

Satirical Glimpses of the Cultural History of Vegetarianism

Evi Zemanek and Sophia Burgenmeister

Vegetarianism as an alternative nutritional model is a controversial topic. Many contemporary arguments for and against a vegetarian way of life can be traced back to early discussions about vegetarianism in nineteenth-century media. This virtual exhibition sheds light on the first decades of the debate on meatless nutrition in German-speaking regions. In doing so, the exhibition adopts a special perspective: by examining vegetarianism as it is represented in caricatures, it is able to reconstruct the verbal and visual arguments used both in favor of as well as against the movement. The exhibition reflects upon the ambivalent public perception of vegetarianism at the time and, additionally, provides an amusing window into the wit and humor of the period.

The German version of this virtual exhibition can be found here.



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About the Exhibition

Caricatures about vegetarians and vegetarianism were not an absolute rarity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—yet they take time to find in a flood of cartoons on gender relations, certain professions, and political positions. Thanks to the progressive digitization of magazines, it is increasingly possible to search more specifically for caricatures on vegetarianism; however, many papers are still not available online. Therefore, the total number of vegetarian cartoons can hardly be quantified. This exhibition draws mainly from magazines that are already digitized. The selection of images presented here represents both what is possible in light of copyrights and the conceptual aim of the exhibition—to show a wide spectrum of visual and verbal motifs and arguments.

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Chapter: About the Exhibition

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Introduction



Aus der Frühzeit der Lebensmittelskandale (At the dawn of food scandals). Greser & Lenz, 2011. "Der Spinner nennt sich jetzt Vegetarier" ("Now the weirdo is calling himself a vegetarian").

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In the present, as vegetarianism is becoming more and more accepted as an alternative global nutrition model, this cartoon imagines how uncomprehending primitive people would have reacted to the decision of their contemporaries to voluntarily forego animal meat and instead pay homage to vegetables and fruits. At the same time, of course, it implies that the critics of vegetarianism are culturally backward. This cartoon is a particularly

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Chapter: Introduction

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apt prelude to our exhibition, firstly because it playfully and speculatively looks back to the (supposed) historical beginnings of vegetarianism, and secondly because it reflects on the idea that those practicing this emerging vegetarianism are developing a repertoire of terms and symbols to create a verbal and visual discourse for the purpose of communicating about their new way of life.

Today, the word "vegetarian" hardly needs any further explanation and is broadly understood simply as a synonym for a meatless diet, even if there are conceptual variants, e.g., whether eggs and/or dairy products are excluded, as in a vegan diet. When the adjective "vegetarianisch," derived from the early-nineteenth-century English word "vegetarian," became popular in Germany in the mid-nineteenth century and was established in the 1860s by vegetarian societies and magazines, it encompassed much more than abstinence from eating meat for many people—it was about a worldview. Although a vegetable diet was central to the idea of vegetarianism from the beginning, there were very different views of what a "vegetarian way of life" should include or exclude.

Since antiquity, written sources tell us about humans' preoccupation with their food cultures and list a variety of reasons for or against meat consumption ranging from religious to health considerations, from animal ethics to economic concerns. All the while, the firm belief that humans need meat was contrasted by an equally firm belief that the opposite was true. Movements that propagate a meatless diet have been around at least since Pythagoras asked his followers to abstain from meat in the sixth century BCE. Since the mid-nineteenth century, vegetarianism and veganism have attracted public attention and provoked controversial discussions in Europe. In the era of industrialization, the meat consumption of the bourgeois (and especially male) population increased rapidly and reached a peak between 1900 and the First World War, which was only surpassed in the middle of the twentieth century in the wake of post-war economic recovery. The emergence of vegetarianism in the nineteenth century can be understood as a countermovement to the advancement of industrialization, which, in the eyes of vegetarians, had led to an alienation from nature as well as to physical and moral decay.



Detail of the caricature Der Vegetarianer (The vegetarian) by Edmund Harburger (1846–1906), 1879.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 70, no. 1745–1770 (1879): 135. Click here to view source.

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Our exhibition sheds light on the beginnings of the debates on meatless nutrition in German-speaking areas and shows how various positions and arguments have developed. Rather than relying primarily on text sources, it focuses on caricatures published in German-language satirical magazines between the foundation of the first vegetarian society in 1867 and the Second World War. The exhibition thus chooses a special perspective: it traces the development of the discourse on vegetarianism in verbo-visual caricatures, satirical drawings, and poems that mock the movement, its worldview, social structures, and eating habits.

Caricatures and other forms of satire respond directly to current events and developments. Historical caricatures tell us what was perceived as new, strange, and worthy of criticism at the time of their publication, and why. However, the reconstruction of social phenomena from their satirical distortions is challenging. Where it succeeds, the caricatures illuminate the cultural history of early vegetarianism. The excerpts of caricatures shown here in this introduction are discussed in more detail in separate chapters that introduce various verbal and visual arguments against vegetarianism.



Detail of the caricature *Zu streng* (Too strict) by Hermann Schlittgen (1859–1930), 1894.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 101, no. 2553–2578 (1894): 221. Click here to view source.

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Detail of the caricature *Vegetarianer-Poesie* (A vegetarian's poetry) by Adolf Oberländer (1845–1923), 1886.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 84, no. 2110–2135 (1886): 24. Click here to view source.

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Regrettably, historians often treat caricatures as mere illustrations and evidence of historical events. On the contrary, they are a unique pictorial medium of cultural criticism that inventively reveals problematic developments and imagines alternatives by combining text and image, and as such, they certainly deserve more attention. As a concept and pictorial technique, caricature was already well known by the mid-nineteenth century. In the Brockhaus encyclopedia, caricature is defined as a "picture of mockery or deformation" in which characteristics of the depicted subject are exaggerated (Brockhaus 1843, 201). "The task of satire is to radically expose the futile efforts, the prevalent foolishness, and the vices of one's time, especially the social conditions of particular nations and classes" (Brockhaus 1847, 558). As the opposite of the norm or of an ideal, the depicted persons or social phenomena seem ridiculous, although not all satire provokes laughter. Even if it uses wit to attract attention, its main goal is to make people think about the problem it displays. This also means that caricatures are not "politically correct" and that one can not measure their moral horizon by today's standards. This exhibition features historical artifacts that do not reflect the worldview of the curators. Furthermore, caricatures cannot be understood and decoded without knowing their horizon of reference, i.e. the sociopolitical conditions surrounding their publication. These can only be roughly outlined in our exhibition. Nevertheless, the cartoons tell us a lot about the food culture at their time of origin, about what caused irritation, what could—or could not—be tolerated and last, but not least, about the humor of their time.

Some of the verbal and visual arguments in favor of or against vegetarianism found in historical cartoons are still widely circulated and discussed today—with great controversy. With the establishment of social media, debates about healthy and ethical diets have skyrocketed in the twenty-first century. What is new in comparison to the previous discussions is that the proponents of a meatless diet now also argue that factory farming is driving global warming. While the largest meat companies are responsible for higher CO₂ emissions than the oil industry, public pressure to reduce emissions is nonetheless more focused on energy and transportation sectors. In fact, the global per capita meat consumption is steadily increasing and the meat industry seems to be growing undisturbed (GRAIN 2018). Today's cartoonists, of course, humorously attack such grievances. The causal relationship between the meat industry and climate change opens up a new scope for visual satire, which would be a worthy exhibition focus on its own.

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"You Are What You Eat": Stupid Vegetables and the Charm of the New

The first German satire magazines were published in 1848, made possible by a temporary liberalization of censorship resulting from the German revolutions of 1848–49. By that time, the English magazine *Punch*, founded in 1841, was already mocking the vegetarian movement, which had gained a foothold in England some decades earlier than in Germany.



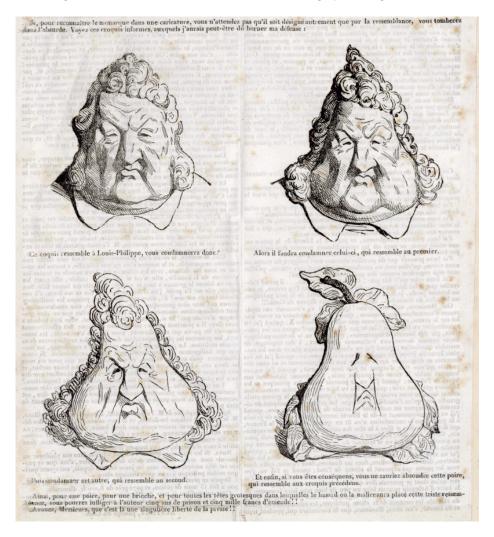
Original Vegetarians. Unknown artist, 1848.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Punch* 15 (1848): 182. Click **here** to view source.

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This early cartoon, entitled *Original Vegetarians*, served as an illustration to a short text, *The Vegetarian Movement*, which satirically announces a large, well-organized, and strict vegetarian movement. The mere idea that people deliberately feed on plants (vegetables) alone caused a lot of amusement. True to the motto "You are what you eat," vegetarians are here—and many times thereafter—portrayed as vegetables. The human faces and figures have been transformed into a pumpkin and various other root vegetables: the peaceful parade invites their physiognomical interpretation as harmless, or even stupid contemporaries ("stupid vegetables"). These portraits

are inspired in style by Honoré Daumier's famous caricature of Louis Philippe, which appeared in 1834 in the Paris magazine *Charivari* and defamed the French king by turning his head into a mushy pear.

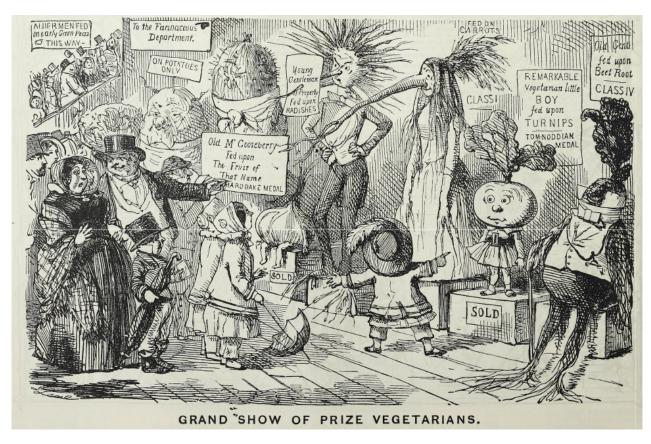


Les Poires (The pears). Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), 1834.

Accessed via Wikimedia on 6 August 2019. Click here to view source.

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Another caricature from *Punch* also presents human-plant hybrids. The unnamed artist imagines a *Grand Show of Prize Vegetarians*, alluding to colonial ethnological expositions. Each of the hybrid figures presented and even offered for sale amazes its audience with individual physical features. Their different appearances are the results of their respective diets. The carrot woman, for example, as a sign next to her explains, was raised exclusively on carrots. The cartoon shows to what extent vegetarians were publically perceived as a separate, "foreign people." It is up to the beholder, however, to decide whether the artist mocks the vegetarians for the public display of their lifestyle or criticizes the amazed audience for their voyeurism.

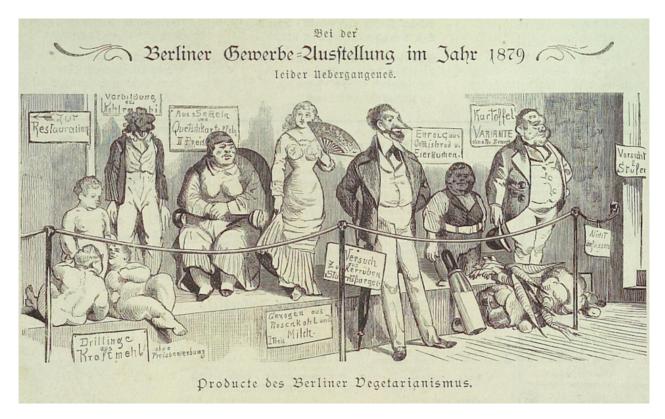


Grand Show of Prize Vegetarians. Unknown artist, 1852.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Punch's Almanack*, 1852. Click here to view source.

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One of the earlierst vegetarian caricatures from a German satirical magazine that demonstrates that vegetarianism had by then arrived in Germany, also picks up on this idea and exposes similarly hybrid *Producte des Berliner Vegetarianismus* ("Products of Berlin Vegetarianism") at the Berlin trade exhibition in 1879. This caricature, however, modifies the joke of its English predecessor; unlike in London, where the human vegetables received much attention, they were "unfortunately ignored" in Berlin, as the small printed subtitle makes clear. It may allude to the fact that in 1879 Berlin was not yet quite ready for this life reform movement.



Producte des Berliner Vegetarianismus (Products of Berlin Vegetarianism). Wilhelm Scholz (1824–1893), 1879. "Bei der Berliner Gewerbe-Ausstellung im Jahr 1879 – leider Übergangenes." ("At the Commercial Exhibition 1879 in Berlin—unfortunately ignored").

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

Originally published in *Kladderadatsch: Humoristisch-satirisches Wochenblatt* 32 (1879): 455. Click here to view source.

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The early idea that a vegetarian might gradually transform into a plant is visualized in a particularly detailed cartoon of the same year.



Der Vegetarianer

im ersten Jahre und nach zehn Jahren.

The vegetarian

in his first year and after ten years.

Der Vegetarianer (The vegetarian). Edmund Harburger (1846–1906), 1879.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 70, no. 1745–1770 (1879): 135. Click here to view source.

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This very common notion of a correlation between (peaceful, fragile) physical appearance and (meatless) nutrition as well as vice versa, a burly physique and meat consumption—is called into question by an 1869 cartoon from *Punch*. Its title *A Gentle Vegetarian* is ironically attributed to the herbivorous, but weighty and threatening hippopotamus. Its counterpart is the elegant lady, whose human physique does not betray that this species for the most part consists of carnivores.



A Gentle Vegetarian. George du Maurier (1834-1896), 1869. "Morning, Miss! Who'd ever think, looking at us two, that you devoured Bullocks and Sheep, and I never took anything but Rice?"

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in Punch 56 (1869): 90. Click here to view source.

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The idea that a person's diet is reflected not only in their appearance, but also in their character, was widespread in the nineteenth century—among the vegetarians as well as their mockers. While one side argued one was brutalized by meat consumption, the other argued one was made effeminate by abstinence from meat. Rousseau, whose famous educational treatise titled *Émile* strongly influenced nineteenth-century vegetarianism, warned his readers not to change the "natural taste" of children, who preferred vegetable food, so as not to make them "flesh-eaters": "if not for their health's sake, for the sake of their character. For ... it is certain that great meateaters are usually more cruel and ferocious than other men" (1762, 513). "Wild" peoples, whose cruelty stemmed solely from their meaty diet, were cited as evidence; Rousseau even references Homer's Odyssey and contrasts the

carnivorous Cyclops as a "terrible man" to the Lotus-eaters, who were "so delightful" that their visitors wanted to live among them forever (1762, 513).

Additionally, the Germans' ideals must be seen against the background of the struggle for state formation in the nineteenth century. Vegetarians and their opponents each claimed that only their diet would incite in people the unconditional will for freedom and the needed fighting spirit. While the opponents said that the vegetable diet led to a weak character and the inability to fight, Eduard Baltzer, founder of the first vegetarian society, argued that meat consumption endangers not only "conscience" but also freedom, as he puts it in the poem *Thalysia* printed on the front page of the first issue of his magazine on vegetarianism, the *Vereins-Blatt für Freunde der natürlichen Lebensweise (Vegetarianer)*. Here he imagines a vegetarian utopia:



Frontpage of the first edition of the *Vereins-Blatt für Freunde der natürlichen Lebensweise* (Paper for friends of the natural way of life), 1868.

© Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, FH Eden Z. Vereins-Blatt für Freunde der natürlichen Lebensweise (Vegetarianer) 1 (1 June 1868): 1.

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Thalysia.

Die Welt liebt Blut, und wieder Blut;
...
Und Thier und Mensch wird's Opfergut,
...

Die Welt liebt Jagd, die heisse Jagd nach Geld und Ruhm und nach "Genüssen". So sinkt sie hin, des Lasters Magd, Sie jagt sich todt und ihr Gewissen: Wer wird im Lande gier'ger Sarkophagen Noch nach der Freiheit ächtem Liede fragen?

Komm Ceres, in die arme Welt, Komm wieder, ihre Schuld zu mildern. Bau Du Dein Haus, ein rein Gezelt, Ein Musenreich den Menschenkindern ...

Thalysia.

The world loves blood, and more blood; ...
And animal and man become the offering,

The world loves hunting, loves the chase
Of money, fame and "pleasures."
So will the Vice's maid collapse,
Hunting herself to death and her conscience:
Who will, in the land of greedy sarcophagi ["meat-eaters"],
Still ask for the true song of freedom?

Come, Ceres, hear the world's lament, Come back to ease its burden; Build your house, a simple tent, A kingdom of muses for human children ...

—Eduard Baltzer, "Thalysia," in Vereins-Blatt für Freunde der natürlichen Lebensweise (Vegetarianer) 1 (1 June 1868): 1.(Trans. Kimberly Coulter.)

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Chapter: "You Are What You Eat": Stupid Vegetables and the Charm of the New

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However, for most vegetarians, other, more personal reasons were crucial for joining the society. Eighty to ninety percent of the members were hoping vegetarianism might cure them from a disease (Teuteberg 1994, 58). There was much debate over whether a meat-rich or a meat-free diet was better for human health. From the middle of the nineteenth century, scientists such as Justus von Liebig promoted animal protein—especially in the form of meat—as indispensable for health and labor. At the same time, healing practitioners such as Theodor Hahn prescribed abstinence from meat as a central remedy. Judged from today's perspective, the tone and the arguments of these debates were often quite unscientific and distorted by the fact that being "vegetarian" often meant not only abstaining from meat, but also from alcohol, tobacco, spices, caffeine, and other stimulants.

The vegetarians rebutted the prejudice of being physically inferior to meat-eaters by their successful participation in long-distance marches. This is also picked up by a caricature which appeared in 1893 after the long-distance march from Berlin to Vienna, in which two vegetarians reached the destination and finish line first. While the "Reception of Vegetarians" is mocked as mere publicity for vegetable sellers, the winners—despite their success—are portrayed as haggard and weakened, matching the cliché. However, such events were in fact remarkable promotional successes for the vegetarianism movement itself (see Bollmann 2017, 137–38, and Pack 2018).



Der Empfang der "Vegetarianer" vom Distanzmarsch (The welcoming of the "vegetarians" after the long-distance march). Unknown artist, 1893.

Courtesy of ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. All rights reserved. Petition for orphan work status pending. Originally published in *Kikeriki*, 11. June 1893: 2.

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Der Empfang der "Vegetarianer" vom Distanzmarsch

hätte am Naschmarkt stattfinden sollen, denn eine solche Kohlrabi-Reklame ist noch nicht dagewesen!

The welcoming of the "vegetarians" after the long-distance march

should have taken place at the Naschmarkt [i.e. Vienna's biggest market], because never before has there been such promotion for cabbage turnip!

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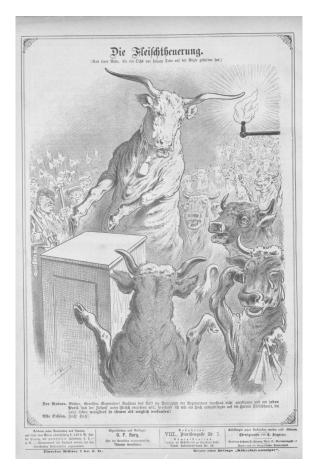
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Humans, Animals, and Nature: Ideas of a Natural and Harmonious (Co-)Existence

In today's Western societies, meat prices only play a minor role in arguments by advocates of a meatless diet. It should not be forgotten, however, that in the nineteenth century, high meat prices and taxes forced many people to reduce or give up meat consumption involuntarily. An early satirical commentary, *Die Fleischtheuerung* ("The meat inflation"), imagines a gathering of oxen just before slaughter.



Die Fleischtheuerung (The meat inflation). Theodor Haltmayer (1846–?), 1879.

Courtesy of ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Originally published in *Kikeriki* 23 (November 1879): 4. Click here to view source.

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Die Fleischtheuerung.

(Aus einer Rede, die ein Ochs vor seinem Tode auf der Regie gehalten hat).

Der Redner. Brüder, Genossen, Kameraden! Nachdem das Volk die Prinzipien der Vegetarianer durchaus nicht anerkennen und um jeden Preis statt der Zuspeis' unser Fleisch verzehren will, so erlaub' ich mir ein Hoch auszubringen auf die Herren Fleischhauer, die unser Leben wenigstens so theuer als möglich verkaufen!

Alle Ochsen. Hoch! Hoch!

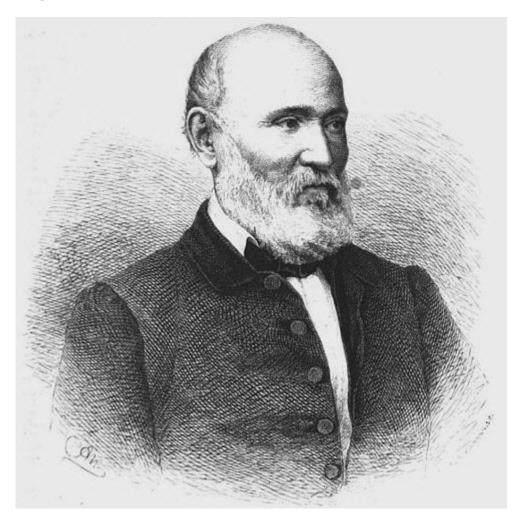
The meat inflation.

(From a speech that an oxen gave before his death).

The speaker. Brothers, companions, comrades! Since the people absolutely do not want to recognize the principles of the vegetarians and want to consume our meat, instead of side dishes, at any price, I allow myself to praise the butchers who at least sell our lives for as much money as possible!

All oxen. Hear! Hear!

The applause of the weeping oxen can be interpreted as gallows humor, as the animals have no reason to rejoice. Full of sarcasm, the meat inflation is praised as a last resort to move people to reduce their meat consumption. However, given the continuing demand, the oxen would actually have reason to scold the people for their lack of compassion.



Gustav Struve (1805–1870), known as a leader in the revolutions of 1848–49 and founder of the Stuttgart vegetarian society, portrayed by an unknown artist in the magazine *Die Gartenlaube* in 1865.

Unknown artist, 1865.

Accessed via Wikimedia on 13 August 2019. Click here to view source.



Although animal ethics did not rank among the most important concerns named by the majority of early vegetarians, they were crucial for one of vegetarianism's most influential representatives. Gustav Struve begins his book *Pflanzenkost* ("Vegetable food") with an early childhood memory, according to which he had felt, even then, "a deep repugnance" when he saw "animals being dragged to the slaughterhouse" (1869, 1). At the age of 25, he stopped eating meat; nearly 40 years later he founded one of the first vegetarian societies and became one

of the central figures of German vegetarianism in the nineteenth century. Although he produced a variety of arguments for a meat-free diet, he clearly stated that his primary concern was the welfare of animals: "The moral side of the doctrine is the main thing for me. The slaughter of animals, especially the so useful and harmless domestic animals, has always been an abomination to me" (Baltzer 1868, 6).

Another early verbo-visual satire of high artistic quality takes the new vegetarian movement as an opportunity to imagine a dystopian *Zukunftsbild* ("Vision of the future"). The picture shows hungry, formerly herbivorous animals now lunging at humans to devour them.



Zukunftsbild (Vision of the future). Ludwig Bechstein (1843–1914), 1880.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 73, no. 1823–1848 (1880): 174. Click here to view source.

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Zukunftsbild.

Die pflanzenfressenden Thiere (zu den Vegetarianern): "Ihr habt uns unvernünftig gedeihen und uns schrecklich vermehren lassen, und habt dafür unsere Nahrung weggefressen, – nirgends mehr Gras und Kraut! So zwingt Ihr uns, Fleischfresser zu werden und Euch Alle selber zu fressen!"

Vision of the future.

The herbivorous animals (to the vegetarians): "You have allowed us to thrive unreasonably and let us multiply terribly, and have eaten our food—there are no more grass and herbs! So you force us to become carnivores ourselves and eat you all!"

The argument expressed in the text at the bottom of the caricature, that people who eat only plants take away food from animals, may have been convincing in the period before industrial food production. In arguing that the vegetarians have destroyed the natural food chain and endangered the human species, the text reveals a belief in a natural order, a functioning ecosystem. Even if one might laugh at this reasoning, the message was quite prescient: in the Anthropocene we should reconsider our ecosystemic interventions and must reckon with potential future consequences, including our self-destruction as a species. Today's cartoons might humorously comment on the reduction of our meat consumption, for example, by picking up the grasshopper seen in the

foreground, ascribing new importance to it or mocking it as the food of the future.

In the nineteenth century, there was much debate about the question of which way of living could be regarded as "natural." The vegetarians around Eduard Baltzer referred to themselves as "Freunde der natürlichen Lebensweise" (Friends of the natural way of life), and the later *Vegetarische Rundschau* (Vegetarian review) was subtitled "Monthly Journal of the Natural Lifestyle." In his book *Die natürliche Lebensweise, der Weg zu Gesundheit und sozialem Heil* (The natural way of life, the road to health and social salvation) Baltzer writes: "It is a striking phenomenon that, the higher a 'culture' rises, the greater the suffering of mankind seems to become" (Baltzer 1867, 8).

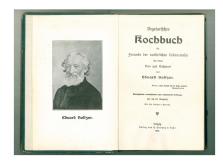


Cover of the magazine Vegetarische Rundschau. Monatsschrift für naturgemäße Lebensweise, 1897.

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Eduard Baltzer (1814–1887) was the founder of the first German-speaking Vegetarian Society in 1867 in Nordhausen, Germany. His vegetarian cookbook was reprinted more than 20 times between 1868 and 1939 (see Pack 2019). Shown here are the first pages of the 1903 edition.

Scanned by Sophia Burgenmeister and Evi Zemanek.

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The cover of the 1913 edition of Baltzer's vegetarian cookbook.

Scanned by Sophia Burgenmeister and Evi Zemanek.

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As the vegetarian movement gained visibility, a broad controversy unfolded—not only among scientists but also among educated laymen—as to whether humans are "naturally" carnivores or herbivores. In this context, both sides compared human teeth and intestines to the anatomy of other animals. From these investigations, vegetarians as well as the defenders of a meat-rich diet derived supposed evidence for their respective positions. The "indifference of children towards meat," which Rousseau had already cited in his *Émile* as an argument, served to justify the thesis that unspoiled humans would not eat meat (1762, 513). In this view, meat consumption was seen as a symptom of humans' alienation from nature and progressive brutalization. Others,

however, considered eating meat as the most natural thing: "This murderous war of all against all—it is what keeps living nature eternally young and new and fresh. The fight is healthy and normal" (Bunge 1885, 43).

A few years after the publication of the above dystopian "Vision of the future," a utopian counterpart appeared showing a man in the midst of animals that flock around him with confidence.



Vegetarianer-Poesie (A vegetarian's poetry). Illustration by Adolf Oberländer (1845–1923) and poem by unknown author, 1886.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

Originally published in Fliegende Blätter 84, no. 2110–2135 (1886): 24.

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Zemanek, Evi, and Sophia Burgenmeister. "Satirical Glimpses of the Cultural History of Vegetarianism." Environment & Society Portal, *Virtual Exhibitions* 2019, no. 4. Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society. doi.org/10.5282/rcc/8859.

Chapter: Humans, Animals, and Nature: Ideas of a Natural and Harmonious (Co-)Existence

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Vegetarianer-Poesie.

Wie fühle ich mich so natürlich, So harmlos in Wald und Feld, Seitdem ich meine Sache Auf den Vegetarismus gestellt! –

Wie sieht der biedere Ochse Mich so voll Vertrauen an, Er denkt: "Du wirst mich nicht fressen, Du sanfter Gemüsemann!"

Und die Schweine, sie grunzen so friedlich, Es schrillt nicht ihr Angstgekreisch; Sie denken: "Der Mann ist wie'n Jude – Der verachtet das Schweinefleisch!" –

Ja, selbst der Hase, der scheue – Er fürchtet fortan mich nicht mehr; – Er ahnt, daß ich Vegetarier Jetzt bin, so gut wie er.

Die Fischlein, sie plätschern so munter Und der dankbare Hummer, er spricht: "Sollt' der mag're Kerl 'mal ersaufen Den fressen wir sicher nicht!" –

Und streiche ich so durch die Felder – Wie wird mir so nahrhaft, so wohl: Wie lächeln Kartoffeln und Rüben, Weiß-, Roth-, Grün- und Wirsingkohl!

Und die Gerste, die ich im Gebräue Des schädlichen Biers sonst genoß; – Zusammt mit dem Hafer, die käue Ich jetzt, wie ein richtiges Roß.

Wie leb' ich so einfach und billig – Kein Kater faßt jemals mich an! – Ich trinke nur Wasser und Millich – Das merkt meinen Versen man an! –

—Unknown author, "Vegetarianer-Poesie," in *Fliegende Blätter* 84, no. 2110–2135 (1886): 24.

A Vegetarian's Poetry.

How natural I feel, how harmless When through forest and field I flit, Since to vegetarianism I decided to commit!—

How the good ox now regards me, So full of trust his scan, He thinks, "you will not eat me, Gentle vegetable man!"

And the hogs, they grunt contentedly No fearful squeal from them; They think, "this man is like a Jew— He won't eat any ham!"—

Yes, even the shy rabbit— No longer shrinks from me;— He knows I'm vegetarian Now, I'm as good as he.

The little fish babble cheerfully
The grateful lobster chimes in:
"If this skinny fellow were to drown
We'd surely not eat him!"—

And so, through the fields I stroll— So wholesome, with such healthy habits: How they smile, the potatoes and the turnips, White, red, green, and savoy cabbage!

And the barley in the golden brew Of the toxic beer I loved;— This barley I now chew with oats Like a real stud.

How I live so simply and frugally— Ne'er a hangover must I nurse!— I drink only water and milk— As you can tell from my verse!—

(Trans. Kimberly Coulter.)

The new relationship of trust between human and beast is, of course, based on the animals' knowledge that the vegetarian is not going to eat them, and, at the same time, on the fact that the scrawny man is not a tempting prey himself. His lyrical self-description stresses his "natural," "harmless," and "gentle" temperament. He depicts a life in peaceful harmony with nature, which includes the renunciation of alcohol. The poem's punch line hidden in the last verse, however, is that the abstinence from alcohol can be felt in his somewhat too harmless verses that can compete neither with fiery love poetry nor with the patriotic poems of the time, and therefore must be seen as a new genre, namely "Vegetarian poetry" (Vegetarianer-Poesie). Thus, the poem alludes to the topos of the softened, effete vegetarian. One of the earliest prejudices against vegetarians was that they have a weak mind and lead a passionless life. To the accusation found in various newspapers that "the vegetable diet produces quiet, apathetic, limp, gentle, obedient, peaceful shepherd peoples" the naturopath Theodor Hahn objects indignantly in his work Die Ritter vom Fleische (The knights of the flesh): "Oh, the nonsense of meat-fed brains!" (1869, 67).

The situation is complex and sometimes paradoxical. Men like Erich Mühsam, who came into contact with vegetarianism on Monte Verità—the "Hill of Truth" in Ascona, Switzerland, the site of utopian experiments around 1900—saw in this diet a threat to "masculinity" and defamed the lifestyle as female nonsense (Bollmann 2017, 118–20). At the same time, however, the great majority of members in the vegetarian societies were men. Accordingly, among numerous caricatures, only one, bearing the title *Rache* ("Revenge"), foregrounds a female vegetarian.



Rache (Revenge). Ludwig Bechstein (1843-1914), 1880.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in Fliegende Blätter 72, no. 1797–1822 (1880), 12.

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Rache.

Eine aus Vegetarianern bestehende Gesellschaft war jüngst beim Spazierengehen zwischen eine Heerde Rindvieh gerathen. Ein Ochse erboste sich über den rothen Shawl, welchen eine der jüngeren Damen trug und verfolgte dieselbe mit solcher Wuth, daß sie sich nur mit genauer Noth über den Zaun retten konnte, der die Viehweide begrenzte. "So, du grobes, garstiges Thier!" rief die junge Dame, welche vor Angst und Aufregung am ganzen Körper bebte, der wüthenden Bestie über den Zaun hinüber zu: "Das ist also der Dank dafür, daß ich ein halbes Jahr lang nichts als wie Pflanzenkost genossen habe! Von heute an esse ich wieder alle Tage Rindfleisch."

The accompanying text reads:

Revenge.

A group of vegetarians, during a walk, had recently found themselves among a herd of cattle. An ox felt provoked by the red shawl worn by one of the younger ladies, whom he pursued with such fury that she barely managed to escape, with great distress, over the fence that bounded the pasture. "You rude, nasty animal!," cried the young lady, who trembled with fear and agitation, over the fence towards the furious beast: "So this is how you thank me for having eaten nothing but vegetables for half a year! From now on, I'll eat beef again every day."

Here, the harmonious human-animal relationship as visualized in the preceding caricature has turned into its opposite again: the tame ox (that we had seen in the other image) has become a wild bull in the eyes of the woman. Although the reaction of the ignorant animal—ungrateful in the woman's perception—is not directed against her personally, its behavior causes her to seek revenge. This hints at the vegetarian's deprivation and suggests that her belief in the possibility of a peaceful coexistence was merely a delusion.

Websites linked in image captions:

- https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gustav_Struve_Die_Gartenlaube_(1865)_453.jpg
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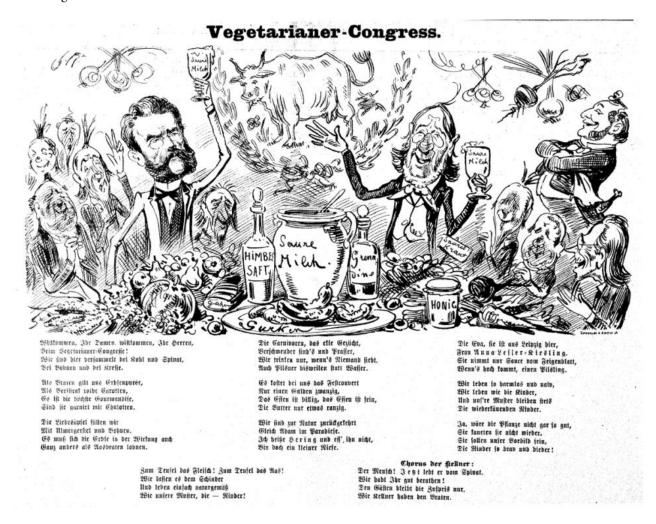
Chapter: Humans, Animals, and Nature: Ideas of a Natural and Harmonious (Co-)Existence

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Meat Ban: Pleasure and Pain, Asceticism, and Hypocrisy

Rules and prohibitions of any kind have always provoked caricaturists. Their ridicule is directed not only against the prohibitions and their preachers, but also against those who hypocritically break the rules or reinterpret them according to their own needs and weaknesses.



Vegetarianer-Congress (Vegetarian congress). Illustration and possibly also the poem by Carl von Stur (1840–1905), 1886. The man standing on the left side is meant to be Friedrich Eckstein, the president of the congress committee; on the left side we see Ernst Hering, who was one of the keynote speakers of the historical congress.

Courtesy of ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Originally published in *Der Floh* 26 (September 1886): 4. Click here to view source.

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Zemanek, Evi, and Sophia Burgenmeister. "Satirical Glimpses of the Cultural History of Vegetarianism." Environment & Society Portal, *Virtual Exhibitions* 2019, no. 4. Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society. doi.org/10.5282/rcc/8859.

Chapter: Meat Ban: Pleasure and Pain, Asceticism, and Hypocrisy **Source URL:** http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/8865

PDF created on: 25 November 2020 11:31:24

An early cartoon from the Austrian satirical paper *Der Floh* shows a "Vegetarian congress," which satirizes the vegetarian lifestyle with a meatless banquet. In the accompanying poem, one of the keynote speakers, Ernst Hering, proudly praises the vegetarian menu. His historical speech bore the title "On the importance of vegetarianism for the preservation of the people's power."

One of the punch lines of the caricature is the image of the cow, which hovers above everything like a worshiped golden calf. Ironically, the herbivore and ruminant animal that is spurned as a food is explicitly chosen as a role model:

Zum Teufel das Fleisch! Zu Teufel das Aas! Wir lassen es dem Schinder Und leben einfach naturgemäß Wie unsere Muster, die – Rinder! To hell with meat! To hell with carcasses!
We'll leave that to the knacker
And just live naturally
Like our role models, the cattle!

The enemy, in contrast, is the carnivore. However, the declared vegetarians break their principles—the second punch line is directed at their hypocrisy and double standard:

Die Carnivoren, das ekle Gezücht, Verschwender sind's und Prasser, Wir trinken nur, wenn's Niemand sieht, Auch Pilsner bisweilen statt Wasser. Carnivores, the disgusting brood, How they waste and how they squander, We only drink when no one's looking, Sometimes pilsner instead of water.

A third punch line is the "chorus of the waiters" chanting at the end of the poem, who are happy that they are left with the roast since the gentlemen only order side dishes. Indeed, the vegetarians were sometimes accused of hypocrisy. On the one hand, this was due to their often dogmatic approach, which might have hindered more than helped their reform efforts. On the other hand, there were misunderstandings because some vegetarians did not consider a radical renunciation of meat as the essential element of their reformist worldview. In line with this view was the widespread but hardly plausible claim that the word "vegetarian" derived not from "vegetable," but from the Latin "vegetus," which means "lively" or "alive" and therefore is not necessarily synonymous with a meat-free diet. It can be assumed that some members of vegetarian societies occasionally ate meat, although the meatless diet was definitely regarded as morally superior (Barlösius 1997, 8).

Since vegetarian societies began to spread and organize events in Germany, their missionary attitude and their attitude of moral superiority have been ridiculed.



Unangenehme Neugierde (Painful curiosity). Henry Albrecht (1857-1909), 1901.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 114, no. 2892–2917 (1901): 52–53. Click here to view source.



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The accompanying text:

Unangenehme Neugierde.

Ein Professor, der Vegetarianer war, ging in die Wüste und hielt den Kannibalen eine Rede über die Verwerflichkeit des Fleischessens. – Diese hörten gläubig die Rede des Herrn Professors an und brachten ihm am Schlusse derselben eine großartige Ovation. "Nicht wahr", sagte er, "Ihr werdet

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Chapter: Meat Ban: Pleasure and Pain, Asceticism, and Hypocrisy Source URL: http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/8865

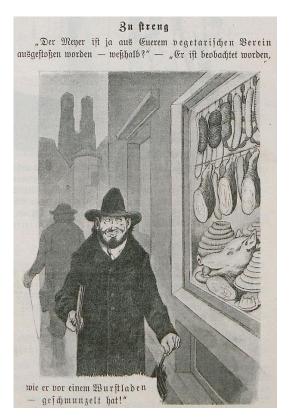
meinen Rath befolgen?" – "Wir schwören Dir's", rufen Alle – "aber noch einmal, und zwar heute zum letzten Mal, wollen wir Fleisch essen, damit wir auch wissen, wie das Fleisch eines Vegetarianers schmeckt!"

Painful curiosity.

A professor who was a vegetarian went into the desert and gave a speech to the cannibals about the reprehensibility of eating meat. The cannibals faithfully listened to the speech of the professor, and at the end of it awarded him with great applause. "You will obey my advice" he said, "won't you?"—"We swear it to you," everybody shouted, "but one more time, and today for the last time, we want to eat meat, so that we know what the flesh of a vegetarian tastes like!"

The picture above depicts a professor and vegetarian in a missionary's robe preaching with his index finger raised, surrounded by cannibals, who are already whetting their knives and procuring the cooking utensils during his sermon. When he asks for their promise to stop eating meat, they announce a last carnivorous celebration—with the clever excuse of wanting to know what a vegetarian would taste like. The professor's own zeal ultimately does great harm to him. The cartoon, however, is more complex than it seems at first glance. Although his moral zeal is mocked, the vegetarian epitomizes the civilized among the wild carnivores. Thus the caricature also aligns meat-eaters in German society around 1900 with barbarians and juxtaposes them with the noble "civilized" vegetarians. It also shows us how cartoonists and magazine editors from all political camps inconsiderately spread racial prejudices in the service of humor.

Ridicule was directed not only at the rules and principles of the vegetarians, but also at their societies. What they asked of their members was considered "too rigid," as the caricature *Zu streng* already reveals in its title.



Zu streng (Too rigid). Hermann Schlittgen (1859–1930), 1894.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 101, no. 2553–2578 (1894): 221.

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Zu streng

"Der Meyer ist ja aus Euerem vegetarischen Verein ausgestoßen worden – weshalb?" – "Er ist beobachtet worden, wie er vor einem Wurstladen – geschmunzelt hat!"

Too rigid

"I hear that Meyer was expelled from your vegetarian club— why?"—"He has been seen in front of a sausage shop—smiling!"

The joke, of course, lies in the excessively exaggerated punishment of a completely harmless case of "misconduct." At the same time, the cartoon implies that a completely "natural," "innate," carnal lust cannot be suppressed.

The cartoon *Schlechte Ausrede* ("Bad excuse") also reveals in its title how to interpret the justification provided by the caught, apparently hypocritical vegetarian:

Schlechte Ausrede.

A (zu B, der ein Vegetarianer ist und soeben eine Wurst verzehrt): "So, Herr Kräutelmeier, hab' ich Sie endlich einmal erwischt!"

B: "Da täuschen Sie sich, – ich ess' nur den Knoblauch heraus!"

Bad excuse.

A (to B, who is a vegetarian and at that very moment consuming a sausage): "Well, Mr. Kräutelmeier, I've finally caught you!"

B: "You're wrong—I'm just picking out the garlic!"



Schlechte Ausrede (Bad excuse). Emil Reinicke (1859–ca. 1942), 1885

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 82, no. 2058–2083 (1885): 79.

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If we take the vegetarian at his word and believe his excuse, his eating of only the garlic in the sausage defeats the purpose of most ethical and social arguments for renouncing meat. At the same time, this cartoon hints at many contemporaries' astonishment that people who could afford an expensive and sought-after product, i.e. meat, would voluntarily limit themselves to a vegetable diet.

More than 30 years later, the punch line in the cartoon *Der Vorsichtige Wirt* ("The cautious innkeeper") no longer takes aim at the supposed double morality of the vegetarians, but instead assumes that only vegetarians can be trusted to sleep in the sausage chamber. It also shows that vegetarians in 1918 are no longer an unusual exception.



Der vorsichtige Wirt (The cautious innkeeper). Unknown artist, 1918

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Originally published in *Kikeriki* 8 (September 1918): 14.
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Der vorsichtige Wirt.

Wirt (eines Gasthauses im Gebirge, das voll besetzt ist): "Einer von Ihnen muß in der Wurstkammer schlafen, welcher von den Herren ist Vegetarier?"

The cautious innkeeper.

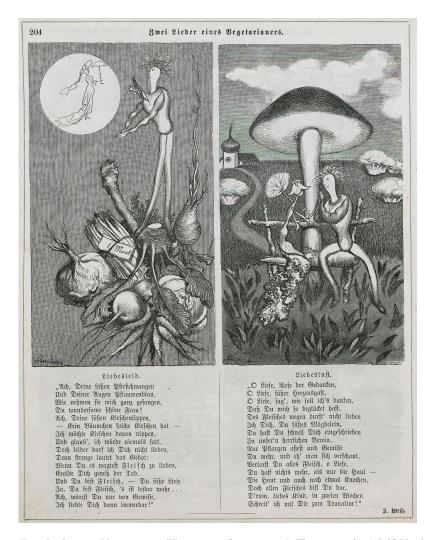
Innkeeper (at an inn in the mountains, which is fully occupied): "One of you must sleep in the sausage chamber; who of the gentlemen is a vegetarian?"

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Chapter: Meat Ban: Pleasure and Pain, Asceticism, and Hypocrisy **Source URL:** http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/8865 **PDF created on:** 25 November 2020 11:31:24

Lifestyle and Zeitgeist: Social Norms and Reforms

In the early phase of the vegetarian movement, satirists playfully imagined how this diet and worldview might affect different aspects of culture. Zwei Lieder eines Vegetarianers ("Two songs of a vegetarian") parodies conventional love poetry by adapting it to the new way of life. In the first poem, Liebesleid ("Lovesick"), the male speaker begins by praising the plant-like beauty of the adored lady, but then recalls the prohibition to love flesh. This poem is difficult to translate into English, because the German language does not differenciate between meat and flesh, but instead uses "Fleisch" to denote both food and the substance of human bodies. This allows puns like the one in this poem, whose speaker supposes that it is literally forbidden for vegetarians to love another person "in flesh and blood." The insight that the beloved lady is made of flesh and blood, phrased in several ways, discourages the sincere lover. However, his dream that the beloved would join the vegetarian society and slowly turn into vegetables comes true in the second poem, Liebeslust ("Love of love"): the lover is pleased with the transformation of his true love, even though she is only "skin and bones." The text-image combination mocks the idealism of such a short-sighted utopia and the vegetarians' self-chosen social separation.



Zwei Lieder eines Vegetarianers (Two songs of a vegetarian). Illustrations by Adolf Oberländer (1845–1923) and poems by I. Weiß, 1881.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in Fliegende Blätter 74, no. 1849–1874 (1881): 204. Click here to view source.

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Chapter: Lifestyle and Zeitgeist: Social Norms and Reforms

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Liebesleid.

"Ach, Deine süßen Pfirsichwangen Und Deiner Augen Pflaumenblau, Wie nehmen sie mich ganz gefangen, Du wundersame schöne Frau! Ach, Deine süßen Kirschenlippen,

- Kein Bäumchen solche Kirschen hat - Ich möchte Kirschen davon nippen,
Und glaub', ich würde niemals satt.
Doch leider darf ich Dich nicht lieben,
Denn strenge lautet das Gebot:
Wenn Du es wagtest Fleisch zu lieben,
Ereilte Dich gewiß der Tod.
Und Du bist Fleisch, - Du süße Liese
Ja, Du bist Fleisch, 's ist leider wahr
Ach, wärest Du nur von Gemüse,
Ich liebte Dich dann immerdar!"

Liebeslust.

"O Liese, Rose der Gedanken, O Liese, süßer Herzensgast, O Liese, sag', wie soll ich's danken, Daß Du mich so beglücket hast. Des Fleisches wegen durft' nicht lieben Ich Dich, Du süßes Mägdelein, Da hast Du schnell Dich eingeschrieben In unser'n herrlichen Verein. Nur Pflanzen aßest und Gemüse Du mehr, und eh' man sich verschaut, Verlorst Du alles Fleisch, o Liese, Du hast nichts mehr, als nur die Haut – Die Haut und auch noch etwas Knochen, Doch allen Fleisches bist Du bar, D'rum, liebes Kind, in zweien Wochen Schreit'ich mit Dir zum Traualtar!"

—I. Weiß, "Liebesleid" & "Liebeslust," in *Fliegende Blätter* 74, no. 1849–1874 (1881): 204.

Lovesick.

"Oh, your sweet peach cheeks And your eyes, plum blue How they captivate me, Wondrous beauty, you! Oh, your sweet cherry lips,

—Unmatched by cherries in trees—
I'd never get enough
Of nibbling these.
But sadly, I cannot love you,
For the commandment saith:
He who dare love meat,
Will face a certain death.
And you, sweet Liese, are meat—
It's sadly true, you are...
Oh, if only you were vegetables,
I'd love you evermore!"

Love of Love.

"O Liese, rose of my thoughts, O Liese, my heart's sweet guest, O Liese, how can I thank you For the joy that swells my breast. Yet love you I could not, with meat The cause of my anxiety, You, sweet lass, you quickly joined Our wonderful society. Only vegetables and plants you ate And before long, one could see You've lost all meat, O Liese, You're nothing more than skin— Skin and also still a little bit of bone To you, no flesh does cling, Thus, dear child, in two weeks' time Our wedding bells will ring!"

(Trans. Kimberly Coulter.)

Many cartoons demonstrate and make fun of the fact that vegetarianism quickly became a trend that was seen as a sign of the Zeitgeist of the 1880s. The cartoon Zeitgemäße Vertheidigung ("An up-to-date defense") shows that declaring oneself to be a vegetarian can be an acceptable excuse for anything—even a magistrate must accept it despite serious suspicion. Conversely, since such an excuse is impossible to prove, anyone can conceivably use it. Note the appearance of the supposed vegetarian, who might not have been able to afford meals of meat regularly and was, perhaps for this very reason, accused of consuming a pug.

Zemanek, Evi, and Sophia Burgenmeister. "Satirical Glimpses of the Cultural History of Vegetarianism." Environment & Society Portal, *Virtual Exhibitions* 2019, no. 4. Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society. doi.org/10.5282/rcc/8859.

Chapter: Lifestyle and Zeitgeist: Social Norms and Reforms

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Zeitgemäße Vertheidigung (An up-to-date defense). Max Flashar (1855–1915), 1886.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.
Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 84, no. 2110–2135 (1886): 126.

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Zeitgemäße Vertheidigung.

"Ihr seid verdächtig, den Mops der Frau Baronin gestohlen und wahrscheinlich verspeist zu haben!"

"Unmöglich, Gnaden Herr Amtsrichter!"
"Wieso unmöglich?"

"Weil ich Vegetarianer bin und zwar reinster Observanz!"

An up-to-date defense.

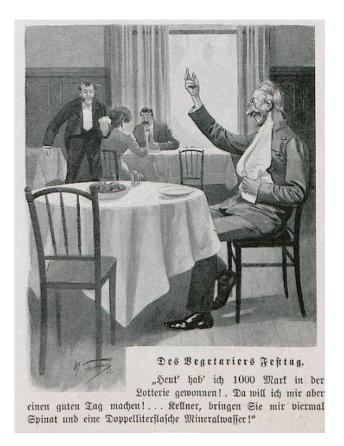
"You are suspected of having stolen the pug of Ms. Baroness and of probably having eaten it!"

"Impossible, Mr. Magistrate!"

"Why impossible?"

"Because I'm a vegetarian, following strictest observance!"

In the nineteenth century, some social classes may have abandoned meat out of necessity, but there were also prominent representatives who cultivated and celebrated a vegetable diet as a lifestyle rather than a privation. The cartoon *Des Vegetariers Festtag* ("The vegetarian's festive day") suggests that this was incomprehensible to many. Here, a restaurant guest indulges in a meatless "feast," by ordering large quantities of spinach and water, a meal, which the opponents of the movement would consider boring and poor as well as an indication of compulsive asceticism.



Des Vegetariers Festtag (The vegetarian's festive day). Max Flashar (1855–1915), 1905.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in *Fliegende Blätter* 123, no. 3128–3153 (1905): 167.

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Des Vegetariers Festtag.

"Heut' hab' ich 1000 Mark in der Lotterie gewonnen!. Da will ich mir aber einen guten Tag machen! Kellner, bringen Sie mir viermal Spinat und eine Doppelliterflasche Mineralwasser!"

The Vegetarian's festive day.

"Today I won 1000 mark in the lottery! Now I will treat myself to a good day! ... Waiter, bring me four servings of spinach and a double-liter bottle of mineral water!"

Three decades after the beginning of the movement in Germany, vegetarianism was fully established and socially acceptable as an alternative model of life, as the cartoon *Beim Photographen* ("At the photographer's") shows. Just as almost all restaurants today offer some vegetarian dishes, in 1909 it was part of a photographer's service, as this cartoon humourously suggests, to adapt to the worldview of their customers. For a good portrait, of course, everyone must be offered an individually pleasing view from the window. While the photographer is depicted as

liberal-minded, the vegetarian is ridiculed as a difficult case because of his excessive sensitivity.



Beim Photographen (At the photographer's). Theodor Graetz (1859–1947), 1909.

Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Originally published in Fliegende Blätter 131. no. 3336-3361 (1909): 42. Click here to view source.



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Beim Photographen.

"... Jetzt, bitte, recht freundlich!.. Schauen Sie da drüben nach dem Wurstladen hin!" - "Danke bin Vegetarier." - "Dann bitte auf die andere Seite - da ist ein Obstladen!"

At the photographer's.

"Now, smile, please! Look over there towards the sausage shop!"—"No, thank you—I'm a vegetarian."—"Then please towards the other side—there is a fruit shop!"

Zemanek, Evi, and Sophia Burgenmeister. "Satirical Glimpses of the Cultural History of Vegetarianism." Environment & Society Portal, Virtual Exhibitions 2019, no. 4. Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society. doi.org/10.5282/rcc/8859.

Chapter: Lifestyle and Zeitgeist: Social Norms and Reforms

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Although vegetarianism had become socially acceptable, some people continued to regard the abstinence from meat as "unmanly," as demonstrated by a 1938 caricature, whose drawing style is much more modern than the other cartoons featured in this exhibition. From today's perspective, of course, it is based on obsolete role models and sexism. In the nineteenth century, such an erotic representation of a woman would have been hard to imagine. The sight of her obviously reminds her husband of Adam's seduction.



Unknown artist, 1938.

Courtesy of ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Originally published in *Die Muskete* 31 (March 1938): 11. Click here to view source.

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"Nicht einmal, wenn du mich nur mit verbotenen Früchten nährst, wirst du einen Vegetarier aus mir machen, liebe Elly!"

"Not even if you only feed me with forbidden fruit, will you make me into a vegetarian, dear Elly!"

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Chapter: Lifestyle and Zeitgeist: Social Norms and Reforms

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Ida Hofmann (1864–1926), co-founder of the vegetarian colony on Monte Verità. Unknown photographer, n.d. © Gusto-Gräser-Archiv Freudenstein.

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With this pun, the man confesses to his double carnal lust. The joke is that he prefers meat consumption even over sex. However, this joke is less interesting than the implied connection of the vegetarian movement with the gender struggle, which was barely discussed at this time. Female protagonists of vegetarianism, such as Ida Hofmann—central initiator of the life reform movement on Monte Verità and author of *Vegetabilismus! Vegetarismus! Blätter zur Verbreitung der vegetarischen Lebensweise* ("Vegetability! Vegetarianism! Writings to spread the vegetarian way of life"), saw in vegetarianism a chance to "free the woman from the hearth" and considered only eating vegetables as an "act of resistance" against the family patriarch, who was always served the largest portions and best pieces of meat (Bollmann 2017, 132). A conversion to vegetable nutrition does not only spare the women the time-consuming preparation of meat dishes. Ideally, the new way of eating cold dishes

several times a day also does away with the necessity of a strict reverence for meal times and the coercion and hierarchical discrimination wrapped up in them (Bollmann, 133). Vegetarianism was indeed intended as a sociocultural reform that could contribute to social and gender equality.

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Chapter: About the Exhibition

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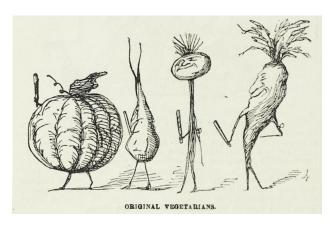
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