

University of Oslo

Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies PhD Dissertation

31.01.2020

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A Discourse Analysis of *Woman's Place in Society* 1830–1880 through Data Mining the Digital Bookshelf

To Emmanuel Leclaire

Acknowledgements

Since this dissertation has turned out to be quite extensive, I will keep the preface short. My supervisor Ellen Rees at the university of Oslo, my co-supervisor Lars B.G. Johnsen at the National Library, and Knut Ove Eliassen at NTNU, you have all been indispensable for this work. I am truly grateful for your inputs. Thank you to all of you for not making it easy for me.

A warm thank you to every colleague, friend, and family member who has supported and challenged me intellectually, socially, and emotionally. You know who you are.

Heidi

31.01.2020

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Introduction

That everyone has his or her *place in society*, and should adhere to this place, is a figure of thought in bourgeois discourses of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Having a *place in society* and adhering to this place is perceived as morally good. In Norway throughout the nineteenth century, woman is *subject to discourse* and some women are themselves *discourse producers*, by writing, among other things, novels and articles in the press that thematize gender and woman. This dissertation analyzes how the moral trope and discursive position of *women's place in society* is negotiated through women's double function as *object* and *producer* of gender discourse in the period 1830-1880. I have identified gender discourse based on documents from this period in the digital database called the Digital Bookshelf.

From the 1830s woman is increasingly an object of discourse and women's access to discourse as writers also increases. With the Modern Breakthrough in Norwegian literature and cultural life from the end of the 1870s and throughout the 1880s, questions regarding women's conditions and rights accelerate in public debate and literature. My study ends, however, at the beginning of this widely studied period. Instead this project analyzes the decades that preceded the Modern Breakthrough and Nora's slamming door in Henrik Ibsen's *A Dolls House* (1879). The Norwegian National Library has digitized several hundred thousand books and newspapers, published in Norway between approximately 1790 and today; the resulting database is known as the Digital Bookshelf (Bokhylla). It is the largely non-cannonical and non-literary works from the decades leading up to the Modern Breakthrough that are accessible through the Digital Bookshelf that comprise the material I examine in this project. This material has for the most part been ignored. Engaging with it anew sheds new light on the development of gender discourse and the woman question.

This Ph.D project is part of the research project *Data-mining the Digital Bookshelf*, and in my project it is a given that I retrieve my data from the Digital Bookshelf. I have investigated the suitability of digital methodology for capturing a material that can be used for studying such a double function of being both object to and producer of discourse. With the Digital Bookshelf we have access to texts in which woman is the object of discourse, including both well-known, canonized texts, as well as texts that are less widely-known or even currently completely unknown,

but that were part of discourse during the period. Furthermore, data-mining techniques provide the opportunity to gather data that can be used to compare ways of enunciating women and gender in a digital corpus with selected texts on woman and gender written by women. This dissertation contends that the method of *sub-corpus topic modeling*, in combination with a *word bag tool*, is appropriate for this purpose.

In my research I have taken as a starting point the scholarly consensus that women were primarily assigned to the private sphere in the nineteenth century. Historical research has shown that conceptions of natural gender difference during the nineteenth century were important in relation to education, labor, science, religion, political responses to demographic changes, and economic factors.¹ Women increasingly consumed and produced literature as well. Literary studies have investigated the historic conditions for women writers. Women wrote edifying texts encouraging woman to accept and rejoice in her function as housewife and mother. Some women published texts that challenged notions of women's purpose as well.²

Women's *place* is more than a physical place. Woman has a purpose and specified tasks. We must understand *woman's place in society* as a discursive phenomenon; it is a phenomenon that is established and negotiated through ways of speaking, knowledge, norms, and power relations. An analysis of *women's place in society* as a discursive phenomenon has so far not been conducted, which is what this project carries out in Michel Foucault's tradition of discourse analysis. My main question is how *woman's place in society* is established and negotiated through speaking about woman, and that a growing number of women themselves publish texts that thematize gender and women.

This dissertation demonstrates that *women's place in society* is predominantly established in religious texts in the Digital Bookshelf from the period 1830 to 1880. Natural gender difference is a premise in this discourse, and its enunciations further reinforce conceptions of natural femininity. Most of my captured material consists of Christian works, including devotional books and didactic literature. Many of these works address women directly. It is likely that women read these texts, which encourage them to realize the virtues of their gender and live in accordance with them.

¹ See for instance Hagemann 2005 on women and the household, education, labor, economy, demography, and religion.

² See for instance Engelstad and Wickstrøm 1988.

Didactic works—such as books on how to maintain a good marriage and texts advising woman on how to become a good mother and housewife—make up another genre from which a large part of my results is captured. The didactic works are mainly based on Christianity in their way of arguing, although some are more secular.

Across devotional books, didactic texts, political and legal documents, educational literature, sociological works, and fiction *woman's place in society* is established as a function and calling she has—by virtue of her gender and its sensitive nature—to enhance the moral condition of the people around her. Woman's function in strengthening morality is primarily— but not necessarily— related to being a loving, competent, pious, and wise housewife and mother. Moreover, her calling is of such a complex character that she needs education and to herself be convinced that she should cultivate certain virtues and embrace her submitted tasks. My material demonstrates that strategies to influence women's behavior operate through discourse that directly addresses women. Woman is receiver of a discourse that enunciates her as amenable to influence and entitled to freedom. At the same time as women's education and literacy improves during the nineteenth century, women are counted as a reading public that can be influenced through discourse. The majority of the text passages captured in my material enunciate women's *place* as being in the private home. Yet woman's calling is of such a kind that she needs enlightenment and freedom—which in principle entails that she can resist her submitted tasks and purpose as well—thus the importance that she is herself convinced that she has a calling that it is morally good that she fulfills.

My research shows that discursive negotiations of *woman's place in society* concern what virtues women were to cultivate, what education she needed, and what degree of freedom she should be granted in order to fulfill her calling. Even the majority of the most restrictive texts on women's freedom are part of a discursive practice that creates an opening for negotiating woman's right to freedom, as long as one argues that it strengthens her in her gender-specific function of promoting morality in society. These texts are very different from the novels and polemical essays that we today typically consider to be precursors for the women's movement, which was established in Norway in the 1880s. Yet I have identified them as part of the same discourse. This finding neither implies that authors of religious texts were progressive, nor that what we today label feminist writers and activists should be downplayed. Instead it has consequences for our understanding of the woman question in the period. Taking into consideration the large number of religious works—

which data-mining the Digital Bookshelf has made possible—shows that the woman question in this period was moralized and not related to political rights.

There is an increase in the period of women who access discourse through the writing of modern novels and polemical articles and essays. I have selected works by four women writers who published in the period and who depict experiences of being a woman and thematize the woman question. In order to avoid methodological nationalism, and as works by non-Norwegian women writers were also read and discussed in Norway, I have decided neither to limit myself to Norwegian women writers, nor to works that are translated to Norwegian and included in the Digital Bookshelf corpus in which I search. I have chosen to conduct studies of the French writer George Sand's novel *Indiana* (1832), the Swedish writer Fredrika Bremer's newspaper article "To the women of Sweden" (1844) and her novel *Hertha* (1856), the Norwegian writer Camilla Collett's novel, *The District Governor's Daughters* (1854/55), and the Norwegian Aasta Hansteen's series of newspaper articles "Women's opinion on 'women's subjection'" (1870). *The District Governor's Daughters* plays a central role in my study. Its years of publication, 1854 and 1855, are in the very middle of the period 1830-1880. Collett's novel is considered the first Norwegian modern novel. The main theme in the novel is the question of woman's free will versus the persuasion to which she is subjected. I have chosen Bremer and Sand because Collett refers to them and took inspiration from them. The works that I have selected to study in this project serve as context for Collett, so to speak. Hansteen was later to become a well-known activist in the women's movement. I study her polemic series of articles as exemplifications of women's access to gender discourse through writing in newspapers. Her articles, in which she defends John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869), contribute to an important debate that mobilized several women to write articles in the press.

There are two main levels of analysis in this PhD project: one level concerns the moral trope and discursive position of *women's place in society* during the period 1830 to 1880, analyzed based on data from the Digital Bookshelf, whereas the second level relates to the digital aspect of the research process itself. These two levels of analysis are interrelated; on the one hand, my analysis of the discursive position of *women's place in society*, based on books in the Digital Bookshelf in the determined period, delimits what knowledge I can extract regarding more general conditions for digital humanities research. On the other hand, the digital aspect has influenced how I have chosen to study women's place in society.

The digital method has shaped my study object. During the nineteenth century woman is a subject that increases in frequency in the documents in the Digital Bookshelf. There are almost 7000 books in the Digital Bookshelf that were published in the period 1830 to 1880. Statistical analyses conducted on the digitized documents from the century indicate that the subject of woman increases relatively in frequency, taken into consideration the total increase of published material in the period. This finding is based on statistical analyses of the occurrence pattern of various words designating woman in the period. I discuss to what extent we can conclude from statistical analyses of word frequency patterns, to a particular existence of a theme in a corpus and in discourse.

In identifying gender discourse in Norway in this period, I have collected numerous enunciations on woman and gender in the Digital Bookshelf in order to specify key statements that define the discourse.³ The digital methodology I have used the most for this purpose is *sub-corpus topic modeling*. Sub-corpus topic modeling (STM) has permitted me to examine *topics* (clusters of words) from selected texts in order to search for occurrences of the same topics in the Digital Bookshelf. The texts from which the topics are generated thus function as my sub-corpora, whereas the larger corpus, in which I have searched, consists of documents in the Digital Bookshelf that were published between 1830 and 1880. The texts that form my sub-corpora are selected works published in the period (by the women writers Fredrika Bremer, George Sand, Camilla Collett, and Aasta Hansteen), and works that are part of the secondary literature that I have reviewed.

According to the digital humanities pioneers, Peter Leonard and Timothy Tangherlini, STM “increases ability to discuss aspects of influence and intellectual movements” (2013, 725). Building on their work, I investigate STM’s suitability for identifying discourse in the Foucauldian tradition. Furthermore, based on my experiences throughout this PhD project, I present solutions for optimizing STM for this purpose. A central problem is how precisely searches based on particular word occurrence patterns can be used to identify discourse. We can, for instance, picture that discourse on woman’s sexuality in a corpus will not be satisfactorily identified by searching only for words such as “woman,” “sexuality,” “preference,” “consent,” “satisfaction,” “contraception.” The discursive phenomenon of women’s sexuality is reorganized and negotiated using a multitude of words. Moreover, all the words listed here will only occur in some of the texts related to

³ Michel Foucault’s archeological method as he presents it in *L’archéologie du savoir* (1969) has informed my approach to discourse analysis.

woman's sexuality in the corpus in question, and several of these words will be utilized in texts that do not concern this subject as well. These are only a few of the challenges of utilizing digital methodology in order to identify discourse.

Using STM, these works have served as sub-corpora from which I have applied topics to the Digital Bookshelf, delimited to published books from the period 1830 to 1880, in order to capture passages that speak about woman and gender. Based on these passages I have identified discourse on women in the period. I have also compared the ways of speaking of woman and gender in the texts in the sub-corpora to the texts that the topics have captured in the Digital Bookshelf. The purpose of this comparison has been to investigate women's access to discourse: Is there a distinct pattern, or not, in how women speak about gender and woman in the material I study?

Michel Foucault specifies discourse analysis as the identification of *statements* (énoncés) in *l'archéologie du savoir* (1969). I have considered the captured passages through the use of STM as concrete *enunciations* (énonciations) on women and gender, from which I have identified gender discursive *statements* (énoncés) in the period 1830-1880. Numerous studies have been carried out using different data-mining techniques to conducting discourse analysis. There are, however, few examples of previous research where results obtained with data-mining techniques are used to conduct discourse analysis in the tradition of Foucault. Scholars have argued that it is difficult to operationalize Foucault's concept of the statement so that discourse analysis in his tradition can be carried out with the aid of computers (Erb et.al. 2016). This dissertation demonstrates that if we integrate Foucault's own distinction between *statement* (énoncé) and *enunciation* (énonciation), STM in combination with a word bag tool can be adapted so that they effectively serve this purpose. I have not automatically identified gender discursive *statements* using STM, but *enunciations*. And by examining the captured STM-passages as gender discursive enunciations, I have identified the much fewer statements of which we can say that they (the enunciations) are concrete realizations.

Working with digitized material from the nineteenth century brings with it a great problem, namely OCR (optical character recognition) errors. Numerous documents from the nineteenth century and before were printed in fraktur (a variant of Gothic typeface), which leads to poor character recognition in the digitization process. What adds to the problem is that the paper quality in some cases is also poor. Numerous miss-spellings appear in the digitized documents because the scanner has mistaken an 'e' for a 'c', a 's' for a 'f', etc. A large part of my work in this project has been to

overcome the challenges that OCR errors present, which in essence relates to minimizing the risk that potential relevant hits in the Digital Bookshelf go unnoticed. The tools I have implemented to reduce the impact of OCR errors and my findings based on my experiences in this process, are relevant for researchers working with material from the nineteenth century. Although new software that can be used for a re-OCR of material that today has low OCR quality will probably come in the relatively near future, the experiences I have gained in the work of reducing how much OCR errors limit my research results are relevant for digital humanities research on a more general basis. The occurrence of OCR errors will never be completely eliminated. Furthermore, as I demonstrate in this dissertation, tools created primarily for the purpose of overcoming OCR errors, such as *wildcard search* and *word bag tool*, also improve other aspects of the searches relevant for using the search results for conducting discourse analysis.

Debuting as a digital humanities scholar is a challenging task that brings with it the privilege of acquiring new skills. The methodology a digital humanities scholar utilizes is created by disciplines that are fundamentally distinct from the majority of the humanities disciplines. Often computer scientists, programmers, and computational linguists develop databases, corpora, software, and algorithms that digital humanities scholars use in order to get data for our projects. The digitally based methods of *distant reading* (Moretti 2000) rely on theoretical knowledge and technology that belong primarily to the hard sciences. With the aim of lower the threshold for humanities researchers and students new to digital humanities, I describe the digital methodology in my project in a manner that highlights the trial and error process that has ultimately led to a satisfactorily approach. The digital humanities scholar's results are often "hidden behind a veil" in two main senses. Firstly, distant reading is per definition methods used for examining large numbers of texts, whose identities are of limited knowledge to us. Furthermore, the digital humanities scholar has often limited knowledge of how data-mining techniques and statistical analyses capture information from these texts.

Questions thus arise as to the generalizability, interpretation, and relevance of the results of this project. My project contributes to debates in the humanities related to the following general questions: What opportunities and obstacles does a humanities scholar face when resources in a large digital data-set are to be exploited? How does the digital aspect in the research process inform the epistemological conditions for knowledge production? I discuss these questions specifically in

the meta-methodological part of chapter one, and shed further light on them throughout the dissertation.

In current international academic environments, interdisciplinary research and public dissemination is promoted. Based on my experiences from this PhD project I conclude that becoming a digital humanities scholar both requires and trains interdisciplinary and dissemination skills. Nothing of what I have done in this project could have been done without the collaboration, assistance, training, and guidance by the computational linguist and programmer, Lars B.G. Johnsen at the Norwegian National Library. Our collaboration has required me to be open to learning sufficiently from him to understand how the tools I utilize work, and to explain my research subject and interests to him in a way that gives him optimal information, based on which he in turn develops useful tools for me.

In chapter one I provide meta-methodological comments, theoretical considerations, and a specification of my study object as the discursive position of *woman's place in society*. In chapter two I describe the digital methodology I have used, presented in a manner that narrates the process that has led to a satisfactory method in order to capture data from the Digital bookshelf that can be used to carry out discourse analysis in the Foucauldian sense. The third chapter comprises my review of previous research on women and gender in Norway in the nineteenth century. I explain in chapter four the reasons for my selection of works by the four women writers (Collett, Sand, Bremer, and Hansteen), and provide a presentation of each them, whereas in chapter five I analyze enunciations on woman and gender in their works. Finally, my analysis of *woman's place in society* in the period between 1830 and 1880, including the discourse that I have identified based on my search results and, is presented in chapter six and seven.

Chapter 1: Meta-Methodological Comments and Theoretical Descriptions

1.1 Metaphors and Epistemological Premises of Digital Humanities Research

In an essay entitled “Humanistic Theory and Digital Scholarship,” American media scholar, Johanna Drucker, reflects over projects like mine in the following manner: “Humanities content met digital methods and created projects in which the terms of production were, necessarily, set by technological restraints” (2012, 85). Her point is that digital methodology consists of tools and platforms designed by disciplines with very different epistemological foundations from the humanities. From this condition, questions arise as to what digital humanists really do, and whether, how, and to what extent there is a substantially distinct approach to knowledge in the digital humanities. My project is of a programmatic nature, and this is a conscious choice. I do not apply digital methodology only as far as it proves useful in order to study gender discourse in Norway in the period in which I am interested. My concern is as much with digital methodology, what opportunities and obstacles humanities scholars face in terms of exploring resources in the Digital Bookshelf, as it is with what epistemological conditions I rely on in my use of digital methodology in this project.

1.1.1 Premises for my Digital Approach

Because distant reading and data-mining techniques are both the method and object of study in this project, I find it pertinent to reflect as a humanities scholar on some of the implications of integrating the digital to such an extent. First of all, I anticipated that it would direct me to material I did not know about. It is a given that the Digital Bookshelf will be the source of my data. In principle, material from all the almost 7000 books published between 1830 and 1880 that the Digital Bookshelf comprises, could potentially make up my data set. Discovering unexpected material in the research processes is of course not unique to digital humanities research. This condition is, however, radical in a research project such as this one. The process of distant reading⁴

⁴ The concept of distant reading refers to automatic, computer based reading of documents, generally with the aim to identify semantic or stylistic features in documents in a large digital corpus. The literary scholar Franco Moretti proposed distant reading as a method in literary studies (2000). The concept of distant reading plays with its contrast to close reading, although distant reading and close reading do not necessarily exclude each other, but can rather complement each other, as we shall see.

a large number of documents has produced results that has become defining for the project design and research questions. In fact, it has been a conscious choice to let the distant reading guide the delimitation and focus of the project. Numerous hits have turned up in types of texts where I had not anticipated finding relevant material. I have started with an open mind, letting the distant reading of thousands of texts contribute to the research questions and determine the material for more specific analyses.

Conducting a preliminary search of a large number of texts before determining a project design is a common procedure in research in general. What is specific for projects in digital humanities such as mine, however, is that in this kind of initial process I captured hits in texts that I would never have come to consult manually, such as little-known religious texts and educational manuals where woman and gender is only a minor theme (but still relevant for identifying discourse). Furthermore, I have not merely searched the Digital Bookshelf during the early phase of my project. Instead there is a constant “togglng” (Burdick 2012, 29), that is to say, a constant interplay between distant reading and close reading. There is a continuous alternation between finding material through data-mining the Digital Bookshelf and examining this material through close reading, which leads to new questions, and then further exploring of all the documents in the Digital Bookshelf from the period of interest. Given that searching within the dataset is an ongoing activity throughout the project, the possibility of discovering relevant material in places that it would not have occurred to me to look is also ongoing. For that reason, the material identified in this kind of research project may lead, in what is potentially a particularly radical manner, to data that adjust the defining elements of the project, such as the research questions.

These considerations are related to some of the overarching controversies related to digital humanities. On the one hand there seems to be a skepticism towards digital methodology within the humanities, because it is perceived as omitting or undermining the qualitative approaches to meaning in the material that is the study object in humanities research. There are also concerns that digital methods might be trusted too much. There is a belief in digital methodology as a method for doing research where the researcher’s prejudices do not affect the data collection. Other voices would claim that in literary studies, for instance, the opportunities digital methodology offers are promising but that they should supplement rather than replace qualitative approaches (Olsen 2014). As there is an interplay between distant reading and close reading in this project, qualitative approaches are also an important part of the methodology. Another reason for skepticism seems to

be that using digital methodology for a humanities scholar entails a great deal of hard work with only limited results. In many cases the results obtained by digital methodology only confirm knowledge already generated with the use of qualitative methodology. It is indeed time-consuming to debut as a digital humanities scholar with sufficient understanding of what one is doing. In this dissertation I argue that digital methodology is valuable for obtaining data for discourse analysis. I also display the different stages of trial and error in my working process, with the intention of lowering the barrier for scholars and students who are not yet familiar with digital methodology but open to using it in their research.

When a large digital data set is accorded status as a source that can continuously alter the project design, we have to ask the perhaps paradoxical question of what precisely it comprises. It would be naive to assume that everything printed and published in Norway between 1830 and 1880 is contained in the Digital Bookshelf. Not all texts from the period have necessarily been preserved, some might not have been available for the Digital Bookshelf project, and the print in some texts might be of such poor quality that the level of misreading by the scanner in the digitization process makes it nearly impossible to generate hits while searching (Karlsen 2019b). There is thus on the one hand a large number of sources, from well-known to almost or entirely unknown or forgotten, but at the same time it is necessary to keep in mind that we cannot fully know what is not there. On the other hand, one can question the value of giving importance to a source that is not only relatively unknown today, but also hardly read in its day. Nevertheless, in my opinion one of the great advantages of the Digital Bookshelf is that texts have not been prioritized for digitization based on criteria such as their canonical status, the assumed number of readers, number of editions, or popularity today or at the time of publication. At its best this fact facilitates the analysis of discourse in a given period beyond later judgments of the quality or importance of works. Using data-mining techniques the way I do in this project implies treating all documents in the Digital Bookshelf in the period I study equally. Passages from all texts have the same probability of being captured and included among my research results, regardless of genre, prestige, length, metadata, etc. (Karlsen 2019).

1.1.2 Epistemological Foundations

I will now discuss how such a digital approach to my project can be read, as a literary scholar. What are the metaphors involved, and what might they reveal? What sort of epistemological foundations are implied in this way of doing research in the humanities? There are many humanities researchers

who have addressed this subject. One of them is professor of French and contemporary literature, Emily Apter. She states in her work “Overburden” (2017) that data mining has become an epochal episteme. In this essay she critically examines data mining as an episteme. She argues, among other things, that the term is in conflict with what she calls “surface reading,” based on her reading of Michel Foucault’s *L’archéologie du savoir* (1969). Since it is Foucault’s method—his approach to discourse analysis as presented in *L’archéologie du savoir*—on which I build in this project, Apter’s position becomes particularly relevant to address. I argue that the way I use sub-corpus topic modeling in this project, in fact particularly facilitates “surface reading” in the sense discussed by Foucault. I will discuss Apter’s reading of *mining* as a metaphor for gaining knowledge, and of its use today in the concept data mining. This part of her work has inspired me to reflect upon *trawling* as another metaphor applied in digital methodology, and specifically for the data mining techniques that I have used in this project, namely sub-corpus topic modeling.⁵ I also launch a metaphor that serves to explain how I have worked with sub-corpus topic modeling and discourse analysis in this project, namely *cooking*. First, however, I discuss some of Apter’s reflections upon data-mining as an epochal episteme and her analysis of mining and data mining as metaphors.

Apter argues that data mining as epochal episteme involves a kind of invisible translation, “a translation on the surface of language; hiding, as it were, in plain sight, yet curiously unremarked as such” (Apter 2017). One of the categories in the language of data mining that she puts forward as unacknowledged translation has to do with materialist ecology. Apter observes slippages between “conceptual and material associations in the language of mining” in the history of mining and argues that these anticipate slogans of today, such as “data is the new oil.” She notes that these ways of talking refer to data as a resource with a “subterranean or hidden aspect [...] which must be extracted and refined, like oil.” Based on this observation, she believes “data mining” has become the mode of production that defines “mining” as an epochal episteme (Apter 2017).

If an exploration of the materialist metaphors we use when speaking about how we operate as digital humanities scholars reveals that we view data as something that has to be extracted and refined like petroleum, minerals, or metals, we may ask whether it is fruitful to develop the parallel

⁵ Sub-corpus topic modeling (STM) is a method for examining the occurrences of *topics* (word clusters) in a large digital corpus. It is called *sub-corpus* topic modeling because the topics are modeled from a relatively small corpus with texts that are well-known to the researcher. The texts from which the topics are generated thus function as my sub-corpora, whereas the larger corpus, in which I have searched, consists of documents in the Digital Bookshelf that were published between 1830 and 1880. I describe this method in detail in the next chapter.

even further. Apter does in fact do that, and this is also where the title of her essay, *Overburden*, shows its importance:

It is surely no random coincidence that the diagram of a data refinery exhibits a formal resemblance to a petroleum refinery! Implicit here is a certain commensurability between knowledge computation and environmentally destructive practices; specifically the removal of material—rock, topsoil—that stands in the way of minable resources (ore, coal, petroleum). The industry term for this is “overburden” (Apter 2017).

The question that arises from the resemblance between diagrams of data refinery and petroleum refinery that Apter identifies is whether we as digital humanities scholars are likely to engage in activities that are destructive to our “environments,” to the wide range of phenomena that are the objects for research in the humanities.

Apter seems to be of the opinion that there is a model of knowledge in digital humanities that presupposes that what is at the surface is only a sign for something else, for a truer sense, for what the text or sign in reality means. She conducts an analysis of expressions related to data-mining, such as “data dredging,” “data-fracking,” “drilling down,” and “data exhaust” and points out that what they have in common is that they are “material referents that index damaging environmental practices and metaphors for models of data management” (Apter 2017). According to Apter, what is at the surface in study objects in digital humanities is the equivalent to “overburden.” In the logic of “drilling down” for data, there is a failure to perceive and understand what is at the surface. The mine is hidden from view, it is located deep down in the earth, and, as I understand Apter, she means that when the mine works as an episteme with its “sub-rosa roots, stem and branches,” (Apter 2017) and when this material metaphor is a model for knowledge acquisition, it facilitates an approach to knowledge where the surface is ignored or treated as “waste,” while that which is to be known is hidden from view.

Apter’s analogy and criticism of digital humanities is relevant to consider in relation to Foucault and his archeological approach to knowledge. Apter does also elaborate extensively on Foucault in her essay, emphasizing how he, in his language of archeology and knowledge, argues for surface reading in her interpretation of him, and not a reading that implies a model where the sense or meaning of something is presupposed to be hidden, “down in the depth.” It is useful to quote the passage from *L’archéologie du savoir* that Apter references at this point in her essay, where Foucault underscores that an archaeological approach is a surface reading, not a reading where one searches for something hidden:

Archeology tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules. It does not treat discourse as document, as a sign of something else, as an element that ought to be transparent, but whose unfortunate opacity must often be pierced if one is to reach at last the depth of the essential in the place in which it is held in reserve; it is concerned with discourse in its own volume, as a monument. It is not an interpretive discipline: it does not seek another, better-hidden discourse. It refuses to be “allegorical.” (1972, 138-139)⁶

Foucault’s “archeological figure,” as Apter puts it, is not someone who digs down in the subterranean layers of the ground, metaphorically speaking, in order to find a hidden discourse and conditions for the discourse outside of discourse itself. If there is a “mining figure” in Foucault’s archaeology, it is, as Apter puts it:

associated with translation: the translation of ‘object-discourses’ into modes of spatial articulations located outside axiomatic deductions, rational orders, ‘systematicities’ and ‘chronological successions,’ which is to say, within, as Foucault puts it, an ‘enunciative homogeneity that has its own temporal articulations.’ (Apter 2017) [l’archéologie décrit un niveau d’homogénéité énonciative qui a sa propre découpe temporelle (Foucault 2014, 201)]

In Foucault’s archeological approach there is thus not a transcendental operation that takes place. The archeological analysis does not bring forth something exterior to discourse. Instead of being a transcendental process, “things are liberated from their ‘systematicities,’” as Apter (2017) puts it. The inherent rules of discourse, which is to say the intrinsic conditions of possibilities for discourse, are all on the same “plane of immanence,” to use Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s concept (1980).

Apter seems to hold that there is a substantial discrepancy between what she considers is the mining figure of knowledge present in data mining as the episteme of humanities today, and the mining figure she identifies in Foucault’s *L’archéologie du savoir*. The first one “drills down” for knowledge and fails to acknowledge the surface, or has an unsafe disposal of overburden, whereas the latter engages in surface reading and refuses to operate allegorically. We should keep in mind that there is a distinction here that complicates the comparison; in Apter’s theory about data mining

⁶ “L’archéologie cherche à définir non point les pensées, les représentations, les images, les thèmes, les hantises qui se cachent ou se manifestent dans les discours; mais ces discours eux-mêmes, ces discours en tant que pratiques obéissant à des règles. Elle ne traite pas le discours comme *document*, comme signe d’autre chose, comme élément qui devrait être transparent mais dont il faut souvent traverser l’opacité importune pour rejoindre enfin, là où elle est tenue en réserve, la profondeur de l’essentiel; elle s’adresse au discours dans son volume propre, à titre de *monument*. Ce n’est pas une discipline interprétative : elle ne cherche pas un « autre discours » mieux caché. Elle se refuse à être « allégorique »” (2014 [1969], 188).

as a current episteme, the corresponding “mining figure” is a description of the researcher in his or her research projects in the (digital) humanities today. Foucault’s “mining figure,” to use Apter’s description, on the other hand will be Foucault himself, analyzing the space of knowledge in the past and how he has proceeded in his previous works (as he specifies in the introduction to *L’archéologie du savoir*). Apter seeks to identify the order at the base of how the digital humanities scholar operates, whereas Foucault sets out to identify how to conduct a study of precisely this kind of order itself, including its discourses, epistemes, and figures of knowledge. There is thus a difference of level in the two approaches. Nevertheless, Foucault’s *L’archéologie du savoir* is also a description of discourse analysis as a method. Foucault underscores the importance of holding on to the given, and not searching for meaning underneath what is said. As I understand Apter, it is this Foucauldian approach to knowledge that she in essence criticizes data mining for violating.

That Apter uses Foucault’s *L’archéologie du savoir* in substantiating her assessment of the position of data mining in the humanities, makes her criticism even more relevant for me to address in this dissertation: not only is my work a digital humanities project, but I also strive to use the data I gather—via data-mining techniques—to conduct discourse analysis in line with Foucault’s method in *L’archéologie du savoir*. The first question, then, is whether the researcher in digital humanities is, as Apter suggests, likely to approach knowledge as something that has to be “drilled down” for and refined, and whether what is at the surface is likely to be neglected. Before we proceed, it should, however, be remarked that in the essay “Overburden” Apter does not argue against the computational turn and the use of digital methodology in the humanities per se. Instead she raises some concerns, in particular the presumed lack of examination of the materialist metaphors in use, or the problem she observes of “the complex and as yet, relatively under-examined relationship between the language of mining and the extractive industries (oil, gas, minerals)” (Apter, 2017).

To speak of data mining in the first place means in its basic and broadest form that we examine large data sets in order to discover patterns and generate new information. From what I have observed, the term data mining has gradually been applied to a wider range of methods for exploring databases and conducting data analyses. The purpose here is not to discuss what the precise and best delimitation of the concepts of data mining, text mining, and data mining techniques might be. The main point is instead to interrogate how we speak about our practice as mining: “Mining” is a word that we find frequently if we consult presentations and descriptions of digital humanities, the research project of which this project is part has “data-mining” in its title,

and I have noticed that I speak of “mining” one way or another in order to refer to any automatic or semi-automatic analysis of data sets/corpora for discovering patterns.

Apter is right in that this prevalence of “mining words” in the language of digital humanities calls for an examination. It makes sense to say that one obtains “extracted objects” when “topics” (word clusters) are automatically generated from a corpus and lists of paragraphs from documents in the Bookshelf that these topics have captured, as I do with sub-corpus topic modeling. Neither the topics, nor the lists of paragraphs exist as such in the Digital Bookshelf. Instead the information has been generated. The “raw material” in the data base has been refined, manipulated, transformed into something else, just like petroleum and minerals also go through refinement in the mining and oil industry. Through collocation analyses, to give another example, aggregations of the co-occurrence patterns of words are generated. These data are also obtained through “manipulation” of the documents in the large data sets. Typically, such results will be visualized using tables, graphs, or other diagrams. It is important to interrogate such models, to ask what they tell, what the value is of the information displayed, what the epistemological conditions are of this practice, etc.

Such information does, however, no damage to the “surface” of which Apter speaks, as the main function of these “distilled objects” is to guide me to relevant material. Aggregated numbers, statistics of word frequency and of word co-occurrence patterns are not in themselves interesting findings for me as a literary scholar. They can, however, help me to “locate” new relevant “surface areas” to explore. For instance, concordance analyses indicate that women gradually become a more common subject in the documents in the Digital Bookshelf from 1830 to 1880. This information is relevant to me, but its principal function is that it points me towards something that I want to find out: in what contexts do women become a more common subject? What is said about women, and in what ways are these things said? What is the status of these who have access to this discourse? What mobilizes people to speak? What is at stake and can explain the increased interest in the subject? The results of the concordance analyses thus prompt me to ask new questions of my material. In order to answer these questions, to conduct discourse analysis in this context, I need to study the “raw” material, which is to say the texts from which the data-mining objects have been “extracted,” and collect the enunciations on women and gender in these texts. In order to obtain these enunciations, I have primarily used sub-corpus topic modeling. I have performed close readings of the texts that form my sub-corpora, from which topics are created both automatically and manually. I have then transformed the topics into “word bags” (see the next chapter for detailed

explanation) so that the subjects I am interested in exploring are searched for, unlimited by the exact words that are used. Finally, these topics capture paragraphs in the Digital Bookshelf. The “distilled object” is a table with information on how many paragraphs are captured for a topic in question, the degree of topic match for each paragraph, etc., and a list with all the captured passages. This is in fact where the analytical work begins, but it is important to emphasize that nothing is “damaged” — there is no “overburden” in this process. I examine these paragraphs, check whether they actually comprise enunciations on women and gender, perform close readings of them and explore the books they are taken from in the Digital Bookshelf in order to study the context of the enunciation, what sort of text we are dealing with, etc. All of this is to say that the objects obtained through data-mining techniques are pointers to “raw” material. The surface is not ignored and it does not become an unsafely disposed of overburden. Instead it is precisely in “surface reading” that I engage in order to answer the discourse analytical questions I am pursuing.

In order to further argue for my statement that the surface is well taken care of, I want to scrutinize another set of metaphors that are used in the methodological language of the digital humanities. When describing sub-corpus topic modeling, in particular, I use established metaphors such as “trawling” and “the sea of the great unread.”⁷ When “trawling the sea of the great unread” is used as a metaphor for sub-corpus topic modeling, the trawl net (or the bait) stands in for the topic, the great sea stands in for the total dataset—the Digital Bookshelf in this context—and finally the fish (or whatever will be captured) stands in for the texts, fragments of texts, words or signs that become our results. The use of certain metaphors is perhaps not random or without consequences. Much could be said about the trawler, its history, its importance for the modern economy with the streamlining of the fishing industry to which it contributed, or the changes in working conditions for fishermen, and it is not difficult to find arguments for how trawlers have led to problems, such as overfishing or other damage to the environment. Metaphorically, fishing is used in marketing as well. And the sea, finally, has metaphorical connotations of such a wide range that it is beyond the scope here to attempt to cover them all; some of the most common include mystery and power.

How well does *trawling* or *fishing in the sea* operate as a model of thought for what we are doing? Inspired by Frederic Jameson’s analysis of the function of models of thoughts in history, one can

⁷ The metaphors of trawling/the trawler were introduced by literary scholar and director of the Digital Humanities lab at the university of Yale, Peter Leonard and professor of Scandinavian Studies, Timothy Tangherlini, whereas literary scholar Franco Moretti (2000) has developed the metaphor of the “sea of the great unread”. The expression “great unread” was originally introduced by literary scholar Margaret Cohen (1999).

ask whether mining, trawling, and/or fishing are metaphors that “organize our understanding of the world” and that are also now “called upon to illuminate human reality” (Jameson 1972, V). More specifically, are we as digital humanists beginning to conceive of human activities, artifacts, and other phenomena that we study in our respective disciplines as objects to extract, refine, distill, or capture? Do we conceive of knowledge in our disciplines as something embedded in mystery or hidden in the dark, something we have to “lure” and manipulate into existence? Is that the way we (tacitly) believe we should envisage and approach our study objects?

In the “trawling” process it is not about searching the depths of the sea to find something more valuable than what appears on the surface. Instead it is about undoing the power of previous systematizations. The documents have been digitized regardless of criteria such as canonization. Furthermore, the “trawl net” operates independently of metadata. Classifications systems, such as style and discipline, thus do not influence the results. In other words, there are in principle no differentiating categories or levels, no criteria for discrimination of enunciations. I therefore argue that the “mining figure,” or perhaps more specifically the “fishing figure,” does not resemble the dangers Apter suggests data-mining as an episteme entails; in fact, it resembles more the figure of knowledge that Apter finds in Foucault’s *L’archéologie du savoir*. “Trawling” for data, in the sense I have described, means potentially liberating texts and fragments of texts from prior organizational structures. It means getting beyond dichotomies such as canonized texts versus non-canonized, or belle-lettres as opposed to popular/trivial texts, and instead approaching the elements on a level of “enunciative homogeneity that has its own temporal articulations,” to again use Foucault’s formulation (Foucault 2014 [1969], 194). From this perspective, the *overburden* will often be the already known, not because the logic is always based on novelty, as in a commercialist commodification perspective, but because data-mining or trawling allows what might have been marginalized, impossible to perceive or recognize, come into being for us (Karlsen 2019b).

We seek to constantly improve the “trawler” so that ideally all relevant “fish” in the “sea of the great unread” are captured. The preparation of topics is therefore, as we shall see, essential. The quality of the topics depends on how the algorithm works when the topics are generated, which depends on the adaptation and adjustment of the parameters. Furthermore, the quality of the topics depends on the researcher’s knowledge of the field in question and his or her creativity in terms of selection and adaptation of topics. There is, however, a weakness in the use of the metaphor “the sea of the unread” for the way I use the method STM in this project: the method not only serves to

identify unknown or lesser known texts. Relevant text passages dealing with gender and women must be assembled beyond prior classification processes, such as whether we are dealing with canonized or unknown texts.

Perhaps this way of working is more similar to cookery, in the sense that the topics identify “ingredients” in what are both well-known and forgotten texts. Then I analyze what “recipes” the ingredients constitute, that is, what they together tell about who is mobilized to talk about gender and women, how it is spoken about, and in which contexts. In metaphorical terms, one could say that the creative strategy involved in the invention of new recipes stands for the topics. The topics identify paragraphs as “ingredients” in known and unknown “meals.” The task then is to find out what other ingredients they combine with, what whole they then form and with what “quality,” for example, demonstrating patterns in ways of speaking about woman.

1.2 Women’s place in society 1830-1880

In the approximately 6800 documents that constitute my subset of the Bokhylla corpus, my aim has been to use data mining techniques to further delimit a corpus in order to study the discursive establishment and negotiations of *women’s place in society* in Norway between 1830 and 1880. In this section I am going to specify what I mean by “women’s place in society” and provide reflections on how to study this object. First, regarding periodization, I have decided to start in 1830 in order to incorporate a certain number of years preceding several legal reforms with consequences for women’s lives starting in the 1840s. It is also in the 1830s that we can begin to observe a change in women’s access to discourse that becomes more accentuated in the decades to follow. Numerous changes in the situation of women take place in the period 1830-1880. With the Modern Breakthrough in Norwegian literature and cultural life from the end of the 1870s and throughout the 1880s, more reforms in favor of women’s rights and opportunities took place and debates on the woman question accelerated. The Modern Breakthrough is thus a movement to which the feminist cause and widespread female participation in the public debate is closely tied (Iversen 1988, 155-6). I decided to end the period of study with the beginning of the Modern Breakthrough in order to analyze the increase of enunciations on woman in the documents in the Digital Bookshelf that preceded this widely studied historical event. This project identifies a discourse on woman that led up to the Modern Breakthrough.

Implied in the moral trope “women’s place in society,” is an idea of the female gender as having a delimited function to fill, and a delimited space that she can and should take up in society. When using the word “society” (“samfunn” in Norwegian), the emphasis is on *society* as a discursively established phenomenon that enunciates an administered community of people, having shared laws, organizations, customs, political interventions, and is divided into a private sphere and a public sphere that mediates and shapes the components of society. I do not use the word “state” or “nation” because the emphasis is not on Norway (which was not an independent nation in the period) as a delimited entity. Although I study ways of speaking about *women’s place* in Norwegian *society*, I use numerous foreign sources. I do not focus on Norwegian society as distinct from other Western societies in the period. Instead I build on the idea that nineteenth-century ways of enunciating society as divided into a public and private sphere and made up of institutions, processes, and practice etc., that are common to many countries of the Western world and that are shaped by the international exchange of ideas and commodities. When I still speak about *Norwegian* society it is because my data come from a corpus comprising texts published in the Norwegian (and Danish) language, made available for the Norwegian public in the period. Furthermore, it is because my emphasis on *society* as a product of international exchange does not exclude attention to customs, linguistic traits, and demographical and economic factors specific to the Norwegian context.

By defining my study object as *women’s place in society*, I build on the premise that the ways of enunciating woman in the Digital Bookshelf establish that women have a place that can be defined within the ordered community that is society. Furthermore, this *place* is also necessarily an ordered or arranged place. It is not a purely spontaneous or “natural” place, although it can be explained and justified in discourse by referring to what is “natural,” which illustrates another characteristic: someone’s *place* in society comes into existence, and can be altered, through discourse. We shall see that *women’s place in society* involves a negotiation practice of the borders of this space.

I understand *place* primarily in metaphorical terms as a moral trope, but also in the physical sense of the word, and in a sense that in the English language comes across better through the word “space.” Enunciating women’s *place* in its abstract and metaphorical senses concerns the spheres in society where women can and should participate in certain ways, thus in certain positions, ranks, functions, and roles. In bourgeois discourses in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, woman has a place that she should stay in; so does, for instance, the servant. As a moral trope, having a place in

society in which one should stay entails that there are certain norms one should follow, for instance to show a respectful distance or availability in specific contexts. Women's physical place in society can, for instance, be limited to the household. Finally, in the Norwegian language, we can say "ta plass"/"kvinner som tar plass" [take up space/women who take up space], which concerns the practical, often informal ways one can, for instance be visible, share one's thoughts, express disagreements, show feelings, etc. There is an idea that only certain "places" can be occupied by women and that women will face sanctions in one or another form if they go beyond them. Women's place in society cannot be identified by studying legal practices related to women's rights alone, nor will a study of customs among women be sufficient. Someone's place in a society the way I have specified the words "place" and "society" entails that there are certain rules that define and delimit this "place" and that these rules are part of a public practice. There is thus an idea here that *women's place in society* is part of a discursive practice by which this place and its borders also are defined and shaped.

1.2.1 Eighteenth-Century Examples of "Women's Place in Society" in Discourse

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the English philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft published the treatise *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). She dedicated this work to Talleyrand, a politician and diplomat central to the French revolution, who had published *A Vindication of the Rights of Man* two years before. From the very start of her dedication, Wollstonecraft, speaks about women's place in society:

So it is my affection for the whole human race that makes my pen speed along to support what I believe to be the cause of virtue, and leads me to long to see woman's place in the world enable her to advance the progress of the glorious principle that gave substance to morality, rather than holding them back (1792, 1).

We see that Wollstonecraft uses the expression "woman's place in the *world*." The effect of this way of speaking is, however, similar to speaking about "women's place in society." The use of the concept "place" serves to establish an idea of the duties and opportunities of human beings in relation to others as dependent on a whole range of factors, from factors perceived as natural and given to factors that are defined and shaped through human interaction, and thus alterable. Wollstonecraft envisions women's place changing in a way that will make women more influential in society, and holds that education is crucial for such a change to take place (Wollstonecraft 1792). She criticizes the enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau on several points, particularly regarding his views on education for women in *Émile ou de l'éducation* from 1762 (Wollstonecraft

1792, Rousseau 1762). Woman's education should consist primarily of aesthetic studies and practical tasks that prepare her for her function as housewife and mother, according to Rousseau. Furthermore, through dialogue she should be convinced of why it is good that she submits to her husband's will, as it is in her nature to obey and please man (Rousseau 1762). Wollstonecraft and Rousseau differ in their view on the nature of women and of the purpose of education. The relevant point here is not the content of their disagreements, but the fact that their works show that it makes sense in the period to speak about someone's *place in society* and that both the descriptive and normative dimension of women's place in society enter European discourse towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Furthermore, Wollstonecraft is a precursor for what was to become a recurrent debate in modern, Western feminism and more broadly in gender discourse, namely woman's nature and purpose. The Norwegian literary critic Toril Moi has formulated a common feminist take on this topic very clearly: "Patriarchal oppression consists of imposing certain social standards of femininity on all biological women, in order precisely to make us believe that the chosen standards for 'femininity' are 'natural'" (Moi 2002, 64).⁸ In Wollstonecraft's criticism of Rousseau, she undertakes precisely the task of unmasking how the standards that he imposes on all biological women, serve to keep women oppressed.

Wollstonecraft further specifies how she sees women's situation in society:

Women are in this deplorable state [slaves of their bodies] everywhere, because truth is hidden from them so as to preserve their "innocence" (the polite name for ignorance), and they are made to take on an artificial character before their faculties have acquired any strength. Taught from their infancy that beauty is woman's sceptre, the mind shapes itself to the body, and roaming around in its gilt cage it only seeks to adorn its prison (Wollstonecraft 1792, 30).

There were few women writers and women in touch with truth in their writing, as Wollstonecraft puts it, during her lifetime. The quote above may be a possible answer to the question of why there were so few women's voices in public discourse. Ignorance and having to take on an "artificial character" from an early age before "their faculties have acquired any strength" do not go well with the search for truth. Moreover, Wollstonecraft holds that truth is actively hidden from women and

⁸ Moi uses the term "female"/"male" for the purely biological aspects of sexual difference, whereas "femininity"/"masculinity" are used for social constructs, thus patterns for gender behavior that are due to cultural and social norms. These are the way I also use these terms, unless specified otherwise.

that women are taught to spend their lives in a spiritual or mental prison. We can say that with Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, we already have a testimony of what was to become a political movement in the nineteenth century.

1.3 Discourse Analysis as Method: Collecting Enunciations, Identifying Statements

In order to analyze the discursive establishment and negotiations of *woman's place in society* I have captured ways of enunciating women and gender in documents in the Digital Bookshelf from the period 1830-1880. I build on the method for conducting discourse analysis that Foucault presents in *L'archéologie du savoir*.⁹ In this work, Foucault defines the object of discourse analysis as statements (*énoncés*) (Foucault 2014/1972, 110/79). He draws a distinction between statements (*énoncés*) and enunciations (*énonciations*). What I refer to as ways of speaking about women (as located in paragraphs in documents in the Digital Bookshelf) can be read as concrete enunciations, performed by specific authors and appearing at certain moments (dates of publication, etc.). In the Foucauldian method enunciations are unique realizations of a statement, whereas statements delimit what can be enunciated in a given historic period. Identifying a statement implies for instance determining the position from which a certain formulation can be uttered, and what status a subject must have in order to be its enunciator.

In his approach to a definition of the statement, Foucault first demonstrates that it is distinct from linguistic elements such as the proposition, phrase, and speech act. It is not an element among these other elements. Instead the statement “[i]n its way of being unique (neither entirely linguistic, nor exclusively material) [...] is indispensable in order to say whether or not there is a sentence, proposition, or speech act; and whether the sentence is correct (or acceptable, or interpretable), whether the proposition is legitimate and well constructed, whether the speech act fulfills its requirements, and was in fact carried out” (Foucault 1972, 86).¹⁰ Statements are thus something

⁹ Michel Foucault. 2014 [1969]. *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Gallimard. Collection: tel. All citations will be given in English in the body of the text and in French in footnotes. If not specified otherwise, the English translations are from Michel Foucault. 1972. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Translated by A.M Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books. Available here: https://monoskop.org/images/9/90/Foucault_Michel_Archaeology_of_Knowledge.pdf When references to pages only, the page number will be given firstly to the French edition, followed by a slash and page number in the English edition.

¹⁰ “Il est, dans son mode d'être singulier (ni tout à fait linguistique, ni exclusivement matériel), indispensable pour qu'on puisse dire s'il y a ou non une phrase, proposition, acte de langage ; et pour qu'on puisse dire si la phrase est correcte (ou acceptable, ou interprétable), si la proposition est légitime et bien formée, si l'acte est conforme aux réquisits et s'il a été bel et bien effectué” (Foucault 2014, 119).

beyond these linguistic elements, making it possible to articulate their existence and evaluate them. In order to further explain the statement, I turn to how Foucault understands its function.

The function of the statement and the relation between the statement and that which it states is of a singular nature: “A series of signs will become a statement on condition that it possesses 'something else' [...], a specific relation that concerns itself — and not its cause, or its elements” (Foucault 1972, 89).¹¹ There is a singular way that the statement makes certain ensembles of signs exist; it does so through the specific relation it has to “something else.” It is helpful to examine a rather long passage where Foucault elaborates on the relation between a statement and what it states, in order to grasp the nature of this relation to “something else” that Foucault attributes to the statement:

A statement is linked [...] to a “referential” that is made up not of “things,” “facts,” “realities,” or “beings,” but of laws of possibility, rules of existence for the objects that are named, designated, or described within it, and for the relations that are affirmed or denied in it. The referential of the statement forms the place, the condition, the field of emergence, the authority to differentiate between individuals or objects, states of things and relations that are brought into play by the statement itself [...] It is this group that characterizes the *enunciative* level of the formulation [...] One can see [...] that the description of this enunciative level can be performed [...] by the analysis of the relations between the statement and the spaces of differentiation, in which the statement itself reveals the differences (Foucault 1972, 91-92).¹²

We see here that Foucault specifies that a statement is linked to laws of possibility and rules of existence for the objects and relations that it names. A limited number of things can be said, in limited ways and contexts, and by subjects that have the required status. Foucault says: “To define a system of formation in its specific individuality is [...] to characterize a discourse or a group of statements by the regularity of a practice” (1972, 74).¹³ The regularity in ways of speaking informs the laws of possibility and rules of existence of a statement. When identifying the regularity in terms of what is said, how, and by whom we can study what functions these ways of speaking have.

¹¹ “Une série de signes deviendra énoncé à condition qu’elle ait à “autre chose” [...] un rapport spécifique qui concerne elle-même, et — non point sa cause, non point ses éléments” (Foucault 2014, 122).

¹² “Un énoncé [...] est lié [...] à un ‘référentiel’ qui n’est point constitué de ‘choses’, de ‘faits’, de ‘réalités’, ou d’êtres”, mais de lois de possibilités, de règles d’existence pour les objets qui s’y trouvent nommés, désignés ou décrits, pour les relations qui se trouvent affirmées ou niées. Le référentiel de l’énoncé forme le lieu, la condition, le champ d’émergence, l’instance de différenciation des individus ou des objets, des états de choses et des relations qui sont mises en jeu par l’énoncé lui-même [...] C’est cet ensemble qui caractérise le niveau *énonciatif* de la formulation [...] On voit [...] que la description de ce niveau énonciatif [...] peut se faire [...] par l’analyse des rapports entre l’énoncé et les espaces de différenciation, où il fait lui-même apparaître les différences” (Foucault 2014, 126).

¹³ “Définir dans son individualité singulière un système de formation, c’est [...] caractériser un discours ou un groupe d’énoncés par la régularité d’une pratique” (2014, 102).

Determining the functions these ways of speaking have tells us in turn what compels the enunciations in question and why these are possible.

Building on Foucault's specification of the statement, I have identified statements related to women in the period 1830 to 1880. A part of this work consists of specifying the subject of the statement. Just as Foucault maintains that the concept of the statement is something prior to other linguistic elements such as the phrase and proposition, the subject of the statement is also of a different nature; the subject of the statement is not identical with the author of the formulation (Foucault 2014/1972, 131/95). In analyzing a formulation as a statement, one question that should be asked is what the necessary conditions are for being its subject, or what position an individual must occupy in order to be its subject (Foucault 2014/1972, 131-132/95-96). Foucault explains "[t]o describe a formulation qua statement does not consist in analyzing the relations between the author and what he says (or wanted to say, or said without wanting to); but in determining what position can and must be occupied by any individual if he is to be the subject of it" (Foucault 1972, 95-96).¹⁴ The specification of the subject of the statement should be considered in relation to to whom discourse is accessible. In identifying gender discursive statements, the question arises as to whether women can be the subject of the statement. As we have seen, women gain limited access to discourse in Norway in the period, notably through writing modern novels, and by engaging in public debate through, for instance, expression of their opinions in the press. What explains this access, what status must women have in order to become enunciators, and can we delimit a distinct function of this access? In order to answer these questions, I will compare enunciations on woman and gender in selected works by women writers with the regularity in ways of speaking about women in the documents in the Digital Bookshelf. I find it important though to avoid building on an assumption that it makes sense on a general level to speak about a women's way of writing. Nevertheless, when women start to write themselves about woman, it is relevant to ask whether this tells us something distinct about the discursive establishment and negotiation of *women's place in society*.

We saw above that a crucial characteristic of the statement in Foucault's specification is its relation to "something else," and he expands on this in the following passage:

[T]he enunciative function [...] cannot operate on a sentence or proposition in isolation. It is not enough to say a sentence, it is not even enough to say it in a particular relation to a

¹⁴ "Décrire une formulation en tant qu'énoncé ne consiste pas à analyser les rapports entre l'auteur et ce qu'il a dit (ou voulu dire, ou dit sans vouloir), mais à déterminer quelle est la position que peut et doit occuper tout individu pour en être le sujet" (Foucault 2014, 132).

field of objects or in a particular relation to a subject, for a statement to exist: it must be related to a whole adjacent field (1972, 97).¹⁵

Foucault further underscores that the statement always neighbors other statements, which is not the same as speaking about “context” (2014/1972, 134/97). For an ensemble of signs to constitute a statement, its adjacent field must be wider and distinct from the “context,” if the context is understood as all the linguistic and situational elements that motivate and determine the sense of what one says. Instead the adjacent field of a statement is an *enunciative field* that the statement is immersed in and in which it appears as a unique element (Foucault 2014/1972, 136/99). It is made up of “the series of other formulations within which the statement appears and forms one element,” by the “formulations to which the statement refers,” the “formulations whose subsequent possibility is determined by the statement, and which may follow the statement as its consequence, its natural successor, or its conversational retort,” and of “formulations whose status the statement in question shares” (2014/1972, 135-136/98-99). Identifying statements, thus, implies studying a wide range of formulations within the field in question.

Even if the identification of the statement is a product of the analysis for Foucault (and thus the analytical work by the researcher), every statement must have a material existence (2014/1972, 138/100). A statement has a substance and a situation. If some of these parameters change, the statement might change as well, although the linguistic signs that make up the statement in question stay the same. Foucault uses the example: “les rêves réalisent les désirs” [dreams fulfill desires] which will not be the same statement in Plato as in Freud. Here it is, however, important to elaborate further on the distinction Foucault draws between statements and enunciations. The multiplicity of enunciations, for instance a person’s repetitions of the same phrase, does not correspond to the same number of statements. The same statement can give rise to several enunciations; each is a concrete event that cannot be repeated (Foucault 2014/1972, 140/102). Thus, even if we have seen that the statement also has a material existence in Foucault’s definition of it—meaning that the statement does not exist independent of the time, place and materiality it appears in—it can be repeated, and it exists on a different level from the enunciation. Enunciations are

¹⁵ “[L]a fonction énonciative [...] ne peut s’exercer sur une phrase ou une proposition à l’état libre. Il ne suffit pas de dire une phrase, il ne suffit même pas de la dire dans un rapport déterminé à un champ d’objets ou dans un rapport déterminé à un sujet, pour qu’il y ait énoncé — pour qu’il s’agisse d’un énoncé : il faut la mettre en rapport avec tout un champ adjacent” (2014, 134).

given, the author of the formulation is the same as the subject of the enunciation, in contrast to what we have seen to be the case for the statement.

Although the statement might not be the same at two different moments where the same linguistic signs come into existence, the constancy of the statement differs from that of the enunciation: “the constancy of the statement, the preservation of its identity through the unique events of the enunciations, its duplications through the identity of the forms, constitute the function of the *field of use* in which it is placed (1972,105).¹⁶ Using data mining techniques, I capture passages in the Digital Bookshelf and study these passages as enunciations, from which I identify statements. In other words, I identify something constant that runs through a certain multiplicity of enunciations that are captured in my material and that name, designate or describe women. I have delimited multiplicities of such enunciations and studied it as the field of use of the statement in question.

In Foucault’s archeological method, “archive” is a key a concept, indispensable for Foucault’s development of discourse analysis as method (Eliassen 2016, 74). It designates “the mass of what has been said” during a specific and delimited period (1969). “Archive” in this sense is not an object that exists prior to the analysis, it is an epistemological object, that is an object for analysis established with the help of a set of criteria. We have seen that a discursive statement cannot be identified in “isolation.” A statement functions by virtue of the enunciative field in which it is part, including other statements it neighbors, it is context-specific. As Foucault says: “[The archive] reveals the rules of a practice that enables statements both to survive and undergo regular modification” (1972, 130).¹⁷ The concept “archive” sheds light on both how we gather the material of analysis and how the archeological method analyzes it. Foucault says: “I do not envision this mass of said things from the perspective of language, from the linguistic system they implement, but from the perspective of the operations which give rise to it.”¹⁸ Foucauldian discourse analysis does not have language as its study object, statements are thus neither sentences nor other linguistic entities. As Eliassen highlights, by “operations” in this context, we must understand both the

¹⁶ “La constance de l’énoncé, le maintien de son identité à travers les événements singuliers des énonciations, ses dédoublements à travers l’identité des formes, tout cela est fonction du *champ de l’utilisation* dans lequel il se trouve investi” (2014, 144).

¹⁷ “[L’archive] elle fait apparaître les règles d’une pratique qui permet aux énoncés à la fois de subsister et de se modifier régulièrement” (2014, 178).

¹⁸ My translation of the original: “Cette masse de choses dites, je l’envisage non pas du côté de la langue, du système linguistique qu’elles mettent en oeuvre, mais du côté des opérations qui lui donnent naissance” (Foucault 1994 [1969], 786).

contriving of the archive and the historic conditions that make it possible to say certain things, but not others (2016, 76). By “mass of said things,” we must understand the great variety of texts and other “said things” produced during a limited time period. “Everyday” documents, perhaps uncanonized and forgotten will thus not be less important to collect in order to prepare an archive of a period. A premise in this project is that the Digital Bookshelf is a promising tool for this purpose. I consider my collection of data from the Digital Bookshelf from 1830 to 1880 as an attempt to create an “archive” on woman and gender in the period.

Next, we turn to the various data mining techniques I have used to gather data for my analysis, thus to the ways I have operated in order to create my “archive.”

Chapter 2. Method: Data-Mining Techniques

- Gathering data from the Digital Bookshelf

The digital methods in this project are not only a means to achieve a goal. They are also an active part of the enquiry. “Data-mining the Digital Bookshelf,” the title of the larger research project of which my project is a part, already specifies that exploring and making use of the Digital Bookshelf in ways that data mining makes uniquely possible is an underlying objective. Questions that address this matter include: how can one best explore the resources embodied in the Digital Bookshelf? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the different tools for optimizing results? Which tools are particularly efficacious for data mining texts of certain genres, from certain periods, etc., taking into account different features of the storage of these texts, such as the existence of metadata, and the quality of the scanning of the documents? The Digital Bookshelf is still a project in progress and tools for data mining its content are under development. “Data-mining the Digital Bookshelf” is one of the first research projects in the humanities where data retrieved from the Digital Bookshelf constitute the major data sets used in the different projects, and where the data mining tools applied to the Digital Bookshelf in order to obtain these data is a central research task.

One goal of this dissertation is to shed light on the questions presented above. Thus, in addition to searching the Digital Bookshelf for data that can be used to identify the specificities of the discourse on gender and woman in Norway in the period in question and to study women’s production of discourse on woman and gender, this project examines the strengths and weaknesses of the tools for accomplishing this objective. These are questions that depend on one’s specific research questions and the period and genre of text for which one searches. I have first and foremost experimented with tools for identifying discourse in this project. This chapter will describe and evaluate these tools.

This chapter discusses sub-corpus topic modeling, a “word bag” tool, “wildcard search,” and collocation and concordance analyses. As the documents in which I search are from the nineteenth century, OCR (Optical Character Recognition) errors are a significant problem. Measures to deal with this problem are also discussed here. I have structured this chapter so that it shows the trial and error process leading to a satisfactory method. I provide a chronological description of the

acquisition of knowledge and challenges with regard to the digitized material that have stimulated refinement of the method.¹⁹

2.1 Sub-Corpus Topic Modeling

Sub-corpus topic modeling (STM) is the primary data mining tool used for gathering data for this project. The key feature of STM is that we model topics in a limited, relatively well-known sub-corpus, which allows us to trace occurrences of the same topics in a larger corpus, often referred to as the “target” corpus. A “topic”²⁰ in STM is essentially a cluster of words. The topics can be generated either automatically or manually.

2.1.1 Why Sub-Corpus Topic Modeling?

Leonard and Tangherlini describes one of the advantages of STM in the following way: “STM allows Humanities scholars to [...] increase the researcher’s ability to discuss aspects of influence and intellectual movements” (2013, 725). Leonard and Tangherlini’s experiment regarding missing authors of the “Modern Breakthrough” (*Det moderne Gennembrud*) demonstrates some advantages of STM that are relevant for my project. They modeled representative works of some of the canonical authors of the Modern Breakthrough in Denmark. In Scandinavian literary history, for many years only a few male authors were considered to have written Modern Breakthrough literature. The literary historian, Pil Dahlerup, challenged this premise in her doctoral thesis *Women of the Modern Breakthrough* (*Det moderne gennembruds kvinder*), arguing for the inclusion of several women writers in the canon of the Modern Breakthrough (Dahlerup 1983). Leonard and Tangherlini used computer assisted methods in their work in order to see if they would produce results that matched Dahlerup’s conclusions from her qualitative study. Leonard and Tangherlini applied topics that they had modeled from passages in texts by the already canonized male writers to a large corpus that also included works by the women writers that Dahlerup had identified as belonging to the Modern Breakthrough. They wanted to see whether the STM would place passages

¹⁹ The entire dataset and documentation is available here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation. Direct links are provided throughout the chapters.

²⁰ The crucial factor is, as we shall see below, how these words are combined. Reading the word “topic,” in order to avoid confusion, I use this word in this chapter only to refer to topics in STM, and other words to refer to “topic” in the more conventional sense (for instance, “the *subject* of a conversation” instead of “topic”).

from these women writers' works among the results with high topic saturation. This turned out to be the case. As Leonard and Tangherlini point out:

The list of late nineteenth century woman writers from whose works passages were recognized as being allied with the better known male writers from the Modern Breakthrough constituting the sub-corpus is large, and reveals the extent to which STM can be used to identify both authors of interest and passages of interest (Leonard and Tangherlini 2013, 738).

For instance, in several passages from a work by Magdalene Thoresen (one of the writers mentioned by Dahlerup) topics focusing on a woman's thoughts and the relationship between the sexes were identified, which indicates that her work is in line with defining features of the Modern Breakthrough literature. Topics identified in Thoresen's work, as well as in works by another woman writer mentioned by Dahlerup, Alfilda Mechlenburg, were also to be found in several works by men traditionally considered writers of the Modern Breakthrough, as for instance a topic related to longing, death and inheritance, to name just one example.

Leonard and Tangherlini's experiences with STM have motivated my decision to use this particular method in this project. In identifying discourse, I seek to trace ways of speaking and how this forms part of social practices, knowledge, and power relations. Since Leonard and Tangherlini have demonstrated that STM can provide valuable findings for identifying the propagation of intellectual flows beyond canonization processes, the method was also worth applying to the identification of discourse. As Leonard and Tangherlini point out, an advantage of STM is that the topics ideally capture all passages in a large target corpus that share "the same feel" as the text of the sub-corpus (2013, 741). Thus, potentially texts that today are unknown, but which at the time were part of the discourse, can be identified. Many topic modeling methods in the humanities model topics directly in the target corpus, which requires a delimited target corpus for the purpose. STM, on the other hand, provides the opportunity to search with relevant topics modeled from a well-known corpus for the same topics in a large, undefined corpus (Leonard and Tangherlini 2013, 728-729).²¹ The goal in my project is to identify discourse by taking into account passages in the Digital Bookshelf that reference women and gender. I do not, however, have prior knowledge of in which passages this take place. STM makes it possible to identify them. The analysis then consists primarily of close reading these passages.

²¹ See Blevins (2010) and Goldstone and Underwood (2012) for examples of topic modeling of target corpora, referenced in Leonard og Tangherlini (2013).

It is not, however, only STM that can be used to identify texts where a particular topic is present in a large corpus. Passages in Bokhylla that thematize gender and women could also be identified in principle by means of something as simple as a keyword search. If one wants to investigate where and how women and education, for instance, are spoken about, one could search for the word “Kvinde” in the Digital Bookshelf documents between 1830 and 1880, then gather the passages with occurrences of this word, and finally search for occurrences of the word “Dannelse” in these passages. Topics that can be used to narrow down a relevant “surface” for identifying discourse will, however, most likely be more complex than a standard keyword search allows. This is also the case for the settings for searching the topics in the target corpus. Furthermore, it is essential that the topics are modeled from specific texts in the sub-corpus, although I have modified the method somewhat in this context.

2.1.2 The Process of Sub-Corpus Topic Modeling

The presentation of the STM-process that follows is derived from the detailed explanation by Leonard and Tangherlini. Whereas they divide the STM-process into six parts, I will highlight four main steps.

Step One:

The first step is the selection of a sub-corpus. Since I study women’s access to discourse, as writers of novels and articles, I started with sub-corpora consisting of selected texts by women writers. While ultimately Camilla Collett’s *The District Governor’s Daughters* proved to be the most central text for this study, I began my experimentation with Fredrika Bremer’s novel *Hertha*, and will therefore take my examples from this work in the following discussion. Several of the trial and error experiences I had in the early phase of the STM-process, of which I will present examples here, are related to the *Hertha* sub-corpus. The scholarly literature based on previous research that I review in chapter three has also in a sense functioned as sub-corpora. There are examples in this literature of themes and specific words that have inspired topics that I have created manually and applied to the Digital Bookshelf.

Step Two:

Pre-processing, chunking and topic generation form the next step in the process. I address these points collectively, as we shall see that they are closely intertwined in a trial-and-error process. Chunking means that the algorithm in Jupyter Notebook divides the text/s in the sub-corpus into

passages, as a preparatory phase for the automatic generation of topics. What defines a passage, will be context dependent. It could for instance be a certain number of words, a paragraph, a chapter, or a complete work. I have made some adjustments before the chunking process. It is often wise to remove the most frequent words, such as function words or the names of characters in fictional works. When generating topics, one might instruct the algorithm to disregard the most frequent words in the corpus (the number will depend on the length of the text, the genre, and the research questions) that are likely to be low in semantic density. Words such as “the” or “on” generally do not signify anything particular regarding what interests us with the work in question (although there will always be exceptions). It is, however, possible to go through the stop-word list, to manually add more words that create “noise” (irrelevant results), or one can remove words from the stop-word list because they are evaluated as relevant for the generation of topics.²²

The model primarily used for automatically generating topics (probabilistic topic modeling) is NMF (Non Negative Matrix Factorization).²³ Simply put, a topic in this context is a quantity of words. The essential feature related to the automatic generation of a topic is, however, how the algorithm links these words to one another. This can be explained by a “drawer analogy”: the text in the sub-corpus is divided into the same number of “drawers” or “chunks” as the number of topics we command the algorithm to generate. The algorithm counts words and calculates the probability of co-occurrences of words. The topics are technically speaking probability distributions of all the words in the sub-corpus. The words in the “drawers” have different values based on their occurrence frequency. If the word “woman” is a high-frequency word in the corpus, this will be included in one or more of the “drawers” and placed correspondingly high up in the “pile” in the respective “drawer.” The `topic_size` parameter permits the researcher to control how many words he or she wants each of the topics to comprise, thus determining how many of the top words in the “drawer” are selected (Karlsen 2019b). (see example of preprocessing and automatic generation of topics here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/TM_Til-Sverriges-Qvin-der/tree/v.1).

²² Automatic lexemization is another form of preprocessing that is often done for the best quality of chunking and subsequent topic generation. Automatic lexemization means that an algorithm groups variants of a word (such as the variants of a noun in gender and number) and classify these words as gatherings of the same word in the chunking process and topic generation. As we shall see, there are so many spelling variants of the words in my corpora that this would not have been of much help.

²³ See Python's documentation for NMF here: <https://scikit-learn.org/stable/modules/generated/sklearn.decomposition.NMF.html#sklearn.decomposition.NMF> I have experimented with different parameters, and I specify the parameters in question when I present the results in chapter six and seven.

When going through the list of the automatically generated topics, I select those that are relevant and make sense; topics that make sense consist of a cluster of words that I evaluate as forming a meaningful entity together, whereas the relevance of topics depends on the research questions. Not all automatically generated topics from a given sub-corpus will relate to the subject of my research, nor will I find that every word cluster forms a meaningful entity. For some topics I identify no meaningful relations between the topic words, and they are thus of no use to me in gathering relevant data from the target corpus. I have gone through the list of the automatically generated topics, adjusted the parameters—such as the number of topics, `chunk_size`, `topic_size`, and stop word filter—and generated new topics. I only apply the topics that I evaluate as meaningful and relevant to the Digital Bookshelf in order to search for topic match.

One advantage Leonard and Tangherlini point out with automatic topic generation is that we can obtain passages that contain relevant words that we had not associated with our research object through our close reading of the text in question (2013, 728). Although we know the texts in the sub-corpora well, it may be that the algorithm calculates words and word combinations of which we had not thought. The algorithm registers how the words are actually used in a given text in terms of which words tend to occur at the same time (Blevins 2010).

Depending on the sub-corpus, how well-known it is to the researcher, its size, and the research questions, it can also be relevant and indeed even essential to create topics manually. If the researcher has identified relevant themes in a text and words in this text that form these themes, there is nothing wrong with using these themes to create topics manually. In this work, I have designed numerous topics manually. One might object that it seems that I go against a particular advantage with STM in that case, namely that automatic topic generation is not limited by the researcher's preunderstanding. In the process of identifying discourse, however, I want to examine specific ways of speaking broadly: I have selected the texts in the sub-corpora because they speak about woman and gender, but I do not want to capture only passages in the target corpus where precisely the same “feel” is expressed, as Leonard and Tangherlini put it. A certain chunking process of the sub-corpus takes place in the manual creation of topics as well. It is, however, of a more intuitive kind, and the chunks are not necessarily all of the same size or section type. A manually created topic might be modeled from a chapter, a paragraph, two paragraphs, etc., depending on where in the text I find the words that together form a relevant topic.

Another possibility in the generation of topics (automatic as well as manual) is to add extra words to the topic words. In a topic from Bremer's *Hertha*, that I have called "Women and *Bildung*" [Kvinnelig dannelse] consisting of the words "Women" [Kvinde], "Bildung" [Dannelse], and "Soul" [Sjel], I have added words that are semantically close to the topic words, as well as morphological forms of the words. They have not been added such that the topic simply consists of more topic words. Instead we have operated with "word bags" for each of the three topic words. The use of word bags has turned out to be crucial and is extensively elaborated on below.

I have given a label to each of the topics that I have evaluated as relevant to use in the exploration of the sources in the Digital Bookshelf. The labels serve to highlight the meaning or subject of the topic.

A last point related to the chunking process has to do with the target corpus, which is the Digital Bookshelf in this context. We have to instruct the algorithm how to divide the target corpus when the selected topics are applied to it. In other words, we have to decide in what sort of chunks the algorithm is going to search for topic matches. A double chunking process has taken place in this project. The algorithm has first searched for occurrences of the topic words in entire documents in the Digital Bookshelf from the period 1830-1880. In the second chunking process, the algorithm searches paragraph by paragraph for occurrences of the topic words in the documents that were identified in the first chunking process. This division means that I get direct access to the enunciations I am interested in and I can study how the topic words are used in each case. In some texts, two or more paragraphs, should be taken into account. Perhaps the words of a certain topic are spread into two paragraphs and these two paragraphs together contain relevant enunciations of women and gender. As we shall see further on in the STM process, there are ways to identify such parts of texts, even though the paragraph is the chunk unit into which the target corpus is divided.

Step Three:

The creation of the sub-corpus topic model is the third step in the STM process. This step has to do with how we program the algorithm when applying the selected topics to the larger corpus. What do we program the "trawl line" to "require" in order for a passage in the target corpus to qualify as a hit? How many of the words in the topic interest us? To what extent do multiple occurrences of a single topic word (i.e., five occurrences of "woman" in one paragraph) interest us? When the topics

from the sub-corpus are applied to the Digital Bookshelf, the Jaccard index²⁴ is taken into account. This means that the occurrences of the topic words are counted in every passage in the documents in the target corpus. The passages are then compared to one another. Based on this counting and comparison, a “Jaccard” score is given to each passage. The documents in the Digital Bookshelf are not lemmatized, which means that, for example, the search word “Kvind” will not generate a hit in the word “Kvinde” in a document that the algorithm goes through.²⁵ The parameter might then be set to range the scores in relation to the occurrences of each of the different words forming the topic, meaning that the score for a topic in a captured passage is proportional to the heterogeneity of the occurrences of the topic words, not only the quantity (i.e. passages with occurrences of several of the topic words will get a higher score than passages where one, or a few, of the topic words are counted several times). We also have to set the Jaccard similarity value, which means how high a score must be for a passage in the target corpus in order for it to be captured by our topic model. Must the whole topic be found in a passage, two-thirds, or only half? Later in this chapter I will demonstrate how this parameterization has turned out to be crucial. We have revised the Jaccard similarity value up and down several times, which has influenced the results and revealed weaknesses in the model.

Step Four:

Discovery of passages in the target corpus is the fourth step. Searching for occurrences of the topics of interest in a larger corpus is the crucial part of the process. The topic model we have created is not automatically applicable to larger corpora, since it demands iteration processes, recurring refinement and control of the model and the results it delivers, such as revising the Jaccard similarity value in order to optimize the results. We will see several examples of this in later chapters. Based on the initial results in this fourth step of the process (described below in this chapter), the creation of the topic model has had to be reworked. Thus, the different parts of the process are not clearly separated, but rather intersect with one another.

²⁴ The Jaccard index, or Jaccard similarity coefficient, is a concept in statistics, referring to (simplified) the measure of a compared similarity of a certain amount of samples, named after the Swiss statistician Paul Jaccard.

²⁵ The searching goes via an Application Programming Interface (API). The texts in the API are tokenized down to word level. Other forms of pre-processing such as lemmatization and lower casing have not taken place. In terms of the topic words, tools for automatic lexemization could have been used. There are, however, so many spelling variations of the topic words, due particularly to OCR errors, as we shall see, that such tools would not have been very helpful. That the texts in the Digital Bookshelf are not lemmatized is also a reason why we have not performed automatic lexemization of the texts in the sub-corpus.

2.1.3 What is a Topic? STM and Discourse

This section discusses what we can conclude from occurrences in a larger corpus of the topics we have modeled from a given sub-corpus. When a passage in the Digital Bookshelf is captured by the topic model, does this formal topic match mean that we are dealing with the same subject or theme, the same perception of reality, or with the same discourse, as in the text passage from which the topic was modeled? The topics (word clusters) generated automatically in the STM process are formal objects; there is no given meaning relation between the words that comprise these topics, since they are created by an algorithm that is “blind” to semantics. Conversely, when we as human thinkers identify the subject of a conversation or a theme in a text or discourse, we identify specific relations between words, based on our associations, prior knowledge, and our human attribution of meaning. For instance, if we find words, such as “extinction of animals,” “temperature increase,” and “desert” when reading a sample from a text, we will probably conclude that (one of) the subject(s) in the text is climate change. If we continue our reading and notice, for instance, the words “hurricanes” and “flood,” our hypothesis regarding the subject of the text is strengthened. When arguing for climate change as the subject of the text, we can highlight the meaningful relation between the phenomena to which these words refer. An automatically generated topic comprising, for instance, the words: “three,” “sea,” “temperature,” “increasing,” and “auk,” is, however, not in itself a meaningful entity. The relations between the words are not based on human associations, experiences with the outside world, and meaning evaluation, but by an algorithm’s statistical measure of co-occurrence between n-grams (sequences of one or more elements, for instance letters or words). This distinction between the STM topic and what we identify as subjects or themes in texts, etc., is important to keep in mind and shows that we cannot infer directly from an automatically generated topic to a theme in discourse. When I add words to the STM topics or create the topics manually in their entirety, they become meaningful entities in the sense that the words of which they consist are added to one another based on my associations, knowledge, and attribution of meaning.

Furthermore, the topics that I in a given context consider relevant for my research might be a small subset of the totality of the topics generated from this sub-corpus. One could object that I implicitly re-create the meaning of a work based on fragments and exaggeration of parts of the work’s components. Because my aim is to identify discourse, I do not consider this a danger. The overarching objective is not to study whether the novels and articles by women writers resemble or influenced other texts in the period. Instead I am interested in the enunciations on women and

gender in these works, regardless of whether they are predominant or not in the respective texts. One can imagine different questions this study object engenders, for example related to the question of whether Bremer, and the other texts by women in my sub-corpora, had an influence on the gender discourse of the period. This is, however, a question that is problematic to answer both in terms of discourse analysis and STM. Discourse analysis, as Foucault explains in *L'archéologie du savoir*, enables us to study discourse as a practice, not the individual's significance for it, which would mean that we could disconnect the individual from discourse and consider him or her to stand in an external relation to it. In terms of STM, we can imagine that texts that appear in the results could themselves constitute sub-corpora, and then perhaps give us hits in my selected texts of women writers. In my work on identifying discourse, I also create new sub-corpora and have new sets of topics applied to the Digital Bookshelf, based on relevant texts I discover. Thus, I do not take the notion that some texts are in a particular position when it comes to the power of influence or originality as a premise for my way of working. STM provides opportunities for tracking the prevalence of intellectual currents and identifying discourse through mapping enunciations and identifying the statements that are realized through the concrete enunciations (Karlsen 2019a; 2019b).

My main reason for selecting texts by women writers for the sub-corpora in the first place is to examine what woman's access to discourse as writers entails. One aim is to find out what is needed for women—or what compels them—to take a position where they speak about their own gender. Furthermore, this project investigates the relationship between this enunciative position and the regularity I identify in the captured passages from the Digital Bookshelf. Only when I have collected a large number of enunciations will I be able to say whether a pattern in woman's access to discourse is present, and whether or not specific features characterize these enunciations about their own gender (Karlsen 2019b).

Another issue to analyze is whether captured passages with relatively high topic match are part of the same discourse as the text in the sub-corpus in question. It depends on a few factors: first of all, we will have to check whether the topic words specifically related to women and gender occur in the captured passage. As an example, let us look at the following topic, generated manually from the text “Til Sverriges Qvinder” (1844) by Bremer: Mor [mother], Kvinde [woman], Barn [child], Gave [gift], Takknemlig [grateful], Glede [joy], and Hellig [Holy]. We can easily check whether the topic word “woman” and/or “mother” (and not only the other topic words) occur in the captured

passages.²⁶ The occurrence of these topic words in a captured passage does not, however, guarantee that we are dealing with the same appraisal of femininity or that the function and means of such associations are the same. This is not a problem per se, on the contrary, it might provide us with data for identifying nuances of discourse, but it underscores that it is necessary to meticulously examine every captured passage. I have studied how the words are used in the captured paragraphs, from what types of texts the paragraphs are captured, and who their authors are.

One of the advantages of STM is that we can find traces of what we want to investigate in places it is unlikely that it would occur to us to look. In addition to looking for networks or constellations of people producing enunciations that we identify as part of the same discourse, the method can also be particularly useful for tracing similar ways of speaking across genres and disciplines. An STM-topic may, for example, capture numerous paragraphs in medical texts and religious texts. To start with the medical texts, let us imagine that I, through the close reading of the selected paragraphs, identify a regularity of speaking, such as certain statements regarding women's nature and recommended occupations for women, based upon the medical knowledge of the time. In other words, we would have identified that effects of knowledge, through discourse, contribute to defining women's place in society, thus delimiting women's opportunities. Furthermore, let us imagine that we find the same statements in the religious texts, so that women's opportunities are delimited the same way here. Through such observations, power relations can be identified across different elements of society.

A data mining approach to the study of discourse is challenging because the search processes are centered only on the formal aspects of words. The linguist Louis Hjelmslev's conceptualization of the sign, as he presents it in *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language* (1961), is useful to describe this challenge more in detail. Hjelmslev divides the sign into two planes, *plane of expression* and *plane of content*, which both have their *form* and *substance*. In this framework the sign has four parts: expression-substance (physical material of the medium), expression-form (formal linguistic units, formal syntactical structure), content-substance (human content), and content-form (semantic structure) (Hjelmslev 1961, Metz 1981, Baggaley and Duck 1976). In the distant reading of

²⁶ We can also operate with a conditional Jaccard setting, meaning that the algorithm treats the topic words differently. We can, for instance, program it so that we only get results where the specifically woman and gender related topic words occur. The challenge with such a parameterization, however, is that there could be texts where women and gender actually are the subject, but not mentioned explicitly in the paragraph in question. A Jaccard setting that is less "strict" can facilitate that we capture such paragraphs, and then we have to evaluate whether it is relevant or not when we read it in its context

documents, the expression-form of signs is taken into account in the sense that the words are counted the way that they formally appear, with their specific characters (letters) delimited by the space or punctuation mark that precede and follow them. Words that are differently spelled, due to morphological features, degree of modernization (ex. “Mor”/“Moder” [Mother]), OCR-errors (that for instance the ‘e’ in “Moder” has been misread as ‘c’ in the scanning of the document) are, however, not taken into account. Furthermore, the expression-substance affects the results; the typeface in which the texts are printed and the quality of the paper determine the accuracy of the OCR in the digitization process.

Importantly, the algorithms are unaffected by the content-form and content-substance of signs. Words that are close in meaning to words in our search strings, go unnoticed in the distant reading of documents. This is also the case for what we as human readers might observe as different functions of speaking in a text, whether it is because of homonyms or because words take on different meanings in different contexts. Furthermore, just as we can picture that the same words can be used differently and have different functions, a subject or theme can come across through different words. Expressed in different ways, signs can differ in terms of their plane of expression whereas their plane of content is more or less the same. It might seem obvious that the algorithms do not operate according to these matters. It is, however, important to be explicit about these distinctions, because all these features that I have described as part of what Hjelmslev refers to as the plane of content of signs are relevant in identifying discourse. These reflections underscore the importance of operating with a methodological framework that allows for the study of the meaning and function of words and of how different themes can come across through different words in discourse. My examination of every paragraph captured in the STM-process, and of the texts from which they are taken, facilitates the analysis of these paragraphs in relation to discourse. It does not, however, mean that I succeed in identifying the scope of enunciations in the corpus that are relevant for the discourse analysis I undertake. In order to account for this fact and the challenges it creates, I have used a “word bag” tool.

2.2 The “Word Bag” Tool

Using STM and other data mining techniques to gather data for discourse analysis in the Foucauldian inspired approach described in the previous chapter requires adapting them in order to capture data I can use to analyze functions: what is the function of speaking about woman? Which

people are mobilized to speak, what mobilizes them, how do they speak, and in what contexts? The aim is not to capture all occurrences of a single word and only that particular word because the same function can be executed through different vocabulary. The “word bag” tool is very helpful in this context. Although its primary function in my project is to improve the STM-topics for the purpose of gathering data for discourse analysis, I discuss the tool separately, as the word bags can also be implemented in other tools.

The “word bag” tool is a search engine that treats a predetermined assemble of words as if they were one and the same word; it registers occurrences in the corpus of any of the words in a given word bag as an occurrence of the same word. As an example, I have created a word bag for “Kvinde-ord” (“Woman words”). Words such as “Pige” [girl], “Kone” [Wife], etc., are examples of “Kvinde-ord.” If I had not used word bags, but simply added the words to the topic words, I would only have captured paragraphs comprising all the words: “woman,” “girl,” and “wife,” etc. I am, however, also interested in paragraphs where one speaks about girls and education (to use the example of the topic “Women and Bildung”), without necessarily using the word woman [Kvinde], or other semantically related words. If these words had simply been added to the topic, I would have had to lower the Jaccard similarity value severely to capture relevant passages. The inconvenience of such an approach would be a vast quantity of results with an exaggerated (for our purpose) density of one semantic unit that does not reflect the semantic variety of the topic in question.

For these reasons, the “word bag” tool is crucial for creating suitable topics for my purpose. All topic words have their respective word bags. The topic model is thus programmed to count the word bag frequency in a passage. It will also range the scores in relation to the occurrences of the word bags, and not treat occurrences of different words in one word bag in a passage, as equal to occurrences of words from several word bags.

2..2.1 Adding Morphological Forms of the Topic Words to the Word Bags

Adding morphological forms to the word bags is necessary in order to avoid missing potentially relevant paragraphs. Only identical matches to the topic words will be counted by the algorithm unless we program it otherwise. For my purpose, whether topic-related words occur in singular or plural, definite or indefinite form, genitives, in this or that verbal tense, etc., does not make the

paragraphs in question more or less relevant.²⁷ Their relevance has to do with other criteria, related to the function of speaking in a particular way, to the relations established in the paragraphs. For this reason, I need to ensure that I capture paragraphs regardless of the morphological forms of the words of interest and have therefore added all morphological forms to the word bags. When I have a complete list of relevant morphological forms of a topic word in question, I paste it into the word bag.

I also need to have all the words in both capitalized and uncapitalized versions, which can also be generated automatically. Furthermore, the modernization of spelling of certain words might differ. The word “Mother” in Norwegian, can be spelled “Mor”, but also “Moder,” “Moer” and other variations in the texts in my corpus, with all their respective morphological forms, which also have to be taken into account.

2.2.2 Semantically Related Forms of the Topic Words/Words with Similar Function to Topic Words

Another more complex point has to do with occurrences of semantically related forms of the topic words. I might want to include semantically related words from different word classes, for instance adding “femininity” [kvinnelighet] to the “Woman” word bag. The question of synonyms, or words that are related in meaning, although not as similar as synonyms, may also be relevant. Feminine forms of work titles, pronouns, words designating different functions a woman typically has might also be relevant to include in the word bag, as will synonyms and other semantically related words (for instance “pige”[girl] instead of “kvinde”[woman]). The main challenge is not to evaluate if a particular word is relevant or not, since the results will indicate an answer to that question and the word bags can be modified. The challenge is to think creatively about what words should be included.

An important measure for meeting this challenge is to be attentive to the phenomenon in the reading of relevant literature from the period and the close reading of the captured passages. As an example, I stumbled across the word “beskjørtede” [“those who wear skirts”] in a text from the period. I had not imagined that women could be designated this way. This observation led, however, to the inclusion of this word in the “Woman” word bag. Documents captured in the Digital Bookshelf

²⁷ Regarding inclusion of different morphological forms, it would be more accurate to refer to the “word bags” as lexemes or hyperlexemes (since words from other word classes are also included). I have, however, chosen the looser term “word bag” as synonyms, etc., also are added.

have informed the word bags as well. In some testing of STM-topics I have received very few results. Before discarding a topic, I have tried to reduce the Jaccard similarity value, thus simply allowing for paragraphs with less topic matching to be captured by the algorithm. This procedure has been very helpful in some cases as it has produced results from which I have learned that more words should be added to my word bags, since words that I had not considered are used to speak about what interests me. Through processes like these I have gained a better overview of what sets of words I have to operate with in order to capture relevant paragraphs.

2.2.3 OCR Errors

In several digitized documents from the nineteenth century there are numerous misspellings of words caused by problems in the scanning process of the documents. This is not a challenge specifically related to STM, nor is the “word bag” tool the only and complete solution to the challenge. I will, however, discuss it here, as it has been when working with STM that I have become aware of the extent of the problem, and because the “word bag” tool was developed initially in order to deal with the challenges OCR errors represent. Gothic typefaces, such as fraktur, were common in the period, and a great challenge is the misreading of letters that this leads to in the digitization process. For instance, the Norwegian ”æ” is likely to be read as “ce” by the reader in the scanner. “Kjærlighed” [love] is an important word in my research and will serve as an example of several issues I have faced.

My first results demonstrated that the word “Kjærlighed” is consistently mis-spelled in the captured passages,²⁸ which suggests that this is also the case in other documents in the Digital Bookshelf. In certain documents there are up to three different examples of OCR errors for the same word in the original text. This discovery indicates the risk of missing out on potentially relevant documents in the Digital Bookshelf. If only the words in their correctly spelled version are included in the topics, potentially valuable documents with my topic words in them, bizarrely spelled because of errors in the scanning, might go unnoticed. Through my preliminary results I gained insight into the extent of the OCR errors. In the first attempt I had few results and I therefore lowered the Jaccard Similarity value to 1/2, which produced many results. They were not, however, all relevant content-wise for

²⁸ See example here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings/Example%20OCR%20errors_Spelling%20variations%20of%20topic%20words%20go%20unnoticed

my purpose, but useful in order to become aware of OCR errors.²⁹ We created the “word bag” tool initially in order to deal with this issue. As one discovers OCR errors in relevant words, these spelling variations of the words can be added to the word bags.³⁰ Furthermore, as I have become more experienced with the texts in fraktur from the period, I can also to a certain extent predict spelling variations of my topic words, and thus add them to the word bags even if I have not yet seen any example of this particular spelling in the Digital Bookshelf.

When applying the word bags from the Bremer-corpus to the Digital Bookshelf, after having added predicted OCR errors, the Jaccard similarity value was programmed so that 2/3 of the topic had to be identified in a passage in order for it to be captured by the algorithm. This time numerous relevant results were generated. In some passages as many as six or more out of the nine to ten topic words were found. In one example the word bag “sand” [true] has, for instance, identified and counted its related form “sandhed” [truth] because I had added “Sandhed” to the “‘Sand’ word bag.” In another example, the word “Kjærlighed” actually appeared numerous times in the captured passage, but only one of these occurrences was identified by the algorithm. This is because the list of possible misspellings of this word that I included in the word bag was not exhaustive. The reader in the scanner was more creative than me, so to speak. The word “øye” [eye], another word in the topic in question, was not identified in a particular captured passage, although it actually appears twice, because I had not added these particular spelling variations to the «øye» word bag.

From these results the “word bag” tool thus proved to be a satisfactory implement when it comes to the inclusion of morphological forms of the topic words (such as “kjærlighed” and “kjærligheden”) and their semantically related forms (for instance “sand” and “sandheden”). In order to meet the challenge caused by OCR errors, however, this tool alone does not solve the problem, simply because I myself am not able to add all relevant spelling variations present in my corpus. Despite all my hard work in adding every imaginable spelling error for a word, the reader in the scanner might still be more “inventive.” A re-OCR (new automatic reading of the scanned documents by updated, refined software) will be carried out with the documents in the Digital Bookshelf in the future. I did not have time to wait for that, so another measure was needed to deal with the problem.

²⁹ Revising down the Jaccard similarity value, although it leads to “noise” in terms of a certain number irrelevant results, has also been useful to gather results where women or gender related words are not present in the captured paragraphs. When I consult these paragraphs in their context, however, in the respective texts they are taken from, I realize that women and gender is actually the subject.

³⁰ This means that, for instance: [“kjærlighed”, “kjerlighed”, “kjcrrlighed”, “kjaerlighet”, “kjærlighed”, “kjerligheden”, “kjcrrligheden”, “kjaerligheden”] = kjærlighed—in terms of the algorithm’s counting.

2.3 “Wild Card Search”

Instead of attempting to add all detected and imaginable spelling variations of the topic words due to OCR errors, it would be preferable to have a tool that is sensitive to actual spelling variations of the words of interest. I would want to have a command that displays a list of all the spelling variations of the topic words in the corpus. “Wild card search” is an algorithm—directly applied to the Digital Bookshelf—into which a search word can be introduced where letters sensitive to OCR errors are replaced by wildcards (*), and it brings us close to such a solution.

2.3.1 *Levenshtein Distance*

When observing the problems OCR errors present, we considered whether it would be useful to take the *Levenshtein distance* into account when programming the topic model.³¹ It would thus not be the *identity* between a topic word and a word in a passage that matters, but the *distance* between two words: the minimum number of single-character edits required to change one word into the other.

If we programmed the algorithm to measure the Levenshtein distance when searching for topic words in passages, it would mean that if we want to search for the word “kjærlighed,” for example, and a variant spelling like “kjerlighed” appears in a passage, the character edits needed to turn “kjerlighed” into “kjærlighed” are registered by the algorithm. Such an approach would, however, result in a combinatorial explosion. If the algorithm were to measure the Levenshtein distance between every topic word and every word in the documents in the Digital Bookshelf, the time and computational power required would be enormous. As we have seen, however, the problem is that adding spelling variations to the word bags, relies too much on more or less qualified guessing, rather than on knowledge of actual misspellings due to OCR errors of a given word. What we would need to improve is this accuracy, not to measure the Levenshtein distance between topic words and all words in the reference corpus when applying the topics to the Digital Bookshelf.

2.3.2 *Indexing, Levenshtein Distance and Wildcard Search*

We then developed the tool that we have called the “wildcard search.” This is a tool that can be used for improving the word bags, so that actual misspellings of the topic words in the corpus are

³¹ Levenshtein distance is a string metric in information theory, computer science and linguistics. The Levenshtein distance is the minimum number of single character edits needed to turn one word into another.

constitutive for the forms we add to the word bags, instead of prediction based on prior experiences only. The wildcard search algorithm is based on indexing and inspired by the Levenshtein distance metric and can be used to search for words in a database. That the algorithm operates by indexing means that the information retrieval can be fast and accurate. A search for, for instance, “kj*” or even worse for “k*” in the Digital Bookshelf would certainly take a very long time, require massive computational power, and would generate a vast number of irrelevant results. With the wildcard search algorithm, however, we can include several stars or wildcards in the search word. For the word “kjærlighed” I have observed that some letters are relatively stable, such as the k,j,l,i, and g. If we enter the search word “kj*lig*” however, we still get a lot of irrelevant results, as these letters are compatible with several words. If we include the d, however, the results are almost free from noise. Nevertheless, we know that the d is also a little vulnerable to OCR errors, as it could be t, or even b or h, so we could run the search word with these letters as well. It has also turned out to be a good idea to run the search several times. I then replace with wildcards the letters that I have experienced as relatively stable, and I remove the wildcards I used the first time and put back in the respective letters (so that the search word I create will not be compatible with too many words).

As figure I illustrates, we do not only get results with the same number of characters as in the search word (each star representing one letter). This is where the Levenshtein distance comes into play, as

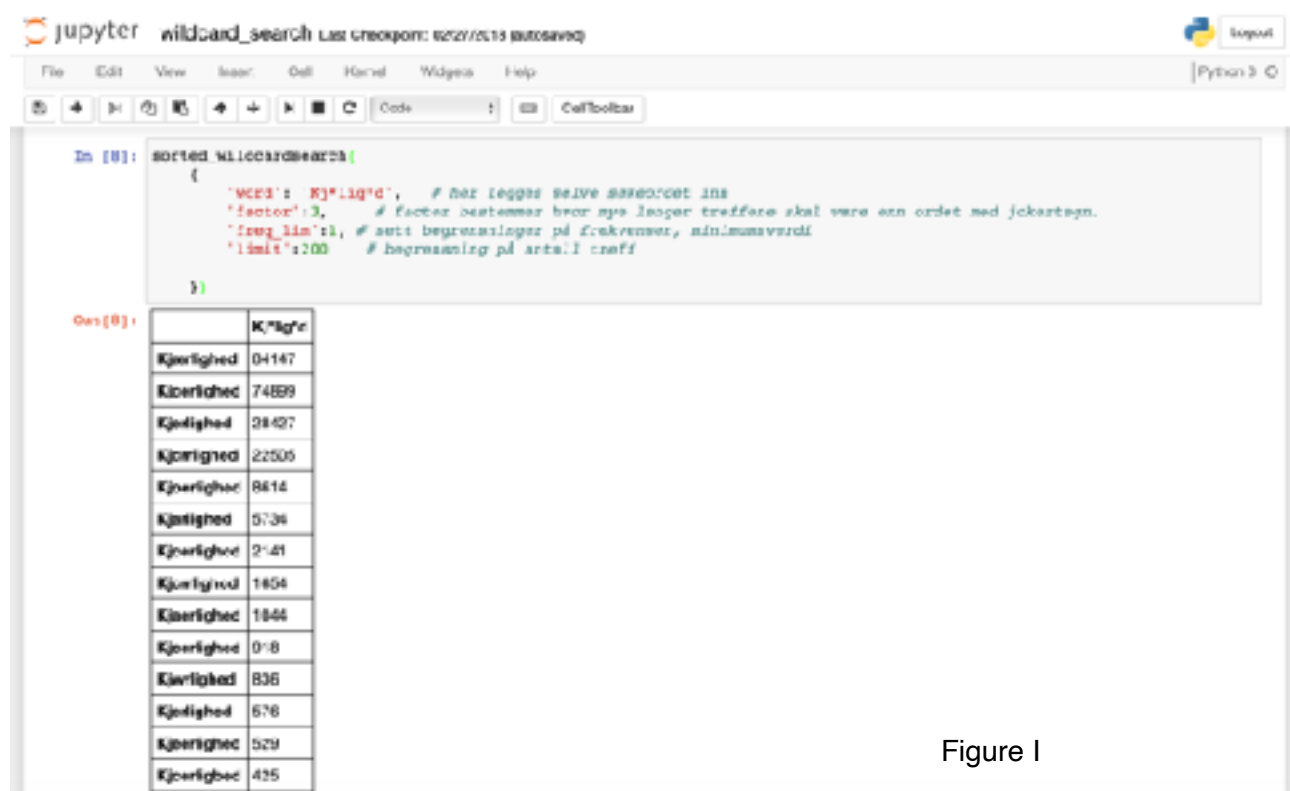


Figure I

a metric that has inspired the parameter “factor” (see figure I). If we set the factor to “2,” for

instance, we will get results where the Levenshtein distance is up to two characters between the search word. In other words, this means that the algorithm will search through all words in the Digital Bookshelf with the same number of characters as in the search word, and words with one or two more characters than the search words. The factor parameter is of great value because there is not a one-to-one relation between the number of characters in the original word and the numbers of characters after the OCR treatment of the word, as we have seen for instance for the ‘æ,’ which is frequently read as ‘ce’.

It is also relevant to see spelling combinations of semantic variations of the initial topic words, which can be done by adding a star at the end of the search word. As we have seen, when adding words to word bags, it is easier to come up with semantic variations of the topic words than all the spelling variations due to OCR errors. Words that are semantically related to the topic words are, however, as prone to OCR errors as our original topic words, and wild card searches are accordingly as useful to improve the words bags in these cases. (See example of how the wildcard algorithm is used here: <https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Wildcard-Search/tree/v1>).

The wildcard search algorithm has proven to be very useful in my research. When preparing “trawl lines” in the STM process I use this tool in the creation of the word bags for every topic word. After some instances of trial and error with the parameterization (particularly “factor”) and the selection of letters to be replaced with wildcards in the search string, the creation of word bags becomes satisfactorily informed by actual knowledge of spelling variations. As the figure shows, the number of occurrences of each hit is displayed. I can simply copy the relevant spelling variations and paste them into the word bag in question, such as “Kjcerlighed” that we can see occurs almost 75,000 times in the corpus. Spelling variations that I had not been able to predict, such as “Kjerrlighed” with more than 22,000 hits, are in some cases frequent and it would be a severe weakness not to include them.

For searching in digitized documents from the nineteenth century that were originally printed in gothic typefaces, this tool is crucial in avoiding that relevant passages go unnoticed.

2.4 Visualizations: STM, the “Word Bag” Tool, and “Wildcard Search”

We have seen in the previous sections that STM, the “word bag” tool, and the wildcard search algorithm complement each other. The “word bag” tool and “wildcard search” are used to improve the STM-topics for the purpose of gathering relevant data for conducting discourse analysis.

The topic “Kvinnelig dannelse” [Woman and *Bildung*], consisting of the topic words “Kvinne”, “Dannelse,” and “Sjel” becomes rather extensive when the word bags are complemented with morphological forms of the topic words, variants in modernization level, upper- and lower-case versions of the first letter of each word, semantically related words, and spelling variations of the words due to OCR errors:

{'Kvinne_': ['kvinne', 'kvinnen', 'kvinner', 'kvinnene', 'kvinnerne', 'kvinnes', 'kvinnens', 'kvinnere', 'kvinnernes', 'kvinnernes', 'kvinde', 'kvinden', 'kvinder', 'kvindene', 'kvindeme', 'kvindene', 'kvindenes', 'kvindemes', 'kvinde', 'kvinder', 'kvinden', 'kvindens', 'kvindes', 'kvindernes', 'kvinders', 'kvindelige', 'kvindeligt', 'kvindene', 'kvindeme', 'kvindekøn', 'kvindenes', 'kvindemes', 'kvinde', 'kvinder', 'kvinden', 'kvindens', 'kvindes', 'kvindernes', 'kvindernc', 'kvinders', 'kvindernes', 'kvindclighed', 'kvindcligheden', 'kuindc', 'kuinder', 'kuinden', 'kuindes', 'kuinderne', 'kuindens', 'kuinde', 'kuinder', 'kuinden', 'kuinderne', 'kuindens', 'kuinders', 'kuindes', 'kvindelighed', 'kvindeligt', 'kvindeligheds', 'kvindeligheden', 'kvindeligheds', 'kvindelighed', 'kvindeliger', 'kvindelighcd', 'kvindelighed', 'kvindeligbed', 'qvinde', 'qvinden', 'qvinder', 'qvinderne', 'qvindene', 'qvindeligt', 'qvindeliger', 'qvindelighed', 'quinde', 'quinden', 'quinder', 'qvinderne', 'qvindene', 'quindeligt', 'quindelighcd', 'qvinden', 'quinden', 'qvindclig', 'quindclig', 'qvinder', 'quinder', 'qvinderne', 'qvindene', 'quinderne', 'quindcne', 'qvindclighcd', 'quindclighcd', 'qvindelighcd', 'quindclighcd', 'qvindclighcd', 'jente', 'jenten', 'jenta', 'jenter', 'jentene', 'jenterne', 'jentas', 'jentens', 'jentes', 'jenter', 'jentenes', 'jenterne', 'jenternes', 'jcnte', 'jcnten', 'jcnterne', 'pike', 'piken', 'piker', 'pikene', 'pikene', 'pikes', 'pikens', 'pikers', 'pikenes', 'pikernes', 'pikebarn', 'pikeborn', 'pige', «pige», 'piger', 'pigene', 'pigerne', 'pigcs', 'pigers', 'pigcs', 'pigcs', 'pigcs', 'pigcs', 'pigebarn', 'pigebarnet', 'pigeborn', 'pigc', 'pigcn', 'pigcr', 'pigcnc', 'pigcrne', 'pigcs', 'pigcbarn', 'pigcbarnet', 'pigcborn', 'heltnine', 'heltninen', 'heltniner', 'heltninene', 'heltninens', 'heltninen', 'heltninde', 'heltninden', 'heltnider', 'heltnidene', 'heltniderne', 'heltnidens', 'heltnide', 'tjenerinne', 'tjenerinnen', 'tjenerinde', 'tjenerinden', 'tjernerinde', 'tjernerinde', 'tjernerinden', 'tjernerinden', 'tjernerinden', 'fristerinne', 'fristerinnen', 'fristerinnens', 'fristerinde', 'fristerinden', 'fristerindens', 'fristcrinde', 'fristcrinden', 'fristcrinden', 'kone', 'konen', 'koncn', 'hustru', 'fruentimmer', 'fruentimmeret', 'fruentimmere', 'fruentimmerne', 'fruentimmernc', 'fruentimmers', 'fruentimmerets', 'fruentimmeraktigt', 'fruentimmeragtigt', 'fruentimmerlig', 'fruentimmerlige', 'fruentimmerfølelser', 'fruentimre', 'fruentimret', 'fruentimrene', 'hun', 'henne', 'hcenne', 'hennc', 'hcnncc', 'qvindekjønnen', 'qvindekjønnen', 'qvindekjønnen', 'qvindekjønnen', 'qvindekjønnen', 'qvindekjønn', 'qvindekjønn', 'qvindekjønn', 'qvindekjønn', 'beskjørtede', 'beskjørtede', 'beskjørtede', 'beskjørtede', 'beskjørtede', 'bsckjørtede', 'beskjørtede', 'fruentimmernetheder', 'fruentimmerndhcer', 'fruentimmerndhdcd', 'husmødrene', 'husmodrene', 'husmoder', 'husmor', 'husmodrcne', 'mor', 'moder', 'moderlig', 'modre', 'modrcne', 'modrc', 'moderlig', 'moderlighden', 'moderlighcd', 'moderlighed', 'moderlighcd', 'telegrafistinde', 'telegrafistinder', 'telegrafistinderne', 'telcgrafistinde', 'telcgrafistinde', 'telcgrafistinder', 'telcgrafistinderne', 'lærerinde', 'lærerinde', 'lcercrinde', 'lcercrinder', 'lcererinderne', 'lcercrindene', 'Kvinne', 'Kvinnen', 'Kvinner', 'Kvinnene', 'Kvinnerne', 'Kvinnes', 'Kvinnens', 'Kvinnere', 'Kvinnernes', 'Kvinnernes', 'Kvinde', 'Kvinden', 'Kvinder', 'Kvinderne', 'Kvindens', 'Kvindes', 'Kvindernes', 'Kvinders', 'Kvindelige', 'Kvindelig', 'Kvindeligt', 'Kvindene', 'Kvindeme', 'Kvindekøn', 'Kvindenes', 'Kvindemes', 'Kvinde', 'Kvinder', 'Kvinden', 'Kvindens', 'Kvindes', 'Kvindernes', 'Kvinderne', 'Kvinders', 'Kvindclighed', 'Kvindclighcd', 'Kuindc', 'Kuinder', 'Kuinden', 'Kuindes', 'Kuinderne', 'Kuindens', 'Kuinde', 'Kuinder', 'Kuinden', 'Kuinderne', 'Kuindens', 'Kuinders', 'Kuindes', 'Kvindclighed', 'Kvindcligheds', 'Kvindcligheden', 'Kvindcligheds', 'Kvindclige', 'Kvindclighcd', 'Kvindclighed', 'Qvinde', 'Qvinden', 'Qvinder', 'Qvinderne', 'Qvindene', 'Qvindelig', 'Qvindelige', 'Qvindclighed', 'Quinde', 'Quinden', 'Quinder', 'Quindeligt', 'Quindelighcd', 'Qvinden', 'Quinden', 'Qvindclig', 'Quindclig']

collection of numerous such enunciations, the analysis consists in identifying the statements they can be connected to: the specification of what is said, in what contexts one speaks, what relations that are established in the way one speaks, and what the criteria are for becoming subjects of its statements.

[ZOOBZ/ZOOBZU.. 1858. Livsbilleder af Sids Higes Historie. Heltzerkjøbenhavn : Heltzel, 1856-1885. can.](#)

sine ualmindelige Gaver, var Ydmyg, besteden og venlig mod Enhver. Og for ret at dygtiggjøre hende som et Guds Menneske til al god Gjerning fyrtie Herren hende ogsaa i Korsats Skole; hendes Foreldre behandlede hende med en paa faldende og fast ulorstaelig Strenghed. Hendes Fader, Hertugen af Suffoit, var en Mand, der ved sin Dannelse, sin Lerdom og sin Fromhed i roligere Tider vilde have erhvervet sig almindelig Agtelse; den oprynte Tid, i hvilken han levede, bragte ham ind i Forviklinger, hvilke han ikke var voxen. Hvorfor Foreldrene behandlede deres ndmerlede Datter med en Strenghed, der tidligen hende hendes bløde Sind, er ukendt. Naar Johanne saaledes var nedbyttet og bedryvet over ubillig Dadel, da verdte hun med dobbelt Lengsel tilbage til sine Studier; hendes elskede Lerere Aylmer og Harding, Mend af anerkjendt Lerdom, vare hendes Tilstugt; under dem gjorde hun de store Fremstridt. Sjel dent kom hun til Hove, men boede for det Meste paa Landet paa sin Faders Gods Broadgate i Leicestershire. Der fandt den berymte Professor i Cambridge Roger Asham hende ergang (1550) lesende Platons Phedon i Originalsproget, medens der hele yurige Familie var paa lagt, og det med en saa yiensynlig Gede, at den navnkundige Lerd ikke kunde glemme ndtrykke: af den unge Pige, som urderholdt sig med Oldtidens viseste Mand om Sjælens Udydelighed. Dog forundtes det hende ikke lunge at leve i landlig Ro og Forborgenhed, da hun blev gift med Northumberlands fjerde Syn, Guildford Dudley (i Mai 1553); Edvard gav hende et rigeligt Udatyr; det varden sidste Lysstraale i hans Liv. — Kongens Dyc blev holdt henne ig i nogle Dage, thi nu begyrdte det underlundige: forberedte Drama, i hvilket den uskyldige Johanne var ndsee: til at spille Hovedrollen, og hvor hun maatte laide som et Ofær. Johanne var med sin unge Gemal i Durhamhouse, da hendes Fader og Svigerfader kom til hende og aabnbarede hende med megen Hytidelighed Kongens Villie argaende Udelattelsen af Marie og Elisabeth og hendes Uenevælsel.

Figure II

2.5 Collocation and concordance analysis

2.5.1 *Speaking About Women in Norway 1830-1880: Growth, Decrease, or a Stable Amount? (Collocations)*

Writers spoke relatively more frequently about women as the period progressed, according to collocation analyses based on the “woman word bag.” We have used the “woman” word bag displayed above to investigate whether there is an increase, decrease, or relatively stable frequency of “woman” words in the period from 1830 to 1880. We have done this by comparing collocation sets—for each of the words in the woman word bag—from different time intervals during the period. We have, for instance compared collocation sets from 1830 with the ones from 1831, from 1830-1835 with 1835-1840, and 1830-1830 with 1840-1849. The result of the analysis is that there was an increase. The percentage of women-related words increases in relation to the total number of words in documents published during the period. The increase is not uniformly upward, but upward

when we see the period as a whole.³² It is overly bold to conclude from these results that the subject of woman became increasingly more important in the period. Nevertheless, these results indicate that there was at least a moderately increasing trend.

2.5.2 Co-occurrence Patterns in “Woman” Words, 1830-1880 (Concordances)

Concordance analyses are useful as a complement to topic modeling/sub-corpus topic modeling for capturing data that can be used for discourse analysis. I have used word bags in order to identify specific themes in ways of speaking of woman and gender in the period. Originally these word bags were used in STM. The topics they were part of, however, created few or no results. Even if there was low topic match for the word bags together of a topic in question, I wanted to check whether some of the word bags separately would capture results in passages that speak about woman. One of my topics consisted of a bag for “myndighed” [legal majority]. Although this topic produced no results. I wanted to investigate whether it was the case that no passages in my corpus enunciated woman in relation to legal majority. I have created word bags for “Myndighed” [legal majority], Yrkesaktivitet [Labor participation], “Befolkningsprosesser” [population processes], etc. Each word bag is applied to the Digital Bookshelf, books that comprise the words are captured, and then I obtain the concordances: a word in the word bag in question and the ten words that precede and succeed this word in the book in question, metadata, and link to the text in the Digital Bookshelf (see notebook here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/blob/master/Word%20Bags/temamodeller-konkordans.ipynb).

2.6 Literary Review of Previous Research where Digital Methodology is used for Capturing Data in order to Conduct Discourse Analysis

There are numerous examples of digital humanities projects where data-mining techniques and other digital tools are used in the analysis of discourse and/or to gather data for conducting discourse analysis in one or another sense. Text mining techniques for pragmatic discourse analysis study how language works in sociocultural contexts by looking for patterns of meanings generated in the use of language (Pollak et al. 2013), whereas corpus linguistics examines frequencies, collocations in order to identify linguistic patterns of language use and hidden meanings (Baker

³² See notebook for documentation and procedure here: file:///Users/heidikarlsen/Library/Containers/com.apple.mail/Data/Library/Mail%20Downloads/6D91BE07-D0AB-44FE-91F0-DA221B7C8840/Heidi_kvinnordsekk_korpus.html

2006, see Thornbury 2010 for overviews). The results of these quantitative analyses are “linked to society and are given social interpretations,” according to Pollak et al., as for instance related to the elderly (Mautner 2007) or sustainable development (Mahlberg 2007). Corpus linguistic methods are also used to support critical discourse analysis either by using key words or collocations to reveal meaning patterns for the purpose of creating “insight into a specific discourse” (e.g. Baker et al. 2008; Morley and Bayley 2009), or used to reinforce interpretive results obtained through the use of critical discourse analysis or pragmatic discourse analysis (e.g. Baker 2006; Baker et al. 2008). All of these approaches study linguistic patterns of language use.

The book *Discourse and Digital Practices: Doing discourse analysis in the digital age* (Rodney H Jones, Alice Chik and Christoph A. Hafner 2015) discusses how to study discourse production in digital environments. The article by Jackie Marsh, examines discursive production of social practices of children and young people in Club Penguin Music Videos (CPMVs), undertaking a “Foucauldian approach [...] to discourse analysis, which focuses on the discursive production of social practices” (Marsh 2015, 193). She studies how power and identity are created and maintained in the digital environments she examines. Her research is, however, a study of a particular predefined corpus (of interviews), not an example of using digital methodology in order to capture a material that can be used for archival discourse analysis in the tradition of Foucault.

Data mining techniques and other digital tools for capturing data that can be used to identify discourse and carry out an archive analysis in Foucault's sense have not been extensively tested. It is no wonder that it has been little tested. As we have seen, Foucault himself states that the archive analysis is not about studying “the things that have been said from the perspective of language, based on the linguistic system they implement [...] but about the historical conditions that, in the mass of what is said, control what one can say, what will be rejected, or what one transforms” (*Dits et écrits I* 1969). We have also seen that digital methodology operate on a formal word level. Digital tools applied to texts are basically different ways of registering occurrences of words and signs (of n-grams). Nonetheless, as this dissertation demonstrates, it is in fact possible and even productive, to apply these methods to the study of discourse.

In *Le foucauldian*, a journal for “Research along Foucauldian Lines,” the article “Distant Reading and Discourse Analysis” (2016) by Maurice Erb, Simon Ganahl, and Patrick Kilian is dedicated to investigations into how Moretti's distant reading and Foucauldian discourse analysis can be

combined. To its main question, namely “[c]an historical discourse analysis as practiced by Michel Foucault be carried out with the aid of computers?” (2016, 2)—the article concludes that it requires that we become able to operationalize Foucault’s concepts, particularly the concept of the statement. It specifies some difficulties in this regard. First, Foucault does not provide a clear answer to the question of what a statement is in *L’archéologie du savoir*, according to Erb, Ganahl, and Kilian (2016, 6). Second, Foucault’s concept of the statement “seems deliberately to block its operationalization through digital analysis procedures”³³ because “the archeological method [...] aims at a structural analysis not of the signifier but of the signified, thus that which is referred to and not the chains of signs with which both structuralism and text mining are concerned” (2016, 6).

Erb, Ganahl, and Kilian claim that Foucault above all specifies what a statement is *not*; it is not “a logical proposition, not a grammatical sentence, not a linguistic act of speech, nor even a regular verbal combination” (2016, 6). Yet Foucault does specify what a statement is and how it can be identified. As I have explained in detail in 1.3, the statements are, briefly put, identified by regularities in the ways of speaking, and they are functions in the sense that identifying a formulation qua Foucauldian statement includes the identification of the enunciative field of which it is part. Identifying “dreams realize desires” as a statement includes the specification of what sort of text or other medium it occurs in, its subject of enunciation, other statements that neighbor it, etc. Its function will be different if it is enunciated in a play from antiquity or a work from the early twentieth century in the psychoanalytic tradition. Although this concerns the same verbal formulation, the statement is not the same. This example illustrates the importance of the archive as an epistemological concept, which is as Foucault puts it, considered from the perspective of the historical conditions that have given rise to this “mass of said things.”

That the statement never is defined by a single specific combination of words is probably what Erb, Ganahl, and Kilian have in mind when they state that “the archeological method [...] aims at a structural analysis *not of the signifier but of the signified*, thus that which is referred to and not the chains of signs with which both structuralism and text mining are concerned” (my italicization) (2016, 6). They do not, however, mention Foucault’s distinction between the statement (énoncé) and the enunciation (énonciation). Although enunciations, as concrete realizations of statements will

³³ Here Erb, Ganahl, and Kilian cite and translate from German Peer Trilcke and Frank Fischer. 2016. “Fernlesen mit Foucault, Überlegungen zur Praxis des distant reading und zur Operationalisierung von Foucaults Diskursanalyse ” In *Le foucauldian*, 2/1,p.17.

vary in their verbal combination, this chapter has argued that they can be captured by the use of sub-corpus topic modeling and the word bag tool. Close reading of these enunciations permits the identification of statements as that which govern what it is possible to say under the historical conditions in question.

Chapter 3: Literary Review of Previous Research on Gender and Women in Norwegian Society 1830-1880

A Foucauldian analysis of the discursive establishment of *women's place in society* in the period 1830-1880 in Norway has so far not been conducted. A significant amount of relevant research, however, has been done on women in Norway in the nineteenth century. I will in this chapter present relevant aspects of this research and describe how I build on it in my project. A large number of the sources stem from historical and literary research. The works *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie* [With Gender Perspectives on Norwegian History] (Blom, Ida; Sogner, Sølvi; Hagemann, Gro 2005), *Norsk kvinnelitteraturhistorie* [Norwegian History of Women's literature] (Wichstrøm, Anne; Engelstad, Irene 1988), and *1800-tallets kvinner. På veien mot stemmerett* [Women of the Nineteenth Century: Towards suffrage] (Aasen, Elisabeth 2013) have been particularly important.³⁴ The material I have selected includes data on women's life conditions, functions, duties, and habits in different spheres of society and on events that altered women's rights and opportunities (such as legal reforms). Furthermore, it includes debates related to these topics, in what contexts, and among whom these debates took place, and finally theories on what maintained and changed gender conceptions in the period.

The theories, findings, and facts that I have included here delineate three main concerns that are of interest in this project. The first is related to gender: how and in what contexts does gender and woman become a subject of interest? The second matter consists of intersecting concerns that made people speak and determined in which contexts they spoke. These concerns include social, civil, and economic position, moral, political and spiritual status, assumptions regarding ontological status, as well as women's access to education, and their means of influence. The third concern is related to women and literature particularly, as this is a matter I have decided to give a privileged place in my project.

I divide this information into nine different categories. These categories are (3.1) women and literature, (3.2) education and literacy among women, (3.3) laws and legal changes related to women, (3.4) demographical changes that had an impact on the position of women in society, (3.5)

³⁴ Blom, Ida and Sølvi Sogner (eds). 2005. *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*. Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk forlag. Engelstad, Irene et.al. (eds). 1988. *Norsk kvinnelitteraturhistorie* Bind 1 1600-1900. Oslo: Pax. Aasen, Elisabeth. 2013. *1800-tallets kvinner. På veien mot stemmerett*. Oslo: Pax.

labor and economic factors that influenced women's social and financial situation, (3.6) scientific progress that had implications for gender and women as discursive objects, (3.7) enlightenment ideals and gender differences, (3.8) women and religion, and (3.9) the women's movement.

In the meta-methodological considerations in chapter one, I described why I have decided upon the 1830s as the starting point of the period I study; in order to analyze the emergence of publishing women writers and of the reforms in the 1840s that altered women's position in society, relevant historical events and debates from the beginning of the 1830s have to be included in my study. It is beyond doubt that Norwegian society went through changes in the nineteenth century that concern women's conditions. Discourse analysis, however, describes something regular. Because I posit that *woman's place in society* is discursively established, I thus also assume that regularities can be observed: who has access to the discourse? In what contexts do they speak? How do they speak, and what relations are established in their ways of speaking? What functions does it serve, or what mobilizes people to speak about women? Thus, although women's position and situation in society changes in the period I study, I highlight regularities in the ways of speaking about women. It is in this context relevant to take into consideration some general observations by historians who have applied a gender perspective to the study of the nineteenth century. How is the period 1830-1880 distinguished from earlier periods? From a gender perspective, what are the distinct characteristics of this period?

Let us start with some summarizing observations of the period 1500-1800 by the Norwegian historian, Hilde Sandvik:

The socialization into man and woman in the old society was a socialization to different labor tasks, but also to a common ethos of responsibility and hard work. For a very limited upper class it makes sense to talk about a socialization of women to please men. The responsible woman's role was a mainstay in the old society; it was a security against crisis when the fishing failed, when men did not return from war, when the husband died. The widows' legal position as head of household was the societal recognition of the significance of women's labor in the period. Women's subordinate social position was, however, maintained as men had more authority, inherited twice as much, and had easier access to privileges. In this period, however, the subordination of all subjects to a divinely blessed absolute monarch is the most important relation of subjection in society. Neither before, nor after has such a large number of youths been commanded to war. Neither before, nor after has criminality resulted in such severe forms of punishment for such a large part of the Norwegian population. In the crossover of different relations of subjection, there will

always be somebody who ends up in the least favorable position, in this period it is perhaps both the unwed mother and the discharged sailor.³⁵

Sandvik posits gender as constructed (man and woman are products of socialization) and she focuses on subjection. Her general observation is that woman was subjected to men, but she had a proper and responsible function in society. Furthermore, the main form of subjection in society was, according to Sandvik, the domination of all subjects, regardless of gender, under the sovereign. Before examining Sandvik's observations in more detail, let us consider them in relation to her general comments on how the nineteenth century came to be distinct from the period that preceded it:

In the transition to the nineteenth century, Europe awaited the large democratic development of the political system. From a gender perspective it is worth noting that this democratization in the first phase implied the construction of new spheres in society where women were completely shut out. To have or not to have political rights as citizens becomes one of the most important subjects in modern history. Modern women's history is therefore strongly related to access to this political sphere, and access to education and public positions. [...] People's sovereignty and the social contract were to become the next century's challenge, firstly for Norway, then for women.³⁶

Sandvik implies that the subjection of women becomes more distinct in the nineteenth century (parts of it at least), compared to the preceding period and compared to other relations of subjection. She has observed that women went from having a role that was a mainstay in society, to being totally excluded from the dominant spheres of modern society. If historical research has established that struggles for the people's political influence are the most important concern in the nineteenth century, and women were shut out from the spheres where these processes took place, it is likely

³⁵ My translation of the original: "Sosialiseringen til mann og kvinne i det gamle samfunnet var en sosialisering til ulike arbeidsoppgaver, men til en felles ansvarsfull og hardtarbeidende etos. For en svært liten overklasse kan vi snakke om sosialisering av kvinner til menns behag. Den ansvarsfulle kvinneverollen var en bærebjelke i det gamle samfunnet, den var en sikkerhet mot krise når fisket sviktet, når menn ikke kom hjem fra krigen, eller når husbonden døde. Enkenes rettslige stilling som husholdsoverhode var den samfunnsmessige anerkjennelsen av betydningen av kvinners arbeid i denne perioden. Kvinners samfunnsmessige underordning ble imidlertid opprettholdt ved at mennene ble gitt større myndighet, dobbel arv og lettere adgang til privilegier. I denne perioden er det imidlertid underordningen av alle undersåtter under en eneveldig konge av Guds nåde som er det viktigste underordningsforholdet i samfunnet. Verken før eller senere har en så stor del av norsk ungdom blitt kommandert i krig. Verken før eller senere har kriminalisering ført til så strenge straffer for en så stor andel av den norske befolkningen. I krysningen mellom ulike underordningsforhold er det alltid noen som kommer dårligst ut, i denne perioden er det kanskje både den ugifte moren og den utskrevne matrosen (Sandvik, Hilde in Blom, Ida; Sogner, Sølvi; Hagemann, Gro 2005).

³⁶ My translation of the original: "Ved overgangen til 1800-tallet stod Europa på terskelen til den demokratiske utviklingen av det politiske systemet. I et kjønnsperspektiv er det verdt å se at denne demokratiseringens første fase innebar opprettelsen av nye sfærer i samfunnet der kvinner var totalt utestengt. Å ha eller ikke å ha politisk borgerlige rettigheter blir et av de viktigste temaene i moderne historie. Moderne kvinnehistorie dreier seg derfor mye om adgangen til den politiske sfæren, samt adgangen til utdanning og embeter [...] Folkesuverenitet og samfunnskontrakt skulle bli det neste århundrets utfordring, først for Norge, så for kvinnene (Sandvik 2005, 155).

that women's *place* was peripheral and their power to influence society low. Women can, however, still have had indirect influence through, for instance, their function in the family.

There is an important implication in Sandvik's observations about the political changes that mark the nineteenth century and its consequences for women; people go from being the subjects of an absolute power to becoming citizens and political subjects with rights.

3.1. Women and Literature in 1830-1880

I have given women and literature a privileged position in my work, in the sense that I started the retrieval of passages from the Digital Bookshelf using topics that are modeled from selected works by women writers. There is a significant number of women who become published writers in the period and a growing number of women reading literature. That women published literature and articles in the press implies that they gained access to discourse. That the number of women who read also grew, entails that women were objects to influence in new ways and that they gained a certain influence as consumers of literature.

There are few published works by women writers in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Throughout the century, however, women were the most important fiction reading public. Furthermore, women occupied several positions related to fictional literature, such as translators, consultants, book traders, librarians in private libraries [leiebibliotekinnehavere], colporters (traveling sellers of books), and as "visekoner" (women selling folk songs [skillingsviser]) (de Vibe 1988). Public libraries existed from the end of the eighteenth century, but it is only after 1850 that a significant number of women started using the libraries. Up until the 1860s reading was mostly a phenomenon of the upper social classes. The number of women borrowing books increased, however, in proportion to the availability of fictional literature. In 1886 more than 70 percent of the loans were of fiction, 23 percent of the borrowers were women and 44 percent of the total number of borrowers were from the lower social classes, for instance servants (de Vibe 1988, 89). In the last two decades of the period, the percentage of women readers, from the lower social classes as well, are thus likely to be a growing number. Previous research thus indicates that woman's habits included the activity of reading, and that different employments related to literature were accessible to women.

The number of women writers increased starting in the 1840s. Camilla Collett debuted in 1843 with “Badeliv og Fjeldliv” [Bathing and Mountain Life], a serial that she published anonymously in the newspaper *Den Constitutionelle*. She was a productive writer of fiction during the twenty years that followed her debut. In these decades a total of twelve women writers of fiction debuted (Hareide 1988, 50). Hanna Winsnes (under the pseudonym Hugo Schwart) debuted early in the 1840s. Emma Hagerup published a novel in 1858. Inger Marie Lyche Wexelsen debuted in 1858 and published two more novels in the 1860s. Charlotte Augusta Hagerup, Nicoline Thaulow, Elisabeth Margrethe Lampe, Elise Kristine Kjørbo Lund, Marie Colban, Laura Kieler, Ovidia Christine Fredrikke Nordby, and Magdalene Thoresen all debuted in the 1860s. Only two of these writers published in their own names, Marie Colban and Magdalene Thoresen; the other used pseudonyms. Women publishing works in other genres also increased. Christiane Koren, Conradine Dunker, Berthe Canutte Aarflot, and Gustava Kielland published memoirs in the 1860s and 1870s. Children’s literature was also a genre in which women published. Henritte Gislesen, Anette Ihle, Charlotte Sartz, and Johanne Vogt are some of the women writers who published literature for children in the 1860s and 70s.

Based on these data, I have asked certain questions: what conditions enable or facilitate this production? To what degree is it relevant that the authors of these works are women? It is relevant to investigate whether the work of these writers negotiate *women’s place in society* in particular ways, not only by being works that women have published, but also through their way of enunciating woman and gender? Such questions are, however, in danger of inviting simplifying generalizations. Women’s literature has regularly been the object of generalizations, including the notions that their works are, for instance, simplistic, sentimental, moralistic, and exotic, according to the Norwegian editor and genre literature researcher Astrid de Vibe (1988, 93). In the preface to *Norsk kvinnelitteraturhistorie Bind 1 1600-1900*, the authors problematize their approach. Writing a women’s literary history can be criticized for maintaining a gender division that has implied discrimination against women, they argue. Nevertheless, they defend their approach by arguing that it is still necessary to isolate women writers in order to make women and their works more visible (Wichstrøm and Engelstad 1988). Furthermore, they hold that in this way they shed light on “their [women’s literary texts] specificities and clarify what specific conditions that have delineated their

literary production.”³⁷ It is ambiguous whether they mean each literary text’s specificities, or general specificities of women’s literary texts. They specify that they have decided to stay away from a traditional biographical approach to explaining the literary works. I interpret them, however, as implying that women’s literary texts are (partly) products of specific conditions that women writers faced. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (1979) go a lot further in arguing that there is a specific women’s literature in their famous work on women writers in the Anglo-American context, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*:

Reading the writing of women from Jane Austen and Charlotte Bronte to Emily Dickinson, Virginia Woolf, and Sylvia Plath, we were surprised by the coherence of theme and imagery that we encountered in the works of writers who were often geographically, historically, and psychologically distant from each other. Indeed, even when we studied women’s achievements in radically different genres, we found what began to seem a distinctively female literary tradition, a tradition that had been approached and appreciated by many women readers and writers but which no one had yet defined in its entirety (Gilbert and Gubar 2000).

My hypothesis is however, that there are not general, essential differences between men’s and women’s writing, but instead that the themes and style overlap to such an extent that attempts to specify a distinct women’s literature in the period is more misleading than clarifying. Yet I have a related hypothesis, that might seem contradictory to the one presented above, namely that works by women writers are marked by a particular production of woman’s subjectivity. I have already elaborated on this hypothesis in chapter one, as it has consequences for my methodological approach to women’s access to discourse as writers. My assumption, however, is not that all literature by women in the period comprises a particular production of women’s subjectivity. More precisely, the hypothesis I investigate is whether women who thematize woman’s being in their texts (not all do), do so in a particular way, given that they write themselves.

It is not sufficient, however, to look only at the production of Norwegian women writers. It was common for women from the upper social classes to read French, English and German literature in their respective original languages. Literary works by women writers were also translated, and not only works that were recognized as literature of high quality. A large number of women writers of serials that are characterized as popular or entertainment literature also had their novels and stories

³⁷ My translation of the original: “Ved å skrive en ren kvinnelitteraturhistorie, oppnår vi å gi kvinnes litterære tekster større plass [...] [d]ermed kan vi tydeliggjøre deres særpreg og gi et klarere bilde av hvilke særegne vilkår og rammer som har vært satt for deres litterære produksjon.” (Engelstad et al. 1988, 7)

translated for the Norwegian public. In France the first newspaper director of serial novels, Madame de Girardin, established a section specifically for women in the newspaper in 1836, which also became popular for women readers in Norway (de Vibe 1988, 89). Norwegian newspapers copied this tradition. This tradition had a slow start in Norway but became popular starting in the 1870s. A great number of novels written by foreign women appeared in Norwegian newspapers as series; the large newspapers understood that women readers were a public they had to satisfy (de Vibe 1988, 89). These observations suggest that the media helped reinforce literature as a part of women's *place*. Furthermore, Camilla Collett and Marie Colban, for instance, lived and traveled abroad and acknowledged influences from France, such as George Sand. The Dane Georg Brandes was an important authority in Scandinavia in terms of shaping the perception of distinguished writers beyond national boundaries. The women's movement emerged more or less in the same period in several Western European countries and the debates it generated overlap extensively between countries. Furthermore, media technology facilitated exchange between countries. This research concerning the international exchange of which women writers and readers were part, has contributed to my decision to include not only works by Norwegian women writers, but also works by two foreign women writers.

To the degree that a woman writer has had a measurable reception in Norway, she is in principle relevant to include in my project. There are several reasons for this decision. My most important motivation is that I do not want to undermine the international exchange and influence in the period. Taking into account the factors described above, what motivated and made it possible in the period for a woman to become a writer did not depend on country-specific criteria alone. Instead the fact that there was a parallel increase in the number of women writing fiction in several countries in the period, is likely to have led to an international reciprocal reinforcement of the idea that being a woman is compatible with being a writer and a reader. In other words, what made it possible for and motivated women to write and publish in Norway was probably in part related to an experience of being part of a larger epochal tendency.

As we have seen, the majority of women writers used pseudonyms or published their works anonymously. According to the Norwegian literary scholar Jorunn Hareide this indicates that it was stigmatizing for women to appear in the public as a writer (1988). That a large number of women appeared under their own names as writers internationally did probably lessen whatever stigma there might have been. Yet social condemnation of women who took up public space as writers is

not necessarily the (only) reason why women writers in Norway used pseudonyms. The prejudices against literature written by women can have been another reason for women to publish using pseudonyms. As de Vibe says:

Three thematic triviality labels threatened all literature produced by women in the period: It was too quotidian and trivial, it was too moralizing and didactic, and later on it was also criticized for being exotic. These critical points were recurrent in the contemporary reviews of women's literature. An active marginalization of women's literature took place, from belles-lettres down to the circulatory system of genre fiction. The ways the discrimination took place, however, differed, and so did the writers' acceptance of the situation.³⁸

It is possible that such prejudices against literature produced by women first of all motivated some women writers to conceal their identity in order to avoid biased criticism of it.

An event in the period that mobilized women to write articles in the press is the publication of John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* in 1869 (Mill 2000). Georg Brandes' translation *Kvindernes Underkuelse* appeared the same year and generated a debate on the woman question in Norway. The first reactions to *The Subjection of Women* in the newspaper *Morgenbladet* were negative. On 13 November 1870, for instance, a certain Otto Glagan argued that Mill's claim that women's nature was something we know little about—and that women perhaps do not necessarily even want to become mothers or to marry—was difficult to even take seriously.³⁹ Several women, including Camilla Collett, Aasta Hansteen and Mathilde Schjøtt, rebutted those reactions and defended Mill's ideas. Hansteen wrote a series of articles, which will be analyzed in chapter five. Collett presented her critique in the republication of "Strikketøisbetraktninger," (first published in 1852) in *Erindringer og Bekjendelser, Sidste Blade and Fjerde og femte Række* (Collett, Camilla 1873). She argued, among other things, for women's right to education. In the same period, the feminist and director for the journal *Nylænde*, Gina Krogh, defended Mill's ideas in the newspaper *Dagbladet*, advocating for women's freedom.

³⁸ My translation of the original: "Tre tematiske trivialitetsstempler truet all litteratur produsert av kvinner i denne perioden: Den var for dagligdags og trivial, den var moraliserende og didaktisk, og senere ble den også kritisert for å være for eksotisk. I samtidens anmeldelser av kvinnelitteratur gikk disse kritiske momentene igjen. Det foregikk en aktiv marginalisering av dem fra finlitteraturen og ned i underholdningsromanenes kretslop. Men veiene til utgrensning var ulike, og forfatterne aksept av situasjonen høyst forskjellig" (de Vibe 1988, 93).

³⁹ "Women's opinion on 'The Subjection of Women'". Link to the newspaper (consulted the 11 of June 2018): <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/d7f182b2bf3d2600dacc9a7a80b65b2?index=1#0>, [There are more reactions in *Morgenbladet* that should be analyzed]

In Norway, the feminist cause seems to be closely connected to literary production—fiction as well as polemical essays—or as Irene Iversen puts it: “The tight link between the woman’s movement and literature is one of the main characteristics of the Modern Breakthrough in Norwegian literature at the end of the nineteenth century.”⁴⁰ Among subjects under discussion, the following were particularly highlighted: women’s conditions in marriage, women’s conditions as prostitutes (and men’s morality as their customers, and their responsibility and duty in this context) (Iversen 1988, 162; Pedersen 1988, 134), what rights women should have (civil, political, educational, etc.) (Pedersen 1988, 131), and what the essence of the feminine is and what it is in opposition to masculinity (Iversen 1988, 165-167). All of these subjects were discussed in the woman’s movement. They were discussed in the feminist movement’s journal, *Nylænde*, as well as in the daily press, such as in the newspapers *Morgenbladet*, *Verdens Gang* and *Dagbladet*. My research is ground-breaking because it establishes an understanding of ways of speaking about woman and gender, including women’s relation to literature, that precede the Modern Breakthrough debates.

3.2 Education and Literacy Among Women

Women’s literacy increased in the period 1830-1880. Laws that provided access for women to secondary school examinations and baccalaureate examinations were, however, not passed before 1878 and 1882 respectively.

Nevertheless, for both genders attending school was an established practice that dates back to the 1740s. In 1736 obligatory confirmation in the Lutheran church was introduced in Norway. According to this law, confirmation required that children had knowledge about Christianity. The ability to read the Bible became important as well. As a result, public primary schools (“allmueskolen”) were established as education for the masses. From 1741 the responsibility and financing of the schools was locally based, which facilitated access to schooling regardless of where one lived. The number of weeks per year that children attended school were however often few, particularly in rural areas, and the teachers were poorly educated (Sandvik 2005, 147).

⁴⁰ My translation of the original: “Den tette forbindelsen mellom kvinnesaken og litteraturen er ett av de viktigste kjennetegnene ved “det moderne gjennombruddet” som foregikk i den norske litteraturen på slutten av 1800-tallet” (Iversen in Wichstrøm and Engelstad 1988).

Although literacy did not increase radically as a result of this school system, it is still important from a gender perspective, Sandvik shows (2005, 147). Some documents comprising records of children's literacy compiled by pastors are conserved from the period. These documents demonstrate that the girls were on average better readers than the boys, whereas girls born too early to get access to education according to the public school law were significantly poorer readers than the boys (Sandvik 2005, 147). While learning to read the Bible was the highest priority for both genders, education was still gender specific. Literacy among girls and women, regardless of social background, was to a certain degree a fact from the eighteenth century, according to the limited documentation that is available on the matter. According to the Norwegian historian, Gro Hagemann, it appears that girls were more likely than boys to be held back from school, also after the "folkeskole" law in 1889 made seven years of education obligatory for all children (Hagemann 1992, cited in Hagemann 2005, 224).

The education of girls was subject to changes in the nineteenth century. From the 1820s and 30s private girls' schools opened in the cities. These were founded by private initiative without necessarily providing a sufficient formal education; some were also established by foreign women who focused on the teaching of foreign languages (Johannessen 1974, 4). The education consisted of needlework, drawing, music, often French and/or German, and history, and did not lead to any examination, as the education was not intended to lead to a profession that required formal qualifications (Johannessen 1974, 4, Lien 1981, 13). The school fees were often high, such that these schools were accessible primarily to girls from the middle and upper classes (Johannessen 1974).

In 1849 the philologist and educator, Hartvig Nissen, initiated a program for improving education for girls. He advocated for a national girls' school, and criticized the government for indifference toward girls' education, as it depended on private, individual initiatives (Lien 1981, 14). In 1849 Nissen's girls' school was founded, and from 1850 many girls' schools were created based on Nissen's model. The curriculum for girls was, however, different from that of the boys in content and also in terms of performance demands (Hagemann 2005, 223). Nissen had criticized the private girls' schools for poor theoretical education. He did not, however, advocate for an identical education for both genders. Girls' education could be shorter, the curriculum in mathematics less extensive than that of the boys, there was no teaching of Latin, and needle work and drawing had an

important place (Johannessen 1974, 9, 11, Lien 1981, 14). The schools were primarily intended to prepare women for their future tasks as wives and mothers (Johannessen 1974, 9-10). Nevertheless, the girls' schools that were developed in accordance with Nissen's model explain why women in public service had high qualifications (Hagemann 2005, 223). Nissen was also concerned with the education of women teachers (Jensen 1960, Johannessen 1974) and worked to improve educational opportunities for women teachers. The teacher and women's movement activist, Ragna Nielsen, called Nissen's girls' school epochal in terms of women's education in its movement towards as good an education for girls as for boys (Jensen 1960, 8).

The Norwegian educational scholar, Eva M. Johannessen, has observed that Nissen was concerned with national ideas and therefore critical of the strong emphasis on foreign languages in the private girls' schools. The main disciplines should be Norwegian language, history, and religion, and an interest in national literature should be awakened, according to Nissen (Johannessen 1974, 7). Johannessen notes that Nissen's plan of creating national girls' schools with a strong emphasis on national ideas, does not, however, seem to have had the impact he envisioned (1974, 8, 18).

Furthermore, girls' educational opportunities continued to be inferior to that of boys (Johannessen 1974, 18) and girls from the lower social classes had few opportunities to attend these girls' schools. The law of 1860 did, however, improve the basic education to which all children had access. This law put an end to ambulatory schools, and it established an expansion of the content, an increase in the number of hours of education, and the instruction of qualified teachers. In addition to the religious content in preparation for confirmation, there were also lessons in writing, mathematics, natural sciences, history, and geography.

In 1869 a law was passed that founded the "Middelskole," which was a secondary school. "Middelskolen" led to a final examination that qualified for admission to high school/upper secondary school and to different vocational schools; it was also the qualification required for several public positions (Lien 1981, 17). Five girls had taken the exam in 1875, according to official statistics, but the exam was only formally available for girls and women starting in 1878 (Johannessen 1974, 20). It was, however, in practice not easily accessible, as the girls' school did not teach a theoretical curriculum as extensive as that which was tested in the examination.

In 1878 girls gained access to the “Middelskole” examination. The historian Merete Lien has studied the debate in the department of education that preceded this reform. This debate and its aftermath is relevant to look into here, as it enunciates more general conceptions of woman’s nature and function in relation to the question of her education. The debate demonstrates what concerns were given importance in relation to granting women the right to take examinations, which led to working opportunities for her outside of the private home. There was unanimous agreement that girls should have this right, although some of the representatives specified that it in practice should be an exception that girls took examinations (Lien 1981, 27). Topics discussed were whether girls should be tested in a complete or reduced mathematics curriculum, whether the communal and private girls’s schools should have the right to hold examinations, and whether girls could attend the “Middelskole.”

Lien has identified two main arguments, based either on women’s needs for subsistence or on ideological conviction (Lien 1981, 26-30). What I see in Lien’s material is that all the representatives use practical arguments: they all maintained that there was a practical need for a minority of unmarried women to take this examination for subsistence. Furthermore, the majority of the representatives held that the mathematics curriculum should be reduced to what was required for women to be able to work in the telegraph company. One representative argued for society’s need for women in the workforce, and that the better education women had, the more positions they could occupy. Another argued that same rights for women and men would improve the social relation between the genders. Ideological arguments that Lien has identified are, on the one hand, based on ideas about justice and gender equality in terms of opportunities, and, on the other hand, on ideas about a natural gender difference that implies that woman’s place and function is primarily in the household and family. For those associated with the last group of ideas, it was important that an examination at the girls’ schools did not harm the traditional education of the majority of the girls. The specific examination-related courses must be held separately from the rest of the teaching, according to them, so that the majority of the girls, who got their education as a preparation for their lives as housewives, were not affected by the minority who prepared for the examination (Lien 1981, Jensen 1960). Some also conveyed the idea of woman’s inferior academic capacity as an additional argument for a reduced mathematics curriculum, whereas others argued that there were at most only a small gender difference in this respect. The result was that girls could take the “Middelskole” examination with a reduced mathematics curriculum at private and communal girls’ schools that met the criteria (Lien 1981, 26-30).

Lien has not found much debate on the reform outside of parliament (1981, 96-99). The impression her research establishes is that this reform primarily served to facilitate the opportunities for a small group of women to be employed in the telegraph company. The number of women who wanted to take the exam increased rapidly, however, and the girls' schools with the right to administer the examination increasingly adapted their whole education program to the examination. This development resulted in specifications from the political authorities that only girls' schools that managed to separate the traditional education from the preparation for the examination would be allowed to administer the examination (Jensen 1960, 12-13). We thus see that it was relatively uncontroversial to facilitate access for a minority of girls to take an examination that led to opportunities outside of the home. As soon as the adaptations to this minority also had consequences for the majority in the girls' schools, however, the question became more controversial. Some politicians and officials feared that the education of girls in covenant with what they believed to be woman's natural calling was menaced by the increased academic orientations of the schools.

The increasing number of girls and women who took the examination, however, led to debates at the end of the 1870s regarding a shared education for both genders. The educational scholar Elling Jensen has studied the debate. Economic, practical, and scientifically based arguments were predominant. Briefly, it was becoming expensive, particularly in small cities, to organize the preparation for the examination separately for girls and boys, and some referred to studies from other countries with common education that showed positive results. On the other hand, skeptical voices referred to medical studies establishing that hard academic work was harmful to the health of girls. There were also ideological arguments based on women's emancipation ideas in favor of common education, and religious arguments based on biblical interpretations of woman's "natural" place against mixed education (Jensen 1960, 14-27). It seems as, though, at least in the transition from the 1870s to 1880s, that economic, practical, and scientific arguments had the most impact.

In the decades I study, there is a development from a school motivated by a religious ceremony (confirmation) where girls and boys are not in principle separated (although the curriculum was not entirely the same), to a curriculum that becomes more marked by a binary gender ideology, at the same time that education is extended and improved for both genders. The education for girls in general was, however, inferior to that of the boys despite its improvement in the period. My study

contributes to the previous research in this area with analyses of ways of speaking about woman and education in a broader context.

3.3 Laws and Legal Changes Related to Woman and Gender

In the first part of this section I list new laws and legal changes with implications for women's civil rights, sexuality, access to education, etc. Relevant debate related to these legal reforms is presented in the second part of this section.

In 1839 women over 40 who were “poorly” and without other opportunities to provide for themselves [svagelige Kvinner over 40 aar, som ikke kunde ernære sig på anden maade], gained the right to run a business in handicraft [håndverksmester]. In 1842 a law on “hors- og løsaktighetsforbrytelser” [prostitution and unchaste crimes] was passed. The same year, 1842, a law was passed that allowed widows, wives who did not live with their husbands, and unmarried women who were of legal majority by royal decree [Enker, [...] Koner der lever adskilt fra sine Mænd, og til ugifte Fruentimmer, der ere myndig ifølge Kongelig Bevilgning] to engage in commerce. According to the formulation of the law, being accorded legal majority was a requirement in order to execute the right. Widows and divorced women had in practice legal majority, according to the Norwegian historian Gerd Mordt; thus, for them this condition was not an obstacle (Mordt 1993, 100). Unmarried women, however, were not recognized as having legal majority. The fact that they were still formally included in the law and in practice also gained the opportunity to engage in commerce, indicates for Mordt that self-sufficiency was a more important concern than strict adherence to the status of legal majority for the people concerned. In 1845 unmarried women over 25 gained the same degree of legal majority as men between 18 and 25. The restrictions on legal majority implied that a guardian [kurator/tilsynsverge] had to approve of larger civil or economic decisions, and thus complete their majority. Married women were not accorded legal majority by law before 1888.

In 1854 a law was passed that provided daughters with the same right to inherit as sons. Until then, brothers had inherited twice as much as their sisters.

In the 1860s laws were passed that gave women the right to work as teachers for the youngest children in the public primary schools. This law was passed in 1860, but restricted to women in

rural areas, whereas the law was modified in 1869 to include women in the cities as well. From 1869 women had the right to teach both boys and girls on the lower levels, and girls' classes on higher levels in the public primary schools. The legal situation regarding civil rights was also improved for women in this decade; in 1863 they obtained legal majority at the age of 25, the same, unrestricted, legal majority as men. They lost it, however, upon marriage. In 1869 the law regarding legal majority for women was further extended; the age of legal majority was lowered to 21, which was the same age as for men. Women's opportunity for engaging in handicraft trades [drive håndverk] was also extended by law and from 1866 women had the same rights as men.

Mandatory medical examinations of prostitutes were introduced in 1876 (Hagemann 2005, 174).

I will now move on to a discussion of previous research on the debate preceding these laws and of theories regarding the motivation for them. I have expected to find traces of the debate starting in the early 1830s. Hagemann discusses theories regarding the motivation behind these laws. She refers to the Swedish historian Gunnar Qvist's suggestion that the early reforms regarding women's majority and right to engage in commerce came about as a measure for solving the problem of a growing number of women, and particularly unmarried women in the cities, who were unprovided for. He even goes so far as to state that women's emancipation was men's work (Qvist 1977, cited in Hagemann 2005). According to Hagemann, Qvist's theory is sharply contrasted to a growing consensus among women historians, namely the attribution of these reforms to women's activism.

Mordt has analyzed the background and arguments for the first reforms regarding women's rights to engage in commerce in Norway and has concluded in similar terms as Qvist: economic interests motivated the reforms, not principles regarding women's rights (Mordt 1993). Economic arguments also seem to have motivated the legal extension of women's right to engage in commerce in the 1860s (Hagemann 2005, 215). Furthermore, economic factors motivated the laws regarding legal majority and the right to inherit (Hagemann 2005; Fløystaad 1990), as well as the educational reforms as we have seen in the previous section (Lien 1981; Hagemann, 2005). The economic motives were complex, however, and concerns for women who were unprovided for is only one of several economic factors that explain the reforms.

Let us look more closely at the laws in the 1840s that altered women's civil rights. The laws on legal majority and equal right to inherit for men and women were economically motivated, but not

principally by concerns for women who were unprovided for. Fløystad has shown that other economic interests motivated the reform allowing women the right to engage in commerce (1990). A group of farmers led the campaign for this reform and justified it on the basis of a need for increase in capital. Reforms that facilitated women's opportunities for engaging in commerce thus seem according to these analyses to be connected to economic mechanisms, such as capital accumulation, more than the concern for women who were unprovided for. Regarding the equal right for both genders to inherit, officials resisted the proposed law, fearing that it could lead to the fragmentation of fortunes and properties (Hagemann 2005, 215). In the case of this reform as well we see that interest in the state of the economy tend to be a higher priority than women's opportunities for self-sufficiency. Fløystad has also shown that arguments based on ideological convictions, such as natural law and principles regarding justice and liberty, were also recurrent in the debate regarding the equal right to inherit. Officials who did not support this reform did not see the right to inherit as a natural right. The differing functions of men and women had to serve as criteria for the right to inherit in their opinion, according to Hagemann (2005, 217).

Regarding the school reforms, economic interests are also singled out here as the most important motivations, as we saw in the previous section. Concern for women who were not provided for was an important motivation for these reforms. Hagemann has found that authorities worried about unmarried women who could not provide for themselves and believed that their education could result in less public expenditures on this group (2005, 216-217). Also, fathers from the elite official class [embedsmennselite] worried about their daughters' opportunities if they remained unmarried, and thus advocated for educational reforms for women (Agerholt 1932; Lien 1981; Hagemann 2005).

Hagemann and Sandvik have identified two main sides in these debates regarding civil and inheritance rights: the elite official class and an oppositional farmers' organization (Hagemann 1992, 2005; Sandvik 2002). They have shown that the elite official class argued in favor of liberal reforms as long as "the order of society" [samfunnets orden] was not threatened; they were thus in favor of reforms regarding unmarried and previously married women's rights, whereas they resisted reforms that concerned inheritance, because it affected the family as an institution (Hagemann 2005, 218). The farmers, on the other hand, reasoned in terms of an agricultural economic model and thus supported reforms that gave women autonomy in the household, but they were skeptical of "women's emancipation" ideas (Hagemann 2005, 218-219).

In the analyses of the debates regarding legal reforms with consequences for women, two main fundamental positions are identified: economic interests and humanistic principles. We have seen that economic interests have been a decisive factor for whether reforms were passed or not. Previous research has also, as we have seen, identified arguments based on human rights and natural law. It would be incorrect to conclude that pragmatic, economic concerns and concerns for women's rights stood in opposition to one another. We have seen that the reviewed research has established that economic arguments in many cases led to progressive reforms for women. Regardless of whether the people behind these arguments had any sympathy for women's rights, these ways of speaking shaped *women's place in society* in the desired direction for women's rights activists as well. We have seen that the elite official class reasoned based on classical liberalism, but also on "social order." Hagemann refers to Carole Pateman who argues that the liberalist understanding of society is based on two opposing principles, the social contract that established that all men are free and equal, and the gender contract where woman is subjected to man (Pateman 1988 cited in Hagemann 2005, 220).

3.4 Demography and Changes in Married and Unmarried Women's Situation

Demography is important in the study of women's place in society for two main reasons. Firstly, demographic changes in the nineteenth century, such as urbanization and the decrease in infant mortality, had an impact on women's living conditions. Secondly, demography becomes a science of importance for population politics in the nineteenth century. Norway's population had grown from around 200,000 to 900,000 between 1500 and 1800. This growth testifies to economic progress, although there were periods of economic crisis and high child mortality. That mothers took better care of their children has been evoked as the explanation for the decrease in infant and child mortality in the nineteenth century, as well as improvements in women's health (Sandvik 2005, 151) (Fure, Eli 2004). The population almost doubled between 1815 and 1835.

In 1801 women gave birth to fewer than 1.5 children during child-bearing age, whereas in the 1840s the number was between 4 and 5 (Hagemann 2005, 167). Despite the large number of children per family, the size of the household decreased in the nineteenth century. There was an increase in one-

person households in the cities consisting of elderly women, widows, or unmarried women (Hagemann 2005, 168, Solli 2003). These women had no place within a traditional family household, and thus had to provide for themselves in new ways.

Processes of economic change in the period, including dramatic population growth and overpopulated villages, prompted moderate internal migration from the start of the nineteenth century, followed by more extensive internal migration starting in the 1840s, and it escalated even further during the depression of the 1870s (Backer 1965, Hagemann 2005, 169-170). A large number of young people migrated, including young women. Young women and men had different migration patterns, according to where their labor was demanded, which resulted in a gender imbalance in many places. In the six largest cities, half of the population was between the age of 15 and 45 in 1875, and the majority of them were women (Hagemann 2005, 170). Although the general tendencies regarding marital patterns and organization of households were not radically altered during the nineteenth century, deviations from the norm are significant in the cities (Backer 1965; Dyrvik m.fl.1986; Hagemann 2005, 171).

The changes in the population, such as migration and a reduction in child mortality, had consequences for women's lives. Married women gave birth to a larger number of children. In the 1830s only 41 percent of women and men over 20 years in the cities were married (Mordt 1993, Hagemann 2005, 195). Marriage frequency increased from around the middle of the century, but the number of unmarried women was still high, as the total number of women of marriage age in the cities was higher than the number of men in the same age range (Hagemann 2005, 195). The number of births of illegitimate children also increased. About 10 percent of all births around 1850 were to unmarried women. More than 50 percent of women between 15 and 49 years old were unmarried (Hagemann 2005, 173). Some of these women were prostitutes and prostitution grew in Christiania during the second half of the nineteenth century (Hagemann 2005, 174). Sexually transmitted diseases were common, which motivated the introduction of compulsory medical examinations for prostitutes in 1875. Furthermore, many prostitutes also gave birth, and the mortality rate in this group of children was high.

In *Om Sædelighetstilstanden i Norge* (1857) [*On the state of Chastity in Norway*], Eilert Sundt studied the effects of the law on "hors- og løsaktighetsforbrytelser" [prostitution and unchaste crimes] that was passed in 1842. He used a combination of qualitative approaches, as well as an

extensive and rigorous use of statistics (Sundt 1968 [1857]). This law enacted a decriminalization or reduced penalty for what was considered unchaste behavior in relation to the norms of the time. Statistics Sundt refers to in his work show an increase in the rate of illegitimacy for a period of time in the nineteenth century. Regarding these statistics, Sundt includes a large extract of a comment from one of his readers, referred to only as a “høit agted medborger og videnskabsmand” [highly distinguished citizen and scientist] who attributes this growth in the rate of “unchastely behavior” to the law of 1842 (Sundt 1968 [1857], 259-265). This citizen and scientist claimed that there seemed to be a vast discrepancy between the elites responsible for the legal system, and the people, especially the lower social classes. While the new laws probably were the result of philosophical speculation and legal theory, he argues, Christianity was still highly influential in shaping public opinion. This reader states that the explanation for the increased rate of illegitimacy must somehow be related to the law of 1842, and further that the law is not in tune with popular morality and that it should be reversed. In his analysis of these affairs, however, Sundt refutes this argument backed by a substantial amount of statistics (Sundt 1968 [1857], 265-279) and maintains that the increase is better explained by pointing to demographic and economic factors (Sundt 1968 [1857], 301-302).

Sundt argues further that it is unlikely that people in general were even aware of this particular legal change. Still, it is relevant to note how opinions differ on this matter among academic elites at the time, and that moral considerations, and what was assumed to be the people’s common sense on the subject, form part of their reasoning. Sundt creates a somehow polyphonic context in his book by including different voices, a strategy that turns the work into a valuable source for studying discursive tensions. His work is also itself part of gender discourse. In his way of speaking he establishes connections between demographic factors and gender and produces knowledge on legal and demographical effects on gender behavior, which can be used for political interventions to improve the population.

Nevertheless, “unchaste behavior” seems to pose problems and leads Sundt to conduct further research. In Sundt’s work, a chapter is dedicated to the following topic: “Which of the two genders is the most to be blamed [for unchaste behavior]?”⁴¹ Sundt remarks that women are likely to be excused in society if they get pregnant without being married and the father-to-be of the child refuses to marry. The man is then the one who is most likely to be blamed (Sundt 1967 [1857],

⁴¹ My translation of the original title of the chapter: “Hvilket af de to køn bærer mest skyld?”

187-188). According to Sundt however, women were in other contexts accused of being the gender the most responsible for “unchaste behavior.” Another point of view in the debate was that women might act out of self-interest when they got pregnant and gave birth to illegitimate children, motivated by the economic aid to which they were entitled from the child’s father or the state (Sundt 1967 [1857], 189-190).

Sundt shows that changes in demographics and economy, which imply new forms of living due to changes in the need for workers, etc., partly explain a higher rate of illegitimacy, which in turn led to certain articulations of woman as morally corrupted and calculating, and, on the other hand, mobilized laws for the greater protection of women. His analysis suggests that migration and urbanization are concurrent with the implementation of certain laws, with economic aid to at-risk women, and with tensions within the gender discursive field. The debate concerns whether woman is morally corrupted, but still a rational being, capable of meticulously and autonomously planning her life based on her own interest, or whether is she a passive victim of the dominant patriarchal structures.

We see that related to the law of 1842, women’s legal space for sexual behavior is increased. Sundt’s research indicates, however, that woman’s *place* in practice is determined to a greater extent by popular discourse, by people talking about and judging her behavior. We shall see numerous examples of enunciations, for instance in devotional books, that attempt to persuade woman to follow the norms for her gender by pointing to social consequences of her behavior.

3.5 Economic Factors and Labor

From 1830 Norway experienced a period of great economic growth, which lasted until the depression from the middle of the 1870s (Hagemann 2005, 175). A transition from family-based commercial activity in agriculture and urban commerce, to an industrial market economy takes place. Women’s agricultural labor had been indispensable and recognized as such (Hagemann 2005, 178). With the transition to the market economy, however, a separation is established between the economy and the private home. To a great extent the family loses its function as a community of production and source of subsistence. As a result, the family is excluded from the new economic

sphere, as is women's labor in the home, and women without independent incomes are considered as having to be provided for (Hagemann 2005, 179). The idea of married women as being provided for [forsørget] and that labor is synonymous with paid labor are modern constructions, according to Hagemann (2005, 178-180). It is a pattern identified in several industrial countries in the period (see for instance, Clark 1919 and Pinchbeck 1930 on Great Britain).

Considered from a gender perspective the economic growth in modern Norway shows that poverty was more widespread among women. In the population census of 1801, 14,000 people were registered as poor, and 10,500 of these were women (Sandvik 2005, 125). The poverty problem increased in the nineteenth century, despite widespread economic growth (Hagemann 2005, 175). We saw in the previous section that there was a relatively high number of unmarried women in the cities, and that there was concern for their livelihood, as well as for that of any children they may have had. In 1830 "Understøttelsesforening for ugifte fruentimmer" [association for economic aid to unmarried women] was founded in Kristiania (Hagemann 2005, 196). Furthermore, we have also seen that some of the unmarried women in the cities earned their living through prostitution, and that economic interests at least partly motivated the legal reforms that were passed in order to facilitate opportunities for unmarried women to engage in commerce. Let us now look more closely at what labor opportunities and what working conditions women had in the period.

Women worked in the agricultural sector, in industry, as teachers, as telegraphists, in other service sectors, and in the home. Housework was the most widespread work for women throughout the entire nineteenth century (Hagemann 2005, 177). Of all women over fifteen, 45 percent of them were registered as housewives in 1875, and a further 12 percent were daughters living at home doing housework. Furthermore, the largest professional labor group among women was domestic servants. Including domestic servants, more than 70 percent of all women had housework as their source of subsistence. Only domestic servants were paid for their work (Hagemann 2005, 177). Hagemann analyzes this fact in relation to the separation she has identified between the economic sphere and the private home.

The separation between business and family was most clear in the upper bourgeoisie, starting from early in the nineteenth century in Norway (Bull 1990, Hagemann 2005, 181). In the lower bourgeoisie, the agricultural sector, and in the working class, the division of functions between the

genders came later and was not generally as pronounced. Historians have analyzed the feminine ideal emerging in the bourgeoisie that woman should be separated from commerce and dedicate herself to the “cult of domesticity” (Hagemann 2005, 183; Cott 1977; Mattei 1982; Kessler-Harris 1982). There has been an assumption among women’s historians that this ideal spread to other social classes, according to Hagemann (2005, 183). This assumption has, however, been challenged by other historians. Scott and Tilly have identified a continuity between pre-industrial and industrial society (1978). In working class families, women did the necessary work for subsistence for the family; sewing, for instance, was a source of income for married women throughout the century. Sewing could be done at home and was thus easier to combine with childcare and other domestic responsibilities (Hagemann 1994 c). Furthermore, for the masses, a strict division between men and women’s labor was not realistic. Men did work associated with the women’s domain in periods where there was a high demand for women’s labor, such as in the textile industry, and high unemployment among men (Tranberg 1990; Hagemann 1994c; Hagemann 2005, 185). Nevertheless, the separation between production and family developed gradually, and the conception of women’s economic importance declined. As Hagemann points out, however, despite this economic ideology, women’s housework also gained more esteem in a certain sense, as the authorities and enlightened elite were aware of its importance for the population’s health, a fact that I will elaborate on in the next section (Hagemann 2005, 191).

It is not only relevant what positions women occupied, but also how their work was valued. Regarding the value of their labor in its most concrete sense, the short answer is that women earned less than men. Although there were differences between forms of labor, age, season, etc., and some exceptions, women were paid less than men even if the tasks were entirely or almost identical (Hagemann 2005, 199). Hagemann has observed that unmarried women’s labor was stable and cheap (Hagemann 2005, 199, 211), and that there thus was money to be saved for the municipalities and companies in hiring women as teachers and telegraphists (Hagemann 2005, 193).

Historians have tried to explain these differences in salary between the genders. It has been controversial in historical research to argue that salary and distribution of labor tasks were influenced by social mechanisms like patriarchal ideology and culturally created conceptions of gender differences (Hagemann 2005, 201). The historian, Svein Tveite concludes in his studies that there has been no such social influence over the marked mechanisms of supply and demand that can

explain differences in salary between the genders (1988). The historian Anna Tranberg nuances Tveite's position. She does not deny the importance of the market mechanisms but holds that gender specific norms and traditional family economic thought, together with supply and demand, influenced women's salary and labor tasks (1990).

In agriculture and industry, economic history has explained the lower salary of women by means of the mechanization that came with new technology. New technology made the tasks in some cases physically easier to perform and more routine, and thus motivated the hiring of employees who were physically weaker and less qualified, namely women (Hagemann 2005, 206). The modernization of work in the dairies, however, cooccurred with a cultural shift where traditional labor became masculinized due to technological development, according to the Norwegian historian, Lena Sommerstad (1992). In the majority of the sectors men and women did not perform the same tasks and men did the part of the work that demanded most qualifications. Women were also not entitled to do night work, and they had to quit when they got married (Hagemann 2005, 202). These factors support Tveite's conclusion that gender differences in payment were related to market mechanisms.

Telegraphists were, however, an exception (Hagemann 2005, 202). The telegraph company allowed women workers starting in 1858. The requirements for hiring women were practically the same as for men, and the grades from the qualification course indicate that women were even more qualified than their male colleagues. Women were still paid less, they had fewer opportunities for advancement, and if they did advance to a leadership position, their salary was even lower compared to men in the same position. A large number of women were hired and some advanced to leadership positions. Market mechanisms do thus not explain these gender differences in salary. Family roles and traditional thinking about the economic role of the family must have contributed to the formalization of employment of women telegraphists, according to Hagemann (2003, 203, 205). Women hired as teachers also earned less than their male colleagues, even when they were better qualified. Yet in general they taught the youngest children, which was considered less demanding (Hagemann 2005, 202). In 1860 it was not necessary to justify salary differences based on gender; it is only starting in the 1880s and 1890s that such differences are criticized to such an extent that justifications became necessary, according to Hagemann (2005, 203, 205).

The role of unions for women workers has also been studied in previous research. Unions had few women members in the nineteenth century. According to Hagemann, men used their organizational power to resist cheap, female labor. Those who were hostile to women's labor and women as members in the unions used arguments based on common gender conceptions, such as women's lack of strength, even for work that did not particularly demand physical strength (Hagemann 2005, 209).

To sum up this section and describe how I build on the research presented, the following quote by Hagemann is relevant to take into consideration: "The new gender division of labor was created through a discursive process, a new definition of the social reality, not through technological or structural forces."⁴² Hagemann has thus observed that there is a particular gender division of labor, which is new in the nineteenth century. We have seen that this division consists of several aspects; a separation arises between the economic sphere and the private home, which causes the bulk of women's labor, namely unpaid labor in the household, not to qualify as labor.

Furthermore, we have seen that women were employed in several sectors, but that they were systematically paid less than their male counterparts. Researchers have disagreed over whether the salary gap was a result of economic factors alone, or whether patriarchal mechanisms also influenced it. In either case, the question arises as to how the change in the status of women's work in the household was justified. Furthermore, why were women set to labor tasks that required fewer qualifications even when they were qualified, and why were they paid less than men when they did almost, or entirely, the same work? This gender division in labor necessarily relies on more general gender conceptions, which are created and shaped in discourse, as Hagemann also notes. By identifying gender discourse in the period, we can capture the discursive statements related to gender differences that contributed to the labor situation for women. The research presented in this section indicates that gender conceptions are articulated, transformed, and renegotiated in discourse related to labor.

⁴² My translation of the original: "Den nye kjønnsarbeidsdelingen ble først og fremst skapt gjennom en diskursiv prosess, en nydefinering av den sosiale virkeligheten, ikke gjennom teknologiske og strukturelle krefter" (Hagemann 2005, 211).

3.6 Scientific Development, Conception of Femininity, and Impact on Women's Life

According to the Danish professor of gender studies, Bente Rosenbeck, developments in medical science and biology are relevant for the perception of femininity that emerges in the nineteenth century (Rosenbeck 1987, 1992). With new knowledge regarding women's bodies, a distinct conception of femininity also appeared: "Medical science contributed to the emergence of a theory that the female reproductive capacity was the constituent element of femininity" (Rosenbeck 1987 44-47; 1992, 161). The motherly role gained significantly in esteem along with new knowledge of women's part in reproduction. Rosenbeck holds that biology also emerged as a discipline whose knowledge was mixed with social norms, and as she puts it: "I contend that biological determinism caused biology to be transformed into ideology. Thus the role of women in society was justified on the basis of a static view of biology" (Rosenbeck 1992, 161). She concludes that the development in science in the period created the foundation for a naturalization of femininity and also of the nineteenth-century bourgeois family (Rosenbeck 1987, 1992, cited in Hagemann 2005, 223-223).

Rosenbeck argues that biology and medical science gained an important position in society "because [medical science] could offer a way to combat illness and advance health because of its knowledge of hygiene" (1982, 162). Rosenbeck has analyzed relations between medical science and its knowledge of hygiene and women's reproductive organs, and the shaping of the conception of femininity. Women's role in reproduction and the wish to improve the quality of the population also became an argument for protecting women from activities that were physically and psychologically demanding, according to Rosenbeck (1987, 75-80). She refers to numerous scientists, particularly to the Danish gynecologist Frantz Howitz (1828-1912) who advocated for limiting the intellectual efforts of girls, since intense brain activity could supposedly damage their inner organs. Gynecology emerged as a medical field in the last half of the nineteenth century. We also saw that Elling Jensen has observed that similar studies were referred to in the debates on girls' and women's education in Norway, for instance the American doctor, Edward H. Clarke's *Sex in Education ; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls* from 1873.

According to Rosenbeck, with this development, the female body was transformed into a "professional and scientific field [that] contributed to the reproductive, child-bearing capacity of women becoming the fundamental destiny of femininity. Intellect as well as sexuality became

increasingly contradictory to reproductive functions and motherhood” (Rosenbeck 1992, 163). Regarding sexuality, Rosenbeck underscores that although woman’s sexual function was determining for femininity, she was not regarded as a sexual being. Instead it was imagined that her motherly instinct determined her sexual drive and she was encouraged to purify it. Furthermore, it was considered a passive drive, as opposed to men’s sexual drive, which was considered active (Rosenbeck 1987, 93-123; 1992, 163). Childcare and motherhood gained attention by the same rationale; hygiene and nutrition become important principles here as well in order to improve the quality of the population. Post-natal examinations were also introduced, and particularly meticulously performed on unmarried women, according to Rosenbeck (1987, 175). In a larger perspective, Rosenbeck contends that a transition from religion to science takes place in the last half of the nineteenth century in the influence over woman and women’s lives in which priests are replaced by doctors, so to speak; the sinful woman’s body is replaced by the ill woman’s body, and the fight against evil by the fight against bacteria (1987, 47-47; 1992, 10-12, 31-33). She adds, though, that her point is not to say that religion loses all authority. Instead scientific and religious ideologies operated together; the task for woman, as the housewife, becomes the ordered, clean home, where the food is nutritional, hygiene measures are taken, and moral deeds dominate (1992, 33). Rosenbeck insists on the power of the scientific narrative in relation to the emergence of the nursery (1987, 178-180). In Norway, however, the religious dimension has been more highlighted in relation to the emergence of the nursery, as we shall see below.

Hagemann has also studied hygiene practices and reproduction as aspects that attracted the attention of experts concerned with the quality of the population (Hagemann 2005, 189). With scientific inventions related to childbirth, reducing infant mortality became a priority. A law was implemented regarding the training and authorization of midwives. The old system based on traditions and local norms, in which unschooled women helped out during childbirth, was replaced by a system where publicly employed midwives took over the responsibility. There was, however, resistance against the new system. According to Hagemann, there was a cleavage between the educated elite from the cities and the local, traditional knowledge largely represented by women, known for their wisdom and healing power (2005, 189-190).

New findings and theories in medical science made woman a center of attention for more reasons than the reproductive and maternal aspect; research indicated that typical women’s work, such as cooking and cleaning was also vital for the quality of the population. Knowledge in the 1850s and

60s about the connections between illnesses and lifestyle made hygiene in the home a central concern with respect to the health of the population (Hagemann 2005, 187-188). Initiatives for improving women's knowledge of housekeeping and cooking as a part of a larger popular education project were implemented (Gjengedal 1995, cited in Hagemann 2005, 188). What had previously been women's sole domain became a domain of public attention; household literature emerged as a genre, with many works written by men. Some of them criticized women for not knowing how to cook properly. Furthermore, some popular educators accused women of ignorance and claimed that they lacked proper knowledge for raising and educating their daughters (Hagemann 2005, 188).

Doctors and popular educators were thus convinced that women's knowledge about their work in the home was scarce. Schools for educating women in housekeeping and cooking were founded in the 1860s. The Organization for the Promotion of Popular Education [Selskabet for Folkeopplysningens Fremme] created questionnaires in order to investigate the need for educating women in housekeeping. According to Hagemann, the collected material documents great interest in the subject (Hagemann 2005, 188) and led to a larger number of housekeeping schools (Løvskar 1975, Fuglerud 1980, cited in Hagemann 2005, 188). Sundt carried out studies of hygiene practices in Norway (Sundt 1869). He reached different conclusions, however, finding that women had a relatively high level of competence in housekeeping. He was not very enthusiastic about the housekeeping schools, which in his opinion could lead to an underestimation of women's work and knowledge (Sundt 1869; Hagemann 2005, 188.) Sundt was severely criticized for his work and his conclusions. Women and housekeeping were subjects of controversy in the 1860s in Norway. As, Hagemann puts it, this dispute shows the interest in women's work and its place in the struggle for a healthier population.

Positivist theories also contributed to new interest in biological and sexual subjects. For instance, the British doctor George Drysdale's theories about celibacy as unhealthy became, according to Iversen, important for the authors and activists who advocated for sexual liberty in the Modern Breakthrough debate (1988, 158). In that context Iversen finds the end of the nineteenth century ideal for studying the formation of a gender discourse (2013, 134/139). In my project I demonstrate that the formation of a gender discourse can be identified even earlier in the nineteenth century, and that the Modern Breakthrough can be understood as a continuation of this discourse.

3.7 Enlightenment Ideals and Gender Difference

In *The Structural transformation of the Public Sphere : an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Jürgen Habermas states: “With the emergence of early finance and trade capitalism, the elements of a new social order was taking shape” (Habermas 1989). The growth of the market economy together with Enlightenment ideals brought significant changes to European societies during the eighteenth century. Rationalism, freedom from traditional authorities, independent thinking and individual agency contribute to what Habermas terms a new bourgeois public sphere, or as Habermas phrases it: “With regard to the individual, this denoted a subjective maxim, namely: to think for oneself. With regard to humanity as a whole, it denoted an objective tendency, progress toward a perfectly just order. In both cases enlightenment had to be mediated by the public sphere” (Habermas 1989, 104). If we follow Habermas, the question arises as to where this leaves woman, regarding access to the public sphere and enlightenment so that she can “think for herself.”

Habermas specifies the concept of the bourgeois public sphere further in the following passage:

The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people coming together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor (Habermas 1989, 27).

This bourgeois public sphere and the discourse of modernity must be understood in relation to the rationale of the private economy and the right to property, according to Habermas. The concept of an independent human being, capable of critical judgement, was closely tied to practical autonomy and property ownership; the tightness of this relationship is elaborated on in, for instance John Locke’s political philosophy in “Second Treatise of Government” (Locke 1988 [1689]). In other words, the very idea of the modern individual is inseparably linked to the realm of the private economy. In the start of the period I study, we have seen that women scarcely had any civil rights. It thus follows from this theory that women were already excluded from the part of humanity that was destined—through the public sphere—both to become enlightened and to contribute to further enlightenment in society.

This perspective explains in part why the first legal reforms that extended civil rights to women were primarily a result of economic interests and not of women working for their emancipation.

Since women had little place in the public sphere, they had few opportunities to negotiate their position. On the other hand, two aspects of the public sphere might also have mobilized women to enter public discourse in order to negotiate their place in society. Firstly, when reforms were passed that little by little accorded women rights to engage in commerce, to inherit, and to hold legal majority status, they met some of the criteria described above in terms of practical autonomy and property ownership. Furthermore, we have seen that gender, gender difference, the nature of human beings, and also specifically woman's nature, grow in intensity and frequency in public discourse during the period. In this context, we see a mobilizing factor for women to accessing discourse and thus enlarge their *place in society*. We can also say that a part of their *place* becomes the opportunity to negotiate and shape their place in society.

One of the core thoughts in modernity inherited from the Enlightenment paradigm and natural law, is that all men are born equal in the sense that they are born free. Yet one subject of controversy was the question of whether "all men" included women or not. Some have claimed that actions such as stressing the equality ideal and working first of all for the achievement of equal opportunities for all people contributed to a sub-discourse of the modernity discourse, namely an equality discourse. Such a discourse of equality, in the anthropologist Jorun Solheim's terms could have won terrain, but remained marginal, mainly because of another idea that became dominant in the discourse of modernity: the idea of natural gender difference (Solheim 2005, 390). The gender discourse this idea gives birth to, according to Solheim, comes into being together with what Richard Sennett labels "the discovery of the family" (Sennett 1992). The idea of human nature as something that has to be carefully fostered from the beginning of life is a core thought. The child is as a consequence placed at the center of attention, and so is the importance and idealization of motherhood. Connected to this emphasis on motherhood is the idea of the feminine as specially adapted for caring and the cultivation of softness and peacefulness.

3.8 Woman and Religion

Although historians have observed that women to a large extent were excluded from the public sphere in the period, the church and religious practices in congregational life were still accessible to them. Christian faith and devotion had been an important part of women's life through the pietism of the eighteenth century (Sogner 1996, cited in Hagemann 2005, 231). In the new century this

tradition continued. Women gained a special responsibility for morality and Christian faith, which corresponded to the division that was established between the intimate family and the secular public, according to Hagemann (2005, 231). The Norwegian historian of religion, Jeanette Sky (2007) has a similar analysis. According to Sky, advancements in medical science together with popular conceptions led to an idea of woman as asexual, moral, sensitive, and fragile (2007, 21). This conception of woman made her a moral ideal and her place became attached to the home, continues Sky, and she states that in this process religion was feminized: “women were conceived of as more irrational and sensitive than men, but also more spiritual, whereas men were attached to the public sphere, to rationality, but also to an animal nature” (Sky 2007, 52). Sky refers to studies of gospel texts from the period that establish that there was a notion that young men, in order to become good Christians, had to repress the “dark side” of their masculinity. The motherly influence was considered crucial for their religious development (Sky 2007, 52). Hagemann and Sky’s observations are relevant for my question regarding the mobilizing factors for speaking about women in religious contexts.

Women’s position in church and congregational life was, however, not uniform. On the one hand the church was an organization that unambiguously underscored women’s subjection to men and ordered them to show obedience. A formalized gender hierarchy and system of gender segregation was part of the constitution of the public church (Hirdmann 1988, cited in Hagemann 2005, 232). Women had no formal authority. On the other hand, women were included in congregational life and the social sphere of the church (Hagemann 2005, 232). Although congregational social life to a large extent was divided into a women and a men’s sphere, the church was a space where the presence of women was sanctified. Women were included in congregational associations, and specific women’s congregational associations emerged in the 1840s (Hagemann 2005, 232).

There were great varieties in Norway in the nineteenth century with respect to women’s position in church. The conservative high church theology underscored women’s obedience and subjection. Nor was much freedom accorded to woman in the low church lay movement in the western part of Norway, where preaching was a central component. In the mission movement in the Eastern part of the country, however, women had an active role (Klokkesund 1986, cited in Hagemann 2005, 232). The Norwegian lay preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge, started a significant religious movement in Norway in 1797, which is often referred to as “den haugianske veknelsen” [the Haugian

awakening]. Hauge challenged traditional gender divisions on several levels, notably promoting women working in the agriculture, as artisans, and as preachers, and men producing clothes (Fiske 1980, Hagemann 2005, 233-234). A large number of influential women were encouraged to use their capacities in the Haugian movement (Furseth 1998, Hagemann 2005, 234). Women were also active in later revival movements in the 1850s, 60s, and 70s. They stimulated women from different social backgrounds to join the movement, and to write psalms and edifying literature. Women were a large part of the spiritual power of these revival movements (Furre 1990, Hagemann 2005, 234). Women were, however, not as independent in these movements compared to the Haugian revival movement (Gilje 1996, Hagemann 2005, 235). Between the 1840s and 1860s there are also five documented examples within Lutheran popular revival movements of women with ostensible visionary power [synepiger/seersker]. These women claimed to have mystical experiences with God, and gained followers, informal position as preachers, and influence in their communities (Seland 2012). Such practices were, however, not widespread.

In general, there was an important difference between women's opportunities in religious contexts where preaching was the dominant practice compared to those in which Christian missionary work was accentuated. According to Hagemann, women's historians have focused on antifeminism in conservative theology in their studies of women's emancipation in the period. The historical development of women's emancipation has been analyzed as a movement marked by the notion of a liberating ideology of equality on the one hand, and a conservative and dichotomous way of thinking on the other (2005, 237). This is, however, an overly simplified presentation, according to Hagemann. As she points out, the Lutheran ethics of a calling [kallsetikk] did not only impel obedience; the believers were in fact obliged to follow their calling in life, even if it transgressed social conventions (Hagemann 2005, 232). The Swedish historian, Inger Hammer has accused scholarly consensus on women's history in the nineteenth century of having been blind to religion. Hammer has emphasized the emancipatory power in the Lutheran idea of the calling (Hammer 1996/1998, cited in Hagemann 2005, 232).

The very first women's associations in Norway were missionary associations [misjonsforeninger]. Although hers was not the very first women's association, Gustava Kielland, is called the mother of women's associations [kvinneforeningens mor] for the association she created in Lyngdal in 1844 (Norseth 2007, 41-42). She has described the association in her memoir, *Erindringer fra eget liv*

[1899](1996) [Reminiscences from my own Life]. Women's missionary associations sent money and needlework to the national missionary organizations. Women thus gained economic importance through the activity of these organizations. According to Norwegian theologian, Kristin Norseth, these women's associations interrogated gender difference and its importance in religious contexts. These associations were recognized as part of the national organizational life. They were also indirectly involved in church politics, although they did not have formal representatives in decision-making organs (Norseth 2007, 72). Norseth has also traced a debate in the 1860s among religious men in relation to women's associations. The debate concerned a defining matter, namely whether the women's associations were of a public or private nature. Relevant for the debate was the modern conception of religious faith as an individual matter and the notion of a women's place being outside of the public sphere. Women's active participation in the associations testified to their personal faith, which was considered a good. The associations were still considered unnatural and potentially damaging, however, if they were of a public, rather than private nature. The more convincing the arguments were for these associations being primarily an extension of the private sphere, and thus women's domain, the less controversial these associations were. Utility arguments were also of importance; these associations contributed to good causes in collecting money for foreign missionary activity and in saving souls through their quiet [stille] (rather than preaching [forkynnende]), edifying practice. Middle class women dominated the women's associations, although women from higher and lower social classes also participated to a certain extent. Married and unmarried women participated, but the number of unmarried women decreased during the last decades of the nineteenth century (Norseth 2007, 72-84).

A great number of women's organizational activities throughout the nineteenth century were based on religious faith and legitimized in the theology and ideology of the church. Furthermore, inspired by the ethics of the calling and a Romantic notion of gender complementarity, women joined social welfare associations (Hagemann 2005, 235). These women's activities are both precursors to and allies with social justice politics (Seip 1984, 1991; Vammen 1994; Hagemann 2005, 235). Women collected money in order to finance shelters for orphan children and provide other forms of care for the poor and disadvantaged.

An important example in Norway of this movement was the nurse, educator, and deaconess, Catinka Guldberg's founding of the Norwegian Deaconess Order in 1866. The deaconesses became

the first professional nurses and welfare workers and they founded several institutions, such as nursery schools. In 1859 the alcohol abstinence society was founded in Norway. Women were active members on the same premises as men and came to be crucial for the economy of the society (Foldøy 1982, Hagemann 2005, 236). In 1880 women lost the right to vote in the organization, and they protested by organizing fewer bazaars, and thus decreasing its income; as a result, women regained the right to vote. Economic interests were the immediate reason for why they regained the right to vote, but it is likely that women's resistance is also associated with processes of subjectification, implying a growing sense of community and consciousness of women's rights. In the 1880s other organizations and initiatives emerged, such as work against prostitution and social work with the purpose of helping prostitutes, and the Salvation Army that accorded equality between its soldiers regardless of gender. Women's place in society is thus challenged and expanded with these activities starting in the 1840s.

We have seen that previous research has identified a rather prominent place for women in congregational life, whereas there is much less space for women in relation to preaching. Although there were differences between the churches and the place women was accorded, this was the general tendency.

Writing in 2005, Hagemann points out that no systematic inquiries have yet been done in Norwegian women's history on the relation between religious discourse and the demands for legal reforms for women, but the studies that do exist indicate that the connection between religious discourse and demands for legal reforms for women can have been stronger than so far assumed (Hagemann 2005, 237). We have seen that Norseth's study from 2007 indicates that there were women with informal authority and influence in religious settings, but that women had little formal authority. A systematic understanding of this on a discursive level, however, has not been carried out to my knowledge. In my data set, a large number of passages have been captured in religious texts. My material has given me the opportunity to examine whether there was such relations between religious movements and legal reforms for women, and—as I elaborate on in chapter six—no such connections are identified.

3.9 The Women's Movement and Ideas of Women's Emancipation

The women's movement was not founded on an organizational level in Norway before 1884. Nonetheless, the origins of the movement can certainly be traced much further back in history. In Gro Hagemann's work on the history of the women's movement, she claims: "The woman's cause had its source in an ideology oriented towards the individual and based on equality."⁴³ Hagemann implies that the woman's movement was based on the idea that every woman should have the same rights as men to liberate themselves as individuals. The perception of what it entailed for a woman to become a citizen and free individual, how this should happen, and what the main objective of such a process should be, diverged. It was a source of disagreement and debate among activists. Women in the nineteenth century emphasized a specific female essence. Rosenbeck has also observed that the "politics of motherhood," was not limited to the scientific community, but that a part of the women's movement was based on it as well (1992, 174).

The gender discourse I have identified enunciates freedom for women in relation to conceptions of natural femininity and woman's moral function, not in relation to equality. As I show in the next chapter, the four women writers I have chosen to integrate in this project represent many ideas related to women's emancipation. I will therefore not elaborate more on these ideas in this section. The following chapter is dedicated to a presentation of these writers and a justification for this particular selection of women writers in my project. Before passing on to Bremer, Sand, Collett, and Hansteen, let us recall the principal information that the research I have reviewed in this chapter has established.

3.10 Summary

We have seen that for the majority of women in Norway in the nineteenth century the home is the place where they perform their function and labor. A growing minority of women have paid labor outside of the home. They work as teachers, telegraphists, textile workers, artisans, or prostitutes, among other things. Education is improved for all children during the century. From the 1850s to the 1870s, it becomes more segregated by gender in several ways. Even if the education for girls

⁴³ My translation of the original: "Kvinnesaken hadde sitt utgangspunkt i en individbasert ideologi basert på likhet" (Hagemann 2003, 138)

improved and a growing number of women worked outside of the home, the separation between the respective domains of men and women is increasingly underscored. More categories of men become citizens and were increasingly active in the public sphere, whereas women's place was increasingly associated with the private sphere through discourse. We have seen that scientific findings, economic-liberalistic ideology, and traditional and religious gender conceptions contribute to this development. At the same time, however, new economic concerns as a result of changes in production and demographic processes, liberalistic thought on the individual's natural rights, an emerging women's movement, and Christian missionary practice and theology of the calling, all expand women's scope and opportunities.

As I have stated in chapter one, I consider someone's *place in society* as a moral trope that is established and negotiated in discourse. The reviewed research indicates that women's *place* is to a large extent defined as excluded from public discourse. Nevertheless, if there are numerous enunciations on woman's nature and function in the period, this means that these are negotiable discursive phenomena. I believe this negotiable space entails that women become discourse producers with the publication of texts on woman and gender.

Chapter 4 Four Women Writers

I have selected four women writers to whom I dedicate a specific study. These are Swedish writer Fredrika Bremer (1801-1865), French writer George Sand (1804-1876), and the Norwegian writers Camilla Collett (1813-1895) and Aasta Hansteen (1825-1913). A feature these four writers have in common is that they wrote about woman and gender and challenged the gender norms of their time in their writing. I analyze how they speak about woman and gender in selected texts. These texts have a privileged place in my methodological approach; they serve as objects for identifying gender discourse and for the study of women's access to gender discourse. As explained in chapters one and two, topics from each of these texts have been applied to the Digital Bookshelf. In other words, I have used the data-mining technique sub-corpus topic modeling, which entails generating topics from sub-corpora consisting of these texts, in order to identify documents that contain these topics in the target corpus of the Digital Bookshelf. I have developed these topics so that they can capture a multiplicity of ways of speaking about woman and gender in the period. Finally, I compare the regularity of ways of speaking in the documents identified in the target corpus with the ways of speaking in the selected texts by these four women writers.

In this chapter I explain my reasons for choosing these writers. I will also give a presentation of each of them with biographical information about their position as writers and engagement in women's place in society. I present information on their background that I find relevant in order to understand how writing became possible for them and what mobilized them to access discourse, such as antecedents, education, encounters, and historical events. The idea is to study these works as part of discourse, not to propose an interpretation of the selected works by these women in the light of their life story. In order to avoid having this kind of effect stay with the reader, I present the selected works in detail separately, in the next chapter. The writers themselves as historical figures are, however, not without importance. It is relevant to ask what status was required to be the subject of a discursive statement, so certain factors related to these writers' position are pertinent. Furthermore, these texts were not detached from their authors in their own time. Instead, in the discourse the author has a rather important function in explaining the works, as we will see.

4.1. Why a Swedish, a French, and two Norwegian Women Writers in a Study of Gender Discourse in Norway?

A question that needs to be answered is why I have selected these specific women writers, why these four among the much greater number of women writers that wrote about woman and gender? As many as twelve Norwegian women debuted as writers in the period. Not all wrote specifically on woman and gender, but some did, such as Magdalene Thoresen. Furthermore, as I do not limit myself to Norwegian women writers, potential candidates to be included in my corpus, are far more numerous.

Let us, however, start with the Norwegian Camilla Collett. There are numerous studies of Collett as a writer who challenges established gender roles, in particular of her novel, *The District Governor's Daughters*. This extensive amount of previous research could have been an argument for not including her here. The unique opportunities for producing knowledge that come with the methodology I employ, however, justify the inclusion of Collett's texts. *The District Governor's Daughters* is considered the first Norwegian modern novel. Collett's criticism of gender roles in romantic relationships between man and woman in *The District Governor's Daughters*, caused the Norwegian activist and writer, Anna Caspari Agerholdt to sum up Collett's influence by calling her the "spiritual origin of the Norwegian women's movement" [den norske kvinnefrigjørelses åndelige opphav] (1937, 9). Collett is without doubt an important writer, perhaps the most important in Norway in the period, 1830-1880, in terms of being a woman who writes about woman and gender.

In Norwegian literary critic, Tone Selboe's work on Camilla Collett, she identifies writers that Collett read and commented in her letters, essays, etc. (2013). Two recurrent names that were active in Collett's lifetime are Fredrika Bremer and George Sand. Sand had an explicit and considerable impact on Collett's criticism of traditional gender roles (Jæger 1878, Tschudi 1885). As her essays and letters reveal, Bremer's analysis of women's place in society was also important for Collett. That Sand and Bremer were important for Collett is, however, not the only reason for including them in my analysis. One could even object against my selection that if Bremer and Sand were important for Collett, their ways of writing about woman and gender are perhaps rather similar and that it would be better to choose women writers more distanced from Collett in order to ensure

diversity in ways of speaking about woman and gender in the period. Collett, Sand, and Bremer are, however, three very different writers and their engagement in woman and gender also differ. Collett's style and contributions to the gender debate and ways of challenging gender conceptions, shows that she, like the two others, was an independent writer.

I want to avoid methodological nationalism, which is a direct reason for including these non-Norwegian women writers in my analysis. International voices also contributed to debates in Norway regarding woman and gender. Not only an enlightened reader like Collett was familiar with women writers from other countries.

Bremer started to publish in her own name early. She had an article in the Norwegian newspaper *Den Constitutionelle* in 1844, where she elaborates on women's function in society. The Digital Bookshelf database confirms that she was mentioned on multiple occasions in the Norwegian press. Bremer's Christian faith and theological viewpoints are central elements in her reasoning about woman's nature and function. In a time where conceptions of a natural gender order instilled by God and for the best for humanity still had a predominant position, Bremer's religiously grounded way of arguing for an expansion of women's *place* probably facilitated her access to the Norwegian public sphere.

On several occasions Bremer visited Norway. She had good knowledge of and interest in Norwegian society. She was specifically interested in women's conditions in Norway, on which she consulted with the writer Henrik Wergeland in 1840 when doing research for a book (Paasche 1932). This probably refers to the book *Strid och frid eller några scener i Norge* (1840) [Struggle and Peace or some Scenes from Norway]. Finally, Bremer's view on the woman question in society was not static during her lifetime. She becomes more progressive in her thinking during the 1840s and 50s, and more severe in her political engagement. This development probably explains why Bremer has a similar status in Sweden as Collett in Norway, namely as the pioneer for the Swedish women's movement (Westmann Berg 1971).

The reception of Bremer in Norway, her connection to and knowledge of the country, the strong grounding in religion that underpinned her reasoning on women's place in society, and her importance for the women's movement in Norway's neighbor and union partner, Sweden, are all good reasons for including her among the women writers examined in this study. The French

George Sand's place in the same category might seem more dubious. While there is little reason to think that Sand had any particular knowledge of or connection to Norway, Sand's reception in Norway, however, leaves no doubt as to her influence (Karlsen 2020). The Norwegian literary historian, Henrik Jæger, was the first to write an extensive article on Collett, in which he attributes a central role to Sand in Collett's engagement for women's emancipation (Jæger 1878, 219). He sees in Sand's two first novels, not only an influence, but goes as far as to argue that these texts are the origin of Collett's consciousness and engagement in women's emancipation (Karlsen 2019). His appreciation is based on his reading of Collett's correspondence and essays. Collett does in fact express on various occasions her admiration for Sand and describes the impact Sand has had on her (Collett 1893, 116-117; 1933, 34-35), although she also corrects Jæger for certain mistakes (Collett 1879, 161).

The discussion of Sand's impact on Collett in terms of her engagement in women's emancipation, gains importance when we take into account Caspari Agerholdt's description of Collett as "the spiritual origin" of the women's movement in Norway (1937). The idea of an explicit link between Sand and the Norwegian feminist movement appears to have been widespread. In a work on the Norwegian women's movement written in 1885, when the movement was already established formally and its emergence could more completely be analyzed, Sand is given a prominent place in terms of influence (Tschudi 1885). As I have analyzed in the article "Le mouvement des femmes en Norvège au XIXème siècle avait-il besoin de George Sand pour sortir de son silence?," the ways of speaking of Sand and her influence, must be considered in relation to a discursive function of the author in the period.

The Norwegian Aasta Hansteen is a prominent figure in the women's movement, but less known as a writer. Hansteen's polemic articles in the press deserve more attention than scholars so far have given them. In 1870 she published a series of articles in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* where she defends John Stuart Mill's ideas in *The Subjection of Women* (1869). Her articles contribute to an important debate that mobilized several women to write articles in the press. I study Hansteen's articles as examples of women's access to gender discourse through writing in newspapers. Her articles are meticulously written and her way of arguing is modern for its time. She presents and defends controversial viewpoints, in a diplomatic and subtle manner.

Her ways of proceeding as a feminist writer and activist were, however, not consistent. In the articles in *Dagbladet* in 1870, Hansteen goes far in arguing that gender differences are socially created. In other contexts, however, she argues in favor of an idea of a natural gender difference, often with an insistence on woman's superiority. From arguing in some contexts in a rigorously rational manner where God seems to have little place, she also wrote *Kvinden - skabt i Guds Billede* (1878) [Woman Created in God's Image] where she conducts a feminist theological argument for why women should have the same rights as men. Furthermore, Hansteen was the first woman to give public talks on questions related to woman and gender. She thus challenged women's position in multiple ways. She also experienced negative reactions to her manner of taking up space, which caused her to emigrate to the United States for a period. I have thus included Hansteen in my analysis because she constitutes an example of access to gender discourse through the writing of newspaper articles and because of the diversity in her ways of proceeding.

We pass now on to a presentation of these writers. I present them in chronological order based on their year of birth.

4.2 Fredrika Bremer: Women and the Wisdom of the Good

Bremer was born in 1801 in Pikis in Finland as one of seven siblings. Her family can be traced back to German immigrants from Bremen and to Västerås in Sweden. Her grandfather moved from Sweden to Finland. Fredrika Bremer's parents were both born in Finland but moved to Stockholm in 1805. Her father was a successful businessman and known as authoritarian, or even despotic (Westman Berg 1971). In addition to a prominent residence in Stockholm, they also possessed a chateau outside the capital where they spent the summers. The family went on a voyage, a "bildningsresa" [Grand Tour] between 1821 and 1823, where the purpose was learning languages and continental culture for the children. They spent most of this time in Paris. Back in Stockholm, Fredrika frequented the social life [sällskapsliv] of the city. She preferred, however, to pass her time at the family's chateau, as she had during her childhood (Petersen 1892). She developed her writing skills, studied nature, drew, and her religious conviction and calling drove her to care for the poor and disadvantaged. She lived at the family's chateau and also stayed for longer periods at the residence of a duchess at Tomb in Norway starting in the late 1820s. Bremer developed a correspondence with Per Johan Böklin, who was the priest, pedagogue, and headmaster at the secondary school she attended in 1831. With Böklin, she discussed philosophical and religious

questions. He proposed to her on several occasions. Bremer declined each time. They continued their correspondence even after Böklin married in 1835. Bremer never married nor had children. In 1840, she applied to the King in order to obtain legal majority and her application was approved.

Bremer started publishing novels at the end of the 1820s. Her debut, the trilogy *Teckningar utur hvardagslifvet* (1828-1831) [Sketches of Everyday Life] was well received. She had success with her family novels in the 1830s, featuring female protagonists who testified to the conditions for women in bourgeois homes (Holm 1987, 11). Her novels were popular in her own country, as well as abroad. Starting in the 1840s, Bremer became more radical, and her ideas of woman's emancipation start to appear in her fiction after a stay in the US (1849-51) (Arping 2016, IX). Many of Bremer's books were translated into English and German, and some into other languages as well. One of her most praised novels from the early phase of her career is *Grannarne* (1837) [The Neighbours]. Among her early intellectual references and sources for inspiration were the British epistolary novel, Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism, Friedrich Schiller, Johann Gottfried Herder, and later also Goethe.

In 1844 Bremer published an article in the Norwegian newspaper *Den Constitutionelle*, "Til Sveriges Qvinder."⁴⁴ In this text she embraced motherhood and encouraged women to let what she refers to as the *moderlige* [motherly] go beyond the family unit in order to take care of the poor and disadvantaged as "mothers of the nation." Bremer justified this vision of what women should devote themselves to on religious grounds: since a worldly woman gave birth to Christ, the motherly has been blessed by God. The value of the feminine, as the motherly, should therefore also be strengthened on earth. She specifies the motherly as a quality and disposition that should transcend the function of the biological mother and the family unit. Thus, her access to discourse includes a negotiation of women's place in society; she enters the public sphere through her writing and she specifies that woman, as Mother, has a place in society outside of the private home. It might be tempting to make a point out of the fact that Bremer herself never became a mother; yet there may have been many reasons for this, and it is, in my opinion, beside the point. Bremer founded organizations in Stockholm for the care of children and for supporting the disadvantaged in society, and she also worked as a children's teacher, so in this sense Bremer can be considered a "motherly woman," in the way she defines the term.

⁴⁴ <http://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/90010e8269ccdbbd4d2d6dcefd958da7.nbdigital?lang=no#0> Bremer published originally her text in the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* 20 December 1843.

One of the recurrent topics in Bremer's work is the situation of women in society. This includes the question of legal majority for women, particularly in the novel *Hertha eller "En själs historia" Teckning ur det verkliga livet* [Hertha or "A soul's history" Description from real life] (Arping 2016, IX; Holm 1987, 10; Wieselgren 1987, 95-113). While earlier works marked her relevance for the feminist cause in Sweden, it was with the 1856 work *Hertha* that Bremer became a pioneer, according to the Swedish literary critic, Karin Westman Berg (1971). At the publication of *Hertha*, a decade had passed since Bremer's article in *Den Constitutionelle*, and her personal position regarding women and what an enhancement of the feminine implied had undergone a transformation.

In her introduction to the 1971 edition of *Hertha*, Karin Westman Berg describes the novel the following way: "Her [Bremer's] vital combative text has become a manual of revolt for rebellion against gender roles by both men and women."⁴⁵ In Bremer's earlier novels the home has positive connotations. In *Hertha*, however, this idealization is dismantled (Westman Berg 1971, 13). *Hertha* reveals patriarchal oppression in the home and advocates for a woman's right to, for example, an education, work, and inheritance. In the introduction to the critical edition of *Hertha* from 2016, literary critic Åsa Arping highlights that a woman's right to legal majority is an important subject in the novel: "Behind Hertha's religious interrogations, her doubts about marriage, and her obvious disdain for bigoted small-town life, there is an up-to-date controversial issue: unmarried women's right to legal majority, a reform that eventually became reality a few years after the novel's publication."⁴⁶ There have been debates among scholars as to whether the novel had a direct impact on the reforms to the right of legal majority for women in Sweden in 1858 and 1863.⁴⁷ With regard to Hertha's reception, literary critic Gunnel Furuland demonstrates in her part of the introduction to the critical edition of *Hertha* that the novel provoked strong reactions. These reactions were not, however, primarily related to the question of women's legal majority in the novel, but to the novel's view on woman's religious calling and total emancipation in all the functions of society, according to Furuland (2016, XXXVI).

⁴⁵ My translation of the original: "Hennes [Bremers] vitala angreppsskrift har blivit en unik revolthandbok för båda mäns och kvinnors uppror mot könsrollerna" (1971, 19).

⁴⁶ My translation of the original: "bakom Herthas religiösa tvivel, hennes tvekan inför äktenskapet och hennes uppenbara förakt för det bigotta småstadslivet finns en vid tiden dagsaktuell stridsfråga: ogift kvinnas rätt till myndighet, en reform som till sist blev verklighet några år efter romanens publicering" (2016, IX).

⁴⁷ See for instance Furuland 2016; Wieselgren 1987; Qvist 1969.

The female protagonist, Hertha, is modelled on Bremer herself; much of the later Bremer's feminist position are reflected in the character Hertha (Westman Berg, 1971, 17). The full title of the novel also refers to Bremer herself: "Hertha is a piece of my own soul's history, but of a more combative character than one is used to seeing in me."⁴⁸ It is well documented that Bremer revised her own feminist position after attending Women's Rights Conventions in the US in the 1850s (see Arping, 2016, XIV-XV; Westman Berg 1971, 12). She seems to have realized that she up until then had idealized motherhood as women's purpose at the expense of the broader fight for the emancipation of women. The accentuation of notions such as education, wisdom, and the realization of the individual's potential in the later Bremer (the author of *Hertha*), indicates that Bremer's conception of woman and femininity has gone through a shift.

Bremer's texts are intimately related to Christian faith throughout her career. The predominant religious foundation for her vision of women's potential in society does not, however, preclude the presence of romanticist, enlightenment and humanist influences in her reasoning. Bremer's belief in the use of her intellect as a means of improving society by enlightening other people, as well as her faith in exemplary education as a way to foster wisdom and the fulfillment of each individual's potential, is a clear demonstration of Enlightenment influences on her thinking.

I have selected the works "Til Sveriges Qvinder" and *Hertha* for further study. Bremer's essay "Til Sveriges Qvinder" is preceded by a short introduction in *Den Constitutionelle*:

Bremer [is] a lady, who [...] for a long time has been her nation's and her own gender's honor [...] [W]hat effect a language of the heart like this has had on Swedish women [...] what effect it will have in its present Norwegian form, is also unknown, but God will not let it pass without blessing [...] Also here [in Norway] we have a shelter [...] and it strongly needs both public and private support for it to live up to its name.⁴⁹

We see that the editors of this periodical value Bremer's encouragement of women and her impact for her gender and nation in positive terms.

⁴⁸ My translation of the original: "Hertha är ett stycke ur min egen själs historia, men av en mer stridbar karaktär än man är vand att se av mig" (cited in Westman Berg 1971).

⁴⁹ My translation of the original: "Bremer [er] en dame, som [...] allerede længe har været sin Nations og sit eget kjøns Ære [...] Hvad Virkning et Hjertesprog som dette har frembragt paa de svenske Qvinder [...] hvad Virkning det i norsk Dragt vil gjøre her, er og ligesaa skjult, men Gud vil ikke lade det uden Velsignelse [...] Ogsaa her vi have en Redningsanstalt [...] og den trenger høilig baade til offentlig og privat Understøttelse, for at kunne svare til sit Navn."

Regarding her literary work in general, the poet and historian of art and literature, Lorentz Dietrichson, discusses it in his *Indledning i Studiet af Sveriges Literatur i vort Aarhundrede* [Introduction to the Study of Swedish literature for our Century], written for Norwegian and Danish readers (1862). He finds numerous signs of high quality in her novels, a youthful, warm feeling, pious religiosity, and sharp descriptions of the characters' specificities (1862, 148). He states, however, that she does not reach man's strength and mastery of the world in which the poet dominates [Mandens Styrke og Herredømme over den Verden, hvori Digteren hersker], and in her later works he finds that her "social mission" [sociale Mission] reduced the quality of her work (1862, 148).

The writer of *Nordiske Digtere i vort Aarhundrede: en skandinavisk Anthologi med Biographier og Portraiter af danske, norske og svenske Digtere* [Scandinavian Poets in our Century: A Scandinavian Anthology with Biographies and Portraits of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Poets], P. Hansen, evaluates Bremer's literature in similar terms. He finds in her literature a vivid tone, an attractive naivety, a warm feeling. Furthermore, she has, in his opinion, a good eye for the specificities of her characters, although it is not very profound, and a gift for bringing the characters into well constructed situations. Like Dietrichson, he is more negative towards her later work. The question of women's pursuit [fremadstræben] of men's position in social life becomes, according to Hansen, prevalent to a level that damages the harmony and clarity of her poetry (1870, 271-272). The professor of history and literature, Johannes Scherr, in his *Almindelig Literaturhistorie: en Haandbog* [General History of Literature: a Handbook] also finds her early work delightful, but criticizes her for using poetry as a means for fighting for woman's equality [Kvindens Ret til Ligestilling med Manden] in her later work (1876, 481). Both Scherr and Hansen attribute Bremer's strong focus on women's position and rights to Bremer's suffering during her childhood; Bremer grew up in a home with little love, a particularly strict treatment of girls, and punishment because she was not able to live up to the standards of respectable behavior for girls.

Collett too, in her collection of articles *Siste Blade* [Final Pages] comments on Bremer's childhood. She does not attribute her engagement in women's place in society to her childhood but observes in Bremer's descriptions of her childhood conditions that girls and women still faced (1933 [1873], 347-348). Collett returns to Bremer on numerous occasions. In the collection of articles *Fra de Stummes Leir* [From the Camp of the Mutes], she states that Sweden is at the forefront in Scandinavia in terms of the women's movement. Even before the question of women's

emancipation had a name, it had, according to Collett, a representative in Fredrika Bremer (1877, 216). In a Norwegian book on the feminist movement, the author, writer and feminist Clara Tschudi, also affirms Bremer's leading engagement for women's emancipation in Scandinavia. Before the idea of women's emancipation had supporters in Norway, Bremer was its spokesperson according to Tschudi (1885, 29-30). Tschudi also comments on the reception of *Hertha*, which generated debate in the Swedish press, pointing out that Bremer herself admitted that *Hertha* had its problems in terms of literary qualities, but in a private letter written shortly before her death ostensibly expressed that she was happy to have sacrificed her popularity for her life task (although Tschudi cannot confirm with certainty that this took place).⁵⁰

In the sub-corpus topics modeling based on Bremer's works, these two texts comprise my sub-corpora.

4.3 George Sand

Aurore Dupin was born in Paris in 1804. Her father was a descendant of a Sachsen born king of Poland, whereas her mother was the daughter of a bird-seller in Paris. She has thus both aristocratic and common antecedents. Aurore Dupin spent the first three year of her life in Paris. In 1808, she and her mother joined Aurore Dupin's father who was stationed at a military garrison in Madrid. Political events caused them to return to France later the same year, this time to Aurore Dupin's paternal grandmother's residence, Nohant, in the department Indre. Her little brother died shortly after the voyage back to France, and a few days later, her father also died. Aurore Dupin grew up in Nohant, educated by her paternal grandmother, whom she describes as one of the "enlightened aristocrats of her time" (Barry 1979, 13-14). Rousseau, Chateaubriand, Leibniz, Virgil, Montaigne, and Shakespeare are a few of the thinkers and poets to whom she was introduced at Nohant and who became important to her (Sand 1855; Barry 1978; Perrot 2018). Her grandmother died in 1821, and the year after she married the royal court lawyer, Casimir Dudevant. They lived together at Nohant and Aurore Dudevant gave birth to a son in 1823 and to a daughter in 1828. Their marriage was, however, not filled with love, and they lived more and more separately until the final separation in 1835 (Barry 1978; Perrot 2018).

⁵⁰ I have got my data for the analysis of Bremer's reception from previous research and by using collocation and concordance analyses of documents in the Digital Bookshelf, as well as manual searches in the database.

From 1830 Aurore Dudevant started to live for extended periods of time in Paris, with the consent of her husband. She had met the Paris-based writer Jules Sandeau. They wrote together in the beginning of the 1830s. Her first work was a co-publication with Sandeau. With her publication of *Indiana* in 1832, Dudevant “became” George Sand, her lifelong pseudonym. Sand wrote more than sixty novels, in addition to plays, short stories, articles and more. *Indiana* was immediately celebrated, notably as a novel that had “‘all the qualities of the modern school,’ the solidity of the intrigue, just observations, precise psychological analyses” (Reid 2018).⁵¹ Professor in literature, Martine Reid, claims that no man or woman before Sand, perhaps with the exception of Germaine de Staël, understood and represented the question of gender difference as precisely as she did (2018). Everywhere in Sand’s oeuvre, Reid continues, the insupportable character of the gender difference that Sand had experienced informs the relationships between characters. Freedom and equality, states Reid, are two key notions for Sand’s work as well as in her private life. Sand founded literary revues, engaged in political debates, and struggled to become economically independent. She also often dressed as a man, frequented arenas where women were not allowed, and had lovers. Along with equality between the sexes, she advocated for equality between people in general, be it aristocrats, farmers, proletarians, etc., evoking her own background, which was a mixture of aristocratic and petite bourgeois antecedents. Her socialist and feminist ideas are present in her writing as well as through her engagement in public life (Reid 2018).

Sand critiqued the political situation in her country in articles and in the numerous letters she wrote.⁵² She judged severely the political development that followed the revolution of 1848 in France. Internal disagreements in the provisory government that had been put in place resulted in tensions and the reversal of reforms that the revolutionists had fought for. The same spring of 1848 Sand refused to support the feminists who demanded women’s suffrage. Sand’s refusal to be included in their list of candidates for deputy provoked strong reactions. She did not believe that women should have the right to be elected for the national assembly. Sand claimed that before women could gain political rights, they should first be granted civil rights (Nesci 2018). Women had to become autonomous individuals before they could become citizens, she maintained. In Sand’s opinion, one of the things that had to be changed regarding women’s conditions before society was

⁵¹ My translation of the original: “‘toutes les qualités de l’école moderne,’ la solidité de l’intrigue, la justesse des observations, la précision des analyses psychologique”. Reid, Martine. 2018. *Portrait* in “George Sand, L’insoumise”. Le Monde, Hors-série, Une vie, une oeuvre.

⁵² For Sand’s private correspondence, see George Lubin (ed). 1987. *Correspondance*. Paris: Garnier

mature enough for women's suffrage, was the civil code of 1804, which ratified women's legal inferiority. And, as Catherine Nesci notes, in Sand's opinion political voting should be gender neutral, which explains why emancipation of the people, including civil rights for women, was her first priority and the order she believed the social and political development must follow (2018).

In an open letter to the central committee of women who protested against not having the right to vote, Sand states that their cause is a "bizarre caprice."⁵³ As long as women do not have personal independence but are according to the law "the half of a man" [la moitié d'un homme] and thus not even their own representative, she asks rhetorically how women can claim to represent anything. In an unsent letter from the same spring of 1848, she wrote the following: "should women participate one day in political life? Yes, one day [...] but is this day near? No, I do not think so, and for women's condition to be that transformed, society has to be radically transformed."⁵⁴ She also writes "I have only one passion, the idea of equality [...] but it is a beautiful dream that I will not see realized [...] Men have not reached this point. They bear too much of a grudge and are too afraid and small-minded."⁵⁵ She must have thought that the time where men would come to share their privileges and assert women's equality was still far ahead. Only when women had become legally independent beings, would the time be ripe for women's suffrage.

Sand was well-known among intellectuals for her political commitment.⁵⁶ Women participating in political debates and writing on political subjects like Sand were not numerous. There was something about Sand that disturbed bourgeois gender notions; not only was she considered un

⁵³ Correspondance, aux membres du Comité central mi-avril 1848 in: George Lubin (ed). 1971. Correspondance. Paris: Garnier, tome 8, p.407.

⁵⁴ My translation of the original: "Les femmes doivent-elles participer un jour à la vie politique? Oui, un jour [...] mais ce jour est-il proche? Non, je ne le crois pas, et pour que la condition de femme soit ainsi transformée il faut que la société soit transformée radicalement." Catherine Nesci. 2018. Féminisme/Lexique, in "George Sand, L'insoumise". Le Monde, Hors-série, Une vie, une oeuvre.

⁵⁵ "Moi, je n'ai qu'une passion, l'idée de l'égalité, rappellera George Sand à Hortense Allard en 1848 [...] mais c'est un beau rêve dont je ne verrai pas la réalisation. [...] Les hommes n'en sont pas là. Ils ont trop de rancune, de peur, trop de petitesse" (George Sand, cited by Reid. 2018, 14.)

⁵⁶ Perrot (red) 2004, Hamon 2001, Barry 2013, Reid 2013/2018, Jacobs (ed). 1981. *Correspondance* (Flaubert-Sand), Hugo 1884. "Obsèques à George Sand"

homme politique,⁵⁷ took a male pseudonym, and wore men's clothes, Sand herself believed, according to Reid, that there was only one sex "in the domain of the genius and the intellect, what she called 'the intellectual, virile sex'"(2018)⁵⁸ For Sand writing and thinking were not gendered enterprises in the sense that there is not a distinct feminine and masculine intellectual activity. "Virile," derived from Latin, refers to the manly/the masculine. In the nineteenth century the French word was also used to refer to certain professions that symbolized order and hierarchy, and to certain social identities, such as the young man who went to political meetings, cafés, etc. (André Rauch 2010). The word virile/virility (viril(e)/virilité) thus gained a usage as that which is *culturally* associated with men. Characteristics such as courage and intellectual strength became associated with virility. Sand insisted, however, that nurture, not nature, is responsible if indeed only men display such traits. "Change the education and you change the woman" she claimed (Reid 2018). She specified: "The 'nature' that makes men strong, intelligent, and courageous, women weak, limited intellectually, and coward and cunning, does not exist."⁵⁹

Writing is freedom for Sand, and her path to economic independence.⁶⁰ It is likely that she also hoped to enlighten people's consciousness. Sand, who said "I have poetry as the condition of existence,"⁶¹ is also a writer who not only repeatedly addresses political topics in her works, but also shows in her many novels and plays that her ideals of equality are achievable (Reid 2018, 13). "The supreme law" [la loi suprême] and "the great voice of humanity" [la grande voix de l'humanité] had been insulted, despised, and forgotten, according to Sand, with reference to the aftermath of the revolution in 1848, but she was convinced that it would return.⁶² Sand's optimism

⁵⁷ Alex de Tocqueville, after having talked with Sand about politics once during the spring 1848, describes her as "a sort of *homme politique*" ("une manière d'homme politique". Tocqueville 1978. Paris: Gallimard, 210-211. Although the concept *homme politique* does not refer to the masculine gender only, it practically did in this period. "A sort of homme politique" might indicate that he saw a politician in George Sand, and thus by the same token, something manly.

⁵⁸ "C'est ainsi: aux yeux de celle qui a choisi de porter un pseudonyme masculin, il n'y a qu'un sexe dans le domaine du génie et de l'intellect, ce qu'on appelle "le sexe intellectuel viril". Reid. 2018, 8.

⁵⁹ "La 'nature', qui ferait les hommes forts, intelligents et courageux, les femmes faibles, intellectuellement limitées lâches et rusées, n'existe pas."

⁶⁰ "l'écriture est liberté" (cited by Reid 2018, 8).

⁶¹ George Sand said this in her autobiography, *Histoire de ma vie*, from 1871.

⁶² "La majorité et l'unanimité" [published in the revue *La cause du peuple* ["People's Cause] in 1848], in Michelle Perrot (red). 2004. *Politique et polémiques*. Paris: Belin, p.330-332.

and her notions of supreme law and the great voice of humanity also encompassed the conditions of women.⁶³

Sand was criticized for her ideas from all sides, by men and women, including feminists and friends. She was accused of implying that women should become men and for having a misogynist attitude towards her own gender. In a letter in 1835 to her friend Adolphe Guérault, who had criticized her for disguising her true sex, Sand defended her independence. She declared that she does not aspire to reach men's dignity, which she finds too risible to be much preferred over women's servility. What clothes she wears, has little to do with her ideas, and should not affect the respect she is shown. She also told her friend in the same letter that he might take her as a man or a woman, a friend, a brother or a sister, as he likes (Lubin (ed) 1966) Sand's ideas and writing were, however, also praised in her own time. I present my analysis of Sand's reception in Norway later in this chapter, after the presentation of Camilla Collett, because a discussion of Sand's impact on Collett is a large part of the analysis.

I use Sand's first novel, *Indiana* as my sub-corpus for identifying gender discourses in the larger Digital Bookshelf corpus through STM. In the next chapter, I present a brief analysis based on my close reading of the text, and the "topics" modeled from it.

4.4 Camilla Collett (1813-1895)

Camilla Wergeland was born in Kristiansand in Norway in 1813. Her father, Nicolai Wergeland, was a theologian, writer and politician who served as a delegate during the drafting of Norwegian constitution in 1814. Her mother's father was a legal official and Camilla Wergeland's mother was part of the bourgeoisie and artistic society of the city (Aasen 2013, 70-71). Camilla lived her first years in Kristiansand with her parents and four siblings, until the family moved to Eidsvoll in 1817 where Camilla's father was made pastor. She acquired her education by following her brothers' studies, which were provided by private tutors. Her father was an Enlightenment man, maintaining that his daughter was also to have a good education (Aasen 2013, 72). Camilla Wergeland attended a girls' school in Christiania from 1826 to 1827, and a school belonging to the Protestant society of the Moravian church (Brethren's Congregation from Herrnhut) in Christianfeld in Denmark from

⁶³ Reid ends her portrait (2018) of George Sand by describing her as optimist, energetic, someone who continuously celebrates independence, traveling, and who loved life profoundly.

1827-1829. She learned German in Christianfeld, became an avid reader of writers such as Goethe and Schiller, and got to know people from numerous countries. The stay in Christianfeld was only the first of various stays abroad from her youth and throughout her life, notably in France and Germany.

In 1830 she met Johan Sebastian Welhaven, teacher and future poet, polemical writer, and adversary of her brother, the poet Henrik Wergeland. The turbulent, unrequited love story between the two is accorded importance in biographical articles on Camilla Collett (see for instance Steinfeld 1988; Aasen 1913). There are good reasons for that, as the complicated and “impossible” relationship lasted several years, until 1837, and Collett has stated that she considered it decisive for her later literary production (Collett 1926, 316). Professor of Scandinavian literature Torill Steinfeld has analyzed the impact of this love story for Collett. According to Steinfeld, Collett learned on a general basis that women were not accorded autonomy. Society was dependent on women’s relationships to their fathers, brothers, and husbands, and women were nothing without these ties to men, just as Welhaven had placed more importance on her family relations than on her own will and opinions. She also realized the discrepancy that existed between the raising of girls with marriage as their goal in life, and the fact that women were taught at the same time to hide their feelings. Furthermore, Collett’s experience with Welhaven also formed her as a literary critic, according to Steinfeld. Collett’s observation of tendencies in love stories in fiction, notably the lack of critical distance to the male protagonists, becomes part of her literary criticism. For Collett, poetic writing ought to be engaged and transmit ethical guidance to the writer (Steinfeld 1988, 77-78). Steinfeld thus shows that this love story had importance for Collett as writer and as feminist. It is, however, problematic that the story dominates as much as it does in the secondary literature on Collett. As professor of comparative literature, Tone Selboe, notes, Collett is today first of all known as Henrik Wergeland’s sister and for her lovesickness for his rival, Welhaven (2013, 7); it is the most discussed love story in Norwegian literature, according to Elisabeth Aasen (2013, 70). There is a risk that this focus undermines other relevant aspects related to Collett as a writer and feminist and that it reinforces an idea of women and women writers as predominantly interested in romantic love and affairs related to the private and emotional sphere.

The young Camilla Wergeland wrote letters, diaries, and her first literary work in 1837. It appeared in a magazine she and a friend had established (Steinfeld 1996, 285; Aasen 2013, 75). This magazine was not distributed publicly. She was also an eager reader of German and French poetry,

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novels, and published correspondence in this period. In 1839 she became engaged to the jurist, writer, and literary critic, Peter Jonas Collett. Their correspondence before they got married in 1841 shows that he respected and understood her. The two started writing stories together and Camilla Collett debuted in 1842 with a serial in the newspaper *Den Constitutionelle*. According to Aasen, her environment and the expectations of her as a woman had diminished her motivation for writing for publication (Aasen 2013, 81). Her husband's support, however, helped change her mind, or as she puts it: "Collett has in reality created my career as a writer, meaning that he spiritually prepared and in practical terms initiated it."⁶⁴ They had four sons together, but she also experienced losses. During the 1840s, she lost her parents, her brother, Henrik Wergeland, and her closest friend.

In 1851 Peter Jonas Collett died suddenly. Camilla Collett experienced financial problems after the loss of her husband. When she published her only novel and most famous work, *The District Governor's Daughters* in 1854/55, she thus had a lot more life experience than just her history with Welhaven. *The District Governor's Daughters* is the first novel in the realist tradition in Norway. It was published anonymously, although the identity of the author was soon well-known. The novel was immediately recognized as innovative and of high literary quality. It triggered a public debate, some disliking its "tendency," and others finding a sharp and legitimate criticism of society in it (Aasen 2013, 222).

Collett changed residence on multiple occasions during the 1850s, 60s, and 70s. She lived in Copenhagen and Stockholm and traveled on numerous occasions to European cities. She continued writing, collections of essays in particular. Women's right to inner freedom and emotional autonomy was a lifelong subject for her, but the later Collett places importance on legal reforms relating to women's emancipation as well.

4.5 The Reception of Sand in Norway and her Importance for Camilla Collett

Sand appears frequently in the secondary literature on Collett, as well as in Collett's own essays and letters. A question that has arisen in the literature about Collett is the origin of her engagement in women's emancipation. Literary critic Henrik Jæger was the first to write a monograph on Collett, in which he attributes a central role to Sand in Collett's views on emancipation (1877/78).

⁶⁴ My translation of: "Collett har sea egentlig skabt mit Forfatterskab, d.v.s. han har bade aandelig forberedt og praktisk givet det Stødet" (Collett 1911, cited in Aasen 2013, 81).

In his analysis, Jæger not only posits that Sand influenced Collett in relation to women's emancipation, but also identifies in this influence the cause and origin of Collett's entire intellectual orientation. In arguing for his claim, Jæger mentions an anecdote from Collett's life. In 1833 she traveled to Paris with her father to see a doctor. The twenty-year-old Camilla Wergeland was ill, and as she later describes in her writings, her state of weakness was linked to an experience that had killed her youthful hopes (Jæger 1878, 278). According to Jæger, this trip and "the circumstances that prevailed in Paris that year" had influenced her: "The questions regarding women's place in society and the relationship between the two sexes were in the air. St. Simonism was booming [...] and Aurore Dudevant emerged as an incendiary figure in Parisian opinion" (Jæger 1878, 278). Jæger suggests that it was more than likely that an avid reader like Camilla Wergeland had acquired the novels of Sand, such as *Indiana* and *Valentine*, during her stay in Paris (Jæger 1878, 279). He adds, however, that even if this, despite its high probability, should not be the case:

it is nevertheless beyond doubt that it is the reading of these novels with their agitated discussions of the relationship between the two sexes, which sooner or later caused Camilla Collett to discover, behind her own misfortune, a widespread misfortune in society, and thus found an idea, a principle behind her personal aspirations. (Jæger 1878, 279)⁶⁵

Jæger is convinced that Sand's first two novels served as Collett's inspiration in transforming and reframing her personal experiences, sufferings, and emotions into an idea and a political cause. According to him, these two novels are the origin of Collett's commitment to the emancipation of women throughout her life.

Collett later corrects several of Jæger's interpretations. She claims that she had never heard of Sand during her stay in Paris. Moreover, she states that at that time (in 1833) she had neither knowledge of nor reflections on the idea of equality between the sexes (Collett 1879, 161). In a letter from 1840 to her future husband, she in practice confirms that her encounter with Sand's texts came later than what Jæger believed. She declares that she had for a long time avoided reading Sand, so as not to be influenced:

I have only recently read George Sand, so that she cannot say that she has influenced me or nourished in me an atmosphere or a state; it was already fully developed in me when I discovered her, as in front of a mirror, in which I could see myself so clearly, terribly, wildly

⁶⁵ My traduction of: "Men selv om dette ikke skulde være Tilfældet, selv om hun ikke under sit Ophold i Paris skulde have stiftet Bekjendtskab med George Sands Arbejder [...] saa bliver det dog ikke desto mindre hævet over al Tvivl, at det er Læsningen av disse Romaner med deres heftige Diskussjon af Forholdet mellom de to Kjøen, som sent eller tidlig gav Stødet til, at Camilla Collett bag sin egen personlige Ulykke fik Øje paa et almindeligt Samfundsonde og fandt en Ide, et Princip bag sine personlige Ønsker."

clearly. I shouted with joy at many of her words, because they were *mine*, she had given them life. (Collett 1933, 34)⁶⁶

With this reflection on the connection between her and Sand, she thus expresses that Sand served to put into words her “mood” [stemning] and “state” [tilstand] in this period of her life. By emphasizing as she does that a certain mood and state were already present in her, she thus attaches an importance to feelings. I relate the importance feelings has to her, to a power underlying speech, to which the title of her much later collection of essays, *From the Camp of the Mutes* [Fra de Stummes Leir] (1877), refers.⁶⁷ Furthermore, by evoking the figure of the mirror she suggests a strong resemblance with Sand, even a sense of identification. Sand as a mirror did not merely allow Camilla Wergeland to see herself; she saw herself “terribly, wildly clearly.” A wildly, or madly clear vision of the self even suggests that the encounter with Sand’s literature provoked an interrogation of her own identity. Sand gave life to something within her, to the words that were already hers (“mine” is in italics in the original). Camilla Wergeland indicates here that Sand's words already existed in her, and resembled “hers,” but that she needed the encounter with the novels of Sand in order to bring her words out of their silence.

In the same letter, Collett declares to her future husband, himself a great admirer of Sand, her respect for the French writer:

In front of George Sand I bow deeply! She is the martyrdom and pride of my sex, and not its mischief, as some hypocrites and ill-intentioned people have called her. Her novels, however, are not understandable here, since they describe French circumstances and morals, which thank God do not yet correspond to our society. There may also be some misery here, but there is still no evil. (Collet 1933, 35)⁶⁸

Camilla Collett wrote this in 1840, more than a decade before she wrote *The District Governor's Daughters*. According to Selboe, Sand was a role model for Collett (2013, 43). Selboe also pointed out that Collett became more and more severe in her life regarding the circumstances surrounding

⁶⁶ My traduction of : “Jeg har læst George Sand først i de senere Aar, saa hun ikke kan siges at have næret nogen Stemning eller Tilstand hos mig; denne var fuldkommen udviklet hos mig, da hun mødte mig som et Speil, hvori jeg saa mig selv klart, frygtelig, henrykkende klart. Jeg har jublet over mange af hendes Ord, fordi de vare *mine*, hun havde givet liv.”

⁶⁷ The word “leir” in Norwegian has different meanings: supporters of a particular doctrine etc., temporary accommodations and holiday program (like, for instance, “summer camp” in English), and also a military meaning as the zone of soldiers.

⁶⁸ My translation of the original: “O, for George Sand bøier jeg mig dybt! Hun er mit Kjøns Martyr og Stolthed, og ikke dets Skjændsel, som Hyklere og den andægtige Pøbel kalde hende. Men hendes Romaner forstaaes ikke hos os, da de skildre franske Forhold og Sæder, som Gud skee Lov endnu ikke passe paa os. Det kan være Nød nok hjemme, men endnu ingen fordærvelse.”

the relationship between the two sexes, and that Sand became even more important to her (Selboe 2013). Regarding *Indiana*, Selboe finds in Collett's appreciation of Sand's novel a revelation that became important to Collett's commitment to the women's cause. Selboe refers to the following comments by Collett: "With Sand the fight against the dandy of the 1830s is updated: 'the man of the century' no longer appears as the powerful and melancholy exile, but as the elegant man of salons, Raymon" (Selboe 2013, 45). Collett's analysis of Raymon's character, and his relationship with Indiana, proved significant for her writing, according to Selboe (2013, 45).

Taking into account both the importance Collett attributes to Sand for her own expression and the fact that Collett is considered important for the women's movement in Norway, the question arises as to what role Sand played for this movement.

In her book on the feminist movement, Tschudi begins by describing it in France (Tschudi 1885). She highlights Sand, a writer who stands out for her contribution to the women's cause and who has influenced writers internationally (Tschudi 1885, 4). In particular, she mentions *Indiana*, in which the writer describes the conditions for married women with "the fire of genius and the fervor of lived experience" (Tschudi 1885, 4). Tschudi also compares Collett with Sand. She qualifies Collett's "cry" in relation to the subjection of woman to marriage, as less acute, but just as true, fervent and touching as that of Sand's in *Indiana* (Tschudi 1885, 26). The women's movement in Norway had been organized for some time when Tschudi analyzed it here, and at that point she considered Sand's contribution to have been decisive.⁶⁹

4.6 Aasta Hansteen (1824-1913)

Aasta Hansteen was born in Christiania in 1824. Her father was a professor in mathematics and astronomy. Her mother was half Danish and described as an intelligent and reflective person with high expectations of herself and her children (Wickstrøm 1984). Her father's sister, Conradine Dunker, was a writer of memoirs. The family was part of the cultural and intellectual elite in Christiania. Her father was progressive and wanted his daughter to acquire an education in accordance with her interests and talents. Aasta Hansteen had from childhood showed artistic

⁶⁹ This analysis of Sand's reception in Norway and importance for Collett is based on my more detailed analysis in the article: "Le mouvement des femmes en Norvège au XIXème siècle avait-il besoin de George Sand pour sortir de son silence?" (2019). I have got my data for the analysis from previous research and by using collocation and concordance analyses of documents in the Digital Bookshelf, as well as manual searches in the database.

aptitude and she became the first Norwegian woman to be educated as a painter. According to the Norwegian art historian, Anne Wickstrøm, Hansteen also had a disposition for more academic subjects. Wickstrøm suggests that the reason why she chose an artistic education was because it was one of few professions to which women from her social class had access (1984). That Hansteen had an independent position, through her profession as a painter, can at least partially explain her ability to take up space in the public sphere, despite the negative sanctions that came with it.

Hansteen was recognized as a talented portrait painter, but her religious paintings were deemed mediocre (Wickstrøm 1984). She represented Norway on several occasions in international expositions, such as the World Exhibition in Paris in 1855. In 1856 she had a nervous breakdown, related to the pressure she was under as an artist, the numerous orders she had to deliver and the intensity of her artistic activity. She never returned to painting with the same intensity, although she took it up again and was recognized for her works during her stay in the US in the 1880s. She continued, however, to consider herself a *malerinde* [woman painter] as well as a writer (Wickstrøm 1984).

She started writing in the 1860s, first as a language activist. The formal, intellectual, and public written language in the period was Danish. There was a linguistic movement to promote an alternative written language, *landsmaal*, based on various Norwegian dialects. Aasta Hansteen's engagement for this cause might have surprised some, due to her cultural and urban background. She published a book in *landsmaal* anonymously in 1862. Her identity was revealed, however, and Aasen characterizes her engagement for this cause as courageous and even more unusual than being a woman painter (1984). Nevertheless, as Aasen reasons, with the knowledge we have of Hansteen as a person, it is not so surprising that she became a representative for the *maalrørsle* [the movement fighting for the recognition of *landsmaal*]. Hansteen was a person who fought for emancipation. She could identify with the activists for *landsmaal*. In relation to the elite that defined the culture, they were a minoritized group, just as women were, although neither of the groups (users of *landsmaal* or women) were a minority to the elite in number (1984).

Starting in the 1870s women's place in society becomes a subject of Hansteen's writing. Engagement for this cause followed her throughout her life. Hansteen was also the first woman to hold public speeches. In one of her speeches she declared that John Stuart Mill was a liberator and initiator of women's emancipation with his work *On the Subjection of Women* (1869) (Lein Nilsen

1984). Hansteen wrote a series of articles, “Kvindernes Mening om ‘Kvindernes underkuelse,’” published in three parts in *Dagbladet* on 13 July, 6 August, and 12 August 1870.⁷⁰ In this series of articles, the author defends Mill, arguing against an anonymous young woman’s critical assessment of his ideas, and, very interestingly, she claims that there is confusion regarding relevant concepts for the debate. The text she argues against was published in *Morgenbladet* on 18 June 1870, as “Protest mod Stuart Mills’ ‘Om Kvindens Underkuelse’” [“Protest against *The Subjection of Women*”].⁷¹ Previous research on the content of the articles has been rather limited. Aasen describes briefly how Hansteen argues against the young woman in *Morgenbladet*, who claimed that Mill’s words are against the Bible (2013). Lein Nilsen elaborates on the religious aspect of Hansteen’s argument; she shows how Hansteen contends that woman is not subordinated to man according to the Bible (1984). She also argues that Hansteen is tactical and pragmatic in her defense of Mill. Hansteen uses Mill selectively, according to Lein Nilsen. She is in favor of legal reforms related to women’s emancipation and against the subordination of woman by the church. She finds support in Mill’s thinking for both of these positions. On the other hand, Hansteen held on to a romanticist polarized view on gender that is not compatible with Mill’s ideas of equality, according to Lein Nilsen (1984). In my project I do not ask the question of what Hansteen’s position really was. The point is not to find out whether she was more of a gender equality thinker or a gender difference thinker, whether her position changed, or whether it was contradictory throughout her life. However she related to the paradoxes she faced as an early feminist, it is her way of speaking about woman and gender in her series of articles that is relevant in this context. Hansteen’s series of articles has not to my knowledge been subject to a complete analysis. I therefore present a rather extensive analysis of these articles in the following chapter, as well as of the article against which she argues.

In 1878 Hansteen published what she considered to be her main work, *Kvinden skabt i Guds Billede* [Woman created in God’s image]. It is an ambitious religious-philosophical work in which she criticizes the French protestant preacher, Adolphe Monod, for his vision of God’s creation of woman and develops an argument on woman’s place within the Christian trinity. According to Aasen, the church’s conservative gender ideology mobilized her to write this work; the theologians should not be the only ones entitled to discuss God’s creation of woman (Aasen 2013, 237). Lein

⁷⁰ Links to the newspaper articles: (<https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/3564547fe36920c75dd1616a820e21be?index=11#0>, <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/3b01063644400f43e83ef74c9094e0f5?index=4#0> , <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/8bfab50133068824d97c4e72065be1f2?index=3#0>)

⁷¹ “Protest against Stuart Mill’s ‘On women’s subjection’”: <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/298c5642531f1adf76c2009559e49160?index=2#0>

Nilsen presents a brief analysis of the work and of why it never received much attention (1984). Hansteen worked on it during the 1870s, traveled and held speeches about it. She was, however, made fun of and ridiculed (Aasen 213, 237).

Hansteen is known as one of the leading figures for the women's movement in Norway during the last decades of the nineteenth century. She had a reputation for being temperamental and controversial, which made her a favorite target for caricature. She is often portrayed as an eccentric and angry lady (Aasen 2013; Lein Nilsen 1984). Through her writing and activism, Hansteen fought for woman's right not to stay in the background, but to take up as much space as men.

The criticism to which Hansteen was subjected contributed to her decision to emigrate to the US in 1880, from where she continued her engagement for the women's cause. She returned to Christiania in 1889 and was respected as a pioneer in the Norwegian women's movement until the end of her life in the year that women gained the right to vote in Norway. She is, however, more known for her strong and fearless personality than for her writing.

Using sub-corpus topic modeling in order to identify gender discourse and study Hansteen's work as example of access to the gender discourse, it is her series of articles in *Dagbladet* that serve as sub-corpus.

Chapter 5 Five Sub-corpora

This chapter analyzes the five texts that I have used to capture passages in the Digital Bookshelf. The overall purpose is to demonstrate that these texts are relevant to use as sub-corpora for capturing passages that can be used to conduct an analysis of the discursive establishment of *woman's place in society* in the period. The analysis is limited to the themes of women's experiences and conceptions of woman in these novels and newspaper texts by Bremer, Sand, Collett, and Hansteen. It is based on this narrowly focused reading that I have manually created the topics I have applied to the Digital Bookshelf. This chapter thus also serves to explain on what thematic basis each of the manually created topics is modeled. The purpose of this chapter is not to analyze these works in the discursive and literary historic context of the period they were published. For instance, I do not situate figures such as the authoritarian father, the seducer, and the manipulating mother in their novelistic context. Instead this analysis considers the novels as well as the newspaper texts by virtue of their descriptions of women's experiences and conceptions of women. The reading of the novels includes how the female protagonists are affected by the people that surround them. To the extent that the analysis addresses literary devices in the texts, it is mainly because, for instance, allegorical elements open up for a more general take on woman's experiences, which in some cases have informed the word bags for a topic modeled from the work in question. Chapter seven analyzes connections between these texts and the discourse they have served to identify.

5.1 Women and Wisdom of the Good (Bremer's Texts)

Bremer's 1844 article in *Den Constitutionelle* "Til Sverriges Quinder" [To Sweden's women] appeared in its original form in the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* 20 December the year before. I will first analyze the main argument in this article before I turn to analysis of the second text that makes up the Bremer sub-corpus, *Hertha*, with emphasis on one chapter of the novel that I find particularly relevant for the study of ways of speaking of woman and gender.

5.1.1 “Til Sveriges Qvinder”

The article “Til Sveriges Qvinder” explicitly addresses Christmas. Bremer grounds her view on femininity on the Christmas gospel and encourages women to take inspiration from the Virgin Mary, considered as a metaphor and ideal for women’s mission in life. In the same way that Mary gave birth to the savior of humanity, the author encourages contemporary women to become conscious of their role and unique ability to save orphans, and to care for the disadvantaged in this life:

It seems as if it is primarily for the women of the earth that the blessed voice shouts: “let the children come to me; the son of humanity has arrived to visit and save what is lost.” Now it is Christmas, the time for joy and the children’s moment, the period of time when all mothers are dedicated to making their children happy in the memory of the child, who at his birth was put in a crib and became the world’s benefactor [...] If all women united to save on his behalf, to lead the disadvantaged and despaired children on earth to him - in truth, no more beautiful sacrifice has been placed at the holy child’s crib, and in heaven his heart would rejoice.⁷²

In this passage a fundamental call for action in the name of Christ is directed at all women. Women have a common purpose as benefactors, not only for the state of affairs on earth, but also in regard to eternal life. There is a moral imperative for women in the descriptions of certain worldly actions, such as caregiving, that women are encouraged to undertake. Such actions are considered meaningful in that they are commanded and blessed by God. A relation between the worldly and the spiritual thus comes into being, and the two dimensions resonate with each other; the spiritual instructs the worldly that it has saved, while the worldly rejoices in the spiritual and acts as instructed.

The example that women are asked to follow, as given by God, namely the Virgin Mary’s giving birth to Christ, also has concrete implications for the status of the feminine on earth:

Now it is Christmas time! Now the time is here, when a child to us was born [...] This child called a worldly woman mother. He has thereby consecrated the motherly on earth. [...] He

⁷² My translation of the original: “Det synes òg, at det er til Jordens Quinder, som den velsignedes Røst fremfor alt raaber: «lader Børnene komme til mig ; thi Menneskenes Søn er kommen at opsøge og frelse det Fortabte.» Nu er det Jul, Gledens og Barernes Tid, den Tid da alle Mødre gaar hen for at fornøie sine Børn til Minde om det Barn, som ved Sin Fødsel lagdes i en krybbe og blev verdens Velgjører [...] Om alle Quinder forenede sig, for at redde for ham, for at føre til ham, de vanrøgtede, de fortvilede Børn på Jorden - sanderlig, intet skjønnere Offer er bleven nedlagt paa Gudebarnets Vugge, og i himlen skulde hans hjerte frydes derover.”

has liberated women from the slavery or degradation on earth and elevated her to her original state in the Creator's mind. Should she not wish to show him her gratefulness?⁷³

The way women can contribute uniquely to making the world a better place is also the way they show their gratefulness to Christ for liberating them from slavery. The motherly as a unique female disposition is fundamental; it is in this capacity that woman is liberated from slavery and degradation in God's eyes. Women are thus unique servants to God. The realization of a city of God on earth comes about by placing more value on femininity through the motherly. Thus, a feminist-theological reading of the Christmas gospel takes place here. As a worldly woman gave birth to Christ, God's will for women is a position on earth defined by dignity and freedom from slavery. Since the title is directed explicitly to women, Bremer overtly aims to elevate women's consciousness of the feminine, empower it, and stimulate a new kind of social practice in which women engage in "motherly activities" in relation to the disadvantaged in society.

This feminist-theological reading of the Christmas gospel also conveys ontological considerations of the feminine:

The motherly is the feminine; it lives in every woman's breast [...] this most intimate heart of life has to expand, it has to beat not only for the single human being, but for humanity, it has to, in love, embrace not only the family, but the fatherland. The motherly has to feel the vocation as a guardian of the larger as well as the smaller home, of private as well as public morality has to strive to function in a feminine, motherly way.⁷⁴

Bremer thus contends that the motherly is in essence the feminine. Such an association between the feminine and the motherly is, as we have seen, mainstream in the period as a basis for defining women's place in the private sphere of the home. Bremer, however, uses the same connection between the feminine and the motherly to argue for women's place outside the home, in the public sphere as well. Concerning labor, such as caregiving, Bremer describes a transition in society in which the public [almene] life interferes with the private. All labor is ultimately considered public work, in the sense of contributing to society as a whole. By the same maneuver, the text establishes

⁷³ My translation of the original: "Nu er det Juul ! Nu er det den Tid , da et Barn blev os født [...] Dette Barn kaldte en jordisk Qvinde Moder. Han har dermed helliget det Moderlige paa Jorden [...] Han har udløst Qvinden af en Slavestand eller Fornedrelse paa jorden, og opreist hende til hendes oprindelige Standpunct i Skaberens Tanke. Skulde hun ei gjerne ville vise ham sin Taknemmelighed?"

⁷⁴ My translation of the original: "Det Moderlige er det Quindelige; Det lever i hver Qvindes Bryst [...] dette inderste Hjerte i Livet maa utvide seg, maa banke ei blot for Mennesket, men for Menneskeheden, maa i Kjærlighet omfatte ei blot Familien, men Fædrelandet. Dette Moderlige maa føle seg kaldet til Vogterste saavel av det større som af det mindre Hjem, av den private som av den almene Sædelighet maa ville virke derfor qvindeligt, moderligt."

a connection between the motherly as the feminine and the public sphere and humanity in its entirety. The motherly gains a specific nation-building function, as a necessary contribution to creating a better nation. Men's traditional labor alone will never be sufficient for this mission; it has to be complemented with uniquely female labor. In "Til Sveriges Qvinder," Bremer thus argues that women are to become political beings; women's hearts should beat for the fatherland. Bremer encourages an elevation of women's consciousness of their contribution to their country. As freed from slavery and entitled to listen to her calling in society, woman is thus accorded a place in the public sphere that she herself designs.

5.1.2 Topic Modeling "Til Sveriges Qvinder"

Based on the themes I have outlined above, I have manually created three topics. I have called the first one "Christmas"; it comprises topic words and correspondent word bags inspired by Bremer's use of the Christmas Gospel to describe woman's calling. The other two topics are called respectively "woman's function in the private sphere", and "woman's function in the public sphere"; they were created with the purpose of finding out to what extent and how passages in the Digital Bookshelf enunciate a woman's function in the *private* and *public spheres*. I have applied two automatically created topics as well, both labeled "the motherly" (modeled with different parameters). (See link to complete topics and settings with which they have been applied to the Digital Bookshelf here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Bremer/Topics/Til_Sveriges_Qvinder).

5.1.3 Hertha⁷⁵

The protagonist, Hertha, lives in silent opposition to her father, who represents a patriarchal view of women and who severely criticizes everything related to women's emancipation. He promises her, however, to formally grant her permission to gain legal majority, as he as her father is her guardian, but he postpones the completion of this act. Hertha is dedicated to the question of legal majority for women, but she also believes it is a moral duty to respect her father's opinion. A strong platonic relationship develops between Hertha and a man called Yngve. They want to get married, but Hertha's father is hesitant. Hertha finds relief in a new dedication to girls' education. She opens a girls' school with the aim of developing the girls' capacities through education. She believes

⁷⁵ I have used the Swedish original text. Translations—including translation of automatically generated topics from Swedish to Norwegian/Danish—are mine.

women to be beings with a unique potential for seeking wisdom, and the capacity for insight into what is good and right.

5.1.4 “Seven Years. Patriarchal Relationships” [*Sju år. Patriarkaliska förhållanden.*]

Let us now examine a chapter in *Hertha* that is particularly dense with ideas regarding the nature of women. These ideas are conveyed in Hertha's choices related to her father and Yngve, in excerpts from Hertha's diary, and in evaluations by Hertha's students at the girls' school. Hertha's life situation at this point in the story fosters major moral decisions and reflections for the protagonist. Hertha sacrifices her happiness, or at least accepts suffering for an unknown period of time, for what she believes is her duty, namely respecting her father, even though what he decides on her behalf seems unfair and tyrannical to her and to those who are close to her. The word “plikt” [duty] is repeated several times in the chapter. Hertha is encouraged by Yngve and a friend to take legal action against her father and demand her liberation in court. Although Hertha thinks she deserves to be free and believes strongly in the right to self-determination for women, obeying her father is of a higher moral priority to her. The word “rettighet” [“right”] in the sense of moral and legal entitlement, is repeatedly used. The humiliation her father would suffer if she went to court in order to gain her freedom from his guardianship, is not something she thinks he should have to endure. The word “samvittighet” [conscience] is also used on various occasions. Hertha believes that one has to be willing to suffer and that if the suffering is related to a higher moral good, it might purify the soul and in a broader perspective give rise to a sensation of bliss. Following her duty, behaving in accordance with her conscience, and respecting her father's providence (in the sense of his protective care) are major moral principles guiding Hertha's conduct.

Hertha believes that three things will “illuminate her soul”: love of God, her love for Yngve, and acting in accordance with what she believes to be the highest good. Even though it involves suffering, or perhaps even *because* it involves suffering, her sacrifice enhances her capacity to cherish others. Hertha describes her newfound well-being the following way:

Her energetic soul, the light that came to her through the friend who ‘reconciled her with life’, the belief in fatherly providence, that never gave up on her, as she so clearly felt its guidance in her heart, in her life, the purity and beauty of her relation to Yngve, the certainty of having acted in accordance with the highest command of duty and conscience — it helped her even under the distressingly dim conditions of her life and home, and

created a light, a light that did not only enlighten herself, but others as well, indeed almost everybody who entered her circle. (2016, 225)⁷⁶

Through her function as a teacher, others benefit from her inner light. What Hertha transmits to her students, or to the “light seeking souls” [ljussökande själar], in this way is something the best scholars [de lärdeste] are not able to provide, reasons the narrator (2016, 227). Hertha teaches her young students about the character Antigone from Greek mythology and emphasizes that a Christian woman should find inspiration in Antigone, and thus not only be humble—which could easily lead her into slavery—but also heroic (2016, 229). Through her teaching “their comprehension for what is the highest in life has been cleared.”⁷⁷ One of her students explains a part of Hertha’s effect on them as a sensation of growth “in the longing for the good and the true, and the willingness to find it” (2016, 236).⁷⁸ The students describe Hertha as “their motherly teacher,” and consider her to be a being of a higher nature, who cares for them in all their aspects (2016, 236).

In fact, there are several examples of descriptions of what a woman is and how she can contribute uniquely to society. In a part of Hertha’s diary where she develops her ideas for the civilization classes in her school, we can read about her philosophy of humanity, and of women in particular. Every human being is in her opinion a worker [[h]var människa [er] en arbetare], who should be considered and valued in the context of society’s highest ideals (2016, 230-231). Woman is also a worker “in all aspects of life,” Hertha writes, “because of her female nature.” A woman’s specific calling as a mother in the upbringing of children, or as a medical doctor (Hygieia), as well as her influential power, are among the subjects she plans to include in her teaching of the young girls (2016, 230-231).⁷⁹ Furthermore, she wants to teach her students about women in history and how women can influence the future of the fatherland (2016, 231). Religion has a fundamental role here. Through education woman will discover her calling decided by God; she will be able to be herself,

⁷⁶ My translation of the original: “Hennes energiska själ, det ljus som kommit till henne genom den vän, som «försonat henne med livet», tron på et faderlig försyn, vilken aldrig övergav henne, sedan hon så tydligt känt dess ledning i sitt hjärta, i sitt liv, skärheten och skönheten av hennes förhållande till Yngve; vissheten att ha handle after pliktens ooh samvetets högsta bud - det hjälpte henne att även under set ängslande skymningsförhållandet i hennes liv och hem tända ett ljus, som icke blott lyste henne själv utan även andra, ja, nästan alla som kommo inom hennes levnadskrets.”

⁷⁷ “deras blick för det högsta i lifvet har klarnat”(2016, 230)

⁷⁸ “längtan till det goda och det sanna, i vilja att hinna det.”

⁷⁹ “[Hennes] särskilda kallelse som moder, uppfostrarinna, läkarrinna (hygæa). Hennes allmänliga makt som inflytande.” The use of the greek term *hygæa* or *hygieia* will be elaborated on below.

as God intends her to be (2016, 231, 236). Among the expressions Hertha uses when describing her vision for the women of her country are the following: “en samvetets hjeltinna” [A heroine of conscience] (2016, 230), “naturens prestinna” [the (female) priest of nature] (2016, 231), and “hemmets Iduna” [the Iduna of the home] (2016, 231).⁸⁰

Hertha presents a vision of a better future where women play a significant part, encouraged through education to work in every aspect of life (2016, 330). Through the importance placed on work as a basic human function (“every human is a worker”), a way of speaking takes place that de-emphasizes gender and gender difference. Hertha establishes that there are connections between “Samfundets idé” [the Idea of Society] and the family, the municipality, the state, art, science, industry, and religion, which she wants to teach her students. That Hertha argues that woman has a place as a worker in all spheres of life and connects this point to the *idea of society*, is a discreet attempt to expand the boundaries of women’s place in society; she does not advocate for equal opportunities for women and for men. Instead she speaks about equality in terms of the social spheres men and women can access, while maintaining that men and women have different tasks to perform in these spheres because of what she sees as their natural gender differences.

Furthermore, Hertha’s teaching of the girls is not only about the transmission of skills; it is also about *bildung* as an identity formation process that reveals a human being’s function and purpose in life as a working being. A human being is thus essentially affirmed through labor. Nevertheless, as she proceeds from this point in her reasoning, the notion of gender arises: What is woman? What is woman’s work? And how does this define her being? Is woman first of all human, as a working being? Or is her being first of all defined by her specific work, toward which she is disposed because of her sex? These questions are not explicit in the text. They form, however, an interrogative field within which the protagonist operates. The central place of work in Hertha’s philosophy is related to a project of improving the world. There is a strong omnipresent belief in being good, in doing well, in work as a fundamental way of helping one’s neighbor, and here the contributions of women and men differ because of their different nature in the protagonist’s view, which becomes manifest precisely through the observation of their work; there is thus a

⁸⁰ Iðunn (Idun/Idunn/Iduna/Idunna) is a goddess of fertility and youth in Norse mythology, married to the god of poetry, Bragi. In the descriptions of Iðunn in the Prose Edda, she carries apples that have a life-giving, rejuvenating power.

phenomenological approach to woman and man's different essence for the protagonist. The emphasis on difference between the genders is thus a feature in *Hertha* as well as in Bremer's reasoning in the article in *Den Constitutionelle*, but its character has been modified in *Hertha*.

In *Hertha* we see a shift in emphasis from the motherly as the closest, most comprehensive definition of femininity, to the motherly as one among several characteristics of woman's nature. The motherly has gained a slightly altered use in *Hertha*, compared to "Til Sverriges Qvinder." In the article, "the motherly" was used both in its literal sense as the maternal, and metaphorically, as Bremer speaks of mothers of the nation who should become "motherly" for the orphans and the disadvantaged. I argued that femininity is identified almost exclusively with the motherly in the article. In *Hertha* we have also seen that the motherly is repeatedly highlighted among other features that characterize woman's nature, according to the protagonist. The motherly is a significant part of woman's nature, but this dimension is not sufficient for defining her essence for *Hertha*. It is listed as one of several features characterizing woman's nature, and it is not necessarily the highest calling of woman's existence, but rather a feature that trains her for her highest calling, namely to gain wisdom regarding the truly good and act in accordance with it, as determined by the Christian God. Along with being "motherly" and the upbringing of children that goes with it, woman is also considered a revealer of the good and the true.

It is in this context interesting to note what one of *Hertha*'s students utters: "[...] And time and again one thinks one starts to grow, and that is actually what happens, at least in the longing for the good and the true" (2016, 236).⁸¹ This student's utterance is an example of a Platonic inspiration that seems to come to life in the text. Perhaps the longing, or *eros* in Plato's term, that *Hertha* experienced for Yngve as well as for the good and the true, or towards the idea of the good that is the highest in Plato's metaphysics, is the utmost potential for woman in *Hertha*. The idea is not to reach it entirely, but that woman's unique wisdom lies in her capacity to long for it. We have already seen that *Hertha* is familiar with Greek mythology and tragedies. She might also have known her Plato, who in principle equated men and women in their capacity to gain wisdom. It might seem, however, as if Bremer favors women over men when it comes to the capacity to long for the good.

⁸¹ "[...] Och rätt som det är tycker man att man begynner växa; och det gör man verklingen, åtminstone i längtan till det goda och sanna, i vilja att hinna det."

Continuing with the references to ancient Greek philosophy, I suggest that it follows that femininity in Hertha takes on a meaning like virtue (*aretê*), as the capacity to seek wisdom about the good and to do the good.⁸² Hertha's perception of woman is as a being who has a unique capacity for seeking and achieving wisdom about what is truly good, and the ability to act in accordance with it. Another aspect of ancient Greek influence in the narrator's concept of woman is revealed through the use of the term *hygieia*. The Greek goddess of health, Hygieia, is known for healing and prevention of sickness. Such a description of woman connects her with the physical world and nature. In Hertha's reflections, woman is thus a caretaker of nature, which also takes us back to Christianity. The praise of nature, as God's work, is present in Hertha's philosophy. As we have seen, she even describes woman as the "priest" of nature. Finally, searching for general wisdom about the good is not sufficient, neither for men nor for women. For Hertha, a firm belief in the Christian God as the only true moral and philosophical guide is of the greatest importance. Thus, a religious discourse goes hand in hand with the influence from enlightenment philosophy, ancient Greek philosophy, and the phenomenological approach.

5.1.5 Topic modeling Hertha

Based on the themes I have emphasized, I have manually created two topics, one labeled "Woman's *Bildung*," since we have seen that woman's education is an important subject in *Hertha*, and another labeled "Woman's being," which comprises a topic word and corresponding word bag regarding labor and calling, since Hertha considers the human a fundamentally working being. I have had topics generated automatically from the chapter analyzed above. One of the automatically generated topics, "Is love true?" comprises the words: "kjærlighed" (love), "Sann" (true), "Hjerte" (heart), "Øye" (eye), "Selv" (self), and the manually added "kvinde" (woman). This topic conveys a conception enunciated in Hertha, namely the search for truth in connection with an emotional and moral register. Another automatically created topic I have applied is called "Beatiful girls." (See link to complete topics and settings with which they have been applied to the Digital Bookshelf here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Bremer/Topics/Hertha).

⁸² See Plato's dialogues *Protagoras* and *Meno* on virtue (the word *aretê* means "excellence," the concept of *aretê* is translated into "virtue."

5.2 The Destructive Lies Inherent in Gender Constructs (Sand's *Indiana*)

Sand's novel *Indiana*⁸³ was published in 1832. I will start with a presentation of the gender perspective in the novel, complemented with short analyses of some of the characters' function in the story. The major part of the novel is related by an omniscient narrator, interrupted with letters from some of the characters and a conclusion told in first person. A letter that the protagonist, Indiana, sends to her lover, Raymon, can be read as a concentrated feminist message, and I will therefore focus particularly on that part of the text.

Indiana tells the story of a young Creole noblewoman, Indiana, who is unhappily married to the much older, retired colonel and industrialist, Delmare, and about her struggle for the best possible life. It is also a story about the effect of gender norms and woman in relation to the dandy. The story takes place from the end of the Restoration (the period that lasted from 1814 until 1830) until the start of the July revolution ("Les trois Glorieuses" in 1830). Indiana, Delmare, Indiana's cousin and their servants live in a manor in Lagny, in Oise in Northern France. Indiana is nineteen years old at the start of the narrative. After her father's death, she married Delmare. Delmare is not only much older than her, he is also described as a harsh authoritarian. The novel examines a woman's way of handling a loveless marriage, which she experiences as being tied like a slave to his master. It also shows that her coping mechanisms cause her to be vulnerable to additional suffering. Furthermore, the novel highlights the relevance of social class for a woman's suffering and ability to cope in a patriarchal society.

5.2.1 *Indiana's Bonds and Coping Mechanisms*

Indiana's father, a Bonapartist who had been exiled to the French colony l'île de Bourbon (today La Réunion) after Napoléon abdicated in 1814, is described in similar terms as Delmare. The narrator makes the following judgement of the parallels between Indiana's relation to her father and her husband: "By marrying Delmare she simply changed masters; by coming to live at Lagny, she changed her prison and the locus of her solitude" (1900).⁸⁴

⁸³ I have used the French original text. Translations of topics from French to Norwegian/Danish, are mine.

⁸⁴ "En épousant Delmare, elle ne fit que changer de maître ; en venant habiter le Lagny, que changer de prison et de solitude" (1832, 79).

Indiana describes the relationship between husband and wife in a manner that demonstrates that it is of a dynamic nature. Due to Indiana's situation she develops patience and stoicism, as well as a strong will. Only a part of her suffering is visible in her external appearance in front of her husband. She does, however, seem sad, vulnerable, and incongruous in her home, or "like a flower of yesterday that had bloomed in a gothic vase" (1900).⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the narrator adds that she has a way of conversing with her husband that enables her to protect her inner self; her replies to his questions are short and impersonal. Delmare expresses hostility towards Indiana's dog in the first scene of the novel. The narrator comments on the psychological mechanism in Delmare that explains his attitude in this respect; his failure in possessing Indiana's soul threatens his identity as a respectable man in terms of the ideals he holds, and he thus compensates for this failure through his brutality.

The text interrogates Indiana's coping mechanisms and her bonds to others who are close to her. The affective relationship she has to the servant Noun and to her dog Ophelia brings a certain light to her life. When Indiana pursues a life based on her own will, however, Noun and Ophelia suffer rough consequences. The novel shows in this way that going beyond the boundaries of her *place* comes with a high risk for a woman. The bond between Indiana and her cousin Sir Ralph also brings some light to her life, and it functions as a buffer against Delmare's hostility. Gender norms, however, hinder Indiana from an authentic appreciation of this bond. Finally, as the dreamer Indiana is, the hope that she will one day experience authentic romantic love lives vividly in her, but this coping mechanism also makes her vulnerable to suffering.

5.2.2 *Woman's Search for a Better Life Within the Psychological Games of a Dandy*

By describing the psychological games of a dandy, the novel demonstrates woman's vulnerability to suffering in a patriarchal class society. When the young neighbor, Raymon de Ramière, a clear example of the figure of the dandy, decides to seduce Indiana, it does not take much time before she loses her heart to him. Indiana is unaware of the ongoing romantic relationship between Noun and Raymon. From the narrator's report on Raymon's thoughts, it is clear that he has little respect for Noun due to her social status:

[S]he was nothing more than a maid [...] the courage with which she sacrificed her reputation to him—that courage which should have made him love her all the more — displeased Monsieur de Ramière. The wife of a peer of France who should sacrifice herself

⁸⁵ "semblable à une fleur née d'hier qu'on fait éclore dans un vase gothique" (1832, 9).

so recklessly would be a priceless conquest; but a lady's maid! That which is heroism in the one becomes brazen-faced effrontery in the other [...] In his eyes a grisette was not a woman. (1900)⁸⁶

Raymon's deprecating attitude towards Noun also causes him to end their relationship in an imprudent manner, which mobilized Noun to write him a letter. The narrator reports on how Raymon reacted to Noun's act:

A letter from a lady's maid! Yet she had taken satin-finished paper and perfumed wax [...] But the spelling! [...] Alas! the poor half-civilized girl from Ile Bourbon did not know even that there were rules for the use of the language [...] That letter Raymon lacked the courage to read to the end [...] Monsieur de Ramière made haste to throw it in the fire, fearful lest he should blush for himself [...] self-love is a part of love just as self-interest is a part of friendship. (1900)⁸⁷

The fact that Raymon finds it unworthy of consideration for the given reasons, illustrates the difficulties for a working-class woman like Noun to access discourse. Furthermore, despite the occurrence of several letters in the novel, Noun's letter is only described, not displayed. This "omission" further underscores the inappropriateness, according to the norms of the time, of a maid attempting to affirm herself through written discourse. In this narrative where epistolary contact between people of higher social rank is included, the absence of Noun's letter functions as a silent demonstration of how such attempts from a woman from the servant class are made invisible.

Noun commits suicide when she realizes that Raymon has abandoned her and started a relationship with her mistress. Indiana remains ignorant, however, about the affair between Noun and Raymon. The events concerning Noun thus further nuance the subject of patriarchal oppression in *Indiana*, as well as how social class informs the power mechanisms.

The descriptions of Indiana and Raymon's relationship expose the nature of Raymon's psychological games and how dysfunctional gender conceptions lead to suffering and

⁸⁶ "Elle ne fut qu'une femme de chambre [...] Et puis ce courage avec lequel elle lui sacrifiait sa réputation, ce courage qui eût dû la faire aimer davantage, déplut à M. de Ramière. La femme d'un pair de France qui s'immolerait de la sorte serait une conquête précieuse ; mais une femme de chambre ! Ce qui est héroïsme chez l'une devient effronterie chez l'autre [...] Pour lui une grisette n'était pas une femme" (53-54).

⁸⁷ "La lettre d'une femme de chambre ! Elle avait pourtant pris le papier satiné et la cire odorante [...] Mais l'orthographe ! [...] Hélas ! la pauvre fille à demi sauvage de l'île Bourbon ignorait même qu'il y eût des règles à la langue [...] Cette lettre, Raymon n'eut pas le courage de la lire jusqu'au bout [...] M. de Ramière se hâta de la jeter au feu, dans la crainte de rougir de lui-même [...] l'amour-propre est dans l'amour comme l'intérêt personnel est dans l'amitié" (56-57).

misunderstandings. In the beginning of Indiana and Raymon's affair, he does whatever he can to get close to Indiana. Delmare's presence, however, limits the development of the relationship. Little by little the narrator reveals that Raymon begins to lose interest in Indiana: "He loved obstacles; but he hated to be bored" (1900).⁸⁸ Indiana, however, does not lose faith in Raymon, although she needs to be assured by him that he will not leave her as he left Noun: "Why did you prefer me? You must have loved me differently and better [...] Will you give up being my lover in the way that you have been hers? In that case I can still esteem you, believe in your remorse, your sincerity, your love; if not, think of me no more, you will never see me again" (1900).⁸⁹ Raymon does not appreciate Indiana's approach:

This pride offended him; he had never supposed hitherto that a woman who had thrown herself into his arms could resist him thus outspokenly and give reasons for her resistance. "She does not love me," he said to himself; "her heart is dry, she is naturally overbearing." From that moment he loved her no longer. She had ruffled his self-esteem; she had disappointed his hope of triumph, defeated his anticipations of pleasure. (1900)⁹⁰

For Raymon the relationship between them is about triumph and defeat, a game, and to have his flaws revealed is a threat to his pride that is in conflict with the rules of the game. We see that Raymon begins to lose interest when Indiana questions his conduct, and thus holds up a mirror in which his flaws are visible. What poses problems is that Indiana turns out to be different from Raymon's conception of woman. From his perspective, their relationship depended on a gender construct that he wrongly assumed to be the truth about woman's nature. As the narrator comments: "Raymon had never understood her; how could he have continued to love her?" (1900). A lack of understanding destroys their relationship, and a flawed gender conception contributes to this failure in understanding the other.

He does not, however, end their relationship. Instead, he continues the game with new hopes of triumph. Numerous letters are exchanged between them, even though the narrator reveals that

⁸⁸ "Il aimait les obstacles, mais il reculait devant les ennuis, et il en prévoyait d'innombrables, maintenant qu'Indiana avait le droit des reproches" (1832, 281).

⁸⁹ "Pourquoi m'avez-vous préférée ? Il faut bien que vous m'aimiez autrement et mieux [...] Voulez-vous renoncer à être mon amant comme vous avez été le sien ? En ce cas, je puis vous estimer encore, croire à vos remords, à votre sincérité, à votre amour" (1832, 283).

⁹⁰ "Cette fierté l'offensait; il n'avait pas cru jusqu'alors qu'une femme qui s'était jetée dans ses bras pût lui résister ouvertement et raisonner sa résistance. 'Elle ne m'aime pas,' se dit-il, 'son cœur est sec, son caractère hautain'. De ce moment, il ne l'aima plus. Elle avait froissé son amour-propre ; elle avait déçu l'espoir d'un de ses triomphes, déjoué l'attente d'un de ses plaisirs" (1832, 284).

Raymon definitely has ceased to see Indiana as an love interest: “It was no longer a matter of snatching a new pleasure, but of punishing an insult; of possessing a woman, but of subduing her” (1900).⁹¹ When Delmare’s businesses collapse and he has to sell the mansion in Lagny, he decides to return with Indiana to the colonies. Indiana begs Raymon to hide her until Delmare is gone, but he refuses her request. He accuses her of being mad and asks her rhetorically and metafictionally from what novel for women she has learned about love. Indiana corrects him and qualifies her act as courageous. The narrator informs the reader that Raymon becomes furious when he understands that he is caught in his own traps; in his plan to subdue her and “have the satisfaction of seeing her at his feet,” he has declared in his eloquent letters that he would do anything for Indiana: “for you I would commit any crime. Ah! if you realized the depth of my love, Indiana!” (1900).⁹² He had not foreseen, however, that Indiana would take him at his word. Leaving Raymon, Indiana is so shocked that she attempts to commit suicide. Sir Ralph and her dog find her, however, and prevents her from ending her life.

As the narrative repeats the theme of woman edging towards suicide when betrayed by man, a question arises as to what the text tells us regarding the subject of woman and suicide. Both Raymon and the narrator posit Noun’s status as a maid as imperative for the way Raymon treated her and they explicitly contrast Noun’s status with Indiana’s; the repetition of suicide in the narrative thus also alludes to social class. Indiana is a privileged woman with resources, whereas Noun ran the risk of ending up not only stigmatized and alone, but also deprived of the opportunity to make a living: “I am dishonored! perhaps I shall be turned out-of-doors [...] Everyone will feel that he has a right to trample on me” (2014).⁹³ The fact that Noun completed the act of suicide while Indiana was saved, underscores that Indiana has a security blanket in life of which Noun is deprived.

What is it, however, about woman’s conditions, regardless of social class, that leads towards suicide when betrayed by man? Under certain conditions, a woman being courageous in a romantic relationship by demanding that a man takes responsibility turns out to be especially dangerous. We

⁹¹ “Il ne s’agissait plus pour lui de conquérir un bonheur, mais de punir un affront ; de posséder une femme, mais de la réduire” (1832, 284).

⁹² “pour avoir le plaisir de la voir à ses pieds” (1832, 185). “pour toi, je commettrais tous les crimes. Ah ! si tu comprenais mon amour, Indiana !” (1832, 287).

⁹³ “je suis déshonorée !... Je serai chassée peut-être [...] Chacun se croira le droit de me fouler aux pieds” (1832,105).

saw that Indiana characterized her request for Raymon's protection as courageous. Noun also demanded that Raymon take responsibility for their relationship and she did it, controversially, by sending him a letter. These actions are dangerous to them, because these women, without their knowledge, are part of the psychological games of a Dandy. In these games the acts they committed, either because they did not know or ignored the rules, lead to defeat. This defeat is harmful because it makes them vulnerable to social stigmatization, but also because it is shocking, as they had no idea they were part of a game. Noun felt convinced that Raymon would return to her as a reaction to her letter; "my letter was well adapted to bring him" (1900).⁹⁴ Indiana felt equally convinced that Raymon would keep his promise of doing anything for their relationship: "I went to your house [...] firmly convinced that when you learned the inevitable consequences of what I had done, you would feel bound to assist me in enduring them."⁹⁵ The shocking aspect of the defeat manifests as a painful cognitive and emotional disorientation, like we see in the following description of Indiana's dream-like state in the river right before she is saved:

absorbed in a bewildered reverie, in meditation without ideas, and walking aimlessly on and on. She gradually drew nearer to the river, which washed pieces of ice ashore at her feet and shattered them on the stones along the shore with a dry sound that suggested cold. The greenish water exerted an attractive force on Indiana's senses. One becomes accustomed to horrible ideas; by dint of dwelling on them one takes pleasure in them. The thought of Noun's suicide had soothed her hours of despair for so many months, that suicide had assumed in her mind the form of a tempting pleasure and she walked on [...] obeying the instinct of unhappiness and the magnetic force of suffering. (1900)⁹⁶

Noun's state is described in similar terms: "It is almost proven [...] that that unfortunate creature threw herself into the stream through despair, in one of those moments of frenzy" (1900).⁹⁷ In other words, woman enters a psychological crisis as a result of her naiveté (which is further elaborated

⁹⁴ "Ma lettre était pourtant bien faite pour le ramener" (1832, 57).

⁹⁵ "J'allais chez vous avec [...] la conviction qu'en apprenant les conséquences inévitables de ma démarche, vous vous croiriez forcé de m'aider à les supporter" (1832 367-38).

⁹⁶ "absorbée dans une rêverie stupide, dans une méditation sans idées, et poursuivant l'action sans but de marcher devant elle. Insensiblement elle se trouva au bord de l'eau, qui charriait des glaçons à ses pieds et les brisait avec un bruit sec et froid sur les pierres de la rive. Cette eau verdâtre exerçait une force attractive sur les sens d'Indiana. On s'accoutume aux idées terribles ; à force de les admettre, on s'y plaît. Il y avait si longtemps que l'exemple du suicide de Noun apaisait les heures de son désespoir, qu'elle s'était fait du suicide une sorte de volupté tentatrice [...] et Elle marchait [...] obéissant à l'instinct du malheur et au magnétisme de la souffrance" (1832, 232-233).

⁹⁷ "Il est à peu près prouvé [...] que cette infortunée s'est jetée dans la rivière par désespoir, dans un de ces moments de crise violente (1832, 143).

below) in relation to a Dandy's game, and of the punishment of her breach of female conduct, according to that game.

5.2.3 *A Letter from Indiana to Raymon*

After a time of recovery, Indiana writes a long, confrontational letter to Raymon. Indiana's letter is self-assertive. She assures Raymon that she is strong enough not to need his compassion: "I am not writing to you for the purpose of poisoning with hateful memories the repose of your present life; nor do I propose to implore your compassion for sorrows which I am strong enough to bear alone" (2004).⁹⁸ Furthermore, Indiana displays authority by presenting herself as holding the truth about man's relation to woman:

[A]ll your morality, all your principles, are simply the interests of your social order which you have raised to the dignity of laws and which you claim to trace back to God himself [...] But it is all falsehood and impiety. (1900)⁹⁹

She also lectures Raymon on theological matters by pointing out that man's domination of woman is camouflaged as a natural, divinely installed order, when it in reality is socially created in accordance with man's interests:

For my part, I have more faith than you; I do not serve the same God, but I serve Him more loyally and with a purer heart [...] I, who invoke God and understand Him, know that there is nothing in common between Him and you, and that by clinging to Him with all my strength I separate myself from you, whose constant aim it is to overthrow His works and sully His gifts. I tell you, it will become you to invoke His name to crush the resistance of a poor, weak woman, to stifle the lamentations of a broken heart. God does not choose that the creations of His hands shall be oppressed and trodden under foot. If He vouchsafed to descend so far as to intervene in our paltry quarrels, He would crush the strong and raise the weak [...] Yes, those are my dreams; they are all of another life, of another world, where the laws of the brutal will not have passed over the heads of the peaceably inclined; where resistance and flight will not be crimes [...] No, do not talk to me about God, you of all

⁹⁸ "je ne vous écris pas pour empoisonner d'un souvenir maudit le repos de votre vie présente ; je ne viens pas non plus implorer votre compassion pour des maux que j'ai la force de porter seule" (1832, 348)

⁹⁹ "[T]oute votre morale, tous vos principes, ce sont les intérêts de votre société que vous avez érigés en lois et que vous prétendez faire émaner de Dieu même [...] Mais tout cela est mensonge et impiété" (1832, 354)

men, Raymon; do not invoke His name to send me into exile and reduce me to silence. (1900)¹⁰⁰

Man thus abuses religion in order to dominate woman, according to Indiana's reasoning. Indiana's letter is a feminist manifesto that unveils the dynamic mechanisms of patriarchal power. It seeks to clarify that women's place in society, in relation to man, is based on a lie; woman's subordination to man is justified by her need for protection and shelter. Indiana demonstrates, however, that the boundaries that delineate women's space of action make her fragile and prone to suffering. Both the act of staying with and obeying her husband and the act of seeking protection from violence from the man she loves hurt her, which makes her conclude:

In submitting as I do I yield to the power of men. If I listened to the voice which God has placed in the depths of my heart, and to the noble instinct of a bold and strong nature, which perhaps is the genuine conscience, I should fly to the desert, I should learn to do without help, protection and love. (1900)¹⁰¹

Indiana shows lucidity in terms of understanding Raymon's behavior towards her, but only to a certain extent, and not without contradictions. She states that she knows he did not love her and blames herself for not managing to make herself agreeable enough to him. When showing her uncertainty as to why Raymon did not love her and to why he could not find sufficient courage to follow her, we realize that she longs for an explanation, for Raymon's "truth." She has not deciphered his game, which is perhaps not so strange (although the narrator criticizes her for being naive, as we shall see below). Raymon is not entirely calculating; the characters in the narrative are complex, as we see in Raymon's response to Indiana's letter:

The sombre and inflexible energy which she retained, amid shocks which might well have crushed her spirit, made a profound impression on Raymon. "I judged her ill," he thought; "she really loved me, she still loves me; for my sake she would have been capable of those heroic efforts which I considered to be beyond a woman's strength; and now I probably need

¹⁰⁰ "Pour moi, j'ai plus de foi que vous ; je ne sers pas le même Dieu, mais je le sers mieux, et plus purement [...] «Moi qui l'invoque, moi qui le comprends, je sais bien qu'il n'y a rien de commun entre lui et vous, et c'est en m'attachant à lui de toute ma force que je m'isole de vous, qui tendez sans cesse à renverser ses ouvrages et à souiller ses dons. Allez, il vous sied «mal d'invoquer son nom pour anéantir la résistance d'une faible femme, pour étouffer la plainte d'un cœur déchiré. Dieu ne veut pas qu'on opprime et qu'on écrase les créatures de ses mains. S'il daignait descendre jusqu'à intervenir dans nos chétifs intérêts, il briserait le fort et relèverait le faible [...] «Oui, voilà mes rêves ; ils sont tous d'une autre vie, d'un autre monde, où la loi du brutal n'aura point passé sur la tête du pacifique, où du moins la résistance et la fuite ne seront pas des crimes [...] «Non, ne me parlez pas de Dieu, vous surtout, Raymon ; n'invoquez pas son nom pour m'envoyer en exil et me réduire au silence" (1832, 354-356).

¹⁰¹ "En me soumettant, c'est au pouvoir des hommes que je cède. Si j'écoutais la voix que Dieu a mise au fond de mon cœur, et ce noble instinct d'une nature forte et hardie, qui peut-être est la vraie conscience, je fuirais au désert, je saurais me passer d'aide, de protection et d'amour (1832, 356).

say but a word to draw her, like an irresistible magnet, from one end of the world to the other.” (1900)¹⁰²

We witness that Raymon’s conception of woman expands thanks to Indiana’s letter. Instead of losing interest when he recognizes that she differs from his conception of woman’s nature, he is impressed this time. He is, however, convinced that he can continue playing his game, and draw her towards him “like an irresistible magnet.” Indiana’s critical analysis of patriarchal oppression has not made an impact on him. It is only the heroism he attributes to the stamina of her love that has impressed him. What Indiana believes to be the truth is not heard. Raymon again desires to dominate her. “He could, by taking a little trouble, exert an unbounded influence over his Indiana; he felt that he possessed sufficient mental cunning and knavery to make of that enthusiastic and sublime creature a devoted and submissive mistress” (1900).¹⁰³

Indiana’s inability to discern the contrast between Raymon’s weak faith in truth and her strong inclination for it exposes her to the risk of more suffering. He decides to write a letter to Indiana to get her to come to him. The narrator lets us know that Raymon’s inclination for starting a life with Indiana, is rather superficial: “Three days after the despatch of his letter to Ile Bourbon, Raymon had entirely forgotten both the letter and its purpose” (1900).¹⁰⁴ She is unhappy in the colonies when she receives his letter. Indiana decides to believe in Raymon’s declarations, and starts preparing her flight from her husband. Soon after Indiana sends her long letter to Raymon, the narrator calls her out as extremely naive:

if you were to tell me that Indiana is an exceptional character, and that the ordinary woman displays neither her stoical coolness nor her exasperating patience in resistance to conjugal despotism, I would tell you to look at the reverse of the medal, and see the miserable weakness, the stupid blindness she displays in her relations with Raymon. I should ask you

¹⁰² “L’énergie sombre et inflexible qu’elle conservait, au milieu des revers qui eussent dû briser son âme, frappa vivement Raymon. ‘Je l’ai mal jugée, pensa-t-il, elle m’aimait réellement, elle m’aime encore ; pour moi, elle eût été capable de ces efforts héroïques que je croyais au-dessus des forces d’une femme ; et maintenant, je n’aurais peut-être qu’un mot à dire pour l’attirer, comme un invincible aimant, d’un bout du monde à l’autre’” (1832, 398-399).

¹⁰³ “Il pouvait, en se donnant un peu de peine, exercer sur son Indiana un ascendant illimité ; il se sentait assez d’adresse et de rouerie dans l’esprit pour faire de cette femme ardente et sublime une maîtresse soumise et dévouée (1832, 402-403).

¹⁰⁴ “Trois jours après le départ de la lettre pour l’île Bourbon, Raymon avait complètement oublié cette lettre et son objet” (1832, 437)

where you ever found a woman who [...] would not become, in one man's arms, as pitifully weak as she could be strong and invincible in another man's. (1900)¹⁰⁵

The narrator presents an explanation of woman's naiveté, namely that she is "naturally foolish," and that it is "as if Heaven, to counterbalance the eminent superiority over us men which she owes to her delicacy of perception, had implanted a blind vanity, an idiotic credulity in her heart" (1900).¹⁰⁶ The narrator thus reveals his own gender in this context. This narrative device establishes that man's conception of woman is that her naiveté serves as a counterbalance to an exceptional delicacy of perception.

Nevertheless, I find that the narrator is proven wrong by his own narrative and by Indiana's letter. A feature of the game into which Raymon has drawn her, is that she is not supposed to learn that it is a game; she is naive, but she has not been thought otherwise as she has her education from "romantic novels for women," which she herself admits. Indiana even admits that Raymon was right in pointing out that she got her ideas of love from romantic novels. Furthermore, Indiana's desperation has been revealed to the reader in detail. Her need to find a way out, leaves her with no other possibility than choosing to have faith in Raymon. The narrative thus in practice casts doubt upon its own narrator's conviction that Indiana's naiveté stems from woman's "natural foolishness," and instead suggests that it is related to gender norms and survival in a society in which woman is defenseless. Woman's defenselessness is further accentuated through Indiana's voyage back to France and Raymon.

5.2.4 "*The Blindfold Fell from Her Eyes*"

In this last section about *Indiana*, I show that the text contends that woman's opportunities for a better life in a patriarchal society and a reversal of destructive gender conceptions does not come about without great sacrifices and radical transformations in mindset and society. Secretly Indiana manages to get a place onboard a ship set to sail from l'île de Bourbon to France. Some sailors pick her up early in the morning to take her to the ship. She is mocked and is afraid of losing her life. Her loyal dog that accompanies her to the pick-up place, is beaten to death by the sailors. Both the

¹⁰⁵ "si vous me disiez qu'Indiana es un caractère d'exception, et que la femme ordinaire n'a, dans la résistance conjugale, ni cette stoïque froideur ni cette patience désespérante. Je vous dirais de regarder le revers de la médaille, et de voir la misérable faiblesse, l'inepte aveuglement dont elle fait preuve avec Raymon. Je vous demanderais où vous avez trouvé une femme [...] qui ne redevînt pas, aux bras d'un homme, aussi puérilement faible qu'elle sait être invincible et forte aux bras d'un autre" (1832, 375-376).

¹⁰⁶ "imbécile par nature [...]" "il semble pour contrebalancer l'éminente supériorité que ses délicates perceptions lui donnent sur nous, le ciel ait mis à dessein dans son cœur une vanité aveugle, une idiote crédulité." (1832, 376)

dog's fate and Noun's death underscore for the reader the risks that come with woman's resistance to her *place*. Noun and Ophelia are Indiana's affective allies who are both victims of patriarchal violence when Indiana attempts to pursue her desire for a better life. Noun is punished for having dreamed of reciprocal, authentic love, especially with a man above her social rank. The brutality towards Indiana's dog at the moment when she flees her husband is a demonstration of power and an indirect threat to Indiana's own life.

When Indiana reaches France, Paris is undergoing tension; it is in the middle of the July revolution (the second revolution after the French Revolution). Once again woman's vulnerability and man as the only shelter, is underscored. That this scene is set in the middle of a revolution where people fought for civil rights and emancipation from abusive power, alludes to woman's position in society as transformable, but not without terror and death.

Indiana is confident that Raymon has been waiting for her, which turns out not to be true. In the despair that follows, Sir Ralph comes to her rescue again. Indiana does not, however, think she can fully recover and sees no way to continue living. The reader has also learned that Sir Ralph is an unhappy man. They decide to commit suicide together. In what they think is their last conversation, Sir Ralph declares that he has thought of Indiana as his future wife since their adolescence, and Indiana understands that conventions and gender norms have made her blind to him. "[T]he blindfold, which had long been loosened, fell from her eyes altogether [...] she saw Ralph's heart as it really was" (1900).¹⁰⁷ Indiana had come to believe that his melancholy and physical appearance were incompatible with what she looked for in a man. Sir Ralph, for his part, realizes that he had come to judge Indiana and treat her in terms of stereotypical ideas of woman. "I had the insolence to try to protect you from his fascinations; and therein I insulted you, Indiana. I did not have faith in your strength; that is another crime for you to forgive."¹⁰⁸

We thus find in *Indiana* a criticism of how gender norms get in the way of authentic relationships between man and woman. Instead they produce existential loneliness, lack of self-awareness,

¹⁰⁷ "le bandeau, qui depuis longtemps se détachait, tomba tout à fait de ses yeux [...] elle vit le cœur de Ralph tel qu'il était" (1832, 516-517). I have modified the English translation, which uses "bandage," in order to make it more in line with the original, the French "bandeau."

¹⁰⁸ "j'ai eu l'insolence de vouloir vous protéger contre ses séductions ; et en cela je vous ai fait injure, Indiana ; je n'ai pas eu foi en votre force : c'est encore un de mes crimes qu'il faut me pardonner" (1832, 514).

despair, and resentment. It is only in the face of death, when social conventions have the least impact on human beings, that they find their way out of the misunderstandings. The repetition in the narrative of the fundamental phenomena of death and revolution also has an allegorical function; it highlights the severity and desperation related to woman's conditions. In this context, the suicidal plan of Indiana and Ralph not only demonstrates their individual despair. It also alludes to the thoroughgoing changes that must take place in order to overcome the destructive force of gender constructs.

The novel has, however, been criticized for having an unrealistically happy ending (Sainte-Beuve 1881-82, see also Ippolito 2009 for a discussion of the reception of *Indiana's* conclusion). Indiana and Sir Ralph move to a deserted place after their aborted suicide. The narrator, who pays them a visit in their new life, does not, however, describe their life in this place as idyllic. Instead of being a utopian conclusion to the novel, the ending shows that they find themselves unable to live within society. The narrator speaks with people in the area around their isolated place, and the majority despise them and spread rumors related to Indiana's flight from her husband and Sir Ralph's involvement in the ending of her marriage. Indiana and Sir Ralph's life together corresponds neither with unrealistic romantic illusions nor with the ideology of the ideal marriage at the time. In this way, the novel continues to interrogate the consequences of resisting gender norms until its end.

5.2.5 Topic Modeling Indiana

The main themes I have analyzed in the novel are woman's vulnerability to suffering in relation to man, conceptions of femininity, and how gender norms impede authentic relations between the genders. These themes are reflected in the topics I have created, labeled: "woman's protection," "woman's courage during difficult times," "the bond between the genders," "(female) slave and master," "the female servant's romantic liaison," and "woman's suicide." I have also applied the automatically created topic labeled "woman's needs." (See link to complete topics and settings with which they have been applied to the Digital Bookshelf here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Sand/Topics).

5.3 Woman's Volition and the "Daily Droplet of Persuasion" (Collett's Text)

The District Governor's Daughters was published anonymously in two parts that appeared in 1854 and 1855. The protagonists are Sofie Ramm and Georg Kold, but the narrative includes descriptions of several women's lives. These women's actions and considerations of the consequences of going beyond the boundaries of woman's place in society make it valuable to study this novel as part of gender discourse. The main part of the story is related by an omniscient narrator, supplemented by diary excerpts, letters, and metadiegetic narratives related by different characters in the novel, whose function is often to shed light on different women's destinies.

The novel starts with the young man Georg Kold's arrival at the District Governor's residence in a rural area of Norway. He is hired as a tutor, primarily for the son of the family, Edward. The District Governor, Mr. Ramm, wants his youngest daughter, Sofie, who is 17 at the start of the narrative, to take some of the classes as well.

5.3.1 Woman's Silence from Georg Kold's Perspective

In the start of the novel, the narrator presents Sofie only through the perspectives of other characters, principally Georg's. From his perspective, Sofie is interesting in terms of women's ability to negotiate their place in society. She perplexes him in his attempts to teach her basic academic knowledge. She appears to be in her own world and he cannot figure out if it is lack of interest or skill that holds her back. On a few occasions, however, Sofie shows impressive progress. Furthermore, Georg is astonished at her when he during a walk in the forest discovers her singing. To his remark on what a great singer she is, Sofie bursts into tears and begs him not to tell anyone. The reason she gives Georg is that she knows that she will be forced to take singing lessons if it is discovered, and that she will not be allowed to quit even if it makes her suffer, like she had observed with her sister, Louise. Sofie thus holds back her interests and skills (on several levels, as we shall see) in order to protect her freedom.

As I have described earlier, I hypothesize that there is an emancipatory silence in women in the period that can be traced in references to their nonverbal actions. After Georg's outdoor encounter with Sofie and her request that he keeps quiet about her singing, he reflects in the following manner: "Had I been completely mistaken in her? Hidden beneath all those contradictions, was

there not actually a wonderfully unique soul, endowed with strong instincts and fighting to be free, while she was ignorant of how to handle the reality around her?" (1991, 54).¹⁰⁹ He is, however, not sure. In another moment he thinks: "Why should she be different from the others? [...] Why should she escape the *deceit* that perhaps is women's most natural defense against the world? [...] Do not yield to anyone, anyone Sofie, before you yourself love [...] Oh, if she could be true, true, true!" (1991, 95).¹¹⁰ Georg describes Sofie as "strange" [besynderlig], "absent-minded" [adspredt], "inattentive" [uopmerksom], "lazy" [doven], "indifferent" [likegyldig], as sitting "in silence" [taus], with a "shy" [sky] but "inquiring" [forskende] stare, having "abstracted" [tankeløse] eyes, but also gazing "humbly" [ydmykt] and "beseechingly" [bønnlig] at him (2013, 15, 28-29; 1991, 46-47, 49-50). Whereas Sofie's father describes her as "somewhat wild" [litt vill], Georg experiences that she demonstrates a kind of "mistrust" [mistillit] that is close to "aversion" [uvilje], and cannot make up his mind as to whether it is "stupidity" [stupiditet] or "unwillingness" [vrangvillighet] that is her problem (2013 26; 1991, 36).

The opening of the narrative constitutes a *mise en abyme* of the central themes in the novel, namely that woman's volition, thoughts, and feelings are sidelined. Apart from Sofie's disclosure to Georg related to her singing, Sofie's thinking and acting in order to handle the reality around her remains unknown to him and to the readers until she returns to the family's residence after a stay in Copenhagen. It is first through Sofie's diary after she returns from Copenhagen that the reader gains knowledge of her inner life.

5.3.2 Silent Suffering or Public Condemnation

Through silence and withdrawal, Sofie fights to keep a freedom that she knows women are not likely to be accorded in her society. She has a grotto that is her private space and manifestation of her inner life. It is also where she keeps her books. Her intellectual curiosity is a domain she keeps to herself, in order to avoid being invaded and controlled by others. In addition to her books, she has a doll buried in the grotto. This doll represents her older sister, Louise. It was to Sofie's great despair that her sister married the former tutor, Caspers, a misogynistic man whom Sofie knew

¹⁰⁹ "Har jeg ikke ganske tatt feil av henne? Skjulte det seg ikke just under all disse motsigelser en fint utpreget, med sterke instinkter begavet sjel der kjempet for sin befrielse, uten å vite hvorledes hun skulde håndtere den virkelighet hvori hun var satt?" (2013, 34).

¹¹⁰ "Hvorfor skulde hun være annerledes enn andre! [...] Hvorfor skulde hun undgå den *usannhet* som kanskje er kvinnenens naturlige våben mot verden? [...] Bønnhør ingen, ingen, Sofie, føreenn du elsker selv [...] O, kunde hun være sann, sann, sann!" (2013, 78).

Louise did not love. It was nonetheless not an alternative for Louise to refuse his proposal. Sofie experienced sorrow because of her sister's marriage and thus carried out in solitude the ceremony of burying the doll that represented her. She knew that this marriage meant that Louise had to deaden her inner life and spirit. "She should, she must be dead. She could not survive such a degradation" (1991, 107).¹¹¹ The reader is the only confidant, through Sofie's diary, where she reveals all this. "I felt dizzy under these conditions," she confesses; "To be married off without inclination; to be thus flung, by some sinister force, without volition and yet voluntarily" (1991, 108).¹¹² We thus see that Georg's silent prayer to Sofie that she does not yield to anyone she does not love, resonates with Sofie's private aspirations, as the idea of marrying someone without inclination makes her feel sick.

The narrative sharply describes a paradoxical condition for woman, namely that she pays a high price both for cultivating authenticity and for failing to live authentically. Shortly after Sofie returns from Copenhagen, she and Georg establish a friendship. Georg discovers that she has "a soul strong enough to meet his own" (1991, 142).¹¹³ Strong feelings emerge between them, without them speaking about it together. Georg has a woman friend, Margrethe, from whom he receives candid letters that enlighten him on "the life-philosophy of a woman who has matured through suffering and experience" (1991, 119).¹¹⁴ Georg has also opened up to Margrethe regarding his earlier failed love affairs. He says about one of them:

She was the incarnation of modern woman's educational mould, whose goal seems to be the complete extinction of all individuality and every spark of independence, and which in shallow natures produces dissimulation in everything: affectation instead of sensitivity, priggishness rather than modesty, and stock phrases instead of independent thoughts. (1991, 62)¹¹⁵

What he searches for instead are "real feelings, a wealth of thoughts, perspicacity and understanding [...] independence of spirit," like he finds in his friend Margrethe (1991, 65).¹¹⁶ From Margrethe

¹¹¹ "Hun skulde, hun måtte være død. En sådan nedverdiggelse torde hun ikke overleve" (2013, 92)

¹¹² "Jeg svimlet mellem disse tilstander ... Å giftes bort uten noen tilbøielighet, å slynges således ved en dunkel makt viljeløs og dog frivillig" (2013, 93)

¹¹³ "en sjel sterk nok til å møte hans" (2013, 131).

¹¹⁴ "en kvinnelig livsfilosofi, og det en der er som modnet gjennom smerte og erfaring" (2013, 105).

¹¹⁵ "Hun var en inkarnasjon av den moderne støpegodsopdragelse, der synes å ha satt seg som mål å avslipe ethvert spor av individualitet, kvele hver gnist av et selvstendig liv, og som i mindre dype naturer frembringer usannhet i alt: affektasjon, istedenfor følelse, snerperi for bluferdighet og fraser for noe selvtenkt" (2013, 43).

¹¹⁶ "riktig følelse, tankerikdom, skarpsindighet i oppfatning [...] aandsselvstendighet" (2013, 46).

Georg learns why he has not found the one he seeks: “You have not looked in the right places for the one to satisfy you. You have looked for her in the ballrooms [...] The footprints of that sort of woman must be looked for in the darkest corners of a house, or in mental institutions, or in the *grave*” (1991, 66).¹¹⁷ Margrethe explains what she means by that: “You complain about us, and with reason. But what are we to do? We grow only through pain, but unfortunately this also makes us unfit for living” (1991, 66).¹¹⁸ These are thus the places where a woman who dares to live authentically ends up, according to the character, whereas women who repress their own feelings (like Louise) or individuality (like Georg’s earlier love interests) end up in unhappy marriages or as abandoned.

When the narrator presents Sofie’s perspective when she is back from Copenhagen, the reader learns that Margrethe, in fact, has given Georg valuable information for understanding Sofie. She confesses to her diary that she dislikes the balls, as woman is supposed to accept all invitations to dance and hold back any preference in terms of dance partners. She asks herself: “My sufferings in the ballrooms — are they not in a small way a reflection of life itself?” (1991, 104-105).¹¹⁹ Furthermore, when she wants to borrow a book from her brother, he replies that reading is of no use to her, because his former teacher (Caspers, Louise’s future husband) has said that “all learned ladies should be put in the insane asylum” (1991, 109).¹²⁰ And, as we have seen, the grave is not an unfamiliar place to Sofie; she has buried the doll that represented her sister, Louise. Sofie knew that Louise loved someone else but married a man she did neither love nor respect, and Sofie is herself desperately afraid that the same destiny awaits her (1991, 107-108; 2013, 91-93).

A sub-narrative in the text about a woman named Karoline Møllerup underscores the fatal risks to which a woman exposes herself if she goes beyond the boundaries of women’s place in society, more specifically in terms of behavior towards a man for whom she has romantic feelings. Karoline Møllerup appears through Mrs. Ramm’s telling of her story. Mrs. Ramm tells this story to Sofie, Sofie’s sister, Amalie, and Georg. According to Mrs. Ramm’s report, Karoline was as a young

¹¹⁷ “Den der skulde tilfredsstilt Dem, har De ikke søkt hvor de skulde søkt henne [...] Sporet av den slags kvinner må man søke i de dunkleste vråer av husene, eller søke dem i sinnssykeanstaltene eller i *graven*” (2013, 46-47).

¹¹⁸ “Vår eneste utvikling får vi gjennom smerten; men ulykkeligvis gjør denne oss med det samme uskikket til livet” (2013, 47).

¹¹⁹ “Mine ballidelser, er de ikke i det små en avspeiling av livet?” (2013, 89).

¹²⁰ “man burde sette all lære damer i dårekisten” (2013, 94).

woman very popular among men. She granted herself the freedom to turn down advances from several and seemed impossible to seduce. An officer stationed at a garrison in the area who had heard of the irresistible but unconquerable Karoline Møllerup, saw this situation as a challenge. He entered into a bet that he was going to conquer her love no matter what and obtain a written declaration from her of her love for him. He tried with all his means to seduce Karoline, but she rejected him consistently. As the time came for his return to the military company, he still had no declaration from her. Karoline had in fact loved the officer from the first day and decided to acknowledge her feelings for him when he returned. After a year had passed without any signs of the officer, Karoline wrote a letter to him in which she declared in “the most passionate terms” [de lidenskapeligste uttrykk] her love for him (1991, 179; 2013, 171). When Mrs. Ramm reaches this point in her story, she tells her listeners not to punish Karoline too harshly for her “breach of feminine conduct” [brudd på kvinnelig takt] as the succeeding events had already punished her (1991, 180-181; 2013, 171-173); a friend of hers convinced her to send a new formal letter to the officer, in which she asked to have her first letter returned. The officer replied with a sarcastic message; he would always keep this valuable document, and he had spread it among all his friends as a consolation for those who had been victims of her coquettish behavior (1991, 180-181; 2013, 171-172).

Mrs. Ramm explains the moral of the story the following way: “Any transgression of the limits to decent behavior carries its own dreadful punishment” (1991, 180).¹²¹ In Mrs. Ramm’s opinion, Karoline has violated all female decorum. The world demands that a woman remains passive, especially if her life’s happiness is at stake. “To submit is her only salvation. Therefore, a young girl cannot be too strongly admonished to control her emotions and, if possible, get rid of them while there is still time” (1991, 182).¹²² Mrs. Ramm states that she has taught her daughters that it is only a happy coincidence if a woman’s love is returned. She compares it to the ballrooms; woman’s silent wish to dance with a particular man is irrelevant because she must dance with whoever invites her. A woman’s destiny [bestemmelse] is to be a wife and mother, and self-denial is her most exquisite virtue, according to Mrs. Ramm (1991, 182-183; 2013, 175).

¹²¹ “Enhver overskridelse av grensene for det anstendige straffer sig selv på det hårdeste” (2013, 172)

¹²² “Å underkaste seg er den eneste redning for henne. Derfor kan man ikke nok innskjerpe en ung pike å legge bånd på sine følelser og om mulig utrydde dem i tide.” (2013, 174)

Mrs. Ramm's tale functions as a warning of what will happen to a woman if she does not obey the norms for feminine conduct. On the one hand, we can say that Mrs. Ramm does her daughters a favor in that she enlightens them about the social reality for their gender. On the other hand, however, she indirectly communicates that her daughters will have no support in her if they commit what she perceives to be a mistake in these matters. In fact, she contributes to the public condemnation of Karoline Møllerup through her retelling of her story. Mrs. Ramm thus conveys no encouragement for negotiating women's place in society; on the contrary, she teaches her daughters that questioning the female virtues is a failure. Mrs. Ramm thus demonstrates that women act as "gatekeepers" of woman's place in society; violation of the boundaries of this place are policed and punished through women's condemnation. Like we have seen with Sand's *Indiana*, *The District Governor's Daughters* portrays women's place in society as controlled by dynamic power mechanisms.

Mrs. Ramm's tale does not go uncontested in the novel. According to Georg, a woman should not be more shameful than a man about expressing feelings that are not returned. "I cannot admire the sort of femininity that sees its ideal in passivity and silence, which will reduce them all [women] to puppets and automatons" (1991, 182).¹²³ Self-denial and eradication of feelings means an annihilation of that which is most valuable in a human being, according to him. He compares marrying a woman who has followed such a path and engaged in this violence towards her own soul, to building one's house on the ruins of a temple (1991, 182, 2013, 175). He thus encourages women to go beyond the boundaries of their place in society and be truthful to themselves and to others and express their authentic feelings. Sofie who longs for a "truer femininity," is silently elated by Georg's reactions, and her love for him grows (1991, 247; 2013, 244). On the other hand, however, her mother has demonstrated how fragile Sofie would become if she decided to live in accordance with her own, and Georg's, ideals. Apparently, Georg also senses how precarious it is for a woman to live in accordance with such ideals. He has a nightmare, that in a certain sense foreshadows the events to come; he reaches out to Sofie, but at the moment when he gets close to her, it turned out to be Mrs. Ramm, who affirmed that self-denial is woman's most precious virtue (1991, 187-188; 2013, 180).

¹²³ "Jeg kan ikke beundre denne kvinnelighet der setter sitt ideal i en passivitet, en stumhet, der nedverdiger dem til dukker og automater alle sammen" (2013, 174)

The context provided by the narrative about Karoline Møllerup demonstrates how gender norms complicate communication and how woman's suffering, whether she stays within or go beyond the boundaries of a woman's *place*, seems inevitable in the novel. Woman is prone to suffering if she follows the ideals of passivity and silence for her gender; she is then forced to act without free will and against her inclination. The remedy against this silent suffering would be, according to Mrs. Ramm, to engage in the work of self-denial, or to use deceit as her weapon against the world, as Georg puts it. Karoline Møller represents the other alternative, namely to follow her will and assume her essence through writing her letter. She is neither a shallow nor without the capacity to love. This alternative, however, also leads to suffering and public condemnation.

5.3.3 "The Terrible Power of Chance"

The omniscient narrator makes a notable comment on the phenomenon of coincidence and how it has an entirely different power in the life of a man compared to that of a woman:

Yes, reality has its inspired moments [...] in which life [...] opens out into full bloom and fragrance. But it also has moments [...] that occur in such a fatal [...] way [...] that one must try hard to maintain one's faith that these events as well constitute a part of the all-loving, omniscient Providence, because they look more like a fragment of a poem conceived in the fertile mind of a demon. And this demon! [...] We call it *chance*. In the life of a male, it is sort of a house-elf, a bothersome mischief-maker, against which he may nevertheless be bravely on his guard and which he may subdue as circumstances permit. In the life of a woman, chance is a terrible power to which she must surrender herself unconditionally, mutely and passively. (1991, 193-194)¹²⁴

Life is full of accidental combinations of events, according to the narrator. The ways chance plays out in the life of a woman, means that her life is dominated by conditions against which she has no opportunity to resist; even the smallest accidental event that a man could have overcome can be decisive for her because gender norms do not allow her to resist its power. The narrator's comment foreshadows a decisive incident in the plot. The day when Sofie and Georg have their first and only intimate contact, Georg's older friend, Müller, surprises him with a visit at the District Governor's residence. Müller, convinced that romantic engagements are destructive for young men's careers and happiness, instantly notices that something is in the air between them. In order to protect the

¹²⁴ "Ja virkeligheten har sine geniale momenter [...] hvori tilværelsen [...] slår ut i blomst og duft. Men den har også momenter [...] der fremtrer så fatale [...] at man må holde meget fast ved troen på at også disse er ledd i et allkjærlig og allvist forsyn; ti de ser snarere ut som et stykke av et dikt uttenkt i en demons oppfinnsomme hjerne. Og denne demon! [...] Vi kaller den: *Tilfeldighet*. I mannens liv en slags husnisse, en bysom spillmaker, som han dog kjekt kan være på post imot og efter omstendighetene betvinge. I kvinnens liv en forferdelig make, til hvem hun på nåde og unåde må overgi seg, stum og viljeløs" (2013, 187).

still not verbalized bond between him and Sofie, Georg lies to Müller. He assures him that he does not love the eccentric and emancipated Sofie and characterizes both these character traits as bad in his attempt to get the idea of a romance between him and Sofie out of Müller's head. Sofie, however, secretly overhears this conversation. She is deeply disturbed and decides that she has to protect herself completely from Georg. He does not understand why she ignores him, and she has no reason to believe that what she heard was not the truth. This incident puts a permanent end to their contact, to the great despair of both.

In itself it is a highly improbable accident that Sofie overhears Georg and Müller converse in the exact moment where she becomes the subject of their conversation; it is an improbable coincidence that has decisive consequences for the plot. Considered in light of the comment by the narrator on the nature of chance, however, the incident takes on an allegorical meaning. Read allegorically, the incident conveys woman's particular powerlessness when confronted with the phenomenon of chance.

5.3.4 *"The Daily Droplet of Persuasion"*

Louise has a story that also serves to illustrate women's place in society. Furthermore, one of this character's functions in the narrative is to show how the power of the example influences how woman relates to man. Louise influences Sofie's internal processes in relation to Georg and to another character, namely the pastor and widower, Mr. Rein. Sofie experiences sorrow because she still loves Georg. Her way of dealing with it is through denial, following the "law of self-destruction and self-mortification governing womanhood" [kvinnelighedens selvdødelse- og selvplagerlov] (1991, 247; 2013, 244). Her aspirations for a "truer, more natural femininity" [en sannere, mindre unaturlig kvinnelighet] had left her (1991; 247; 2013, 244). Pastor Rein admits his wish for Sofie to become his wife but assures her that he expects no answer from her. Sofie pays her sister a visit, with a need to open up about her pain and doubts. She is, however, more than anything distressed by observing Louise's agony.

The essence of Louise's agony is that she does not, and never has, loved or respected her husband. Living with someone one does not respect [akte] destroys one's self-respect [selvaktelse], according to her (1991, 269; 2013, 268). Louise feels bitterness towards her parents for the painful marriage she has to endure. She admits that she was not explicitly forced to marry Mr. Caspers, but that a "daily droplet of persuasion" [overtalelsens daglige drypp] has a strong effect on a young mind

(1991, 270; 2013, 268). If the marriage turns out to be unhappy, however, the public version is that woman herself is responsible for her predicament—since she ostensibly entered it of her own free will—according to Louise. Louise’s view on the process that led her to accept Caspers’ proposal also explains Sophie’s comment in her diary that Louise was married off *without volition, yet voluntarily*.

Louise strongly encourages Sofie to forget Georg and to marry Pastor Rein. Sofie turns down this last piece of advice as absurd, stating that “my instinct rebels against it” [[m]in følelse motsetter sig det] (1991, 268; 2013, 267). Louise has numerous reasons for why Sofie’s argument is invalid: women’s position in life is “purely a matter of luck: a game of chance” [rent lykketreff, et lotterispill] with no space for proper choices; if destiny offers a woman a decent ticket in life, she should accept it” (1991, 268; 2013, 267). Louise thus confirms the validity of the narrator’s reflections regarding the phenomenon of chance in a woman’s life, and Sofie also admits that she thinks “extremely well of” Pastor Rein (1991, 268; 2013, 267). To Sofie’s words regarding the long conversations she had had with Georg and the courage she felt when listening to his inspired talk about a “new concept of femininity that would make everybody happier” [ny, mere lykksaliggjørende idé av det kvinnelige], Louise’s response is that such things will not come to pass in their lifetime. A lot of evil and old misery will have to take place before that can happen, and the aspirations of a young mind lead to nothing (1991, 266; 2013, 264). “From that moment [Sofie] no longer dared look up towards the radiant, sunlit peak of love” (1991, 280).¹²⁵

In visiting Louise, Sofie has become further discouraged from cherishing hope for a reunion with Georg. She is, however, not inclined to unite with Pastor Rein. On her way back home, she passes Pastor Rein’s vicarage. She feels uncertain as to whether she is going to enter or not. When attempting to make up her mind outside the property, she hears some birds and muses that they are not ready yet to enter their wintery prison. In the same moment her horse takes a step towards the property to reach some fresh grass it has found. At this moment Sofie realizes that she needs to leave immediately (1991, 281; 2013, 282). In my reading of this passage, Sofie believes that becoming Pastor Rein’s wife would require her to put her own will into hibernation, like nature during winter. Like her horse pursuing the fresh grass that winter has not yet reached, Sofie flees the vicarage in order to maintain her free will. The horse found the fresh grass on the property,

¹²⁵ “fra det øieblikk våget hun ikke å se mere op til kjærlighetens lyse, solbeskinnende tinder” (2013, 280).

however, which not only suggests that Sofie will change her mind, return to the vicarage, and marry Rein, but it also leaves open an ambiguity as to whether life at the vicarage will reflect her own will, or not.

5.3.5 Sofie's Marriage to Pastor Rein

The District Governor's Daughters problematizes where the distinction between persuasion and volition lies. What Louise called the "daily droplet of persuasion" succeeding Sofie's stay at the Caspers' has a determining effect on her decision to follow up on Pastor Rein's wish to marry her. Sofie has had several conversations with Pastor Rein. A strong bond also emerges between Sofie and Rein's daughter, Ada. Sofie thinks extremely well of him, but she is not inclined towards marrying him. A subtle campaign of persuasion must take place before Sofie changes her mind, which is what Mrs. Ramm organizes when Louise secretly informs her about Pastor Rein's advance towards Sofie. The omniscient narrator sums up the phenomenon of persuasion and its effect the following way:

Once the faintest suspicion of a possibility is present, the world will have a thousand conjuring tricks ready, and then she had better take care - the air is pregnant with them. From every side she will hear mysterious words that separately are harmless, but that together constitute the complete magic formula. She will hear them in her mother's sighs, in her father's silence, in the innocent chatter of her brothers and sisters ... And then there are her friends and rumours and gossip! (1991, 288)¹²⁶

Rumors and gossip also play a part in the influence exercised on Sofie's decision. Mrs. Ramm reveals one day that the whole community knows about her and Georg. For Sofie's own sake, her mother says, it would be best for her to leave the area until the gossip has quieted down, preferably to go with her sister to the vicarage. Sofie's decision to marry Pastor Rein becomes inevitable when she replies to her mother in this moment: "'It is not an impossibility,' Sofie mumbled, her face white as a sheet [...] 'As his wife I *can* and *will*,' said Sofie coldly and calmly, but audibly" (1991, 296).¹²⁷ The reader already knows (from Mrs. Ramm's report on Karoline Møllerup) that Sofie has been taught to fear public condemnation. Sofie is thus partly scared into the marriage.

¹²⁶ "Er først den svakeste spire til en mulighet til stede, vil verden ha tusen besveregelsesmidler i beredskap, og da må hun ta sig i akt; luften er svanger med dem. Fra alle kanter vil det klinge hemmelighetsfulle ord, hvorav hvert enkelt av dem er uskadelig, men som tilsammen danner den hele trylleformel. Hun vil høre dem i sin more sukk, i sin fars taushet, i sine søskens uskyldige tale ... Og så veninder og rykter og folkesnakk!" (2013, 289).

¹²⁷ "'Det er ingen umulighet,' mumlet Sofie, hvit i ansiktet som et klæde [...] 'Som hans hustru *kan* og *vil* jeg det,' sa Sofie koldt og rolig, men med lydelig stemme" (2013, 297-298)

Numerous readers have found Sofie's marriage to Rein a sign of resignation and a step back for women's emancipation (see for instance Steinfeld 1988; Aasen 2013); Sofie ends up with an ideal husband in other people's eyes, but it is not a man for whom she has romantic feelings. Like her sisters, her intimate feelings are not determinative for whom she marries. In other words, Sofie also ends up safely within the boundaries of what is established in the novel as women's *place*; woman is supposed to accept a marriage proposal from a man her family believes to be a decent husband for her. Professor of Nordic literature, Ellen Rees, however, considers Sofie's marriage to Rein to be a positive resolution for Sofie (2013). Rees conducts a reading of the novel where the marriage between Rein and Sofie takes on a function as a national romance where a new purpose for the married woman from the bourgeoisie/civil servant class is identified. At Pastor Rein's vicarage, Sofie becomes part of a nation-building project in that she devotes herself to help the disadvantaged in the local community (Rees 2013). According to Rees, this reading is also compatible with the "feminist critique that is the main nerve in the novel"; instead of "objectifying romantic love," Sofie becomes a "(step-)mother of the nation," a woman who pursues duty to others instead of "romantic self-realization" (2013). Rees opens up the novel by proposing this allegorical reading of the marriage between Rein and Sofie. We see that there is a similarity between this new role as "(step-)mother of the nation" and Bremer's vision of the motherly extending beyond the family unit and out into the larger society.

In terms of helping others, the Ramm family's acquaintance, Lorenz Brandt, is a character in the narrative who is important to Sofie's personal development. Brandt once had a promising future but ended up as an alcoholic. He disgusts Sofie and scares her with his invasive behavior, but she also feels compassion for him. Through observing other people's condescending attitude towards Brandt, Sofie witnesses directly how severe social sanctions are for deviance from the norms of decent conduct. By marrying Rein, she is emotionally, socially, and economically safe. There is mutual respect between Sofie and Rein and their marriage is respected in society. She communicates to her husband, a benevolent and charitable man, that it is important to her to maintain a supportive relationship towards Brandt. She is in a basic sense spared from a condition from which Brandt suffers, namely social exclusion and public condemnation. Instead of exposing herself to such risks, she can help marginalized people. Building on Rees' reading of Sofie as a (step-)mother of the nation, I see Brandt's function in the narrative as the concretization of the disadvantaged for whom Sofie, as Pastor Rein's wife, can care, and thus have a meaningful occupation in accordance with her will.

When marrying Rein, Sofie follows the same path as the other daughters of the District Governor in the sense that she gives in to others' opinions as to who is a proper spouse for her, and, like Louise, represses her inclination towards being with someone else. Sofie's destiny is still significantly more fortunate than that of her sisters because she finds peace and reconciliation in her situation. Rein also appreciates Sofie's independence of thought and her "courage to be truthful" [mot til å være sann] (1991, 249; 2013, 247). Louise seems to have been right, though: time was not yet ready for a relationship like Sofie and Georg's. At the end of the text, the narrator speaks directly to the reader, expressing hope that Sofie's internal battles can have a positive impact on the future. In the respectful relation with Pastor Rein, and her meaningful occupation at the vicarage, Sofie is perhaps a model for woman in the near future. She has, however, closed the door to her aspirations of marriage as a companionship where woman's authentic feelings are recognized as a vital part of its basis. Sofie's internal struggles in relation to Georg are also a part of what the omniscient narrator hopes has left "a powerful - albeit *invisible* beginning" [en kraftig, om enn *usynlig* spire] for the future (1991, 312; 2013, 315).

In order to surrender mentally and emotionally to her new life, she returns to the grotto the day before the wedding. Georg has been desperate since hearing the news of Sofie's upcoming marriage. Traveling from Christiania, he reaches Sofie in the grotto and the misunderstanding between them is solved. He begs her to call off the marriage with Rein, and Sofie admits, as I interpret it, that she still loves him. The emotion, and her duties and conscience towards Rein, become too much, and she tells him to leave. After the incident in the grotto, Sofie does not feel well and calls out to her mother twice "like a faint cry of help" [som et fjernt nødskrik] but her mother does not hear her (1991, 309; 2013, 312). This lack of reception functions as an accusation of a parent who in her eagerness to persuade her daughters to obey the norms for female conduct, fails to protect them from unhappiness. Sofie has collapsed right under a portrait of an unhappy woman named Regina, which appears to stare down at Sofie and express that "a happy bride is a thought and vision we shall leave to some future enlightenment to produce" [en lykkelig brud [...] det var tanker og syner som vi må overlate en fremtidens genius å vekke] (1991, 309; 2013, 311). The omniscient narrator ends the novel with a comment on a different painting, the portrait of Sofie's great-grandmother that hangs on the wall in her room at the vicarage. She has a strict and triumphant expression (1991, 312; 2013, 315), that I read as her victory over Sofie; in the end, traditional gender norms still reign.

5.3.6 Topic Modeling The District Governor's Daughters

The main themes I have analyzed in the novel are the question of woman's will versus the persuasion to which she is subjected, the perception of woman by others versus her own experiences, and conceptions of femininity and of female conduct. These themes are reflected in the topics I have created, which are the following: "woman's will," "influence of woman," "woman's virtues," "woman's being and acquired traits," and "woman's language of silence." I have applied the automatically created topics labeled "woman's happiness" and "the vices of the female sex." (See link to complete topics and settings with which they have been applied to the Digital Bookshelf here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Collett/Topics).

5.4 He, "the conceited, unjust fool," and She, "the subjugated, oppressed wretch" (*Hansteen's texts*)

Aasta Hansteen wrote a series of articles entitled "Kvindernes Mening om 'Kvindernes underkuelse,'" which were published in three parts in *Dagbladet* on 13 July, 6 August, and 12 August 1870.¹²⁸ In this series of articles, the author defends John Stuart Mill, by arguing against a young woman's anonymously published critical assessment of his ideas. She also claims that there is confusion related to relevant concepts of the debate. The text she argues against was published in *Morgenbladet* on 18 June 1870, as "Protest mod Stuart Mills' 'Om Kvindens Underkuelse.'" ¹²⁹

The anonymous protesting woman is convinced that Mill's advocacy for woman's emancipation goes against Christ's teachings on woman's purpose in life and place in society. Woman is supposed to be a support for man and keep herself in the background. The author uses a vine and trunk as metaphors: the woman is a vine that trails around the trunk that is the strong and safe man. She justifies this viewpoint by referring to the Bible, as it says in the first chapter of Genesis that woman

¹²⁸ Links to the newspaper (consulted the 11 June 2018): <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/3564547fe36920c75dd1616a820e21be?index=11#0>, <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/3b01063644400f43e83ef74c9094e0f5?index=4#0>, <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/8bfab50133068824d97c4e72065be1f2?index=3#0>, (The article by Gina Krogh, however, has not been located in the Digital Bookshelf yet. I should not forget to look for it.)

¹²⁹ "Protest against Stuart Mill's 'The Subjection of Women'": <https://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/298c5642531f1adf76c2009559e49160?index=2#0>

was created to be a suitable helper to man and that man should rule over her. Furthermore, she refers to “common sense,” by asking rhetorically who, women included, would really want to see a woman, with her delicate nature, in parliament or as a lawyer. Besides, woman’s place and purpose is wonderful, she claims; in certain senses it is greater than man’s, as woman is, for instance, the one who is responsible for the child’s earliest education. Furthermore, she suggests that through Mill’s ideas and the intellectual climate to which these ideas are tied the “path of humanity” has gone astray, against God’s will. I interpret her conception of the “path of humanity” [humanitetens vei], as pointing to the heritage from humanism and Enlightenment philosophy.

5.4.1 Hansteen’s First Article, 13 July 1870. A Silent Cry: “I Want to Be Free”

Hansteen claims that the author of this protest must be a young woman, who became old enough to reflect over these issues only after women were granted legal majority (as described in chapter three, unmarried women were granted limited legal majority in 1845 in Norway and full legal majority in 1863; married women were not granted legal majority until 1888). Had the protestor herself experienced the degraded state women lived in before they obtained legal majority, she would according to Hansteen either have been a woman of “servile spirit” [trældomsaand], or she would have been bitter and angry, and consequently have viewed Mill as a liberator. According to Hansteen, women who experienced the pre-legal majority years in the nineteenth century either ignorantly accepted their exclusion from the public sphere or opposed it. They would never in Hansteen’s opinion engage in public debate in order to criticize an opponent of women’s subjection, like Mill. To demonstrate what the feeling was like for women before they gained legal majority, Hansteen includes a letter that was written in the 1840s. The writer of the letter expresses a desire for freedom: “I want to be free” [Jeg vil være fri]. This woman expresses desperation since she observes that the idea that women is destined only to sew and cook seems to become more consolidated as the culture progresses. Nevertheless, the letter expresses hope and gratitude towards Joseph Fourier’s writings, related to the view that women, like men, should have the right to develop the talents with which nature has provided them. We can easily imagine that the woman who wrote the letter would have embraced Mill as a liberator, argues Hansteen. As in *The District Governor’s Daughters*, Hansteen’s article thus uses an individual woman’s story in order to illustrate the consequences of women’s place in society. Furthermore, there is an Enlightenment optimism in Hansteen’s series of articles. Hansteen encourages the reader to believe that women’s place in society will expand. She also highlights that the writer from the 1840s expressed optimism regarding the future and found hope in the viewpoints of progressive thinkers.

Hansteen explains how women dealt with their predicament with dignity [anstand], hardly even speaking about it to one another. She remembers the first time she broke the silence around this subject with a relative: “It has been boiling in me since childhood,” and the answer she got was: “It has probably been boiling in everybody.”¹³⁰ She continues reflecting upon whether this dignity is the reason why even intelligent men have a rather confused idea about women and about whether women have realized the change that their status in society brought about by the granting of legal majority, or if men are likely to interpret women’s silence as indicating that they are indifferent to this reform. The article thus suggests that norms of respectable behavior for women reinforced a conservative idea regarding women’s place in society; for the sake of conserving their dignity, women were supposed to not express their opinions regarding their *place*. Their *place* thus did not in practice include their right to negotiate it. The text identifies and criticizes the social sanctions that women face if they criticize their conditions in life. The testimonies of women’s experiences that we find here might function as a means to widening the boundaries of women’s place in society to include the right to speak out about it. The article thus addresses fundamental conditions for how a women’s movement could come into existence, namely the opportunity to break the silence related to woman’s *place* in society.

Hansteen picks up on the religious arguments of the writer of the protest, arguing instead that it must be God’s will that women, as much as men, are liberated from a servile condition [Slavetilstand], and that the progress of humanity should be understood as something Christianity has facilitated, rather than as something that goes against it. That man should rule over woman, was something uttered by God after the fall, Hansteen reminds her readers, but a condition from which she was liberated by Christ. The history of humankind, she continues, shows that woman has been persecuted, abused and degraded practically through all time, and, as a consequence, she has not been in a position to be a helper for man; woman’s liberation is thus in fact, in accordance with, and not against, God’s words, she argues. Slavery, she claims, is instead a part of the domain of darkness, whereas the “perfect law of freedom” [den fullkomne frihedslov], of which St. Paul speaks, belongs to the domain of light. Hansteen points out that the spirit of the age [Tidsaand] has for a century improved the servile condition and unfreedom in all kinds of human relations, including between the king and his subjects, master and slave, parents and children, and it will also

¹³⁰My translation of the original: “Det har kogt i meg fra Barndommen af [...] Det har nok kogt i alle.”

improve the relation between man and woman. The text thus promotes an optimism about the heritage from the Enlightenment

Hansteen's article presents the conservative, protesting woman as a fruit of the same zeitgeist that this protestor argues goes against, not only God's will, but also against the most beautiful features of woman's purpose in life. That she in fact writes her protest and thus considers herself entitled to express her viewpoint publicly, would have been even more surprising in 1840 than to imagine at the current moment (1870) that a woman could serve in parliament or function as a lawyer one day. The pedagogical analysis and refutation of the protestor's position works to encourage the protestor herself, and readers of the same conviction as her, to embrace and not fear the zeitgeist of the time.

Finally, readers are reminded that legal majority was a relatively new gain for women (and still not granted to married women), which means that women were treated like children until quite recently. The fact that the penal law was applied to women and men equally shows, however, that in reality it had been known all along that women, just like men, were mature enough to take responsibility for their actions, Hansteen maintains. Until the preceding century, the strongest part in a relation had the right to abuse the weaker part in an almost unrestricted manner. The laws were changed in many respects in the eighteenth century, but not in the case of women. And, importantly, this exception has resulted in a conceptual confusion, she argues. The argument on conceptual confusion is in my opinion the most important part of the series of articles. It is elaborated on in my analysis of the next two.

5.4.2 Hansteen's Second Article, 6 August 1870. Conceptual Confusion: "Lord of creation" and "Woman chamber"

The second article establishes that there was a common conception in the beginning of the eighteenth century that there never would be any question of freedom for women. Instead a woman's place would always be the same, partly because women seemed to be indifferent to freedom. This perception resulted in a confusion in how women were perceived, the article contends. Hansteen elaborates on the topic of conceptual confusion through the examination of two concepts used for designating man and woman respectively, namely "Skabningens herre," *lord of creation* and "Fruentimmer," which is derived from the German "frauentimmer" and means "woman chamber or virgin cage," thus denoting an object. The superiority of men was recognized by law, as he was legally a free being. His elevated, superior position and her inferior, subordinated

position, was, however also a result of man and woman's behavior in relation to one another; women flattered men and humiliated themselves; they praised men for being autonomous and strong individuals who could do anything better than them, whereas they highlighted their own shortcomings, according to the argument in the article. Man's delusion of grandeur as a free, rational individual, flattered by woman, is reflected in the concept "Skabningens herre." Man, in such a position, takes up all the space, he expands his being everywhere, and the result for woman is that she is left hanging in empty space, unclear and in the shadow of man. In other words, while man's pride in himself as reflected in the term "Skabningens herre" was megalomaniacal to the extent that no space was left for woman, she, on the contrary, was designated by a shadowy concept that signifies something lifeless. In a rather humorous tone (on several occasions in the article, in fact), Hansteen argues that this flattery accentuated the confusion, especially among men, since flattery leads to more headiness than humility. Women are thus a party to their own subjection, which contributes to the confusion of woman: she is a passive "thing," a "Fruentimmer," but also active and indispensable in the production of man's being as "Skabningens herre." In accordance with the optimistic view that the article promotes, Hansteen underscores that the time left for the "Fruentimmer" probably is short. "Men's shadow" will thus vanish, and "Skabningens herre" should follow her into the grave. What will be left is woman and man as God created them, and, she continues, man will be much more content next to her than "skabningens herre" ever has been in relation to the "Fruentimmer." The article thus identifies a world view, traces its origin, and points out the consequences for the relation between man and woman. Furthermore, it unmaskes the connotations of the inherent concepts of this world view, namely "Fruentimmer" and "Skabningens herre," and calls for their end, followed by a new "conceptual dawn." Both men and women are encouraged to engage in new experiences of what they can be, individually and together, to give the concepts new meaning.

At this point Hansteen returns to the Bible and to the protester's idea that it is in women's nature not to seek attention, but to live in the background as man's support. Hansteen uses Florence Nightingale as an example of a woman who lived in accordance with the Bible, but who by no means lived a quiet life in the shadow of man. Nightingale could have lived "quietly" and "discretely" in wealthy surroundings; instead she went to the war zone to care for injured soldiers. This is in fact more feminine, Hansteen argues, more in correspondence with God's words regarding woman as a helper. Hansteen compares different translations of the Bible here and refers to Alfred Monod and his concept of the "Femme." In Monod's work we find the following

translation of the words from Genesis: “je lui ferai un aide semblable à lui,” which I translate to: “I will make for him a helper akin to him.” *Akin* makes all the difference here, and it takes us to the last point in this second article of the series, that I want to comment on here.

Hansteen refers to another verse from the Bible, Genesis 1:27: “So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them.”¹³¹ Hansteen sees a beauty in these words; men and women need each other mutually, and they complete each other. Mill, on the contrary, argues that we cannot even know if woman wants to get married and have children, because she has not been given the opportunity to freely choose for herself. In Hansteen’s reading, Mill suggests that men and women might be completely akin, and thus ignores, or even works against a conception of men and women as completing one another. She continues by stating that what Mill is doing here is right; Mill gives voice to sanity, bringing man back to his senses by appealing to him to step down from his throne. Hansteen argues that Mill wants to take away man’s pride and narcissism, his desire to make himself a Godly being, and woman an animal or a nothing, preserving all power for himself alone, excluding women from all human freedom, rights and privileges.

Hansteen poses the following question: when the relation between man and woman has been humanized, when woman is not an “animal” or a “nothing” anymore, and when man has left behind the idea of himself as a godly being, who are they? We see that Hansteen examines different translations of the source of authority on these matters in the period, the Bible. She argues that the feminine comprises the biblical, conventional idea for the time, namely of woman as man’s helper. Yet this notion does not mean that woman has to keep herself in the background, according to the argument in her article. If woman is to be confined to a life in the shadow of man, clearly one has forgotten the important word “semblable” (akin), which we saw that the French translation of the verse from the Genesis includes. Furthermore, behavior like Nightingale’s, which was striking and received a lot of attention, would in fact be banned according to the protestor’s theological interpretation all the way. An effect of Hansteen’s text is that the reader awaits a redefinition of man and woman and their relation to one another, which does not come. No alternative definition of a feminine and masculine essence appears in the text. Instead the term “skueplads” [stage] appears

¹³¹ This is from the New International version (NIV), available online: <https://www.biblegateway.com>, while Hansteen quotes the Danish translation from either 1806 or 1854 (the two she mentions that she has available): “Og Gud skabte Mennesket i sit Billede. Han skabte det i Guds Billede; Mand og Kvinde skabte han dem.”

several times. The function of this repetition is that gender identity formation comes across in the article as being performative; when the zeitgeist has done its work on the relation between men and women, the concepts will start to take on new meaning. This new meaning will come across through men and women's interactions and experiences of being in the world when the "Frudentimmer" and "Skabningens herre" have passed away. Sexual identity is thus associated with performing, not by taking on an already defined role, but in producing effects that in turn will fill the concepts with meaning. The life-world becomes a stage.

Hansteen turns the relationship between action and gendered being upside down 120 years before Judith Butler developed her theory on gender and performativity.¹³² Man does not behave as a "overmodig inbilsk Daare" [conceited unjust fool] and woman as a "kuet undertrykt Stakkel" [subjugated oppressed wretch] because that is how they are by nature. They have become so because man has taken up all the space and because woman has worshiped man in their interaction and rituals over time.¹³³ These articles set out to demonstrate that conceptions of natural gender differences in fact are social, cultural and—most notably—performative constructs. Although she does not argue explicitly against the idea of a natural connection between biological sex, gender identity, and masculine and feminine being, Hansteen's main argument concerns a conception of gender identity, femininity and masculinity as created through social practices. An important nuance here is that Hansteen does not describe these processes as a result of social structures and gender roles. She does not argue that gender norms exist within social structures, and that gender identity is created when we obey these gender norms by taking on roles for expected gender behavior. Instead both the concepts of femininity and masculinity and the experience of identity as man or woman emerge through interaction under the influence of the spirit of the age. In other words, not only is the experience of gender identity constituted and exercised through social co-acting, so are femininity and masculinity as forms of being.

¹³² See *Gender Trouble* (1990). See also my article in *Morgenbladet* 08.03.19 for a brief presentation of the connection I establish between Hansteen and Butler.

¹³³ Norwegian professor of sociology, Agnes Bolsø, commented privately on my article (see previous footnote). She criticized the connection I suggest between Hansteen and Butler for being unjustified, as I neither address Butler's problematization of binary gender nor the gender ontology in Butler's philosophy. Establishing a connection between Hansteen and Butler as I here propose, does not mean that I find the entire gender philosophy that Butler has developed in Hansteen's texts. Hansteen does, for instance, neither problematize the idea of binary gender per se, nor evoke that gender is an ontological category in that it produces human beings through social technologies and discourse (that the becoming of us as human beings is a gendered becoming), like Butler does. I do thus agree with Bolsø that there are important differences between the two. I show in the following why I still, however, find that Hansteen does more than challenging gender conceptions in her lifetime and more than arguing that gender identity is something we do, and why I thus find that it makes sense to speak about a connection between them.

The article is thus not primarily about clarifying Hansteen's stance on the question of man and woman's being and purpose, or about specifying and assessing Mill's view on it. Instead, the main position the article underscores is that woman has the right to freedom, and therefore that Mill's ideas need to be accepted and spread. There is a bridge-building rhetoric in Hansteen's text, between Mill on the one hand and Norwegian men and women who support the basic idea of women's right to freedom—although they might differ significantly regarding the nature of this freedom and its implications for woman's place in society—on the other. It is a text that argues that the state of affairs is more open to modification than what one is used to thinking, and that a change for the better in the relation between man and woman will take place. This change will come as a result of men and women's co-acting, influenced by the *Zeitgeist*, and even if woman plays an active part in this process, it will not be against the Bible. While the protestor argues that women's fine, delicate nature does not support exposure to the harsh conditions that are inevitable in life, and for which she needs man to protect her, Hansteen, for her part, argues that what Mill appeals to the man to do will, in fact, be a materialization of what the protestor wants. Woman will be sheltered and safe when man descends from his hubris.

Finally, this second article contends that women should be independent, for if woman is weak and dependent, she will be a burden to man rather than a helper. That, however, does not mean that women do not appreciate “the sharp thinkers, these good men, that so *masculinely* fight for us [...] in ways of which we ourselves had never been capable.”¹³⁴ This masculinity remains undefined. The effect of this insinuation of a natural gender difference is that it adds to the flexibility and performativity of the approach in the article; women's rights to freedom should be fought for regardless of whether one affirms or negates natural gender difference. Gender conceptions do not have to be narrow; instead a biblical view and a humanitarian view on woman can be compatible, and history shows that the relations between the genders are modifiable.

5.4.3 Hansteen's Third Article, 12 August 1870. The Woman's Cause Taking Place on the Stage of War

Hansteen starts her third article with a summary of her main arguments:

¹³⁴ My translation (and italization) of the original: “‘skarpe Tænkere’ disse ‘edle Mænd, der saa mandigt kjæmpe for os [...] som vi selv aldrig havde formaaet.’”

What I have tried to develop in my previous articles can be summarized briefly in the phrase that now, in this historical period that started with the great, first French revolution in 1789, when the new life principles of liberty, equality and fraternity that were collected under the banner of the Enlightenment found their way to history's stage with irresistible force; at precisely this turning point, the relationship between men and women began to deteriorate and become more unbalanced and disturbed than it had ever been.¹³⁵

She states that women's conditions became poorer with the emergence of Enlightenment ideas. When Enlightenment ideas became widespread in the eighteenth century and human relations were humanized, except that between woman and man, men's relationship to women became even more unclear, until it reached a state of obscurantism that she calls insanity [Sindsforvirring]. That a deterioration of women's conditions took place while the status for the traditionally weaker part in other relations improved, is not accidental according to the text:

The reason for this was that man in his exuberance of victory forgot to include woman in the goods that he enjoyed. So much time passed before he could be bothered to carry out this act of justice, that the conditions for both of them became deplorable; she became a subjugated, oppressed wretch and he a conceited, unjust fool.¹³⁶

Hansteen thus attributes the lack of humanization of the relationship between men and women, when other relations were humanized, to men's obliviousness. The notion that the Enlightenment idea of individual liberty might have contributed to the particular difficulties feminists faced, is in line with Scott's theory (1996). For Scott, however, the reason why woman were not included in the concept of the modern individual is not men's obliviousness, but paradoxes and controversies within the concept of the modern individual itself. Nevertheless, Scott's argument sheds light on the unclear and vague status of woman that Hansteen observes. As both Scott and Simone de Beauvoir reason, man needed a being who could confirm his identity; this being had to be sufficiently similar to him to function as a mirror, but also different enough to serve as a contrast that could demarcate his identity. Hansteen's analysis of the relationship between man and woman is similar. The examination of the concepts "Fruentimmer" and "Skabningens herre" in the articles demonstrates her belief that these concepts were doomed to disappear completely; woman as a thing, as a lifeless

¹³⁵ My translation of the original: "Hvad jeg i mine foregaaende Artikler har søgt at udvikle, kan sammenfattes i korthed i den Sætning, at netop nu, i den historiske Periode, som begyndte med den store første franske Revolution i 1789, da de nye Livsprinciper, som nævnes frihed, Lighed og Broderskab, samlede sig under Oplysningens Banner, med uimodstaaelig Magt trængte frem paa Historiens Skueplads, netop ved det Vendepunkt begyndte Forholdet mellem Mand og Kvinde at synke og blev skjævere og mere forrykket end det nogensinde havde været."

¹³⁶ My translation of the original: "Dette kom af, at Manden i sin Seiersrus glemte at give Kvinden Del i den Frihed, hvis Goder han selv nød. Det varede saa længe, inden han kunde bekvemme sig til denne Retfærdighedshandling, at Begges Tilstand blev sørgelig; hun var en kuet undertrykt Stakkel og han en overmodig uretfærdig Daare."

being, could not properly confirm man's identity, since a lifeless being cannot function as a mirror for a "grandiose" being.

Hansteen's analysis is not limited to the Norwegian context since she refers to the French revolution and the ensuing cultural shift in the West as decisive for this development of the relationship between the genders. Hansteen touches on the Napoleonic years in her third article. The rhetorical procedure in the articles has been to avoid essentializing in terms of gender, but here the article essentializes in terms of nation. The title of the third article is a quote from the Marseillaise, which serves as a build-up to Hansteen's analysis of the decisive historical movement for the woman question in 1870. The battle will take place on a "Krigsskueplads" [theater of war] and the performance will be constitutive for the future of the concepts of man and woman and for sexual identity. The theater of war in terms of the relation between women and men consists of two main approaches: the German way and the French way. The German way stands for a continuation of the behavioral pattern where man basks in the glory of his freedom and woman flatters and serves him. In contrast, the French way designates a relation where man appreciates woman, and through this way of living, also finds that his own life becomes more joyful. Finally, the text compares Mill, and the other advocates for woman and her cause, to Emperor Napoleon who sends his people to punish the Prussians. These comparisons and generalizations at the end probably do not strike us as being as astute as the rest of the reasoning in the articles. They are, however, interesting in terms of rhetoric and discourse. In the historical context and situation in which these articles intervene, as Hansteen sees it, a decisive battle will take place and it is crucial to persuade people to fight on the right side.

5.4.4. Topic Modeling "Women's Views on On the Subjection of Women"

I have analyzed different reactions to Mill's ideas in Hansteen's articles. Furthermore, I have studied Hansteen's analysis of the influence of Enlightenment ideas on the conceptions of man and woman, and her thoughts of the emergence of gendered being and identity. These themes are reflected in the topics I have manually created, which are "the confused state of man and woman's being," "woman's flattery and man's hubris," and "woman's indifference to freedom rights." I have applied the automatically generated topic labeled "woman's dignity" as well. (See link to complete topics and settings with which they have been applied to the Digital Bookshelf here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Hansteen/Topics).

Chapter 6: Identifying Gender Discourse Based on Data from the Digital Bookshelf

This chapter identifies gender discourse based on text passages captured in the Digital Bookshelf in order to investigate how *woman's place in society* was discursively established and negotiated in the period 1830 to 1880. I present the gender discursive statements I have identified and sets of passages captured in the Digital Bookshelf. The passages I present are results obtained through the use of sub-corpus topic modeling and a small number obtained through concordance analyses. I have identified the statements based on the ways the passages speak about woman. The passages I have selected thus function in this chapter as justifications for the statements produced by my analysis of the Digital Bookshelf corpus.

As I have specified in the first chapter (section 1.3), I build on Foucault's method for discourse analysis as described in *L'archéologie du savoir*; the task is thus to identify statements (*énoncés*). I start with introducing the statements I have identified (in 6.1), whereupon I analyze these statements qua gender discursive statements in the presentation of the STM-results in the following sections. As I have also specified in chapter one, I consider the selected STM-results to be concrete enunciations (*énonciations*) of the statements.

The results I present are a small selection of the data on which these statements build.¹³⁷ I discuss the results in three different sections, and in chronological order (based on the publication year for the text in which the passages are captured) in each of the sections. The reason for presenting them in chronological order is to show transitions in the ways of speaking. Out of the numerous data underlying my conclusion regarding the gender discursive statements, I have selected passages to include in this chapter based on three main criteria: (I) that they show the variety of texts and genres in which I have gotten hits, (II) that they cover my entire period, and (III) how forcefully they argue for the statements I have identified. By this last point, I mean that out of the numerous passages based on which I have identified the gender discursive statements, I have given priority in this chapter to passages that clearly and substantially enunciate the statement in question.

¹³⁷ My entire data set is available on GitHub: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation. So are the complete topics with respective word bags for each topic word. Based on the secondary literature reviewed in chapter three, I have created some topics to complement the topics modeled from the texts by the selected women writers from the period. This is in order to identify gender discourse more broadly, taking into account also themes and ways of speaking about gender and woman that are not covered in the texts in the sub-corpora comprising Bremer, Sand, Collett, and Hansteen's texts.

Regarding the first criterion (I), the STM-topics have captured passages in texts of a great variety of genres:

Religious texts: devotional texts meant for use in the smaller gatherings of Lutherans in the many households and collections of theological considerations and sermons by churchmen. In these texts, passages are captured that speak about matrimony, woman's religiousness, and women's tasks and functions in light of biblical interpretations.

Educational manuals, encyclopedic articles, and in political, sociological, and legal writings, the topics have captured passages about the relationship between husband and wife, conceptions of woman's being, norms for her conduct, and woman's purpose in family life and society.

Novels and other secular fictional genres: identified passages speak about themes such as woman's inner life, and ideals for her gender.

The discursive statements function slightly differently depending on, among other things, the genre of the texts in which they are enunciated.¹³⁸

In addition to taking into account the field and genre of the given texts when identifying discursive statements, the authors of the texts also have a certain importance. This importance does not, however, concern intentionality. Identifying discourse does not include interpretation of concrete enunciations based on the author's biography or other elements that would individualize what is said. Instead the relevance of the author concerns the status an individual must have in order to access discourse and become the subject of enunciation of the discursive statement in question (see 1.3 for an elaboration of this point). Furthermore, the passages should not be read as expressions of the author's opinions. This point is perhaps clearest when we speak about passages captured in fiction. It is, however, also true for passages captured in nonfictional literature; in many cases the author paraphrases other people's opinions. For all we know, the author could be critical of the assertion in the captured passage. Identifying a number of enunciations as part of one and the same discourse does not mean that they form a consensus; one can for instance disagree on whether a certain character trait is an innate female trait, but still agree that natural gender difference exists. There is space for tensions and contradictions within a discourse. The material I present might

¹³⁸ The genre of the texts in which passages presented in this chapter have been captured is not very extensively analyzed. I have given priority to present a relatively large set of passages in order to demonstrate both the variety of texts—in terms of nationality, canonized and rather unknown texts— fields, different discursive positions, and the regularity despite the differences. In certain types of texts, for instance German Lutheran devotional books, specific discursive functions could perhaps have been identified, which this analysis does not cover.

suggest to the reader that a given author was progressive or conservative in her or his views on woman. The task in this chapter is not, however, to provide such a classification. Instead it is to specify ways of speaking, what it was possible to say about woman and gender, what mobilized these ways of speaking, and what status the subjects of enunciation had to have, in terms of for instance gender, profession, or class affiliation.

Regarding the second criterion, the number of results is not evenly distributed across the period 1830 to 1880. There are few results from the 1830s and 1840s. The total number of books in the Digital Bookshelf are 728 between 1830 and 1839, 1102 between 1840 and 1849, 1509 between 1850 and 1859, 1703 between 1860 and 1869, and 2270 between 1870 and 1879 (I have also included some results from 1880). Accordingly, relevant results are also relatively higher in number the later we get in the period, although there are some exceptions to this tendency. If we consider the relation between the number of books from the different decades in the Digital Bookshelf and the number of results I have gotten from each decade, the results from the 1830s are even fewer than we would expect. The same is in principle true for the 1840s, although the relative number of results from this decade is higher than for the 1830s. These decades are therefore less thoroughly covered than later decades in the period. (I comment on this distribution of results in the next chapter.)

The third criterion (III)—how forcefully passages function as to argue for the statements I have identified—relies to a large extent on the other two. In order to demonstrate the regularity during the period for which I argue, I attempt to show a sufficiently extensive and diverse mass of results, as well as those among these results that most clearly and substantially enunciate the statement in question.

6.1 Gender Discursive Statements

Gender discourse in the Digital Bookshelf corpus, delimited to books published in the period 1830-1880, is defined by six statements. I specify that it is gender discourse identified in the Digital Bookshelf corpus. I neither evaluate the texts in which I get hits in terms of whether it is likely that they were widely read in Norway, nor whether the work in question was originally published in Norway or is translated. This reason for this choice is that I am interested in analyzing discourse

regardless of all criteria for evaluation of a work's impact, which is an opportunity this method offers. The only hits I have dismissed from my analysis are in works originally published before 1830. Some fictional works originally published in the eighteenth century and the Bible are examples. Furthermore, I cannot be sure that I have taken into account all potentially relevant passages in the Digital Bookshelf. This analysis is based on results in which there are a large number of OCR errors, which means that potentially relevant texts also can have gone unnoticed. Nevertheless, as described extensively in chapter two, I have taken measures to mitigate as much as possible the influence of OCR errors on my results.

A. Woman's Unique Traits Make Her Potentially an Exemplary Christian

Mildness, humbleness, bashfulness, submission, and piousness are traits that numerous passages attribute to woman. Such traits are considered to be natural feminine traits or it is believed that woman has a natural inclination for cultivating such traits. These traits also characterize a good, spiritually devoted Christian. Because of her sensitivity, woman is, however, also vulnerable to being led astray into sinful and vicious behavior. I have identified this statement in the religious texts in particular among my results.

B. Woman Has a Sensitive Nature

Passages in all genres in the material enunciate the statement that woman has a sensitive nature. What this sensitive nature entails, however, is open for negotiation. In religious texts it is closely related to the statement above, namely woman is an exemplary Christian. In these texts woman's sensitive nature makes her receptive to religious insight. Her sensitive nature also means that she is predisposed to love and care in many enunciations, or that she is easily influenced, weak, and needs to be protected.

C. Woman Should Be Persuaded to Cultivate and Act in Accordance with Feminine Virtues

In order not to be led astray, woman has to follow the norms for her gender. It follows that woman does not necessarily and a priori incarnate feminine virtues. Dedication to the home, her husband, and her children, and the exhibition of chaste, moral, and god-fearing conduct are among the norms the passages specify for the female gender. Many passages address women readers directly in attempts to encourage righteous behavior. She must become convinced of the benefits of righteous conduct so that she chooses it of her own volition. In a certain sense, ideal feminine conduct is thus not something a woman should be forced into unwillingly, but rather something that

she embraces as her calling. I have identified this statement in all the different types of texts. It is particularly prevalent in didactic literature. In addition to being a statement that is realized in concrete enunciations in this literature, it also a way of governing women. There are passages that do not directly enunciate that woman should be persuaded, but they operate through techniques that aim to persuade; they attempt to encourage women to cultivate feminine virtues by appealing to its benefits for herself and the people around her (persuasion as a technique for governing woman is analyzed in chapter seven).

D. Woman Should Be Granted Freedom

Many passages speak about woman's freedom. Some hold that Christianity grants woman the freedom to which she is entitled, and some even argue that woman should freely submit to her husband. Woman's emancipation is also discussed. Although there are disagreements in terms of what kind of emancipation suits woman—and whether she should be free as man (or should freely submit to man)—this statement is identified across these passages. I have identified it particularly in nonfictional works, such as political, legal, and sociological texts, but also in fiction and in religious texts. We have seen in chapter one (1.3) that Foucault specifies that the linguistic signs that make up a statement in question, are not necessarily exclusive to this particular statement. "Woman should be granted freedom" illustrates this point. These linguistic signs certainly do not constitute the same statement if they are enunciated by a pastor in a devotional book from the 1870s or by a second-wave feminist from the 1970s.

E. Woman Must Be Educated in Order to Satisfactorily Fulfill Her Calling

Regardless of whether a woman's calling, according to the passages, is to be a housewife or if it is wider than that, she needs an education to fulfill it. Many passages argue that her upbringing is the most important factor for a woman's development, and particularly that a girl needs a good role model in her mother. There is, however, an increase in occurrences of passages during the period that speak about how woman best can be educated, and advocate for the improvement of woman's academic education. It is specifically in nonfiction, such as political texts and works on education, that I have identified this statement.

F. Woman Can Improve the Morality of Her Community

A woman who cultivates good traits and embraces her calling can have an important influence on her husband and children, but also—directly or indirectly—on society as a whole. A

wise, virtuous, and god-fearing woman can influence people's chastity, hygiene, health, order, well-being, religiousness, etc. I have identified this statement in texts from all the different fields and genres. *Moral* and *morality* are derived from the Latin *moralis*, via the French *morale* and *moeurs*, thus meaning customs or mores. It is in this broad sense we must understand the function of this statement. This statement adds to the relevance of using *women's place in society*, in the sense of a moral trope, as formula in the analysis in this project.

These statements function strategically differently in different types of texts. In educational texts the ways the enunciations of some, or all, of these statements work together generate (debatable) knowledge on suitable education for woman. In fiction, on the other hand, they work together within an artistic expression that entertains or engages by criticizing women's conditions and/or arousing emotions related to women's experiences. Furthermore, the use of irony, tropes, etc., makes it more difficult to determine of which discursive positions they are part, whereas in didactic and religious texts these statements typically function to influence woman's moral conduct. In educational texts the statement of woman's sensitive nature is typically closely related to the statement that she needs education for fulfilling her calling. Evoking her sensitive nature is likely to function as a way of arguing what education is suitable for woman, by enunciating, for instance, that women's education should be aesthetically pleasing and not demand hard cognitive efforts. In the novels in the sub-corpora, on the other hand, the statement concerning woman's sensitivity is closely related to the statement regarding her freedom. Woman's specific capacity for love and positive influence on people around her, due to her sensitive nature, is in risk of being damaged because of her lack of true freedom. In examples from the didactic texts and the numerous religious works, woman's sensitive nature will typically be related to the virtues she should cultivate. These passages advise her to cultivate, for instance, piousness, chastity and mildness, because such virtues harmonize with her sensitive nature, according to these enunciations.

In section 6.2 I discuss passages that speak specifically about woman in light of religion and in particular Christianity. I discuss in section 6.3 passages that show a regularity in ways of speaking about woman's freedom in relation to attempts to persuade woman to act in certain ways. Section 6.4 consists of passages that speak about how to educate and influence woman. The reason for presenting the passages in these three categories is that they serve to show the referential of the statements, including the links between them that I have identified in my analysis. The statements are immersed in fields of religious concerns (6.2), morality concerns in relation to the question of

freedom and attempts to influence woman's behavior (6.3), and education as a means to enable woman for her calling (6.4).

Topics modeled from all five sub-corpora have captured passages in all these three categories. Passages captured by the three novels predominate in all of them. Topics from *The District Governor's Daughters* and *Hertha* have captured the majority of the passages in religious texts and texts on education. We have seen that religion and education are important subjects in *Hertha*, but not in *The District Governor's Daughters*. Topics from *The District Governor's Daughters* have, however, captured approximately the same number as the ones from *Hertha*. The topics "woman's being and acquired traits" (comprising "woman," "character," and "mores" word bags) followed by "woman's volition" (comprising "woman" and "volition" word bags) from *The District Governor's Daughters* have captured the highest number of passages. Many of the passages captured by these two topics praise woman's submission of her will as a virtue, whereas the novel—as well as a minority of the captured passages—criticizes the fact that women are expected to do this. Woman's relation to the truth is enunciated as a positive feminine trait in *Hertha*, as well as in the majority of the captured passages. Yet these enunciations function differently in the novel and in passages captured in religious books and didactic literature. The statement that woman has a sensitive nature functions differently, as described above. In the category freedom and persuasion strategies, topics modeled from *Indiana* and *The District Governor's Daughters* have captured the majority of the passages. Topics modeled from *Indiana* have captured several passages that problematize woman's vulnerability when failed by man. Topics modeled from the newspaper articles have also captured some passages in each category. Finally, additional topics modeled manually from the secondary literature have captured a small amount of the passages presented in the three sections.

We will now turn to the presentation of captured passages. I will elaborate on some connections between the sub-corpus and captured passage in question as we go, whereas chapter seven comprises the analysis of how the sub-corpora relate to the discourse identified in this chapter. In the following three sections I present the selection of the passages based on which I have identified the six statements. In every section, I start with presenting each selected passage briefly, and I discuss them together in the end of the section. I specify in the start of each section which of the statements that are particularly enunciated in this section. Some of the statements are enunciated in more than one of these sections—which shows that the statements are enunciated across different fields and genres—and some passages contain enunciations of more than one statement. The

statement that woman has a sensitive nature is present in virtually every enunciation, and I will not highlight its presence as much as the five others. I specify the topic in question in a footnote in each case.¹³⁹ Most of the passages have been captured by manually created topics. The passages captured by automatically generated topics are specified as such.¹⁴⁰

6.2 Woman and Religion

Enunciations of the following statements are particularly prevalent for this category:

Woman has a unique potential for being an exemplary Christian

Woman should be persuaded to cultivate and act in accordance with feminine virtues

The statement that woman can improve morality is also to a certain extent enunciated in the passages in this section. A god-fearing, virtuous woman is likely to have an edifying influence on her neighbors. Speaking about woman as an exemplary Christian seems to be motivated by the religious conviction that good Christians please the Lord, but also by a more instrumental conviction related to the god-fearing woman's influence on her surroundings. The same goes for ways of speaking about virtuous women; virtuous women please God and defeat the Devil, and they also enhance morality in society. Finally, we will also see that the statement that woman must be granted freedom is to a certain extent present in the texts I have placed in this section. On the one hand, woman cannot be forced to become god-fearing and virtuous. A certain freedom is indispensable; she fully reaches her potential for devotional religiousness and virtuous conduct only when she herself is convinced of its righteousness, and eagerly seeks God and devotes herself to activities with edifying influence on her character. On the other hand, emancipation ideas, including the question of women's right to freedom, become a subject of conversation also in religious texts

¹³⁹ Unless specified otherwise, these are the topics referred to in the footnotes:

From Bremer's texts: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Bremer/Topics

From Collett's text: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Collett/Topics

From Hansteen's texts: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Hansteen/Topics

From Sand's text: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Sand/Topics

The captured passages are presented as they appear in the Digital Bookshelf; I have not removed OCR-errors.

¹⁴⁰ Complete topics and parameters with which they have been generated and applied are available here: (https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Trawling_The%20Digital%20Bookshelf_Parameters , https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Bremer , https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Collett , https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Hansteen , https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/Sand , https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)

as we now shall see.

6.2.1 Presentation of Selected Passages

The first enunciation to consider is from John S.C. Abbott's religious text "Fredens vei" [the Path of Peace] from 1844. The captured passage argues that denying woman the right of consciousness, and especially not allowing her to worship God her own way, is equivalent to saying that she is without a soul.¹⁴¹ The captured passage thus expresses respect for woman's religiosity and argues in favor of granting woman a certain freedom. Abbott was an American pastor and writer of religious, pedagogical, and historical works. In the same work, a captured passage argues that refusing women religious rights is a violence against humanity's freedom of spirit. The passage rhetorically asks whether a husband who perpetrates such a violence against his wife, even in an enlightened period of time, can be a god-fearing man.¹⁴² We see that Abbott also speaks in favor of woman's right to a certain degree of freedom in this passage.

In *Christelige Biographie* (1848) by the Dano-German Lutheran theologian Andreas Gottlob Rudelbach, a passage has been captured that criticizes priests and the powerful [Overherrerne] for being too severe in their practice. Instead of condemning sin, they condemn the sinful human being, according to the text. The passage encourages a transformation of their practice; they should instead include [omfatte] people with love and embrace them like a mother embraces her child. The automatically generated topic "the motherly" (1) modeled from Bremer's "Til Sverriges Qvinder" has captured this passage. While Bremer's texts enunciates the motherly as a trait that predisposes her for functioning in the private as well as the public sphere, the captured passage advocates for the integration of motherly love in the religious practice of powerful men. Woman—through her

¹⁴¹ Abbott, John S.C., 1844, *Fredens vei*

"Vil man ikke tillade sin Kone at dyrke Gnd paa den Maade , hun selv bedst synes , saa tilintetgjor man hendes naturlige Samvittighedsfrihed . Hun er da forfulgt Hvad betyder religios Frihed ? Maassee kun , at Mendene ssulle have Ret til at dyrke Gud , eftersom deres Samvittighed tilsiger dem , men at Qvin derne derimod « ngen Samvittigheds-Rettigheder." (Topic: a woman's right and duty, from early runnings: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)

¹⁴² Abbott, John S.C., 1844, *Fredens vei*.

"Jeg skulde virkelig frygte for at ogsaa hos os mangel Qvinde sukker under religios Tvang og Undertrykkelse . Uden anerkjendts religiose Rettigheder , maa hun da som sin Mands Slavinde folge ham til den Kirke , som han selv besoger , hvor tungt det end er for hendes Samvittighed , hvor uforeneligt med hendes Folelser . Kan en saadan Mand vcrre besjelet af crgte frisdende Grundscrtninger eller kan hans Hjerte vcrre opfyldt af sand Guds frygt , naar han , selv i vore oplyste Tider , kan tillade sig en saadan Vold mod et Medmenneskes aandelige Frihed ? Den , der ei kan taale den religiose Frihed i sin egen Familie, han behovede kun at besidde tilstrÅkkelig Magt . for ogfaa i Staten at underkue den frie Undersogelsesaand. Den , der kan ville gjore sit Livs Ledsagerinde til et ulykkeligt Offer for religios Forfolgelse , han vilde sikkerligen endnu mindre tage i Vetcrnkning at udove en trykkende Magt over Andres Samvittighed." (Topic: Is love true?, from *Hertha*)

motherly attribute—is thus enunciated as a Christian ideal.¹⁴³

A passage captured in a book for use during confirmation training for boys and girls, *Den unge Christen: Betragtninger ved Confirmationen og ud over Livets Bane* [The young Christian: Consideration during Confirmation and further on in Life] (1854), argues that a virtuous woman brings about happiness in life. The passage holds that woman's purpose as defined by God is to beautify and bring happiness into life with her love. Woman does this as a wife and mother, with her sensitivity, and through her virtuous conduct [ad Dydens Vei]. When a man realizes what a grand and important calling God has given woman, he will also learn to treat her gently, and not harass or insult her, according to the text.¹⁴⁴ I have identified the passage as an enunciation of the statement that woman should be persuaded to follow the norms for her gender. This passage functions as an incentive to persuade both woman and man to cultivate virtues, but woman's purpose to live a virtuous life is particularly enunciated.

In *Mormonernes lære og de Kristnes Tro* [The Teachings of the Mormons and the faith of the Christians] from 1856, a passage has been captured that enunciates the statement that woman should be persuaded to act according to the norms of her gender, as well as that she should be granted freedom. The passage argues that it is only in monogamous Christian matrimony that a wife freely submits to her husband and does so in awe. Christian matrimony edifies society; it is the foundation for the morality and chastity of the society, according to the text. Furthermore, the Christian wife is loyal and dedicated in her love, and she raises her children to be god-fearing,

¹⁴³ Rudelbach, Andreas Gottlob, 1848, *Christelige Biographie*

“Prælaterne og Overherrerne straffe deres Undergivne ei med Sagtmodighed og Guds frygt, men af vredagtig Hevnelpst og i formastelig! Sind, ei af Had imod Synden, men af Had imod Mennesket, saa ingen Forbedring af Sjælene, der nødvendig maa se, at det skeer for deres Frelses og Saligheds Skjæld, kan følge derefter. Iorst skulde de hoie Herrer i Gjærningen selv gjøre, hvad de vilde have gjort af deres Undersaatter, og bede for dem til Gud, og omfatte dem med Kjærlighed, som en Moder omfavner sine Børn, og fornemmelig vise de Svage al Huldskab og Troskab 5 ”). . . Kun de, som Guds Aand driver, kun de ere Guds Vorn (Rom . 8 , 14) » Men ak, hvormange ere der i alle Stænder, som gjøre det, hvad de gjøre, som Leiesvende, ei af sand Kjærlighed. og Andagt mod Gud, men af Frygt !”

¹⁴⁴ *Den unge Christen: Betragtninger ved Confirmationen og ud over Livets Bane*, 1854.

“Og i enhver Pige ster du den vordende Huusmoder, Mgtefelle og Moder, del Vesen, som Gud fremfor alle andre har bestemt til, med sin Kjærlighed at lytteliggjøre og forssjonne Livet. Hvilket hoit og betydningsfuldt Kald har Gud ille givet Qvinden! Nanr du overveier dette, vil du med erefrygtsfuld Agtelse nenne dig Pigen, med besteden Opmerksomhed komme hende imode og aldrig i hendes Nerverelse tillade dig noget Stodende, som kunde fornerme eller krenke hende. Den fiintfslende Piges Bestemmelse er det, at bidrage sin Deel til din Glede, ad Dydens Vei at ssabe din Lytte, og hende vil du bedrove ?” (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

virtuous humans.¹⁴⁵ We note that the passage speaks about woman's free submission to man; in a Christian context woman will thus learn to take pleasure in submitting to her husband. A wife should be granted a certain degree of freedom, but in a Christian marriage she will be persuaded that she should choose virtuous conduct, namely to submit to her husband.

Woman's important place in the Christian worldview is also underscored in the three following passages, which enunciate the statement of woman as an exemplary Christian.

In the collections of sermons, *Prædikener til hver Søn- og Festdag i Aaret* [Sermons for Every Sunday and Holy Day of the Year](1856), the captured passage encourages its audience to serve God by saving souls for him in a manner that is compared to the motherly soul [Modersjelen] that forsakes everything to save her child.¹⁴⁶ Motherly love is thus praised in the passage as a trait that should serve as an inspiration for Christian missionary practices. A valued, good female trait is a model for a good trait in every Christian.

In Heinrich Zschokke's *Huusandagtsbok* [Household Devotional Book] (1857), a passage has been captured where motherly love is compared to God's love for humankind. This form of love is what humankind should return to God, but that even God's disciples failed to feel, according to the passage. It is thus in woman that the text identifies the intensity of love that all Christians should

¹⁴⁵ Jensenius, Caspar Holten, 1856, *Mormonernes Lære og de Kristnes Tro*

“Men det er denne Kjærlighed, paa hvilken Mgttestabets sande Velsignelse beror, og as hvilken den flyver. Hos Polngamistens Koinder stal vel kunne findes Slavindens tvungne Underdanighed imod hendes Tyran; men forgjæves stal man søge efter TGgtehustruens frie Underdanighed i Mrefrygt for hendes Mand. Forgjæves stal man hos dem søge efter Mgtehustruens opofrende, indtil Døden trofaste Kjærlighed og Hengivenhed; forgjæves stal man hos dem søge efter Modre, der have gjort det til deres Livs hellige Opgave, at plante Guds frygt og Dyd i deres Vsrns Sjele. Som derfor Monogamiet, og navnlig det kristelige ZGgttestab, er Grundvolden for Samfundets Sædelighed og Forordning, saa er Mangkoneriet en Grundkilde til Sædelighedens Forfald og medfører Samfundets Fordærvelse.” (Topic: Female slave and er master, from *Indiana*).

¹⁴⁶ T.A. Christensen and E.J. Eckhoff (eds), 1856, *Prædikener til hver Søn- og Festdag i Aaret*

“Og ingen Sjæl er da mere trengende til Kjærlighed end den, som stlv er fremmed for den, ligesom det netop var Tollen og Syrdere Jesus var kommen at frelse; jo mere Ukjærlighed, Had og Forfølgelse, di » Neste viser dig, des mere trenger hans Sjæl til Kjærlighed, des mere er det din Pligt ved opofrende, overdennde, sand christelig Kjærlighed at omfavne ham selv i hans Vrede. Og forstacer du ikke, hvorledes dette kan stee, sta st ind i det Forhold, hvor der endnn er mest Num for den sande, frelsende Kjærlighed — st, hvorledes Moderen itte blot villig hengiuer sit Liv, men alle sit Livs Timer, al sin Ro, sin Glæde, sin Fred for at redde Barnet fra timelig eller evig Død. Var der en saadan Modersjæl i vort Bryst!” (Topic: Is love true? (V2), from *Hertha*. Early runnings: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)

feel.¹⁴⁷

In *Livsbilleder av Guds Riges Historie* [Images of Life from the History of God's Kingdom] from 1858, a passage has been captured in which the queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret (Joan III), is praised for her acts. She had a mission in life that she accomplished with immense courage, namely to introduce Protestantism (the Calvinist theological system) to the aristocracy and magistrate class. The courage with which she did this was so grand that it became a model for man and made her into the most pious woman [den frommeste Kvinde], according to the author.¹⁴⁸ As in several passages analyzed above, we see that this passage views woman as a being with virtues that make her an exemplary Christian.

In the work *Magister Christian Scrivers opbyggelige og trøstefulde Sjele-Skat* [The edifying and comforting Treasure of the Soul by Master Christian Sriver] from 1861, a passage is captured that describes a wise and god-fearing woman. This is a woman who prays to God for his will to come true, and not her own.¹⁴⁹ To hold back one's own will is a trait that several passages specify as both feminine and religious; woman is inclined to, and should be further taught and persuaded to yield to God and to her husband. The automatically generated topic "woman's needs," modeled from *Indiana*, has also captured a passage in this text. This passage speaks about men and women's religious mission as the same. The overarching perspective is elderly people's utility as witnesses of

¹⁴⁷ Zschokke, Heinrich, 1857, *Huusandagtsbog*

"Hvilken Moder vilde itte hellere vove sit Liv for sit Barn , end frasige sig det i Noden ? Sand Kjerlighed tenker kun paa den elskede Gjenstand og glemmer sig selv . Petrus solte , at han itte havde elsket Jesus med den samme Kjerlighed , hvormed denne havde elsket ham." (Topic: Is love true?, from *Hertha*)

¹⁴⁸ Chr. H. Kalkar (ed), 1858, *Livsbilleder av Guds Riges Historie*

"Johanne a f Aldret , som hyrer til Rekken af de hyibaarne Fyrstinder fra Reformationstiden , i hvilke den sande Tro ndfyrte sit helliggjyrende Verk . Det er den lyseste Side i hiin Tids mange Skygger , at den nye Lere fandt Indgang hos mange af Adelen , hos Magistraterne , som overhovedet hos dem , der vare de meest fremragende i Dannelse , Anseelse og Videnstab ; disse yvede en stor Indflydelse paa deres Tidsalder . Blandt disse indtager den nevnte Dronning en hyi Plads . Hun fik en stor Opgave i Livet og lyste den med et Mod , om hvilket Calvin siger , at det bestemmede Mend , og hun indtog sin Plads paa Verdens Stueplads , som den frommeste Kvinde." (Topic: woman, soul, and bildung, from *Hertha*, 100 percent Jaccard similarity value)

¹⁴⁹ Sriver, Christian, 1861, *Magister Christian Scrivers opbyggelige og trøstefulde Sjele-Skat*.

"En vis gudfrygtig og flittigt og andcegtigt bedende Kvinde sagde engang , da man talte om . Bonnen : Jeg kan onske Noget i legemlige og aandelige Ting saa meget , som jeg vil , - jeg kan bede min Gud om Noget saa ivrigt , som jeg vil , saa onsker og beder jeg dog fremfor Alt om at ikke min , men Guds hellige Villie maa skee ; en Ting kan synes mig saa god , som den vil , saa holder jeg dog stedse Hans Villie for bedre." (Topic: woman's volition, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

God's mercy, wisdom, and power, women as much as men.¹⁵⁰ The passage is very different from *Indiana's* enunciations of woman's needs, although *Indiana's* long letter advocates for woman and man's equality before God.

Several passages have been captured in French protestant preacher Adolphe Monod's work from 1861, *Kvindens Opgave og Liv i Evangeliets Lys* [Woman's Task and Life in the light of the Gospel]. Together these passages enunciate all the three statements that are particularly prevalent in this section about religious texts. Two of the passages state that woman must be humble, shy, and submit in silence to her husband. This is the purpose for woman as defined by the Bible. Without obeying the duty of humbleness, she will fail her calling, which is a calling of love, according to the passage.¹⁵¹ We see that the text explicitly defines how woman should behave in order to fulfill herself; the passages thus enunciate the statement that woman should be persuaded to act in accordance with the norms for her gender. These norms are founded on the basis of her calling according to the Biblical interpretation in question. Another passage relates an idea of woman's nature to the idea of woman as predisposed for a particular god-fearing attitude. Her open heart, her conscience, her easily moved feelings, and sensitivity predispose woman for earnest religious devotion.¹⁵² The passage is thus an enunciation of the statement I have identified regarding woman as potentially an exemplary Christian. Finally, a passage criticizes writers who advocate for women's emancipation in secular literature, particularly in novels and plays. Such texts argue for an emancipation that is unjust to woman and that in practice will lead to her degradation, according to

¹⁵⁰ "i den inderlige Kjerlighed til sin Herre Jesus og i den hellige Attr  a ester at vinde Ham ret mange Sjele og fylde den ganske Verden med Kundskaben om Ham .    23. Af de anforte Gxempler sees nu , hvad jeg forheu sagde , at en hoi Alder ikke er et gudfrygtigt Menneske til Hinder , men snarere til Fremme i hans Christendom , og at han ikke derfor har Aarsag til at klage og sige : Jeg er ikke merenytig for Verden og Mine ; jeg kan ikke mere hjelpe mig selv ; jeg kan ikke mere fortjene Noget , osv. Tal ikke saa , du christelige Hjerter ; thi dersom du ikke var nyttig for Verden , vilde din Gud ikke lade dig leve tangere i den . Nyttig er du endnu for din Gud ; thi du er et Vidne eller Erempel paa Hans Miskundhed , Forsorg , Viisdom og Almagt ; derfor anseer Gud det ligei ' aavel for et sardeles Beviis paa sin Godhed oq Velsignelse , naar der i en Stad sindes gamle Mand og Kvinder."

¹⁵¹ Monod, Adolphe, 1861, *Kvindens Opgave og Liv i Evangeliets Lys*. Afhcengighedens . At elste Manden og i "Udmyghed at staae ved hans ^ Side , det er Kvindens Opgave . Denne Bestemmelse og denne Stilling , der fremgaaer af de samme Kjendsgjerninger og ere rodfcestedei det samme Grundforholo, ere saa uadstilleligt begrundede i Kvindens Vcesen , at hun ikke uden at forfeile Kjerlighedens Kald kan miskjende Uomyghedens Pligt , og begge lade sig indbefatte i det ene Begreb : Forsagelse af sig selv , hvorved hun i samme Grad overvinder egen Villie som egen Wre . Kvinden , siger Apostelen her , er siabt efter Manden og har syndet f  r Manden . En dobbelt Grund til at forblive i Beskedenhed , i Stilh  d og i Underkastelse. Hiin Idmyghedens Stilling , som vi ovenfor anviste Kvinden , er her i klare , utvetydige Udtryk bestemt." (Topic: woman's virtues, from *Amtmandens D  ttre*)

¹⁵² "Kvindens lettere opvakte Fslelse , hendes mere aabne Hjerter , hendes smmere Samvittighed , hendes mindre til Tvivl hengivne Aand , hendes blidere og finere Sindsbeskassenhed bestemmer hende til from Religissitet." (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens D  ttre*)

the passage.¹⁵³ It is a topic from *The District Governor's Daughters* ("woman's being and acquired traits"), that has captured the passage, thus a novel that probably could have been subject to Monod's criticism. We have here two different discursive positions regarding negotiations of woman's freedom. *The District Governor's Daughters* casts criticism of the emancipated woman in a negative light through the character Müller. Monod's passage argues that only the emancipation the Gospel has for woman, through her calling, brings the dignity she deserves. Other forms of emancipation risk leading her astray towards an existence that she is not meant for. This passage thus also aims to persuade woman to follow Christian norms for her gender. Yet it also addresses the theme of woman's emancipation. I consider the passage to be an enunciation of the statement that woman should be granted freedom; woman should embrace the emancipation the Bible grants her, but be persuaded to resist new ideas regarding woman's (political) emancipation and claims for woman's rights. This is the earliest passage I have identified in the religious texts in my material that speaks about emancipation ideas, possibly because these ideas became part of French public discourse earlier than Norwegian. We will see that emancipation ideas become a subject in several later religious texts.

In the religious text *Menneskelivet: en Christelig Haandbog for unge og gamle* [Human Life: Christian Handbook for the Young and the Elderly] (1863), the German priest and Lutheran theologian, Friedrich Ahlfeld, uses a set of metaphors and images from the plant kingdom in order to speak about woman, woman's relation to God, and how she transmits the Christian message to

¹⁵³ "Fornedret og opofret bliver Kvinden , naar I , for at tilfredsstille Eders Egenkjerlighed , eller for at virkeliggjøre Eders Theorier , river hende nd af den Stilling , som Gud har anvist hende , og som jegonstede at bevare hende . Fornedret og opofret blev hun af Eder , da I hcevede hende til en bedragerisk Heide og lagde Manden for hendes Fodder i Eders Romaner , i Eders Selstaber, i Eders Skuespil , fordi I tillagde hende , istedetfor hendes virkelige Kald at understste og hceve Manden , det Kald , at gjore ham kraftcsllss og kvindagtig. Fornedret og opofret bliver Kvinden endnu den Dag i Dag af Eder , naar I soge for hende en anden Emancivation , end den , der ved Evangeliet er hende skjenket , naar I Å1/4befindigen fordre for hende alle Mandens Rettigheder , og istedetfor den Opgave , som hun kan og stal lose , setter en anden , som det ikke er hende tilladt at strcebe hen imod . Og hvilket Begreb gjør I Eder da om Kvinden , naar I troe , at hun skulde vcere tilboielig til at bortbytte den bestedne Heder at have udfyldt et Kald , hvortil hun er stikket , med den nedverdiggende Forfengelighed Å» at lobe paa Grund ien fremmed Bestilling ?" (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

her children.¹⁵⁴ A woman who does not know how to pray and does not involve her child in praying is a woman who has lost her real soul. Furthermore, the passage discusses what it is that nurtures and conserves woman's soul. It cannot be reading, because women who read a lot seldom become good housewives. Instead extensive reading tends to make women too dreamy and withdrawn from reality, according to the passage. Instead it is music, particularly the singing of psalms that can solidify woman's soul. Music alternates well with the silence of the home that women should cultivate. Thus, the passage expresses worries regarding religious devotion, which is something woman can and should improve. This passage contains enunciations of the statements that woman should be persuaded to act in accordance with the norms for her gender, and that she can be an exemplary Christian.

Three passages have been captured in a work by Johan Nissen from 1863, *Nissens Samtaler over Den bibelske Historie* [Nissen's Conversations About Biblical History]. Two of them compare woman's qualities to distinguished Christian actions. The first one compares Christian missionary activity to how a mother breastfeeds her baby.¹⁵⁵ In the second one, the way God searches for a sinner—like a herdsman leaves behind ninety-nine sheep in order to search for the one that is missing—is compared to how a woman carries out housework with great care and gives the home a nice atmosphere.¹⁵⁶ In the third one, God's attributes, such as adherence, patience, and calmness are,

¹⁵⁴ Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1863, *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys*

“En Kvinde , som ikke kan bede , fom ikke kan prife sin Herre med aandelige og liflige Sange , ligner en Blomst uden Lngt . Her er den sande Sjæl borte . Men hvor mange Koner er der vel ikke nutildags , fom hverken felv bede eller kunne md fore sine Born iBonnen ! Fattig er vistnok en Landmand, som intet Korn har at udstroe paa sin Jord om Vaaren , naar Agrene stulle tilsaaes . Men langt fattigere er dog en Moder , som intet Soedekorn har at udstroe for det evige Liv i sit Barns Hjerter , denne den yndigste Foraarsager af alle (...) Og hvad er det ncest Guds Ord , ncest Psalmer og Nonner , som meest ncerer og opretholder Kvindens Sjæl ? (...) er det den megen Lcesning i alskens Skrifter ? Nei ; Koner , som lcese meget , ere sjelden gode Huusmodre . Ved megen Lcesning blive unge Piger let drommende og svermeriske , danne sig et stjcevt og usandt Billede af Livet og gaae siden der forstemte og sukke over at Virkeligheden ikke svarer til deres Dromme (...) Musikken passer saa godt til Husets Stilhed ; den kan Kvinden dyrke alene ; til den behøver hun ingen Anden (...) Saare beklageligt er det , at Psalmesangen er bleven saa sjelden i vore Huse.” (Topic: woman, soul, and bildung, *Hertha*. Early runnings: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)

¹⁵⁵ Nissen, Johan, 1863, *J. Nissens Samtaler over Den bibelske Historie*

“Vi omgikkes mildt med Eder ; som en Amme pleier sine Born , saaledes ere vi as inderlig Kjerlighed til Eder villige til at dele med Eder ikke alene Guds Evangelium , men ogsaa vort eget Liv , fordi I ere bleve os elskelige . Altsaa ligesaa omhyggelig , betcenksom , om , kjerlig og mild som en Moder , der giver sit Barn Die ; kan der vel tcentes noget fmukkere Billede ?” (Topic: Is love true?, from *Hertha*)

¹⁵⁶ Nissen, Johan, 1863, *J. Nissens Samtaler over Den bibelske Historie*

“Altsaa Synderens Elendighed gaaer Gud til Hjerter , saameget mere som denne Synder er hans Eiendom . Vi see nu i vor Lignelse , hvorledes Guds Kjerlighed viser sig . Altsaa det ene Faar gaaer fra Hjorden . Hvad gjør saa den troe Hyrde ? Han forlader de 99 og sger efter det ene . Kvinden tcender et Lys , feier Huset og sger med Flid ; Alt viser hendes Omhu , hendes alvorlige Sygen . â€” Sege , det gjør Gud og Jesus , ja , Jesus scetter det endogfaa som Maalet for sin Komme Â., at sge " og frelse det Fortabte.” (Topic: woman's language of silence, from *Ammandens Døttre*)

according to the passage, qualities that define a woman's mind.¹⁵⁷ These comparisons suggest ideals for woman's conduct—for the good mother and housewife—whereas they at the same time argue in favor of woman as a being with an immediate understanding and capacity for religious devotion.

A passage captured in the work *Lars Linderots fuldstændige Huus-Postille* [Lars Linderot's complete Household Book of Homilies] from 1864, argues that woman has the right to be proud, due to the fact that Mary gave birth to Christ. This passage from a devotional book for use in religious meetings in the home, argues that the Bible in fact does justice to woman. Her difference from man is specified and at the same time idealized. This enunciation also adds to the statement that woman is an exemplary Christian. It is a topic from Hansteen's "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'" ("woman's flattery and man's hubris") that has captured this passage. Whereas Hansteen speaks about woman in a degraded state in relation to man—through the mutual reinforcement resulting from her flattery towards him and his bragging of his superiority in front of her—Linderot argues that a common opinion is that woman is weak, presumptuous, and proud. She should value the status God has given her more than any flattery from a young, worldly man. If she does that, she will be even prouder. The passage evokes the humility with which Mary received God's message of her status as the mother-to-be of the savior of the world. In conclusion, the passage seems to attempt to inspire women to care less about worldly matters and cultivate humbleness, and it does so by evoking how proud they should be of their status in Christianity.¹⁵⁸ Speaking about traits such as pride and humility in relation to woman functions differently in

¹⁵⁷ Nissen, Johan, 1863, *J. Nissens Samtaler over Den bibelske Historie*

"Det er Hengivenhet , og Taalmodighed . En saadan Rolighed og Tilfredshet Å» med Alt , hvad Gud gjer , pryder iser et Kvindesind." (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

¹⁵⁸ Linderot, Lars, 1864, *Lars Linderots fuldstændige Huus-Postille*

"Endvidere er den Ydmyghed , hvormed den Udvalgte modtog Forkyndelsen af dette hoie himmelste Budstab , et virkeligt Kjendetegn paa hendes oedle og gode Hjerter . Hvor stor var ikke den Naade , hvor hoi var ikke den Wre , som bevistes den Å1/4bemcerkede Maria ! Men saa var ogsaa den ydmyge Sindsforfatning , som viste sig hos hende , indtagende og rsrende . Ogsaa heri har hun efterladt et skjent Eftermcele, der fortjener at efterfslges . Naar man forudscetter den almindelige Mening , at Kvinden er mere svag , forfcengelig og stolt , end Manden , skulde det vel af Ingen blive regnet Maria til Last , om hun ved en saadan Englehilstn: Herren er med dig , du Velsignede iblandt Kvinderne ! skulde vcere bleven noget stolt , og endnu mere , da Engelen vedblev : See , du stal undfange i Livet , og fode en Son ; og Gud Herren stal give ham Davids sin Faders Throne ; og han stal vlrre en Konge over Jacobs Huus evindeligt . Hvorledes skulde I , unge Piger , som nu hore dette , vcere blevne ved saadanne uscedvanlige Wresbeviisninger ? I bryste Eder ved at blive tiltalte af en jordisk fornem Yngling , som siger Eder etfygtigt , tilfældigt og meningslsst Smigren ; hvor meget hsiere skulde ei Forfcengeligheden og Indbildstheden hos Eder stige , dersom en Himmelens Engel , i Lysets og Herlighedens fulde Glands , Å» formodentlig traadte ind til Eder og forkyndte Eder en saa uudsigelig Naade , en saa uforlignelig) Gre !" (Topic: woman's flattery and man's hubris, from "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'")

Hansteen's polemical newspaper article than it does in Linderot's devotional book. In "kvindernes mening om kvindernes underkuelse" it functions to argue for extended freedom for woman in relation to man, while in *Lars Linderots fulstændige Huus-Postille* it works to promote woman's piousness and humbleness.

In Ahlfeld's "Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys" [Human Life in the Light of God's Words] (1865 edition), the captured passage holds that a motherly heart experiences her child as a gift from God, whereas mothers who send their children away do so as a result of sinful behavior and thus lose their motherly heart [Moderhjerte]. Regardless of the reasons for women's pregnancy out of wedlock, it was considered sinful behavior, worthy of criticism both if they kept their children and if they sent them away. In the latter case, this implied the lack of a virtue (the motherly heart), according to the passage. Woman's capacity for love, or her "motherly heart," can thus be damaged through inappropriate behavior. Sometimes it is a sad necessity to let institutions take care of the upbringing of children. In most cases women's sinful behavior is the origin of that predicament, according to the passage. Women should consider more profoundly how their sin kills the joy that they should feel when having a child, which is a gift from God.¹⁵⁹ This passage highlights the importance of persuading woman to behave in accordance with moral and religious norms.

Another passage has been captured in a work by Johan Nissen, this time from his *Nissens Samtaler over Luthers lille Katechismus* [Nissen's Conversations about Luther's Small Catechism] (1865). The passage argues that a mother has a crucial role in making her child a Christian believer. The seeds of a god-fearing spirit should be planted very early on, in early infancy [med Modernmelken], according to the hyperbole in the text. The text suggests concrete exercises that a mother should carry out with her child but problematizes woman's lack of formal education in these matters.

¹⁵⁹ Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1865, *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys*.

"Ve en faadcm Moder ! Hun betragter ikke sit Varn som nogen Guds Gave , men som en Byrde , der er hende paalagt mod hendes Villie , som en Anklager mod hendes Synd og Skyld . Huu veed intet af det Ord : â€ž Men nÅ¥ar hun har fodt Barnet , kommer hun ikke mere den Trengsel ihu , nf Glede over nt et Menneske er fodt til Verden . " Trengselen lever med Barnet , ng derfor vil hun vere fri for det . â€œ" Dog , vi ville ikke tale mere om disse Modre uden Moderhjerte . Men ner til dem grendse de Modre i de store Byer , som efter Fonselen sette sit Barn i en af de Pleiestiftelser for fattige Dicborn , forn gjerne der findes . Naar faadnnne Born begynde nt face lidt Forstand , moder hellerikke deres Oie nogen Moder , men en fremmed Kvinde , forn gjor Smnnborns Opfoedelse â€œ" Opdragelse kunne vi ikke kalde det â€œ" til et Hacmdverk , et Levebrod . Moderen hnr frasagt sig Moicn med sit Barn , men dermed ogsaa Gleden deraf . Ikke stort bedre er det i de fleste Tilfælder , nÅ¥ar Born , hvad man kalder , udfettes til Opfostring . Om end dette Skridt ofte knn vere en forgelig Nodvendighed , faa er denne dog fordetmeste en Frugt af Synden . Snndnnne Modre stulde kim ret betenke , hvorledes Synden forgifter nl Glede , hvorledes den losner felv de inderligste Forholde , saaledes som Barnets til Moderen [...] Gud havde givet hende det som en Gave , og hun har ikke villet have det som saadan." (Topics: Is love true? From *Hertha* (first running) and Christmas, from "Til Sveriges Qvinder" (latest running)

Praying and serving as an example herself by revealing her own god-fearing heart are, however, exercises that she can master naturally.¹⁶⁰ Woman is thus inclined to, and should be guided towards, a way of raising her children that will make them Christians. We also see that a link is established between religion and the question of women's education, which I will elaborate on later in the chapter.

In another edition of Ahlfeld's work *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys* (1866), a passage has been captured that explicitly argues that woman is more inclined to deep religious devotion than man. When woman develops her god-fearing spirit, she also becomes a more humble, silent, and faithful wife, according to the text. This passage thus links woman as an exemplary Christian to ideals regarding the Christian woman's conduct in relation to her husband.¹⁶¹ Women who are deeply Christian are thus also more likely to embrace their assigned place in matrimony and society.

We have another example of how central Christian acts are compared to the motherly in a passage from the work *Aandelige Hviletimer* [Spiritual Hours of Rest] (1866) by Heinrich Möller. Möller was a German Lutheran theologian from the seventeenth century. Several of his edifying texts were translated in Scandinavia in the nineteenth century. The captured passage argues that God helps humankind in despair just like a mother immediately sets out with courage to save her child in

¹⁶⁰ Nissen, Johan, 1865, *Nissens Samtaler over Luthers lille Katechismus*

"Men han sagde : Havde min Moder straffet mig for mine Tyverier og Lsgn medens jeg endnu var liden , saa var jeg nu ikke bleven frst til ' Rettelsteden . Hvorledes - opvekker og beforder en Moder sit Barns Guds frygt ? Paa tre Maader : Ved eget Exempel , Undervisning og Vsn . Eget Exempel . Paulus forlanger nf en Moder , at hun frst selv stal blive i Tro , i Kjerlighed , i Helligsrelse og i Tugt [...] Det gaar som ' en Digter har sagt : Elster du det Hjerter , som dsende brast for dig , saa vil ogsaa mange andre Hjerter elste ligesom dig , og frst og fremmest Barnets Hjerter [...] En from Mand sagde : jeg har indsuget Guds frygt med Å» Modermelken . Hvad meuer han ? Thi ogsaa i denne Henseende er det en Sandhed , at Wblet ikke falder langt fra Stammen . Hvorledes stnl Moderen drage Omsorg for , at bendes Brn beder ? [...] hvorledes kan en Moder vere Lerer . da jo den , som stal vere Lerer , i flere Aar maa uddannes dertil ?[...] Hun kan leilighedsvis og ganske naturlig vise hen til Gud [...] Moderen maa anstille gudfrygtige Ovelser med Barnet , saa det at vere gudfrygtig bliver det en Sedvane." (Topic: Is love true?, from *Hertha*).

¹⁶¹ Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1866, *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys*

"Disse tause Vaaben fra Herrens Rustkammer var for stærke , for stærke selv for hendes ustyrlige Aand . Hun gik i sig selv og blev til sidst en stille , ydmyg , gudfrygtig , trofast Hustru . Hun tilstod senere for sin Mand , at den gjentagne Ytring af ham : Å,, leg maa frst bede for dig . " havde gaaet hende saaledes til Hjerter , at hun esterhaanden lcerte at kjende sig selv , sin Gud og tillige sin Mands Kjerlighed og Trofasthed . Dog , langt oftere end Mcendene befiude Konerne sig i en saadan Trængsel . Ligesom i Herrens Tid , saaledes gribe de endnu ofte den Dag idag Ordet om Korset baade hurtigere og med et dybere Sind end Mcendene." (Topic: Female slave and er master, from *Indiana*).

danger.¹⁶² This is also one of several passages, as we shall see, that specify a certain type of courage as a feminine quality.

Several passages have been captured in the work *Jødedommen* [Judaism] (1867) by the Norwegian philosopher Georg Vilhelm Lyng. One passage argues that a woman who refuses to submit to her husband, is not a real woman, just as a man is not a real man if he is not willing to die when it is required of him.¹⁶³ Another passage specifies this difference between man and woman's calling. A man's calling is active and he is supposed to give and to lead. He is the head, will, and reason of mankind, whereas woman's calling is passive. She is supposed to receive, let herself be led, and she is the nature and heart of mankind. In similar terms as Monod, as we have seen above, Lyng argues that a woman's heart is more open to the good, but also for being led astray, into sinful behavior.¹⁶⁴ Here too woman is uniquely capable of taking in God's message, but also particularly easily tempted into sinful behavior. As I stated in the beginning of the chapter when specifying the statements I have identified, the statement of woman as a potentially exemplary Christian is closely related to the statement of woman's sensitive nature, which also makes her vulnerable to being led astray.

Jødedommen also discusses ideas of woman's emancipation. If a woman becomes completely akin to man, the world will go under as this destabilizes the order installed by God, according to one passage. This passage also argues that fundamental differences between man and woman in fact create the bond between them. Furthermore, the agitators for woman's emancipation reason from a conviction that woman, if she is educated like man, will prove that she has the same capacities as

¹⁶² Möller, Heinrich, 1866, *Aandelige Hviletimer*

“nÅr Noden er storst , saa er Hjelpen ncermest . Gud drager ikke op af Korsets Hav , forend VÅndet gaacr lige til Sjelen . Naar det kommer til det Dderste , saa at Noden ei kan blive storre , og man alt fortvivler om alle Menneskers Hjcelv , saa kommer Gud med Sin Hjcelp og beviser , at Han er Herren, der kan gjore Undere . Naar en Moder horer , at hendes Barn er i Fare , tcenker hun i Begyndelsen , at det ikke har saa stor Nod , og sender En hen , som stal see til og hjcelpe ; men er det saa , at Faren gjcelder Livet , saa tover hun ikke , men iler til og hjcelper selv Barnet . Derfor mit Hjerte , jo storre Nod , des freidigere Mod ; thi da er Hjelpen ncermest.” (Topic: woman's courage during difficult times, from *Indiana*)

¹⁶³ Lyng, Georg Vilhelm., 1867, *Jødedommen*

“vil Kvinden ikke underordne sig , da er hun ikke Kvinde [...] og er Manden ikke , naar det kreves , villig til at ds , da er han ikke Mand.” (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

¹⁶⁴ “Mens Mandens Kald derfor er det aktive , at give og lede , er Kvindens det passive , at modtage og lade sig lede ; mens Manden er Menneskehedens Personlighed , dens Hoved , dens Villie og Forstand , saa er Kvinden derimod dens Natur , dens Hjerte baade for det Gode og det Onde [...] denne Forskjel er ganske vist det dybe og stærke Baand , der knytter dem til hinanden , det , der gjer , at de hver for sig staa Fare for kun at komme til at leve et halvt Liv . Deri , at Synden egentlig er Kvindens og ikke Mandens , deri ligger altsaa , at den egentlig er Hjertets og ikke Villiens , at den ikke er fuldkommen fri , ikke begaaet med hel Villie og klar Bevidsthed, og derfor er det jo ogsaa den kan tilgives.” (Topic: woman's volition, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

him. However, a woman's calling—which is to defeat sin through her moral conduct—entails that she has different, and not similar, capacities compared to man, according to the passage.¹⁶⁵ It is thus important to discourage women from embracing emancipation ideas, as they will lead them away from their divinely determined calling, according to these passages.

A passage from *Konkordiebogen, eller Den evangelisk-lutherske Kirkes Bekjendelsesskrifter* [Concordance Book, or the Evangelical Lutheran Church's Confessional Writings] from 1868, argues that woman is saved through giving birth and other marital actions. Women who conform to their assigned place in marriage and society are rewarded by God; the passage functions as a way of persuading woman to engage in a certain type of behavior.¹⁶⁶

In the work *Hemmeligheder i Lov og Evangelium* ["Secrets in the Law and the Gospel"] (1868), the Swedish revival movement preacher, C.O. Rosenius discusses women and men's marital obligations. While men's obligation is to love their wife, women's obligation is to obey. The passage argues that it might be difficult for women who have independent natures to submit to their husbands. Disobedience towards their husbands can only be defended, however, if the husband in

¹⁶⁵ "naar Kvindens Dragt bliver fuldstendig lig Mandens , da sial Verden ' forgaa , og denne Spaadom har bestandig forekommet mig at indeholde en dyb Sandhed . Den klinger loierlig : Dragten kan synes at vcere en Åæbetydelighed, men Sagen er det , at den fuldstendige Lighed i Dragten er kun det ydre Tegn paa deres fuldendte Ligestilling, og denne , den fuldkomne Forrykkelse as den af Gud indstiftede Orden , er ingen Åæbetydelighed . Agitationerne for Kvindens Emancipation udgaar naturligvis fra den Paastand , at den Stilling , Kvinden har indtaget gennem alle Tider , er en Tilfeldighed og en Uretfærdighed , at hun har ganske de samme Evner , som Manden , naar disse Evner kun bleve uddannede . Jeg har i det Foregaaende ytret en modsat Formening , og jeg mener , at Kvindens Kald og Betydning beror paa , at hendes Evner ikke ere de samme . Hendes Kald og Betydning er betegnet ved Forjættelsen , at hendes Sced , ikke hun selv stal knuse Slangens Hoved ; thi denne Forjættelse, der nærmest fik sin Ovfyldelse i Christus , har ganske vist en blivende Betydning." (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

¹⁶⁶ 1868, *Konkordiebogen, eller Den evangelisk-lutherske Kirkes Bekjendelsesskrifter*
"Kvinden skal frelses ved Bornefødsel o . s . v . " Dersom vore Modstandere kunde anfsre noget saadant Sted om den ugifte Stand , da vilde de i Sandhed fejre en herliq Triumf . Paulus siger , at Kvinden frelses ved Bornefødsel . Hvad mere Wrefuldt s ^ for Wgtchanden ^ kunde der siges mod dette Hykleri med deu ugifte Stand , end at Kvinden frelses netop ved de cegtefkabelige Gjæringer , ved den cegteslabelige Omgang , ved Bornefødsel og andre huslige Kaldsgjæringer?" (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

question is a heathen, and if obeying him would mean disobeying the Lord.¹⁶⁷ This passage must also be understood in light of ideas about woman's emancipation; it shows that women must be persuaded to accept their assigned place.

Regarding discussions of woman's emancipation, Ahlfeld also contributes in another edition of his *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys* (1869). The captured passage argues that a quiet life fits woman best, preferably in the home, although she has her place in church as well. The passage condemns the appearance of women outside of these arenas: "God preserve us from the masculine women who have in recent time emerged in public life!"¹⁶⁸ This enunciation, which defines woman's place in society and seeks to influence woman's conduct, seems to be an example of enunciations that are mobilized by emerging ideas of woman's emancipation in the period.

In the collection of essays *Sidste Blade* [Last Pages] from 1872 by Camilla Collett, a passage has been captured that criticizes Adolphe Monod. Whereas it is not difficult for a woman to submit to a mild and loving man, the passage indirectly states that not all women's husbands are mild and loving, and many women thus suffer as a result of the command to submit to their husbands.¹⁶⁹ This passage is also an enunciation of the statement that woman should be granted freedom. It differs from many of the others we have studied, however, in the sense that it criticizes the idea of freedom as compatible with the duty of submission, which is a discursive position we find in the texts in the

¹⁶⁷ Rosenius, C.O., 1868, *Hemmeligheder i Lov og Evangelium*

"Naar nu den kristelige Hustru skulde saaledes verrc den hedenske Mand underdanig hvilken Hustru skulde da uu kunde have en saadan Mand , at hun ikke var ham Underdanighed skyldig ? Hun maa alene sec til , at hendes Lydighed mod Manden ikke bliver en Ulydighed mod Gud , som Kirkefaderen Gregorins siger : â€žHustruen skal saaledes vcere sin Mand til Behag , at hun ikke bliver sin Skaber til Mishag " . Men naar dette Tilscelde undtages , saa gjelder det altid forovrigt , at â€žManden er Kvindens Hoved" og at hun stal vcere ham underdanig i â€ž alle Ting " . Og i denne ene Pligt kunne alle hendes Pligter imod Manden indbefattes; thi naar hun blot er underdanig og villig til i Alt at gjore sin Mand til Behag , saa faaer hnn siden , at vide af ham , hvad han mest vurderer . Vi sige atter , at dette er sonderkusende for mange mere selvstendige Naturer ; meu det er dog Herrens Anordning." (Topic: woman's flattery and man's hubris, from "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'")

¹⁶⁸ Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1869, *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys*

"Lige fra Forst af indbod Apostlene ligesaavel Kvinden som Manden til de gudstjenstlige Sammenkomster. Kun maatte Kvinden tie i Menigheden . Ittedestomindre er Huset , stjonst ikle paa fri , christelig Maade , vedblevet at vcere Kvindens egentlige Sted i Menigheden . For Kvinden passer et stille Liv sig bedst . Gud bevare os fra de mandige Kvinder , som i den nyere Tid kjcekt og frcekt have fremtraadt i det offentlige Liv!" (Topic: influence on woman, from Amtmandens Døttre, and female slave and er master, from *Indiana* (1866 edition)

¹⁶⁹ Collett, Camilla, 1872, *Sidste Blade*

"Men Hr. Monod Var selv en mild , kjærlig Mand , intet mindre end despolift, de elskede ham hsiit , fan det vil have verrcet dem forholdsvis let , at opfylde det Krav , han stillede til Kvinden . En stor Del Kvinder , hvis Mernd i gode Egenskaber ligne Monod (uden derfor at delc hans Anskuelse , de vilde maaske endog finde sig saare utilfredse ved at kalde et fuldsterndigt underordnet , viljelsst Vcrsen sin Mage) en stor Del saadanne Kvinder bille ogsaa med Glade kunne bekjende , hvor let en Sag at lystre , at underordne sig , naar der overhoved kan vare Tale om disse Ord mellem virkelig erdccltrnkeude . frisindede 3 Egtefolk." (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

sub-corpora as well (elaborated more on in chapter seven).

Numerous passages have been captured in the work *Den unge Kvinde: En Ven og Ledsager for hende gennem Livet og til Udødeligheden, eller om Kvindens Kristelige Opdragelse for sit Kald* (1872) [Female Piety—The Young Woman's Guide through Life to Immortality (1853)] by John Angell James. Two of them argue that Christianity has upgraded and emancipated woman, and that women must be guided so that they can follow their calling, according to Christianity. It is impossible for a society to stay healthy if women are treated as slaves, one of the passages argues.¹⁷⁰ The other passage specifies women's virtues as carefulness, patience, self-denial, subjection, wisdom, and politeness. Women are most likely to develop these virtues if they are treated gently; a strict, commanding way of treating a woman fails to understand the secret of woman's power, the passage states.¹⁷¹ Woman should thus not be forced into a certain behavior but instead should be educated and guided toward the desired conduct. Furthermore, the text underscores that woman's position and conduct is important for the well-being of society as a whole. This subject is further elaborated on below. James was an English preacher and writer. There were four editions of the Norwegian translation of his work. It is thus likely that the text achieved popularity in Norway. *Female Piety—The Young Woman's Guide through Life to Immortality* is a Christian didactic work.

In a completely different kind of text, *Nutids-Kunst* [Contemporary Art] (1873), by Julius Lange, a passage has been captured that idealizes woman. In this passage the theme, however, is not woman as an exemplary Christian, but the godliness of woman's beauty; woman's beauty is "the daughter

¹⁷⁰ James, John Angell, 1872, *Den unge Kvinde: En Ven og Ledsager for hende gennem Livet og til Udødeligheden, eller om Kvindens Kristelige Opdragelse for sit Kald*

"Ved Kristendommen har Kvinden erholdt sin moralske og sociale Indflydelse, ja næsten hele sin Tilværelse som et Samfundets Medlem. Kvindens Sjæl, hvilken mange af Fortidens Filosofer, Lovgivere og Vise ansaa for at være af ringere Værd og ude af Stand til at modtage Dannelse, er dog bleven udviklet under Kristendommens Beskyttelse. Kristi Evangelium, dette glade Befrielsens Budskab, er i denne forsmøttede Grube, hvilken endog de Vise have foragtet at oparbejde, og har derfra hentet op manges usatterlig Juvel [...] Kristendommen har gengivet Kvinden hendes tabte eller bortrovede Rettigheder og indsat de klareste Vædelstene i hendes Hæderskrone. Hendes tidligere Forfald forklarer i det mindste for en Del Årbejdssvækkelsen af tidligere Tiders Dannelse. Det er umuligt for Samfundet vedvarende at holde sig oppe, naar dets Kvinder ere fornedrede til Slaver." (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha*)

¹⁷¹ "Efterstræber altid Idmyghed i eders Sind og Mildhed i eders Opførsel. De ere i Særlighed Kvindens Dyder og sætte hende istand til ret at opfylde sit Kald, langt mere end den stolte, befalende og haarde Handlemaade, som indeholder en fuldkommen Miskjendelse af Hemmeligheden i Kvindens Magt. Nærmhed og Taalmodighed, Selvfornægtelse og Underdanighed, Klogskab og Takt ere de Dyder, som bibringe udsaaes i Ungdommens Vaar, forat deres rige Frugter man kunne indhøstes i modnere Aar. Hjertelig Velvilje, venligt Sindelag, se der, hvad I i Særlighed bibringe efterstræbe, fremfor alt Me. Iln disse ere de Dyder, som pryde en Husmoder i Hjemmet og en Mødetfælle ved Mandens Side." (Topics: Is love true?, from *Hertha* and woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

of the ocean's foam" [Datter af Havets Skum]. The enunciation concerns an artwork at the International Exhibition of 1867.¹⁷² Although this is not a religiously oriented enunciation, we see that woman is idealized through an intimate link between a specification of her attributes and a mystical dimension.

The automatically generated topic "the motherly" (2) modeled from Bremer's text "Til Sverriges Qvinder" has captured a passage in the religious text *Sandheden i Kristus* [The Truth in Christ] by the Norwegian priest Ernst Fredrik Eckhoff.¹⁷³ The passage argues, like Bremer's text, that the holy virgin shows that God has been merciful to woman, and that she because of her true faith has become not only the mother of Christ but integrated in his entire plan for justice and salvation.

This statement, regarding woman as particularly inclined to be god-fearing and an exemplary Christian, also comes across in a passage captured in the work *Kvinden, skabt i Guds Billede* [Woman Created in God's Image] (1878) by Aasta Hansteen. To gain a place in ecclesiastical history, man has to take on a feminine way of being; he has to find strength in his frailty and ask for God's will, rather than his own, to happen. Even if ecclesiastical history contains more men than women, the feminine spirit is the governing force, according to the text.¹⁷⁴ This passage thus argues that the true god-fearing spirit is feminine.

Another passage that indicates that ideas of women's emancipation mobilize several enunciations

¹⁷² Lange, Julius, 1873, *Nutids-Kunst*

"Men den dybe og dejlige grÅske Tanke , som lader den kvindelige Skjonbeds Guddom dukke frem af det evig flygtige , evig bevÅgede Havs lette Skum , er Poesi , en inderlig Enbed af Anskuelse og Symbol , af Fantasi og Tanke ; efter sin Ordlyd kan den ikke fores over i en bildende Kunstform . Poesien , som kalder den kvindelige SkjÅnbed en Datter af Havets Skum , bÅlver vor Forestilling og giver Lys for vor Tanke som ved et burtig forbifarende Glimt." (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

¹⁷³ "Hvad Guds Naade virker i Mennesket . Derom have vi allerede kortelig indflettet Noget i den forrige Betragtning, men vi maa nu stille det noget egentligere og tydeligere frem . Man se dog her paa den hellige lomfrn , hvem Gnd har vcerdiget sin Naade , den hun ogsaa i sand Tro har modtaget , faa at hun ikke alene er bleven en Moder for Gnds SM , men ogsaa er bleven delagtig i al hans RetfÅrdighed og Salighed . Hvor stjM har ikke den gnddommelige Godheds Glands gjort hende , hvorved hnn oplystes fra Himmelen , hvor rig har Jesu Armod ikke gjort hende , og hvor HM er hun ikke derved ceret i Himlen og paa Jorden ?"

¹⁷⁴ Hansteen, Aasta, 1878, *Kvinden, skabt i Guds Billede*

"For at faa Plads i Kirken og i dens Historie maa altsaa Manden , paa en Maade , ifÅre sig Kvindelighed . Her kan han ikke trÅnge frem paa almindelig Mands-Vis : ikke med SvÅrd , ikke med sin Kraft , sine Tanker , sine Opfindelser , ikke med sin Vilje og sine Paabud ; han maa trÅde op som den æž Bundne i Herren " 1) , som den , der har sin Styrke i sin SkrÅbelighed , som den der siger : ikke min men dm Vilje ske ! Heraf fÅlger , at om ogsaa Kirkehistonen skulde indeholde flere mandlige end kvindelige Navne , saa er det alligevel den kyndelige Aand som i den er den raadende , og som giver den sit PrÅlg [...] ved den kristne Kirkes Stiftelse kunde den kvindelige Aand trÅde ud i Livet og give det sit PrÅlg . Her er ogsaa Lighed mellem Billedet * fog dets Ophav . Hvem genkender ikke Kvinden i den stille , indadvendte , og dog saa mÅgtige Virken?" (Topic: woman's volition, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

on women, is captured in the work *Evangelie-Postille* [Gospel Comments] from 1878 by the American (Saxony born) Lutheran pastor and writer C.F.W. Walther. The narrator speaks directly to women and warns them that they will have a lot to account for if they dare to make their will triumph over their husband's will. Whatever the reason for why their husband yields, a woman who breaks her husband's will turns God's holy order upside down, according to the passage.¹⁷⁵ Woman should thus be convinced that it is wrong not to submit to her husband under any circumstances, as that goes against God's order.

We have already seen that several topics have captured John Angell James' work *Den unge Kvinde*. Passages in the 1878 edition of this work have also been captured. One of these passages argues that Christianity has improved woman's life, not least because it has enhanced men's morality. A decrease in men's alcoholism, adultery, and tyranny has improved many marriages and conditions for women.¹⁷⁶ This passage thus speaks in favor of Christianity as a means of fighting social misery which is a subject I elaborate on later in this chapter (in section 6.4). Another passage argues that woman must not feel degraded because she has to submit to her husband, as this is her righteous and true position; man is the head of his woman, like Christ is the head of the church. In this text, which is directed at woman, the author thus attempts to persuade woman to feel good about the fact

¹⁷⁵ Walther, C.F.W., 1878, *Evangelie-Postille*

“Undskyld Eder [Kvinder] kun ikke for Gild dermed , at Eders Mand er faa svag , saa godslig og eftergivende , at han tillader Eder enten ved List , Smigreri eller Overtalelseskunst , eller vel endog ved Vredens og Tvistens Magt at herske over ham ; selv Eders Mand kan ikke bortkaste det Scepter , Gud har givet ham ihjænde , thi Mandens Herredomme er Guds Anordning . Spot og Skam derfor over en Hustru , som forstaar at fætte sin Vilje igjennem og at bryde sin Mands Vilje ! Hun vender op og ned paa Guds hellige Ordning , bliver en Skamplet blandt de kristelige Koner , en Gjenstand for de hellige Engles Foragt , og engang vil hun have et tungt Regnskab at aftoege for Ham , hvis Indstiftelse hun saa frekt vendte op og ned paa.” (Topic: woman's volition, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

¹⁷⁶ James, John Angell, 1878, *Den unge Kvinde*

Kristendommen er næsten i alle Verdens Egne optraadt som Kvindens Befrier og Ven . Den har unddraget hende den ulykkelige Indflydelse af den muhamedanste Halvmaanes blege Skin og stillet hende i det oftlivende Lys af Retfærdighedens Sol . Den har frelst hende fra Krusefixets mørke Magt og fort hende til Korsets hellige Hoider . Men ogsaa fra en anden Side kunne vi se , hvorledes Kristendommen selv blandt os har virket velgjørende og forbedrende for Tusinder af engang ulykkelige og fornærede Kvinder , ulykkelige ikke ved egen Skyld , men ved sine Mænds Grumhed og Laster . Hvor mange Hustruer have ikke levet i et Slags husligt Slaveri , forarsaget ved Mandens Drukkenstab, Utrofi og Tyranni , disse Mænd , som dog engang med Ed havde lovet at elfe og beskytte dem . Kristendommens Magt har i utallige Tilfælde erobret og forandret saadanne Mænds Hjerter , lutret og helliget dem , saa at der senere syntes ikke at være mindre end en ny 3 Egtfælle , end et nyt Menneske . Og et af de største Beviser paa denne Forandring var hans forandrede Opførsel i Hjemmet, hvor Hustruen nu blev hans Selskab og Ledsagerinde istedetfor hans trældende Slavinde . Saaledes har Kristendommen ved sin Aand og sine Forskrifter udvirket Kvindens Befrielse og Forbedring , hvorsomhelst den har vundet Indgang (Topic: Female slave and her master, from *Indiana*).

that she is ordered to submit to her husband.¹⁷⁷

A passage has been captured in the short story “Ved egen Kraft?” [By One’s Own Power?] by the Norwegian writer Antoinette Ulrikke Meyn, who published under the name “Marie.” The passage speaks about a woman who is not able to marry and have children. She is in despair because a woman’s “calling never can become hers.” Her conversation partner comforts her by arguing that a woman’s calling is akin to man’s calling, namely to work where one is guided by God. Another path will be available for this woman, according to the text, where she “in silence can work for God’s honor in the light of the shielding power of femininity.”¹⁷⁸ The importance of fulfilling one’s calling, as defined by God, is thus important for a woman’s well-being, according to the passage. Furthermore, a woman can be a good Christian, and—through her femininity—have a valuable function in life, even if she cannot become a housewife and mother. By illustrating the agony woman experiences when not able to fulfill woman’s most notable calling, the passage underscores the importance for woman of following the norms for her gender. Norms for her gender also include gaining religious wisdom so she can better understand God’s purpose for her life, according to this passage.

The last passages to consider in this section are captured in *O. Funcke’s Husandagtsbog* [devotional book for use in Ordinary Households] (1880) by the German pastor, Otto Funcke. In the first passage the narrator attempts to make sense of the fall. Originally, man was not a sinful being. He turned sinful because he was blinded and betrayed. Furthermore, he claims that all of us, if we are true to ourselves, know that we can be tempted like Eve was. He continues, however, by describing how women are more easily seduced by the tempter. The presence of God in women’s eyes [Kvindens Øjne] becomes cold, harsh and tyrannical, whereas the tempter’s presence in her eyes

¹⁷⁷ “Dette er da Kvindens rette og sande Stilling , og hvis noget mere behsver at siges til Bevis herfor af Kristendommens Vidnesbyrd , kan , jeg henvise til Apostlernes Ord paa andre Steder , hvor Hustruerne opfordres til at vcere sine Mcend underdanige , ligesom Menigheden er Kristus underdanig . Og ikke blot Paulus , men ogsaa Petrus yttre sig paa samme Maade . Maatte da Kvinden twie sig for denne Magt uden at fsle sig nedsat ved en saadan Underdanighed!” (Topic: woman’s flattery and man’s hubris, from “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse’”)

¹⁷⁸ Marie, 1879, “Ved egen Kraft?”

“Kvindens sÅ|dvanlige Kald , at blive Hustru og Moder , kan aldrig blive mit Å» , hviskede hun ; Å« jeg ved , at mit Hjerte aldrig mere vil have Rum for saadanne EÅ|elser . â€” â€” Kvindens Kald ? â€” â€” Men er da ikke Kvindens som Mandens Kald det , at virke der , hvor Gud hen viser dem ? Han har afstukket mange Yeie for os her i Livet , og han havde ikke gjort det saaledes , hvis hans Finger kun pegede i e n Retning . Og er det da saa , at Kvindens sÅ|dvanlige Kald altid har staaet for mig som mit Livs Bestemmelse ? Har der ikke i Dybet af min SjÅ|l hvilet en anelsesfuld Trang , . som atter og atter har hÅ|vet sin Stemme og tilraabt mig : Å« Nei , der ligger ikke dit Livs Maal ! Kom og fÅ|lg mig , og jeg vil vise Dig en anden Vei , hvor Du ogsaa i Stilhed kan arbeide og virke til Guds Å|tre , i Ly af Kvindelighedens vÅ|rnende Hegn.” (Topic: woman’s Bildung, from *Hertha* and woman’s virtues, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

appears increasingly pleasant, according to Funcke.¹⁷⁹ The passage is thus another enunciation regarding woman as easily led astray by the devil.

In the other passage, Funcke discusses that Christians often have to account for their faith. According to the passage, verbalizing one's faith is not something everybody masters; women in particular are seldom granted this ability, and should refrain from attempts to save a doubter through rational argumentation. All Christians, men as well as women, should live in such a way that their faith is visible to others, and their religiosity should show through their conduct, mindset, and love.¹⁸⁰ We thus see that what several passages have defined as women's virtues (a silent way of acting in accordance with the calling of love) coincides with an ideal way of living for a Christian.

6.2.2 Considerations of Passages Captured in Religious Texts

The number of results in religious texts is larger than what I expected. I will now present to research findings based on these religious texts. Among all the topics used in searches taken together, I have had the largest number of hits in religious texts. I had expected that I would identify a larger number of emancipatory voices in the captured religious text passages than what I actually have.

The large number of captured passages in religious texts was unexpected for two main reasons. First of all, the previous research that I reviewed in chapter three has documented that many different forms of changes influenced women's lives during the period. I had therefore expected a significant number of hits in texts related to economy, law, demography, health and medicine, and education. As we shall see in the next sections of this chapter, I have also had results in texts within these fields. Nonetheless, the number of hits in religious texts is significantly larger than it is for these other categories. In order to show the great variety of genres and fields in which I have had results, I have presented proportionally fewer passages from religious texts than from other types of texts. Furthermore, the ways I have worked to capture data in the Digital bookshelf should have produced numerous hits in secular texts speaking about woman. Apart from Fredrika Bremer's texts, religion

¹⁷⁹ This passage was captured during the first runnings of STM. The topic—"Is love true?"—applied with 50 percent Jaccard similarity, is the following: selv, kjærlighed, din, ditt, øye, hjerte, blott, sand, anklager, anderledes, blik, dåre [self, love, heart, true, accuse/r, your, different, eye, gaze, fool, exposed].

¹⁸⁰ Funcke, Otto, 1880, *O. Funcke's Husandagtsbog*
"At vort sterkeste Vidnesbyrd maa bestå i vor Vandel , i vort hele Sindelag , i vor Kjærlighed , i hvad vi agsre og ikke gjsre , det forstaar sig af sig selv. At disputere er tke Hvermands Sag . Kvinderne er det sjelden givet , og sjelden anstaar det dem ogsaa . Ogsaa mange Mænd gjsre ofte bedre iat sige : Å« Jeg kan ikke tale Meget derom , men jeg ved , hvad der gjør mig lykkelige Ug . " Navnlig maa de , som let blive heftige , vaage over sig selv , ellers gjsre de mere Skade ? nd ' Gavn." (Topic: Is love true? from *Hertha*)

has little place in the texts by women writers that I have used to capture passages. Since I have seen from early on in the project that I tend to get numerous hits in religious texts, I have taken means in order to increase the probability of capturing relevant passages in secular texts as well. When filling the word bags, I have made sure that I include relevant words that I have identified in secular texts captured in the Digital Bookshelf, and relevant words suggested by the secondary literature. For instance, when completing the word bags for the topic “Woman and *Bildung*,” modeled from Bremer’s *Hertha*, I have included several words that I have observed function more or less the same way as the topic word “sjel” [Soul]. In secular texts from late in the period, one speaks less about the education of woman’s soul, and more about, for example, “Bevidsthed” [consciousness].

Despite these measures, religious passages dominate my dataset. My conclusion is therefore that speaking about women and gender to a large extent—perhaps predominantly—takes place in religious texts in the Digital Bookshelf from the period 1830 to 1880. Furthermore, many of these texts were popular writings, such as devotional books for use in the home and didactic literature. The ways women were spoken about and to in these texts might have reached the “almue,” and not only the privileged class and elite of society. I discuss possible explanations for this finding regarding religious texts in the next chapter, where I present passages from other types of texts as well.

The second unexpected finding in relation to religious texts is that there are fewer emancipatory ways of speaking in the material than I thought I would identify. The reason I expected this is that historical research has criticized women’s historians for having unfairly judged all Christian practice in Scandinavia in the period as resistant to women’s emancipation (see 3.8). The Swedish historian Inger Hammer has been particularly severe in her criticism of historians’ presumably exaggerated dismissal of connections between Christian movements and women’s emancipation (1996/1998). We have seen (in 3.8) that Hagemann argues that more research has to be done regarding possible links between Christian lay movements and legal reforms that increased women’s rights, but that research already conducted indicates that such links might exist. My results do not, however, support the hypothesis that there were strongly emancipatory voices in religious writings available to the Norwegian public in the period.

What stands out in the passages examined in this section is the notion that woman’s nature predisposes her to become an exemplary Christian. Woman’s presumed good, moral qualities—to

which her nature predisposes her—are similar to Christ’s traits. They are models for qualities that characterize any good Christian. This finding is in line with what historian of religion, Jeanette Sky, has observed (see 3.8). Sky holds that Christianity becomes feminized in the nineteenth century. In the start of this project, I noticed captured passages in religious texts that spoke in favor of a woman’s right to religious autonomy, passages holding that Christianity has set woman free, as well as passages claiming that woman’s influence in society is crucial. These observations further strengthened my starting hypothesis that emancipatory ways of speaking about woman—perhaps even with links to legal reforms—were likely to turn up in my material. As we have seen, however, the majority of the examined passages underscore woman’s duty of submission. I have adapted the topics and their corresponding word bags so that passages that condemn woman’s submission—or speak about woman’s right to freedom without mentioning submission—were more likely to be captured (see GitHub for these topics, word bags, and settings). Nevertheless, results in religious texts that speak unconditionally in favor of woman’s right to freedom are so few that they can be characterized as exceptions to the rule. Although numerous passages speak enthusiastically about woman’s freedom and praise the positive influence woman can have on her surroundings, it is unlikely that there are any direct links between the part of gender discourse I have identified in the religious texts and advocacy for legal reforms, such as unmarried women’s legal majority and right to engage in commerce. We have seen that the passages presented in this section speak primarily about woman’s place in marriage and of her informal influence as a virtuous, god-fearing woman who cares for others. Unmarried women and woman’s formal rights and formal opportunities for influence are not at all a major concern. Instead the dominant way of speaking insists on marriage where woman submits to man as her purpose.

We have seen that the importance of woman’s subjection is justified by biblical interpretation in the majority of the passages. I have also identified links between speaking about woman’s duty to submit and woman’s potential as an exemplary Christian. In the material studied in this section, we have seen that woman’s presumed sensitive nature is part of her potential for deep religiousness. Her sensitivity, however, also makes her particularly vulnerable to temptation. Not all the passages highlight that woman is easily led astray, but a certain number does and thereby seem to posit an additional justification for her submission to man in woman’s sensitivity and susceptibility to influence.

The dual nature of woman’s sensitivity and susceptibility—or perhaps better, her receptivity—raises

the question of her relation to truth. As I already have stated, there is a tendency in the period to speak about woman's relation to truth. Several of the religious passages examined in this section argue that woman has a unique potential for sensing God's will and for cultivating what we can call moral wisdom. Awareness of these forms of truth is possible because of woman's presumed sensitive nature, and her wisdom shows through her god-fearing, virtuous, and silent conduct, not through preaching or other verbal demonstrations. Based on my review of secondary literature and the first results from the Digital Bookshelf (see 2.5.2), I have created a topic for capturing passages that speak about woman and truth. This topic has also produced a large number of results in texts where religious considerations constitute a major part, indeed many in the same texts as those presented in this section. Monod, for instance argues:

Woman's slightly more awakened feeling, her more open heart [...] her spirit that is less devoted to doubt, her gentler and finer senses predisposes her to devotional religiousness; while her pursuits that at the same are less abstract, less coherent, less assertive of the whole force than ours, give her more leisure for prayer, more freedom to serve the Lord.¹⁸¹

Woman is thus uniquely predisposed for religious insight, but the "awakened feeling" and "open heart" that facilitates this receptivity also limits what sort of mental efforts she is able to make; she is less inclined to exercises that require abstract, coherent reasoning, according to the passage. Furthermore, the passage holds that woman's spirit is less open to doubt, which entails that she is not predisposed to critical thinking and rational pursuit of the truth. Furthermore, she should stay away from such efforts in order to dedicate her time to religious devotion. Woman is thus particularly predisposed to an emotional, mystical truth-seeking, which should not be disturbed by abstract and rational truth-seeking, to which she is also less inclined because of the qualities that give her religious insight. James also highlights woman's unique capacity for a certain kind of wisdom. He speaks about woman's secret sources of help [hemmelige Hjelpeskilder] which are, among others: "her wonderful ability to see through the heart in a way that is impossible to man, her never-failing presence of mind [...] her constant, though imperceptible, vigilance."¹⁸² We note that woman's presence of mind and vigilance are imperceptible, according to the passage. Her insight is thus not something she is supposed to transmit verbally; truth is not something she possesses and

¹⁸¹ Monod, Adolphe, 1861, Kvindens Opgave og Liv i Evangeliets Lys
Kvindens lettere opvakte Følelse, hendes mere aabne Hjerte [...] hendes mindre til Tvivl hengivne Aand, hendes blidere og finere Sindsbeskassenhed bestemmer hende til from Religiositet; medens til samme Tid hendes Beskjeftigelser, der ere mindre abstrakte, mindre sammenhengende, mindre gjsre Paastand paa den hele Kraft end vore, giver hende mere Fritid til Bsnen, mere Frihed til at tjene Herren

¹⁸² James, John Angell, 1868, unge Qvinde. hendes underbare Evne til at gjennemstue Hjertet paa en Maade, som er Manden og umulig, hendes aldrig svigtende Aandsnerverelse [...] hendes bestandige, skjont umerkelige Aarvaagenhed

shares, instead she embodies truth through her conduct.

We have seen that the passages in this entire section quite consistently argue that woman's devotional religiousness, insight, and virtuous conduct are not developed without effort. For that reason, it is essential that she learns to cultivate the good, moral traits toward which she is predisposed. We have seen that a crucial factor in woman's virtuousness and god-fearing attitude, is that she herself is persuaded of its righteousness. Ideal feminine attitudes and conduct require that she submits to her husband, but that she submits freely. Ideally, she is persuaded of the righteousness of submission, and therefore of her own free will renounces her will, so to speak. We also saw that Monod's passage above states that woman should only be granted the freedom to serve God once she is persuaded that this is her calling. The question of woman's freedom on the one hand, and the expectation that she follows the norms for her gender on the other, increases during the period. I analyze this combination further in the next section.

6.3 Freedom and Strategies of Persuasion

The passages I present in this section are enunciations that advocate in a variety of ways for woman's freedom. Some passages criticize woman's duty of submission. These passages problematize woman's dependency on man and highlight negative consequences of woman's lack of freedom. In the previous section I discussed the passage captured in Camilla Collett's "Sidste Blade" [Last Pages] (1872) where she criticized Adolphe Monod. This criticism could also be discussed in this section. I placed it in the analysis of the religious field of enunciations since it deals with religiously oriented ways of speaking about woman. Collett's enunciation serves to demonstrate that there was communication and links between different fields and genres where one spoke about woman. In the passages I am now going to present we will see that many are significantly different from the majority presented in the previous section in that they argue in favor of what we, simply put, could call a more progressive view on woman's rights and position in society.

Enunciations of the following statements are particularly prevalent for this category:

Woman should be granted freedom

Many of the passages argue that woman must be virtuous and include the duty of submission among her virtues. I still find it relevant to analyze these enunciations as part of an enunciative field that deals with freedom and strategies of persuasion. This is because these enunciations emphasize that woman herself must be persuaded of the righteousness of her conduct. In order to be virtuous, woman must freely choose to act in specific ways. In other words, the attitude or mindset with which woman takes care of her children, displays moderation, serves God, obeys her husband, etc., is of fundamental importance. Her actions will only be considered really virtuous if they show that she freely chooses her conduct. In this way, the enunciative field that I analyze in this section is connected to the religious field of enunciation analyzed in the previous section. I will present passages that are captured in educational manuals, fiction, didactic literature, and legal texts.

6.3.1 Selected Passages

In an educational manual for adolescents and young adults from 1833 the captured passage tells a story about a hard-working girl living with foster parents. When she learns that her father did not freely abandon her, but was incapable of raising her alone, she works with tremendous effort in order to become the same support to her father that her mother used to be. She despairs, however, when she realizes that her father does not care about her efforts, and she ends up dying from this tragedy. The importance of woman being allowed to devote herself completely to her family, is thus a matter of life or death.¹⁸³ The passage encourages young girls to do whatever is in their power to prevent rejection when they devote themselves to a man. At the same time, it also functions as a warning against woman's complete and uncritical devotion to man. This textbook builds on a French educational manual. The preface expresses the hope that the book will find its way to the many homes of the "almue." It thus seems like there was a concern that women from the lower social classes learned that they have a certain freedom and should not blindly act in accordance with the feminine virtue of devotion to man.

¹⁸³ 1833, *Læsebog for Ungdommen*

"Disse Ord siar mig i Hjertet ; jeg gjcittede , at den stakkels Lille , som saae sin Pleiefaders Omhed fyr sine BFrn , ei begreb , at hendes Fader havde kunnet forlade hende , hvis han ei vgr dÅ,d . For at udflette de Tanker , som denne Opdagelse maatte jhde i hendes Forstand , fortalte jeg hende Sandheden og Aarsagen til hendes Faders Fortvivlelse og FravÅ|relse . Dette var en ny Ulykke for det stakkels Barn ; hun antog sin FÅ,dsel for en Forbrydelse . Endelig â€" takket mine BestrÅ|belser ! â€" tog hun Mod til sig , og gav sig til at studere Alt med en uhstrt Anstrengelse ; hun lcrtte Alt hvad hendes Moder havde lcrrt , for engang at kunne udfylde hendes Sted hos sin Fader . For to Maaneder siden erfarede hun , at hendes Fader var i Christiania, og at han havde ncegtet at see hende ; da betog Sorgen hende , hun hent < rres daglig og dHer af Kummer." (Topic: woman's courage during difficult times, from *Indiana*)

A passage captured in a translation of the novel *Horace* (1845) by George Sand speaks about how a woman deals with having been failed by her husband. This woman had through suffering learned to submit to her husband completely. Her subjection facilitated her husband's despotism. As a result, she loses all joy and energy, and it is only through the help of a male friend that she manages to leave her tyrant [Tyran].¹⁸⁴ The passage thus criticizes woman's submission; woman's submission inhibits her capacity to take care of herself and increases the risk that she will be abused. Woman's autonomy and freedom is thus not compatible with submission.

In *En liden Trøste-Bog for bekymrede Forældre* [A Small Comforting Book for Worried Parents] from 1847, a passage has been captured that speaks about the joyful submission of a girl's entire will [glad Underkastelse af al sin egen Villie] to her parents' will. All fruits of Christianity show in this girl's attitude, according to the passage.¹⁸⁵ We thus see a clear demonstration of how woman (or girls in this case) is supposed to embrace giving up her own will. She should be granted freedom, but only in order to freely give up her own will. The author of this book is Peter Rasmussen Andresen, a teacher and writer with German-Danish antecedents who lived in Christiania starting in the 1840s. The preface of this book mentions *Trostbüchlein für bekümmerte Aeltern* by the German Heinrich Brandt as its main source. As in the first passage I presented in this section, we see here an example of didactic literature that is written for the Norwegian public and explicitly inspired by European literature. This phenomenon strengthens the hypothesis that ways of speaking of woman and gender in the period are part of an international exchange of ideas.

¹⁸⁴ Sand, George, 1845, *Horace*

“Den fuldkomne Underkastelse og blinde Lydighed , som jeg i den tungeste Skole havde erhvervet mig , begrundede kun altfor meget min nye Herres Hang til Despotisme , der snart steg til en frøgtelig Hoide . Jeg taalte denne ovrrende Behandling med en Resignation , som bedre opdragne Fruentimmer hverken kunde eller burde have viist . Jeg var paa en Maade blaseret mod Trudster og Fornoemclser . Et stille , uafhængigt Liv var endnu mit Ideal af Lykke ; men jeg troede , at jeg havde tabt al Net til en saadan Lykke . Min Energi var brudt , jeg havde ikke Kraft til nogensomhelst Anstrengelse , og uden ifrims Venskab , uden hans Bistand og Raad havde jeg aldrig havt Mod til at forlade min Tyran . I denne Sorgens og Fortvivlelsens Tid gjorde man mig ofte hvad man kalder Kjærligheds-Erklæringer ; men dette vakte blot min Utaalmodighed . Jeg maatte have noget Mere end en Elster , jeg maatte have en Ven.” (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

¹⁸⁵ Andresen, P., 1847, *En liden Trøste-Bog for bekymrede Forældre*

“Paa denne unge Pige var , ligesom til Gartnerens Glæde paa et ung / Træ , alle Christendommens Frugter allerede at finde i deres nte Skjønhed og Modenhed . Der var en glad Underkastelse af al sin egen Villie Henseende til fromme Forældres Villie , en Lydighed uden Knur , ja uden Spørgsmaal , et blidt Sind imod.” (Topic: woman's volition, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

In the legal text *Om mundtlig Rettergang og Edsvorne* [On Legal Proceedings and Sworn Officials] by Michael Conrad Sophus Emil Aubert (1849), the captured passage reports that there are women from the lowest class [den laveste klasse] who are victims of legal injustice. If a woman sells objects that her husband has stolen, she will also be sentenced. In many cases she has no choice, however; her husband is a brutal tyrant (Huustyrant), and she is a subjugated woman who will suffer the “most barbaric abuse” [barbariske mishandlinger] if she resists. She thus completely lacks free will, according to the passage.¹⁸⁶ Aubert was a jurist and official. He traveled with public support to England, Scotland, France, Belgium and the Prussian Rhine provinces to study the judicial system in these countries. This text was a report on his observations. We see that the captured passage problematizes woman’s lack of freedom. A woman who loses her entire freedom of will in her submission to her husband, is exposed both to marital abuse and unjust legal proceedings. Moreover, the passage illustrates the paradox that woman is supposed to submit to her husband, but still regarded as legally responsible so that she can be sentenced for doing so.

A passage captured in Henrich Zschokke’s “*Huusandagtsbok*” [Household Devotional Book], argues that a truthful, feminine education [sand kvindelig dannelse] is essential for a young woman in order to acquire the traits that will make her happy in marriage. The narrator speaks directly to a woman, his Christian friend [christelige Veninde].¹⁸⁷ The passage thus functions as an attempt to persuade woman that in order to have a good marriage, she needs an education that facilitates the cultivation of feminine virtues. We will see numerous passages speaking about woman’s education in the next section.

In the legal text *Den Norske Familieret* [Norwegian Family Law] by the jurist and writer P.J. Collett (Camilla Collett’s husband) from 1859, the captured passage states that husband and wife have

¹⁸⁶ Aubert, E., 1849, *Om mundtlig Rettergang og Edsvorne*

“Samme Forfatter [...] ponerer nemlig det Tilfoelde , at en Kone har solgt Varer , som hendes Mand har stjaaleet . med Forevidende om at de vare stjaalne , og bemcerker , at ligesom dette i Gjerningen ofte ei bor ansees som nogen tilregnelig Brede for hende , saaledes vilde Edsvorne ogsaa i Regelen 1/4betinget frifinde hende , medens juridiske Dommere vilde finde Vegrebet om Tyvsmedvioeri umiddelbart anvendeligt . Han gjor i denne Anledning opmcerksom paa det Forhold imellem LEgtefolk , som saa ofte foresindes blandt Personer af den laveste Klasse , at Manden er en Drukkenbolt og brutal Huustyrant , medens Konen er et fromt og undertrykt Vasen , som ofte med Kummer og Bittethed i Hjertet er nsdt til at adlyde Mandens Befalinger , for at undgaae hans Voldsomheder og epnaae den muligste Fred i sine huuslige Forhold . Hendes Viljefrihed er under saadanne Omstendigheder i Gjerningen tilintetgjort , thi Modstand vilde blot foraarsage barbariske Mishandlinger.” (Topic: woman’s flattery and man’s hubris, from “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse’”)

¹⁸⁷ Zschokke, Heinrich, 1857, *Huusandagtsbog*

“Ugdom udeu sand kvindelig Dannelse , ofte endog med fordervet Aand og Hjerte , indtreder i det egtestabelige Livs vanskelige og vigtige Forhold ? O , min christelige Veninde , som snart sial leirete Mgtestabets Dorteerstel , hust paa , at det ikke blot er ^ in tilkommende Mand , hans Stand og Formue , som du har at takke for din tilkommende Lykfalighed , men ligesaameget de gode Egenskaber , du som ung Pige har erhvervet dig.” (Topic: woman’s *Bildung*, from *Hertha*)

equal rights in marriage. There are some modifications, however, related to women's poorer knowledge of public affairs and married women's lack of legal majority. The passage specifies that the law does not authorize the complete subjugation of woman to man.¹⁸⁸ Also this legal enunciation highlights that woman is granted freedom. It specifies that complete submission to man is not a woman's duty; it is in fact against the intention of the law. She is, however, supposed to accept that man's will triumphs over her will in some matters; equal rights must thus mean that woman is supposed to freely submit to man in some domains.

Regarding matrimony in particular as well as woman's freedom and duty of submission, a passage is captured in *Kvindens Opgave og Liv i Evangeliets Lys* [Woman's Task and Life in Light of the Gospel] (1861) by Adolphe Monod that should be considered in this section on freedom and strategies of persuasion. The captured passage asserts that whereas God has refused woman the power to be in command, the power of influence that he has given her is all the greater. It is a holy influence, according to the passage. The passage is directly addressed to women.¹⁸⁹ Women are encouraged to follow the norms for their gender: they have to submit to their husband. The reward, so to speak, is that this act of submission gives them space to exert influence; thus, in sacrificing one form of freedom they gain another. In addressing women directly, the passage attempts to persuade woman that she should submit, and that she should realize the freedom her submission makes possible is the power of influence.

In the work *Om Ægteskabet* [On Matrimony] (1861) by Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, a passage has been captured that holds that woman and man should first of all govern themselves and not their spouses. Both parties should let themselves be led by the holy spirit of self-given laws. If one party

¹⁸⁸ Collett, P.J., 1859, *Den norske Familieret*

“Den maa tillige scette begge sEgtefceller i et ligeligt indbyr ^ des Forhold . Ikke saaledes , at deres Formue absolut sial styde sammen ; ikke heller saaledes , at Manden ikke skulde have den afgjsrende Stemme i alle huuslige Anliggender ; â€” Meningen er , at den indgangne Forbindelse er lige virksom for begge og tillcegger Enhver de samme Rettigheder , alene med de Modisicationer , som Qvindekjsnnets mindre Dygtighed i de borgerlige Anliggender og dets deraf stydende Nmyndighed under LEgtesiabet medfsrer.” (Topic: the bond between the genders, from *Indiana*)

¹⁸⁹ Monod, Adolphe, 1861, *Kvindens Opgave og Liv i Evangeliets Lys*

“laar jeg idag henvender min Tale til Eder , til Kvinderne , da bsr Mcendene i vor Forsamling , der ellers stedse i Svidsen af mit Foredrag mode deres Navn , ingenlunde blive stinsyge derover . Jeg taler for Manden , naar jeg taler til Kvinden , naar jeg strceber at hellige hendes Indflydelse paa ham . Hendes Indfytelse siger jeg . Det Herredsmme , som den Sterkere udsver ovev den Svagere , og som af denne nsdtvungen taales , har Skaberen ncegtet Kvinden ; men desto rigeligere har han tildeelt hende hiin Indfytelse.” (Topic: woman's flattery and man's hubris, from “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse’”)

puts himself over the other, he disturbs the order of things.¹⁹⁰ This is one of numerous passages that indicates that the question of freedom and submission in marriage is pressing in the period. Arguments for Christian marriage where woman is subjected to her husband, on the one hand, and emerging ideas of women's emancipation on the other, mobilize enunciations that set out to reconcile these fronts. We see that this passage argues against the principle of domination and submission between spouses.

A passage has been captured in the fictional text *Skjebnen og Mennesket: Familieforviklinger* [Destiny and Human Being: Family Frictions] (1862) by J. Storm Wang. Wang wrote several fictional works. In this one, the narrator assures a woman that it is not true that woman is weak when she wants to use her "abilities of the soul" [Sjelsevner]. It is possible to be an obedient daughter and a perfectly obedient wife and still always act independently, when one's consciousness requires it. She has to do it, however, in a manner that is worthy of an educated woman.¹⁹¹ According to the passage woman has a certain freedom of will, that she is also obliged to act upon, but she has to make sure that her way of acting does not come in conflict with the norms for her gender. This passage might also have served to reconcile the two main ideas I discuss in this section, namely woman's freedom and the norms she is supposed to follow, in particular her duty to obey.

In the religious work *Nat og Morgen - fire hundrede Fortællinger af den christelige Missionshistorie* [Night and Morning - Four Hundred Stories from the History of Christian Missionary Work] from 1862, translated from German, the captured passage argues that women's conditions were poorer before. Men's unrestricted power over women is referred to as something that belongs to the past.¹⁹² As we shall see, there are several passages that argue in similar terms:

¹⁹⁰ Hippel, Theodor Gottlieb von, 1861, *Om Ægteskabet*

"Hvem forlanger vel , at Koneu stal herske over Manden ? Hnu skal blot heller ikke beherskes af ham . Kunne da ikke to Mennesker leve sammen , som lade sig lede og fore af selvgivne Loves hellige Aand , uden at den ene af dem lofter sit stolte Hoved og , i Kraft af indbildt Magt , forandrer Tingenes Orden , og hellere forstyrrer deune end følger den ? Hvor underligt , at Mennesker , som regjere sig selv saa slet , saa inderlig gjerne spille Mester over andre!" (Topic: woman's courage during difficult times, from *Indiana*)

¹⁹¹ Wang, J. Storm, 1860, *Skjebnen og mennesket*

"Man lillcrgger Kvinden allid Svaghed , men tro mig til din egen Beroligelse , delte er ikke Sandhed , naar hun blot vil bruge sine Sjelsevner . Du kan verre en lydig Dat Å» ter , den kjÅrligste , den mest opofrende Hustru , om Du aldrig en Haarsbred giver efter , hvor Samvittighed og Mennesserrettigheder tilsige Dig , at Du stal handle selvstcrndigt. Dog maa alt delte ste paa en for den dannede Kvinde vcrrdig Maade." (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

¹⁹² 1862, *Nat og Morgen*

"Manden kunde , naar han vilde , straffe sin Hustru , ja han turde endog drcebe hende , hvis han fandt hende drukken eller ifcerd med at begaae TEgtestabsdrud . Konen den imod turde ikke klage og maatte stille og taalmodig boere endog de stsrste Forbrydelser , som hendes Mand begik mod hende." (Topic: the bond between the genders, from *Indiana*)

woman's status is elevated and she is now free.

In Ahlfeld's *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys* [Human Life in Light of God's Words] (1865), a passage has been captured that criticizes men who want to abandon their wives because they cannot enjoy life anymore, for instance, because the wife is ill.¹⁹³ We see that this passage underscores how woman is at the mercy of her husband's will, and that it also encourages man to take this into account. The passage attempts to persuade man to act in a way that avoids the negative consequences of woman's dependence and lack of freedom. The passage is not exactly an enunciation of the statement that woman should be granted freedom, but woman's lack of freedom is problematized. Another passage captured in the same work speaks about how the master of the house should treat his female servants. The passage encourages him to treat his servants well and gives an example of a female servant who is so happy to serve her master that she is sad when thinking about heaven, because she will no longer have the opportunity to serve him. The passage elevates this testimony as an ideal of a master's benevolence.¹⁹⁴ The masters should treat his servants so that they take pleasure in what they do, and freely choose to keep their position throughout life. We also see in this context that freedom and persuasion, rather than coercion, are encouraged in order to stimulate desired conduct in women.

In a work by Johan Nissen, *Nissens Samtaler over Luthers lille Katechismus* [Nissen's Conversations about Luther's Small Catechism] (1865), a captured passage argues that woman should take pleasure in her submission to her husband. It is her duty to follow her husband's will, but she is not to do this sighingly [sukkende]. Instead she ought to find her honor in it, according to the passage.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1865, *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys*

“En usfel og daarlig Maud er navnlig den, som nogle faa Macmeder eller Aar efter Wgtestabet kan sige : æž Da jeg giftede mig , onstede jeg at face en Kone , fom jeg kunde nyde Livet med ; men jeg seer , at jeg har tÅget feil ; min Kone er fvgelig ; jeg vil itte vere bunden al min Tid til et Menneske , i hvis Selstad jeg spilder mine bedste Aar og maastee ovenikjobet tager Skade paa min Helbred ; jeg vil see til at blive af med hende.” (Topic: female servant, from *Indiana*)

¹⁹⁴ “Da han en Dag saae , at en af hans Tjenestepiger var meget oedrsvet , spurgte han hende , hvad der hvilede saa tungt paa hende . Hun suarede : Å., leg kom just til at tcenke paa at der i Himmelen maaskee ingen Tjenestepiger er , og saa gjorde det mig saa ondt , at jeg isaafald ikke lcenger vilde kunne vcere om Dem , saaledes som jeg har vceret her paa Jorden . " Og hvilket Vidnesbyrd er ikke dette ogsaa for Herskabet ! Ofte ere Tjenestefolk glade , naar Aaret er omme ? ofte holde de ei engang saa lcenge ud ; ofte har Herskabet i eet Aar sex til otte Forskjellige i samme Tjeneste , æ” og hun Pige vilde ogsaa i Himmelen vcere om sin Husbond ! Spsrger Eder selv , I Husbonder og Madmsdre , om I ved Eders Forhold mod Eders Tjenestefolk have bestrebt Eder for at fremelske en saadan Troskab og Lcengsel i deres Sjele !” (Topic: female servants, from *Indiana*)

¹⁹⁵ Nissen, Johan, 1865, *Nissens Samtaler over Luthers lille Katechismus*

“Saa bliver det Kvintens Pligt at folge Mandens Villie . Og dette stal hun ikke gjsre sukkende , men hun stal deri ssge og finde sin 3 Ere . I.” (Topic: woman's virtues, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

A passage has been captured in the collection of short stories and tales *For og imod — Tusind temaer for Tænkning* [For and Against - A Thousand Themes for Thinking] (1867) (volume 14) by the Danish writer Carl Bernhard (pseudonym for Andreas Nicolai de Saint-Aubain).¹⁹⁶ The passage states that men despise their women whether or not they obey them. This passage underscores the idea discussed in this section, namely that woman is told that she is supposed to be free, and, at the same time, to submit to man. This enunciation underscores this paradoxical phenomenon.¹⁹⁷ Woman can thus paradoxically be despised both for choosing to express her own will, and for yielding to her husband.

Woman's vulnerability in relation to man is also the subject in a passage captured in *Samlede Skrifter* [Collected Writings] (1867) by the Danish writer Thomasine Gyllembourg. The passage speaks about a woman who has been abandoned by the man she was passionately [lidenskapelig] in love with, and who had proposed to her. In her sorrow, she attempts to commit suicide on multiple occasions.¹⁹⁸ If we consider this character's tragedy in the context of the despair of women characters in *Indiana* and *The District Governor's Daughters*, it seems like these enunciations can have a double function. First, they remind women of how vulnerable they are if they do not suppress their feelings, just as Mrs. Ramm recommends that her daughters do in *The District Governor's Daughters*. They might also stimulate advocacy for women's right to independence, so that being abandoned or refused by a husband or lover does not result in agony and public shaming.

A passage captured in *Hemmeligheder i Lov og Evangelium* [Secrets in Law and Gospel] (1868) by C.O. Rosenius, recognizes that it might be difficult for woman to obey her husband if he does not exercise his power with love, reason, and mildness. Yet woman still has to submit. A woman who allows herself to speak and act on her own will is a source of dispute, confusion and everything that

¹⁹⁶ I have not found the exact year for when Bernhard wrote this work, but it seems to have been written towards the end of his life, as earlier works were published during his lifetime. Bernhard deceased in 1865.

¹⁹⁷ Bernhard, Carl, 1866, *For og imod - tusind temaer for Tænkning*
 "Naar Fruentimmerne ikke ville bsnhsre os , hade vi dem , og naar de have bsnhsrt os , ringeagte vi dem i Almindelighed. Ni tilgive dem grumme nsdig saavel Dyd som Svaghed . Vi anvende alle mulige Fis i den simpleste Samtale for at erobre , i Almindelighed ikke as sand Interesse men as Lune eller af Stinsyge , for ikke at staae tilbage for en Medbeiler . Saameget virker i det Hele taget Forfcængeligheden paa Mandfolkene , at der maastee ikke gives nogen Mand , der gjør sin Cour til en bersmt Skjonhed , som ikke vilde foretrekke at synes lykkelig fremfor at vcere det , naar det skulde vcere under Å1/4brsdelig Taushcd." (Topic: the bond between the genders, from *Indiana*).

¹⁹⁸ Gyllembourg, Thomasine, 1867, *Samlede Skrifter*
 "Thora fra sit ffrste Mode med Frits var bleven lidenstabelig forelsket i ham , og da han nu virkelig friede til hende , fslte-sig altfor lykkelig ved Tanken om sit hoieste Bnstes Opfyldelse , til med koldt Blod at kunne undersøge, om ' haus Ord vare vel overlagte eller ikke . Skrcek og Sorg over at troe sig forladt af ham havde paadraget hende idelige Krampetilfcelde , og det var ikke ffrste Gang , at hun , som iaften , havde forssgt at aflive sig selv." (Topic: woman's suicide, from *Indiana*)

is bad [alt Ondt], according to the passage.¹⁹⁹ Another passage advises man how to compensate for the inequality that woman's obligation to obey inserts between the genders; woman's marital duty to love him and submit to him becomes so much easier if he treats her with reason, mildness, and love.²⁰⁰ Pressure against the demand that woman submits to her husband in marriage, is likely to mobilize these enunciations. It cannot be taken for granted that women follow this duty; women have to be persuaded to conform, and men have to learn to exercise their power in ways that make radical emancipation less relevant for women.

A passage has been captured in the novel *Brands Døtre* [Brand's Daughters] (1869) by Laura Kieler, one of the twelve Norwegian women writers who debuted between the 1840s and 60s. The passage speaks about two sisters. One of them tries to figure out why they have to live in gloomy conditions under their father's strict will, and not be allowed to enjoy what God has created. She wants to breathe freely [aande frit]. Her difficulty with taking pleasure in obeying her father's will makes her feel unhappy with herself. She misses her mother, who could have helped her to accept the conditions under which she lives. We have seen in many passages that a mother's function is to teach her children to cultivate virtues that correspond to their gender. The passage indicates that the other sister is more overtly in opposition to their father. She criticizes her sister for defending their

¹⁹⁹ Rosenius, C.O., 1868, *Hemmeligheder i Lov og Evangelium*

“Behag og Villie , men kun efter sin egen og mener at have Ret til at ' tale og handle , som hun behager hvilken ulykkelig Kilde til Kiv , Trætte , Forvirring og alt Ondt ! Visselig bliver det ofte meget svært for Naturen efter Herrens Ord at at være sin Mand underdanig i alle Ting ” (Es . ' 5 , 24.) ister om Manden ikke anvender sin ' Magt med Kjærlighed , Fornuft og Mildhed , men er haard og ugudelig ; men denne Omstændighed frigjør dog ikke Hustruens fra Underdanighedens Pligt.” (Topics: the confused state of man and woman, from “Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse’” and woman's virtues from *Amtmandens Døtre*)

²⁰⁰ Rosenius, C.O., 1868, *Hemmeligheder i Lov og Evangelium*

“Kjærligheden er jo hele den crgtestabelige Saligheds Livsluft . ' Naar hun er en Kristen , faa maa hun visselig altid hos Gud sige Naade til at kunne elske sin Mand , hvorledes han end ser sig op mod hende ; thi foruden Guds almindelige Bud om Kjærligheden staaer der skrevet : Hustruerne bor elske deres Mænd (Tit . 2 , 4) . Men hvilken gruelig Fristelse bliver det ikke , dersom Manden . i bruger Fornuft og Mildhed og i mange Ting jevner med Kjærlighed , hvad Underdanighedsloven gjør ujevnt ! ” (Topic: woman's flattery and man's hubris, from “Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse’”)

father's will, when she in fact suffers in her heart.²⁰¹ We see that the passage develops different manners of dealing with restrictions to women's freedom. Whereas one of the sisters explicitly resists, the other seeks to gain wisdom that will allow her to reconcile with the conditions she lives under. The passage has been captured by the topic "woman's volition" from *The District Governor's Daughters*. Like Collett's novel, this passage problematizes how woman should deal with the severe restrictions that norms, traditions, and other people impose on her free will. Bremer's *Hertha* evokes a similar position to *Brands Døtre* as well; the protagonist Hertha is convinced that it is her duty to obey. She does not oppose her father even if she knows in her heart that how he applies his dominion over her is not right.

A passage has been captured in Ahlfeld's *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys* [The Human Life in Light of God's Words] (1869 edition) that speaks about liberty. The soul is free as a bird in childhood. For the adult, on the other hand, man is occupied with the church, the state, the community, the household, his profession, and income, whereas woman is occupied with her husband and family.²⁰² We thus see an explicit account of man and woman's *place* in society, whereas the passage also argues that both genders have souls and are naturally free, and that the occupations of man and woman during adulthood get in the way of this freedom. More than a gendered issue, the passage speaks of degrees of freedom in relation to the different stages of human life. It relies nonetheless on the premise that it is not natural for woman to give up her freedom.

Regarding woman's nature and its implications for what freedom she should be granted, a passage

²⁰¹ Kieler, Laura, 1869, *Brands Døtre*

"o Gud ! Du ved , hvor jeg elsker ham , hvor jeg ser op til ham [...] men dog â€" dog forstaar jeg ikke , hvorfor man skal voelge det , som er mprtt , naar man kan faa det lyst ? Er det saa Guds Villie ? hvorfor har han da skabt det , som er smukt og skjsnt , naar det altsammen skal vcere en Fristelse? [...] det trykker mig , det knuger , det sammenpresfer mit Bryst . Helga onsker at komme ud for at leve , jeg onsker kun at faa aande , aande frit under Guds frie Himmel , her fe vi kun ligesom en Stribe . Er det Synd â€" denne Tanke , dette Unske , denne Lcengsel efterat bo i det fulde Sollys , o , faa tag det bort â€" bort , Du , fom formaar alt ; men er det da Synd ? er Lyset , er Solen ikke Guds ? Fader maa vide , at det er rigtigst at bo her ; men , o Moder , dyrebare , bittert begrcedte , evigt favnede Moder , gid Du var hos mig , gid Du stod her og kunde forklare mig alt . Jeg er ulydig , jeg er gjenstridig , jeg ved det ; men alt , Gud og Naturen , er saa mprtt og saa skrcelindgydende . " Den unge Pige skjulte sit Ansigt under Sengeteppet og brast ud i en stille Graad . Helga vaagnede her og satte sig op i Sengen og lyttede . â€ž Groeoer Du , Maria ? " spurgte hun . â€ž Tys , sov Helga , det er ingenting . " â€ž Maria " , vedblev Spsteren , â€ž Du skuffer mig og Du skuffer Dig selv ; for mig forfvarer Du Faders Villie at bo her og lader , fom ingenting er ; men i Hjertet lider Du maaste mere , end Du selv ved ." (Topic: woman's volition, from *Amtmandens Døtre*)

²⁰² Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1869, *Menneskelivet i Guds Ords Lys*

"Da Barnet endnu lever lidet i sig selv , maa det leve i og med Andre . Hensynet til Mit og Dit eller til at den Anden engang kan komme til at staae En iveien gjor sig endnu ikle gjældende . Sjelen er endnu fri som Fuglen , der scetter sig paa den forste og den bedste gronne eller tørre Green og fungerer sin Sang . Med de Voxne er det derimod anderledes . Sjelen er ikke lcenger saa blod og boielig . Klogstaben og Forsigtigheden vil nu ogsaa tale et Ord med . Standshensyn og Fordeel tages med i Regningen . Desuden er Sjelen ikke lcenger saa fri . Manden optages af Kirken , Staten , Kommunen , Huset , Embedet , Nceringsveien , Kvinden af denne og Familien ." (Topic: woman, soul, and bildung, *Hertha*. Early runnings: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)

has been captured in John Angell James' work *Den unge Kvinde* (1872 edition). Because of the notion that a woman's heart is particularly sensitive, she is always in danger of being led astray by betrayal and dishonesty. Her sensitivity is a defining feminine trait; a non-sensitive woman is a dishonor to her gender, according to the passage.²⁰³ The passage thus warns in practice against emotional emancipation for woman, as her nature predisposes her to easily be betrayed. The topic "woman's suicide" from *Indiana* has captured the passage. This topic has also captured a passage in *The District Governor's Daughters* where Sophie is in despair because she has overheard Georg saying that he does not love her. In James' text woman's sensitivity entails that she needs man's protection and his dominion. Yet through the depiction of the interior lives of women characters, *The District Governor's Daughters* and *Indiana* demonstrate that it is woman's submissive state that makes man's betrayal so hard to endure for her (see further elaboration in the end of this section).

A passage captured in Collett's *Sidste Blade* [Last Pages] argues that in the history of mankind numerous laws have been invented in order to keep woman in a degraded position. Woman's freedom and agency have been taken away from her, at the same time as the domain of her responsibility has been extended [man udvidede blot Kredsen af hendes Ansvar].²⁰⁴ The passage identifies how woman has been assigned a wider domain for which she is held responsible. As we have seen in many passages, woman's influence is underscored; she is supposed to exercise her influence in specific areas, most predominantly in the upbringing of her children and in cultivating her marriage. Numerous writers speak of this influence as an emancipation and upgrading of woman's status. This passage from Collett's work, however, argues in practice that these ways of influencing women—through making her increasingly responsible for matters that are not in fact in her power—are part of a systematic domination of woman.

In a completely different text, namely *Dansk Synonymik, eller Forklaring af eenstydige danske Ord* [Synonyms and Explanation of Univocal Danish words] (1872), a passage has been captured that

²⁰³ James, John Angell, 1872, *Den unge Kvinde*

"Ømheden er saa betegnende for " Kvindehertet , at en fideslM Kvinde er en Vancere for sit KjM . Om Medlidenheden bortdreves fra ethvert andet Tilflugtssted , vilde den dog der sinde sin sidste Tilflngt . Hendes Hjerte er saa Mt , at hun er i bestandig Fare for at lade sig forlede af Svig og Falskhed." (Topic: woman's suicide, from *Indiana*)

²⁰⁴ Collett, Camilla, 1872, *Sidste Blade*

"Man har anet bendes Magt , og den Størstes og Størkeres Herskesyge har troet at kue den , ved at holde hende i Fornedrelsesstanden . Man har gjort Alt for at demoralisere og idiotisere ' hende , og har gaaet ganske systematisk tilverks hermed . Man indsnævrkede hendes Tilværelse . bærvede den Lys , Frihed , Handlekraft , man udvidede blot Kredsen af hendes Ansvar . Her delte hun ikke alene sin Medskabning Mandens , efter Guds Lov , men man opfandt en Skare for hende alene ; hun delte ikke alene Straffene for ethvert Brud paa denne , Guds , efter de menneskelige Samfundsbehov tillempede Lov , men man opfandt tusinde usynlige Love , der ligesaa sikkert kunde fælde hende . Hun kunde dommes og straffes paa Livet." (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

explains the use of the word “brav” [brave]. The passage starts with speaking about a how a wild young woman is guilty of not conforming to the timid and reserved attitude that is expected of her. “Brav,” however, is a word that sounds more praiseworthy than “appropriate” or “decent,” according to the passage. The word “brav” takes on an interesting meaning when used about a wife: “A brave wife strives with eagerness to fulfill her marital duties.”²⁰⁵ We see that following the norms for her gender is spoken about as conduct that shows strength and self-determination (and not that one is dominated). This seems to be an example of language used to link the phenomenon of obedience closer to the idea of free, autonomous, and voluntary action.

A passage has been captured in the work *Skræppe-Pers Hændelser* [The Events of Skræppe-Per] (1876) by Anthon Bang. Anthon Bang contributed to public education as a writer and founder of journals and newspapers, for instance *Dagbladet* in 1869. The captured passage states that woman can get her will across, if she does it in a subtle way. It is rather seldom that she does not get her will across if she is determined, according to the passage.²⁰⁶ It argues that in practice woman’s submission of her will to man, is more a disguise than a matter of fact. This enunciation recognizes woman’s freedom in marriage. It can also serve to persuade women to believe that they are actually free if they are sufficiently creative in getting their will across, and thus make them more content with the status quo. This passage thus functions in a certain sense as a comment on the statement that woman should be granted freedom; she already has it, according to the passage.

A passage has been captured in the didactic work *Karakteren* [Character] (1876 [1871]) by the Scottish author and political thinker, Samuel Smiles. The passage argues that woman’s position in society has changed for the better in recent times. Real femininity would in earlier times be defined as mildness, fearfulness, weakness, simplemindedness, tearfulness, and submission. She thus had to be a “decorative appendix to man, more than an independent being of reason, or wife, mother,

²⁰⁵ 1872, *Dansk Synonymik, eller Forklaring af eenstydige danske Ord*

“Det unge Fruentimmer, som i det selstabelige Liv viser sig overgiven og vild, siges ikke at have noget soedeligt Væsen; thi man fordrer af Pigen, at hendes Blyfærdighed stal yttre sig ved en vis Tilbageholdenhed. Brav antyder noget mere roesværdigt, end baade skikkelig og slædelig, naar det siges i Almindelighed [...] Ordets Grundbegreb er Tapperhed, og det har stedse, hvor det overføres, beholdt et Bibegreb enten af Kæckhed eller Dygtighed [...] En brav Kone stræber med Iver efter at opfylde sine Pligter som Hjælpesælde [...] Ungmøen kaldes en brav Pige, naar hun omhyggeligen pleier, maaskee endog ernærer.” (Topic: woman’s language of silence, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

²⁰⁶ Bang, Anthon, 1876, *Skræppe-Pers Hændelser*

“Naar Kvindfolkene scetter sig noget i Hovedet, saa maa det gaa underligt til, om de ikke faar sin Vilje frem. De giver ikke tabt for den første Hindring og er frugtbare paa Hjælpemidler, hvor Andre ingen ser.” (Topic: woman’s volition, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

hostess, or friend.”²⁰⁷ This is one of several passages holding that woman’s status is upgraded and that she is freer than before. This passage considers woman’s submission as something that belongs to the past. Its way of considering woman’s right to freedom is rather different from how the last passage to consider in this section (by James below) speaks about the space woman should be granted in order to best carry out her influence.

The automatically generated topic “woman’s dignity” modeled from Hansteen’s “Kvindernes mening om ‘Om Kvindernes Underkuelse’” has captured two passages in works by women writers, one in the story [Fortælling] “Jeg lever” [I Am Alive] (1877) by Marie Colban and another in Camilla Collett’s collection of essays *Fra de Stummes Leir* [From the Camp of the Mutes] (1877). Both passages are close in their discursive positions to the problematization of the relation between man and woman in Hansteen’s text. The passage from “Jeg lever” speaks about a man who criticizes old prejudices and calls out marriage as a chain [lenke] that gets in the way of true love. The woman to whom he speaks is almost too shy to express her own thoughts. She is bewildered by his words, and thinks she must have misheard him.²⁰⁸ Hansteen does not criticize marriage per se, but her text enunciates a radical problem in that the relation between man and woman makes woman into a passive servant. The passage captured in *From the Camp of the Mutes* is part of a criticism of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson’s play *En Fallit*. One of the characters in the play, Mrs Tjælde, incarnates the ideal of the passive wife; it is an ideal still so integrated in the mentality of the time that it functions well in artistic expression, according to Collett. If the wife had been the way she should have been—her husband’s counselor and confidant—the tragedy that occurs in the play

²⁰⁷ Smiles, Samuel, 1876, *Karakteren*

“Tidligere sagde man gjerne om Kvinden , at det Hovedkrav , hun havde paa Beundring , laa i hendes Svaghed og Afhængighed. Ætz Skulde vi opstille et Billede af mandig Værdighed ” , siger Sir Richard Steele , Ætz da maatts vi nedlægge i dette Visdom og Mod , som Egenskaber væsentlige for Manddommens Karakter . Ville vi derimod give et Billede af ægte Kvindelighed i dennes bedste Forstand , maa vi i dette lægge blid Mildhed , om Frygt , og alle de Egenskaber , som adskille Kvinden fra det andet Kjønn , i Forbindelse med en vis Underordnen sig dette , men denne paa en saadan Måde , at Elstædigheden derved ikke lider noget Skaar . ” Folgelig vilde det snarere være hendes Svaghed end hendes Styrke , hendes Enfold niere end hendes Visdom , der maatte plejes . Hun skulde være bestemt ti ! at være et svagt , frygtsomt , taarerigt , underordnet Væsen , kun med saa megen Forstand , at hun kunde forstå de intetsigende Behageligheder , som henvendtes til hende af det Ætz stærkere Kjønn . ” Hun skulde opdrages som et prydnende Appendiks til Manden , mere end som et uafhængigt Fornøftvæsen eller som Hustru , Moder , Selskaberind eller Veninde.” (Topic: woman’s protection, from *Indiana*)

²⁰⁸ Colban, Marie, 1877, “Jeg lever”

“Hans Tankegang var undertiden for håj for hende . Han havde færd , ja [endogsaa temmelig ofte , talt om gamle Fordomme , og da havde hun ikke havt Mod til at sige , at hun egentlig fandt de Fordomme , han talte om , smukke . Under Musiken blev hun altid modig , og nu sagde hun det . Saa blev der talt lidt om Fordomme . Hvad var nu igjen dette ? Musiken maatte igjen være Skyld i , at hun blot hørte halvt og derfor misforstod ! Han kunde jo umulig have sagt , at blot Kjærligheden havde Ret til at kræve Troskab , og at den ideale Kjærlighed stod udenfor Ægteskabet , der var en Lænke ! Ja , naturligvis . Det var hende , der blot fulgte hans Tale med halv Bevidsthed . ”

would have been avoided, Collett continues.²⁰⁹ We see that this last consideration of the married woman's function is similar to Hansteen's definition of woman as man's suitable helper.

The last passage to consider is another one captured in John Angell James' work *Den unge Kvinde* (1878 edition). It is not force, but choice that characterizes submission, according to the passage; woman is satisfied with submission, as God has imprinted this trait in her nature. Her mild and yielding nature gives her strength: "She commands through her obedience [...] She reigns by her submission!"²¹⁰

6.3.2 Considerations of Passages on Freedom and Strategies of Persuasion

We have seen several discursive positions in the passages presented in this section. There are passages that problematize the consequences of woman's lack of freedom. Several topics from *Indiana* have captured passages that speak about the severe consequences man's betrayal has for woman. Topics from *Indiana* have facilitated the identification of this discursive position.

Numerous captured passages argue that woman is obliged to submit to her husband; there are many more than the ones I have included here. The last passage, from James' didactic text, gives us a clear example of the paradoxical association we have seen in many enunciations, namely that of the notion of women's freedom with the demand that she submits to man of her own ostensibly free will.

A challenge that appears in many of the captured texts is to reconcile woman's freedom with the behavior society needs from her. On the one hand, this is not difficult, because the behavior society needs from woman depends to a large extent on woman's freedom. She can for instance not be forced to be a kind, warm wife, and a wise, god-fearing mother. Woman thus has to be persuaded of

²⁰⁹ Collett, Camilla, 1877, "Fra de Stummes Leir"

"Den slags hustruer ere saa inderlig rodfæstede i vor Bevidsthed som det Månsterværdige , at Digteren endnu med Held kan benytte dem ; en anden Sag er det , at de virke demoraliserende ogsaa i Digtningen , ligesom de ufejlbarlig gjenne det i Livet , i Realiteten . Det havde kun ligget til dem selv , disse Månstershustruer , at holde deres Månds slettere Tilbækjæmheder i Tæmme " hvormangen Fallit kunde maaske været forebygget? " istedenfor at lade disse lade af med dem , indtil de staa ved det gabende Svælg . Havde den gode Fru Tjelde været , hvad hun burde og skulde været , i . Grodt og Ondt sin Mands Raadgiver og Fortrolige , den varslende som den ansporende , den rosende som den revsende Stemme i hans Liv , saa vilde det neppe være kommet dertil , og man kunde ganske sparet Hr. Advokat Berendt ; men saa havde Bjørnson vel ikke skrevet sit Stykke . Her maa Kvindepassiviteten til for at volde den dramatiske Ulykke " eller som man maaske mere korrekt kalder det , den tragiske Udvikling " , og forresten benyttes som smuk Dekoration . "

²¹⁰ James, John Angell, 1878, *Den unge Kvinde*

"Men hun kjender i Almindelighed sin Plads og anser det baade for sin Lykke og sin Pligt ei at forlade den . Det er ikke Tvungen, men tværtimod Valget , som virker en villig Underdanighed. Hun er tilfreds dermed ; thi Gud har nedlagt denne Følelse i hendes Natur [...] hun befaler ved sin Lydighed [...] Kvinden taber sin Magt , når huu aflægger sin Mildhed . Det er just denne Medgift, der lig Sivet lafter sit Hoved , som Voven boiede , det er den , som giver hende Styrke til at reise sig efter Ulykkens Bølge ; denne B , olge , som ellers vilde have knust al Modstand , den hende , men hun reiser sig atter hun rejser ved Underdanighed!" (Topic: woman's virtues, from *Amtmandens Døtre*)

the importance of the functions she is expected to fill. What is more, she has to be motivated to work hard in order to cultivate the necessary traits and gain sufficient knowledge for these enterprises.

The question of knowledge takes us to the next section, namely woman's education. Orienting woman through persuasion and instruction goes hand in hand with ways of speaking in favor of women's autonomy. The more convinced, hard-working, and skilled she is, the more powerful her influence on her surroundings can be. It is only in conceiving of woman as capable of defining her own being that one can influence her way of governing herself and others. On the other hand, it is important to prevent woman from refusing to follow the norms for her gender in the name of her freedom. How might one grant woman the freedom she deserves and/or needs in order to carry out her purpose, and at the same time ensure that she uses this freedom for the best for society?

6.4 Education and Woman's Influence

Enunciations of the following statements are particularly prevalent for this category:

Woman must be educated in order to satisfactorily fulfill her calling.

Woman can improve morality within the population.

If woman becomes more enlightened, she will understand society better, as well as her indispensable function in it. The improvement of woman's education is necessary because she needs better qualifications to accomplish her calling, through which she can also edify the people around her. We shall see examples of enunciations of these statements in texts from a great variety of genres. The statement that woman should be persuaded to cultivate and act in accordance with feminine virtues is also to a certain extent enunciated in the passages in this section; the education and orientation woman needs to fulfill her calling and improve society entails that she herself also aims for the cultivation of feminine virtues.

6.4.1 Presentation of Selected Passages

The first passage to consider is captured in a Norwegian legal document from 1838 edited by the jurists Frederik Stang and Bernhard Dunker. The passage specifies the purpose of education for

both genders, and the fields that education should cover. The main purpose, according to the passage, is that “the children’s soul and bodily forces are developed and applied so that the children can be educated into good, hardworking humans and citizens, and with the objective that they refrain from idleness and vices, and are habituated to morality, order, and kindness.”²¹¹ In addition to basic academic skills, such as reading, writing, and mathematics, all pupils should be educated in religion, morality, health, natural sciences, and current affairs in the fatherland. Education should be different for boys and girls, with an emphasis on needlework for girls. The passage specifies that needlework should be of such a kind that the skills acquired are useful for the “almue” in their daily life. We thus see that an objective for the education of woman is that she can master daily activities specifically associated with her gender. Furthermore, the passage explicitly specifies that an overall objective is to educate moral and healthy citizens.

A passage has been captured in the work *Moderhjemmet, eller Kvinden i sin skønneste Virkekreds* [The Motherly Home, or Woman in her most Lovely Domain] (1841) by John S.C Abbott. The passage states that a mother’s love has an edifying influence on the heart, strengthening a child’s character, and preventing vices. Learning to obey a mother’s commands is essential for learning to respect civic and divine laws later in life. The mother is indispensable for making law-abiding, moral, and Christian citizens, according to the passage.²¹² The text thus comes to the conclusion that

²¹¹ 1838, *Samling af Norge vedkommende Kgl. Rescripter, Resolutioner og Collegialbreve m.v. for Tidsrummet fra 1660-1813*. Although the book comprises a collection of resolutions from the period 1660-1813, the cover of the book states that the editors consider this collection of resolutions particularly relevant for law students. It is thus considered an up-to-date way of speaking also in the 1830s. The captured passage is from a resolution that was passed in 1806. “Skolegangens Oiemced bor vere : at Bomene ved deres Sjels ug Legems Krefters rigtige Udvikling og Anvendelse kunne dannes til oplyste , gode , arbeidsomme Mennester og Burgere ; at de til den Ende tidlig hindres fra Lediggang og Laster , og vennes til Sedelighet) , Orden og Ncenligbed ; [...] Underviisningen i Skolerne stal altsaa vere deelt imellem V.denstab , Haandarbeide og nyttige Legems - Ovelser [...] Ved Videnstab forstaaes [...] saasum : Lesning , Skrivning , Regning , Religion og Mural , almindelig Kundstab om Naiuren , dens Indremlnger og Virkninger , om borgerlige Indretninger og Pligter , om de vigtigste Sundhedsreglcr , om Fedrelandets Forfatning og Beliggenhet) [...] med Hensyn til den Forstjel , sum bor gjures i Underviisning for Drengc vg Piger [...] Haandardeider bor vere af det Slags , som i det daglige Liv kan sur Almuens Fult vere al Å» mindeligt og gavnligt , og sum for Bomene efter Furstjellighed af Kjon , Alder og Krefter findes passende , samt hvortil i Skulebygnaeme kan vere Leilighed og Rum.” (Topic: woman’s function in the public sphere, from “Til Sveriges Qvinder”).

²¹² Abbott, John S.C., 1841, *Moderhjemmet, eller Kvinden i sin skønneste virkekreds* “Selve Kjærligheden og Irefrygten hos en Moder indeholder noget Helligt , som udover en pac Å» engang vederkvÅ|gende og velgÅ|rende Indflydelse paa Hjertet : den forøddler og hcever Karakteren ; den er det bedste VÅ|rn mod fornedrende Laster [...] Du vil neppe finde en eneste udsvÅ|vende Yngling , der fra Barndommen af har l Å» rt at betragte sin Moder med KÅ|rlighed og 3 Erefrygt . Med Ulydighed mod en Moder begynder ialmindelighed OoertrÅ|delsens Bane . Veien staaer derved aaben til Foragt for al faderlig og moderlig Myndighed , og derfra gaaer det med raste Skridt videre til den vildeste Trodsen af alle baade guddommelige og menneskelige Love . Mangen ulykkelig Misdceder har fra Galgen kunnet folge sin syndefulde Bane tilbage ligetil de fÅ|rste Aar af sin Barndom , da ban begyndte den med Ulydighed mod en Moders Befalinger; og han har folt og erkjendt , at hvis han da havde lÅ|rt at adlyde , ssulde sandsynligvis hans Liv have faaet et andet Udfald . Det er derfor af den hoieste Vigtighed at Intet fÅ|rsommes , som kan give en Moder en stor og varig Indflydelse paa sine Vsrens Hjerter.” (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

it is of great importance that nothing is neglected in giving a mother a strong and permanent influence over her children. We see that both the statement that woman must be educated in order to fulfill her calling and that she can improve the morality of the population are enunciated in this passage.

In a legal document from 1844 comprising a draft of a law on the poverty council [Fattigvesenet], a passage has been captured that highlights the differences between wives and children among the poor and among the families of independent workers. The poor wives are lazy, and their children are neglected and dirty, in contrast to the state of the wives and children of independent workers.²¹³ We thus see that the state observed and classified homes in relation to social class. According to the passage, public officers often refused to grant economic aid when homes were tidy and clean, because they suspected that the family in question was actually provided for. This procedure reinforced the poor people's inclination towards uncleanness and economic indifference, according to the passage. As we shall see in relation to other captured passages, it is likely that collecting this kind of information contributed to initiatives for educating poor and working class women. I consider this passage an enunciation of the statement that woman needs education in order to fulfill her calling.

A captured passage in the religious text *Kristelige Andagtstimer* [Christian Devotional Lectures] (1847) by the German theologian, August Thuluck, speaks about woman's function in marriage. Woman's place is in the home. Her purpose is to govern the house "with humble love" and she is, because of her female nature, indispensable in terms of understanding and lightening her husband's burdens, according to the passage. God has neither created woman's body for hard work, nor her spirit, for the same "depths of wisdom" that men have. She has, however, a more delicate and profound capacity to love. Furthermore, as God commands her to submit to her husband and "not have anything of her own," a woman's worries will be her husband's worries. For that reason, she is

²¹³ 1844, "Motiveret Udkast til almind. Lov om Fattigvæsenet i Kjøbstæderne og paa Landet"

"Paa Spørgsmaalet : " Hvad Forskj ^ l er der paa Kone og Born hos den Fattige , og hos den uafhængige Arbejder," var Svaret : " Den Fattiges Kone eve siidenf ^ rdig og doven ; Bornene ere forsømte , urenlige , vanartede ^ omstreifende ; den uafhængige Arbejders Kone og Born er det Modsatte . " Naar Fattigbestyrerne saae , at der var et reenligt og net Huus , blev ofte Understøttelse negtet , fordi de havde Mistanke om , at Noget havdes i Baghaand ; ogsaa en Grund til de Fattiges Ureenlighed og Ligeegyldighed mod Oekonomie." (Topic: woman's language of silence, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

the indispensable “half” of man.²¹⁴ Woman is thus assigned to the home, but also as man’s mental caretaker in a certain sense. I consider the passage an enunciation of the statements that woman can improve the morality of society and that she should cultivate and act in accordance with feminine virtues; a woman who lives in accordance with the norms for her gender also contributes indirectly to society’s well-being and she facilitates man’s mastering of his tasks in public life.

In P.A Munch’s *Illustreret Verdenshistorie* [Illustrated World’s History] from 1849, the captured passage argues that woman is probably superior to man in terms of abilities of the soul [Sjelsevner], as ancient Germanic peoples believed, according to the passage. Women worked as doctors, councilors, clairvoyants, and had a counseling role in the home among the ancient Germanic peoples.²¹⁵ The text thus adheres to the idea that woman has unique capacities “of the soul” and highlights how this conception of woman has gone hand in hand with women working in public life in earlier societies. It is therefore likely that this text, that we know had an impact in the period,²¹⁶ also functioned as a part of the contemporary discourse of how woman best could contribute to society, by indirectly providing arguments for women’s opportunities to work also outside of the home.

The automatically generated topic “beautiful girls” modeled from Hertha has captured a passage in Henrik Wergeland’s *Samlede Skrifter*. The passage argues, like *Hertha*, that education is

²¹⁴ Tholuck, August, 1847, *Kristelige Andagtstimer*

“Thi hverken er hendes Legeme skabt til saa stort Mod eller saa besvcerligt Arbejde , wim det mandlige Legeme ; heller ikke er hendes Aand af Gud bestemt til at udforske Viisdommens Dybder eller at fore Regimentets Tsmme . Men hvad kristelige Qvinder fremfor alt stulle have til Arvegods , og hvad der allerede indtil en vis Grad er givet dem i deres naturlige Anlrg , det er ~ Hjertets stulte Menneske uforstyrret med blid og stille Aand " (1 Ped . 3 , 4) , for at de i ydmyg Kjerrlighed og med stor Qmhed stulle stalte og valte bjemmc og bestvre Huset , medens Manden paa Gadcr og Strceder arbejder for Huset eller ogsaa tager sig af Landet [...] Ingen Ven vilde , selv om han meente det nok saa godt , i denne seende kunne gjore Qvindens Hjcrp overstidig eller trorde i Stedet for en anden Halvdcel . Ligesom hun nu saaledes ved sin stille Vandel og sit tugtige Regimente i det udvortes Mennestes Anliggcnder bliver hans Hjcrp , saaledes er hun ogsaa ved sin qvindelige Natur mere end nogensinde nogen Ven cgnet til Mandens Hjcrp I det,som henhsrer til det indvortes Mcnueste. Lige som hun er henviist til ikke selv at regere, men at adlyde Manden i all, hvad der er billigt, og ikke at have noget egct, men i alle Dele at verre Mandens [...] lige som der ftemdelcs er givet hende en finare Evne til Elsiøv end Manden, saaledes kan hun ogsaa mcgct let fole den Bekymring, Krcenkclse og Lidelse, som rammer Manden, saaledes, som om det var hendes egen, og lette den for Manden derved, at hun i Fcllesstab hjalp ham at ba're den.” (Topic: woman’s being, from *Hertha*).

²¹⁵ Munch, P.A., 1849, *Illustreret Verdenshistorie*

“De gamle Germaner ansaae nemlig Kvinden , der i LegemskrÅfter stod tilbage for Manden , denne overlegen i Sjelsevner; og i en vis Henseende havde de vel heller ikke Uret . Derfor finde vi , at Kvinderne hos dem ikke alene virkede offentligt som Seerster , Lceger og Raadgivere , men at de ogsaa i deres Hjem havde den forste, om end kun raadgivende Stemme.” (Topic: woman’s flattery and man’s hubris, from “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse’”)

²¹⁶ See for example the Norwegian biographical encyclopedia for a presentation of P.A Munch: Dahl, Ottar. 2009. P A Munch. In Norsk biografisk leksikon. Accessed 15. januar 2020 fra https://nbl.sn.no/P_A_Munch

fundamental for women's cultivation of virtues. Whereas *Hertha* speaks about women's beauty in relation to the cultivation of their soul, the passage in Wergeland's text speaks about the importance for a woman to dress properly. The passage discusses the difference between two fallen women, one who restores herself by the force of her soul, and another who does not. The first one, who is from the countryside, had learned to make clothes in her upbringing. That she had learned to dress well and to work hard explains her force, according to the passage.²¹⁷

Two passages have been captured in Collett's *Amtmandens Døttre* (1854/55). The first one speaks about woman's unique capacities for taking care of the sick. As a nurse, woman is capable of becoming one with the sick person's will and thus adapts her care perfectly to the patient's needs. Only an educated woman can become one with another person's will, in terms of taking care of the sick.²¹⁸ This passage is an enunciation of the statement that woman needs an education in order to fulfill her calling. It specifies nursing as a field that woman has a unique potential for mastering if she gains the proper education. The other captured passage argues that woman is likely to develop vices such as dissimulation, cowardliness, and pettiness as a result of how she is raised. It is rare that a woman has the courage to be truthful, according to the passage.²¹⁹ Whereas we have seen several examples of passages that argue that persuading woman to follow the norms for her gender also means that she cultivates feminine virtues, this passage claims that traditional ways of raising a woman do not produce virtuous women. Instead of becoming humble and loving, she becomes

²¹⁷ Wergeland, Henrik, 1853, *Samlede Skrifter* 7.

“Sandelig denne faldne Pige havde reist sig igjen ved sin Sjels Kraft og ved sin Haands FÅrdighed . Eller var det blot ModerkjÅrlighedens drivtstÅrke FÅlser , som hÅlvede hende saaledes over sin Ulykke ? Hiin So med Ungeflokken var jo o < * - saa Moder og i hojere Grad ; hun havde flere , og havde engang for Alteret lovet at forsÅrge dem hun maatte faa ? Skulde det vÅre Naturen , som havde givet den Enes Hjerter stÅrkere Fjedre i Fedselen end den Andens ? Dette er vel muligt , men nÅr vi tÅnke os , at Pigen havde lidt Slaget af en Ulykke , som plejer at knuse de fleste Kvinders bedre Kraft , mens Konen var tÅyget fra sine ForÅldres og i sin Mands Huus , saa maa der vel vÅre andre Aarsager , som havde gjort , at den Faldne havde reist sig , og at Den , der ikke var falden , dog var sjunken og stedse dybere synkende . Og jeg gjetter her paa den Opdragelse , fra Barndommen havde . Konen var fra Byens Omegn , hvor Huusflid just ikke horer imellem Ungdommens Opdragelsesmidler , Mari VÅrverpige var fra Toten , hvor det er en Skam , at en Pige ikke er velklÅd i sit Hjemmegjorte , hvor Arbeidsomhed gjer Blodet sundt og rÅdt og rallende , og det sunde Blod gjÅr Hjertet friskt , og hvor ÅrresfÅlse boer under det nationale Skaut i klare blaaOine , som ikke frygte for Fattigdommen .”

²¹⁸ Collett, Camilla, 1855, *Amtmandens Døttre*

“Blot en fim , men tillige en Ejel kan pleie Eyge . Der skal Inspiration til . Ingen Mand kan det , ingen udannet Kvinde å€” selv onl hun er Moder å€” kan det rigtig . . kan saaledes gaee op i den Lidendes Liv og Tanke , at de blive dennes synlige Villie.” (Topic: the Confused state of man and woman, from “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse’”)

²¹⁹ Collett, Camilla, 1855, *Amtmandens Døttre*

“Hvad der iserr frydede ham , var denne Friskheo og Oprindelighed i hendes Tale . En nng Pige , som havde Mod til at verre sand , som hvert Dieblik naivt stodte Skinnet og Vedtergten for Hovedet ! Skinnet og Vedtcegten , disse hendes Kjons Afgndsbilleder , hvem det allcrede fra Vuggen af mystisk indvies , og som det offrer en Kultus af Usandhed , Feighed , Emaalighed , Forstillelse , dyb , inderlig Usandhed.” (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

false. We see that the passage does not challenge the idea that woman should be educated in order to fulfill her calling. Instead it criticizes how women are raised and educated.

Adolph Knigge, in *Omgang med Mennesker* [On Human Intercourse] (1857), states that the highest virtues for a woman are chastity and morality. The passage also holds that men and woman with vices, such as sexual immorality, can be cured through true love. Woman has, however, a more important function in influencing man to behave morally than the other way around. This is because women who violate gender norms are hardly redeemable, according to the passage. There is thus often not much reason for a man to even try. It is slightly unjust, according to the passage, that men can get away with all sorts of dissipations, whereas women are not forgiven for the smallest wrongdoing. What would have happened to society and humanity, however, if this severity against women ceased, the passage asks rhetorically.²²⁰ We thus see that the text enunciates the statement that a woman's function is to strengthen morality in society. It also functions as an attempt to persuade woman to follow the norms for her gender, as it underscores that she is more severely punished for her vices because her morality is so important for society and humanity.

A captured passage in Heinrich Zschokke's *Huusandagtsbok* ["Devotional Book for Gatherings in the Home"] (1857), claims that there is a risk that women end up in unhappy marriages, since they have little power in choosing their husband and what life they will lead.²²¹ This risk is particularly high if they do not have children, because children could, according to the passage, fill the mother's empty heart [Moderens tomme Hjerter] with motherly pleasures [Modergleder]. The text acknowledges that women's freedom is restricted and that this fact can be a predicament in

²²⁰ "En Kvinde, som ringeagter de fjerde og helligste af alle kvindelige Tyder, nemlig Kydsthed og Scedelighed, hvorledes kan hun noere nogen sand Wrefrygt for hsjere Pligter? Jeg er imidlertid langt fra at ville scette alle ulykkelige Faldne og Forserte i Klasse med hine foragtelige Skabninger. Sand Kjerlighed kan ogsaa fsre et vildfarende Hjerter tilbage til Dyden. Det er allerede ofte blevet sagt, at den som kjender Faren er mere sikker for at blive forsert end den, som aldrig er bleven fsrt i Fristelse [...] En sand og reen Kjerlighed beskytter forsvigt bedst for Udsvevelser, og Omgangen med cdele, scedclige Fruentimmer sterper Inglingens Sands for Dyd og Ustyld. saa at hans Hjerter, der er vcennet til noget bedre, foler sig vcebnct mod listige og frcekke Forlokkelser. — Forsvigt er det uncrgtelig en stor Uretfardighed, at vi Mcend tillade os alle Sorter Udsvevelser, men ikke ville tilgive noget Fejltrin af Fruentimmerne, hvem vi dog fra Ungdommen af friste til at synde. Men hvad vilde der blive af det borgerlige Samfund og af hele Mennestesegeten, dersom denne strengthed mod det svagere Kjon ophorte?" (Topic: Is love true? Early runnings: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)) Adolph Knigge was a German philosopher and freemason from the eighteenth century. His work *Om omgang med mennesker* [Über den Umgang mit Menschen, 1788] achieved popularity in his aftermath. I have decided to include the passage, as it adds to the tendency of translating religious literature in the period that addresses woman's virtuousness.

²²¹ In fact, *The District Governor's Daughters* problematizes the exact same thing, although it does it with different means and draws different conclusions. As chapter seven elaborates on, *The District Governor's Daughters* details woman's interiority in a manner that the novel as genre permits; its elucidation of woman's unhappiness advocates for extended freedom. In Zschokke's text, however, woman is encouraged to engage in "womanly activities" to ease her unhappiness.

women's lives. In many cases though, matrimony turns out to leave both husband and wife dissatisfied, according to the passage. Men are then prone to seek diversion outside of the home. Misunderstandings and lack of mutual trust will further deteriorate the "holy" bond until it comes to an end.²²² We see that the text problematizes the state of matrimony in society. It seems likely that a will to improve society through influencing man and woman's matrimonial conduct mobilizes such reflections in a devotional text. The passage speaks of childbearing as a means to a better life and happier marriage for women. We thus see that women are specifically encouraged to take pleasure in "womanly" activities in order to feel more content in their marriages. A woman who fulfills her calling in terms of her maternal function might contribute to improving the state of morality in her community, in the sense that the pleasure this gives her can also strengthen the marital bond.

A passage has been captured in the early nineteenth-century fiction writer Maurits C. Hansen's *Noveller og Fortællinger* [Short Stories and Tales] (1858).²²³ Hansen published books in a variety of genres, including novels, short stories, and educational manuals. He was also a teacher and headmaster. The narrator in the captured passage describes a woman as comely in a womanly and youthful way. She is praised for her delicate and meticulous dedication to taking care of the household, for which she is a model for her community, according to the passage. The narrator attributes this quality to her natural disposition, and not to external factors such as education [utvortes Dannelsesmidler]. The narrator thus relates woman and femininity to comeliness and to a natural disposition for taking care of the household. A woman knows naturally how to please and

²²² Heinrich Zschokke, 1857, *Huusandagtsbok*,

"Det samme Mismod , som findes hos saa mange Mænd med Hensyn til deres Stilling , plager manges hemmelig lidende Kvinde liden Hensyn til det Mgtesiab , hvortil hun er bleven nødt . Kvinden har sedvanlig i Valget af Mgtefelle , hans Egenskaber og og borgerlige Stilling ligesaa liden Frihed , som Unglingen i Valget af sin Fremtidsbane . Derfor blive Mgtesiaberne sjelden saa lykkelige, som de kunde være blevne det , især naar der ikke findes Børn , som kunne opfylde Moderens tomme Hjerte med sjonne Motergleder . Indbildningskraften beskjeftiger sig med stille , ofte utilladelige Onster . Man betragter sig selv som et Offer for Skjebnen eller søger Erstatning i Adspredelser udenfor Huset . Huusvesenets lider ; Manden selv befinder sig ikke vel i sit Hjem og søger Opmuntring og Gledens ude . Der kommer aldrig til at herske den Følelseshed mellem Mand og Kone , som var at onste . Enhver af dem beholder visse Tanker og Onster tilbage i Hjertets Inderste , som ikke maa aabnbares . Saaledes bliver man efterhaanden mere og mere fremmed for hinanden , hvilket giver Anledning til mange Misforstaaelser og ofte , naar hertil endnu kommer liklog Opførsel , volder egtestabelig Strid , Fjendstab , tilsidst evig Kiv , indtil det hellige Bånd endelig brytes eller offentlig opløses." (Topic: "Is love true?")

²²³ Maurits. Hansen, 1858, *Mauritz Hansens Noveller og Fortællinger*.

This collection was published posthumously. I have not found the year of the first publication of this short story, "Datteren" [The Daughter] the passage is captured from, but it seems probable that it took place during the 1830s.

how to take care of domestic affairs in a delicate and quiet manner.²²⁴ Although the passage in a certain sense goes against the idea that woman needs to be educated in order to fulfill her calling, the narrator describes her as a model for her community; she thus influences other women in terms of the cultivation of female virtues. The reader might also have picked up on an irony in what the narrator argues about the external factor of education, given that Hansen was known for his professional dedication to precisely this.

In a report from a hygiene congress in Copenhagen in 1858, the captured passage speaks about children in foster homes and poor mothers and their children. In order to maintain the bond between mother and child, women could in principle decide for themselves who should be foster parents for their children. In many cases, however, this system did not result in acceptable conditions for the child, according to the passage. For that reason, a control institution was founded that could force the mother to change foster parents for her child. In general, the foster parents were from the poorest and “worst” [daarligste] classes. A woman’s association controlled the system. Although it carried out its mandate conscientiously, it had a moral way of functioning instead of an administrative approach to the matter, according to the passage. For that reason, a new system introduced public control of foster parents. They had to prove that they were from a social class that guaranteed sufficient resources to take proper care of the child.²²⁵ We see here that the upbringing of children has become a public concern. Women are neither necessarily fit as mothers, nor responsible in making decisions about placing children in foster homes. Morality is not sufficient

²²⁴ “[H]ans Datter Henriette, der ved Siden af kvindelig Ungdomsynde havde arvet ikke lidet af Faderens Gjendommelighed. Henriettes ranke, crdle Figur, hendes behagelige Sprog, hendes talende Bje tlltrak fig den Fremmedes Opmccrksomhed og Interesse. Det ildrsde Håar, der i rige Lokker krollede sig om den sine Hud og rullede ned over en sijsnt dannet Nakke, gjorde intet übehageligt Indtryk paa lagttageren. Snarere stodtes han ved den ofte ukvindelige Lidenskabelighed , hvormed hun udbredte sig over enhver Gjenstand, og over det bitre Emil, der saa ofte ledsagede hendes sor det meste treffende Bemærkninger. Med punktlig Nojagtighed besorgede hun sin Faders Husvcrsen, og en mere i naturlig Sands grundet, end ved udvortes Dannelsesmidler udviklet Takt for det Passende og Smagfulde hevede Freken Hedebrandt til et Menster for By og Bygd i at ftre et Hus og at omgaes Hoje og Lave.” (Topic: woman and education)

²²⁵ 1858, “Den hygieiniske Congres i Kjøbenhavn,” Juli 1858

“Valget af PleieforÅldrene og Tilsynet med dem , i hvilken Henseende der var meget at ønske anderledes . Baandet mellem Moder og Barn havde man principmÅssigt søgt at vedligeholde , idet man lod Moderen selv sørge for Barnets Pleie mod en ugentlig PengehÅlp dertil . Valget af PleieforÅldrene var altsaa overladt Moderen , hvorfor det ofte faldt sletud ; og først i de senere Aar havde man indført en Kontrol , der tvang Moderen til at skifte PleieforÅldre , naar Forholdene vare altfor slette . Stammen af de nuvÅrende PleieforÅldre horte imidlertid i Almindelighed til de fattigste og daarligste Klasser [...] Den bestaaende Kontrol af en Dameforening med en fast ansat Dame-Inspectrice , der samvittighedsfuldt rogtede sit Kald , var vistnok meget god , men mere af moralsk end af administrativ Betydning ; den var ikke Herre over Forholdene og kunde ikke virke med den Frihed og Sikkerhed , som for den administrative Kontrol var nødvendig . Taleren vilde derfor ansee det for rigtigst , at virke for den Forandring af Systemet , at PleieforÅldrene bleve satte under offentlig Kontrol, saa at ingen PleieforÅldre turde tÅge Born i Pleie , med mindre de havde stillet Garanti gennem Politiovrigheden for , at de horte til en saadan Klasse i Samfundet , at man kunde betroe dem Born , og at de ikke vare saa fattige , at de ikke kunde give Barnet den fornødne Pleie.” (Topic: woman’s function in the public sphere, from “Til Sveriges Qvinder”)

and expertise is also required. A traditional woman's domain, namely caring for children, thus begins to require formal professionalism.

A passage has been captured in Eilert Sundt's *Om Ædrueligheds-Tilstanden i Norge* [On the State of Sobriety in Norway] (1859) that explains that women too gained the right to be members of abstinence associations after a series of reforms. The motivation for admitting women members was that women could have a positive effect on men's morality. Following this principle, women should be further encouraged to work for the abstinence cause. Women should remember their calling, namely domestic life, and improving the home atmosphere. A better domestic atmosphere would prevent men's alcoholism. The text argues that a causal relationship between gloomy home conditions and alcoholism was considered a natural law.²²⁶ We see that we have here enunciations of both the statements that this section has established, as well as the statement that woman should be persuaded to cultivate and act in accordance with feminine virtues; women need guidance in order to fulfill their calling, and if persuaded to follow the norms for their gender, they can improve the state of morality in society.

In *Skjebnen og Mennesket: Familieforviklinger* [Destiny and Human being: Family Frictions] (1860) by J. Storm Wang, a passage is captured that describes a young virtuous girl. The narrator attributes the girl's distinctiveness to the influence of her mother. He describes her as the most perfect and loving mother. The girl has educated herself using her mother as a model. Due to the girl's poor health, she does not take part in the "so-called pleasures" of people her age. Instead she is self-sacrificing in her dedication to her neighbors.²²⁷ The narrator emphasizes the mother's importance for her daughter's education. The passage argues from a premise that opportunities for

²²⁶ Sundt, Eilert, 1859, *Om Ædrueligheds-Tilstanden i Norge*

"Ved Forhandlinger om Afholds-Reformen har der ofte veret talt paa det , at ogsaa Kvinder stuld e lade sig skrive som Medlemmer af Nf- Holds-Foreninger for saaledes at indvirke paa Mendenes Seder . Men med Tanken om , hvad Kvinderne saaledes paa udvortes Maade kunne gjsrc for Wdruelighedens Sag , synes jeg , at man skulde samle al sin Iver paa dette Ene : at minde Kvinderne om deres Kald for Huslivet og veilede dem , om behsves , til ved sterre Nenlighed , Orden og Pyntelighed at forhoie Huslivets Hygge, i den Forvisning , at dermed Tilboieligheden og Fristelsen til Drukkenstabens og Krolivets Raahed skulde formindskes . Thi naar Vi tÅ¥ge Tingen i det Hele og Store , kunne vi betragte det som en Naturlov eller som en uundgaaelig Ting , at daglig Uhygge og Drikfeldighed følges ad . Og nu hersker der vistnok en almindelig Forestilling om , at netop i vort Land eller i ret mange Egne deraf staar det misligt , ja yderst misligt til med Huslivet ide nevnte Stykker." (Topic: woman's language of silence, from *Amtmandens Døtre*)

²²⁷ Wang, J. Storm, 1960, *Skjebnen og mennesket: Familieforviklinger* (tome 4)

"Det er en lille Pige ved Navn Ida Klein , noget « m mig i Alder , ligesom hun staar langt over mig i Vttdlnserfaring og Fornuft , faavelksom i alt Stort og Udelt , uagtet hun af Udvotes nersten ser ud som et Barn , og det et sygeligt , men saare elsteligt Barn . Hvorledes hun har kunnet opnaa alle sine store Fuldlommenheder er mig nu klart , lhi hun har havt den luldkomneste og kjærligste Moder , hvorefler hun som Msn!!tr har dannet sig , og tillige er hun fra de forste Bor»l»ar af herddet og uddannet i Medgangs Skole , thi hun [...]" (Topic: woman and Bildung. Early runnings: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)

gaining wisdom are greater for a girl who lives removed from worldly pleasures, and instead sacrifices herself in her dedication to helping others. Another passage describes a woman who has completely dedicated herself to being a mother. For this mother it is out of the question to send her daughter to a school; her motherly love and knowledge in all fields suitable for a girl's education was everything her daughter needed, and nobody managed to persuade her to send her daughter to school.²²⁸ In all these passages, the importance of instruction for girls is highlighted. In the opening words of the first volume of Wang's *Skjebnen og Mennesket: Familieforviklinger*, the narrator addresses explicitly his readers of both sexes [*læsere* and *læserinder*]. Through these discussions of the best education for woman, women readers thus learn—or learn to consider whether—the objective of the education they get is to become good mothers who are self-sacrificing, and helpful in their community.

A passage has been captured in Adolph Monod's *Kvindens Opgave og Liv i Evangeliets Lys* [Woman's Task and Life in Light of the Gospel] (1861). This passage speaks about the courage of women; whereas man has greater courage of action [*handlende Mod*], woman's courage is a specific form of courage, namely that of suffering and patience. Directly addressed to women, this passage argues that woman possesses this form of courage to a greater extent than men. Furthermore, this courage is essential for exercising the Good [*til Udførelsen af det Gode*].²²⁹ The text thus encourages its women readers to courageously endure suffering and to be patient, as this virtue enables her to carry out good actions and enhance the good. Since the passage holds that a virtuous woman can enhance the good, I consider this passage an enunciation of the statement that woman can improve morality in society.

²²⁸ “Madam Host havde viet sig til ene og alene at være Moder, og dette Hverv opfyldte hun i strengeste Betydning, thi aldrig kunde noget Barn blive omhyggeligere opdraget og dannet end hendes lille Linda. Under den ommeste Moderkjærlighed og blot som til Leg og Tidsfordriv gjemte hun Barnets første og for det Meste største Vanstelighed hendes Abc, og siden uddannedes Barnets Sjæl i forskellige Retninger. Moderen besad selv Kundskaber i ethvert Fag, der egner sig for et Fruentimmes Dannelse, og aldrig kunde det falde hende ind at Åndetro den kjerre Lille til nogen Skole eller Institut der paa Stedet, uagtet hendes Velynder Skreiv i dette ene Punkt aldeles var uenig med hende og søgte ved alle mulige Overtalelsesgrunde at bevæge hende til at lade den Lille nyde Frugterne af de vindingste Opdragelsesanstalter.” (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha*).

²²⁹ Monod, 1861, *Kvindens Opgave og Liv i Evangeliets Lys*
 “Ja, Mod! Dette er det rette Ord. Staaer jeg end i Fare for derved at sige noget Urimeligt, er jeg dog tilbøjelig til at udtale den Paastand, at der gives en Art Mod, som Eders Kjøns besidder i rigere Maal end vort, og som netop til Udførelsen af det Gode er allermeest nødvendig. Jeg taler ikke om det handlende Mod: her er Manden ender overlegen og skal være Eder overlegen. I overlade ham gjerne Væsen for en Kjækhed, som kun ilde vilde anstaa Eders Kjøns, og en aandrigh Mand kunde uden at gaa Sandheden for nær sige, at Kvinderne behage sig i Frygtsomhed, som Mændene i Mod. Jeg taler om det lidende Mod, der, mere vedholdende end hint første, maa være tilstede ved den stille daglige Udøvelse af gode Gjæringer. Dette Mod besidder Kvinden i langt højere Grad end Manden. Manden passer bedre til at fuldføre, Kvinden til at udholde; Manden har mere Foretagelseslyst, Kvinden mere Taalmodighed; Manden er dristigere, Kvinden stærkere.” (Topic: woman's flattery and man's hubris, from “Kvindernes mening om kvindernes underkuelse”)

In the novel *Drøm of Virkelighed* [Dream and Reality] (1861) by Nicoline A. Thaulow, one of the twelve Norwegian women writers who debuted between the 1840s and 60s, two passages have been captured that enunciate both statements established in this section. One of the passages speaks about the great potential woman has to influence the people around her. Experience shows that woman can have an enormous influence, according to the passage. If this capacity is applied by a wise and loving wife, it will soothe and edify the people around her, and man in particular. If this powerful influence is exercised by a badly raised, petty, and egoistic woman, however, man will develop the same vices and it becomes a predicament for her children, according to the text.²³⁰ How a woman is raised and educated is thus of crucial importance, according to the passage. If a woman is raised and educated well, she can have a powerful impact on the state of morality in her surroundings. The second passage highlights the importance of education; the type of education suitable for a woman is that she is raised in a god-fearing and loving family and it is thus an education of the heart, mind, and feelings, according to the text. If a man is not as exemplary in his conduct as a woman, he will grow in her company.²³¹ A well-educated woman can thus improve the morality of those around her.

Three passages have been captured in *Om Ægteskabet* [On Marriage] (1861) by Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, which establish connections between a virtuous woman, the quality of marriage, and its positive consequences for society. One of the passages speaks about how man should treat his woman. True respect towards woman is the right attitude, according to the passage. She will then learn to become the same person in social life and when she is alone (which will not take place if man treats her too severely). She will find her home and husband more appealing than ballrooms,

²³⁰ Thaulow, Nicoline A., 1861, *Drøm og Virkelighed*

Nn har Erfaringen , lige fra Moder Eoas Tid og indtil vore Dage , noksom godtgjort , hvilken umaadelig Indflydelse Kvinden udover i de Ægteskabelige og huslige Forhold , en Indflydelse , som , hvis den bruges af en Å« del , forstandig og elskende Hnstrn , visselig bar sin fulde Berettigelse ; thi den virker forÅ|dlende, formildende og velgsrende paa alle hendes Omgivelser og ikke mindst paa Manden . Udsves derimod denne Koindens mcegtige Indflydelse af en uopdragen, lavttamkende og egenkÅ|rlig Hustru , da ve den Kreds , i hvilken hun virker [vil Manden] blive ligesaa smaalig, lavttænkende usand of foragtelig, som hun selv. Og Børnene! (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

²³¹ “men hermed mener jeg naturligvis den Slags Dannelse , som hendes Opdragelse i en gudfrygtig, kjÅ|rlig og veltÅ|nkende Familie begrunder ; elter med andre Ord , Hjertets . Sindets og Fslselsernes Dannelse . Besidder hun denne , da vil hendes Mand , selv om han flnlde staa lavere end hun , med Hensyn til Opdragelse og Tcenkemaade , dog uformcerkeligt lade sig lsfte op.” (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

masquerades, and social conversations.²³² We thus see that the text encourages men to influence woman so that she will be motivated to act in accordance with feminine virtues. Another passage argues that a virtuous woman—a wise, merciful, and strong woman, who is attentive to everything that goes on in her home—should be praised, because a well-functioning marriage facilitates the governance of a people and of a nation. A woman who follows the norms for her gender thus contributes to the well-being of her country.²³³ This passage enunciates the statement that woman can improve morality in society since a virtuous woman strengthens the marital bond which in turn makes society more harmonious, according to the passage. The third passage underscores woman's particular ability to exercise positive influence on a man who has been led astray into immoral behavior. The text addresses directly women readers who ask how and why they can do that, stating: "Because you are a woman and he a man [...] Do you think you bring your husband back to the right track by avoiding him?"²³⁴ The text attempts to persuade woman that it is her responsibility to deal with the immorality of her husband.

Three passages have been captured in *Menneskelivet* [Human Life] (1866) by Friedrich Ahlfeld. One of them holds that a woman's most heroic act is to stay kind, faithful, god-fearing, and maintain order and dignity in the home no matter how far her husband has fallen. According to the

²³² Hippel, Theodor Gottlieb von, 1861, *Om Ægteskabet*

"Haardhed mod Ovinderne gjør dem mere eftergivende og deres Tilbedere mere ivrige . Jo snarere man setter Grændser for Qvinderne , jo videre ville de gaae , naar deres Fod engang har betraadt urette Veie . Bliver selv den uskyldigste Omgang ndlagt dem som en Forbrydelse , saa ville de ikke nirgte sig Noget ; smaa Mysterier fore til de større , og Ovinder og Jurister holde Alt for Godt , indtil det Modsatte bliver haandgribeligt . Destoverre for de stakkels Qvinder ! Naar imidlertid Qvinden i Selstab er ligesaadan som alene ; naar hun endogsaa forstaaer at benytte Selskabet som en Forovelse til Eeusomhed , og mere og mere lærer at indsee , at hun ikke kan roses med Smigrerier , men ved sand Agtelse ; vil hun da ikke finde mere Tilløkkelse ved sit Huus og sin Mand , end ved Maskerader , Baller , Conversationer og en heel Hcer af til Ydmyg Tjeneste staaende Tjenere?" (Topic: woman's indifference to freedom rights, from "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'")

²³³ Hippel, Theodor Gottlieb von, 1861, *Om Ægteskabet*

"Styrke og Herlighed er hendes Klædebon , og hun leer til den efterkommende Tid . Hun oplader sin Mund med Viisdom , og Miskundheds Lov er paa hendes Tunge . Hun seer , hvorledes det gaar til i hendes Huus , og ceder ikke Vrod med Lædelse . Hendes Sonner staae op og prise hende salig ; hendes Huusbond roser hende ogsaa , sigende : Mange Døttre forhverve Formue ; men Du , Du kom op over dem Allesammen . Å...ndelig er Vedræglighed , og Deilighed er Forfængelighed: men en Ovinder , i hvilken der er Herrens Frygt , hun stal roses [...] Hvem kan nægte , at Mgtestaber jo overordentligt lette Regjeringen af Land og Folk ; da Huusfader og Huusmoder beklædede et Slags Fredsdommer." (Topic: woman's function in the public sphere, from "Til Sveriges Qvinder")

²³⁴ Hippel, Theodor Gottlieb von, 1861, *Om Ægteskabet*

"Hvad kan De sige , naadige Frue , som har udtastet et ordentligt System for den qvindelige Troskabs Grændser og synes at have sat denne Sag Maal og Hegn ? Å., Min Mand skeier ud ; og hvorfor siulde jeg " ? Hvorfor? fordi De er en Kone og han en Mand . Troer De , at De bringer deres Mand paa rette Vei ved at undvige ham ? Hvis De er lykkelig nok til at bringe deres Mand , der begynder at komme paa Afveie , tilbage i Ægteskabsspooret , saa fortjener De herved større Beundring , end paa hun Tid , da De knyttede ham til Dem ved ham endnu 1/4betjendte Mdigheder , De styrede hans frie Valg saaledes , at det maatte falde paa Dem." (Topic: woman's flattery and man's hubris, from "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'")

passage, woman causes rejoicing on earth and in heaven if she never ceases to pray for her fallen husband, if she with renewed faith and kindness seeks to reach out to him in his desperation, maintains the order and honor of the home, and constructs a holy wall around the children so that they neither despise their father nor sink down into his sin and shame.²³⁵ The passage is thus an enunciation of the statement that woman can improve morality. Another passage speaks about unmarried women working in hospitals, as deaconesses, in centers and asylums for orphaned children, fallen women, and other disadvantaged people. It is positive that unmarried women now have opportunities to work in these areas, according to the passage. They are able to serve God, and it strengthens their own morality because they become less prone to egoism and coldness in their hearts.²³⁶ Through these professions, unmarried woman can fulfill their calling, and improve the welfare and morality of the population. The third passage underscores that woman has to be educated to fulfill her calling as a mother and housewife. This education has to happen at home and be facilitated by a girl's own mother or in another family. Many marriages have become unhappy because young girls have taken on activities that do not prepare them for their future life as mothers and housewives, according to the passage.²³⁷ We thus see that this passage discusses what activities best prepare woman for her calling, which is in part to ensure stability in marriage.

A passage from the anthology *Ved Løvfaldstid* [When Leaves Fall] from 1867 discusses woman's

²³⁵ Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1866, *Menneskelivet*

"Naar en Hustru da holder nd, naar hun ikke synker hen i Slsvhed og Fortvivelse eller forbittres og giver sin Harmeluft, men hver Dag henter nyt Mod ned fra Himlen; hver Dag beder for den forfaldne Mand; hver Dag søger at bringe den Forvildede tilbage ved fornyet Troskab og Venlighed; hver Dag stroeber at opretholde Husets Orden og 3 Ere, saavidt hendes svage Kræfter formaae; hver Dag søger at opreise hellige Mænd omkring Nornene, for at de ikke skulde komme til at foragte deres Fader eller nedsynke i hans Synd og Skam: saa er hun den største Heltinde, jeg kjender. I Sammenligning med hendes Strid er Davids Seier over Goliath, Ionathans Kamp med Philisterne og enhver Heltegjerning i Fortid eller Nutid for Intet at agte; thi det betyder Intet at holde Timer, ja Dage ud i Stridens Hede; men at tilbringe et heelt Liv i en faadan hjerteknusende Kamp, det er stort. Men over saadanne heltemodige Kvinder er der ogsaa Glæde baade i Himlen og paa Jorden." (Topic: woman's courage during difficult times, from *Indiana*)

²³⁶ Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1866, *Menneskelivet*

"I den nyere Tid er der ved Guds Naade ogsaa paa flere Steder i den evangeliske Kirke blevet aabnet en større Arbeidsmark for de ugifte Kvinder, idet de uddanne sig i Diakonisseanstalter til at pleie Syge og gaee omkring i Hospitalerne eller i Familiene for udføre denne Gjerning i Herrens Tjeneste og med Herrens Ord. En saadan tjenende Kjærlighed opfylder Sjælen og fremmer dens Væxt til ham, som er Hovedet, til Jesus Christus (Eph. 4, 15) [...] Ligeledes arbeide ugifte Kvinder i Pleiestiftelser og Asylr eller lignende Anstalter; ogsaa i Stolerne have de nu sundet en langt større Virkekreds end før. I alle store Steder bestaaer der Foreninger for at redde fattige Familier, faldne Kvinder, forssmte Born og ovdage ucegte eller foreldrelse Born. Paa disse Maader kunne Kvinderne tjene Herren ved at tÅge sig af deres stakkels Sostre, og vaa samme Tid modarbeide de Dsden, Egenkjerlighed og Forstenelsen i deres eget Hjerte." (Topic: Is love true?, from *Hertha*)

²³⁷ Ahlfeld, Friedrich, 1866, *Menneskelivet*

"Den unge Pige skal opdrages for Huset, og dette steer derfor bedst i Huset, enten under Moderens Opsigt eller i Tjeneste hos en anden Familie. Mangfoldige ulykkelige A3gteskaber opstaae deraf, at Konen har tilbragt sin Ungdom med allehaade Sysler, som ere Hnusvesenet uvedkommende. Nu hviler Huusholdningen med sine daglige, eensformige Pligter paa hende som en Centnervegt. Hun har ikke vennet sig til hertil i sine unge Aar og stal nu rogte et Kald, hvis Lereaar hun ikke har gennemgaaet. â€" Ville I endelig sikkre Eders Born en velsignet Huusstand, saa opdrager dem ikke for Verden." (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha*).

emancipation. The passage is captured in Camilla Collett's contribution: "Billeder fra Christiania." According to this passage emancipation simply means granting everyone the right to apply their "spiritual content" [aandelige Innhold] according to their own free will, which will make marriages healthier, as man and woman will understand each other better. The text highlights Sweden as a good example of a society where women are more educated and emancipated, and contribute to society through their work.²³⁸ The passage thus argues that woman—if educated and emancipated—will improve the marital bond and society in general. The passage is an enunciation both of the statement that woman needs education to fulfill her calling, and that she can improve society, as well as the statement analyzed in the previous section, namely that woman should be granted freedom.

Three passages have been captured in Carl L. Lund's *Forsøg til en lærerindestatestik* [Attempts at Statistics about female Teachers] from 1867. One of them speaks about women, parenting, and teaching. Teacher training for women is encouraged. A female teacher can influence a child's soul in a manner comparable to what a mother does for her child. The passage states that women's expertise in raising girls so that they can fulfill their calling later in life, is not satisfactory. All initiatives for improving both childrearing and teaching by women should thus be welcomed. The more women's expertise as teachers is improved, the more prepared they will be for the most fundamental task of making the home a place with a pleasant atmosphere that will keep their

²³⁸ 1867, *Ved Løvfaldstid*

"Vi have derfor faa Mgteskaber, hvis man ved disse forstaar et Fcellesskab i Interesser, en daglig Udvexling, en inderlig Sammensmeltning af Kroeften, der, suplerende hinanden, virke mod det samme Maal; de fleste Forbindelser ere, om man vil se ret til, kun Associationer til en fMes sikret Livsstilling. Paa andre Steder forberedes en Emancipation, der skrider saa meget mcegtigere fremad, som den virker stille indenfra ud. Ud, og derfor hverken lader sig nedslaa af Modfsheden og Tvivlen eller angribe af Spotten. Thi hvad er Emancipation Andet end at give det aandelige Indhold, Enhver har i Eie, Anvendelsesfrihed! I Sverrig har Kvinderne, stMede af Landets dygtigste og mest begavede Aander, paa den vakreste Maade emanciperet sig, og det gjennem Arbeidet. Jeg har blandt de svenske Damer sundet en Dannelse, en Skat af Kundstaber og en Evne til at gjM disse gjældende, som jeg sandelig sjelden har truffet her, ialtfald mcerker man lid et til den, thi." (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

husbands away from excesses.²³⁹ The passage thus advocates for training programs for women so that they can positively influence their community. Woman is not only supposed to acquire information she can pass on to her pupils or her children, but also to gain wisdom. The second passage argues that women are more suited to teach small girls because childrearing is as important as education in a girls' school. If a woman teacher has been properly raised herself, she has the necessary expertise for assessing what sort of behavior she has to correct. The small girls should acquire love for the truth [Sandhedskjærlighed], learn modesty, and order.²⁴⁰ Woman is, however, not best suited for educating older girls, according to the text. The third passage argues that man ought to exercise his influence when the girls reach the age of ten. This is ostensibly because man has a more objective approach to teaching, his process of thinking and understanding is clearer, and he masters the material better, so that he can present it in an organized manner.²⁴¹ Teacher training for women is also supposed to contribute to the fulfillment of her calling, which in this context is woman's specific potential for a "feminine" way of teaching.

Education for girls is also discussed in a passage captured in the work *Om Husfliden i Norge* [On

²³⁹ Lund, C. Carl, 1867, *Forsøg til en Lærerinde-Statistik*.

“Og det Væsentlige er en Maria Sjel, der bøier sig for Herren og bekjender ydmyg at være hans Tjenerinde. Findes dette Væsentlige hos den Kvinde, der er uddannet til Lærerinde og Opdragerinde, da vil hun lig en Moder virke paa Barnesjelen — og de første dybe Indtryk i de første Skoleaar, den første kjærlige Behandling vil fremkalde den rette Lyst til Skolen og dens Gjerning. Naar man tænker over, hvorledes Slægtens Ve og Vel for største Delen er afhængig af Kvindens Dannelse heltigjennem, naar man lægger Mærke til, hvor overmaade daarligt det staar til med Kvindens Opdragelse med det særegne Kald for Øie, for hvilket ethvert Pigebarn bør opdrages, da maa man være Enhver taknemmelig for ethvert Forsøg til en bedre Tingenes Ordpn. Jo mere man naar det Maal at dygtiggjøre Kvinden til at løse sin Læreopgave, desto mere radikalt maa man siges at have opfattet Sagen og grebet den an, thi — gaar man til Kilden, da kommer man til Hjemmet, der hvor vor Vugge gik og vor Moder sang os isøvn, og Hjemmet og det Indtryk, man modtager i Hjemmet, Grundstemningen — Alt bestemmes hovedsagelig af Moderen. Faar Kvinden først ret Øie for sit store Kald og opdrager for det paa den rette Maade, da skal ogsaa alle eller de fleste Mandens Udskielser faa Banesaar, thi da vil Manden længes efter det Hjem, hvor han tinder Hygge, Hvile og Fred og hvor han altid linder sig lykkeligst ved en from, trofast og i alle Dele dygtig og kjærlig Hustrues Side. Guds Velsignelse derfor over hver Forening, der har Kvindens Uddannelse til Maal.” (Topic: woman and bildung. Early runnings: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)

²⁴⁰ “Der er endhu en anden Grund, der lader mig foretrække Damer nes Undervisning, denne er Opdragelsen. Jeg har nu i 18 Aar gjort den Erfaring, at Smaapiger lettere adlyde en Lærerinde, og denne har, saaffremt hun selv er rigtig vel opdragen, enddog i en ung Alder som oftest et skarpere Æie for, hvad der hos Eleven bør rettes paa. Men Opdragelsen holder jeg for et ligesaa vigtigt Moment i en velordnet Pigeskole som Undervisningen, og netop i den unge Alder gjælder det at befeste hos Barnet Sandhedskjærlighed, Beskedenhed, Ordenssands og lignende Egenskaber, paa hvis Fremmeder i Skolen ligesaavist kan og bør virkes, som i Hjemmet.” (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

²⁴¹ “at fra det 10 de Aar af den egentlig videnskabelige Undervisning lor Smaapigerne bør være systematisk og meddelt af dygtige Lærere, helst Faglærere. Fra den Tid af bør den mandlige Indflydelse gjæde sig virksom; Mandens mere bestemte Optræden, hans mere objective Forhold til Undervisningsgjenstanden, Tankernes og Opfatningens større Klarhed, hans Evne til mere fuldkommen at beherske Undervisningstoffet, at gruppere det, og at give en klar Fremstilling deraf, at større Hukommelsen paa den rette Maade, og hurtigt at kunne forstå og opfatte Elevernes Tanker og benytte den under Undervisningen, er da for Eleven af stor Betydning og aldeles nødvendig, dersom Undervisningen ret skal kunne gjæde sig i den sin belivende Kraft, og dersom Sandhedens Tugt skal forenes med Kjærlighedens.” (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

Handicrafts in Norway] (1867) by Eilert Sundt. In the textile industry, many girls are too busy to attend school. Neither their minds nor their bodies are trained; the only thing they learn is sewing clothes. A common opinion is that more young girls are sickly than before because of their obsession with fashion and not because of their hard work in industry, according to the passage.²⁴² The passage attempts to document that the textile industry gets in the way of education for girls, and raises doubt as to whether learning to sew clothes is sufficient preparation for the future. The text thus contributes to the public discussion of what sort of education or training that is appropriate for girls.

In *Om fattigforholdene i Christiania* [On Poverty Conditions in Christiania] (1870), another work by Eilert Sundt, a passage has been captured that speaks about social misery and poor women's unchaste behavior. Poor women who have children out of wedlock receive economic aid from the Poverty Council. This aid is very small, as the intention is that these women experience hardship because of their unchaste behavior, according to the passage. The text identifies two different concerns: the state is supposed to enable women who have children out of wedlock to take care of their offspring, and these women are at the same time supposed to have scarce resources for taking care of their children as a punishment for their unchaste behavior.²⁴³ The financial support is supposed to function as a deterrent. We have seen in chapter three that there was an increase in illegitimacy after the law that decriminalized prostitution and reduced penalties for unchastity was passed in 1842. Sundt found that the increased rate of illegitimacy seemed to be due to demographic

²⁴² Sundt, Eilert, 1867, *Om Husfliden i Norge*

“Den Travelhet Å», som Kvinden stedse har befundet sig i, har vist ogsaa varet til stort Gavn baade for at vedligeholde Velstand og hoeve hende i kvindelig Huslighed og Dyd som god Børneopdrager, hvilket jo er kommet den hele Sloegt inden Bygden tilgode. Men det maa ogsaa virkelig erkjendes, at hun i denne Tid ogsaa har det altfor travelt, da hun ved de mange Arbeider hindres baade i legemlig og aandelig Uddannelse. I de sidste Aar har man faaet en Fristole i Gang for de konfirmerede Drengene inden Gjøesdals Sogn, som holdes i 4 Z, 6 Uger aarlig. Men for Piger har man endnu intet Saadant gjort og kan heller ikke tænke paa noget, da de siet ikke har Tid. Det er saaledes kun faa Piger, der komme udenfor sine egne Døre for at lære noget, og det eneste, som disse faa lære, er Syning af Klæder [...] At Kvinden ogsaa hindres i legemlig Uddannelse, maa antages deraf, at gamle Folk siger her ere flere sygelige Piger nu end før. Vel er det just ikke den almindelige Mening, at dette siulde have sin Grund i Spindingen eller andet Arbeide, men det ansees heller som en Folge af Modesygen og Beklædningen.” (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha*)

²⁴³ Sundt, Eilert, 1870, *Om fattigforholdene i Christiania*

“Fattigvæsenet vælger i Regelen at lade vedkommende Pige seiv udsætte Barnet, men en hel Del Børn udsættes ogsaa direkte gennem Fattigvæsenets Foranstaltning. Forsaavidt Pigen seiv udsætter Barnet og ikke faar Hjælp af Barnefaderen, maa hun faa nogen Hjælp af Fattigvæsenet, idet en Tjenestepiges Løn ikke er stor nok til helt at forrøge et Barn; men denne Hjælp beregnes meget knapt, saaledes at Pigen alene beholder 8 År 10 Spd. til at klæde sig for om Aaret. Forudsætningen er, at de skal have en alvorlig Byrde for slig Letsindighed. Den almindelige Betaling for Udsættelse af saadanne Børn er i det første Aar 26 Spd. Pigen er pligtig til at understøtte Barnet, indtil det er 15 Aar gammelt. Retten til at sende de Fattige, som tilhøre fremmede Kommunerhjem, benyttes i nogen Udstrækning, men det har mange Gange været under Overveelse, hvorvidt ikke Fattigvæsenet i denne Henseende var for lempeligt, idet det ikke kan negtes, at enhver Saadan, som har nogen Fortjeneste her i Christiania, paa en vis Maade kan siges at tjæge Fortjenesten fra en eller anden i Christiania Hjemmelørende, som ellers kunde have den.” (Topic: female servants, from *Indiana*)

and economic factors and not the new law. Regardless of the popular opinion on the reasons for women giving birth out of wedlock, there was a concern to find efficacious ways of deterring women from unchaste behavior. The fact that these women received any aid at all, however, underscores that relieving social misery and, more specifically, facilitating the ability of unwed mothers to take care of their offspring, was a political priority. More important than making these women suffer, is influencing woman so that she contributes to society and as a result does not increase immorality. We see the principle of improving the quality of the population by improving woman's conduct and opportunities for taking proper care of children, no matter their background.

Six passages have been captured in *Om kvinden* [On Woman], by the Norwegian teacher, Knut L. Huus (1872). In this popular scientific text, the author considers woman's position in the household and family. One of the passages states that it is a generally well-known truth that woman's function as housewife is important for family life, and that the district governors therefore have decided to discuss how woman should be educated in order to fulfill her calling as a housewife.²⁴⁴ This passage thus enunciates the statement that woman needs education in order to fulfill her calling. According to the second passage, the district governors unanimously agreed that woman ought to have access to higher education. Although there were diverse opinions regarding how to organize higher education for women, all agreed that improvement of the state of affairs in the household and family could not take place without greater enlightenment and education of woman regarding her calling [Kvindens større Oplysning og Dannelse for sit Kald].²⁴⁵ Furthermore, education should be accessible to women from all social classes, according to the third passage: "Every member of society, including every element of household life, is part of the larger societal body, and conditions

²⁴⁴ Huus, Knut L., 1872, *Om kvinden*

"Da man noget mer almindeligt i vore Dage baade vil sinde denne Sandhed erkjendt , og desuden at Familielivets materielle og moralske Trivsel og Velvære for en stor Del betinges af den randende Kvindes Egenskab som Husmoder , har Amtsformandskaberne i de Landsdele , hvorom der handles i nærværende Afhandling , foretaget forberedende Skridt til at faa det SpM-gsmaal befaret , nemlig : hvnd der bM gøres for at faa Kvinden hevet til en for hendes Kald passende Dcmnelfe." (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

²⁴⁵ "600Af de mange Meddelere , der paa Foranledning af de omsendte Sporgsmaale have ytret sig om Sagen i Almindelighed , er der ingen , der ikke har udtalt det Onfle og den Mening , at Noget burde gøres for at aabne Kvinden Adgang til større Dannelse ; men om Maaden , hvorpaa dette kan tænkes muligt under vore Forholde , have Meningerne været hverandre meget afvigende . Om end den stedfindende og af alle Meddelere erkjendte Mangel paa en saadan Dannelsesanstalt [...] saa fremgaar der dog af alle Udtalelser herom en Længsel efter en bedre Tingenes Tilstand inden Hus- og Familielivet , hvilket ikke kan tænkes muligt under ringere Betingelser end Kvindens større Oplysning og Dannelse for sit Kald." (Topic: woman's being and acquired traits, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

its economic and moral vitality.”²⁴⁶ The fourth passage specifies a reason for why it is important that even women among the poor and from the working class gain access to more education: “unfortunately women’s superstitious beliefs in the fatality of fate hinders in many places progress of the state of affairs.”²⁴⁷ We see here that progress is inextricably linked to the instruction of woman. A housewife should, more than any other family member, serve as a model for moral conduct according to the fifth passage. For this reason, it is evident that she has to acquire a “perspective on life” [Livsbetragtning].²⁴⁸ Finally, the last captured passage underscores the importance of a mother’s moral education of her children in a lifelong perspective. The mother is the most important moral guide in a person’s life, according to the passage.²⁴⁹ We see from these two last passages that the second statement that this section has established, namely that woman can improve the state of morality, is also enunciated in Huus’ text. All together, the text states that a virtuous and enlightened woman can improve the status of morality in the population. In order to fulfill this calling, she needs education. She has to be trained and convinced of the importance of her conduct in relation to this calling.

In the 1872 edition of *Unge Kvinde* [Young Woman] by John Angell James, a passage has been captured that speaks about woman’s mission in society and the importance of her education. Any woman, married or unmarried, wealthy or poor, exercises her power for the benefit or detriment of her society. As long as women are virtuous, a society cannot end up in severe immorality. For that reason, a people’s well-being depends on woman, according to the passage. If virtuousness and

²⁴⁶ “Adgang til Uddannelse burde være aabnet for alle Klasfer . Ethvert oplyst Samfundsmedlem maa indramme , at naar det stirre Samsund forener sine Kræfter for at faa dets kvindelige Befolkning uddannet for sin mangesidige Bestemmelse , saa handler det just i sine egne velforsynede Interesser , hvilket er ligesaa sandt , som det as Enhver vil indsees , at hvert enkelt Lem i det huslige Liv er et Led i det store Samfundslegeme og betinger dettes Ækonomiske og moralfe Styrke og Liv s frisky ed.” (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

²⁴⁷ “Desværre findes der i forskjellige Egne endnu blandt Almuen en væsentlig Hindring mod en bedre Tingenes Orden i den paa saa mange Steder og fornemmelig hos Kvinden herskende Tro paa Skjebnens Uundgæelighed, hvorved saavel lordemsdres Bistand som deres Raadgivninger ansees for at være overflødige.” (Topic: woman’s virtues, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

²⁴⁸ “Langt mere end alle andre af Familiens Medlemmer burde derfor Husmoderen danne et Mønster for gode Seeder og vise en streng Selvaarvaagenhed ligeoversor dem , hun skal paavirke , for ikke at stille sig selv iveien paa Opdragelsens Felt . Heraf synes det være klart , at hun trængte at tilegne sig en Livsbetragtning , som passede for hendes sceregne Stilling.” (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

²⁴⁹ “Hendes Lærdomme træde atter og atter frem under Livets forskjellige Skjebner for Sjelen . De overraske Sindet saa tidt , naar Livets alvorligere Begivenhed Æ giver Anledning til deres Erindring . Man lytter atter til Moderens Advarsler mod Synd og til hendes Opmuntringer til hvad der er ret og godt.” (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre* and woman and Bildung. Early runnings: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/early%20runnings)

education is widespread among women, civilization is strengthened.²⁵⁰ Here, too, the two statements are enunciated; woman needs education to become virtuous and capable of fulfilling her calling, and through the fulfillment of her calling she improves or protects the morality in her society. The automatically generated topic “woman's happiness,” modeled from *The District Governor's Daughters*, has also captured a passage in James' work. This passage establishes explicitly woman's place in the living room and the children's room, and that her functions are preferably as separated from men's as possible. By providing historic context, it argues both that women are capable of engaging in “men's work”—but that they do not have to anymore, which is good for them—and that men's tyranny over women is wrong. It argues that women of the past were engaged in trade and commerce, and “without turning their attention away from other duties, helped men to augment the wealth and happiness of the house.” According to the passage women's work in trade, in the vineyards, etc., sounds unfeminine today. Yet it shows, the text continues, that the tyranny women have been subjected to, came later in history. The rest of the passage claims that women's current situation is better, where they do not have to be much involved in man's business. She can still under exceptional circumstances assist man in his affairs, for which she will be paid through his gratefulness and her own consciousness of the value of her effort.²⁵¹ *The District Governor's Daughters*, on the other hand, approaches woman's happiness on a much more interior level, which the next chapter elaborates on. It argues that the customs that divide their functions make woman dependent on man and that it is only a matter of chance if she turns out happy.

²⁵⁰ James, John Angell, 1872, *Den unge Kvinde*

“Enhver Kvinde, hun være nu gift eller ugift, rig eller fattig, har dog en Kreds, indenfor hvilken hun udøver en vis Magt, enten til Skade eller Gavn. Enhver Kvinde vil nødvendigvis ved sin Daarstab eller sin Klogskab, sin Dyd eller sine Laster forege sit Folks Værdighed eller paaskynde dets Forfald. Saalænge kvindelig Dyd blomstrer, beskyttet af det ene og agtet af det andet Kjønn, kan et Folk ikke synke altfor dybt. Til en vis Grad er det Kvinden, som opretholder sit Folks Lykke. Hendes Dyd staar, hvis den er fast og ufordærvet, som en beskyttende Vagt over Folket. Lov, Retfærdighed og Frihed, Kunst og Videnskab, alt bidrager naturligvis til et Folks Velgaaende, men hvis Kvindens almindelige Sædelighed staar saa er alt andet sorgløst, medens derimod, hvis kvindelig Dyd og Dannelse er almindelig, Civilisationens Støttepunkt stiger til sin Drøst og bliver frugtbringende for den mest udstrakte Overflade [...] Hendes Virkekreds er Samsværet, hendes Maal er dets Velbefindende, hendes Bæmsning dets Taknemlighed og Erkendtlighed.” (Topics: woman's function in the private sphere, from “Til Sveriges Qvinder” and woman's Bildung, from *Hertha* has captured the same passage in the 1878 edition of James' text).

²⁵¹ “Fortidens Kvinder vare sysselsatte ogsaa med Handel og Salg af saadant, som anstod deres Kjønn, og sallledes uden at vende sin Opmerksomhed fra andre Pligter, hjalp sine Mænd med at forege Husets Velstand og Lykke. Dette Arbejde i Hjemmet, denne Handel med Kjøbmanden, dette Indblik af Marker og denne Plantning af Vingaaer lyder haart og lidet kvindeligt for vore Dren, men det aabner os et Blik paa de Tidens Forhold og viser os, hvor lidt det Tyranni, som Mænd senere udsæder over Kvinden i Merlandene, da endnu var kommet i Udøvelse. Kvinden viser sig her som Mandens Væst, Naad og Hjælp, selv hvad der angik Familiens Underhold. Nyere Sæder og Forhold gik dette for en stor Del undværigt. Kvindens Plads er nu heller i Dagligstuen og Barnekammeret end i Butikken. At kjøbe og sælge er nu Mandens Bæftigelse, at pleie Værnene og Husholdningen tilhører Hustruen; og som en almindelig Regel gjælder, at jo mindre Kvinden har med Mandens Bæftigelse at gæfre desto bedre [...] Desuagtet kunne Omstændighederne tillade Undtagelser, er det paa ingen Maade upassende at se en nem og hengiven Hustru staa ved sin Mands Side i hans Gjærning. Dette gjælder dog maaske blot mindre Forretninger [...] Ingen Hustru kan fæle sig nedsat ved saadanne Væftigelser. I Mandens taknemlige og kjærlige Smil og i sin egen Bevidsthed, at hun letter hans Mø og hjælper ham at underholde Familien, vil hun have rig Bæmsning for sit Arbejde. Vi bemærke nu hendes Forstand og Duelighed i de huslige Anordninger.”

Two passages have been captured in *Tre noveller* [Three Short Stories] (1873) by Marie Colban, one of the twelve Norwegian women writers who debuted in the period 1840-60. Both passages enunciate that woman needs some sort of education or instruction in order to fulfill her calling and not end up unhappy or immoral. One of the passages speaks about woman's education and emancipation. The woman's movement has gone too far in its desire to grant women access to public life. Only exceptional women are fit for service in public life. Women in general will make fools out of themselves and suffer if they are convinced that they have capacities that they in reality do not have, according to the passage. Women do not need the rights of men, but instead need to "understand what they can make out of everyday life and [learn] to love and elevate the life that is theirs."²⁵² This passage also contributes to a discussion of what sort of education woman should have in order to fulfill her calling; her education is supposed to persuade her to embrace her purpose in life (which is seldom to serve in public life). The other passage specifies that there are two main types of women; the mother and the "fashion lady" [Modedamen]. Whereas the first type exists in a great variety of more or less ideal versions, the second type is despicable, according to the passage; the fashion lady is coquettish, self-centered, and she takes pride in her pettiness and her unwillingness to make any intellectual effort.²⁵³ We have already seen in a passage from one of Sundt's works that there was a general belief that some girls and young women tended to be too concerned about fashion. This passage from Colban's text, and other passages we will study below, argue that great interest in fashion is harmful to a woman's character. Education for women should deter them from such interests, which come in conflict with their virtues and calling.

In *Norske Stiftelser* [Norwegian Foundations] (1875) by N. Nicolaysen, a passage has been captured that speaks about institutions for the upbringing and education of poor and orphaned girls. The foundation for support of these girls was supposed to hire unmarried women or widows to run the

²⁵² Colban, Marie, 1873, *Tre Noveller*

"De Månd, der have sat sig i Spidsen for den i mange Henseender berettigede Kvindebevægelse, se ikke, at de forfeile Maalet ved at gaa forvidt. Ved at aabne Kvinderne det offentlige Liv, vilde de skabe nogle Phænomenener og en Mængde Latterligliedder. Den overordentlige Begavelse, der skaber Phænomenenerne, er altid Undtagelsen. Den store Mængde vil tro at kunne udrette mere, end den har Evne til, og naar disse Kvinder nu maa, de frem i det offentlige Liv, udrustede med stor Indbildskhed og middelmaadigt Talent, vil dette bere de dem ganske andre bitre Lidelser, end den fordums saakaldte Undertrykkelse. Kvindernes Velgjører er ikke Den, der vil give dem maskuline Rettigheder, men Den, der lærer dem at forstå, hvad der kan gøres ud af Enhvers Hverdagsliv, Den, der lærer dem at elske og lade det Liv, som nu engang er deres." (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha*)

²⁵³ "Vor Tid har [...] to Arter Kvinder: Husmoderen og Modedamen. Af den første er der tusinde Varieteter, alle mere eller mindre ufuldkomne; den anden driver det til Mesterskab i det miserableste af alle Genre, det saakaldte uskyldige Koketteri [...]. Dette Væsen behager sig i sin Lidenhed. Hun gjør sig en Ære af ingen Kundskaber at besidde og siger uden at røbe, at hun ikke befatter sig med en saa besværlig Ting som at tænke. Hun dyrker blot sin Person og alt, hvad der kan give den Relief." (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha*)

institutions for a decent salary and extra facilities.²⁵⁴ Such institutions have authority in society. The purpose of these institutions is to take care of poor girls and educate them to become Christian, moral, and skillful servants. In addition to attending public school, the girls were supposed to live under modest conditions, but to live healthfully and be well taken care of, learn simple needlework, and be habituated to housework. They aim to transform poor and neglected girls into healthy Christian women who are competent in housework.

Two passages have been captured in *Karakteren* [The Character] (1876) by Samuel Smiles. The passage argues that woman's development [Kvindens Udvikling] is a subject of national significance. This is because a people's moral condition to a large extent depends on the upbringing in the home and because man's moral character depends on woman's morality and spiritual development, according to the passage. The more the powers of both genders are developed, the more harmonious and well organized the society.²⁵⁵ The second passage specifies what sort of education suits woman. In general, the upbringing and education that is beneficial for one gender, is also beneficial for the other, according to the passage. This passage also specifies woman's calling as housewife. A woman who earns an education on the same premises as man will be more competent in all household tasks. She will be more considerate, better prepared to handle challenges, govern the house more competently, and be more resistant to betrayal. Woman will learn

²⁵⁴ Nicolaysen, N., 1875, *Norske Stiftelser*

"Bestyrelsen stal ansette en ugift Kvinde eller Enke til at vere Stiftelsens Forstanderinde , hvis Lon mindst stal vere 100 Speciedaler aarlig foruden fri Bolig med Lys og Brende samt Kost [...] De Bsrn , som optages i Stiftelsen , stulle der opdrages , med det Maal for Bje at dannes til kristelige , ordentlige og dueilige Tjenestepiger ; Opdragelsen stal derfor vere tarvelig baade hvad Kost og Kleder angaar , men forpvrigt saadan . at Bornene have det sundt og godt ; de stulle saa tidligt som muligt vennes til den almindelige Husgjerning og opleres i de simplere kvindelige Haandarbeider, idet de forsvrigt stulle spge de almindelige offentlige Almuefloler indtil deres , Konfirmation , med mindre Erfaring flulde vise , at dette er forbundet med for store Vanskeligheder i hvilket Fald der , saafremt Stiftelsens Åkonomiske Stilling tillader det , stal oprettes en egen Skole ved Stiftelsen for dens Bsrn." (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha*).

²⁵⁵ Smiles, Samuel, 1876, *Karakteren*

"et Folks moralske og scedelige Tilstand hovedsagelig beror paa Opdragelsen i Hjemmet , da maa Kvuldens Udvikling anfts for en Sag as national Betydning . Ikke alene vil Mandens moralske Karakter men ogsaa hans Sjcel's slurke finde sin bedste Bevogter og Stolte i Kvindens moralske Renhed og aandelige Udvikling ; men jo mere begges Magt er udviklet , jo mere harmonisk og velordnet vil Samfundet vcere." (Topic: woman's function in the public sphere, from "Til Sveriges Qvinder").

to carry out her influence if she receives a moral and religious education.²⁵⁶ These passages thus enunciate both statements established in this section: woman can improve the state of morality in society, and she needs an education, preferably a solid education on the same premises as man, in order to carry out her influence as a housewife the best way possible.

In *Afhandlinger vedrørende det høiere og lavere skolevæsen* [Treatises regarding the Higher and Lower School System] (1876) by the Norwegian pedagogue and girls' school founder, Hartvig Nissen, a passage has been captured that speaks about the education of girls and women. Their education should be profound and substantial with the purpose of cultivating feminine traits, such as modesty and self-denial. If woman receives a superficial education, it is more likely that she cultivates traits such as presumptuousness, pride, and pettiness (not unlike the traits associated with "Modedamer" ["Fashion ladies"]). True insight and wisdom is a source for the Socratic mind, according to the passage. Woman should receive a profound and substantial education so that she can develop a Socratic consciousness, consisting of the realization that one knows nothing and the striving towards being, and not towards attention-seeking appearance.²⁵⁷ The passage thus advocates for a solid, philosophical education for woman in order for her to cultivate traits that we have seen are traditionally associated with femininity.

In the 1878 edition of James' *Den unge Kvinde*, a passage has been captured that speaks about woman's calling in terms of both upbringing and teaching. Mothers need to be confident in this work and it is their duty to carry it out, according to the passage. Her work consists of moral and

²⁵⁶ "I sin Almindelighed kan det vistnok siges , at den Opdragelse og Uddannelse , som i de tidlige Aar passer for det ene Kjsn ogfaa passer for det andet , og at den Opdragelse og Dannelse , som opfylder en Mands Sjæl , ogfaa vil vise sig at vcere lige faa sund for Kvinden . I Virkeligheden tals alle de Grunde , som man har gjort gjældende for Mandens hÅjere Uddannelse , med samme Styrke for Kvindens Uddannelse . I alle huslige Anliggender vi ! Husmoderens Virksomhed i og Betydning for Hjemmet kun kunne vinde . Den vil forpge hendes Omtanke og Forsorg , scette hende i Stand til godt forberedt at nmde de forskellige Vanskeligheder , der kunne indtræffe i Livet , finde paa bedre Metoder i Husets Styrelse , kort sagt i enhver Henseende styrke hend ? . I en tilkæmpet Åndelig Styrke vil hun finde en virksommere og sikrere Beskyttelse mod Bedrag og mod at ftes bag Lyset , end i en uskyldig og umistænksom Uvidenhed . Ved moralsk og religiøs Dannelse vil hun sikre sig Kilderne til Indflydelse , hvilke ere mægtigere og varigere end legemlig Ande , og ved Tillid til sig selv vil hun opdage de sandeste Kilder til huslig Tilfredshed og Lykke." (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha* and influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*)

²⁵⁷ Nissen, Hartvig, 1876, *Afhandlinger vedrørende det høiere og lavere skolevæsen*

"Many interesting passages by Nissen where he discusses what higher education for women should be like. En saadan Undervisning , som den jeg i det Foregaaende har fordret , vil derimod visselig nedlÅgge den sande Beskedenheds SÅjd ; thi imedens hint Skin af Dannelse, den overfladiske Kundskab , fremkalder Indbildskhed , Hovmod og LeÅYtrNdelÅY6n ekter at synes uøen at vÅre , er det netop den sande og grundige Viden eller Indsigt , der er Kilden til den sokratiske Bevidsthed , om Intet at vide og til BestrÅbelsen efter at vÅre , men ei at synes . I nÅr Forbindelse med Beskedenhed staar den ydre HÅflighed . Den er derfor heller ikke just vor Tids Barn , skjÅnt den er en sand Pryd for Kvinden , dog mere som Tegn paa den indre Beskedenhed end for dens VÅrd iog for sig . Forsaa vidt som den ikke direkte uHg ^ Her af Beskedenheden , fremmes den vel imidlertid mindre ved Undervisningen end ved Skolens Paavirkning i - get the end of it!" (Topic: woman's Bildung, from *Hertha*)

religious upbringing, the education of the character and mind, and conveying customs. She is supposed to influence the heart. The passage specifies that a mother is responsible for teaching, which means to “introduce knowledge to the soul,” and upbringing, which means to “bring the soul’s own vitality into action, to wake up and strengthen its thought and its will.”²⁵⁸ The knowledge woman needs in order to properly raise and educate children is rather extensively elaborated on and specified in this passage, which is a growing trend in the passages the later we get in the period.

In the work *Folkelige Grundtanker* [Popular Basic Thoughts] (1878) by the Norwegian pastor and teacher Christopher Bruun, passages have been captured that speak about woman’s education and emancipation. The first passage discusses the relation between a husband with an intellectual occupation, and his wife. Man rarely shares his thoughts with his wife. Instead she is confined to the kitchen and the children’s room, or fashion, gossip, and pettiness fill the empty space in her heart, according to the passage.²⁵⁹ It is not surprising that ideas about women’s emancipation have emerged, as woman has been degraded and excluded from spiritual life, according to the second passage. The solution is not, however, that she engages in the same intellectual and spiritual preoccupations as man. Woman has her own task in life. She is supposed to understand man and to accompany him in all his activities, but she is not supposed to become man. Instead she is created

²⁵⁸ James, John Angell, 1878, *Den unge Kvinde*

“Msdre burde derfor vere vel fortrolige med det Arbeide, som er dem paalagt . Jeg tcenker her ikke paa Bornenes Legeme , og hvad det tiltrenger , men deres Ovdragelse i moralsk og religios Henseende . En Moder tilhorer det at uddanne Karakteren ; hun har at meddele ikke blot Kundstaber , men ogsaa Vaner . Hendes seregne Opgaver er at indvirke paa Hjertet , at vaage over Vaner og Tilboieligheder . Hun bor betragte sine Born som vordende Medlemmer af Samfundet , Familiefedre eller Husmodre , men fremfor alt som de , der her stulle opdrages til Medborgere i Himmelen . Hun maa , jeg gjentager det atter , fornemmelig opstille det som sit Maal at uddanne sine Boms Karakter for begge disse Verdener . Lcerere ville sandsynligvis fremdeles anvendes til den videnskabelige Undervisning , men Moderens Kald er fra den forste Begyndelse at uddanne Forstanden og Vanerne . Mange have ingen anden Tanke om Opdragelsen , end at den er Meddelelsen af Kundstaber . Meget er i senere Tider blevet sagt om Forskjellen mellem Opdragelse og Undervisning . De have virkelig forskjellig Betydning . At undervise er at underrette om , gjøre en klog paa eller bekjendt med noget , Å,, indlegge " Kundstaber i Sjelen , som Å,, instruere " efter Ordlyden betyder . At opdrage derimod eller Å,,educere" er at fremdrage eller fremkalde til Virksomhed Sjelens egne Livskrefter , at vekke og styrke dens Tanke og Vilje . Begge Dele er en Moder ansvarlig for , fordi det er hende , som stal uddanne Karakteren.” (Topic: woman’s Bildung, from Hertha)

²⁵⁹ Bruun, Christopher, 1878, *Folkelige Grundtanker*

“Er der en Mand som lever et Tankens Liv, eller ogsaa som har en Gjerning at gjøre i Aandens Tjeneste, fører han Baa sin Hustru med sig md i Hen Verden hvor han selv færdes? Aa nei. For det aller meste faar bnu nok finde sig i at sidde igjen i Kjøkke nets og Barnekammerets Verden, forsaavidt Bom hun ikke foretrækker Modens og Pjattets og Sladderens — de Mag ters, som altid er rede til at strømme inH og fylde, saa ofte «om der ovstaar tomt Num i beuHes Sjæl.”

for the purpose of understanding man, according to the passage.²⁶⁰ Woman thus should have the right to acquire sufficient knowledge and wisdom in order to have a spiritual life. This is not only a right, but a necessary enlightenment for the fulfillment of her calling.

6.4.2 Considerations of Passages on Woman's Education and Influence

We have seen enunciations on woman's education throughout this section that are part of discussions regarding how woman can fill her function; there are discursive negotiations of how woman can best influence the people around her, and of what education that suits her. The later we get in the period, the more professionalized woman's function becomes in the enunciations of the statement that woman needs education in order to fulfill her calling. There are even examples showing that traditional domains for women, such as care for neglected children, starts to demand more formal qualifications. It is thus not surprising that the focus on woman's education is substantial.

The question of woman's education seems to become as important as the question of feminine virtues in the discursive establishment and reorganization of woman's place in society. At the same time, emancipatory negotiations of woman's need for education also emerge. Discourse is open for positions that focus on emancipation in relation to woman's education as far they justify their advocacy by arguing that it will enhance morality in society or in other ways promote the good. Collett's remark in *Billeder fra Christiania* on the educational situation for women in Sweden is an example. She argues for improving woman's education in Norway on the basis of how it will improve the marital bond and how Swedish women apply their acquired skills beautifully through work. Considered together, the enunciations in educational literature, didactic works, religious texts, etc. establish that woman's place in society in fact consists of advanced functions that requires education to fulfill properly. This *place* is established through the negations of what precisely these functions consist and what education that suits woman.

²⁶⁰ "Dette er en Hovedsaarsag til vore Dages Raab paa iJeYÉndens «Emancipation» eller hendes Ligestilling med Manden. Følelsen af hendes Udestængthed fra Aandslivet og hendes Fornedelse har samlet sig, og gaar igjennem Tiden flpniigt Skrig. En slig Bevegelse opstaar aldrig uden Grund. MWMslIOiOHen skriger ikke, uden den bar noget at skrive feWiTDft «ange saadanne Skrig som gaar gennem vor Tid, yder alle pila virkelige Såar. Men lige saa paalidelige Vidnesbyrd som de er om at et Onde er tilstede, lige saa lidet kan man vente at de skal give den rette Løsning af Spørgsmaalet om Hjælpen mod det [...] Man mener, for at faa raadet Bod paa Ondet, at Kvin derne bør gaa md i Mændenes aandelige Gjærning [...] Saa overtydet som jeg er om Kvindens rige Evner, og om at hun kan og bør blive noget langt mere end hun er, saa tror jeg dog ikke at hun nogensinde vil kunne drive det vidt i det at være Mand [...] Hun har sin egen eien dommelige Opgave at løse i Menneskeslegtens Liv, jevnside med Manden. Men til den hører det rigtignok at hun skal kunne forstå Mandens bedste Tanker, og kunne følge ham paa alle Hans Aands Veie. Ikke at være Mænd, men at forstå Mænd, at følge Mænd, er det Kvinderne er skabt til." (Topic: woman's indifference to freedom rights, from "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'")

6.5 Concordance Analyses for Identifying Enunciations on Women's Legal Rights and on Women Working Outside the Home

In this section, I discuss some results obtained with concordance analyses. The main finding this has produced is that the discursive production of femininity in the period includes a view of woman as predisposed for being competent in business. Woman's sensitive nature prevents overly bold investments. Her inclination to worry and be careful is compatible with being responsible in commerce.²⁶¹ Femininity as consistent with virtues in commerce is a discursive position that must be understood as one manifestation of negotiations of what natural femininity consists in the period. Consistent with previous research and the analysis presented so far in this chapter, the results in this section support the notion that the passing of reforms that granted married women legal majority and the right to engage in commerce were motivated by pragmatic concerns. My data neither indicate that religious movements were a driving force behind these reforms nor that they were the subject of much debate in general. Considered in light of the gender discourse this chapter has identified, the legal justification of the reform of 1842 that granted unmarried women the right to engage in commerce shows that economic concerns and political interests were actively involved in the discursive production of femininity in the period.

Working with STM, I created two topics concerning legal reforms that strengthened women's rights on the one hand, and religion on the other. The purpose of creating these topics was to investigate whether texts could be identified in the Digital Bookshelf that indicate connections between Lutheran lay movements, in particular, and advocacy for legal rights for women. As stated in section 6.2, I have not identified such connections in the material as presented so far. In the numerous passages captured in religious texts, I have found no enunciations regarding legal reforms, neither in the passages captured by topics modeled from the women writers' texts, nor in the passages captured by the two topics inspired by the secondary literature. In fact, I have had very few results at all that speak about legal reforms relating to women. I have experimented with adjusting the level of topic match in order for passages to be captured, but still received no results. I

²⁶¹ Femininity as consistent with virtues in commerce is not a discursive position that all enunciations on woman's sensitive nature entail. There are enunciations that come to opposite conclusions regarding the implications of woman's sensitive nature, namely that she has a poor capacity for critical judgement, is easily influenced, and therefore also easily led astray. I have not, however, seen examples of this discursive position in direct enunciations on women's right to engage in commerce.

could have concluded on this basis that connections between religion and legal reforms do not exist in my material and, further, that there are very few enunciations regarding legal reforms for women. I decided, however, to separate the word bags from the topics, and apply the word bags one by one to the Digital Bookshelf, instead of topics that comprise several topic words, each with its corresponding word bag (see notebook for operating the word bags here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/blob/master/Word%20Bags/temamodeller-konkordans.ipynb). .

Concordance analyses is another way of investigating in what contexts words of interest are used. I have used the word bags “Myndighed” [legal majority], “Kvinneforeninger” [women’s associations], “Sivil status” [marital status], “Ligestilling” [gender equality], and “Yrkesaktiv” [working] (see complete word bags here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/blob/master/Word%20Bags/Word%20Bags.docx), one by one, to identify books in the Digital Bookshelf where the words in the respective word bags exist, and then obtained concordances for these words.

Let us start with the results obtained with the “Myndighed” word bag.²⁶² There is a significant number of religious books that have occurrences of “Myndighed” words in them. The concordances indicate, however, that it refers primarily to God’s “Myndighed” [“authority,” in this sense] in these texts. I have not found any examples of comments on women’s legal rights in these texts. One text, *Daabens Sacramente: udviklet i Foredrag i St. Mariæ Kirke i Bergen* [The Sacrament of Baptism: Developed in Lectures at St. Mary’s Church in Bergen] (1858), mentions woman’s “myndighed.”²⁶³ It concerns, however, the authority of women—particularly midwives—to practice emergency christening. The text justifies this right with the fact that emergency christening takes place in a sphere that is part of woman’s domain [hendes virkekreds], namely the home. This example adds to the tendency I have observed in religious texts of claiming that woman has a unique role in preserving the status of Christianity in the population. To carry out this function, she also needs a certain degree of freedom and authority over herself. This freedom and authority primarily concern spiritual matters. It concerns the influence woman can exercise primarily in the private sphere, not a formal and economic freedom that would require legal reforms. Furthermore, woman’s presumed

²⁶² See the Jupyter Notebook for Concordance analyses with the “Myndighed” word bag: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Konkordanser_Myndighed/tree/v.1

²⁶³ Lous, Theodor M.C. 1858. *Daabens Sacramente : udviklet i Foredrag i St. Mariæ Kirke i Bergen*. Bergen: Floor. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2009062910003

sensitive nature—upon which the idea of woman as an exemplary Christian depends—also encompasses the idea that woman is less qualified for rational, critical thinking, and thus more easily influenced and led astray. The Biblical maxim that woman should submit to her husband is, as we have seen, frequently enunciated in religious texts. Although woman was encouraged to follow her conscience regarding how to practice Christianity and carry out her religious and moral influence, based on the religious texts I have analyzed, it seems unlikely that advocacy for women's legal rights come from religious groups. Convictions about a woman's duty to submit, her easily influenced nature—but also probably the demand that her religious calling not be disturbed by profane, public matters—decreases the likelihood that direct advocacy for legal reforms for women came from these groups, as well as that these groups indirectly inspired such advocacy. The concordance analyses operated with the word bags mentioned in the start of this section strengthen my findings based on the STM-results.

The majority of texts that the “Myndighed” word bag has identified are legal documents, law collections, collections of resolution drafts, and lectures for law students. I have not, however, found any substantial considerations of the law of 1845 that granted women limited majority, nor for the law of 1863 that granted women the same complete legal majority as men. Many of these works mention the reforms, but they do so only briefly.²⁶⁴ This gives the impression that these reforms were neither accompanied by much public debate, nor considered major changes. If this is correct, they probably arose primarily from legal technicalities and pragmatic concerns, rather than from activism. This is, as we have seen in chapter three, consistent with more recent research in women's history. We remember, though, how Aasta Hansteen in her first article in the series “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse,’” highlights the importance of legal majority for woman's subjectivity. She principally had the reform of 1845 in mind. Even if women then still did not have the same majority as men—since a legal guardian had to complete their majority no matter their age—she is of the opinion that this reform had a large impact on woman's subjectivity in the sense that women began to think of themselves as beings with a certain intellectual freedom, entitled to have their own opinions. Hansteen thus observed that there was an important shift in

²⁶⁴ See for instance Collett, Peter J. 1859. Christiania: Chr. Tønsbergs forlag. Den norske familieret https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2009091403014; Berg, M.Ø and Oluf Vilhelm Falck-Ytter (eds). 1859. Norsk lovsamling for Aarene 1667 til 1858 : indeholdende de vigtigste Forordninger, Rescripter, Kgl. Resolutioner m.v., de gjældende almindelige Storthingslove, samt et Uddrag af Christian Vtes norske Lov af 1687. Christiania: Mallings. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2006112301019; Schnitler, Didrik. 1870. Fremstilling af den norske Politilovgivning. Christiania: Steen's Forlag. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2006112200028; Collett, Peter. J. 1865/66. Forelæsninger over Personretten : efter den norske Lovgivning. Christiania: Jac. Dypwad. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2014092608034

women's subjectivity in her lifetime and attributed this shift to the reform of 1845 that granted women limited legal majority. Perhaps Hansteen's conception was related to the fact that she was a political activist and well informed about the history of women's rights. We have seen in Hansteen's articles that she theorized about what the enactment of laws for social groups such as women, servants, or children says about society's conception of the dignity and individual autonomy of the members of these groups. Analysis of my material establishes that the law itself does not seem to be widely known in the period, and philosophical analyses of the law even less so. Enhanced general education for girls and the many direct attempts in discourse to influence her conduct and her view on herself as a woman seems like a more valid explanation for the shift in women's subjectivity that Hansteen observed in her lifetime.

In addition to reforms regarding women's legal majority, the reform that granted women the right to engage in commerce also warrants closer analysis. Let us now turn to the "Yrkesaktiv" word bag in order to see in what texts in the Digital Bookshelf enunciations regarding this reform can be traced. In *Betænkning og Udkast til en Lov om Handelen* [Consideration and Draft of a Law of Commerce] (1841), we find a justification for the proposed law granting unmarried women the right to engage in commerce. The passage holds that there are two principal reasons why this reform should be passed: it is in principle unjust that women do not have that right, and it is not in line with most European laws. Furthermore, not granting women this right would have to be justified by demonstrating that woman does not have the necessary capacity for exercising such a right. This is not true, the passage continues. It is not the case that unmarried women are necessarily less mature and less competent than widows (who already had this right). Moreover, experience has shown that woman's nature is even superior to man's in some aspects that are relevant for commerce, namely woman's tendency to anxiousness and the capacity to accept simple, modest living conditions, which makes it less likely that she will engage in exaggeratedly bold speculations, according to the passage.²⁶⁵

The idea of woman as economically cautious was perhaps reinforced by the fact that women seem to have been interested in gaining skills related to economic management with sparse resources, at least that is what the book *Huusholdningsførelse uden at stifte Gjæld* [Household Management

²⁶⁵ Betænkning og Udkast til en Lov om Handelen. 1841. Christiania: Johan Dahls Bogtrykkerie, p.17-18. (No name of authors appears in the book, only that it is written by the commission) https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2012070608271

Without Incurring Debt] indicates. This book was written by the English writer Eliza Francis Warren. Mrs. Warren, the name under which she mostly wrote, published several books on household management and needlework. She was also the editor of the *Ladies' Treasury* magazine. *Huusholdningsførelse uden at stifte Gjæld* is based on the original *How I Managed my House on £200 a Year* (1864). The translator is a woman, whose name is not mentioned. According to the translator, the book is adapted for Norwegian conditions. It is a book meant to advise housewives and in particular young wives.²⁶⁶ It shows that there were initiatives among women themselves to strengthen women's economic skills. The edition of the book in the Digital Bookshelf is the second one, which indicates that the work had a certain success. This book was captured with the word "Tjenestepige" (female servant) in the "Yrkesaktiv" word bag.

Several "Tjenestepige" words from the "Yrkesaktiv" word bag have captured religious books. The relevant passages in these texts, however, speak principally about female servants as Christian models.²⁶⁷ They do not speak about working conditions or principles regarding women's labor. The words in this word bag have mostly captured passages in secular literature and in many of the texts we already have seen extracts from in the previous sections of this chapter.

I have also created a word bag called "Kvindeforeninger" [Women's associations] and obtained concordances for these words. The purpose has been to identify ways of speaking about these associations in the period, and more specifically to investigate whether there can be connections to advocacy for women's legal rights. The "Kvindeforening" words have captured mostly religious texts. In the majority of texts, women's associations are only briefly mentioned. A book of the history of Norwegian missionary work, is an example. It states that a woman's association is a blessing and has provided money and gifts for Christmas celebrations.²⁶⁸ Anything more substantial than that regarding women's associations appears in only a few texts in my corpus. It thus does not seem like a subject that was of much interest in the period, based on my data. The work *Skatkiste*,

²⁶⁶ Warren, Eliza Francis. 1866. *Huusholdningsførelse uden at stifte Gjæld*. Skien: G.D Ulleberg. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2009101303029

²⁶⁷ See for instance Moe, Ole Pedersen and Salve Isaksen Steen. 1838. *Sex Bøger om den sande Christendom : handlende om sande Christnes salige Omvendelse, hjertelige Anger og Ruelse over Synden, sande Troe og hellige Levnet og Omgængelse*. Christiansand: Moe/Steen. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2016101129001
Rusmyer, Michael Chr. 1866. *Guds lette og naadefulde Veje, anviste i hans aabenbarede Ord*. Christiania: Malling. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2009092303064

²⁶⁸ Brun, J.M. 1879. *Den norske Sømandsmissions Historie : (Anhang: Sømandsmissionen i Danmark og Sverige)*. Kristiania: Steen. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2006112201041

indeholdende bibelske Betragtninger paa hver Dag i Aaret [Treasure Chest Comprising Biblical Considerations for Every Day of the Year] (1877)[1843], by the German pastor, writer, and philanthropist, Johannes Evangelista Gossner is, however, an exception.²⁶⁹ Gossner (1773-1858) founded schools and asylums, and engaged in missionary activity as well. The passage regarding women's associations speaks about a particular association involved in missionary work in the 1830s. The women members carried out benevolent work. They visited sick and neglected women, despite the local resistance they often faced. They were able to open a hospital, educate nurses, and start a Deaconess institution. Here we see a clear connection between Christian, devotional practice and women's professional activity. I have, however, not identified any religious works dating before the women's reforms of 1842 and 1845 that advocate for labor opportunities for women outside of the private home.

There is a discursive position in the period that connects woman's sensitive nature with competence in commercial activity, which is very different from arguing that woman's sensitive nature makes her easy to influence and lead astray. Although woman's nature in relation to commerce and legal reforms was not widely enunciated, it shows that political interests were involved in the discursive production of femininity in the period. The next chapter's analysis of what motivated the ways of speaking about woman and gender that this chapter has documented will shed light on such political interests.

²⁶⁹ Gossner, Johannes Evangelista. 1877. *Skatkiste, indeholdende bibelske Betragtninger paa hver Dag i Aaret : Ledsagede af opbyggelige Psalmer, til Fremme af Husandagt og Guds frygt*. Christiania: J.W. Cappelens Forlag. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2016031548121

Chapter 7: Final Analyses

Based on my analysis in the previous chapter, I will now conclude as to how *woman's place in society* is established and negotiated in the discourse identified, and how the digital methodology has performed in gathering material for the analysis in this work. This chapter will specify what is constant—so that it makes sense to speak about *one* discourse on woman and gender—as well as what is subject to negotiations and reorganizations. It will also discuss the texts in the sub-corpora in relation to the discourse identified in the captured material. I consider the material I have assembled to be an “archive” in the Foucauldian sense that it is an epistemological object. I have set out to use digital methodology to capture “the mass of said things” about woman and gender in the documents in the Digital Bookshelf in the period. The previous chapter has analyzed this archive as enunciations and identified the statements of which these enunciations are concrete realizations. An archive analysis studies the “operations that have given rise to the mass of said things,” which entails both the historic conditions that have motivated “the said things” and how the material for the analysis has been gathered. The last point entails the digital methodology and use of women writers’ works in this project. Furthermore, the archive analysis pays attention to the documents of “everyday life” and not only canonized texts from the historical period it covers. Devotional books and didactic works are examples of texts from “everyday life.” The previous chapter demonstrates that STM has performed well in capturing passages in texts of highly different genre and status during a historical period. This chapter will specify the historical conditions that have motivated all this “speaking about woman and gender” in religious texts, devotional literature, and other fields and genres. This part of the analysis also turns specifically to women writers by shedding light on what drives women to produce discourse on woman and gender.

Section 7.1 contends that the discursive establishment of *women's place in society* between 1830 and 1880 first of all takes place through negotiations of what virtues woman should cultivate, what education she needs, and what kind of freedom she should be granted. It takes place almost without arguing for gender difference. Instead, a basic conception of natural gender difference is a premise for the organization of a specific *woman's place*. The speaking about woman in the archive is dominated by religious texts. It takes place in many cases by addressing women in devotional books and religiously oriented didactic works and encourage them to cultivate certain virtues. Although piousness, chastity, and being a good mother and housewife are recurrently enunciated as feminine virtues, woman’s virtues are not entirely fixed in the period. It is a given though, that woman’s

nature is particularly sensitive and that she should cultivate certain virtues that suit this sensitive nature. Through these negotiations, *woman's place in society* is established as a function and calling. This function consists of improving morality, and it requires education and that woman has a certain freedom.

Section 7.2 analyzes the archive in the context of *population politics*. It specifies that numerous enunciations on woman are motivated by concerns for improving people's habitudes and influencing women's behavior through the administration of their desire.

Section 7.3 suggests that the captured material constitutes a *moral archive* that is a necessary Other to the formation of the political individual that historical research has established took place in the period.

Section 7.4 compares the captured enunciations analyzed in the previous chapter with the texts in the five sub-corpora. It concludes that the texts by the women writers are part of the same discourse but constitute radical negotiations regarding women's freedom. The three novels problematize woman's lack of freedom by depicting her interiority and vulnerability to suffering when subjected to man. They produce a female subjectivity that highlights how woman in practice is unfree when persuaded to cultivate feminine virtues such as self-denial. The newspaper articles negotiate the boundaries of women's *place* by arguing primarily that woman fulfills her function best if her scope is extended. At the same time, Bremer's text reinforces a conception of woman's maternal function as definitive for her being, whereas Hansteen's text demonstrates an emerging opportunity for questioning the very conception of natural femininity. As we saw in chapter four, Collett's *The District Governor's Daughters* has served as a touchstone for my analysis in the sense that the other four texts in my sub-corpora are selected primarily because of their relation to Collett and her novel. The most detailed analysis in this section is therefore of *The District Governor's Daughters*.

Section 7.5 concludes as to how the digital methodology has worked in order to gather material for the analysis. And finally section 7.6 concludes as to what the analysis has revealed regarding women writers' function in the discursive establishment of *women's place in society*.

7.1 Gender Discourse: Free, Enlightened, and God-fearing Women Persuaded to Act as Improvers of Morality

A basic condition for all the statements I have identified across this material is gender difference; man and woman are fundamentally different from one another, and have different purposes in life. I will present two passages that demonstrate this condition. A passage captured in Johan Nissen's *Conversations about the Biblical History* (1863) illustrates the self-evidence of gender difference:

Christ is a model for man as well as for woman; for he unites in his character the virtues of the noblest masculinity and the purest femininity. As a heroic man, he is powerful, without using any external force, and on the other hand, he is mild and gentle as the gentlest woman, he can and he will help, comfort, and show compassion.²⁷⁰

We see that the passage does not argue for the correctness of the gender difference it presents. Instead, the argument concerns Christ and relies on the self-evidence of gender difference; in Christ, both men and women can find a model for how they should act, as Christ is both heroic and strong, as well as helpful and compassionate. In a passage captured in the work *Menneskehed og Christendom i deres historiske Udvikling* [Humankind and Christianity in their Historical Development] (1872), we see perhaps an even stronger example of the self-evidence of gender difference: "History unfolds not only in time, but also in space, and is divided into the Occident and the Orient, where the first denotes the masculine, active principle, the latter the feminine, passive."²⁷¹ The passage highlights how fundamental the idea of this difference between the feminine and the masculine is, as it functions such that the reader can easily grasp differences between entire ways of life in different regions of the world.

As described in the first chapter, I have sought to identify the discursive establishment of *woman's place in society*, understood as a moral trope. The discursive statement that woman should be persuaded to cultivate and act in accordance with feminine virtues shows that it is a matter of both acting in specific ways, and of being herself convinced that this is how she wants to act. It is a given

²⁷⁰ Nissen, Johan, 1863, *J. Nissens Samtaler over Den bibelske Historie*

"Christus er et Monster for Manden saavel som for Kvinden ; thi han forener i sin Charakteer den Edleste Mandigheds og den reneste Kvindeligheds Dyder . Han er som heltemodig Mand kraftig uden at bruge uogeu udvortes Magt , og paa den anden Side er han mild og blid som den blideste Kvinde , hvor han kan og stal hjelpe , troste og vise Medfolelse" (Topic: woman's suicide, from *Indiana*).

²⁷¹ Scharling, C. Henrik, 1872, *Menneskehed og Christendom i deres historiske Udvikling*

"Historien udfolder sig ikke blot i Tiden , men ogsaa i Rummet , og deler sig i Occidenten og Orienten , hvoraf den ffrste betegner det mandlige active Princip , den stdste det qvindelige passive" (Topic: influence on woman, from *Amtmandens Døttre*).

that woman has to have awareness of her specific function and that this awareness must be shaped and strengthened due to the complexity of her submitted tasks. Devotional books and didactic works enlighten her on how she, for example, raises her children so that they will become god-fearing and moral citizens, on the importance of keeping the house tidy and her husband from immoral activities, being a good wife, and a model of virtue for her community. Didactic works and educational literature discuss what kind of education woman needs for fulfilling her calling. The importance and complexity of the function woman is supposed to fill demands public debate and analyses in order to determine how she can be best prepared for her calling. These discussions also negotiate what precisely her calling is. Woman's *place* is thus organized and negotiated through such discussions as a function that requires certain qualifications. Due to her sensitive nature, and related predisposition for piousness, in combination with the cultivation of specific virtues, she is an "improver of morality."

The German literary scholar and media philosopher Friedrich Kittler elaborates on didactic literature for women and the function of the maternal in what he labels the *Aufschreibesysteme* (translated as "discourse network") of the nineteenth century in his work *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900* from 1985.²⁷² Kittler identifies the Mother as the source of discursive production in Romanticism or in Romantic discourse. The opening lines in the chapter "The Mother's Mouth," where Kittler develops this "maternal" strand in particular, are the following: "Nature, in the discourse network of the 1800s, is the Woman. Her function consists in getting people—that is, men—to speak" (1985, 25). Kittler's statement about the Mother as the source of discursive production is based on his observation that the "acquisition of language [becomes] the mother's prerogative" (1985, 31). The mother becomes the primary instructor, which is an invention of 1800, Kittler claims (1985, 26). Starting in this period, a new type of book appears, he observes, namely the didactic book that deals with mothers as responsible primarily for children's physical and mental education, but also for their literacy (1985, 27-28). In Kittler's analysis of the Mother as source of discursive production, he identifies that although women get men to speak and write, women themselves are silent. In the many enunciations in religious and didactic works, we have seen that silent conduct figures as a feminine virtue. Kittler shows that the entire set of initiatives to influence woman to become a competent mother—especially her function of making men discourse producers—causes her to exclude herself as discourse producer (we will revisit Kittler's analysis in light of

²⁷² All references to Kittler's work are from the English translation by Michael Metteer, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*. 1990. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

women writers).

Women, through their “mandate to represent the Mother,” are not in a position to be existentially free, according to Kittler (1985, 67). His point is that, in contrast to man, woman is completely confined to her social identity as the Mother. We have seen that Wollstonecraft observed in the eighteenth century that woman had to take on an “artificial character,” and thus endure an existential lack of freedom. Kittler also sees this predicament as imposed on women. Or as David E. Wellbery puts it in his foreword to the English translation of Kittler’s work: “One could speak here of a mono-sexualization of gender: the one Woman—the Mother—is essentially a narcissistic prop for male identity formation” (1985, XXXII). Women have no other function in the discourse network that Kittler analyzes than to represent the Mother, who makes speaking and writing possible for men, but not for herself. “Women as a plurality were excluded from the discourse network of 1800” (1985, 62), says Kittler, and “[t]here came to be more and more mothers who were more and more motherly” (1985, 55-56). As we shall see, texts in the subcorpora—*The District Governor’s Daughters* in particular—demonstrate conditions for woman’s freedom that are similar to Kittler’s point.

The clearest manifestations of tensions in the discursive practices that define *woman’s place* relate to woman’s freedom and to what virtues she should cultivate. In many cases, woman’s subordination in marriage is emphasized as a virtue, while also arguing that woman has and should have freedom. Even the most restrictive texts on women’s freedom are part of a discursive practice that is susceptible to negotiating woman’s right to freedom, as long as one argues that it strengthens her in her gender-specific function of promoting morality in society. The importance and complexity of the function woman is supposed to serve requires expertise and volition from woman. These requirements also opens the way for questioning whether woman’s function actually is compatible with freedom, as well as for woman herself to speak about and negotiate her function.

Although the examined passages primarily enunciate woman’s *place* in the home—serving the function of housewife and mother—the boundaries of her *place* are not restricted to the home. We have seen enunciations that encourage woman to fill the function of improving morality and religiousness in society, for instance, by making virtuous, god-fearing servants out of poor, neglected girls, aiding fallen women, teaching young children, etc. The function she is supposed to fill surpasses in importance the physical place she occupies. It is clear in the material that the

importance that woman has as an “improver of morality” establishes her *place* as not strictly limited to the private home. Bremer’s text “Til Sverriges Qvinder” is an example of an early text in the period that negotiates the boundaries of woman’s place by arguing that woman’s specific inclination for promoting the good reaches its potential when it can work both in the public and private sphere.

7.2 Historic Conditions Inherent to the Archive

We have seen that there are few results from the 1830s and 40s, and that woman gradually becomes a more frequent subject in the documents that constitute the archive. One of the reasons for that is likely to be that gender discourse first emerges in this period.²⁷³ We saw in chapter one that the concept of the “archive” sheds light on both how we gather the material for analysis and how the archeological method analyzes it. When Foucault says that he envisions the archive from the “perspective of the operations which give rise to it” (1994 [1969]), we must understand by it these two ways of proceeding. Regarding the second point—how the archeological method analyzes the archive—we saw that we can understand it as the historic conditions that make it possible to say certain things, but not others (Eliassen 2016, 76). Foucault specifies it the following way: “how is it that at a given time we can say this and that that never has been said? It is [...] the analysis of the historical conditions that account for what we say or what we reject, or what we transform in the mass of things said.”²⁷⁴

This section addresses the question of what has made this “mass of said things” about woman and gender possible. It analyzes the “rules” that have enabled the statements identified in the previous chapter “both to survive and undergo regular modification” (Foucault 1972, 130). This approach does not mean that we should look for something exterior to the archive. The archival analysis does not include historical conditions outside of it. The statements identified in the previous chapter have been identified *qua* discursive statements by virtue of the archive of which they are part. For instance, the statement woman has a sensitive nature, has been identified as a discursive statement by pinpointing the other statements with which it occurs, for example the statement regarding woman as an exemplary Christian. Furthermore, the statement that woman has a sensitive nature

²⁷³ These circumstances constitute one reason for why I speak about the *emergence of gender discourse*—and not a shift in gender discourse or a new gender discourse. See chapter one (1.2 and 1.3)

²⁷⁴ “comment se fait-il qu’à une époque donnée on puisse dire ceci et que jamais cela n’ait été dit ? C’est [...] l’analyse des conditions historiques qui rendent compte de ce qu’on dit ou de ce qu’on rejette, ou de ce qu’on transforme dans la masse des choses dites” (Foucault 1994 [1969], 786).

will function differently if it occurs in a religious book by a priest or in an educational document by a headmaster from the elite official class. In the first case it might function to establish piousness as a feminine virtue, working in relation to the statement of woman as an exemplary Christian. In the second case it might function as an establishment of an aesthetic education as a feminine education, thus suitable for women. Finally, the statements have a material status in the sense that they are not interpretations of the “speaking about woman and gender” in the archive. They are identified in religious texts, educational literature, etc., not as something prior to the concrete enunciations in these texts, but as the regularity across these enunciations.

Through the study of concrete enunciations—which the previous chapter displays in great quantity—we have seen who speaks, what it is possible to say, in which contexts, and how their concrete situatedness makes it possible to see what motivated them. This last point does not concern an individual speaker’s intentionality. In my archive an example of what motivates enunciations is an articulated problem that women are incompetent for their function in society. The analytical task in this section is to specify the historical conditions that made the statements possible. Or, in other words, what mobilizes, compels, or motivates all this “speaking about woman and gender” in the period 1830 to 1880? And why is there so much of it in religious texts, which so far have not been taken into account very much in the research, but that the Digital Bookshelf now has made available?

We have seen that numerous passages speak about woman’s unique potential for enhancing the quality of marriage, being an exemplary Christian, and more generally improving the status of morality in her community. These ways of speaking suggest that the quality of institutions such as marriage, the family, and the church was unsatisfactory or changing in undesirable ways, since speaking of improving something generally suggests that it is not in a satisfactory state. We have also seen concrete enunciations of religious decline and woman’s moral function. In order to address the question of what compels people in the period to speak about woman and gender, we need to consider Foucault’s analysis of population politics.

7.2.1 Population Politics and Enunciations on Woman

Through a study of how the phenomenon of food shortage was dealt with in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Foucault identifies the population as the level for economic and political action; the population becomes the new political subject (2004, 32-50). By this he does not mean

that concerns related to the population had never been evoked earlier, but that the term “population” gains a new meaning starting in the eighteenth century (2004, 69-72).

[T]he population will not appear anymore as a collection of subjects of rights, as repressed wills who must obey the sovereign’s will through the intermediary of regulations, laws, edicts, etc. It will be considered as an ensemble of processes that has to be administered at the level and on the basis of what is natural in these processes. (2004, 72)²⁷⁵

By “natural” in this context, Foucault has in mind three main aspects that are all relevant for my analysis: (I) the population as something that depends on a series of variables, such as laws and people’s habitudes, (II) desire as an invariant of the population, and (III) phenomena that are accidental on an individual level but rather stable on a population level, such as cause of death.

(I) Variables that Influence the State of the Population and Enunciations on Woman

Firstly, the population is not something given; it is not only the sum of inhabitants in a territory, but something that depends on a series of variables as well. Examples of such variables are marital laws, peoples’ habitudes, for instance the raising of children, dowries, rights of primogeniture, moral and religious values, livelihood, and commerce (Foucault 2004, 72-73). The state of the population depends on such variables. In this sense the population is a phenomenon of nature that a sovereign cannot change entirely by decrees. This does not, however, mean that the population cannot be the object to what Foucault calls transformation techniques. Transformation techniques can be legal changes, initiatives that influence fertility and regulate reproduction, but also measures that affect the economy, increase production, facilitate the export of goods, and create opportunities for employment. It thus has to do with a whole set of techniques that influence in positive ways the series of variables on which the population depends (Foucault 2004, 73-74).

People’s habitudes and moral and religious values are all variables that are enunciated in the archive. Speaking about mothers’ child-rearing, of woman as an exemplary Christian, and a morally wise being that fosters chastity and sobriety, are evident examples. We have seen passages explicitly addressing religious decline and woman’s function in this context, as well as her responsibility for the quality of marriage. Enunciations on women have connected woman’s virtuousness, her level of competence in her domain, and the functioning of marriage to the state of society and the governing

²⁷⁵ My translation of: “la population va cesser d’apparaître comme une collection de sujets de droit, comme une collection de volontés soumises qui doivent obéir à la volonté du souverain par l’intermédiaire des règlements, lois, édits, etc. On va la considérer comme un ensemble de processus qu’il faut gérer dans ce qu’ils ont de naturel et à partir de ce qu’ils ont de nature” (2004 [25 January 1978], 72).

of a people. Initiatives for turning poor and neglected girls into competent women who can be useful in society illustrate that woman is needed for the progress of society. She is needed for the “precious task” of “making human beings out of agglomerates,” as Kittler puts it (1985, 56-57). Ideally a woman with the right upbringing and education will gain habitudes and religious and moral values that she will spread to the benefit of the population. We see that several of the variables Foucault mentions touch upon changes that concern women’s conditions in the nineteenth century in Norway. An example is the reform that gave women the right to engage in commerce. We have also seen that there were other legal changes, as well as initiatives, such as inspecting people’s living conditions, which Eilert Sundt has documented.

(II) Women’s Access to Discourse and Discourse Addressing Women Directly in Light of the Management of Desire within Population Politics

A second aspect of the “naturalness” of the population relates to desire (Foucault 2004, 74). Although the behavior of individuals cannot be completely predicted, there is one invariant, Foucault reminds us, namely desire. An important difference between population politics and the ancient system of governance, is that where the latter was exercised through the sovereign’s capacity to deny people’s desire, the governance of the populations is based at its core on their desire, through techniques that manage the desire of individuals in the interests of the population. As Foucault describes it, “Production of the collective interest through the play of desire is what distinguishes both the naturalness of the population and the artificiality of the means one adopts to administer it” (Foucault 2004, 75).²⁷⁶ He illustrates this point by evoking how people tend to seek to live in places where it is most profitable for them. The point is that mechanisms and initiatives for supposedly improving or maintaining the quality of the population are efficaciously implemented if they are accompanied with forceful arguments that they are in the interest of the people as well.

Management of desire as techniques that serve the interest of the population motivate enunciations of the statement that woman must be persuaded to cultivate and live in accordance with feminine virtues, that she must be granted freedom, and that she can improve the condition of morality in her community. We have seen this in the ways religious and didactic texts encourage women to cultivate feminine virtues and embrace gender specific conduct. She is supposed to motivate herself to put effort into raising her children, her conduct towards her husband, her religious practice, etc. A

²⁷⁶My translation of: “Production de l’intérêt collectif par le jeu du désir : c’est là ce qui marque à la fois la naturalité de la population et l’artificialité des moyens que l’on se donne pour la gérer (Foucault 2004 [25 January 1978], 75).

striking example of the management of desire is the enunciations that encourage woman to put effort into the atmosphere in her home, so that man will want to spend his time there, and not to seek satisfaction through, for instance alcohol or prostitutes. Some of the enunciations I have captured are also directly addressed to men, encouraging them to treat their wives well. A man should treat his wife well because it will make it so much easier for her to follow her duty to obey. She will be more reliable in her obedience if she is compensated for it with his affection, so to speak. We have also seen an example of women's duties being "branded" as *brave*, which can make fulfilling them more desirable. Women who embrace practices in accordance with feminine virtues will be happier, more reliable, and dedicated in following their calling. Women who are forced into a certain conduct, or who behave only out of custom and propriety—which Mrs. Ramm in *The District Governor's Daughters* represents—are not that reliable when it comes to their mission of forming citizens who in turn will become well-adapted for their tasks in society.

(III) Enunciations on Women in Light of Regular Phenomena on a Population Level

The third and last point Foucault develops regarding the naturalness of the population has to do with phenomena that are rather accidental on an individual level, such as cause of death, but regular on a population level. Natality, cause of mortality, age of mortality, infant mortality, and sex and city/countryside differences in terms of natality and mortality rates are rather constant from one year to another.

The numerous examples we have seen of enunciations that discuss woman's education show that woman plays a role in relation to lower infant mortality, improve hygiene and nutrition, and influencing people's morality, which can improve population rates over time. Enunciations on women's access to work in the public sphere are also motivated by population politics: midwives, nurses, social workers in institutions for poor and neglected children are all examples of how women's work can contribute positively to improving population rates. We have also seen that a growing professionalism related to the care of children takes place, which also testifies to knowledge about the state of different groups of the population and concern that the quality of the population improves. Woman's function thus becomes professionalized, or at least more complex.

The population comes to mean two things, according to Foucault; it is an ensemble of elements that are interconnected with other living beings and an ensemble of elements that has a surface that is transformable by governmental procedures (Foucault 2004, 77). The first of these dimensions is the

human species. When humankind appears as a species, the biological aspect of the human being becomes an object for power techniques, according to Foucault. In addition to “the human species,” the population is also “the public” from the eighteenth century (Foucault 2004, 77). The use of the word “public” becomes “the population [...] taken in terms of its opinions, ways of doing things, its behavior, its habits, its fears, its prejudices, its demands, it is what one gets hold of through education, campaigns, and convictions” (Foucault 2004, 77).²⁷⁷ The caretaking of the population includes private as well as public initiatives such as campaigns for public health, social housing, poverty subsidies/initiatives, and philanthropic, civil and ideal organizations (Eliassen 2016, 146-147). An important change that contributes to the development of the art of government is, according to Foucault, how the family becomes a specific instrument related to the population in the eighteenth century. Campaigns related to mortality, vaccinations, marital concerns, and chastity are directed towards the families in many cases, where the overall objective is to improve the population. In the material captured from the years 1830 to 1880, we have not seen many examples of formal political campaigns, and no enunciations related to mortality and vaccinations, but numerous enunciations related to marital concerns and chastity.

Governing the population, however, is different from reigning over a nation of subjects. The population itself is the objective of these techniques, not a means to something else.²⁷⁸ Techniques of government must thus not be conceived of as if they were in a transcendental relation to the population. They are immanent to the population and can operate on a broad level, not least through discourse by influencing people’s *habitudes* and producing subjectivity.

The discursive establishment of *woman’s place in society* involves different factors, from those that are natural—or presented in discourse as natural and unchangeable—to socially and alterable determined factors. Different experts, formal and informal authorities, and writers of fiction mobilize to specify woman’s purpose and to guide her conduct. Woman’s literacy and reading habits increase in the period. Woman’s increased literacy is likely to be one of the factors that mobilize these enunciations, since they address women directly. Woman enters public discourse this way, in

²⁷⁷ My translation of “c’est la population prise du côté de ses opinions, de ses manières de faire, de ses comportements, de ses habitudes, de ses craintes, de ses préjugés, de ses exigences, c’est ce sur quoi on a prise par l’éducation, par les campagnes, par les convictions” (Foucault 2004 [25 January 1978], 75).

²⁷⁸ Foucault does not mean that this transition implies that sovereignty and the problem of legitimizing the state cease to exist, but that the emergence of the art of government with which the population as species and art appears, operate on a much broader level than the state and sovereignty (Foucault 2004, 109-113).

the sense that she is a recipient of many of these enunciations that seek to persuade her to act in moral, feminine ways. We can perhaps say that these strategies for persuading woman to embrace specific conduct and values are inextricably associated with changes in women's subjectivity, including the creation of the chaste, god-fearing, and educated woman, the warm, freely submissive wife of powerful influence, or the wise, cultivated, and tender mother.

These ways of speaking about woman emerge with growing knowledge about the state of the population brought about by new technologies and new disciplines, such as sociology and demography, for instance, as well as with improvement of education, advocacy for rights, new means to reach more people with information, and with concerns regarding the stability of institutions. Woman has a function here in a paradoxical landscape where freedom has to be reconciled with specific virtues, including submission in parts of this discourse.

7.2.2 *Religious Texts, Natural Gender Difference, and Woman's Influence*

Since my archive is dense with passages from religious texts, the question also arises as to what particularly impels so many religiously oriented enunciations about women. A significant number of them enunciate woman in relation to religious concerns only; without articulating concerns for worldly matters, they specify that woman's purpose is to submit to her husband because it is God's will. They also state that her chastity redeems the sinful nature of humanity resulting from the fall. Some texts are entirely theological and free from references to worldly matters. Nevertheless, we have also seen many examples of speaking about the importance of woman's chastity and her potential for being an exemplary Christian associated with concerns regarding the position of religion and morality in the period. These texts establish a *woman's place in society* where she by virtue of her gender improves people's habitudes through her specific influence. They contribute to this discursive establishment by producing a femininity defined by a specific capacity for religious and moral influence.

Considering the archive in light of population politics enables us to see two frictions that run across the discursive establishment and negotiations of *women's place in society*, namely one related to the fundamental conception of natural gender difference and the other to woman's influence on the people around her. As population politics is about administering the population's quality through what is natural in its processes, we can infer that what is natural in sex/gender differences also becomes important to determine. Population politics as the historic conditions that "account for

what we say or what we reject, or what we transform in the mass of things said,” as Foucault puts it (1969), explains the prevalence both of enunciations that specify natural gender difference and that advocate for an increase of woman’s freedom and influence. Both of these frictions are clearly illustrated in “Til Sverriges Qvinder,” as we shall see.

Firstly, the fundamental conception of natural gender difference becomes strengthened: we have seen that the emergence of *women’s place in society* as a promoter of morality takes place continuously through ways of speaking that build on the self-evidence of a natural femininity. If it becomes vital to enhance the quality of the population and this comes about through administering what is natural in, among other things, sex/gender difference, the conception of a natural femininity is also increasingly cemented. It becomes cemented by all the speaking that takes for granted the notion that a natural gender difference exists and at the same time negotiates of what natural femininity consists. We have seen numerous practices of defining natural femininity in the enunciations presented in the previous chapter. Regarding these practices of defining what is natural in gender difference, feminist thinkers have shown, to say it with Toril Moi, that these defining practices consisted in imposing “certain social standards of femininity” on “all biological women” (Moi 1989, 122-123). Radical problematization of natural gender difference, on the other hand, are likely to be rejected. We saw that in relation to Mill’s claim that women perhaps do not necessarily even want to become mothers or to marry, as well as in the skepticism towards women’s emancipation ideas. The discursive position in religious texts that produces a specific femininity seems to coincide with a political concern for specifying gender difference. This premise also determines what knowledge disciplines such as medicine and pedagogy produce. Religious literature, educational texts, sociological works, advancements in medicine, etc., thus reciprocally reinforce one another in establishing a *woman’s place in society* where she by virtue of her *natural femininity* and cultivation of *feminine virtues* enhances the quality of the population.

Opportunities for negotiations emerge related to what parts of femininity that is socially constructed. Without generalizing—there are examples of exceptions—the tendency in the captured enunciations on woman’s nature, and on the feminine virtues based on this nature, establish a narrow conception of woman’s being. The discursive position regarding woman’s being that many of these passages enunciate conveys the following conception of woman: she needs protection from public, worldly, and cognitively demanding activities, she should be pious and chaste, and she needs to submit to her husband and hold herself back. All these notions are more or less enunciated in

relation to a fundamental conception of woman's sensitive nature. *The District Governor's Daughters* challenges this discursive position. It does not challenge the conception of *woman's sensitive nature* per se, but that her sensitive nature entails these other standards follow from it. As we shall see, the novel challenges this discursive position notably through the descriptions of Sofie's longing for a more *truthful femininity*.

Secondly, population politics sheds light on the increase of women's influence and freedom to which we have seen that discourse is open. Concerns with improving the quality of the population seem to motivate enunciations of the statements that woman needs education to fulfill her calling and that she can improve the morality in her community. We have seen that many of these enunciations demonstrate clearly that woman's function is an advanced task of influencing people's habitudes. We remember the specification of the formula *women's place in society* as a moral trope. As elaborated on previously, *moral/morality* in this context includes its etymological sense as mores or customs, ways of living (as in the French *mœurs*). When we consider population politics as the historic conditions that make these enunciations possible, we also see why it becomes possible to advocate for an increase in woman's influence and freedom: the greater her influence in these areas, the better for the quality of the population. And, as already noted, the ways she is supposed to carry out influence are too advanced to be transmitted to her through force or traditions alone; she needs freedom and education. Discourse on woman is open for negotiations of woman's freedom and influence in her community as long as it contributes to improving the quality of the population, but not for granting her freedom that threatens her function as an improver of morality.

7.3 The Moral Archive

The majority of the captured enunciations articulate a moral function for woman. We must understand this moral function in the wide sense of this term that the last section established. Whether it is in religious and didactic works that discuss what virtues women should cultivate, educational literature that elaborates on what education she needs, fiction that problematizes woman's lack of true freedom, the majority of the passages enunciate woman related to a moral function that she has by virtue of her sensitive nature. I have therefore labeled the material I have gathered the moral archive. While the previous section has analyzed the historical conditions that motivated and made possible the concrete enunciations on woman, this section addresses some

“absences” in the archive: there are notably very few enunciations on political rights in the passages, although historical research has established that the question of the political rights of citizens dominates the history of the nineteenth century. This section suggests that the moral archive might be a necessary Other to the political individual and the state.

7.3.1 *The Political Individual and Natural Gender Difference*

Although we have seen that discourse is open to increasing woman’s freedom and influence, there are very few enunciations on political rights for women, while there are many enunciations throughout the period that establish her place in the background of man. We will now turn to a closer analysis of woman’s *place* enunciated this way. 15 years after the publication of *The District Governors’s Daughters*, Hansteen still argued against the notion that a woman’s place is in the background of man, and against the anonymous woman who defended this norm as a feminine virtue. The historian Joan W. Scott offers a possible explanation of the persistence of woman’s position in the background. She has analyzed how woman, dating back to the Enlightenment, was excluded from the concept of the political individual (1996, 1-18). Scott’s analysis is based on observations of the feminist cause in France and I apply it to a Norwegian context where the women’s movement was not yet formally established. Her analysis is relevant for understanding the persistence in the period of a conception of femininity where woman is confined to the background.

Scott argues that one of the defining features of the feminist movement, perhaps its main challenge but also its main force and modus operandi, was the paradoxes emerging from the concept of individuality (1993/1996). The title of her work, *Only Paradoxes to Offer* (1996), is borrowed from the early French feminist, Olympe de Gouges, who made her place in feminist history with the work *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* [Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Citizen] (1791). In 1788, de Gouges wrote a political treatise that she ends by stating that her ideas are unlikely to be taken seriously as she will be condemned as a “woman who only has paradoxes to offer and not problems easy to resolve” (de Gouges 1788, cited in Scott 1996, 4). Scott builds on de Gouges’ ideas. Her main argument is that the abstract individualism that lies at the heart of Enlightenment thought accentuates paradoxes when it comes to whether—and how—men and women are equal to or different from each other (Scott 1993, 13/ 1996, 11).

Regarding the notion of abstract individualism, Scott refers, on one level, to the idea that all human beings as individuals share *universal* psychological traits such as self-determinacy and rationality. She also stresses the notion of *uniqueness* in abstract individualism; every individual is conceived of as distinct from the rest of humanity. In other words, abstract individualism implies that all humans are equal in that everyone is different from one another. Scott identifies a criticism of modern political thinking in the history of feminist thought. Feminist theory unveils paradoxes because the set of ideas that feminism issues from—the concept of the individual reflected in Enlightenment philosophy—is itself contradictory, being at the same time *unique* and *universal* (1996, 1-18). Scott has observed that woman was excluded from political life in order to fill a function that permits man to become an individual. In order to confirm the identity of the political individual, as a recognizable and definable individual, an Other is needed, which is why the modern political individual became the male standard and woman its Other, according to Scott.

We remember Sandvik's outline (cited in chapter three) of the history of nineteenth-century Europe; the large democratic development of the political system that takes place “implied the construction of new spheres in society where women were completely shut out. To have or not to have political rights as citizens becomes one of the most important subjects in modern history” (Sandvik 2005, 155). Enunciations on political rights are very few in text passages on woman and gender in the period 1830 to 1880. This absence does not, however, mean that the democratic development of the political system is necessarily non-existent in relation to the moral archive. Instead this absence might be due to a lack of “woman related” topics in texts passages in the Digital Bookshelf that discuss political rights in the period. An identity of the political individual as *male*, if we follow Scott, might have been cemented if there was an extensive discursive production related to the question of political rights—completely separated from the extensive discursive production related to woman. Demarcating the political individual might have impelled enunciations on women in contexts separated from the field concerning political rights.

In Kittler's analysis of the Mother as source for discursive production he argues that this maternal function cements associations between on the one hand, man, state, and civil servants, and on the other, woman, the Mother, and family. The state, public service etc. becomes a domain for men only. The function of Motherhood was placed above all other considerations, Kittler notes (1985, 58), but it was believed to be determined by nature and for that reason women should not engage in service to the state as it could come into conflict with their natural function. In the Motherly the

state found its Other (1985, 58). This Other was conceived of as the Truth because the function of mothers, as responsible for the children's early education, was a task so precious that it had to be protected from any potential corruption through direct service to the state (1985, 56-57). I do not consider Kittler's statement regarding the Mother as Truth as incompatible with what Wollstonecraft states regarding truth as hidden for women; woman as excluded from discourse is not in a position to seek the truth. Instead, I understand the fact that Kittler identifies the Mother as Truth, in the perception of man, as an observation of how a perception of woman in the nineteenth century is naturalized (explained as woman's nature) and sacralized (worshiped and carefully preserved). We have seen in relation to captured passages in religious texts that woman is enunciated as particularly receptive for an emotional and spiritual non-verbalized truth. She is, however, neither predisposed for rationality- oriented truth-seeking, nor should she be distracted from her submitted tasks by such efforts. The archive constitutes perhaps a necessary Other to the dominating history of the nineteenth century, namely the democratic development of the political system and the question of citizens' political rights. It is not an Other in the sense that it comprises non-canonized texts, as opposed to canonized texts narrating the dominating history. We have seen that the moral archive comprises both. Instead it is perhaps the necessary Other to the constitution of the political individual.

The previous section has shown that interest in improving the population motivates numerous discursive negotiations of the components of natural femininity. Population politics does not, however, rule out the notion that the formation of the political individual might be related to an urge to specify natural femininity. The organization of femininity as a sensitive nature is compatible with woman having a significant informal influence on her community. Still, it entails that woman needs man for her protection against external dangers, as well as against her own ostensibly easily influenceable nature. As we have seen, many of the passages in religious and didactic literature argue that women can improve society with their qualities. Among these qualities, however, are modesty, submission, and silent conduct. In discourse, women are thus also in a certain sense encouraged to refrain from contributing to discourse as a public activity, although some women are part of it. The anonymous woman against whom Hansteen argues seems to feel compelled to access public discourse in order to argue that woman's place is not in the "foreground." Her position perhaps illustrates Scott's point regarding the paradox within the modern political individual and its implications for women's emancipation, as well as woman's increased influence from the perspective of population politics. Both men and women are involved in the establishment of

woman's *place in society* that specifies her function as a promoter of morality. This *place* demands a kind of personal development that a withdrawn, quiet attitude can best foster. Furthermore, the institutions that structure the influence she can and should have are formally represented by man in most cases, be it the family, church, or public welfare, as we have seen in *The District Governor's Daughters* in Sofie's case at the vicarage. In the archive the enunciations are after all mostly produced by men; these enunciations discursively establish *society* with its *order*, and its divisions into different spheres, which in turn delimits the negotiations of women's influence and function.

7.4 Relations Between Captured Passages and the Texts by Women Writers

This section sheds light on the relations between the texts in my sub-corpora by Bremer, Collett, Sand, and Hansteen, and the passages these texts have captured in the Digital Bookshelf. As *The District Governor's Daughters* has functioned as a kind of epicenter for the material in this project, my starting point and the most extensive part in this section is therefore an analysis of how *The District Governor's Daughters* relates to the discourse identified.

7.4.1 Woman's Freedom

There are negotiations throughout the novel of what woman's virtues are and what sort of freedom woman should be granted. *The District Governor's Daughters* shows how conflicting ideals for the female gender both impede real freedom for woman and hinder her in fulfilling her function as a promoter of morality. The statement that woman must be granted freedom functions differently in a modern novel like *The District Governor's Daughters* than in the religious and didactic literature presented in the previous chapter. A quest for freedom as an existential condition emerges through the focus on Sofie's inner world. The novel functions as a criticism of the persuasion to which young women are subjected: persuading women to act in this or that way does not entail that they themselves become convinced and act in accordance with norms for their gender out of their own volition. Through the portrayal of several female characters, the novel argues instead that women are subjected to endless persuasion that annihilates freedom. The two statements that woman must be persuaded to cultivate and act in accordance with feminine virtues and that she must be granted freedom thus function differently in this novel than in many of the passages captured in religious texts.

Through dialogue and the insertion of letters and diary excerpts *The District Governor's Daughters* criticizes talk about woman's freedom for lacking sincerity. As we have seen in chapter five, the novel insists on the persistent "droplet of persuasion" being so massive that there is no space for authentic freedom for a woman. The "public version" of the fate of Sofie's sister, Louise, for instance, is that she married her husband of her own free choice. Nevertheless, through the access to Sofie's inner world and to her conversations with her sister, the reader learns that the marriage was a result of endless persuasion that Louise was not able to resist. Speaking about it as a result of Louise's free will produces only an appearance of freedom. It is a way of—wrongly—holding Louise responsible for the predicament in her marriage. The novel thus problematizes where the distinction between persuasion and volition lies.

In the discourse the previous chapter has identified, the statement that woman should be granted freedom has the function it has by virtue of being adjacent to other statements. Granting woman freedom functions in many of the religious and didactic works as a motivation factor so that she will take on required tasks and work hard to acquire the necessary virtues and skills. *The District Governor's Daughters*, on the other hand, criticizes ways of speaking about woman's freedom because they only serve to conceal that she in practice has no other options than obeying the will of other people. Her so-called freedom is only a kind of resigned consent in the face of unrelenting strategies of persuasion.

7.4.2 Enunciations on Woman's Freedom and Feminine Virtues through Sofie's Relationships to Kold and Rein

The District Governor's Daughters problematizes the relation between woman's freedom and norms for women's conduct through Sofie's relationships with Kold and Rein respectively. Pursuing her relationship with Kold would have been an act of her own volition, without any direct influence from the outside. Sofie does not seem to consider their relationship in light of a future marriage where she first and foremost is supposed to fill a function by virtue of her gender. The two lovers are primarily concerned with the bond they feel between their souls. With Rein, however, following gender norms and filling a specific gender function are decisive elements in the process that he expects will lead to her marrying him. The part played by her own will is, however, more ambiguous. It seems like Sofie would have failed to fill her gender-specific function if the relationship to Kold had not ended. It would effectively have been an act of freedom. Yet Sofie

would have failed to occupy *woman's place* since woman's freedom in the discourse is related to the requirement that she is persuaded to fill a specific function in marriage.

Through the detailed description of what leads Sofie to marry Rein, we see that there is a function for her to fill at the vicarage where she can enhance morality in her community. Marrying Rein means that Sofie can engage in benevolent work. At the vicarage she can take care of disadvantaged people. The novel also articulates a place of motherly care that it is a good that Sofie fills. We have seen that Rein's daughter, Ada, constitutes an important factor when it comes to Sofie's decision to marry Rein. Furthermore, Ada gets the guidance she needs in order to leave behind her rebellious inclinations and cultivate feminine virtues. Sofie was rebellious and "wild," as her father put it, as a child as well. Because of the strong bond between Sofie and Ada, the text also insinuates that Ada's path towards becoming a virtuous woman will be significantly less painful than Sofie's, who did not have constructive support in her mother. If we take an external perspective on Sofie's marriage with Rein, she becomes able to enhance morality in the most exquisite way of all the women in the novel. She is in a position at the vicarage to reach out to numerous disadvantaged for whom she can care. Furthermore, she will be a wise and loving mother for Ada and a wife who will make her husband happy. Finally, she is loved and respected by Rein, whose happiness and motivation to continue his benevolent work probably also will be enhanced through Sofie's presence.

The District Governor's Daughters provides insight into woman's experience of freedom, or lack of freedom, through the description of what leads Sofie to marry Rein and move to the vicarage. To be the wise and loving mother and wife, as well as the engaged promoter of the good in her community through her charity activities, she has to embrace her function and be herself authentically convinced about the righteousness of what she is doing; she cannot merely consent in appearance as Louise did. Sofie's marriage to Rein represents an ideal fulfillment of woman's function of improving morality. The novel demonstrates that in practice strategies of persuasion to which women are subjected are often incompatible with true freedom, whereas—through Sofie and Rein—it suggests a compatibility of the two. As we have seen, Sofie wholeheartedly esteems Rein, she longs to take care of Ada, and through her own initiative she can engage in benevolent work. We have, however, seen that there is a "daily droplet of persuasion" that pushes Sofie towards her decision. Furthermore, as the narrator reflects towards the end of the narrative, "a happy bride is a thought and vision we shall leave to some future enlightenment to produce" (1991, 309); Sofie's

decision to marry Rein thus seems to imply that she ultimately has given in to pressure in the form of persuasion, and not in reality acted in accordance with her own true will. These descriptions in the novel function as a radical negotiation of woman's freedom; the emerging function woman is supposed to fill—represented by Sofie moving to the vicarage as Rein's wife—promises freedom for woman within her *place*. Freedom to form her own life, however, is not compatible with this function.

Through Sofie's development in the narrative, the novel problematizes to what extent truthfulness as a feminine virtue is compatible with a woman's upbringing and the norms according to which she is expected to live. The reader learns that Sofie, in her mourning over the end of her relationship to Kold, has given up on every aspiration toward a more natural, truthful femininity. Because Sofie has “one of those female fakir natures that had to comply with [the] law of self-destruction and self-mortification governing womanhood exactly as this law had been instilled in her, totally and completely [...] [h]er ideas about a truer, more natural femininity had been destroyed along with her trust in him who had been the first to give some shape to those quiet dreams” (1991, 247).²⁷⁹ Right after the narrator's description of Sofie's mourning, however, she and Rein have a conversation that makes him think of her as a woman who has the courage to be truthful. Yet the narrator also indicates right before this conversation with Rein that Sofie's talkativeness and concern for others was not a dissimulation, but it was still a way to “flee from herself” (1991, 247). The novel never eliminates the doubt that Sofie has ended up untruthful to her inner self, or that self-denial has taken place no matter how truthful Rein perceives her to be and how engaged and eagerly she takes on her tasks at the vicarage. Although it is ambiguous whether Sofie's “courage for truthfulness” is permanently gone, the novel demonstrates through Sofie that the “daily droplet of persuasion” and multitude of ideals regarding the female gender make it in practice difficult for a woman to live in accordance with truthfulness as a feminine virtue.

7.4.3 *Negotiations of Feminine Virtues in The District Governor's Daughters*

As we have seen in numerous enunciations in the previous chapter, *The District Governor's Daughters* also negotiates which characteristics should be considered feminine virtues. It does so by letting several characters explicitly state their opinions on the matter or report other people's

²⁷⁹ “Sofie var en av disse kvinnelige fakirnaturer der måtte oppfylle kvinnelighetens selvdødelses- og selvplagerlov, slets som den var innprentet henne, helt og holdent [...] Hennes forestilinger om en sannere, mindre unaturlig kvinnelighet var brutt med troen på ham, der var den første der hadde gitt disse stille drømmerier en slags form” (2013, 244).

opinions. Mrs. Ramm holds that self-denial and suppression of feelings are feminine virtues. Woman is supposed to negate her feelings. According to Louise, passivity is held as a feminine ideal. Lorenz Brandt claims that self-sacrifice is a woman's virtue. Whereas Louise claims that it is pure luck if a woman ends up with the man she loves, Mrs. Ramm seems to be of the opinion that a woman's strong feelings for a man come in direct conflict with woman's purpose in marriage. The novel challenges self-denial and passivity as norms for woman's conduct by portraying women's suffering as a result of living in accordance with such so-called virtues. Louise's despair in her marriage to Casper, Sofie's fear of letting her passions and talents show, and Karoline Møllerup's tragic destiny all demonstrate the negative effects persuading women to cultivate self-denial and passivity can have. The novel shows that self-denial and passivity can make women vulnerable to unhappiness and unable to exercise a positive influence in their community.

By means of dialogue and the narrator's comments, the novel criticizes propriety and custom as ideals for the female gender. Rein takes pleasure in getting to know Sofie as a truthful woman, in opposition to the "cowardice, pettiness, deception— deep, thorough dishonesty" that characterize many women in his opinion, due to "propriety and custom" being "idols of her sex" (2013, 247;1991, 249). Kold argues that inauthenticity is a woman's weapon against the world. Kold and Rein criticize the upbringing of girls and suggest that propriety and custom as feminine ideals conflict with virtues such as honesty. Kold and Rein echo the "fashion lady" [Modedamen] in their conception of the importance of certain influencing factors on how a woman develops. Propriety and custom as feminine virtues are criticized through Mrs. Ramm as well, although she promotes these traits as ideals for women. Mrs. Ramm's discursive position shows ignorance of part of gender discourse; woman needs to cultivate virtues to which Mrs. Ramm does not pay attention. Nor can she be considered a model that promotes the good in her community. We see the unhappy life Louise leads as a result of having given in to her mother's "daily droplet of persuasion," as well as Mrs. Ramm's uncharitable contempt for Lorenz Brandt. Finally, many comments from the narrator demonstrate that Mr. Ramm is not truly happy at her side; she is not a loving, sensitive wife who fills the home with a warm atmosphere. Instead she comes across as strict, concerned about appearance, and insensitive.

From a gender discursive perspective, Mrs. Ramm functions in the novel as a personification of what makes it difficult for woman to have the courage to be truthful, as Rein puts it, and to occupy *woman's place in society* as a promoter of morality. The novel uses Mrs. Ramm to illustrate how

some influences on young women actually alienate them from the truth. Due to Mrs. Ramm's preference for appearance over authenticity, it is only a matter of chance if her daughters end up in marriages within which they can promote the good in the community. Through Mrs. Ramm, the novel criticizes the fact that in reality both freedom for women and truthfulness are out of reach.

7.4.4 *Negotiations of Women's Virtues and Domain in Indiana, "Til Sverriges Qvinder,"*

Hertha and "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'"

Indiana, *Hertha* and "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'" negotiate what feminine virtues are and should be and discuss women's freedom (or lack thereof). Despite the obvious differences between these texts in terms of year of publication, nationality, and genre, there are several reasons for considering them together. They expose women's experiences and emotions and thereby demonstrate that certain norms for women's conduct come in conflict with feminine virtues. Considering these four works together serves to clarify how the genres operate in both different and similar ways, as well as to exemplify constancy and transition in discourse. Both *Indiana* and "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse'" draw parallels between slave-master relations and the relation between man and woman. Furthermore, both texts use reflections on religion to criticize man's subjection of woman. Yet Bremer's texts most extensively enunciate woman's relation to religion, and explicitly and unambiguously state that the Christian woman has a specific function of edifying society. Even if "Til Sverriges Qvinder" and *Hertha* are the closest to discursive positions identified in the previous chapter, these texts also function as revisionist—and in some instances revolutionary—negotiations of woman's freedom and scope. By virtue of its genre status as an appeal, "Til Sverriges Qvinder" seeks directly to persuade women that they have a specific function in all spheres of society. *Hertha* produces a woman's subjectivity that is receptive to profound enlightenment and views obeying man as an irrefutable principle. The novel functions as a criticism of the education for girls and woman's lack of freedom.

Through letters and the detailed description of woman's suffering, *Indiana* problematizes woman's dependence on man. Her dependence makes her vulnerable to abuse and oppression. Like many of the enunciations examined in the previous chapter, *Indiana* proclaims that love is a woman's virtue. Through confrontations between the central feminine and masculine characters the novel articulates that love as a feminine virtue is incompatible with being man's servant. *Indiana* depicts a woman's subjectivity as a naive longing for romantic love, and the novel functions as a criticism against romantic novels for women as their instruction to their lives as women. The gender discursive

statement of woman as an exemplary Christian is also enunciated in *Indiana*. It is in relation to religion that Indiana in her long letter to Raymon most clearly positions herself against man's domination. In light of the enunciations in religious texts—both Norwegian and translated—that speak about woman's inclination toward piousness and receptivity to God's message, we see that Indiana's proclamation that her religious insight is superior to Raymon's is part of a gender discursive position in the period. As the previous chapter has demonstrated, the statement of woman as an exemplary Christian connects this potential to the statement of woman's sensitive nature. *Indiana* conveys a similar view on woman, namely woman as having superior delicacy of perception.

Hertha narrates woman's subjectivity in a manner that displays her devoutness, her quest for wisdom, and her inclination to obey. It produces a woman's subjectivity that is naturally receptive to an extensive, spiritually profound education and determined to use this education to cultivate virtues and wisdom that enables her to contribute positively to the community. The novel not only highlights woman's need for a solid education, but also the capacity of her soul to grow and wisely apply her education. *Hertha*'s descriptions of the protagonist's interior problematizes woman's lack of freedom. Hertha's father comes across as a man who abuses his formal right to limit her freedom. In comparable terms to what we have seen in *The District Governor's Daughters*, *Hertha* demonstrates that chance is a destructive power in woman's life against which she is powerless. Her father's conduct towards her does not seem to be based on any logic but is instead a result of his mood and whims. Yet it has great impact on Hertha's life. Furthermore, the novel demonstrates how strategies of persuasion and the influence to which women are subjected produces a subjectivity where her own conscience compels her to obey, despite her insight into how obeying might limit the fulfillment of her calling.

In light of the discourse identified, "Til Sverriges Qvinder" seeks to persuade its female readers to cultivate the "motherly" as a virtue. Bremer enunciates the motherly as the positive gender difference that defines woman's purpose. It is thus not the same as the maternal in its biological sense. The text articulates the motherly as a feminine attribute and thereby produces woman's subjectivity as a unique, gender-specific function in the public as much as in the private sphere. Even if "Til Sverriges Qvinder" is part of a discursive position that establishes a distinction between the private and the public sphere in order to enunciate woman's purpose, it articulates a *place* for woman whose borders are not determined by this distinction. As a writer who already had a female

reading public and had through her literature extensively described domestic life and women's tasks, her status allows her to reach out to women in order to make them aware of their function and inspire them to fulfill it.

“Til Sverriges Qvinder” and “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse’” can serve as examples of how to analyze constancy and transitions in discourse. We have seen that discourse is open for transformations in terms of *where* it enunciates woman's *place* to be (i.e not necessarily in the private sphere). Yet Hansteen argues as late as in 1870 against the notion that this *place* is in man's background. There is a similarity between what Hansteen did in her series of articles and what Bremer did in hers from 1844; based on theological reflections, they both articulate a woman's place in society that encompasses the public sphere. The great difference is that Hansteen's texts deals with emancipation ideas, whereas Bremer's text 25 years earlier deals with how woman can serve her community and God. Hansteen argues that emancipation is compatible with woman's purpose according to the Bible, while Bremer argues that woman most fully realizes her divinely determined gender specific function if her scope [virkekreds] includes the *public* as much as the *private sphere*. Emancipation ideas are not yet a subject of debate when Bremer publishes her text. Nevertheless, by articulating that woman's full potential to promote the good requires that woman activates the motherly both in the private and public sphere, “Til Sverriges Qvinder” indicates—along with many other passages examined in the previous chapter—that its discursive practice is open for negotiations related to woman's freedom. In this context, “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse’” demonstrates that such negotiations have taken place and that discursive positions, such as “woman's emancipation” have emerged. In contrast to many of the religious passages examined in the previous chapter, “Kvindernes mening om ‘kvindernes underkuelse’” enunciates that staying in the background of men is not compatible with the Bible. Furthermore, by reporting the letter from the deceased woman and referring to Florence Nightingale, as well as conducting the analysis of the concepts “skabningens herre” and “fruentimmer,” Hansteen argues against norms such as passivity and servility. She demonstrates that they hinder woman from developing her potential and being man's suitable helper. Regarding negotiations of what woman's virtues are and should be, we have seen through the anonymous woman Hansteen argues against that woman's submission in marriage is still held as a virtue in 1870, and thus still up for negotiation as it has been from the start of the period. Hansteen's text goes far in defending Mill's *On the Subjection of Women*, which argues that natural gender difference in itself should be

questioned. In light of the discourse identified that has natural gender difference as a premise, we see that this discursive position is revolutionary.

Despite all the differences in terms of negotiations of woman's freedom and feminine virtues in these works and in the majority of the captured passages, topics from these five texts have, in fact, captured these passages. I therefore conclude that the method has worked satisfactorily. Moreover, many passages captured in religious works have been captured by topics modeled from texts where religion was not a significant component. STM in combination with the word bag tool I have used has permitted me to capture material of great variety that has made it possible to analyze the homogeneity of the discourse as well as the variety of ways of enunciating woman and gender.

7.5 Digital Methodology and Archive Analysis

This dissertation opened with a discussion of Emily Apter's critical analysis of epistemological conditions in digital humanities research. I argued that the way this project uses data mining techniques/digital methodology in fact liberates texts from "axiomatic deductions, rational orders, 'systematicities' and 'chronological successions,'" and describes an "enunciative homogeneity that has its own temporal articulations" (Apter 2017; Foucault 1972 [1969], see also part 1.1 in this dissertation). We have seen that Foucault's understanding of the archive as an epistemological concept includes the analysis of how the material for the archive has been gathered. STM and the word bag tool have captured passages in a variety of genres, and in canonical as well as less known or unknown texts. The material presented in the previous chapter, with passages taken from works by everything from today largely unknown pastors to famous writers, have been captured and analyzed on "the same level." In a certain sense we could say that the archive consists of enunciations that are radically liberated from prior "systematicities" in the sense that it literally consists of passages and URL's only. Their materiality—in the sense of the monograph, anthology, or other type of work of which they are part—is not included. One could object that the discourse identified suffers from a lack of consideration of the effects of the genre and book historic context of the passages. Yet the analysis is not entirely blind to these features. The author and type of work is not without importance in the analysis, but it has given priority to collecting an extensive mass of said things about woman and gender, often in works where there are few woman-related passages, and thus would have been practically impossible to collect without the opportunities that come with a digital corpus like the Digital Bookshelf and the tools for exploring it.

Digital humanities projects are sometimes criticized for confirming what we already know, rather than generating new knowledge. I have used this material to analyze the discursive establishment of *woman's place in society*—understood primarily as a moral trope—which means that I already had a hypothesis that moral/morality were relevant notions in relation to discourse on women in the period 1830 to 1880. And, as the material gathered consists primarily of enunciations that establish relations between woman and moral/morality, it qualifies for the label “moral archive.” One could ask whether I have carried out an analysis that was designed to produce results in accordance with my hypothesis.

The initial expectations in this project were, however, that the “trawlers” would capture a significant number of passages enunciating women in relation to gender equality and political rights. Topics modeled from all the sub-corpora as well as the separate word bags used in concordance analyses include words that could have captured passages that thematize gender equality and political rights. An initial concern in this project was instead that the selected works by women writers were too unrepresentative—too emancipating in their way of addressing the woman question—for ways of speaking about woman and gender in general in the period. If these works constituted discursive ruptures, they could have been of little help in capturing material for identifying discourse on woman and gender across the variety of material in the Digital Bookshelf. I was therefore prepared to supplement with additional sub-corpora, for instance religious works or educational literature from the period to which the secondary literature pointed. What this project instead has found is that these works are part of the discourse identified. In relation to the discourse identified, the texts by women writers in the sub-corpora in this project articulate positions that negotiate more freedom for women than what the positions that the majority of the captured enunciations articulate. Yet the topics from these works have captured material that has made it possible to identify a variety of discursive positions, some of these quite different from the ones the texts in the sub-corpora constitute. If the topics from Collett and the other authors had not captured passages that made it possible to identify multiple discursive positions in the Digital Bookshelf, I would not have been able to identify a discursive position in the works of these women authors either. The discursive position that suggests itself in their works does so in light of the rest of my material.

Leonard and Tangerlini argue in their article that STM enables capturing texts that convey the same “semantic feel” as the text/s in the sub-corpus. My topics have not done that. We have seen that there are relatively great differences between the sub-corpora and the captured passages in general, although they are part of the same discourse. Neither has the intention of this project been to use STM in order to capture passages with the same “semantic feel” as the texts in the sub-corpora. In this project it has been essential to create topics manually because it is the woman and gender related enunciations in the works that are relevant. The manually created topics are based on the reading of the texts in chapter five. Yet, an advantage with STM and automatically generated topics that Leonard and Tangherlini point out, is that they may point the researcher towards words that our close reading did not associate with the theme of interest. As shown in the previous chapter, I have also used automatically generated topics. The word bags for these topics only include spelling variations due to OCR errors and different morphological forms. Unlike with the manually generated topics, I did not add synonyms or other words that are similar in meaning to the topic words, or that the discourse analysis so far had identified as having more or less the same function in discourse. The reason for that was to search for potential passages with the same “semantic feel” as the texts in the sub-corpora. The results (with high topic match) were relatively few and most of them quite different to the texts in the sub-corpora.²⁸⁰ This is probably due to the fact that there are relatively few novels and newspaper articles in the book corpus of the Digital Bookshelf in the period and to the problem with search accuracy that OCR errors represent, despite the measures taken in this project to reduce the effects of this problem. We could also have tried to generate topics automatically with another algorithm, such as LDA (Latent Dirichlet Allocation) for instance, and not only NMF (Non Negative Matrix Factorization). Still, as these algorithms in general produce relatively similar results it probably would not have changed much.

As the majority of the topics applied to the Digital Bookshelf in order to create the archive are manually created topics with large word bags comprising also words that are not used in the sub-corpora, one can object that I could have used practically any kind of text speaking about woman from the period and ended up with the same results. As stated earlier, Collett’s *The District Governor’s Daughters* has functioned as a “epicenter” in this project. Topics inspired by this work have captured enunciations on woman in the documents in the Digital Bookshelf, as have topics modeled from selected works by Sand, Bremer, and Hansteen, whose works are selected by virtue

²⁸⁰ See complete results for these topics here: https://github.com/heidikarlsen/Documentation_Dissertation/tree/master/xtra%20material/Complete%20datasets_Captured%20by_Automatically%20Generated%20Topics)

of the relation between them and *The District Governor's Daughters*. In order to avoid having OCR errors hinder potentially relevant passages from being captured, it was indispensable in the start of the project to experiment with different settings of the Jaccard similarity value. These experiments resulted in some noise (irrelevant results) but in relevant results as well, which also demonstrated that words I so far had not taken into account had to be incorporated in relevant word bags. In the creation of the archive, it has been essential to start off from certain texts from the period in order to map words that were used to speak about woman. Yet it has also been essential to gradually distance myself from them, in the sense of adapting the topics and word bags based on captured passages during the process. That the majority of passages have been captured in religious texts—which we have seen differ in several aspects from the texts in the sub-corpora—indicates that the methodology has succeeded in capturing the “mass of said things” about woman and gender, and not only enunciations that are relatively similar to the texts in the sub-corpora. If another “epicenter” had produced more or less the same material, it would strengthen the findings in this project rather than downplay the suitability of the methodology.

STM and the word bag tool the ways they are used in this project resonates metaphorically with *cooking*. The application of the topics to the Digital Bookshelf corpus is well illustrated by Leonard and Tangherlini's trawling metaphor. Yet the entire process resembles the art of cookery, where one starts with one or a few ingredients, develops a creative strategy for experimenting with these ingredients in combination with other ingredients, tests the results, adjusts, tests again, etc., and the results shed new light on the features of the initial ingredients (in terms of their compatibility with others). The entire process in this project can be summarized the following way: one starts of from a well-known work, collects other works by virtue of their relation to this work, sets out to capture material through a continuous toggling process where one creates distance from and re-approaches the initial texts. For the point in this analysis has also been to come back to the initial texts by the women writers. Considering them in relation to the archive opens for seeing other elements in them; their discursive positions are identified only in relation to the archive they both are part of and have served to create.

7.6 Women Writers and Freedom

I will now conclude as to what woman's access to discourse as writers of novels and polemical articles entails in terms of the woman writers' opportunity for existential freedom. In a period where there is an extensive discursive production that establishes *woman's place in society* as a function where she through her feminine virtuousness strengthens morality in the population, what can women achieve through writing? Kittler's analysis of the maternal function in romanticist discourse serves to sharpen this problem.

Kittler states: "Through their mandate to represent The Mother, women made authors write. The Mother neither speaks nor writes, but from the depths of her soul arise the unembellished accents that the author rescues by writing" (1985, 67). In this capacity for speaking and writing that women cultivate in men, Kittler sees an opportunity for freedom. Through writing, and only through writing, one can achieve an existential freedom in the sense of not having to be what one is not: "Only as an author is man free from the constraint of being also that which he is not; as author he fully and completely assumes his essence" (1985, 64).²⁸¹ As I see it, to "fully and completely assum[e] [one's] essence" must be understood as a process of becoming; it thus implies considering man's essence as becoming, instead of as a static being. That man (as an author) is free from the constraint of being that which he is not, means that he is free from his social identity, free from having to represent an image of himself that he is not. The freedom for man to assume his essence and resist the constraint of being what he is not, is not a freedom that is shared by woman. She is confined to her social identity as the Mother, according to Kittler's analysis. As a result, women's potential rebellion against this state of being, her eagerness to speak and write in the name of truth-seeking, her drive to transgress the static being into which she is confined, is considered a menace to the function of Motherhood, as the "precious task" of "making human beings out of agglomerates" (Kittler 1985 56-57).

Through Kittler's reflections on the liberating force in writing and women's exclusion from this activity, the initial intuition I had in this project regarding the importance of women writers for the establishment and negotiation of *women's place in society* was strengthened. The following statement by Kittler is important in this sense: "When the system of higher education assumed a

²⁸¹ "Nur als Autor ist der Mensch nicht auch, was er nicht ist ; sondern ganz und gar sein Wesen" (1990).

leading position in the state, women became that which never ceases not to write itself—Lacan’s definition of impossibility” (1985, 62). I will not address the first part of this observation but turn instead to Kittler’s reference to Lacan’s definition of impossibility. Women became an instance of impossibility in never ceasing not to write themselves. Women would write for others, teach others to write for themselves, as instructors, secretaries, typists or any facilitators of speaking and writing, but never cease not to write themselves, as Kittler puts it. What happens, then, when women become novelists, when they start publishing texts of different genres in their own names or under pseudonyms? Do they not start to write themselves, to go beyond their social identity, and assume their individual “essence,” as a becoming, and not a static being?

Political concerns for improving society—where the archive in this project has shown women’s fundamental moral function—necessitates knowledge of women’s life. The novel as a genre that depicts interiority and intimate experiences has good opportunities for being taken up in discourse under such conditions. And “who can depict woman’s interiority and women’s experiences better than women?” would probably be a rhetorical enunciation in the nineteenth-century gender discourse, based on the fundamental premise of natural gender difference. Despite the persistent norm that woman should stay in the background, access to producing discourse on woman and gender enters in competition with this norm, so to speak. It is thus understandable that different forms of novels, and also other genres, depicting women’s experiences become popular. Production of literature on women’s experiences does not, however, necessarily mean that women’s freedom is extended, or that its writers are liberated from their social identity.

In the perspective of desire as an invariant through which the population is managed, we can also see one reason for why women are compelled to access discourse. Since gender difference is fundamental in the discourse, woman also has a specific function in establishing *woman’s place in society*. I have here in mind discourse coming from women that encourages their woman readers to actively consider themselves as playing a role in improving the population. Bremer’s text “Til Sverriges Qvinder” is one example. By virtue of her reputation as an established woman writer, it is likely that her texts also had specific effects; they might have had unique credibility through speaking from a woman’s perspective and produce women’s desire in a way that is to the benefit of the community.

In relation to population politics and desire management, another factor also sheds light on women's access discourse. The production of female subjectivity in the three novels in my sub-corpora demonstrates a number of failed attempts to manage desire as a means of improving the population: when women are persuaded to cultivate passivity, weakness, self-denial, and submission, it is only a matter of chance whether they embrace the practices that improve the population. These women writers show that as long as woman stays submissive and weak, her capacity for promoting the good is out of her hands.

Nevertheless, the novel is an art form whose quality during the nineteenth century is increasingly (although not for all forms of novels) judged in accordance with its social criticism. What is more, through its use irony, ambiguity, and other figures of style it can make its criticism subtle. We have seen that in the novels in the sub-corpora, as well as in some of the captured passages in literature by women writers, their works are part of this transition of the novel.

The discursive establishment and negotiations of woman's *place* articulate this place as a function that, on the one hand, requires silent conduct and obedience more than discourse production and existential freedom, and that, on the other hand, influences the people around her, also through writing. From this *place* the opportunity to transgress her social identity and criticize her *place* becomes perhaps possible as well.

Conclusion

In *L'archéologie du savoir* Foucault establishes “archive” as a concept that designates an epistemological object: it is the gathering of a “mass of enunciated things” within a determined period of time, which the archeology analyzes (Foucault 2014 [1969]). Through women’s double function as *object* and *producer of discourse*, I have analyzed the discursive establishment and negotiations of *woman’s place in society* in this “mass of enunciated things about woman and gender.” The majority of enunciations in my archive are from religious texts. Speaking about woman and gender seems to have taken place predominantly in religious literature in the period 1830-1880. Many of these religious texts are what we can call uncanonized, “everyday texts,” which only to a limited extent have been subjected to prior study in relation to the woman question.

As a digital humanities project, this dissertation has shown that digital methodology can be used to construct an archive and conduct discourse analysis in Foucault’s tradition. In *L'archéologie du savoir* Foucault specifies discourse analysis as the identifications of statements (énoncés). There are few examples of previous research that has used digital methodology to conduct Foucauldian discourse analysis. One reason might be that Foucault specifies that his method for discourse analysis does not have language as its object of study, but statements. The Foucauldian statement is not defined by a specific group of linguistic signs. It is not, for instance, the same thing as a phrase. Yet the statement can be identified in the form of a phrase. I have identified “woman has a sensitive nature” as a statement in my archive. This statement can be enunciated using different words, and pointing to this phrase alone would not be an identification of a discursive statement. Instead a statement is a function that can be identified only by analyzing its field of enunciation in a given period of time. The statement of woman’s sensitive nature is enunciated in many religious texts by pastors in the period 1830 to 1880. It is neighbored by other statements this project has identified, such as “woman is potentially an exemplary Christian” and “woman should be persuaded to cultivate and live in accordance with feminine virtues.” The identification of a statement includes the analysis of how it functions in relation to other statements. Taken together, these statements in religious texts in the period 1830 to 1880 establish that woman is predisposed for religious devout, through which she can improve the morality of her community. In educational literature, on the other hand, the statement that woman has a sensitive nature is neighbored by different statements, such as “woman must be educated in order to fulfill her calling.” In the educational context, these

statements establish together woman's calling as an advanced, important gender-specific task, for which she needs a specific education adapted to her sensitive nature.

Taking into account these considerations regarding the Foucauldian statement, it seems difficult to "operationalize" the statement so that digital methodology can be used to identify it. And after all digital methods—applied to text corpora—analyze primarily word patterns in one way or another. Foucault's own distinction between statements (*énoncés*) and enunciations (*énonciations*) has been crucial in order to use digital methodology for creating the archive. Enunciations are concrete realizations of statements. The statements are rather few and constitute the regularity in discourse, whereas these statements can be realized virtually indefinitely number of times. This project does not contend that discursive statements in Foucault's sense can be automatically identified by the use of digital tools. Instead passages that I consider to be enunciations have been successfully captured through the use of sub-corpus topic modeling (STM) and a word bag tool. Close reading of these captured passages has identified the statements of which they are concrete realizations. The archive would not have been possible to construct without the availability of documents through the National Library's digitization project and the aid of appropriate tools for exploring the Digital Bookshelf corpus 1830 to 1880. The numerous passages in religious works with titles that do not reveal that they speak about women, would have been extremely time consuming, if not impossible, to collect manually. This methodological finding is relevant for future research in literary studies, history, and other humanities disciplines that use Foucauldian discourse analysis as methodology.

Leonard and Tangherlini use STM to identify the same "semantic 'feel'" in texts in "the sea of the great unread" as in the texts in their sub-corpora (2013). This project has used STM slightly differently because my objective has been to capture enunciations, which do not necessarily share the same "semantic 'feel.'" This project has created topics—automatically and most of all manually—from selected works by Collett, Sand, Bremer, and Hansteen. The topics consist of words I have identified are used together in enunciations on woman and gender in the texts. If the topics had consisted only of the exact words used in the enunciations in the sub-corpora, however, they would have been of little use to capture enunciations from which statements can be identified.

Furthermore, the only preprocessing of the documents in the Digital Bookshelf is tokenization down to word level. I have used a word bag tool in order to extend each topic word, or, more correctly, this project envisions the topic as consisting of word bags instead of topic words. If "self-denial" is enunciated as a feminine virtue in an enunciation in a text in my sub-corpora, I have

created a “self-denial word bag” by adding morphological forms of the word, spelling variations of the word, synonyms, but also words that I have observed have more or less the same function in similar enunciations. The filling of the word bags has therefore been a dynamic process. A constant “toggling” has taken place between application of topics with their correspondent word bags to the Digital Bookshelf, experimentation with different settings, close reading of the results, discovery of relevant words that are enunciated in relation to woman and gender, and new runnings of the algorithms with improved word bags. Metaphorically speaking, this process echoes the art of cooking. Enunciations on woman in the sub-corpora function as “ingredients.” Through the creatively designed strategies (topics), these “ingredients” identify matching “ingredients” (passages) in both canonized and more or less unknown texts. The “ingredients” (and the texts they are extracted from) are disconnected from previous “recipes” (posterior rankings and classifications) and analyzed as “ingredients” in new “dishes.” “Ingredients” (enunciations on woman) in religious and didactic texts, sociological, educational, and legal works, as well as fiction have been “blended” and merged into a moral archive on woman.

A concern in the start of the project was that the topics would only identify a limited set of enunciations in relation to woman and gender. The texts by the selected women writers are, briefly put, progressive in their ways of speaking about woman. Furthermore, they are novels and newspaper articles, whereas this projects has aimed at capturing enunciations on woman and gender in all genres in which they occurred in the period. Yet the results demonstrate that topics—modeled from the texts by the women writers—captured texts of different genres and different “semantic ‘feel’” in their ways of enunciating woman. Still a challenge has been, on the one hand, to program the topics and configure the settings in order to capture variety in ways of speaking, and, on the other hand, avoid “noise” in the sense of a vast quantity of irrelevant results. Through iterations though, the method has succeeded in capturing a “mass of said things” about woman and gender.

Digital humanities scholars who work with nineteenth-century (or earlier) digitized documents are likely to be aware of the problem that OCR errors pose. In my project it has been crucial to take measures in order to avoid as much as possible that potentially relevant results go unnoticed because of OCR errors. This dissertation has demonstrated that the wildcard search and word bag tools have been efficacious in reducing that the problem with OCR errors affects the capturing of relevant passages. Unfortunately it does not mean that the problem has been eliminated. When the Digital Bookshelf corpus—probably in the near future—has been subjected to a successful re-OCR,

more precise exploration of the documents can take place. The newspaper corpus from the period 1830 to 1880 could then also be taken into account, which I have not done in this project. The extent of OCR errors is too great, and in many cases the tokenization down to word levels has failed as well. Yet the contribution this dissertation provides to the problem of OCR errors will still be relevant: OCR errors will not cease completely to be a problem that can affect key words in a research project. Being conscious about the problem and having tools to address it is therefore important.

In addition to contributing methodologically regarding discourse analysis with the aid of digital tools, my dissertation contributes to research on women's position in discourse production in the period 1830-1880. In the analysis of my archive, I have identified statements that work together to produce female subjectivity associated with a moral mission. The trope woman's place in society is discursively established as the following: an enlightened woman, who has cultivated feminine virtues in correspondence with her sensitive nature, and embraces living in accordance with these virtues, can edify society by virtue of her gender specific contribution of moral character. Conservative religious texts, as well as novels in the realist tradition by women writers, are part of the same discourse that establishes woman's function as a "promoter of morality." Yet they constitute different positions within discourse. The specification of woman's sensitive nature and what this entails for the nature of femininity diverge; does it for instance entail that she is easily led astray, or that she is predisposed for prudence and wisdom? Furthermore, what virtues woman should cultivate is up for negotiation. Also, the nature and degree of freedom that she should be granted to fulfill her function is a matter of discursive negotiation. Finally, discursive positions diverge regarding woman's scope and education; does she primarily need her mother's guidance and only limited schooling, or a solid education that develops the specific capacities of her soul to best serve her complex societal function? These different positions show that the discursive practice is open to transformations regarding woman's freedom, but only as far as one argues that it strengthens her in her gender specific purpose, which is of a moral character.

This dissertation has shown that what Foucault has analyzed as population politics (2004 [1978]) motivated numerous enunciations on woman and gender in the period 1830 to 1880. The moral archive articulates woman's function in relation to people's habits, in terms of religious and moral values, such as martial conduct and childrearing, in particular. Furthermore, woman's function is articulated in relation to hygiene, nutrition, safe childbirths, and other measures that strengthen the

viability of people. In the numerous didactic works that address women directly, there are strategies of persuasion that administer women's desire; women are encouraged to embrace the norms for their gender. Woman's function and numerous tasks are too complex and intimate for her to perform satisfactorily if forced to do so. She is more efficacious in her way of carrying out her function if she is herself convinced and thus does so out of her own desire.

The many religious and didactic texts, as well as educational literature that elaborate on women's virtues and education also generate knowledge about natural femininity. Woman's education must, for instance, not cause harm to her sensitive nature. A second- or third-wave feminist view of these ways of speaking is likely to see them as confining woman in a moral function that is hostile to women's emancipation. Yet the importance of natural gender difference provides one reason for why women became discourse producers. In accordance with conceptions on natural femininity, woman has a specific capacity for inspiring other women to embrace their function. Bremer's text "Til Sverriges Qvinder" is an example of this. It speaks passionately to women about their calling. Women's access to discourse is not necessarily and unambiguously an emancipating act. Furthermore, the discursive practice that articulates woman's moral function is open to transformations related to women's freedom. Also here Bremer's text is an example. It argues that woman's specific contribution to improving society is needed as much in the public as the private sphere. If woman's scope is extended, she can also to a greater extent strengthen people's habitudes and viability through her motherly care of orphans and the disadvantaged.

All the texts in my sub-corpora are part of the discourse on woman that attaches her to a moral function, and they function in different ways as negotiations of extended freedom for her. If we consider *The District Governor's Daughters* from this perspective, the solution that Sofie marries Rein is an example par excellence of woman occupying *her place in society*. This solution demonstrates that the discourse is open to granting woman significant influence as well. Sofie can fill a meaningful and influential role at the vicarage that she truly cares about. Although Sofie embraces her life at the vicarage, she gave in to pressure when deciding to marry Rein. The world was not yet ready for the union between her and Kold, which from Sofie's perspective emerged from her volition only, without any concerns for filling a function. In Hansteen's series of articles "Kvindernes mening om 'kvindernes underkuelse,'" she defends John Stuart Mill, who questions the conception of a natural femininity that entails a specific function for woman. Hansteen maintains, however, that woman's purpose is the Biblical purpose assigned to her, namely to be

mans's suitable helper, and thus a moral function. Yet she calls out for a radical reconsideration of what that entails. Her articles are part of a position within discourse that argues in favor of extended freedom and the right to take up space for woman. They also attempt to make a bridge between woman's *place in society* as a moral function and emerging ideas of women's emancipation.

The moral archive consists of very few enunciations of woman in relation to political rights. Yet historical research has established that one of the most important questions in the history of the nineteenth century in Norway is the having or not having of individual political rights. Considering this absence in the archive in light of Joan Scott and Friedrich Kittler's analyses together suggest that the moral archive constitutes a necessary Other to what historical research has established was primarily at stake in the nineteenth century, namely democratic reforms and struggle for political rights. Kittler has analyzed the maternal function in romantic discourse in the nineteenth century (1985). In his analysis, the maternal function cements associations between on the one hand, man, state, and civil servants, and on the other, woman, the Mother, and family. In the Motherly the state found its Other, according to Kittler. Scott has analyzed how woman, dating back to Enlightenment philosophy, was excluded from the concept of the political individual (1996). In her analysis, an Other was needed in order to confirm the identity of the political individual. This is why the modern political individual became the male standard and woman its Other, according to Scott. Building on Scott and Kittler, the moral archive in this project might constitute the Other to the mobilization for political rights that took place on the "foreground" of history in this period. In addition to population politics, a need to establish a political individual might then also be one of the "operations" that have brought about the moral archive. All this "speaking" about woman in relation to morality—and separated from issues concerning individuals' political rights—might have contributed to demarcate the political individual as male.

The archive this project has constructed shows that the ways of speaking about woman—also including what we often refer to as "the woman question"—were moralized in the period and unreceptive to women's emancipation in terms of political rights. That the woman question in this period is moralized does, however not mean that it is either supportive of or hostile to increasing women's freedom per se. The discursive establishment of woman's *place* as a function where she carries out influence, shows that discourse is open to transformations related to woman's freedom—and thus perhaps one day also to emancipation ideas represented by the upcoming women's movement. An event occurring three years after the period sheds light on the connections between

woman's moral function and women's emancipation ideas represented by the women's movement. In 1883, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson published the play *En Hanske* [A Gauntlet]. An important part of the plot is the dissatisfaction of the female character with her fiancé's contact with prostitutes. She throws her *hanske* [gauntlet] at her partner out of anger with his promiscuous behavior. This is what leads to the term "hanskestandpunktet" ["the gauntlet standpoint"]. It refers to the refutation of the double moral standards regarding prostitution. Women working as prostitutes were morally condemned and suffered consequences like being forced out of the marriage "market." For men on the other hand, visiting prostitutes had few if any consequences (Iversen 1988, 162).

"Hanskestandpunktet" is a standpoint in opposition to these double standards; men should also control their sexuality and not exploit women prostitutes. We see here two main opposing positions: those who supported "hanskestandpunktet" and the *Bohemians* who embraced free love and refuted it. The chastity movement, the "Bjørnson-wing" (those who supported Bjørnson) and the women's movement were united against the double moral standards regarding prostitution.

Although the moral archive is perhaps Other to the questions of political rights, discourse encompasses solutions to the woman question that advocate for more informal freedom, enlightenment, and influence, although within a moral imperative in the period 1830 to 1880. Several works in Scandinavian literature from the period can benefit from new analyses in light of the woman question as moralized, which the numerous religious and didactic texts in particular that speak about women have established. This is certainly the case for interpreting the resolution of *Amtmandens Døttre*, as I have indicated above, and it suggests that a new evaluation of, for example, the twelve women writers who debuted in the period is in order.

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