine since I was in middle school, and the late nineteenth century, which has only recently become an area of interest for me; thematically, I knew cultural and intellectual history were what I wanted to focus on, as these areas lend themselves better to interdisciplinary research than others. Furthermore, I can trace my preoccupation with Europe during the Belle Époque back to my senior year of undergrad, in which I took an Art History course entitled *Realism and Impressionism*, about those artistic movements in France during the latter half of the nineteenth century. I am forever indebted to Dr. Howard Lay at the University of Michigan for opening up my mind to an entire intellectual world that I was completely ignorant of up until then. Dr. Lay seamlessly integrated the art, culture and politics of late nineteenth century France, demonstrating that all of them were inextricably linked. Interdisciplinary research has been something I have been interested in since undergrad, when I studied both history and art history and realized that utilizing the methods of art history within a broader historical analysis and vice versa was both useful and rewarding. Thus, in taking a deep dive into the art, politics, and culture of nineteenth century France and recognizing that none of them were mutually exclusive led me to understand that barriers between any of those elements of society were also non-existent in other parts of Western Europe at the time, because of the unique moment that the late nineteenth century occupied in the development of the modern era.

I enrolled in the Settler Colonialism research seminar during the fall semester of 2021 mostly because the Arab-Israeli conflict has always been a nice historical interest of mine that existed outside of my main areas of study, since if there was one thing I was sure of, it was that I was most probably not going to be working on twentieth century history. Furthermore, I had never encountered Settler Colonial theory prior to taking the course with Dr. Andrew Fisher, and it was an intriguing and provocative venture into theory. I do have to note that intellectual history pertaining to both World War I and World War II has been an exception to my moratorium on twentieth century studies. Thus, when it came time to decide on my topic for the research paper, I was able to marry my interests in intellectual and cultural history with my interest in the Arab-Israeli conflict. My research paper for the Settler Colonialism seminar, entitled “Blood, Iron, and Soil: The German Ideological Origins of Zionism and Lebensraum” focused on the cultural and intellectual atmosphere of fin-de-siècle Germany (or what became contemporary Germany) and how that affected the ideological development of Zionism and Lebensraum. Furthermore, I also wanted to examine what could be revealed by examining both of these ideologies through the lens of Settler Colonial theory. I knew that comparing these two ideologies could be considered controversial, as I was considerably comparing the ‘antidote to the poison’ as I put it in my paper. Therefore I did contain an intellectual justification for the comparison at the beginning of the paper, and was quite clear in noting that in no way did I intend to conflate the two ideologies, nor suggest that they were attempting to accomplish the same thing. As I remarked “Blood, Iron and Soil”, Lebensraum became explicitly genocidal when co-opted by Hitler for Nazism, while Zionism never was.

During the spring semester of 2022, I enrolled in Dr. Fabricio Prado's Atlantic World research seminar. I did feel slightly more comfortable resituating myself in an era with which I was more familiar, namely Early Modern Europe. Women's history as well as the history of gender and sexuality are both thematic areas that I hope to continue with in my graduate career, but proved slightly harder to integrate into the theme of Settler Colonialism. For this reason, when it came time to choose a topic for my research paper for the Atlantic World seminar, I was able to couch myself in warmly familiar territory- Early Modern England. Early Modern England is a time and place that I am familiar with due to constant personal interest, but also because I wrote about Marine Art and British national identity during the Long Eighteenth Century for my undergraduate thesis. I was able to build upon these themes for what eventually became my research paper, entitled "Garden of Earthly Delights: Women, Sexuality, and Sensibility in Vauxhall, 1688-1815.". This paper focused on the effects of the Enlightenment that led to the development of cultured leisure in Georgian London, thus opening up spaces for women to exercise their agency in the public sphere. Broadly, this topic has enough material to have been the focus of a dissertation or book, so I decided to narrow my focus by using Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens as a case study in which we are able to see these dynamic forces in action for women.

Blood, Soil, and Iron: The German Ideological Origins of Zionism and Lebensraum

I. Introduction

Three to four years prior to the turn of the twentieth century, two books were published in Germany that would change the fate of Jews, Palestinians, and fundamentally alter the course of world history. The first book was *Der Judenstaat*, a book published by an Austrian journalist named Theodor Herzl that advocated for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The other book, published a short year later, was called *Politische Geographie* and introduced the pseudo-scientific concept of 'Lebensraum' or 'living space' in English, which Adolf Hitler adopted for the purposes of Nazism and ethnic cleansing nearly thirty years later. It was no coincidence that these ideologies first appeared in books published in Germany within a single year of each other; it is indicative of the cultural and intellectual atmosphere of fin de siècle Germany that gave rise to them and influenced their development. Upon further examination, it becomes apparent that the national development of Germany in the nineteenth century led to a number of factors that made it ripe for expressions of ideology such as Zionism and Lebensraum.

One of the major differences (among many) between Zionism and Lebensraum is that Lebensraum is no longer an active political ideology, while Zionism most definitely is- and is thus fraught with a myriad of emotion, tension, and complexities. Zionism can be considered one of the main causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict which has been ongoing for the past century and at times extremely violent. For Palestinians, Zionism has meant extreme trauma-for many of them, it is responsible for separating them from

their homes, land, and family for generations. For Zionists, the ideology is equally emotionally evocative. For them, it represents a haven from thousands of years of persecution, and, perhaps most importantly the ugliest genocide of the twentieth century. Thus, I realize that undertaking this paper is controversial not only for the discussion of Zionism as a Settler Colonial ideology, which is still a subject of debate for many, but also for the comparison of Zionism with Lebensraum due to the respective roles they played in late nineteenth and twentieth century history; any comparison of the antidote to the poison was always going to be provocative. That being said, let me make clear what I am *not* trying to do. I am not suggesting that Zionism and Lebensraum are the same thing, nor do I want to conflate the two; they are very different ideologies, with one being explicitly more genocidal with innumerable consequences. However, despite their obviously different ramifications and subsequent emotional histories, there are many grounds which qualify Zionism and Lebensraum for a theoretical comparison and render it historiographically valuable. It can be argued that both of these ideologies are Settler Colonial ideologies, the reasons for which I will get into a little bit later on. Furthermore, Zionism and Lebensraum also share common origins. Although Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism was Austrian by birth, I argue that both Lebensraum and Zionism are a product of late nineteenth century Germany. It was the same politically fraught, Nationalist, Imperialist atmosphere of *fin de siècle* Germany that gave rise to these two ideologies and inspired their founder(s). Viewing both Zionism and Lebensraum through the lens of Settler Colonial theory, in the context of their common origins, allows us insight into the political and intellectual environment of late nineteenth century Europe, a seminal time and place in modern history.

II. Settler Colonial Theory

Before we begin our foray into the ideological origins of Zionism and Lebensraum, it is important that we couch these ideas within the context of Settler Colonial Theory, and define why. Settler Colonialism is an ongoing system of power that perpetuates the repression and genocide of Indigenous peoples and cultures. This form of colonialism is known to be hegemonic- it normalizes exploiting land and resources. It is also interdisciplinary in that it unites interlocking forms of oppression in practice, including but not limited to white supremacy and exploitative capitalist practices.¹ However, Settler Colonialism is different from Franchise, or what many would define as classic Colonialism; the latter is driven by the desire to *exploit* the land and resources (including labor) of the colonized peoples while Settler Colonialism has as its goal the *elimination* of colonized people in favor of the colonizing group. In other words, “whereas colonialism reinforces the distinction between colony and metropole, settler colonialism erases it.”²

Patrick Wolfe’s groundbreaking theory of ‘the logic of elimination’ firmly placed Settler Colonial studies within an ideological frame through which to analyze Settler Colonial communities. Wolfe argues that contemporary multicultural neoliberalism was built off of the ‘logic of elimination’, which states that Settler Colonialism is a system and a structure meant to erase indigenous populations, rather than a historical event.³ It is perpetual rather than static. Although Settler Colonial states and ideologies have

¹ “Settler Colonialism,” obo, accessed December 21, 2021,

<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/oboenuh%20settlements>.

² Lorenzo Veracini, “Settler Colonialism,” 2010, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230299191>.

³ “Theorizing Zionist Settler Colonialism in Palestine,” *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, December 2016, pp. 363-376, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315544816-37>.

invariably existed for a long time, it has only been within the past twenty years that it has become its own field of study, and rightfully so. Settler Colonial politics has determined much of the history of the modern world- the hegemonic superpower of the United States came into existence through the propagation of Settler Colonial ideologies such as Manifest Destiny, which assumed that the American 'frontier' was destined to be settled by Europeans, and that the genocide of Indigenous American peoples was inherently inevitable. Furthermore, some of the world's other largest economies such as Australia and Canada are also Settler Colonial states by definition.

Settler Colonial studies developed through the engagement of academics in Indigenous Studies critiquing the 'post' in post-colonial studies (which brings to mind the Bobby Sykes quote, "What? Postcolonialism? Have they left?"). These scholars argued that 'postcolonial studies' was an inappropriate term and lens through which to look at the ongoing domination of Indigenous Peoples in places such as the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Settler colonial states have recently shifted from active repression of their Indigenous populations to their incorporation by recognition. However, this does not necessarily indicate that these societies can now be considered post-colonial. Indeed, authentic postcolonial circumstances would render any need for resistance or survival, and one look at Indigenous populations in any of the major three settler colonial states, (the United States, Canada, and Australia) would prove to you that this is not true.

III. Zionism as a Settler Colonial Ideology

By looking at the ideologies of Zionism and Lebensraum through the lens of Settler Colonial theory we are able to identify that both ideas definitely qualify as such,

albeit in different ways. Let us begin by looking at Zionism. Zionism, by definition, is a Jewish national movement that has as its goal the creation and support of a Jewish national state in Palestine. Zionists believe that Judaism is a nationality as well as a religion⁴, and forms of Zionism have existed for hundreds of years on religious grounds, but Theodor Herzl, who is today known as the modern “Father of Zionism” is credited with transforming Zionism into a major political movement and ideology.

In many ways, the creation of Jewish state in Palestine hinges on the condition that the land be available for occupation and, thus, that the population that is already living there be removed in one way or another- land cannot be created and is a finite resource. Indeed, Patrick Wolfe, a respected authority in the field of Settler Colonial studies confirms that ‘territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element’⁵. Settler Colonialism destroys to replace- by that logic, Herzl himself qualified Zionism as such when he wrote that “If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct.” In 1901, a close affiliate of Herzl’s, Israel Zangwill, wrote that “Palestine is a land without a people, Jews are a people without a country.”⁶ This view of the land to be colonized as empty and the subsequent denial of the existence of its indigenous population is a common theme among Settler Colonial studies. In his 1999 work *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* Patrick Wolfe argued that Australian settlers operated according to the perception of *terra nullius*, or

⁴ “Zionism,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed December 21, 2021, <https://www.adl.org/resources/glossary-terms/zionism>.

⁵ “Theorizing Zionist Settler Colonialism in Palestine.” *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, 2016, 363–76. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315544816-37>.

⁶ Garfinkle, Adam M., "On the Origin, Meaning, Use and Abuse of a Phrase." *Middle Eastern Studies*, London, October 1991, vol. 27

empty land. In order to reconcile the colonial imagery of empty land with the embodied experience of settlement that brought colonists into direct and sustained contact with indigenous peoples, settler cultures develop complex narratives that erase indigenous people's humanity.⁷ For example, a tool that Settler Colonial states and ideologies consistently utilize to justify their actions is that of Settler positioning indigenous peoples as rootless nomads with no real claim to the land- most of the time they go further than this, though, and assert they are justified in claiming the land from its current inhabitants since the current inhabitants do not use the land efficiently enough. This can be seen in Zionism and the State of Israel as well as United States and Manifest Destiny, and as we will see slightly later on, by the German and later Nazi Empire with Lebensraum as well.

European settlers in the United States (arguably the most successful Settler Colonial project of all time) employed a variety of successful and insidious ways to justify their convergence on the North American continent. A Puritan clergyman in Boston in 1722 answered a community member's question about the acquisition of land from Native Americans as such: "There was some part of the Land that was not purchased, neither was there need that it should – it was *vacuum domicilium*; and so might be possessed by virtue of God's grant to Mankind, Gen. 1:28- '*And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.*' The Indians made no use of it, but for Hunting. By God's first grant men were to subdue the Earth. When Abraham came

⁷ Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020).

into the Land of Canaan, he made use of vacant Land as he pleased: so did Isaac and Jacob...”⁸ This view, that the Settler Colonists are superior culturally and intellectually to the native population and thus are more deserving of the land is a common tactic that was also employed by Zionists.

The image of the Jew as the carrier of gentile civilization from Europe to Eastern Asia was built into the foundations of Zionism. In his book *Der Judenstaat* which became the modern rallying cry to Zionism, Herzl wrote: “Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvellous potency. If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return undertake to regulate the whole finances of Turkey. **We should there form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism.** We should as a neutral State remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence. The sanctuaries of Christendom would be safeguarded by assigning to them an extra-territorial status such as is well-known to the law of nations. We should form a guard of honor about these sanctuaries, answering for the fulfillment of this duty with our existence.”⁹ Here Herzl uses the same justification as Europeans in the United States in that they [the Jews] are civilized and sophisticated in comparison to the ‘barbarous’ Arabs that inhabit Palestine and the surrounding areas. Chaim Weizmann, who was to become Israel’s first President also articulated a similar sentiment in the 1930s, when he said “On one side, the forces of destruction, the forces of the desert, have arisen, and on the other side stand firm the forces of civilization and

⁸ “South Carolina, 1739 - National Humanities Center,” accessed December 21, 2021, <http://www.nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/peoples/text4/stonorebellion.pdf>.

⁹Theodor Benjamin Herzl, *Der Judenstaat* (Berlin, 1920).

building. It is the old war of the desert against civilization, but we will not be stopped."¹⁰
The classic trope of the civilized vs. the savages continued.

Of course, as Wolfe states, Settler Colonialism's goal is the elimination of the native- Thus Moshe Dayan, the former Israeli Defense Minister who is largely viewed as a national hero, described what befell Palestinian towns, and therefore demonstrating that the logic of elimination was indeed at work: "Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You don't even know the names of these Arab villages, and I don't blame you, because these geography books no longer exist. Not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahalal arose in the place of Mahlul, Gvat in the place of Jibta, Sarid in the place of Haneifa, and Kfar-Yehoshua in the place of Tel-Shaman. There is not one single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population"¹¹ Today, seventy-five years after Dayan spoke these words, Settler Colonialism continues to be a structure rather than a single event as Palestinians continue to be forced out of their homes to make room for Israeli settlers.

IV. Lebensraum as a Settler Colonial Ideology

Now that we have demonstrated how Zionism fits the mode of a Settler Colonial ideology, we must turn our attention to Lebensraum to do the same thing. Lebensraum is a German word that quite literally means 'living space'. Lebensraum is not quite as narrowly defined as Zionism; Indeed, Lebensraum as an ideology comprises the settler colonialist policies that proliferated in Germany from the 1890s up through the 1940s. Lebensraum was first introduced into the German political ether by Friedrich Ratzel in

¹⁰ Massad, Joseph. "The Persistence of the Palestinian Question." *Cultural Critique*, no. 59 (2005): 1–23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4489196>.

¹¹ *Ibid*

1897, when he defined it as the geographical surface area required to support a living species at its current population size and mode of existence¹², and then, in accordance with intellectual trends of the late nineteenth century, applied it to human societies. Politicized and supported by the Pan-German league¹³, Lebensraum became a political goal of Imperial Germany in World War I, and then, and perhaps most infamously, Lebensraum was a vital aspect of Nazi ideology up through the end of World War II. Unlike with Zionism, where the need for land underlies the political motivations of the ideology, Lebensraum is explicitly about the need for land and space- the acquisition of territory being its main goal.

In his book *Politische Geographie*, applied the pseudo-zoological concept of Lebensraum to human society- for example, a state was simply the result of how certain people adapted to their environment. Therefore, the forms that states and cultures took was shaped by their relationship to Lebensraum and the struggle for it¹⁴ Ratzel surmised that a *Volk* or people were culturally defined. Ratzel employed loose analogies; a Volk, like a plant, needed to grow and expand in Lebensraum or die. The roots of Lebensraum were agrarian- truly successful societies, according to Ratzel, needed to have effective and stable agricultural systems. The strength of Ratzel's vision of the theory was in its flexibility- the lack of rigor and excessive adaptability is what allowed Lebensraum to thrive as an essential part of German foreign policy for nearly half a century.¹⁵

¹² Woodruff D. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹³ *Ibid*

¹⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁵ *Ibid*

Adolf Hitler was responsible for the most famous and deadly iteration of Lebensraum. He adapted Ratzel's basic premises to fit his own needs- The idea of Lebensraum would fit the needs of the Nazi Empire he was building. During the First World War, the British Naval Blockade had forced middle-class Germans to break the law in order to obtain the food they needed to survive. Lebensraum, Hitler believed, would provide a solution. By expanding the German empire eastward, Germans could eliminate Eastern European Jews while also providing the farming space needed to build a self-sustaining German Empire. Like other Settler Colonial ideologies that we have seen before, Hitler and other German followers of Lebensraum justified their ambitions by denigrating the Eastern European Slavs that they planned on eliminating: "The Slavs are born as a slavish mass crying out for their master" wrote Hitler. German colonial administrators would refer to Ukrainians as 'blacks' in order to emphasize their nature as a colonial people meant to be subordinated.¹⁶ Furthermore, of course through the lens of Lebensraum German people viewed Eastern Europe as uninhabited. Indeed, a Nazi song intended for female colonists in Ukraine described the land thus: "There are neither farms nor hearths, and there the earth cries out for the plough."¹⁷ By the characteristics laid out by Wolfe and others, Lebensraum is intrinsically a Settler Colonial ideology.

V. The Road to German Unification

Now that we have established what Zionism and Lebensraum really are, it is time to look at their origins, and what shared influences affected their simultaneous

¹⁶ Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (Tim Duggan Books, 2016).

¹⁷ *Ibid*

creations. In the last decade of the nineteenth century when Friedrich Ratzel and Theodor Herzl introduced the concepts of Lebensraum and Zionism in their respective writings within one year of each other, the German Empire was still very young. Indeed, a Germany that would be recognizable to a contemporary viewer only began to emerge in the mid nineteenth century following the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806¹⁸, and the subsequent attempts at German unification that took decades. Our story begins in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Europe was emerging from twenty-three years of nearly continuous warfare; the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had disturbed the old European regimes and brought instability to Empires once considered secure. The Congress of Vienna was Europe's solution to the cracks that had begun to appear in the foundations of the old constitutional order. The French Revolutionary wars (followed by the Napoleonic Wars) were a Pandora's box of sorts for Europe's old empires- once it had been opened, there was no closing it- creating a chain of events that led all the way to the outbreak of World War I.

In 1815, the Continent was recovering from over two decades of war; the French Revolution had diffused the ideas of liberalism and civil rights throughout Europe, but its legacy was one of violence and chaos- causing counterrevolutionary ideologies of conservatism to take hold across the continent. The Congress of Vienna sought to reconstitute the European political order to maintain peace (in the image of conservatism). However, despite the traditionalist tone of the Congress and the restoration of the Bourbon House, many of the liberal features of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were to remain present in European politics;

¹⁸ "German Confederation," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed December 21, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/German-Confederation>.

governments had to make concessions to a growing middle class made only more robust through the growth of commerce and industry. Nationalism and Liberalism were the ideologies that rose from the ashes of the French Revolutionary Wars (of which the Napoleonic Wars were a part) and, additionally, were the forces that the conservative leaders of the Congress of Vienna were trying to repress. Indeed, the congregation of the Congress of Vienna was one of the first in a long line of actions that conservative politicians in Europe enacted to contain the liberal and nationalist forces that had been unleashed by the French Revolution and its subsequent conflicts.¹⁹ Klemens von Metternich was the Austrian statesman that chaired the Congress. A traditional conservative, Metternich was keen to crush any nationalist revolts that arose within the empire (a hold he could not maintain for long, as he was forced to resign following the Revolutions of 1848). Metternich shrewdly and passionately fought for conservatism during his political career. However, some nineteenth and twentieth century historians who view the growth of nationalism and liberalism in Europe through a determinist lens posit that had Metternich not tried and repress civil reforms so forcefully, Austria and the rest of Central Europe would have “developed along normal liberal and constitutional lines.”²⁰

Without a doubt, the Europe that Metternich and others like him were working to prevent had already begun to take shape. The growth of the middle class and the rise of industrialization shared mutual causality, indicating that the fiefdoms and aristocracies that had previously constituted European society were to be replaced with the nation-

¹⁹ Philip G. Dwyer, *The Rise of Prussia, 1700-1830* (London: Routledge, 2014).

²⁰ Alan Sked, *Metternich and Austria: An Evaluation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

state, and ideologies based on a shared origin and culture- which would cause shockwaves to last for the next century- Of course, as Benedict Anderson explains in his 1983 masterwork *Imagined Communities*, the development of nationalism and the nation-state began long before the Napoleonic Wars. Nonetheless, events such as the Napoleonic Wars that occurred concurrently with the rise of the middle class definitively catalyzed this transformation. By the nineteenth century the Catholic church had lost its centuries-long role as the power broker in European politics, and, as Anderson explains, that power vacuum was filled by the nation-state itself which became the body of authority and community in the lives of laypeople.

Until 1871, when the unification of Germany was achieved under the conservative leadership of Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck, Germany as we know it did not exist. During the previous six decades modern Germany had slowly started to develop through first the German confederation, followed by the North German confederation, until unification was achieved in 1871. This was a seminal moment for sure, as the political and imperial power that Germany gained under the leadership of Otto Von Bismarck was to shape the course of world history during the next century. The Congress of Vienna led to the establishment of the German confederation, a loose assemblage of thirty-nine states under Austrian leadership. The leaders at the Congress responsible for this decision failed to recognize and compensate for Prussia's growing influence, which would have later repercussions. In 1819, only a few years after the convocation of the Congress of Vienna, a radical student by the name of Karl Sand shot and killed a prominent conservative writer by the name of August Kotzebue. In response, a conference of the major states within the German Confederation was

called. This act of violence in the name of liberalism gave Klemens, Prince Metternich an excuse to enforce repressive conservative laws enforcing censorship of periodicals, the dismissal of liberal university professors, and the disbanding of nationalist student organizations. These laws, known as the Carlsbad Decrees, were another attempt by conservative leaders to crush the ever-growing liberal and nationalist sentiment that was growing within the Confederation. While the decrees may have had short-term success, the outbreak of the March Revolution in 1848 proved them to be ultimately futile. Although the March Revolution was crushed and the German Confederation reestablished in 1850, the event foreshadowed the eventual unification of Germany and the establishment of the German Empire.²¹

Political discontent in the Confederation continued throughout the 1850s. It was becoming clear that the brand of conservatism established at the Congress of Vienna was no longer effective, and Germany (or rather, at the time, the Confederation) needed to fulfill the seemingly paradoxical endeavor of conservative modernization. They found just the man for the task in the form of an astute statesman by the name of Otto Fürst von Bismarck.

On 23 September 1862 Bismarck was appointed Prime Minister and Foreign Minister by Wilhelm I. That same year, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs gave an infamous speech to the Prussian budget committee stressing the need for military preparedness in anticipation of German unification, that henceforth became known as his “blood and iron” speech and exemplified the *realpolitik* for which Bismarck would become known: “The position of Prussia in Germany will not be determined by its

²¹ *Ibid*

liberalism but by its power [...] Prussia must concentrate its strength and hold it for the favourable moment, which has already come and gone several times. Since the treaties of Vienna our frontiers have been ill-designed for a healthy body politic. Not through speeches and majority decisions will the great questions of the day be decided—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 49—but by iron and blood (Eisen und Blut).”²²

From 1862 to 1871 Bismarck worked to secure German unification. The 1862 Danish war was the first war of German unification under Bismarck as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Throughout the nineteenth century and the struggle for German unification, one of the ongoing debates was concerning “The German Question”. As previously mentioned, the German confederation consisted of thirty-seven independent German states- so the question was, what would the best strategy be to unite the lands inhabited by Germans? Two strategies were proposed. One was called the ***Großdeutsche Lösung*** ("Greater German solution"), and posited that all German-speaking peoples should be united under one state, including the Kingdom of Austria, which had traditionally demonstrated hegemony over German politics. The other strategy was called the ***Kleindeutsche Lösung*** ("Little German solution"), and argued against the inclusion of the Kingdom of Austria into a unified German state, suggesting that this would only present problems, as the Kingdom of Austria included large areas of Central and Southeastern Europe inhabited by up to fifteen different minority groups. This question was eventually settled by the second war of German unification, namely the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. The war was only fought over a period of several

²² “Blood and Iron Speech ,” Ghdi - document, accessed December 21, 2021, https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=250&language=english.

weeks, with Bismarck pursuing Austrian exclusion. The outcome was a Prussian victory, with Bismarck managing to unite all German-speaking lands (excluding Austria) in a North German Confederation in 1867, which would serve as a model for the later German Empire.

The final act of German unification was the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-71. Fought against the French Second Empire, Bismarck skillfully used this conflict in order to convince the Western German states to ally with the Northern German confederation. Following the French defeat, the *Kleindeutsche Lösung* prevailed. The German Empire was finally declared on 18 January 1871 at the Palace of Versailles with Wilhelm I of Prussia as Emperor. Protestant Prussia became the dominant force of the new state, and Bismarck was named Imperial Chancellor.

VI. Völkisch: German influences on ideology after unification

Unification marked the beginning of a new age for Germany, and one that was ushered in by none other than the Iron Chancellor himself. As noted above, Bismarck's 'blood and iron' speech is known for exemplifying his political style. Indeed, it is difficult to overstate just how influential a figure Bismarck is to modern European history and politics. His political acumen ended up attracting the attention of two men who are of significance to us in this context: Adolf Hitler and Theodor Herzl. In fact, in 1939 the German navy unveiled the largest ship in Europe at the time, and it was named *Bismarck*. Hitler gave a speech at its unveiling that revealed the influence that Bismarck still affected. Early on in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler writes: ; "I studied Bismarck's exceptional legislation in its original concept, its operation and its results".²³ Throughout the

²³ Adolf Hitler et al., *Mein Kampf* (München: Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 2017).

manifesto at various points Hitler praises Bismarck's diplomacy and towards the end declares: What miserable pygmies our sham statesmen in Germany appear by comparison with him. And how nauseating it is to witness the conceit and effrontery of these nonentities in criticizing a man who is a thousand times greater than them."²⁴ Bismarck's realpolitik was also an inspiration to Herzl. Amos Elon writes in his biography of Herzl: "The cult of Bismarck was shared by innumerable liberal Jews of the time. Freud's father was such an admirer of Bismarck that when he had to translate the date of his own birth from the Hebrew calendar to the Christian, he juggled the dates to choose Bismarck's birthdate".²⁵ However, the cult of Bismarck was not only limited to the borders of Germany. Vienna was a city that produced Herzl, Freud, and to a certain degree, Hitler. It was no coincidence; Vienna in the nineteenth century was a cosmopolitan European capital and 'the cultural melting pot of Europe'. It benefited from multiculturalism as these myriad gentile influences produced masterworks of art and literature, as well as a thriving cafe culture that encouraged discourses on politics. Elon agrees, writing, "it is perhaps no mere coincidence that the same city, the same decaying crucible of passion and hope, love and hatred, anticipation and invention, produced a Herzl as well as a Hitler; the antidote before the poison."²⁶ The rise of liberalism and the bourgeoisie created a vibrant cultural cosmopolitan atmosphere across the capitals of Europe. Socio-political exchange influenced everything from high culture to governmental policies.

²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ Amos Elon, *Herzl* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986).

²⁶ *Ibid*

Despite being an Austrian born in Budapest, it was German culture that made the biggest impact on Theodor Herzl. German *kultur* influenced Herzl's worldview. In fact, Herzl was more German than anything else. His family spoke German at home when he was growing up and his mother was an avid devotee of German *kultur*. Theodor read German literature, German history, and German politics.

This explosion of German *kultur* did not spontaneously generate. When Prussia became the dominant force in German politics following the *Kleindeutsche Lösung*, despite the significant growth of liberalism throughout the nineteenth century, Prussian authoritarian, anti-liberal, anti-Catholic, and overall Conservative forces influenced the brand of nationalism that took wing in the German Empire post-1871. This nationalism was based on Bismarck's ideals of willpower, strength, loyalty, and honesty.²⁷ German unification was the seminal hinging point- following this political watershed, the Völkisch nationalist movement was able to develop, drawing influence from German romanticism and ideas of the Holy Roman Empire.²⁸

The unique intellectual atmosphere present in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century is what tied together all of these disparate threads that we have been following thus far as well as others: imperialism, pseudo-science, racialism, culture, nationalism and settler colonialism together and is how the same environment produced two figures who worked towards opposite ends: one who wanted to destroy the Jewish people and the one who wanted to save them.

²⁷ Breuilly, John. "Nation and Nationalism in Modern German History." *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 3 (1990): 659–75. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2639736>.

²⁸ *Ibid*

Social Darwinism is one of the factors that can be seen as directly impacting German Nationalism as well as Zionism and Lebensraum. Ratzel's original iteration of Lebensraum is a nearly perfect example of Social Darwinism in intellectual practice: Ratzel took a biological concept and applied it to human societies. *Völkisch* nationalism was borne from this type of thinking in the late nineteenth century, which emphasized German ascendancy over other peoples. Social Darwinism enabled followers of *Völkisch* to conceive of an ideal world where race would play a part in determining the hierarchy of the peoples of the world, with Aryans being on top of that hierarchy. This line of thought can be directly tied to Hitler's worldview and his own personal interpretations of Lebensraum and Social Darwinism. "Human races, Hitler was convinced," writes Timothy Snyder, "were like species. The highest races were still evolving from the lower, which meant that interbreeding was possible but sinful. Races should behave like species, like mating with like and seeking to kill unlike."²⁹ This type of Social Darwinism was used to justify Anti-Semitism in late nineteenth century Europe and later in the eyes of Hitler. There was an explosion of Anti-Semitic sentiment in the last decades of the nineteenth century that correlated with the rise of pseudo-science and scientific racism. Russian pogroms intentionally drove hundreds of thousands of Jews out of that country, and the Dreyfus affair did much to institutionalize Anti-Semitism in France and spread that hatred throughout other parts of Europe. It was specifically the Dreyfus affair that was the metaphorical last straw for Theodor Herzl in terms of Antisemitism in Europe. Herzl was appalled by the outbursts of Antisemitism that he witnessed and exasperatedly wrote, "One Jew an alleged traitor, and down with

²⁹Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (Tim Duggan Books, 2016).

all the Jews? Where? In republican, modern, civilized France, one year after the Declaration of the Rights of Man? What was to be expected of less civilized countries?”³⁰ It was this event that is said to have strengthened Herzl’s resolve and realize that assimilation was no longer an option for the Jews of Europe- Herzl believed that a Jewish state was the only option left, as he declared in one of the foundational texts of Zionism, *Der Judenstaat*. Of course, Antisemitism unfortunately also played a fundamental role in Hitler’s view of Lebensraum. Timothy Snyder argues that Hitler’s Antisemitism wasn’t just an intense prejudice of his- for him it was about the fate of the world. “Hitler’s destiny, as he saw it, was to redeem the original sin of Jewish spirituality and restore the paradise of blood. Since homo sapiens can survive only by unrestrained racial killing [according to Hitler and Lebensraum], a Jewish triumph of reason over impulse would mean the end of the species.” He further clarifies: “Hitler’s basic critique was not the usual one that human beings were good but had been corrupted by an overly Jewish civilization. It was rather that humans were animals and that any exercise of ethical deliberation was in itself a sign of Jewish corruption. The very attempt to set a universal ideal and strain towards it was precisely what was hateful... from this it followed that Germans would always be victims so long as Jews existed. As the highest race, Germans deserved the most and had the most to lose. The unnatural power of Jews murders the future.”³¹

The racial basis of the nation-state that Hitler established as part of Nazi ideology hearkens back to Friedrich Ratzel and the origins of Lebensraum. In fin de siècle

³⁰ Amos Elon, *Herzl* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986).

³¹ Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (Tim Duggan Books, 2016).

Germany, agrarianism was romanticized; peasant agriculture symbolized all that was threatened by modernity and industrialization. Agrarianism also encompassed a to more utilitarian forms of nationalism- for example, Ratzel and others argued that that a strong German peasantry was needed for national defense because the sons of small farmers made the best soldiers, and German peasant women were strong child-bearers.

Ultrationalists supported country living as the healthy alternative to urban life, with Ruralism movements in support of sending urban children to the countryside to grow up and become strong German peasant soldiers.³² This idealization of agrarianism as the basis for a racial nation-state was characteristic of *Blut und Boden*, or “Blood and Soil” was one of the nationalist slogans of Nazi Germany. The phrase was popularized in 1930 by Richard Walther Darre, a prominent Nazi ideologist. The slogan implied that there was an esoteric connection between German land and German blood. Peasants were Nazi cultural heroes who sustained the natural order by perpetuating the Aryan race and working the land. This racial basis for the nation-state as a central tenet of nationalism had its origins in the pseudo-scientific justifications for Imperialism that came out of nineteenth century Europe. A racial basis for the nation-state is also a characteristic of Zionism as a nationalist movement. In order to make itself more viable to the European mind and gain support from Imperial powers such as Britain, Zionism claimed the racial unity of the Jews, which again betrayed the influence of pseudoscience on the building of a nation-state. Abdal-Wahhab Kayyali explains that “it is in this context that the

³² Woodruff D. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

religious origins of Judaism are transformed into national and racial origins, and ancient Hebrew kings become the progenitors of modern Jews.”³³ Indeed, in 1904 the Bureau of Jewish statistics was set up to determine how the Jews were a race, or a *Volk*³⁴, an ironic subversion of the *Völkisch* that the Germans held so dear.

VII. Conclusion

By 1914, at the outbreak of World War I, Lebensraum was already firmly planted within German political culture. During the war, Lebensraum was implemented within German foreign policy. In another interaction that illustrates the complex interplay of ideas within Germany at the end of the nineteenth century, in 1898 Theodor Herzl paid a visit to the German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II in order to try and persuade him to influence the Ottoman Sultan to seriously consider the proposal of the Zionists. Herzl decided to go to the Kaiser and make his case because he thought he would be sympathetic to the Zionist cause³⁵ due to the idea of *Drang nach Osten* or ‘Drive to the East’. Before there was Zionism, there was *Drang Nach Osten*, a part of German nationalist propaganda years before Lebensraum was popularized. This specific interplay between the two ideologies reads like a circular justification of imperialism.

The specific crisis of European civilization that reached its nexus in the final years of the nineteenth century is what made Germany a hotbed for Nationalist and Imperialist tensions, thus giving rise to ideologies such as Zionism and Lebensraum. Germany between Bismarck and Hitler was so fraught with tensions of political

³³ Kayyali, Abdul-Wahab. “Zionism and Imperialism: The Historical Origins.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 6, no. 3 (1977): 98–112. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2535582>.

³⁴ *Ibid*

³⁵ “Herzl Meets the German Kaiser,” Herzl meets the German Kaiser - הארכיון הצינני, accessed December 21, 2021, <http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/en/dataset/Pages/ZionistDelegation.aspx>.

philosophy, nationalism, and race that can be argued to have caused two of the most deadly conflicts in human history. Thus, any historiographical study of that period is inherently valuable for any insight it has to offer. Any study of Germany in the century and a half from 1800 to 1950 proves the observation of another powerful nineteenth century intellectual, Victor Hugo: ""One resists the invasion of armies; one does not resist the invasion of ideas".³⁶

³⁶ Victor Hugo, *The History of a Crime* (Philadelphia, 1895).

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Garden of Earthly Delights: Women, Sexuality, and Sensibility in Vauxhall, 1688-1715

I. Introduction

As night closed in on the evening of Wednesday, June 7th 1732, a warm summer breeze swept over the Thames as boat after boat was loaded with men and women dressed in their finest clothes, wigs freshly powdered and jewels gleaming. The boats would then carry the patrons across the river to the entrance of Vauxhall Gardens, for the *Ridotto Al Fresco*, which was being held that night.³⁷ Prince Frederick, the Prince of Wales (and the father of King George III) would later make his way down the river from Kew Palace in his barge. The *Ridotto* was an evening masquerade engineered by Vauxhall's genius 'master of ceremonies' during its heyday, Jonathan Tyers. Tyers was responsible for making Vauxhall one of the premiere places of recreation in London during the eighteenth century, and was also responsible for helping to remake its reputation from a sordid park to the center of a new thriving culture of leisure. Although pleasure gardens like Vauxhall and its less famous (but more elite) counterpart Ranelagh were frequented by both men and women, a distinguishing aspect of both was that they were undoubtedly female-dominated spaces. It was the women who were unmistakably on display, as ladies walked the promenades in their best fashions and well-dressed prostitutes solicited men with a flick of their fan and a suggestive glance.

³⁷ The *Ridotto Al Fresco* was the first major event held at Vauxhall after the garden's proprietorship shifted to Jonathan Tyers, and was by all accounts a major success. A *Ridotto* was an Italian-style formal ball held out of doors. This ball, which took place on June 7, 1732 was the first major event in the Tyers era of Vauxhall, which was arguably its 'golden age' and set the tone for Vauxhall throughout the rest of the long eighteenth century.

The latter half of the Long Eighteenth Century³⁸ can be seen as a ‘golden age’ for middle to upper class women in England in the lead up to the modern era. English women in the late Georgian era were able to enjoy relatively robust lives as socialites, courtesans, actresses, writers, and political thinkers, all while exercising their agency in the public sphere.

Although studies on Georgian England abound, there are few that seem to specifically link the development of cultured leisure to women’s increased agency and public visibility during this period, especially in comparison to the Victorian conservatism that followed in the century after. In fact, in 1878, Charles Abbey, a British intellectual, wrote a series of books about the Church of England in the eighteenth century; he remarked that the institution “partook in the general sordidness of the age; it was an age of great material prosperity, but of moral and spiritual poverty, such as hardly finds a parallel in our history.”³⁹ He was referring, of course, to the “highly visible debauchery” and “sexual revolution”⁴⁰, which was in part induced by the development of a consumer culture of leisure alongside commercial capitalism. Over the course of a century, British society became much more secular, and many laws regulating sexuality and press censorship were abandoned. In many ways, these developments are indicative of the inherently transformative nature of the Long Eighteenth Century in British history, which is commonly agreed upon to span the years between 1688 and 1832. In this period of time, England recovered from a Civil War, became Great Britain after the Acts of Union

³⁸ The Long Eighteenth century is a term used by many European historians to refer to a more ‘naturally flowing’ historical period than calendar-defined centuries. The beginning of the period in question is usually marked by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and ends with the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. For more on the period in question, see *The Long Eighteenth Century* by Frank O’ Gorman.

³⁹ Charles J. Abbey, *The English Church and Its Bishops 1700-1800* (AMS Pr, 1971).

⁴⁰ HANNAH GREIG, *Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (OXFORD UNIV Press, 2020), 12.

in 1707, and matured into an indubitable global hegemon in 1815 after defeating Napoleonic France in the Battle of Waterloo, despite the loss of its American colonies less than fifty years prior.⁴¹ However, it was the ideas of the Enlightenment which helped to form the foundation upon which Britain built its global predominance. Indeed, the effects of the Enlightenment catalyzed the creation of a culture of leisure in which women played a central role, thus increasing their visibility in the public sphere. Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens in particular exemplified these forces in dynamic motion.

II. Searching for Enlightenment in the darkness; or 'what's in a name?'

The Enlightenment was the first intellectual movement/historic period that developed with enough of a self-awareness to refer to itself by the name with which we call it today. In Spain it was known by '*Las Luces*', in France as *Siècle des lumières*, and in in the Holy Roman Empire as *Aufklärung*⁴². However, despite the consistence in nomenclature that persists to the present day, Shakespeare perhaps said it best when he pondered, "What's in a name? That which we call a rose/ By any other name would smell as sweet"⁴³; although scholars since the eighteenth century have agreed that something called The Enlightenment took place, they have struggled to come to a consensus on what it is, what it is not, what happened, and what it meant. For the past century in particular, the Enlightenment has become something akin to quantum superposition: a system that exists in many different states at the same time. But as Bianca Premo concedes in her book *The Enlightenment on Trial*, the movement

⁴¹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 20.

⁴² Richie Robertson, *Enlightenment and Religion in German and Austrian Literature* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2017).

⁴³ William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* (London: HarperPress, 2011), 30.

inherently “defies consensus”.⁴⁴ In fact, when Immanuel Kant wrote his famous essay *Was ist Aufklärung?* it was in response to a question posed a year earlier by the Reverend Johann Friedrich Zöllner, a Prussian government official.⁴⁵ Verily, while it was taking place, the movement itself was about asking larger questions and encompassed multitudes. Despite this, studies of the Enlightenment eventually became subsumed in a paradigm that inextricably shackled it to the French Revolution, and all the teleological typecasting that came with it. Furthermore, postmodernism discarded the ‘old hackneyed’ method of learning the Enlightenment that studied its ‘great thinkers’ such as Rousseau, Kant, and Locke and lauded them as the harbingers of modernity and replaced it with a critical view, revealing the dark underbelly of the movement which allegedly helped to sustain racist and discriminatory institutions. As subaltern and revisionist studies of the Enlightenment became more popular, it seemed necessary for scholars to take sides ‘for’ or ‘against’ the Enlightenment.⁴⁶ However, I would like to suggest that it is acceptable, and perhaps even necessary for the Enlightenment to exist in a state of quantum superposition- for it to defy precise meaning. A de-linking of the movement from the strident anti-monarchism of the French Revolution and the old, strictly philosophical intellectual histories of the first half of the twentieth century is what historian Vincenzo Ferrone argues is necessary, and it is his framing of the Enlightenment that I would like to adopt. For the purpose of this analysis we will separate history and historiography, and distinguish between *res gestae* (the events themselves) and *historia rerum gestarum* (the narrative related to those events). In

⁴⁴ Bianca Premo, *The Enlightenment on Trial: Ordinary Litigants and Colonialism in the Spanish Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Ibid

other words, methods that tend to conflate the two inevitably lead to a “claustrophobic world built entirely on philosophical controversies”⁴⁷ and a self-limiting need for strong conceptualization. It is far more useful, Ferrone argues, to study an idea’s function, how its form and meaning changed in different contexts, and how it could generate events and political action. Through this lens, in separating the historical and philosophical Enlightenments, we are able to uncover a cultural history of the Enlightenment that is capable of accounting for the phenomena I argue led to increased public visibility of women, such as the explosion of the printing press and the rise of commercial capitalism, all based on the “newly emergent relationship between the natural rights of individuals and their duties to the community.”⁴⁸ In opposition to Jonathan Israel’s interpretation of the Enlightenment which emphasizes the well-trodden primacy of philosophical ideas based off Spinozism⁴⁹, Ferrone (with whom I agree) argues that it was instead an ‘eclectic and polysemic project’ which had its origins in the ‘Second Scientific Revolution’. This updated version⁵⁰ of the first movement was shaped and informed by a new type of science that was devoted to the improvement of the human condition, and that placed man and his pursuit of happiness and emancipation at the heart of a new culture that was antithetical to that of medieval Christianity and the *Ancien Régime*.⁵¹ Scientific progress in the fields of zoology, medicine, and chemistry joined the new literature, music, and visual arts that reached the public in increasing

⁴⁷ Vincenzo Ferrone, Vincenzo Ferrone, and Elisabetta Tarantino, *The Enlightenment: History of an Idea - Updated Edition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 160.

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003).

⁵⁰ In terms of new methodologies inspired by the use of critical empiricism

⁵¹ Vincenzo Ferrone, Vincenzo Ferrone, and Elisabetta Tarantino, *The Enlightenment: History of an Idea - Updated Edition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 160.

numbers through journals, newspapers, and periodicals. Men and women from diverse backgrounds, rather than just a handful of French *philosophes*, were producing this knowledge. These advancements were the subject of fierce debates in cities from Britain to Italy, that arguably enflamed the hearts and minds of the populace to a much further degree than the learned philosophical and metaphysical dialectics that occurred within restricted circles (*vis-à-vis* Jonathan Israel). The literate public were both the roots and the fruits of the British Enlightenment as we understand it today. Thus, we can understand the Enlightenment as a *cultural experience* that was defined first and foremost by a critical spirit based in the study of man, his limitations, and the search for happiness through the exercise of his rights.⁵² Through this lens and a lack of unifying criteria we are able to see how the Enlightenment was produced by British women, both elite and non-elite, through their very actions: going to pleasure gardens like Vauxhall, posing for portraits, manipulating their image in the press to their advantage, selling sex to make their own living, and writing novels. Therefore, the Enlightenment was produced just as much by the likes of Georgina Cavendish and Kitty Fisher as by John Locke and Adam Smith.

III. **For the Many, Not the Few; or, a Habermasian vision for British Women**

Now that we have elucidated the meaning of the Enlightenment within the scope of this analysis, it would be wise to do the same in reference to the 'public sphere'. Indeed part of my argument proposes that the varied effects of the Enlightenment created opportunities that granted women greater public visibility. Specifically, the public

⁵² Ibid

sphere as defined by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas is the structure that will be most useful in illuminating how women interacted in eighteenth century British cultural life, and what the implications of those interactions were. Habermas' book on the subject was originally published in German in 1962; the word he used for the public sphere, *Öffentlichkeit*, encompassed a variety of meanings; it implied a spatial concept-social sites where meanings are articulated, negotiated, and distributed. A Habermasian frame is apropos for this study particularly because Habermas himself suggested that as the Enlightenment was being produced in the Atlantic World, where literacy rates were rising, and a new type of critical journalism was emerging alongside burgeoning commercialism, a domain separate from ruling authorities started to develop across Europe: "In its clash with the arcane and bureaucratic practices of the absolutist state, the emergent bourgeoisie gradually replaced a public sphere in which the ruler's power was merely represented before the people with a sphere in which state authority was publicly monitored through informed and critical discourse by the people".⁵³

Furthermore, Habermas identified three 'institutional criteria' that he deemed necessary preconditions for the emergence of a new public sphere. Different discursive arenas that he used as examples of the public sphere, such as French salons and British coffeehouses, differed in a number of ways, but they had a number of institutional criteria in common. Firstly, they encouraged a kind of social intercourse that, "far from presupposing the equality of status, disregarded status altogether."⁵⁴ Secondly, these places were the domain of common concern. Prior to the development of a bourgeois

⁵³ Andrew Edgar, *Habermas the Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2006), xi.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 36

public sphere, church and state authorities held a monopoly over the interpretation of objects of public critical attention, however, in the public sphere, matters of 'common concern' or public interest were in the hands of the bourgeoisie themselves to make of what they wish. The last criteria is inclusivity; however exclusive the public may seem at any given time, it could never close itself off entirely- any private citizen who would read, hear about, or merely observe whatever was subject to discussion was eligible to participate in the discourse. Predictably, when Habermas was developing his theory of the public sphere, women were excluded from consideration in his criteria. However, I would like to argue that spaces such as Vauxhall pleasure gardens functioned as discursive public arenas for women in eighteenth century London. Women of almost every social class, the very poorest notwithstanding, were able to convene in these spaces and take part in matters of public importance. Furthermore, works of cultural significance, such as the visual arts, music, literature, and theater gained legitimacy in these places, Women were often at the center of these cultural commodities, as actresses, writers, or artistic muses. Thus, it would be reasonable to contend that an altered version of the Habermasian public sphere would be an appropriate lens through which to view women and their agency in late Georgian London.

IV. Commercial Capitalism and the Rise of Cultured Leisure; Or, Get Rich or Die Tryin'

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Daniel Defoe, an English Renaissance man in every sense of the word, boasted that "we are the most diligent nation in the world. Vast trade, rich manufactures, mighty wealth, universal correspondence, and

happy success have been constant companions of England, and given us the title of an industrious people."⁵⁵ Most famously, Adam Smith, who was first and foremost a scholar of the Enlightenment, led a group of economic theorists in challenging the fundamental doctrines of mercantilism as Industrial Capitalism began to eclipse the former economic system in the mid-eighteenth century.⁵⁶ But the economic effects of the Enlightenment were also to be seen outside of Smith and Hume's economic tracts, sometimes in ways that subverted the egalitarian ideals it claimed to profess. Britain was bent on building a worldwide trade network for its shippers, manufacturers, and merchants, which it maintained through the dynamism of its Navy. Wealth flowed into the Kingdom from all around the globe; the East India Company, which, true to its name, dominated trade in the Eastern Hemisphere, accounted for half of the world's trade in the latter half of the eighteenth century⁵⁷. Britain's central role in the Triangular Slave Trade paid off lavishly- the loss of its thirteen colonies in North America was made up by the highly lucrative slave trade it gained with the newly minted United States. Although the slaves themselves generated innumerable profits, they were also an investment; the sugar islands in the Caribbean including Jamaica and Antigua which operated on slave labor were the real cash cows of Britain's empire.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ J.R McCulloch, *A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Economical Tracts: From the Originals of Dafoe, Elking, Franklin, Turgot, Anderson, Schomberg, Townsend, Burke, Bell, and Others* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁵⁶ Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View* (London: Verso, 2002), 50. *he Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*

⁵⁷ Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia 1600-1834 ; an Exhibition at the British Library, 24 May - 15 September 2002* (London, 2002).

⁵⁸ Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985), 35.

At home, the wealth generated from the rise of commercial capitalism catalyzed the birth of a consumerist culture among the middle and upper classes, which before had been a uniquely aristocratic privilege. Mercantile activity and proto-industrialism, especially in the Atlantic world, meant that by the middle of the eighteenth century, art dealers in Florence and Naples were shipping oil paintings to the drawing rooms of Paris and the English shire, and that clandestine publishers in Switzerland were smuggling radical books and pornographic pamphlets across the border into the libraries of French merchants and aristocrats.⁵⁹ Humanistic interest in the arts was not entirely novel of course, as the Enlightenment's pursuit of happiness through the seeking of knowledge had its roots in the Renaissance about two centuries earlier. However, it was the increased infrastructure of trade and capital that helped to expand interest in the arts into a bona fide market of culture. Hume remarked in his essay 'Of Refinement in the Arts': "Industry and refinement in the mechanical arts generally produce some refinements in the liberal; nor can one be carried to perfection, without being accompanied, in some degree, with the other. The same age, which produces great philosophers and politicians, renowned generals and poets, usually abounds with skillful weavers, and ship-carpenters... the spirit of the age affects all the arts; and the minds of men, being once roused from their lethargy and put into fermentation, turn themselves on all sides, and carry improvements into every art and science."⁶⁰

Men of business quickly realized that there was a market in culture, and deliberately began to exploit it, expand it, and pursue innovation and sophistication in

⁵⁹ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013), xvii .

⁶⁰ David Hume, *Hume's Ethical Writings: Selections* (New York: Collier Books, 1970).

order to reap the profits that were there. Advancements in transportation infrastructure helped to connect rural and urban areas; By 1800, all towns east of the Severn and south of the Trent were within a comfortable day's journey to London. A century earlier, it had taken three days to reach the city from Southampton. Musicians, circuses, actors, and salesmen were on the move, replacing provincial isolation with metropolitan sophistication and variety. For example, in 1773, Elizabeth Seymour Percy, the Duchess of Northumberland and a prominent socialite wrote in her diary that there was 'certainly no deficiency or want of public entertainments this Year," and went on to list over 130 different types of diversions available in London including but not limited to the theater, opera, puppet shows, pleasure gardens, circuses, assemblies, model exhibitions, lectures, shows, clubs, learned societies, taverns, and debating clubs.⁶¹ Women fully partook in and were central to this culture as participants, sponsors, and sometimes subjects of a vibrant social scene as shoppers, promenaders, masqueraders, theater-goers, and attended lectures, auctions, and art exhibitions. Urban growth also helped to fuel the development of consumer culture; English cities accounted for nearly three quarters of European urban population growth between 1750 and 1800.⁶² After Louis XIV ended religious toleration in 1685 an influx of skilled French Protestants helped to flourish native craft traditions. Furthermore, as many foreign commentators and visitors to England recognized, the rise of the arts in England was the triumph of a commercial and urban society, and not the achievement of a royal court. It was the economic as well as political conditions of England- a weak monarchy,

⁶¹ Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 2010). 4

⁶² John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013) xxiv

free constitution, and rule of law- which helped to create performing arts and literature that aimed for a public, and, instead of being confined to the few, were for the many.

As Enlightenment thinking diffused through European society, men and women realized that happiness, and beauty, was to be found in this world as well as the next, and that the works of a bountiful creator were to be enjoyed, not shunned. J.H. Plumb explains that “they were religious, certainly, often with a deep sincerity rather than mere conviction, but their religion was socially oriented- they felt the need to reconcile their increasingly powerful desire to enjoy the fruits of creation and the world about them with a sense of moral purpose. Happiness was deepest with linked with self-improvement, either through the social arts or through the enjoyment of nature in *all its manifestations* [emphasis added]- not only its beauties, but also its secrets- for where else was the purpose as well as the goodness of God the creator to be found?”⁶³

V. A New Paradigm: Or, Sense and Sensibility

A new paradigm developed alongside that consumer culture in the eighteenth century, and that was the culture of sensibility. As defined by G.J. Barker-Benfield, ‘sensibility’ denoted the receptivity of the senses and referred to the psychoperceptual scheme systematized by Newton and Locke. It referred to the operation of the nervous system- the material basis for consciousness itself.⁶⁴ However, during the eighteenth century, sensibility became a paradigm that denoted not only consciousness in general, but a particular kind of consciousness- one that could be further developed in order to be more acutely responsive to external stimuli from the environment.⁶⁵ Sensibility, over

⁶³ J. H. Plumb, in *Georgian Delights* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980), p. 8.

⁶⁴ G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2011), xxii.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*

the course of the eighteenth century, was imbued with moral and spiritual values in ways that echo JH Plumb's above description of a socially-oriented 'religion' and the pursuit of happiness through the senses. But perhaps most importantly, this 'cult of sensibility' came to be associated with women. The cult of sensibility as Barker-Benfield identifies it was fundamental to middle and upper-class women in Britain as they emerged into the discursive public arenas offered to them by the urban renaissance of the eighteenth century. The essence of this culture was its expression of women's consciousness in a world that was being transformed by the rise of consumer culture. The burgeoning capitalism of early modern Britain helped women to assert their agency and express their desires for more power in the home as well as to experience the 'pleasures' of the world beyond domesticity. Self indulgence, or the 'luxury' of feeling, was basic to the consumer psychology that the polite and commercial economy required, and was at the heart of the culture of sensibility.⁶⁶ The culture of sensibility was in many ways borne of the sharp increase in women's literacy during the seventeenth century and the associated challenges to the patriarchal authority by Puritan women during the English Civil War. The feminized cult of sensibility has its roots in the relationship between the writers and readers of sentimental literature, such as plays, poetry, but most especially the novel. The novel and its female readership came under attack from both male and female moralists who feared that its inherent romanticism and sentimentality would lead young women astray and off the path of virtuosity. A perfect example of a sentimental novel that tended to inspire this type of controversy is *Evelina, or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, written

⁶⁶ Ibid, xxvi

in 1778 by successful female author Fanny Burney. The vivid, satirical novel follows the titular character into the world of eighteenth century London society. *Evelina* quickly became a model for the sentimental novel in British literature, and was perhaps most famously an inspiration to a young author in Hampshire two decades later named Jane Austen. *Evelina* bears all the hallmarks of the sentimental novel, which raised questions about the nature of each gender and the relationships between them- part of direct feminism in its eighteenth century form. These novels asserted the right of women to marry for love, however also urged for sensibility tempered by reason and a proper education.⁶⁷ The movement of women's literacy and fiction in the eighteenth century underlined that women had minds and wishes of their own; women's apprehensions over marriage as well as their relationships to their husbands and fathers were of central concern. Sentimental literature, a fundamental part of the culture of sensibility, emphasized women's claim to enjoy public pleasures, such as pleasure gardens. Indeed, much of the action in *Evelina* takes place at Vauxhall, exemplifying the pleasure garden as a discursive public arena in which women could come and take part in the consumer culture that created spaces for them.

VI. Vauxhall, Mixed-Sex Sociability, and Prostitution; Or, 'Bad Reputation'

Early in the thirteenth century, during the reign of King John, a Cascon mercenary in his service named Falkes de Breaute built a manor house beside the Thames. The house was known as Falkes Hall and the name was later applied to the district as a whole.⁶⁸ The land passed through various hands in the Falkes family over

⁶⁷ Ibid, 237

⁶⁸ David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens a History* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2012), 8.

the next three centuries, until at some point in the seventeenth century the land was converted into a public use garden space. The earliest reference to Vauxhall as a Pleasure Garden comes from the diary of Samuel Pepys, perhaps the most inadvertently famous man in all of Restoration England. Pepys first mentions Vauxhall in 1662, and then twenty three more times over the next six years.⁶⁹ His descriptions illustrate that from the beginning, the gardens were extremely popular among the public. Like all visitors before Westminster bridge opened in 1750, Pepys arrived at the gardens via a decidedly more charming medium- by boat.

Public gardens that could be visited by the public began to develop in London during the seventeenth century. The main royal parks, namely St. James and Hyde Park had existed since the reign of Henry VIII as hunting grounds for the king, but following the end of the English Civil War in 1651, those parks and other green spaces like it were opened to the larger population on an increasing basis.⁷⁰ These gardens, of which Vauxhall was undoubtedly the most well-known and popular, became London's 'play-room, drawing room, and dining room'.⁷¹ But perhaps most importantly for our study, they quickly became a social necessity, where anyone who had any pretensions to fashion could be seen on a regular basis. Vauxhall was the first commercial pleasure garden in Europe, and, true to its Enlightenment origins, it really did serve everyone from Kings and Queens to apprentices and servants. By the 1720s, the gardens were already a sizable operation of considerable success.⁷² Furthermore, before the advent

⁶⁹ Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys. 1669-1683* (London: Panther Books, 1985).

⁷⁰ David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens a History* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2012), 16

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 1

⁷² *Ibid* 28

of pleasure gardens (and the entertainments of the urban renaissance that followed) existing leisure activities were very male-oriented; hunting, shooting, fishing, and tavern culture were entertainments that were not open to females. Vauxhall, and pleasure gardens at large, were one of the first commercial entertainments that were equally as inclusive to women as they were to men.

From its inception in the 1660s, Vauxhall managed to develop a reputation that was not completely respectable. The nature of the pleasure garden lent itself to a space in which members of the opposite could rendezvous, as pleasure gardens were one of the few public spaces (at least up until the 1750s) in which women of all social strata were welcomed. That being said, it was this exact criterion which attracted prostitutes to the space. Indeed, even within its first decade of business, Vauxhall already seemed to appeal to ladies of 'questionable morals'. This is evident from one of Samuel Pepys' diary entries from June 1st 1668, when he writes, "And thence all alone to fox-hall and walked; and saw young Newport and two more rogues of the town seize on two ladies, who walked with them an hour with their masks on, perhaps civil ladies; and there I left them, and so home".⁷³ The clear implication here was that they were not civil ladies, but rather ladies of a different kind who were using their masks as a kind of fashionable signaling to attract potential clients. Vauxhall's reputation as an outdoor bagnio was reinforced in the diaries of travelers visiting London, such as one William Byrd, who stayed in London between 1717 and 1721 before returning to his native Virginia. He wrote about a typical day spent visiting Vauxhall, here referred to as 'The Spring Gardens': "After dinner I put some things in order and then took a nap till 5 o'clock,

⁷³ Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys. 1669-1683* (London: Panther Books, 1985). 220

when Daniel Horsmanden came and we went to the park, where we had appointed to meet some ladies but they failed. Then we went to Spring Gardens where we picked up two women and carried them into the arbor and ate some cold veal and about 10 o'clock carried them to the bagnio , where we bathed and lay with them all night and I rogered mine twice and slept pretty well, but neglected my prayers".⁷⁴ Byrd also references the 'arbors' here, which were the predecessors to the supper box of Tyers' proprietorship, where ladies (of any reputation) and gentlemen could dine together in semi-seclusion. Verily, one of the most astonishing of Tyers' Vauxhall from 1735 onwards was that, in theory at least, he failed to distinguish between any of his visitors. Everyone was charged the same fee, treated the same, entered through the same doorway, and had access to the same entertainments. There were no Vauxhall elites, no separation of the classes or occupations, or hierarchy- which, in a society built on social stratification, was truly astounding.⁷⁵

The difficulty of drawing distinctions between women of easy virtue and proper ladies of the 'ton' was a feature of Vauxhall from the very beginning and would continue to be until it closed in 1859. In 1729 Tyers took over the gardens and put considerable effort into rehabilitating its reputation as a respectable place of leisure, by adding new entertainments, new forms of lighting, and attractive new events such as the *Ridotto* previously mentioned. Indeed, Tyers is who was responsible for making Vauxhall Vauxhall, for giving it an indelible place in the cultural history of Early Modern England.

⁷⁴Kenneth A. Lockridge, *The Diary and Life of William Byrd II of Virginia, 1674-1744* (London: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

⁷⁵ David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens a History* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2012), 42

Before Tyers took over, Vauxhall had none of the characteristics that made it popular. As William Horsely wryly observed (note the Enlightenment parlance!) “I believe a Man need not be very old to remember when Vaux-Hall Gardens were in a State of Nature, unembellished with Lights, Tents, Paintings, etc.”⁷⁶ However, despite Tyers’ best efforts, Vauxhall could never fully shake off the notoriety it developed as a place of scandalous mixed-sex sociability. In the world of eighteenth century ‘fashion’ this could be both a good and bad thing. The ‘fashionable world’ as contemporaries referred to it, encompassed dress, consumerism, and developments in sociability and print culture; fashion epitomized the potential of a commercialized consumer culture that was necessary for the progress of civilization, as well as the inherent tendency of that culture to corrupt its subjects.⁷⁷ This catch-22, especially as it applies to women, can be illustrated in one of Vauxhall’s most famous and beloved pastimes: the masquerade.

VII. **Women, Masquerade, and Criticisms of Sensibility; Or, Hiding In Plain Sight**

Female predilections to fashion reached a new pinnacle in the form of the masquerade, which was prominent among the array of new consumer pleasures available in eighteenth century urban life. The masquerade was most probably imported to England from Italy and gained popularity after gentlemen of the peerage came back from their ‘grand tours’ of Europe as the final flourish to their education and wanted to continue to enjoy the same types of entertainments at home as they did on the

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 2010), 3.

continent. The masquerade was for them, but also especially for women, as it was a locus in which sensual pleasures and impulses that were suppressed and veiled in everyday life could be acted upon.⁷⁸ In terms of discursive public arenas like Vauxhall offering women the chance to exercise more agency than was usually possible, the masquerade also exemplified this; at masquerades, women were able to enjoy a ‘conversational nonchalance’ that was not usually permitted to them, through cursing, obscenities, and loud joking.⁷⁹ Similarly to how Samuel Pepys saw masked women taking the air in Vauxhall in the seventeenth century, eighteenth century masquerades threatened to subvert the social order by having prostitutes mingle with gentlemen and apprentices mingle with ladies- it was almost impossible to tell the difference because everyone was in costume. Furthermore, because the masquerade was a manifestation of eighteenth-century consumerism, one in which women were obviously pursuing pleasure of multiple senses, the criticisms leveled against it were exactly the same as criticisms leveled against consumerism’s other manifestations- novels, fashionable clothing, and material culture. Like the novel, the masquerade made possible the expression of female wishes and desires, and thus masqueraders were subject to the same charges of sexual impropriety as novelists.⁸⁰ Moreover, attacks on women’s visibility in public culture were political as well as moral; undeniably, a link existed between the critical reaction to the emergence of women in the French Revolution and powerful cultural and political checks to the spread of consumption in France later. The

⁷⁸ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013), 180.

⁷⁹ Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford Univ. Press, 1996), 100.

⁸⁰ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013), 182.

development of the cult of sensibility was also negatively affected by its association with the court, and above all, Marie-Antoinette.⁸¹ It is worth noting that it was not just male moralists wringing their hands at the threatening prospect of unbridled female sexuality that was presented by women's participation in a new consumerist culture. Mary Wollstonecraft herself expressed concern that the new world of fashion could be seen as merely a new way to put women on the marriage market- to update their being bought and sold in marriages through the assimilation of traditional practice with modern commerce.⁸² Other early feminists demonstrate how important it is for us to not impress our contemporary feminist predispositions upon our early modern counterparts; for example, Bathsua Pell Makin, a governess to Charles I's children, believed that women should take part in the pleasures of private, female-occupied domestic space as an alternative to the attractive novelty of outdoor pleasures, as women were to be polished in order to attract men to the home as opposed to tavern culture, in order to preserve the family and its reputation.⁸³

VIII. Celebrity Culture and the Printing Press; Or, 'Courtesans, They're Just Like Us!'

We have seen how a pleasure garden such as Vauxhall could be viewed as a Habermasian public sphere for women in eighteenth century Britain as it gave them a space to convene with members of all social classes, to participate in public life, and discuss matters of importance. The inherent nature of Vauxhall as a pleasure garden

⁸¹ Ibid, xxxi

⁸² Ibid, 190

⁸³ Ibid, 193

allowed woman to step slightly out of the bounds of what normally would have been perceived appropriate and exercise agency in ways that were not previously available, due to the effects of the Enlightenment. As mentioned before, Vauxhall was quite hospitable to prostitutes, but in many ways that was merely indicative of culture at large; prostitution was ubiquitous in Georgian London, with an estimated one in five women participating in the sex trade.⁸⁴ In fact, the sex-trade in eighteenth century London was one of the city's most lucrative commercial activities in terms of annual turnover.⁸⁵ The sex trade created a rich new substrata of society, made up of wealthy madams, prosperous pimps, and highly paid courtesans, who could afford to live in fashionable, newly built areas such Marylebone. It was a sophisticated and cogent enterprise that overlapped with most aspects of daily life, crossed social boundaries, and overlapped with most aspects of daily life.⁸⁶ If we look at the Enlightenment as a cultural movement like Ferrone suggests, we are able to see why England was more secular in the eighteenth century, with church attendance lower than the century before or the century that would follow.⁸⁷ Because of this, the sex trade enjoyed a more ambiguous relationship with the law than say, during the nineteenth century, when prostitution was criminalized with the passing of the Vagrancy Act.⁸⁸ If prostitution was one of the most profitable (yet dangerous) enterprises in Georgian London, then many women tried to make their fortune in it, and some managed to succeed.

⁸⁴Dan Cruickshank, *London's Sinful Secret: The Bawdy History and Very Public Passions of London's Georgian Age* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010), xii.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, x

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, xii

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 154

In 1771, *Town and Country Magazine* recorded that Catherine Maria Fisher, commonly known as 'Kitty', had first made her appearance as a courtesan under the auspices of Commodore Augustus Keppel.⁸⁹ Keppel was one of the earliest gentleman patrons of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who, along with George Romney and William Hogarth, would become the defining portraitists of late Georgian England. It was most likely Keppel who introduced Fisher and Reynolds, which formed the start of a mutually beneficial, years-long relationship. Women such as Kitty managed to escape the dregs of being a 'regular' prostitute in a bawdy house on Drury Lane, just managing to make ends meet. If they were lucky enough to be taken under the wing by an aristocrat such as Commodore Keppel, the opportunities available to them were virtually endless. They would be able to climb the social ladder, become public figures, and in some cases, marry into the peerage.

A number of factors made this type of dramatic ascent possible. Firstly, as mentioned previously, the effects of the Enlightenment left England a relatively secular country in the eighteenth century, thus with all the wealth flowing into the country from multiple directions prostitution was accepted as almost a necessary evil; case in point, in 1724, Bernard Mandeville, a Dutch-born English doctor, published a treatise entitled *A Moderate Defense of Publick Stew*, which argued on behalf of state-regulated brothels.⁹⁰ Therefore, members of the aristocracy were able to publicly keep prostitutes such as Kitty as mistresses, who were paid lavishly in lodging, jewelry, and clothing.

⁸⁹*Town and Country Magazine*, 1771, p. 458.

⁹⁰ Phil-Porney, Bernard Mandeville, and Irwin Primer, *Bernard Mandeville's "A Modest Defence of Publick Stews" Prostitution and Its Discontents in Early Georgian England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1.

Additionally, the 'laboratory of modernity' that was eighteenth century England was already cooking up its latest creation: celebrity.

The robust publishing industry for both books and periodicals was an important engine for the emergence of a modern celebrity culture, in which the identities of certain individuals could be marketed and branded quickly and effectively to large, anonymous, socially diverse, and geographically distributed audiences.⁹¹ There is no doubt that much of the burgeoning of the print market was due to the development of the satirical print. The freedom of English life, the lack of any form of literary censorship, opened up a field of social and political satire that was quite unique in eighteenth-century Europe. These prints were often quite vulgar, sometimes obscene, occasionally erotic, and at times pornographic, but always biting in their comment on social customs or political events.⁹² Print culture joined visual art as a vehicle through which the idea of celebrity was disseminated. In such manner courtesans such as Kitty and painters such as Joshua Reynolds were able to form partnerships through which both parties benefited; Reynolds got a commission, Kitty gained notoriety. Courtesans were both muse and model to painters such as Hogarth and Reynolds. Indeed, art historian Martin Postle has argued that Joshua Reynolds was instrumental in shaping the emerging celebrity culture in late eighteenth century Britain⁹³. Although Reynolds had a tendency to cast his sitters in mythologic or allegorical roles in their portraits, Postle succinctly explains that powerful actresses and women who were extremely visible in the public sphere such as Kitty Fisher, or Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, didn't need to be given a

⁹¹ Tom Mole, *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 180.

⁹² J. H. Plumb, *Georgian Delights* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980), 38.

⁹³ *Ibid*

character, because ‘they already possessed one’.⁹⁴ Women like Kitty did not need to be painted in an allegorical manner, he continues, because “‘they were living legends, they were making history, they- through their lives and their art- had gained character... they rose above the decorative.’”⁹⁵ Kitty used her sexuality- her eroticism- to grow the cult of her celebrity in the discursive public arenas that the Enlightenment had opened up for her. Although there is no definitive proof that Kitty ever visited Vauxhall, at the same time, we can be almost sure that she did. After Jonathan Tyers took over ownership, Vauxhall became part of an established itinerary of cultural pleasures, creating the expectation that a person of refinement and fashion would be acquainted with them all.⁹⁶ For instance, a Southampton bookseller named Thomas Baker produced a gentleman’s appointment book in the 1780’s called *A Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas*. Its frontispiece referred to Vauxhall Gardens, while its endpiece had a putto, a female figure and a satyr together holding a scroll that read ‘Masquerade Pantheon Ranelagh Ridotto Coterie Opera Festina Bootles Fete Champet’. Such places and activities, the diary implied, were an essential part of the social calendar for any refined lady.

IX. Conclusion

As has been previously mentioned, The Long Eighteenth Century has become a paradigm used by historians to study Europe’s transition to modernity, and it is easy to see why; Great Britain didn’t exist⁹⁷ in 1688 when the Long Eighteenth Century

⁹⁴ Martin Postle and Joshua Reynolds, *Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity* (London: Tate Publishing, 2005).

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013), 69.

⁹⁷ Great Britain did not technically exist until the Acts of Union with Scotland in 1707, which made England and Scotland jointly the Kingdom of Great Britain

allegedly began, but by the time it ended in 1815, Great Britain was arguably the most powerful nation in the world. It is difficult to understate the transformative power of the eighteenth century, and of the Georgian era that straddles it. In many aspects of Georgian England we are able to recognize the country that England is today. That is no mistake- the emergence of mass media publishing, globalizing markets, and commercialism completely transformed the culture of not only England but the entire Atlantic World. However, by focusing on women in particular, we are able to see these transformative forces magnified and make even more of a difference in the lives of Georgian citizens. The Enlightenment was produced on the ground in England as much as it was by Diderot and Locke, but that becomes even more of an obvious fact when we use Vauxhall as a microcosm of London, and these changes can be seen in multiple instances- Jonathan Tyers' entrepreneurship and innovation constantly underscoring his egalitarian ideals, a lady of the peerage putting on a mask during a masquerade and being able to temporarily abandon the strict etiquette she has to abide by when in public, and a poor, anonymous London girl becoming one of the most famous women in England by virtue of her sexuality and wit. Women were not confined to the home. On the contrary, they now entered a new public world, a combination of the amusement centers of the 'urban renaissance'- walks, streets, and shopping parades. These spaces were also counted as new factors in the marriage market, which was a dimension of the market economy as a whole. Indeed, in his book *A Polite and Commercial People*, Paul Langford suggests that the 1770s were a 'full blown revolution' for women in England. Undoubtedly, these circumstances would not have been possible without the veritable cultural revolution that the Enlightenment wrought in Europe. However, at the same

time, this cultural revolution for women would not have been fulfilled without places like Vauxhall, or furthermore, Covent Garden and the Bluestockings society. This does not mean that Georgian London was a utopia for women; in fact, that could not be farther from the truth. It was a world that could be vigorous and beautiful, but also savage and cruel. Courtesans like Kitty Fisher and Emma Hart could rise to dizzying heights, but prostitutes could also be stoned to death while restrained in the pillory. It is a reality that brings to mind the words that Charles Dickens would write about this exact city, this exact epoch, only a century later: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair..."⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Charles Dickens and Ralph Mowat, *A Tale of Two Cities* (Oxford: University Press, 2008), 1.

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