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THE ORIGINS OF GERMAN FEMINISM:
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DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Jutta Schroers Sanford, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1976

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PREFACE

Considerable attention has lately been devoted to the development of feminism, especially the organized women's movement of the latter part of the 19th century. Early feminism, however, is quite interesting as well and the purpose of this dissertation is to examine early German feminism and present a fuller account of the women of the period of 1789 to 1870.

The sources on early German feminism are varied. There are scattered references to early women throughout the literature of the 18th and first part of the 19th century. Letters and diaries of the women of that period are interesting as well and help to draw a more complete picture of women of the period in question. Works by 18th and 19th century women are also important; many of these works are no longer known and often seem to have been lost.

In locating some of the works by 18th and early 19th century women, the staff of the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt/Main gave me invaluable help. I would like to express my thanks to them; thanks also to the staff of the Bundesarchiv Abt. Frankfurt and the staff of the
Stadtarchiv Mainz. Special thanks to Ms. Thea Eyemüller of the Freie Deutsche Hochstift, Frankfurt/Main. I would also like to express my appreciation to Professor Andreas Dorpalen for the encouragement and help which he has given me throughout this undertaking. Finally, I want to express my gratitude to my husband and daughter who have been so very patient and understanding. I would like to dedicate this dissertation to them.
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INTRODUCTION

When women in many countries received the right to vote after World War I, it seemed as if the final goal of the women's movement had been achieved. Fifty years after they obtained the right to vote, the importance of this accomplishment is seriously questioned. It appears that with the achievement of suffrage the different women's movements had spent themselves and receded into the background or disappeared altogether.¹ As a result, today, despite the fact that women gained the right to vote and even constitute the majority of the electorate, they are still underrepresented in many activities and have not achieved equality with men. The granting of suffrage did not eliminate the inferior position of women, because "the image of women, as we know it, is an image created by men and fashioned to suit their needs."² Thus women have only slowly been able to break out of their traditional roles of economic dependence, domestic workhorse and childbearer. As the struggle for equality between the sexes goes on, it has become popular to take a look at the history of the women's movement, to see how and when women began to break out of their assigned roles.
This dissertation, too, is concerned with the history of the women's movement, specifically the history of its German version. It will discuss the time when German women became socially and politically more active in the period of the 1840's to the 1870's, but will go back even before the 1840's, those years of unrest and revolution, when some women had already concerns that went far beyond *Kinder, Küche und Kirche*.

During the 18th and early 19th centuries these concerns were mostly social in nature and some women acted as social critics. 'Social' refers in this context to the individual's place in society, and as women began to feel that they had a place and a responsibility in a society, which at the same time greatly restricted them, they often became critical of that society. Some expressed compassion with the poor, the peasant and the artisan who suffered from the advent of the Industrial Revolution. Some were concerned with the position of Jews because many of these women were Jewish. Many women were concerned with education, as it seemed basic to progress in society, and the demand for a good education began spreading. Still others championed the idea of women's rights. This intellectual emancipation became the basis for an organized women's movement in the second half of the 19th century. These early beginnings of the women's movement in Germany thus are a worthwhile subject for investigation.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1Kate Millett, Sexual Politics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), pp. 83 ff.

2Ibid., p. 46.
Traditionally, women were subjected to men; most known societies have been patriarchies in which women played the inferior role. The position of women in Western society has been forged within the framework of the family which was patriarchal. The head of the family, the patriarch, was the fountain of power and stature. His power was based on traditions, his apparent physical strength and the belief that it always existed and could not be changed. This belief in the authority of the head of the family is a very old and strong one. Those who are subordinated must regard the powers of the head of the family as legitimate and legal. The rights derived from this power was the munt. The munt is the power over all that are under the rule of the head of the family. The patriarch, the owner of the munt, can only be a man and must be free. He has the power over his house, and he alone has the use of the symbol of his freedom: the sword. He alone can own land, because the land was fought for and protected with the sword. Therefore, those without weapons cannot take part in the possession of land.
The head of the family also acted on behalf of the family, women had no influence on the affairs of the family outside the immediate concerns of the household. With the advent of Christianity the position of women changed only slightly. They did not receive earthly equality, but spiritual equality in their relationship to God. But Christianity did not loosen the bond of complete dependence on the man and in many ways the inferior role of women was continued and reaffirmed. Paul, in a letter to the Corinthians, wrote "... the women should keep quiet in the church meetings. They are not allowed to speak;... It is a disgraceful thing for a woman to speak in a church meeting." And in another letter Paul wrote, "... the husband is supreme over his wife..... And any woman who prays or speaks God's message in public worship with nothing on her head disgraces her husband. ... A man has no need to cover his head, because he reflects the glory of God. ... On account of the angels, then, a woman should have a covering over her head to show that she is under her husband’s authority."5

Jewish law, too, has traditionally relegated women to an inferior position, and the writings of Paul were confirming this. Even though women's spiritual relationship to God had improved as was demonstrated by the roles of Mary and other women of the New Testament,
Christianity was not interested in changing the social structure of society and improving the position of women never became an issue. Thus the traditionally inferior roles that women played in society were continued; as Christianity spread throughout Europe, along with it the heresy spread that women were not human and therefore had no soul.7

A marked change in the position of women occurred in the Middle Ages, as the cult of the Virgin Mary was applied to a code of chivalry dedicated to women; this became known as the Minnedienst or Frauendienst. This Frauendienst succeeded to make unreal beings out of women. It placed women on a pedestal and made them unapproachable objects of admiration, pure love and worship. Even though it may be considered to have been an improvement, in reality it reaffirmed the female weakness and vulnerability and the Frauendienst contributed nothing to putting women on a more equal basis.

The Frauendienst with its 'fair ladies' vanished as the culture of the High Middle Ages began to disintegrate, and the position of women in Germany became a precarious one. As the Bürgertum slowly emerged, the beautiful, if unreal, life that was represented in the literature of the Middle Ages gave way to a crude new middle class culture. This was particularly true for Germany in the 14th and 15th centuries.8 In this crude
world, women were no longer placed on a pedestal, and often their character was degraded. They were considered sinful and allies of the devil. The well-known persecutions of women for alleged witchcraft are a good example of this supreme degradation.

In Italy, the influence of humanist thinking prevented most of these excesses, and in the atmosphere of the Renaissance, some women were able to share in the man's world. A few women received a very good education and gained considerable influence in the political sphere. The humanizing influence of the Italian Renaissance began to be felt in Germany along with the ideas of the Reformation, and society experienced great changes which also had an impact on the role and position that women had in society. However, since the Reformation triggered a series of religious wars which reduced Germany to near-ruin, it was only during the latter part of the 17th century and the early 18th century, after the last of the religious wars had ended, that Germany experienced a general cultural renaissance.

This era witnessed a tremendous change in the intellectual climate. The impetus came from England and France, but the new thinking had a major impact on German thought as well and therefore must be surveyed here briefly. The belief was expressed by many intellectuals that human reason could cure the ills of society. Reason
would make men understand natural laws and this understanding would ensure progress toward a perfect society. The Englishman John Locke showed them the way to a more perfect society by writing essays in defense of political and natural rights of the individual. He also was concerned with man as a social being. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) he tried to liberate the human mind from authority, superstition, tradition, and ignorance. Locke wrote always about 'man,' but it is reasonable to assume that he meant 'man-kind' which also includes women.

However, the question of women's role in society never seems to have concerned him beyond the fact that as a parent a woman had great responsibilities. With very few exceptions the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment did not worry about women's rights.

The important aspect of Locke's influence is that he stood at the beginning of a new way of thinking that changed the climate of opinion. This new intellectual climate of course spread to Germany, too, and people felt the need for self-expression, — a need shared by women and men alike. The only way open to women to satisfy this need was literature. However, if they wanted to write, they needed an adequate education. Yet there were serious obstacles to overcome — women's traditional role was in the house as a wife and mother, and many seem
to have felt that women were not intelligent enough and simply could not benefit from a good education. This belief was disputed by a woman, Anna Maria Schürmann, as early as 1638, with her book *Dissertatio de ingenii muliebris ad doctrinam et meliores literas aptitudine* (Dissertation about the Ability of Women to Acquire Learning and Better Erudition). As the title indicates, the author believed that women were capable of studying and learning. This was a radical view and apparently Schürmann was aware of this. Therefore, she did not simply demand a better education for women in order to elevate the position of women, but she also warned that ignorance was dangerous as it could lead to the acceptance of false religious doctrines. One has to keep in mind that the Schürmann book was published in 1638, in the middle of the last religious war, the Thirty Years War. The influence and impact of this book was probably negligible. The time was not yet ripe for securing a better education for women. During the 17th century not even Johann Amos Comenius in his great educational treatise *Paedia* thought that the education of girls was important.

By the beginning of the 18th century the importance of education became more and more accepted. There were now men who believed that women were entirely ca-
pable of learning and studying, and one sees the begin-
ingning of a feminist literature that defended women and made a case for their intellectual abilities. These writings of early feminist literature are as interesting as they are amusing. One such work was written by Johann Eberti and published in 1706. It does not do much justice to women, since Eberti placed women on a pedestal, an approach that was used by many feminist advocates. But Eberti was well-intentioned and felt women were able to study and learn just like men. 16

Another gallant defender of the female sex was C. F. Paullini. He published a work in the defense of women in 1704. He, too, put women on a pedestal, and he felt that women were proving every day in managing the house that they were capable and intelligent and therefore should receive a proper education. 17 To stress this point he added 384 pages of names of great women with references to their particular greatness. There were several more well-meaning books written by men in the beginning of the 18th century: one by Georg Lehm published in 1715 and another by Johann Georg Meuschen in 1726. 18

In general the education of upper and middle class girls in Germany (as well as in France) was deplorable. Many women never learned to read and write properly and men like Eberti, Paullini, Lehm, and Meuschen argued
for a change. But there were many men who did not share these views. There is an abundance of works stressing that women did not need an education, either because women had no aptitude and no interest, or because women were vain and only interested in sensual pleasures.¹⁹

Many of these anti-feminist works were not just attacks by presumably insecure males; they often castigated the women of the time for exactly what they appeared to be: stupid, vain, and interested solely in their own pleasure. What these men failed to realize was that they had made women what they were and that the men were partially responsible for the behavior of women to which they objected.²⁰

It was a woman, the Marquise de Lambert, who joined the attacks on women's superficiality, but who gave the arguments a new twist. In her Nouvelles réflexions sur les femmes, published in 1727, she wrote that women were indeed only concerned with sensual love and pleasures as well as their appearance and often considered love an amusement. She called for 'liaisons des senses' in the spirit of Plato.²¹ Lambert felt that men were responsible for the deplorable behavior of women, because men subjugated women with violence and tyranny and kept them from fulfilling tasks to which they were well qualified. Men confined the opposite sex to a
superficial life with only one purpose: to please. The Marquise demanded an end to the subjugation of women and a better education for women. She also exhorted women to be more masculine. The *Nouvelles réflexions sur les femmes* was apparently widely read in Germany as well as in France.

There were a host of other treatises that proposed a better education for women, even before the somewhat radical tract by Lambert. Among French works popular with German readers was one written by the second wife of Louis XIV, Madame de Maintenon; another was written by the Archbishop of Cambrai, Fénelon. Maintenon had founded a girls' school and her treatise *Receuil des instructions aux demoiselles de St. Cyr* (1717) she supported a better education for women as did Fénelon in his *De l'éducation des filles* (1687). Maintenon and Fénelon were never as convinced as the Marquise de Lambert that women were well qualified to do anything they wished; instead they advocated an elementary educational program that would prepare girls for the duties of the household and the Church. The German educator A. H. Francke translated the Fénelon treatise and was apparently inspired to found a girls' school; the *Gynâcéum* in 1706. Francke's *Gynâcéum* proved to be too advanced for the average German middle class family and soon
closed because of lack of interest. 26

The question of women's qualifications for a better education and the position of women in society continued to be discussed for decades. There were the defenders of women on the one hand, 27 and on the other the opponents. 28 But in the atmosphere of the Enlightenment, the need for a better education for women seemed to have become more accepted. In Germany women scored an important success with the publication of the first specifically women's magazine in 1725. The magazine, Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen, seems to have been quite successful. 29 The publisher and editor of the magazine was Johann Christoph Gottsched. The very Gottsched who in the history of German literature seems to be primarily remembered for his pomposity and pedantry as well as his attempts to cleanse the German stage of the coarseness and vulgarity that had become a part of the German theater. As a feminist advocate and publisher of the first German women's magazine he is no longer remembered by literary historians. 30

Why did Gottsched attempt to influence women through his magazine? Gottsched was an enlightened man with a critical attitude towards many things that were wrong, and the role that women played in his society, he believed, was wrong. To him it seemed an intellectual
waste to keep so many potentially gifted people igno-
norant, and Gottsched saw the solution to this prob-
lem in education, like so many of his enlightened com-
patriots. This faith in education, as we have seen, was
one of the characteristics of the Enlightenment. Educa-
tion for women, especially in the middle class was de-
plorable; only a few women could spell properly and
those women who wanted to read had a very restricted
fare: the prayerbook and maybe some little novels of
questionable value.31 In fact, women were so subdued that
in some homes they were sent out of the room when stran-
gers came to visit.32 Gottsched found this situation
appalling and attempted to influence his female audience
to become more interested in self-improvement.33

Self-improvement was seriously needed. A number
of books, as we have seen, had referred to the ignorance
of women and their preoccupation with pleasure. Many
men saw this as a sign of weakness and became convinced
that women were inferior to men. Women, being kept ig-
norant and intellectually neglected, had no other goal
in life than to get a man and for this reason they
overindulged in matters concerning fashion and looks.
It was against this empty-headed life that Gottsched
rebelled; he attempted to draw women out of their use-
less existence. In order to put women more at ease and
encourage them to use their talents and be intellectually more active, he assumed as pen names the names of women for his magazine articles. These pseudonyms were Calliste, Phyllis, and Iris. With this approach he encouraged his female audience to enlighten themselves and to contribute articles as 'his three women' had done. Apparently women did respond, judging from the many names and the diversity of the articles in the later editions of Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen.

For all his progressiveness and enlightened attitude, Gottsched was still very conservative in matters concerning women. Unlike the Marquise de Lambert, who had asserted that men were tyrannical and kept women subjugated, and that women had a right to be educated, Gottsched never thought of women's education in these terms. All he wanted was to end the intellectual waste; he proposed a better education for women, so they would become better companions for men, better housewives and mothers, and thus help improve humanity. Women would surely benefit from a better education, but most importantly, men's life would be made more pleasant. Like the other men of his century, Gottsched was unable to shed the basic male attitude toward women. Yet he had learned from the enlightened philosophes, and he devised a plan for girls' education which may seem hap-
hazard today, but which was very progressive when one considers the sad state of female education in the early 18th century. His plans for a better education for girls envisaged the teaching of German, French, and Latin along with arithmetic and religion.\textsuperscript{37} He saw no limit to a girl's education and even felt that women should be allowed to pursue studies at the university level.\textsuperscript{38} But Gottsched never thought in terms of the emancipated woman; he detested the idea of a domineering woman, a woman who may want to run the state, and he preferred the modest, educated lady who brings joy to all around, especially her husband.\textsuperscript{39}

One of the most interesting contributions in Gottsched's \textit{Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen} is a collection of letters from unmarried women who have become a burden to their families and resent their social and economic dependence.\textsuperscript{40} Gottsched had only one answer to this problem; get married. One way to ensure marriage was a better education that would make women better people and therefore more attractive to men.\textsuperscript{41} For Gottsched, too, women were congenitally inferior and this inferiority was expressed in their total dependence on the other sex. Thus he appears as a forward looking man, influenced by the principles of the Enlightenment, but also unable to discard the traditional beliefs of female inferiority.
The primary goal of women was still marriage, yet he admitted that women probably would make good teachers and should be trained as such.\textsuperscript{42}

Gottsched's own wife is an example of what he expected from women. Apparently Frau Gottsched had received an excellent education, the kind of training that her husband envisaged for all women.\textsuperscript{43} She was well read, contributed to her husband's work, wrote her own poems, plays, and translations of English and French works. The characters in her plays often depict the ideal enlightened woman; educated, reasonable, and well adjusted. She was particularly interested in translating works written by women; she translated a treatise by Madame de Lambert, the \textit{Triomphe de l'éloquence} by Madame de Gomez, and the \textit{Epitres chagrines} by Madame Deschoulier.\textsuperscript{44} Madame Gottsched's intelligence and achievements were admired by many, including the Empress Maria Theresia.\textsuperscript{45}

With so much stimulation and Frau Gottsched pointing the way, it is not surprising to see that some women, indeed, became 'gelahrte Frauenzimmer,' learned women. Increasing numbers of them resorted to the pen, writing on all conceivable subjects, including science. The number of female writers and poetesses grew constantly. Most of these women are now forgotten, their works often lost, but in the first half of the 18th
century their works were printed and read. The learned woman was appreciated by men and women, and women were crowned as poetesses and accepted as members in the Leipziger Deutsche Gesellschaft, a society devoted to revive the German language.

Then the unimaginable happened; a woman received a degree in medicine and even practiced medicine for a number of years. This extraordinary woman was Dorothea Erxleben, whose father had taught her everything he knew about medicine and who was permitted by King Fredrick the Great of Prussia to take her medical examinations for her degree at the University of Halle in 1754. To be sure, this woman's career and achievements were an exception and the road outside the family remained inaccessible to most women for many more years. What Dorothea Erxleben did prove, however, was that women were capable of scholarly and scientific pursuits, a fact that was still questioned by most people.

Thus for most women who wanted to escape from the everyday humdrum, the literary field remained the only route. Some talent was needed, of course (pity on those who did not have it), and it was usually a matter of personality, and sometimes even economic need, which determined how successful a literary career could become. And so German women often wrote for women during the
first half of the 18th century, relating about their lives and their hopes. In this manner the German women's novel was created. 48

Thus the first half of the 18th century saw the development of a kind of feminism. It was certainly not a militant feminism as the word is used in today's society. Militancy was not a part of 18th-century life. Except for the very critical and scathing attacks on the establishment by men like Voltaire, nothing was dealt with in a militant way. In Germany, in particular, attacks on the establishment were rare or veiled. Nevertheless, conditions were changing, and naturally women like Dr. Erxleben, who had chosen so unfeminine a career, were still regarded as freaks, some kind of mixture between a man and a woman, 49 but the future seemed bright. The Enlighteners stressed the importance of education and somehow women were bound to benefit from general educational reforms and progress. Schools were established throughout Germany and school reforms were supported by such enlightened despots as Fredrick the Great.

At the same time the middle class began to stress the importance of writing and arithmetic, since they were useful in business; thus elementary schools, whose sole purpose was to make people literate, slowly began to
incorporate a wider curriculum. At the secondary level, Locke's educational theories influenced change. The sciences, too, became more important and educators like A. H. Francke and Johann Basedow established new schools in which sciences were taught at the expense of the classics. These schools, Francke's Pädagogium and Basedow's Philanthropium, were the forerunners of the Real­schule. Universities also began to change and incorporated sciences in their curriculum. The Universities of Halle and Göttingen became the most liberal of all the German institutions of higher learning.

The first half of the 18th century thus was a time of optimistic progress and women could look forward to an improvement of their situation. At first, however, all these reforms and achievements were to benefit men. Accomplishments of women in the literary field were encouraging but rare. The 'gelahrte Weib,' the learned woman, became more acceptable to German society by the middle of the 18th century.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I


2 Heusler, op. cit., I, 113.


5 Ibid., 1 Corinthians 11, pp. 418-19.

6 Ibid., 1 Corinthians 7, pp. 409-11. In this letter Paul expresses the view that he preferred celibacy and encouraged others to do the same. He felt that marriage or the relation with women cause too much trouble and he wrote: "An unmarried man concerns himself with the Lord's work, because he is trying to please the Lord. But a married man concerns himself with worldly matters, because he wants to please his wife."

7 The belief that women were not human kept reappearing. It was strong during the 6th century and was revived from time to time. Even as late as 1793 and a century later the attempt was made to strip women of their humanity. See Michael Ambros, Weltsbilder sind keine Menschen. Wird sonnenklar bewiesen aus der Schrift und aus der gesunden Menschenvernunft (Leipzig: n. p., 1793). This curious work was published in 1793 and republished a hundred years later by the enemies of the women's movement.


9 Julia Cartwright, Beatrice d'Este, Duchess of Milan (London: Dent & Co., 1899), and her two-volume work on one of the most amazing figures of the Italian Renaissance Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1923).


Locke, *op. cit.*, *Two Treatises*, pp. 321-336. Locke stated clearly, however, that the father had all authority over wife and children. When he referred to the education of children, he always seemed to mean boys.

The Schürmann book was published in 1638 in Leyden. I could not find a copy of this book, however, it was mentioned and briefly discussed in Adalbert von Hanstein, *Die Frauen in der Geschichte des deutschen Geisteslebens*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Freund und Witte, 1899-1900), I, 28.

Johann Amos Comenius, *Pampaedia* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1960). He divided education for boys into different stages and never mentions girls. Some of the stages were: 'The School of Boyhood, of Maturity, Young Manhood, of Manhood,' etc., pp. 281-419. Women as mothers were only important during the first stage; 'The School of Early Childhood,' pp. 233-81.

Johann Caspar Eberti, *Eröffnetes Cabinet des ge- lahrten Frauenzimmers, darinnen die berühmtesten dieses Geschlechts umbständlich vorgestellt werden* (Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig: Michaelis Hohrlach, 1706), pp. 5 ff.

Christian Franz Faullini, *Hoch- und wohlgelahrtes teutsches Frauenzimmer durch Hinzusetzung unterschiedlicher gelehrrter, wie auch etlicher ausländischer Damen hin und weder um ein merkliches vermehret* (Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig: Johann Christian Stüssels, 1704 and 1712), pp. 7-13. This work as well as the one mentioned above in footnote #16, is quite naive and never really views the problem of women's subjugation in its proper perspective.

Paul Kluckhohn, *Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Halle: Niemeyer Verlag, 1922), pp. 36-39, 46-48. Kluckhohn argues that men's views of women were influenced by their views of love. If men considered love as something purely physical, distasteful, sinful, and evil, their opinions of women were mostly negative. Polemics against women appeared all through the 18th and 19th centuries. Some examples are: Jean Jacques Quesnot de la Chesnee, *La femme demasquée, ou l'amour peint selon l'usage nouveau* (Amsterdam: n. p., 1699); C. F. Pockels, *Versuch einer Charakteristik des weiblichen Geschlechts*, 4 vols. (Hanover: Hahn, 1797-1802); Ernst Brandes, *Betachtungen über das weibliche Geschlecht und dessen Ausbildung in dem geselligen Leben*, 3 vols. (Hanover: Hahn, 1802). Brandes stated that women could not be independent, because they lacked the necessary intelligence, Brandes, III, 129. He also warned husbands not to attempt to raise the educational level of their wives, because it would be dangerous, Brandes, II, 159. The Brandes book had been published anonymously in 1787 and was reprinted in 1802. Pockels supported the views of Brandes wholeheartedly, Pockels, *op. cit.*, IV, 432. For another interesting anti-feminist tract see Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Väterlicher Rat für meine Tochter. Ein Gegenstück des Theophron* (Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig: n. p., 1790). Campe wrote, "...the sex to which you [daughter] belong,... is dependent on men and is intellectually and physically weak..." (p. 19). Rousseau's view of women belongs into the same category, see pp.27 ff. of this dissertation.

Many women had all the bad qualities of which they were accused of was also claimed by Jean Jacques Rousseau. See Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes*, 7 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèques de L. Hachette et Cie., 1864), specifically the Confessions, V, 329, 448-50.


Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Kluckhohn wrote that the work of Lambert was widely known in Germany, that it was in fact translated into German in the year of its publication, but I could not find a German edition.

Erhard Peschke, ed., *A. H. Francke: Werke in Auswahl* (Berlin West: Lutherverlag), pp. 120 ff. Francke wrote an interesting preface to the treatise of Fénelon, in it he described the inadequacy of the training for girls and his plans to add a girls' school to his regular school.

Apparently the school did not last very long and did not receive much attention; it was not mentioned in several histories on education of this period. Hanstein seemed to have had some proof of the existence of such a school, yet he was unable to determine for how long it existed and what was taught. See Hanstein, *op. cit.*, I, 41.

See pp. 9-10 of this dissertation.

See p. 11 and footnote # 19 of this dissertation.

Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Die vernünftigen Tadelrinnen* (Frankfurt/Main: Johann Brandt, 1726). This publication was a weekly magazine and seems to have been well received with a circulation of 2000 copies a week. In 1738 and 1748 the different editions were made into a book. I was unable to determine why Gottsched discontinued the magazine after two years of publication.


See Hanstein, *op. cit.*, I, 71.

Gottsched, *op. cit.*, nos. 43, 37, 21, 52.

In the first editions the articles almost exclusively carry these designations.

Gottsched was particularly interested in elevating the German language to new importance, he always advocated the use of German, and in one letter
his wife responded to an apparent admonition, because she had used French in one of her letters to him. See Paul Schlenther, Frau Gottsched und die bürgerliche Komödie (Mit Briefanhang) (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1886), p. 230. This same letter is interesting also, because Madame Gottsched wrote about the Marquise de Lambert and Fénelon, who had done so much to broaden the education of girls. Of Lambert she wrote: "She teaches her daughter not to rely on the outward charm of her youth and her sex, but to cultivate her heart, to enlighten her mind, and to develop real assets. I will follow her advice..."

Ibid., p. 230.

38 Gottsched, op. cit., No. 49.

39 Ibid., Nos. 12, 36, 40, 49, 58.

40 Ibid., No. 48.

41 Ibid., No. 52.

42 Ibid., No. 45. With this particular demand he was probably far ahead of his time, although he drew considerable audiences.

43 Schlenther, op. cit., p. 11.

44 Frau Gottsched was very talented. She wrote plays and her plays are actually more entertaining than her husband's. For a discussion of her writings see Schlenther, op. cit., pp. 170-222. For her translation work see Ibid., pp. 52 ff.

45 Ibid., pp. 65-67. Schlenther thought that Frau Gottsched was considered the most learned woman in Germany. Also see Ibid., p. 27.

46 Magdalena Rieger, Versuch einiger geistlicher und moralischer Gedichte (Frankfurt/Main: Warrentrapp, 1743); Karoline Neuber, Ein deutsches Vorspiel (Leipzig: B. C. Breitkopf, 1734); Anna Luisa Karsch: Gedichte nach ihrem Tode, nebst Lebenslauf, edited by C. L. von Klenke (Berlin: Maurer, 1796). These were apparently some of the better known authors; Schlenther mentions a few more Ibid., pp. 26, 56.

47 Hanstein, op. cit., I, 173. Hanstein briefly mentioned this achievement, but did not seem to know more about it. No details about the life of Dr. Erxleben are given by Gertrud Bäumer, Handbuch der Frauenbewegung, Vol. I (Berlin: S. W. Moeser, 1901-06), I, 7.
48 Touaillon, op. cit., p. 66.

49 Hanstein, op. cit., I, 173.


52 In the atmosphere of the Enlightenment learning in general became more accepted and women of the middle class benefitted from this development. Frau Gottsched is a very good example of such a learned woman; she was well known and had a great deal of influence and a circle of female friends who thought as she did, see Schlenther, op. cit., pp. 240-57. Also see Hanstein, op. cit., I, 97-102. That more women were attempting to get a better education and thus were often called 'gelahrt' was discussed in Verteidigung des weiblichen Geschlechts (Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig: n. p., 1753). Also see Charlotte Unzer, Grundriss einer Weltweisheit für die Frauenzimmer (Halle: Schwetschke, 1751). Unzer promoted the learned woman in this book in which she explained the systems of Leibniz and Wolff to her female audience. Weltweissheiten was republished a few years later under Unzer's married name Ziegeler.
CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF ROUSSEAU: A TEMPORARY SETBACK FOR WOMEN

In 1762 Jean Jacques Rousseau published his educational novel *Emile*. In the tradition of the 18th century, Rousseau pleaded for educational reforms and progress, but his approach was a challenge to the rationalism of his time. Rousseau's naturalism stemmed from his belief in the inherent goodness of man and from his conviction that man learns best when he is free to develop and grow according to his natural impulses. Therefore, educational methods should follow the natural stages of the development of a child; discipline and restrictions should be discarded and a setting should be provided in which the child can engage in activities which interest him. The purpose of this natural approach to education was to prepare children for the demands of life. In Rousseau's novel *Emile*, Emile is the child, the central figure was Rousseau his teacher. After Emile had been carefully guided through his young life, Rousseau would see him depart: "Life is the trade that I want to teach him. When he leaves me, I am convinced that he will be neither a magistrate, nor a soldier, nor a priest; he will be a man."1
Aemil, as Rousseau's novel became known in Germany, where it was widely read, was a blow to the 'gelahrte Weib,' the learned woman, because Rousseau had a different goal in mind for women. He only mentions girls or women when the boy Emile is in need of them. In the beginning, of course, the boy-child needed his mother. Rousseau attacked the custom of the upper and middle classes who left their young children in the custody of nurses. After the boy had been carefully educated and become a young man he was again in need of a woman, a wife. Only when Emile is ready for a woman, does Rousseau discuss the girl Sophie. Sophie, too, had been educated. But her education was not an intellectual one, rather one that was to enable her to please her future husband. The statement, "it follows that woman is created to please man," aptly describes what women's function were as far as Rousseau was concerned.

Rousseau's Sophie was completely natural, weak, and emotional, to complement Emile's discipline, strength, and aggressiveness. She was patient and most of all sensitive and feminine. Marriage and children were the only attainable and worthwhile goals in her life. In order to achieve all these worthwhile characteristics and develop a pleasing personality, Sophie needed only little training. But this education was not to be con-
cerned with books; in fact booklearning was most alien to women, according to Rousseau. Sophie was encouraged to play with dolls and to participate in physical exercises along with boys. The purpose of this equal exposure was not equality, it was to make women healthy so that they could become healthy mothers and raise healthy children in a 'natural' way. Once boys did not need their mothers any longer, they would require a male teacher. The role of women in society was so restricted that Rousseau felt it unnecessary to educate women; a formal education would only result in making women unfeminine and unnatural.

Thus *Emile* was a declaration of war against those who favored a better education for women, and especially those who may have had notions about opening the universities to women. Rousseau's educational ideals for *Emile* were not realistic enough to be implemented by reformers, though his educational theories were influential and were incorporated in school reforms. A relaxation of regimentation definitely had a salutary effect on school boys. But his educational ideas for women re-affirmed the century-old subservience of women to man.

Just as women had cautiously looked ahead to the future, the doors to that future seemed to close again. Rousseau's writings were very popular in Germany, as the
correspondences of the time reflect, and his influence on the literature and morals of the time was quite considerable. 8

Rousseau was not the first who advocated naturalness in education and the complete naturalness of women. He responded to a feeling that had obviously grown tired of the rationalism of the Enlightenment along with the *femmes savantes.* There were others who felt similarly and may have influenced Rousseau. 9 His educational ideas for boys and girls were already foreshadowed in a book by the Swiss educator J. G. Krüger in 1751. Krüger in his *Gedanken über die Erziehung der Kinder* proposed educational reforms similar to those discussed in *Emile.* Krüger, of course, never became as well known as his fellow countryman, but Krüger's work seems to indicate that educational reforms were in the making and that a new naturalness was beginning to make itself felt. J. G. Krüger, like Rousseau believed that learned women were something unnatural. Girls, according to Krüger, did not need an education while they were small, but when they grew up, they could be easily educated together with small boys. 10

One may think that women were disappointed and that they rejected the ideas of Rousseau and those who shared them. But for the most part German women were neither disappointed nor did they oppose Rousseau's ideal of women. In the aftermath of Rousseau's two famous books,
Smile and the *Nouvelle Heloise*, the learned woman seems to have lost ground and was for a time replaced by the ideal, new woman. She was a part of nature (a shepherdess maybe), she was utterly feminine and sensitive, and she supposedly shunned a formal education that would spoil her naturalness. Only her emotions and her sensitivity were allowed to develop to ensure her naturalness. Men like Gottsched were replaced by new leaders in the arts and philosophy who were under the spell of Rousseau. Much of the German literature and poetry as well as educational theories reflected the influence of the philosopher of Geneva.\(^\text{11}\) The learned woman who had been praised by the early Enlighteners was often ridiculed.\(^\text{12}\) The 'ideal woman' in the new literature was young, beautiful, and in general, not formally educated. She was also sensitive and devoted to husband and children. The novel that best describes this new ideal female was *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1771) by Sophie La Roche, who incorporated the Rousseauist ideal of femininity in her main character.

*Sternheim* was the perfect example of the sensitive novel in Germany.\(^\text{13}\) It is a letter novel, which had become popular since Rousseau's *Nouvelle Heloise*. The story centers on the main character, Sophie von Sternheim, who had received just the proper education that made her a
very feminine and virtuous creature. After her parents died Sophie became very melancholy and was persuaded to move to the city to live with some relatives. Sophie then took a tearful and emotional leave from the grave of her parents and put some dirt from the grave into a locket.

At the house of her relatives she seemed out of place; she was a natural, unsophisticated young girl and she could not get used to the social life of the city and the court of the ruling prince. Her beauty and her naturalness impressed a young English lord, Lord Seymour, and the two fell in love, never admitting this love to each other.

Her relatives had their own plans for her; they needed a favor from the prince and the prince needed a new mistress. Everybody, including Seymour knew this, but Sophie was completely unaware of these manipulations. Seymour decided to test her and stood by as she was slowly pushed into the company of the prince. Another Englishman watched too, he planned to conquer Sophie and deceive her. When Sternheim finally realized how she was being used she turned to Seymour who accused her of hypocrisy, believing she had compromised herself. The other Englishman, Lord Derby, offered help and took her away from the house of her relatives, where she felt no longer safe. In a fake ceremony Derby married Sternheim,
but she thought the marriage was legal. She resigned herself to the fact that the man she loved had turned against her and that she would be a good wife to the man she had married. Derby, however, grew tired of her and told her that he had really never married her. Sternheim was completely crushed and withdrew from society, dedicated her life to helping others and took the name of 'Madame Leidens.'

In the service of a rich English woman she met another man of whom she grew very fond. After a lot of adventures that included being kidnapped by the villain, Lord Derby, she finally was reunited with Seymour. The other man whom she loved too, turned out to be Seymour's brother, Lord Rich. Both men wanted to marry her, she chose Seymour, because a rejection might have led to his death. Lord Rich, however, chose to live for her friendship. He lived close by, travelled with them and became the mentor of her son.

In Sternheim we see many of the features of the Rousseauist novel, especially the Nouvelle Heloise. La Roche indicated with the fake marriage to Derby and Sternheim's determination to make him happy that the purpose in life for women was to become good wives to whomever they married. La Roche's own experiences showed that she fully subscribed to this goal for women.
She loved the dramatist Christoph Wieland, but married La Roche and chose to stay with him.¹⁴

Sophie von Sternheim is an example of the Rousseauist ideal woman. She is virtuous like Sophie of *Emile* and Julie of the *Nouvelle Heloise*, and her education as well as her educational ideals are expressed in the terms of the philosopher of Geneva. Even the relationship à trois is reminiscent of the relationship of Julie with Wolmar and Saint-Preux. Lord Rich like Saint-Preux resigned himself to live close to the woman he loved and to become her friend. Both the *Nouvelle Heloise* and Sternheim seem to stress the desireability of pure platonic love.¹⁵

Most of all La Roche subscribed to Rousseau's view of women. Woman's goal was to get married and have children and to please man. With this goal in mind women did not need a formal education. La Roche advocated a rather superficial education and training for girls in order to make virtuous wives and mothers out of them.¹⁶ In 1784 she visited several boarding schools for young girls and praised their curriculum which consisted mostly of some history, some sciences, homemaking, and religion. La Roche was satisfied with these schools and their accomplishments.¹⁷ The purpose of this training was clear, Sternheim expressed it when she said: "... but let them [girls] acquire some simple knowledge about the air
that they breathe, about the earth that they walk, the plants and animals which nourish and clothe them; an excerpt of history so that they are not bored, when men discuss it in their presence,..."18

Yet there is a curious contradiction in Sophie La Roche's advocacy of the feminine, submissive and even naive woman and her real life. It is true that her relationship with her husband and Wieland can be compared to the one described in Sternheim or the one of Julie in Nouvelle Heloise, but Sophie La Roche was neither Sophie von Sternheim nor Julie nor Sophie of Emile. She was not a simple-minded woman, in fact she had received a very good education in the upper middle class home in which she had grown up. Her correspondence reflect the fact that she was troubled by the apparent contradiction of her own life and the ideal she portrayed in her works.

After her husband lost his government position, she claimed she wrote because of economic necessity, but also because she wanted to influence girls in the proper way.19 She even expanded her literary career and published a magazine for women in 1784; Pomona. Für Deutschlands Töchter. It seems to have been a very successful enterprise and many women contributed to it, thus leaving the traditional confines of a life devoted exclusively to the family, a life that had been so glowingly described
With her literary career La Roche became the provider for the family, but she did not think that this was natural and still did not advocate a formal education for girls so they could become economically self-sufficient. Women were to find economic security in marriage, La Roche continued to believe this, even after her own bitter experiences had proven that marriage could not always provide such security. In order to ensure the future of her two daughters, she married them off to well-situated men, whether the girls loved them or not. Maximiliane was married to a rich merchant Peter Anton von Brentano, of Frankfurt, and she was very unhappy. Daughter Luise was married to a Hofrath Möhn, and this was an even unhappier match.

The feminine, virtuous woman is also described in other influential works of this period. The heroine Sophie von Sternheim was joined in 1772 by Lotte in Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* and by Gretchen of his *Faust* (Goethe started *Faust* in 1772 and did not complete it until 1831, but the character of Gretchen underwent very few changes during the time of rewriting). Both Lotte and Gretchen as well as Maria in *Götz von Berlichingen* (1771) are excellent examples of the uncomplicated feminine creature that became so popular in the 1760's, 1770's and 1780's, the time of the *Sturm und Drang*.23
When creating Lotte and Gretchen Goethe did not think that learnedness could be reconciled with femininity. In Werther he briefly introduced an obscure character, the wife of a minister, who pretended to be learned by dabbling in theology. She is unpleasant, ugly, sickly, and nervous from all her studies. Lotte, on the other hand, is beautiful, young, sensitive, concerned with matters of the house and other feminine occupations. She particularly liked to dance just as Sophie von Sternheim did. Learnedness, according to this comparison, was truly something that was not enhancing women.

Under the influence of Rousseau and as a response to the general feeling of the time, then, a new type of woman developed in the German literature of the Sturm und Drang period. This new woman was imitated by women of the upper middle and middle classes. German youth, men and women, enthusiastically subscribed to the Weltanschauung of the philosopher from Geneva. Faust's Gretchen became a representative of German women; she was a dear soul, naive and without significance, who would be a selfless companion to a man with superior intelligence. Her naturalness, goodness and simplicity could revitalize any man. This girl says it all when she utters:
Dear God! What such a man can find
To ponder over in his mind!
And here I stand, a tongue-tied miss
And can no answer make but 'yes.'
I cannot think what he can see
In a poor ignorant girl like me.27

Did Goethe look down on women? Apparently not.

He often placed women on a pedestal and saw in them attributes that they actually did not have. His esthetics point to what is 'true, beautiful, and good;' and the 'beautiful', the ultimate beauty, Goethe saw in the natural, feminine woman, whom he celebrates in the final chorus of his Faust:

All in earth's fleeting state
As symbol is still meant;
Here the inadequate
Grows to Fulfilment;
Here is wrought the inscrutable,
To silence that awes us,
The Eternal-Feminine, immutable,
On, ever on, draws us.28
NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Rousseau, op. cit., (Emile), I, 46.

2. Rousseau’s influence in Germany is discussed by Kluckhohn, op. cit., pp. 118, 181-83. Also see Köster, op. cit., pp. 247-48, 272, and Hanstein, op. cit., II, 15 ff pointed out that Rousseau seems to have been more popular in Germany than in France. See Peter Gay, The Enlightenment: An Interpretation (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), pp. 5-6, 16, 25 for the scorn of most French philosophes for Rousseau. Voltaire once said after reading one of Rousseau’s works, "One gets the desire to walk on all four," cited in Laaths, op. cit., p. 439.


4. Ibid., II, 149.

5. Ibid., I, 417, 425.

6. Rousseau had met the 'femmes savantes' as well as the vain and pleasure seeking women. He disliked both and preferred Sophie and Julie of his letter novel Nouvelle Heloise. Ibid., (Confessions), V, pp. 329, 448-50.

7. Kant shared with Rousseau the dislike for the learned women. Kant wrote: "A woman who has her head full of Greek ...or who conducts discussions over mechanics..., might just as well have a beard; because it [the beard] would indicate more clearly the expression of melancholy, which they want to acquire." Immanuel Kant, Werke, Vol 1, ed.W. Weischedel (Wiesbaden: Insel Verlag, 1956), I, 852. Kant continued: "I do not believe, that the fair sex is capable of understanding axioms, and hope not to offend." Ibid., I, 855. Kant’s chapter ‘About the State of Mind of the Beautiful and the Sublime and the Beautiful in the Relationship of Both Sexes,’ is quite amusing, but also quite derogatory to women, and aptly describes Kant’s view of women.

8. See Wielands Briefe an Sophie La Roche (Berlin: E. H. C. Christiani, 1820), p. 80. Also see Kluckhohn, op. cit., pp. 185ff.
Ibid., pp. 181-82, discusses Klopstock and the English influence of Samuel Richardson on Rousseau. Also see Laaths, op. cit., p. 421. In the field of pedagogical ideas Comenius, A. H. Francke and Johann Hecker as well as John Locke were akin to Rousseau's thinking. See Butts, op. cit., p. 290; Heman, op. cit., pp. 154 ff. Also see Comenius, op. cit., pp. 233-81, 282-323.

J. G. Kräter, Gedanken über die Erziehung der Kinder (Halle: Schwetschke, 1751 and 1760), p. 87.

The period of the Sturm und Drang was influenced by Rousseau. Writers such as the young Goethe, Schiller, Stilling, Klinger, Wieland, Sophie La Roche and many others of the Sturm und Drang period were indebted to Rousseau. See Kluckhohn, op. cit., pp. 186 ff. The period of the Sturm und Drang is limited to the years 1765-1785 and it took its name from a drama title by Friedrich Klinger. Also see for the influence of Rousseau on German literature, Koster, op. cit., p. 242.

In Germany Gottsched had praised learned women and had attempted to educate women with his women's magazine. Lessing, too, had a great deal of praise for female learnedness and initially admired Frau Gottsched. Only after Lessing did not get along with Gottsched did his remarks about Adelgunde Gottsched change, Schlenther, op. cit., p. 78. Hanstein also believed that female learnedness had become quite accepted during the 1740's and 1750's, Hanstein, op. cit., I, 99-102. Even at the beginning of the 18th century pro-feminist literature promoted the learned female, see pp. 9-12, of this dissertation. The anonymous pamphlet Verteidigung des weiblichen Geschlechts (1753) also praised the learned woman, apparently at a time when female learnedness was beginning to draw some criticism. Attacks on female learnedness were varied from Rousseau to second rate polemics and farces like Die geleherte Frau, (Lustspiel) (Breslau: Korn, 1777) and Die geleherte Frau, (Lustspiel) (Frankfurt/Main: Eichenberg, 1781) and Fräulein Wohlerzogen (Munich: Strobl, 1783).

The novel was well received; for the reaction to Sternheim see the introduction to Sophie La Roche, Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim (Berlin: B. Behrs Verlag, 1907), pp. xxvi-xxviii; also see Heinrich Düntzer, Aus Herder's Nachlass (Berlin: Keldinger & Sohn, Co., 1884) pp. 66-68, 75, 87. Goethe was particularly impressed with Sternheim, see introduction to La Roche, Sternheim, pp. xxvi-xxviii.
I have not been able to find out why she chose La Roche, but in view of the way Sophie La Roche married off her daughters, I am led to believe that her parents arranged her marriage to La Roche, who was the illegitimate son of a high nobleman.

See for a discussion of love in the novel *Nouvelle Heloise* Kluckhohn, op. cit., pp. 94 ff. Kluckhohn felt that Rousseau seems to have been afraid to get fully involved with women and referred to love as passion terrible, apparently preferring a platonic relationship. This we see in *Nouvelle Heloise*, Sternheim as well as in other novels of the time. La Roche, too, had a relationship à trois. In Goethe's *Werther* we will see that Goethe described such a relationship, but does not feel that it was acceptable. Werther resolved the relationship à trois when he committed suicide. A mere friendship with Lotte was not possible for him.

For a view on the difference between the sexes, their respective roles in society and their education see *La Roche*, *Sternheim*, pp. 116-23.

Sophie von La Roche to Jenny von Voigt, June 11, 1784, Nachlass Sophie La Roche (Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt/Main, West Germany), hereafter cited Nachlass La Roche, #51155-58. Also see *La Roche*, *Sternheim*, pp. 258-61; Sternheim spoke about the value of the 'proper' education for girls which corresponds with Sophie La Roche's view in the above mentioned letter.

Sophie La Roche to Suzanne von Bandemer, May 30, 1794, Nachlass La Roche, #50663-64.

Sophie La Roche, ed. Pomona. *Für Deutschlands Töchter* (Speyer: Hennings in Neisse, 1785). The contributors were Charlotte von Gersdorf, Sophie Albrecht, Philippine Gatterer and others. There were a host of other women's magazines published in the 1780's; all seem to have attempted to portray women in the manner La Roche was doing; all had female contributors but were edited by men. Examples are Johann Georg Jacobi, ed., *Iris* (Düsseldorf, 1774); David Christoph Seybold, ed., *Neues Magazin für Frauenzimmer* (Leipzig, 1782-86, 1787-88, 1789-91).

Apparently it did not even bother her that Maximiliane had to change her religion. Brentano was Catholic and La Roche was Protestant.
Goethe's mother, Frau Rat Goethe, gives an amusing description of Luise's husband. She wrote that Münn was a monster and that,"... if that man wanted to make me queen of the world (America included) — I would turn him down. He looks like the devil in the seventh plea of Luther's catechism — is stupid as a Heupferd, and besides all these misfortunes he is Hofrat. If I understand all this, I want to become an oyster. A woman like Madame La Roche... who seems to be bent on making her daughters unhappy...." Albert Köster, ed., *Briefe von Goethe's Mutter* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1912), pp. 38-39.

In *Werther* Goethe described a relationship à trois as had Rousseau and La Roche, he was influenced by both.


Caroline Flachsland in a letter to Herder wrote after having read Sternheim: "My ideal of a woman! Gentle, tender charitable... Oh, how far I am still removed from my ideal, .....I want to be just like Sternheim!" The women around Goethe in his Leipzig, Strassburg and Wetzlar days from 1765-1772 conformed to this ideal. 

Goethe, op. cit., (Faust), I, 331.

Ibid., I, 632.
CHAPTER III
THE FIRST SOCIAL CRITICS

Rousseau's views on women had become very influential in Germany, as we already saw. However, his theories on education of women and his general opinion on women were occasionally challenged in the decades after the publication of *Emile*. One such challenge was published by Jean Formey, a French teacher in Berlin, in 1762 and 1763. His book *Anti-Aemil* attacked Rousseau's theories on *Emile*'s education as unrealistic and on Sophie's as nonsensical. He rejected Rousseau's belief that women were naturally dependent on men, and maintained that female dependence was traditionally taken for granted and had nothing to do with the nature of women. Formey's view on the relationship between the sexes was unusual for his time and only lately has his thinking become gradually accepted. "A society of women could take care of its needs as well as a state that is made up of men entirely," argued Formey. He also maintained that it would be very unnatural to confine women solely to house and children, since women were in need of relaxation just like men.

Formey criticized Rousseau for claiming that reading and writing were of secondary importance to women.
Nor should they be taught these skills only as young adults, as Rousseau proposed, but as children. At a later age, Formey argued, women would have a difficult time to learn these elementary skills.

Anti-Aemil, whether it was widely read or not, certainly did not have a very important impact, compared to the works of Rousseau. The ideals of the time, as we have already seen, were Julie and Saint-Freux, Emile and Sophie. Yet the Formey book shows that not all educators automatically became advocates of Rousseau. "The Julies and Emiles will produce nothing but loose and foolish people," Formey warned. 3

Another work which did not totally accept the ideas discussed in Emile was written by the educator Johann Basedow, who was a Rousseauist. In general, Basedow agreed with Rousseau and believed that genuineness in education was important. But in the Methodenbuch für Väter und Mütter der Familien und Völker (1770) he expressed some reservations about the training of Sophie. He agreed with Rousseau that men were destined to go out into the world and earn a living and that women were destined to please their husbands. 4 But Basedow believed that Rousseau oversimplified women's educational needs and failed to consider something very obvious; some girls were not beautiful and could not find a husband.
If the families of these unlucky girls were not well-to-do or if they, for some reason, lost all their money, these uneducated and unmarried creatures would become destitute. Therefore, Basedow argued, girls should receive an education beyond the elementary skills of reading and writing. At an early age girls ought to be trained in the sciences, history as well as religion. With this kind of an education women could become governesses and lady companions, since tradition prevented them from holding public positions.

Basedow thus was one of the few people who realized that the education of girls should be furthered for economic reasons. But in this respect Basedow along with Formey stood rather alone in a generation that believed Rousseau's educational theories provided answers to most educational problems. Only toward the end of the 18th century other opinions about women and their educational needs were being voiced in France, England, and Germany. But these views had little to do with the plans Rousseau had had for the Sophies of the world.

These other opinions were voiced by representatives of the spirit of the Enlightenment. In Germany, one enlightened philosophe, Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, mayor of the city of Königsberg, wrote about progress in general and women's rights in particular in a work entitled Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber. In an earlier
book, *Über die Ehe*, Hippel had seemed quite in tune with the predominant feeling of the time that viewed women as Rousseau had described them. Hippel had then concluded that marriage was the only future open to women and that husbands could command complete obedience from them. Yet Hippel seemed to have changed his views, because the newer edition of *Über die Ehe* reflected an entirely different way of thinking. He argued that women had a future outside the home and were to be considered as equals in the family.

His new thoughts on the position of women in society is even more apparent in his *Über die bürgerliche Verbesse-rung der Weiber* (On the Civil Improvement of Women). Here Hippel theorized that the apparent weakness of women was unnatural and that it was a product of man-made traditions and conventions. Because of this centuries-long tradition of weakness, women became completely subjugated to men. As a typical enlightened man Hippel offered a favorite solution of the Enlightenment — education. But he went further and said, "... give them [women] civil rights along with civil responsibilities." Since the French Revolution had proclaimed the 'Rights of Man' women should receive the same rights. "If women remain slaves, the advances of the French Revolution will be lost and all men will become oppressed again." Civil rights for women was the answer to the problem of inequality of
women should be prepared for their new roles in society by an equal education and the acceptance of women in all professions, especially the medical profession. Women's talents, Hippel believed, were wasted and society would benefit from the participation of women in the different professions as well as in the running of the state to which they should be entitled too.

It is difficult to say how widely read Hippel's _Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber_ was. There are several references to this work in other writings of the time, and his entire works were reprinted in 1828. In later years Hippel was rediscovered as the champion for women's rights.

In 1792 another important feminist work was published; _A Vindication of the Rights of Woman_, by Mary Wollstonecraft, which, too, called for the social and educational emancipation of women. The book was translated into German and published in German in the same year of its English publication. Again it is impossible to tell what reception this book had in Germany, but it is interesting to note that a German publisher thought it worthwhile to publish a translation.

In Germany, too, a few women began to question their roles in society and the value of their education. One such woman was Friederika Baldinger who wrote an essay, _Versuch über meine Verstandeserziehung_. This essay was
a scathing attack on a society that oppressed women and condemned them to ignorance and stupidity. As a young girl Baldinger had been striving for knowledge, but was purposely kept away from books and not given a proper education. Instead, she was forced to do household chores which she detested. When she attempted to read and educate herself her mother took her books away from her. Baldinger's mother felt that it was sinful for a girl to study, and so the young girl's intellectual gifts were wasted.17

From this intellectual wasteland and the menial tasks that she had to perform, Baldinger was finally rescued by an understanding man who married her and gave her the chance to educate herself. Only with this intellectual stimulation did her real life begin. Yet the lost time could not be entirely recovered. As she wrote in her essay, "I believe, I would have become learned had I not been predestined for the cooking pot." 18

Another criticism of society that condemned women to ignorance and a superficial life came in the form of a moralizing novel, Julchen Grunthal, eine Pensionsgeschichte. The author of this novel was Friederike Helene Unger, who had decided to publish her novel anonymously in 1784. The novel was a great success and prompted her to expand it into two volumes and republish it in 1798. 19

Unger's novel was an indictment of the superficial
education that girls were receiving at the time. The book described a girls' boarding school in Germany. The school was run by a French woman, Madame La Porte, who seemed to have no qualifications other than having a French name. Middle-class parents in Germany thought that French women were qualified to teach their daughters manners, grooming, and the little things they needed to know in order to catch a husband. Nothing of value was taught in the school and the characters of the girl were thoroughly corrupted. The discussions at the boarding school generally centered around love and getting a well-to-do husband and the readings of the girls were confined to some novels of questionable contents.

After leaving the boarding school, Julchen Grünthal decided not to return home and chose a lifestyle that was shocking to any middle-class parents. The girl was finally lost somewhere in Russia. Unger's novel was meant to be a commentary on the inadequate female education and the neglect of regulating the training of teachers. Julchen Grünthal was also an indictment of the feminine sensitivity and weakness that had been celebrated for several decades during the Sturm und Drang period and the influence of Rousseau. The author of the novel did not hesitate to attack Rousseau. At one point the main character Julchen (Julie) read the Nouvelle Heloise and was so impressed by the Julie of that novel that it led to disastrous con-
The novel apparently was so shocking by contemporary standards that a minister, well-meaning Johann Stutz, published a second part to *Julchen Grünthal* in 1785; he completely changed the plot and brought everything to a happy ending, something that Unger had chosen not to do. Stutz seemed to argue that a girl from a good family could not change so drastically from bad experiences at a boarding school, and he changed Julchen's character so that it resembled that of Sophie von Sternheim. Stutz was apparently more interested in preserving the image of the feminine woman, Unger, however, stressed the inadequacy and the weakness of female education of the time.

In the latter part of the 1780's and in the 1790's the feminine goal of an idealist, sensitive feminine creature thus began to lose ground. Slowly learnedness became a more accepted attribute, and an increasing number of writings defended female learning.

There were no radical changes made anywhere, but the attitude towards learned and well-educated women became more positive. In 1787 Germans could once again admire or shake their heads about a female Ph. D. The girl who received this distinction at the age of seventeen was Dorothea von Schlozer, the daughter of a professor at the University of Göttingen. Her father, August Ludwig von
Schlözer, rejected most of Rousseau's educational theories and was also an opponent of Johann Basedow, the German educator and disciple of Rousseau. When Schlözer had a daughter he saw no reason to bring her up differently from a boy. He gave a good education to all his children, because he wanted them to become well-rounded persons. Schlözer also argued that knowledge was the consolation in old age, and he saw no reason why women should not have this consolation. Dorothea was by far the most gifted of his children and he devoted a great deal of time to her and took her on extended journeys. He even travelled with the eleven-year old Dorothea to Rome, where she was admired and celebrated for her obvious intelligence and her knowledge of languages. Father and daughter were received in the homes of well-known Roman families and even had an audience with the Pope.

Dorothea von Schlözer probably would not have pursued a higher education had her father not insisted on it. But she seemed quite content with her accomplishments and her experiences and even published parts of a travel journal in a woman's magazine. In a letter to Luise Michaelis, sister of the famous Caroline Schlegel, Dorothea defended her studies and her unusual upbringing. Dorothea wrote, "Dear girl, I want to point out some things that we generally do not find out at such an early age [she was fifteen] ... Women are not solely in the world to amuse men. Women are
The one who wants to be only amused is a rascal, or he deserves a woman with a pretty face, with whom he is bored in four weeks. Does a woman make a husband happy solely because she is his cook or his seamstress?... Don't you think... that what I study could satisfy a man? What if I get a merchant or a manufacturer who deals with Spain, France, Holland, Italy, England, or Sweden etc., and I understand the languages of these countries and would take care of his correspondence?" Dorothea thus was very happy with what she had accomplished and in the letter to Luise Michaelis she continued that she did not want to spend the rest of her life in the kitchen; if marriage meant a dull life as cook and seamstress, she would rather remain single.

Apparently, Dorothea did not plan to graduate with a Ph. D., but several professors at the University of Göttingen thought it would be a joke, if they had a female graduate. The joke became reality when her ambitious father heard of it and Dorothea managed to pass the rigorous examinations and proved that women were capable of the same intellectual achievements as men. At the fiftieth anniversary of the University of Göttingen Dorothea received her Ph. D. along with fifteen male candidates.

Dorothea, however, was not interested in pursuing a career of her own. This was still unthinkable. But after she had received her degree, she became her father's re-
search assistant and helped him to compile a book on Russian coins.\textsuperscript{34} She also studied mining and went to the mining regions of the Harz mountains where she accompanied the miners into the mines. She described her experiences in the mining community of Clausthal in an article for a woman's magazine.\textsuperscript{35} Dorothea's motto became the words of the famous Madame Roland:

\begin{quote}
We women live no longer in the times when one imagines that the ignorance of women is the guardian of their virtue and the guarantee of their wisdom.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

A few years after she had received her Ph. D. Dorothea von Schlözer married a very rich man who had been impressed with her accomplishments. Dorothea did not have to spend the rest of her life in the kitchen, instead her salon became the center of intellectual activity in the city of Lübeck. As far as the old Schlözer was concerned, her education had proven profitable, but he had also given his daughter knowledge that was to become her consolation in old age.\textsuperscript{37}

Dorothea von Schlözer's achievements were exceptional. She had been able to prove that women had the intellectual capacity to achieve academic excellence.

As the general attitude toward female education began to become more positive and as more women were willing to defend their rights to an education, anti-feminist literature was also being published. The many anti-feminist tracts could have been a result of the increasing acceptance
of the educated woman in society.38

Campe's Väterlicher Rat für meine Tochter was parti­
cularly hostile to female education. Campe, a well-known
educator, asserted that women were weaker and therefore de­
pended on men.39 Women's future consisted in marriage, they
needed no particular education for this. He considered it
foolish to educate women, because the learned women were
unfit wives and mothers.40 Marriage, he admitted, may not
always be pleasant experience, because admittedly mascu­
line men were tyrants and brutes.41 But women had no choice
and had to endure even intolerable marriages, because their
sole task was to contribute to the preservation of the human
race.42

The Campe book had been published in 1790 in German
and it was answered by a woman. Esther Bernhard published
"Einige Bemerkungen über Herrn Campes Behauptungen über die
weibliche Bildung." Bernhard criticized Campe for asser­
ting that educated and intelligent women were unfit mothers
and wives. She argued from her own experiences and proved
Campe wrong. Educated women were in fact better wives and
mothers, and they were able to offer much more to husbands
and children.43 Bernhard denied that women were inherently
weak and accused men of having made them this way; "Who is
by physical, moral, and political laws more condemned to de­
pendence than women? I think it is very illogical that peo­
ple see our greater weakness, but try to take from our hands
the best tools for strengthening ourselves. To Campe's remarks about the vanity of women, "Take from girls the desire to please and you are left with nothing but an inactive creature," Bernhard replied, "We are accused rightly and wrongly of countless petty sentiments, but we are permitted nothing great, except the longing for greatness." Esther Bernhard went on to support Hippel's Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber which she had read, and praised Hippel's defense of women. She also mentioned the Wollstonecraft book which she had not read, but had heard about.

Bernhard's defense of Hippel and her attitude as a woman is quite interesting, as interesting in fact as the book by another woman who joined the ranks of women writing on behalf of their own rights. This woman, Amalia Holst, too, took issue with Campe's assertions concerning the inferiority and weakness of women, and she also rejected his claim that educated women made poor wives and mothers. Holst insisted that women would benefit from a better education, and that they had a right to receive such an education if they wished to.

Holst believed that men had consciously kept women in a lowly position in order to be dominant and had thus degraded and demoralized women. She felt that women and men were human beings first and that the soul had no sex and that as human beings both men and women had basically
the same rights and the same desires. But as long as
women were subjugated and kept ignorant, they could not
be equal. Education, she thought, could improve the
position of women in society, and she placed high hopes in
the future when women would be better educated and would be
able to live more fulfilling lives as mothers and wives.

Amalia Holst had read Hippel's Über die bürgerliche
Verbesserung der Weiber and she recommended it to her au­
dience despite the fact that Hippel had demanded total
equality for women, a demand which she could not whole­
heartedly support. One is not quite sure whether she
rejected total equality or whether she thought that the
demand for total equality was unrealistic. For the time
she contended herself with asking for an improvement of
women's education. This would enable them to become better
members of society and better wives and mothers.

Of particular interest to her was the lot of the un­
marr ied woman, and she devoted one complete chapter to
this problem. Education, she noted, was very important to
those who could not find a husband and to those who did
not wish the security of a marriage. These unmarried
women, she thought, should not be regarded as social out­
casts, but should receive the kind of education that
would make them valuable members of society, such as tea­
chers, companions, governesses, and even social workers.
When Wollstonecraft, Hippel, Baldinger, Holst, and Bernhard were writing, the French Revolution was running its course. Yet we know that this great upheaval did not directly affect the position of women in society. Condorcet's constitution was never implemented. Olympe de Gouges, a French feminist and author of Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne (Paris, 1789), had become one of the first martyrs of the women's movement when she was guillotined for her untimely demands. Thus the political revolution was played out with no apparent consequences to women. But the intellectual revolution that had begun in the early 18th century with the Enlightenment and which culminated in the political revolution and the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen was providing women and their advocates with the tools to demand rights for women. Thus, indirectly, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution were beginning to affect the position of women around the turn of the century.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Jean Formey, Anti-Aemil (Berlin: Horvarth, 1762 and 1763), p. 78.

2 Ibid., p. 96.

3 Ibid., p. 125.


5 Ibid., p. 177.

6 Ibid., p. 183.

7 Ibid., pp. 178-82. Formey had come to a similar conclusion, Formey, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

8 I could not find a copy of the 1774 edition of Über die Ehe and relied on Gertrud Bäumer, op. cit., I, 8. Bäumer mentioned the book Über die Ehe and its anti-feminist contents.

9 Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, Über die Ehe (Berlin: Vossische Buchhandlung, 1793). Bäumer did not think that Hippel's change of mind should be taken seriously, but I cannot agree. Hippel's style was very funny and satirical, but I believe his changed attitude was serious. Bäumer was not really interested in the early development of feminism, most of the Handbuch is focused on the period 1880-1900, when she was an active participant in the movement.


11 Ibid., VI, 202.

12 Ibid., VI, 340 ff.

13 Ibid., VI, 346.

14 See pp. 59-60 of this dissertation.

15 The Wollstonecraft book was translated by C. von Salzmann and from a bibliographical reference I could not tell whether Salzmann was a man or a woman. There were also annotations in the German translation, but since I was unable to find a copy of the book, I do not know
whether these were favorable or not. The author of the introduction of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London: Dent, 1891), stated that the book was a great success in France, England, and Germany as well as other countries, but does not give any evidence for this assertion. See *ibid.*, p. ix.

16 This essay was written around 1784 but not published until after Baldinger's death. Her husband asked Sophie La Roche to publish it, although the essay did not reflect La Roche's thinking. La Roche published it as *Lebensbeschreibung der Friederika Baldinger, von ihr selbst verfasst* (Offenbach: Brede, 1791). Hippel knew of the life of Baldinger and her essay; see Hippel, *op. cit.* VI, 251.


19 Friederike Helene Unger, Julchen Grünthal, eine Pensionsgeschichte, 2 vols. (Berlin: Unger, 1798)

20 *Ibid.*, I, 26 ff. Unger's apparent dislike of French educators in Germany and French manners in general could indicate that she had strong anti-French sentiments.


24 For some comments on the Stutz version of Julchen Grünthal see Hanstein, *op. cit.* II, 309.

25 Hippel's *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber* is an example that has already been discussed. The outbreak of the French Revolution and the subsequent Declaration of Rights apparently prompted Hippel to write about the rights of women. There were a few contemporary writings that defend Hippel's *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber*. One was E., "Zur Ehrenrettung des weiblichen Geschlechts," *Berlinerisches Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks* (1799): 299-307. Another defense of Hippel and female learnedness was D. Mercy's, "Auch ein Wort zur Ehrenrettung des weiblichen Geschlechts in Bezug auf die Berliner weibliche Welt," *Berlinerisches Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks* (1800): 219-233. Dr. E. Mottlack, "Plan von Vorlesungen für Frauenzimmer," *Journal von und für Deutschland* (1798): 35 ff. proposed a better education for women and even wanted them admitted to the universities. That women should be intellectually independent and rather
than please a man should attempt to please themselves was expressed in the article by E. v. B. (Emilie von Berlepsch perhaps?) Berlepsch was a friend of Herder and Jean Paul. E.v. B. "Über einige zum Glück der Ehe notwendigen Eigenschaften und Grundsätze," Neuer Teutscher Merkur V (1791): 15 ff. Another publication that called on women to be better educated and be more independent in their decision making was "Das andere, das bessere Geschlecht. Ein Versuch zur richtigen Würdigung des anderen Geschlechts," Berlinisches Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks(1798): 31-46.


27 Dorothea's achievements were well-known in Göttingen where her pictures were sold. She was also known throughout Germany, Schlözer, op. cit., pp. 121, 136-37. Also see Hippel, op. cit., VI, 170. Even a magazine article in America described the accomplishments of Dorothea von Schlözer: "An account of Miss D. Schlözer, a celebrated learned lady in the Electorate of Hanover, who was thought worthy of the highest academical honours in the University of Göttingen at the grand Jubilee, in the year 1787," Columbian Magazine V (1790): 156, cited in Schlözer, op. cit., p. 137. Goethe, too, was impressed by Dorothea, ibid., p. 103. Caroline Schlegel and Therese Heyne, both daughters of Göttingen professors, were not impressed with Dorothea's achievements; see Erich Schmidt, ed., Caroline. Briefe aus der Frühromantik, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1913), I, 162-63. Leopold von Schlözer, the author of Dorothea's biography, believed that Caroline and Therese were quite envious of Dorothea. See Schlözer, op. cit., p. 135.

28 Hanstein, op. cit., II, 349. Schlözer, op. cit., p. 30. August Ludwig von Schlözer called his daughter 'my anti-Basedow,' because Basedow did not believe that women were capable of higher learning. It is interesting to note, however, that Basedow had a daughter, a Wunderkind, who could speak several languages, see Hanstein, op. cit., II, 212-13.

29 Schlözer, op. cit., p. 31.

30 Ibid., p. 31.

31 Dorothea von Schlözer, "Reisejournal; Neufchatel, 31. März 1782," Neues Magazin für Frauenzimmer VI (1789): 31-52. Excerpts of this article are reprinted in Schlö-

Ibid., p. 109.


Dorothea von Schölzer, "Brief aus Clausthal," Neues Magazin für Frauenzimmer IV (1787). This article is partially reprinted in Schölzer, op. cit., pp. 325 ff.

Ibid., p. 139.

Dorothea's husband was not a good businessman and after many years of prosperity and foolish spending which she tried to curb, his company went bankrupt. Dorothea's education proved to be of great value to her as she was able to cope with the reverses. Schölzer, op. cit., pp. 269 ff.

See for examples of anti-feminist literature p. 11 of this dissertation. Also see footnote # 19 p. 23 of this dissertation.

Campe, op. cit., p. 20.

Ibid., p. 39.

Ibid., pp. 22 ff.

Ibid., p. 24.


Ibid., p. 583.

Campe op. cit., p. 75.

Bernhard, op. cit., p. 573.

Ibid., p. 581.

Amalia Holst, Über die Bestimmung des Weibes zur höheren Gesitesbildung (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1802), pp. 48 ff. Holst had written a very critical treatise on education in which she had already condemned the quality of female education; Amalia Holst, Bemerkungen über die Fehler

49 Holst, Über die Bestimmung des Weibes zur höheren Geistesbildung, p. 52.

50 Ibid., p. 119.

51 Ibid., pp. 152-54.

52 Ibid., p. 161.

53 Ibid., pp. 189 ff.
nation and many outstanding women were totally involved in the intellectual developments of the time. They were either directly active as writers or exerted their influence on outstanding men at the turn of the century. Their salons can be compared to the salons in France before and during the first stage of the French Revolution. These women were keenly aware of the political, social, and intellectual developments of the time. Goethe and Schiller, the Schlegel brothers, Johann Fichte, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Ludwig Tieck, Friedrich Schelling and many others were greatly influenced by women. Many of these men admitted this influence and conceded complete equality to women and sometimes even superiority.  

The circles of the German intelligentsia around the turn of the century and the salons of the women in Berlin, Jena, and Weimar have been discussed by literary historians. But in general male writers have not completely appreciated and understood the influence and importance of these women and their intellectual contributions. Especially the women of Weimar were always described in their relationship with the great masters of this time. Goethe, Schiller, and Herder overshadow the literary histories and the women of Weimar do not emerge as independent and outstanding personalities. Women historians on the whole have not been very interested in this period. Their works
are confined to the organized women's movement which began in the mid-1860's.6

The philosophy of the Enlightenment had been concentrated on explaining rationally problems facing mankind. This rationalization was to make life easier, less complicated and more intelligible and would in the end lead to a solution of all problems. Social problems, for example, could be solved by combatting ignorance with education; in this manner the problem of inequality between the sexes (if it was perceived as a problem) could be solved.7 The Romantics, on the other hand, wanted to idealize all aspects of life (not simply problems), in order to reveal their transcendental content and their relationship with the 'Idea.' Therefore, life seemed abundant and rich. Romantic philosophy thus was not so much concerned with mathematics and the natural sciences, as with history, with the arts, nature, the nature of friendship and love, and the relationship between the sexes.8 During the Romantic period the views about women underwent drastic changes. The Romantics argued that men and women were human first and that their sex was quite incidental. The soul, they maintained, had no sex.9 Women were thought of as independent partners on an equal basis.10 The poet Novalis expressed this feeling to Caroline Schlegel, "... woman... has become a slave, oh, may she become woman again."11

Even the representatives of the older generation,
Goethe and Schiller, met women in Weimar that did not conform to the naive and sensitive girl that they had so often described in their works. Goethe, for example, no longer sought the company of simple, uncomplicated girls like Käthchen Schönkopf and Friederike Brion, his loves during his student days, whom he immortalized as 'Gretchen' in Faust and 'Lotte' in Werther respectively. His new companions were the sophisticated and highly intelligent Duchess Anna Amalia, who ruled Weimar for many years, Charlotte von Stein, Goethe's famous friend and confidante, and the lady in waiting, Fräulein von Gochhausen, along with many others who inspired him and influenced his work. But even though he sought the company and inspiration of educated and intelligent women, Goethe chose as his wife a simple woman, a naive creature, who kept his house and bore his children. However, his attitude towards the relationship between men and women basically never changed, and it was best expressed when he said, "Women are silver bowls, in which we men place golden apples." Friedrich Schlegel, the representative of the younger generation, would not have agreed with this remark.

Friedrich Schlegel was one of the Romantics whose attitude toward women helped to form a new view of women. As a young man he had disliked women and had considered them uninspiring, coquettish, and too sensitive. Apparently he had not understood that girls were taught to act this way in order to get a husband who would provide
them with economic security. This was supposed to be
their sole interest and purpose in life. Schlegel also
seemed to have felt threatened by younger women or, to
be more specific, by women who were looking for economic
security and a husband. His attitude toward women
changed when he met Caroline Michaelis (later known as
Caroline Schlegel, the wife of his brother), who was
widowed and at that time was not looking for an eligible
man. Caroline was a few years older than he; apparent­
ly the two were able to form an unselfish genuine friend­
ship, such as he had never thought possible with a woman.
Schlegel also trusted and respected Brendel Veit-Mendels­
sohn, the daughter of the Jewish philosopher Moses Mendels­
sohn. Brendel, too, was a few years older than Schlegel,
she was married and had children and also seemed to have
made no demands on him. Schlegel probably loved both
women. Caroline married his brother August Wilhelm and
Brendel became Friedrich's wife; she became known by her
Christian name: Dorothea. These two women were of great
significance to Friedrich Schlegel's life and influenced
his work. Both women edited and rewrote his works; he
even sent his essays to Jena where Caroline lived and
patiently waited for her judgement and suggestions.
Sometimes he was upset when Caroline did not approve of
something and sometimes he gladly followed her suggestions.
His wife Dorothea performed the same service for him for
many years.
Caroline and Dorothea had stimulated Friedrich Schlegel's interest in the nature of women. Shortly after he had met Caroline, he wrote the essay "Über die Diotima." After that he began serious work on a novel Lucinde, in which he immortalized both Caroline and Dorothea. In Lucinde Schlegel opposed Rousseau's view that women's chief purpose in life was to please men. He believed that women were equal to men and only the appreciation of this equality would make it possible for two people to find complete happiness and fulfillment in marriage. If women were considered inferior, men would not gain in a union with an inferior creature; it would debase men. Love, of course, was a prerequisite for a marriage; without it, marriages were unethical according to Schlegel. He was aware that most marriages were not based on love; they had either been arranged or two people had mistaken passion for love. In either case, Schlegel advocated that these marriages should be dissolved through a divorce. This was shocking and unacceptable to men like Goethe, who believed that divorces would undermine natural law, injure the form and the eternal order. There were several famous divorces and separations around the turn of the century; some of them possibly inspired by Lucinde. Several of the women of Weimar divorced their husbands. The most famous divorces came, however, from the Schlegel
circle; Caroline divorced August Wilhelm Schlegel and Dorothea Schlegel had divorced her husband to marry Friedrich Schlegel. Also Caroline's friend from Göttingen, Therese Heyne, separated from her husband with the intent to divorce him.  

Lucinde was to be the credo of the ideal union for Romantic men and women. Caroline Schlegel thought highly of it. In fact she even edited the manuscript and apparently made many suggestions for its improvement. But even Caroline had some misgivings about Lucinde, because Friedrich Schlegel very frankly described male—female relationships. Even for some of the libertine spirits of the time Lucinde proved to be a little too strong, too daring. Especially Schlegel's description of his own experiences with the two most important women in his life were too personal and too risqué for some readers.

Despite the obvious libertine content of the novel, the message was not lost. Men and women had to free and equal. Women had to have the opportunity to be educated. This education was to benefit men just as man's education benefitted women. The philosopher and theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher understood what Schlegel had intended to say. He expressed his belief in the equality of the sexes and the meaning of education in his Katechismus für edle Frauen. Schleiermacher wrote, "Thirst for the education, art, wisdom, and honor of men," and,
"I woman believe that I do not live to obey and amuse, but to be and to become, and I believe in the power of the will and education, in order to approach the infinite, to escape the bonds of Missbildung and to become independent from the barriers of the sexes."  

The women who had inspired Schlegel, Schleiermacher, and Humboldt to become advocates of feminism were unusual. They had all grown up in a time of change and fermentation. Caroline Schlegel, for example, knew that the world around her was rapidly changing and that she was part of that change. She once wrote that she had been caught up in the political revolution (the revolutionary days in Mainz in 1792-93) and in the literary revolution which she considered to be just as strong as the political one. There was nothing unusual about Caroline's background and upbringing. She was a daughter of a professor at the University of Göttingen. Caroline knew Dorothea von Schloëzer and made some unkind remarks about the younger girl's academic achievements. But these comments were probably inspired by jealousy. At the time of Dorothea's triumphs when she was the attraction of the city of Göttingen, when English princes came to call on her to congratulate her on her academic achievements, Caroline was a wife and a mother in the remote Harz mountains at Clausthal. She had married Dr. Böhmé, a friend of her brother, because it was expected that she follow the wishes of her family.
As a girl of eighteen she had once confessed, "... if I were my own master and could live in a respectable and comfortable way, I would not marry and try to be of use in this world in another way." But she was not her own master and family pressures forced her to pursue the traditional career of a young woman; marriage and children.

Caroline was not happy in the remote Harz region. Her letters reveal her boredom and dissatisfaction, "... there is not much to say about my life; it is boring, *einförmig*, so that one would be repetitious in talking about it." She missed the bustling university town, although she disliked the university-oriented *Gelehrte*.

When her husband died, Caroline was left with a small pension and two children. As the initial shock wore off, she realized how important her newly found freedom was, "... it has become light around me, as if I loved for the first time, like a sick person, who is returning to health and gains in strength and breathes fresh spring air,..." With that her adventurous life and her career as one of the most unusual and *emancipated* women began. She visited friends and relatives throughout Germany and in 1792 arrived in the city of Mainz. There she was the guest of Therese Heyne-Forster. Therese was married to Georg Forster, the world traveller and writer.

In earlier letters, Caroline had already spoken of the revolutionary developments in France, but rather de-
tachedly and without much understanding. 38

Now listening to the discussions in the Forster
house Caroline was swept along by revolutionary sentiments. Her letters are excited, they indicate that Caroline was aware that she took part in a great political upheaval. One of her correspondents apparently accused her of being too radical, whereupon she responded, "... I throw the red Jacobin cap which you attempt to place on me at your head." 39

How deeply she was involved in revolutionary activities is impossible to say. She professed to be against despotism and aristocracy (not all aristocrats, that is) and understood the complaints of a peasant about his feudal obligations. 40 Letters from Mainz may have been destroyed by her and her friends as the reaction set in. Georg Forster apparently had a great deal of influence on her and he was a known revolutionary and one of the founders of the Rhenish-German Republic. 41 The political discussions at the Forster home were greatly stimulating for Caroline, as she wrote about them to a friend, "... the intelligent conversations, which I listen to in the evenings..., give me much to think about." 42

When Caroline left the city of Mainz in March of 1793, Forster was on his way to Paris. Therese had separated from her husband and had left with Ludwig Ferdinand Huber, a writer and editor. As Caroline and several other women were moving toward the Prussian armies, the rumor preceded her that she had been a sympathizer of the
French and that she had been deeply involved in the activities of the political clubs in Mainz. Her name became proscribed in her hometown Göttingen. Her friendship with the Forsters was well known, and unsubstantiated rumors about an affair with Forster also hurt her reputation. She was picked up as suspicious and imprisoned in the castle of Königstein, just north of Frankfurt. She professed innocence and non-involvement as she frantically tried to be released. Her friends and brother finally secured her release, but her reputation was ruined.

In 1796 Caroline married August Wilhelm Schlegel; this marriage provided her with some respectability and readmitted her into society. The Schlegels settled in Jena and Caroline became the center of an intellectual group that had a great deal of influence on the German intelligentsia. Famous men and women, among them Schiller and Goethe, were in contact with her. Judging from her letters, this period was the most exciting time in her life. She did not love August Wilhelm Schlegel but respected him and was grateful to him for his unselfish friendship. Caroline was aware that her marriage went against the Romantics' belief in love, and she later said that she should have never married Schlegel, that she should have remained his friend. But she was desperate and felt isolated so that a marriage with Schlegel
seemed to be a welcome solution to her problems.

As Schlegel's wife, she became a stimulating influence on him and many of his friends. From 1796 to 1801 Schlegel with the help of Caroline translated almost twenty comedies and tragedies by Shakespeare. There are many references to her contributions, her suggestions, and her criticisms in regard to these translations. Schlegel's translations have never been surpassed, they discovered Shakespeare for the German speaking audience. But, unfortunately, Caroline's contribution has not been adequately appreciated. Caroline also worked on critiques which were published in the Athenäum under her husband's name. Her friends knew that she had talent and encouraged her to write a novel. Caroline did plan a novel; an outline was found with her letters. The fragment deals with the main character, a woman, who, "... must be able to completely depend on herself." The fragment shows that the main character of the proposed novel was to be feminine but independent, realistic and not sensitive or overly emotional. Caroline Schlegel had very little regard for the ideal of the brave Hausfrau and the sensitive female cf the La Roche novels. The brave Hausfrau which was so often glorified by Schiller was ridiculed by her and her friends. "We almost fell off our chairs laughing,... about Das Lied von der Glocke, a poem by Schiller," she wrote to her daughter. In general Caroline's statements and writings of the time
reflect the realistic and pragmatic attitude of the women of the period.

Caroline did fall in love with the philosopher Schelling. After a great deal of soul searching she decided to divorce August Wilhelm Schlegel in 1803. She married Schelling and lived with him quietly until her death in 1809. The last years of her life were not as exciting as the years in Jena when she was the center of the Romantics' circle. Caroline had grown tired and devoted the last years of her life to the man who truly understood her.

Caroline was an unusual woman. She was not universally admired by the German intelligentsia. Schiller, for example, was not fond of her and called her 'Dame Luzifer.' She was too independent for his taste and he preferred a quiet Hausfrau like his wife Lotte. But others admired her and saw her uniqueness. Friedrich Schlegel said of her in his Lucinde, "... this woman showed with every great occasion courage and strength to astound everyone." Schelling wrote about her, "... this unique woman with a masculine greatness of soul, with the sharpest mind, united with the softness of the most female, the most tender and dearest heart."

"Masculine soul united with a female, tender and dear heart:" this was a new woman, a 'modern' woman. She was unique, but also stood for many other free spirits
of the time.61 Caroline was not learned like Dorothea von Schlözer. She was not a product of the Enlightenment; she belonged to the Romantic movement. Caroline believed in the uniqueness of the individual and the equality of men and women, and the unrestricted development of one's talents. She lived life to the fullest and regretted nothing. She was most of all independent like 'Lucinde' and like the main character in her planned novel. Many times did she actually think of earning her living; sometimes because of economic necessity and also because, "it is a sad thing to see such talents go to waste."62 Once she married A. W. Schlegel and later Schelling she was able to pursue the career she wanted; a literary one.

For all her spirit and independence she never attempted to be masculine, although she has been described as such.63 She was a devoted mother and wife.64 Her first-born daughter Auguste seemed to be the most important person to her. When Auguste died at the age of fifteen in 1800, Caroline lost her gaiety and was never the same. She loved her illegitimate child and planned to have him live with her. But the boy died at the age of one and Caroline was shattered.65 She regretted the fact that she had never had any children with A. W. Schlegel and hoped that he could yet found a family of his own once he was free to choose another wife. Caroline was most certainly
not a virago, neither were most of the other women of the time.

Another outstanding woman of the period was Caroline's playmate of childhood days, Therese Heyne. Heyne was a very complex woman. She, too, was the daughter of a university professor at the University of Göttingen. But Therese's education was neglected; she received the ordinary fare commonly provided for girls at the time. Later Therese complained about this neglect. She considered it a mistake of society as well as of her parents that she went into the world basically uneducated.66

Therese had no goal in life other than to get married, and she married the scientist and world traveller Johann Georg Forster. Only after her marriage did she acquire learning. Her marriage to Forster was not happy; she did not love him and was often drawn to other men. Finally she demanded a separation from Forster in order to marry the writer L. F. Huber.67 In the spirit of Romanticism Therese Heyne had insisted on making her choice; conventions and traditions were of no concern to her.68

Heyne described a situation à trois in her novel Die Familie Seldorf, a situation which was reminiscent of her own. She also revealed another interesting trait in her novel, Die Familie Seldorf. The heroine of that novel is a strong-willed young woman and not a weak, sub-
missive, and naive girl. Just as Therese Heyne represented a new woman, the Sara of her novel also rejected subordination of women like the emancipated woman of the turn of the century.

In 1792 when her own life took a critical turn with her separation from Forster, Heyne lived in Mainz which had been occupied by the French revolutionary citizen armies. The great upheavals of the time were on everybody's mind and the discussions of these events in the Forster home were often quite animated. During the 1790's Heyne did hear about Condorcet's demands for the political emancipation of women. A reference to these demands was made in an essay, "Über die Weiblichkeit in der Kunst, in der Natur und der Gesellschaft." It was published under her husband's name, but since they were close coworkers it probably did reflect her thinking and may have been written by her. Unlike Condorcet, the essay did not demand outright political emancipation for women and full equality in political matters, but stressed that women should not be considered inferior; they were simply different. The essay also demanded that if a woman did not seek the protection of a husband in marriage, she should have the same rights as a man. Women should have the right, "... to forgo this protection through marriage and become subject to common law." If earlier Heyne had felt that women needed not feel that they must marry, later she warned women against getting
married. In her novel *Die Schwelosen* (1829) she stressed that women should not expect happiness in a marriage and should choose to remain single. If circumstances, such as economic need, made a marriage unavoidable, she advised not to expect happiness but to settle for contentment, which a woman could find in raising her children and a writing or teaching career.  

Another well known woman of this period was Caroline von Wolzogen, Schiller's sister-in-law. She had divorced her first husband, because she did not love him and because their relationship placed too many restrictions upon her. She believed women ought to be independent and not hampered by traditions and restrictions and she viewed a marriage as a partnership between two equal individuals. These views are described in her widely acclaimed novel *Agnes von Lilien* (1798).  

Women's only outlet outside the home and the family had been a literary career and during the Romantic period this did not change. But the number of female novelists and poetesses kept increasing. Most of these female writers and their works have been forgotten. If they are remembered — and this again throws light on their standing — it is because of their relationship with or influence on some prominent man of the time. The talented Sophie Mereau thus is generally remembered as the wife of Clemens von Brentano, but not as a writer. Caroline von Wolzogen became famous to posterity again not because
of her writings which include an excellent biography, Schillers Leben (1830), but because she was a woman in Schiller's life. The libertine Charlotte von Kalb was a poetess, but she is remembered as the friend of Schiller and the novelist Jean Paul. The unfortunate Karoline von Gunderode, a very talented novelist according to the Jenaer Allgemeine Zeitung, is mostly remembered for having committed suicide because of a tragic love affair with a married man. Gunderode was very strong-willed woman who wanted most of all independence and understanding and the possibility to express herself, "... I too experience like men the desire to express myself and my life in a lasting form. in a manner that is worthy to be placed side by side with the most excellent literary products." 75

The message that came from the Romantics was clear; women should emerge from their traditional and confining roles in the home and should become interested in the higher things of life. They should become concerned especially with philosophical questions and poetry. 76 The Romantics scrutinized marriages and thought the traditional dependence of women on men unacceptable. Marital harmony and love were to be the basis of mutual understanding and equality. The divorces of this time indicate that when love and harmony did not exist in a marriage, a divorce became an acceptable alternative.
Divorce procedures also reveal that women began to enjoy greater freedom of choice and independence. Many divorces were initiated by women and a divorced woman was still accepted in society and often remarried. The Romantic woman had in a sense become emancipated from some traditions and the male domination of the earlier times. They became the forrunners of the organized women's movement in Germany. Luise Otto, the founder of the German Women's Movement, wrote in her book, *Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich*, that Lucinde, the credo of the emancipated woman of the Romantic period, was secretly read by many young women of her own generation.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV


3 See p. 68 of this dissertation.


5 Paul Kühn, Die Frauen um Goethe, 2 vols (Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1911) is a good example of the genius-oriented Weimar. Kühn only described the women in their relationship with Goethe and other men of the time. The Weimar women in his books lack independence and greatness in their own right, which they actually possessed. Similarly Heinrich Düntzer, Charlotte von Stein, Goethes Freundin, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1874 and Heinrich Düntzer, Frauenbilder aus Goethes Leben (Leipzig: Dyk, 1853) do not develop the real personalities of these women. A newer publication, Wilhelm Dobbeck, Karoline
Herder (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1967), does a great deal more justice to Caroline Herder than the more traditional interpretations of Kühn and Düntzer. Caroline Herder's letters as well as the letters of other Weimar women have not yet been entirely published. Many of them are in the Goethe und Schiller Archiv in Weimar.

Bäumer, op. cit., I, 16 ff. only briefly discussed some of the best known women of the Romantic period. Emmy Beckmann and Elisabeth Kardel, Quellen zur Geschichte der Frauenbewegung (Frankfurt/Main: Moritz Diesterweg, 1955) do not discuss the Romantic women and the women of the turn of the century. Agnes Gosche, Die organisierte Frauenbewegung (Berlin: Herbig, 1927) only briefly mentioned the period around the turn of the century, as do Minna Cauer, Die Frauen im 19. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Cronbach, 1898) and Marie Bernays, Die deutsche Frauenbewegung (Leipzig: Teubner, 1920). The lack of interest by feminist writers is probably due to the fact that Romantic women did not demand political equality for all women. They were not concerned with the lot of women in general, their subjectivism prevented them from making these kind of demands. They felt that they were socially equal, their correspondence reflect that; political equality simply had not yet become an issue.

7See pp. 45 ff. of this dissertation.

8See for the diversity of interests the journal Athenäum, edited by August Wilhelm Schlegel, and the works of August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel and Wilhelm von Humboldt.

9Friedrich Schlegel, Sämtliche Werke, 15 vols. (Vienna: Im Verlag bei Klang, 1846), "Über die Diotima," Athenäum V (1795): 73, 77-78. "Über die Diotima" was an attempt to show that even in classical Greece which was basically an anti-feminist society, educated women had a great deal of influence. Also see Wilhelm von Humboldt, Gesammelte Schriften, 17 vols. (Berlin: B. Behr's Verlag, 1916), "Über den Geschlechtsunterschied und dessen Einfluss auf die organische Natur," I, 311-34, and "Über die männliche und weibliche Form," I, 335-69.

10This idea of partnership and equality was best expressed by Friedrich Schlegel's novel Lucinde (Leipzig: Reclam, 1870) and the letters of Wilhelm and Caroline von Humboldt. These letters are published by Albert Leitzmann, ed., Die Brautbriefe Wilhelms und Karolinens von Humboldt (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1920) and Anna von Sydow, ed., Wilhelm und Caroline von Humboldt in ihren Briefen, 7 vols. (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1907-18). The same belief
in equality and partnership is found in the letters of Caroline Schlegel with her husband A. W. Schlegel and with her last husband Friedrich Schelling.


12In 1806 Goethe married his housekeeper Christiane Vulpius, with whom he had lived for many years. For the details of this strange match see Kühn, op. cit., I, 406 ff.


15Ibid., p. 68.

16Schmidt, ed., op. cit., I, 394; Walzel, ed., op. cit., p. 120.

17Schmidt, ed., op. cit., I, 478, 482. Schnabel, op. cit., interprets the relationships of the younger man and the older woman in a way with which I cannot agree. The Romantics did not feel strongly about this kind of relationship, just as today people do not consider the relationship between an older man and a younger woman as strange.

18Ibid., I, 463, 513.

19Ibid., I, 449, Friedrich Schlegel once wrote to his brother: "Your wife wrote me an impetuous and insulting letter about the Athenâum.... Caroline thinks my fragments are too long."

20Friedrich Schlegel, Lucinde, p. 24.

21Ibid., p. 33.

22Ibid., pp. 52 ff.


24Schnabel, op. cit., I, 255 wrote that the Romantics in general did not highly esteem marriages and that the Schlegels and their friends changed marriages in the freest manner. I cannot agree with this. The divorces of the Schlegel women were not done lightheartedly, that was im-
possible at the time when permission had to be granted by the sovereign. It caused many conflicts and soul searching and neither Caroline nor Dorothea made a hasty decision. The same goes for Therese Heyne. Also in general the Romantics had a great deal of respect for a good marriage; that is what the Lucinde was about.


26 Ibid., I, 530.

27 Novalis wrote to Caroline Schlegel about Lucinde, "Should this novel have been published... to early...?... The ideas are indisputable... Many will say, Schlegel went too far — now we are supposed to hold the light to his orgies." Schmidt, ed., op. cit., I, 509. Schlegel himself wrote to Caroline about the reception of Lucinde. "There is a lot to read about Lucinde," ibid., I, 511.

28 Schlegel, Lucinde, p. 201.

29 Friedrich Schleiermacher, Idee zu einem Katechismus der Vernunft für edle Frauen (Heidelberg: H. Weissbach, 1900), p. 10.


32 Schlözer, op. cit., p. 132.

33 Schmidt, ed., op. cit., I, 57.

34 Ibid., I, 165.

35 Ibid., I, 174, 201-02. Her father had isolated himself in his study and unlike Schlözer took little interest in the education and well-being of his daughters.

36 Ibid., I, 176.

37 Ibid., I, 209, 221.

38 Ibid., I, 186, 194.

39 Ibid., I, 264.

40 Ibid., 278, 264.

41 Heinrich Scheel, Süddeutsche Jakobiner. Klassen-
kämpfe und republikanische Bestrebungen im deutschen Süden Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts (Berlin [East]: Aka
demie-Verlag, 1962), p. 704. Also see Ludwig Uhlig, Georg
Forster, Einheit und Mannigfaltigkeit in seiner geistigen
Welt (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1965), pp. 204 ff. for
Forster's revolutionary activities in Mainz. Caroline is
not mentioned in either book.

42 Ibid., I, 250.

43 Ibid., I, 346-47.

44 Caroline was also pregnant and went into hiding
after her release; it was while she awaited the birth of her
illegitimate child that she met Friedrich Schlegel who had
been instructed by his brother to look after her.

45 The authorities of Göttingen, however, were not im­
pressed with her position as wife of one of the best known
men in Germany. In 1800, seven years after the episode in
Mainz, Caroline was still denied entry into the city of
Göttingen, but her husband was welcome. Schmidt, ed., op.
cit., II, 3-4. Not everybody forgot and forgave Caroline's
revolutionary experiences.

46 Ibid., II, 355.

47 Josef Körner, ed., Briefe von und an August Wilhelm

48 Georg Mehlis, Die deutsche Romantik (Munich: Rösl
und Cie., 1922), p. 52, mentions that Caroline Schlegel
helped her husband, but gives no details. That may mean
a lot or very little. After all Christiane Vulpius helped
Goethe with some of his work, but she did not suggest,
change, edit or otherwise influence Goethe's work. In a
postscript to a German Shakespeare edition Schlegel's work
is praised, but Caroline is not mentioned at all; see L.
Schücking, ed., William Shakespeares Werke, 2 vols. (Munich:

49 Caroline wrote with A. W. Schlegel an article "Die
Gemäldc." It is very good critique on paintings; see A. W.

50 Schmidt, ed., op. cit., I, 511, 516.

51 Ibid., I, 662-66.

52 Ibid., I, 662.
Caroline had met Schelling several years prior to the divorce and knew that she loved him, but she attempted to stay with A. W. Schlegel, whose behavior and continuous philandering upset her. When she finally decided to get a divorce A. W. Schlegel was not disappointed, in fact the two remained friends. Schnabel, op. cit., I, 255 wrote that marriages were dissolved or changed in the freest manner in the Schlegel circle; there was, however, nothing light-hearted about the divorces of the Romantics.

Her letters reflect a certain detachment from the old intellectual circles, and they are not as interesting as those of the Jena period. But Caroline went on to write a large number of critiques for the Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung; see Schmidt, ed., op. cit., II, 375, 428, 432, 437, 452 and Ernst Frank, Rezensionen über die schöne Literatur von Schelling und Caroline (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1912).


Friedrich Schlegel, Lucinde, p. 54.

Schmidt, ed., op. cit. II, 578.

Kühn, op. cit., I, 362. Also see p. 79 footnote # 73 of this dissertation.

See pp. 77 ff. of this dissertation.


Because Romantic women were more independent they have been called masculine and the men around them have been described as being feminine. Schnabel, op. cit., I, 258, 260 f. is one of those historians who has accepted this preconceived notion. Judging from the works and correspondences of the time I cannot at all agree with this. Fritz Giese, Der romantische Character, 2 vols. (Langensalza: Wendt und Klauwell, 1919) made an excellent study on this subject and argued that the women of the Romantic period were not masculine and that the men were not effeminate, but that they had become human; Giese, I, 196 ff. In the case of Caroline Schlegel and A. W. Schlegel one is dealing with Romantic characters, which Giese called human. Goethe, for example, thought that Caroline was one of the most feminine creatures of the time; see Schlözer, op. cit., p. x.
Schnabel, op. cit., I, 261 wrote that Romantic women lacked Häuslichkeit and Mütterlichkeit. The letters of the best known Romantic women convey the very opposite impression.


Humboldt, op. cit., (Tagebücher, 1), XIV, 43.

Schmidt, ed., op. cit., I, 249 ff., Caroline Schlegel described the situation in Mainz between Forster, Heyne, and Huber.

The Romantics believed that marriage was only acceptable if there was love, they rejected the relationship a trois and resolved them by a divorce or separation. Therese Heyne had apparently given her marriage a great deal of thought and she told Wilhelm von Humboldt that she rejected the choice of Julie of the Nouvelle Heloise, see Humboldt, op. cit., (Tagebücher, 1), XIV, 45-46.

Caroline Schlegel described the occupation of Mainz and the revolutionary sentiments in her letters, see Schmidt, ed., op. cit., I, 149 ff. Scheel, op. cit., and Uhlig, op. also describe the revolutionary days.

This essay was part of L. F. Huber, Erzählungen, 3 vols. (Braunschweig, 1802); later published under Therese’s name in (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1830-33), II, 413. Hippel, Nachlass, p. 96 also stressed that women did not need a marriage for fulfillment and warned against the marriages that were arranged by the parents of a girl. He argued that in many cases, it would be better if women remained single. Also see a novel by Sophie Tresenreuter, Lotte Wahlstein (Copenhagen: Proft, 1791) which also stressed that women did not necessarily find fulfillment in marriage.


Caroline von Wolzogen, Literarischer Nachlass der Frau Caroline von Wolzogen, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1848-49), I, 57. Also see the correspondence of Wilhelm and Caroline von Humboldt.

Goethe discussed Caroline von Wolzogen and her literary achievements with Humboldt and argued that she was a representative of the Romantic, the 'modern' woman; see Sydow, ed., op. cit., II, 40.

Some of these women and their works are; Amalie von Hellwig, Die Sagen vom Wolfsbrunnen. Märchen, (Berlin:
Realschulbuchhandlung, 1814); Wilhelmine Willmar, Erholungsstunden, 2 vol. (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1823) and Mädchenspiegel. Ein Bildungsbuch für die erwachsene weibliche Jugend (Meissen: Gödsche, 1822); Johanna Schopenhauer, Erinnerungen von einer Reise in den Jahren 1803-05, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1818) and Gabriele, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1820); Sophie Bernhardi, Julie St. Albani, 2 vols. (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1801) and Evremont, 3 vols. (Berlin: Josef Max und Komp., 1836). Sophie Bernhardi was the sister of Ludwig Tieck and also a contributor to the Schlegel magazine Athenäum. Sophie Merewau, Amanda und Eduard, 2 vols. (Frankfurt/Main: Willmanns, 1803); Karoline, Baronin de La Motte Fouque, Die Frauen in der grossen Welt. Bildungsbuch, (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1826), Die Herzogin von Montmorency, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hartmann, 1822), and Kleine Erzählungen (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1811); Karoline von Woltmann, Das Erbe (Gera: Heinsius, 1831), Der Ultra und der Liberaie (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1832), and Die Bildhauer, 2 vols. (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1829); Wilhelmine von Chezy, Emmas Prüfung (Heidelberg: Mohr und Winter, 1827), Erzählungen und Novellen, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Rein, 1822), and Unvergessenes, Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben von Helmine von Chezy, 2 vols. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1858); Karoline Paulus, Erzählungen (Heidelberg: Osswald, 1823); Karoline Pichler, Agathokles, 3 vols. (Vienna: Pichler, 1808). These are only a few examples of female writers of the time. Many of the writings deal with Romantic subjects; fairytales and legends for example. But others deal with the relationship of the sexes and problems of the modern women.

75 Karoline von Günderode to Clemens von Brentano, June 10, 1804, Nachlass Karoline von Günderode (Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt/Main, West Germany, # 562922-34. Very few letters of Günderode are in this folder, most of the letters were written to her by her friends. The family apparently destroyed most of her letters after her suicide. The quoted source is a copy of the original which was found in the Nachlass of Varhagen von Ense.


77 Luise Otto, Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich (Leipzig: Moritz Schäfer), pp. 67 f.
CHAPTER V
THE JEWISH WOMEN OF THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

Berlin was another center of intellectual activity in the late 18th and early 19th century. Salons in Berlin were numerous and the influence of many women became quite noticeable. In Berlin, unlike Weimar, Jena and many other German cities, a large number of men and women of the intellectual community were Jewish. This Jewish element had a considerable influence on the social and political thinking of many of these people.

The Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn was largely responsible for the intellectual activities in the Jewish community. Traditionally Jews kept apart from Gentiles not only because they were rebuffed, but also because they did not wish to mingle with Christians. They retained their customs, religion, and culture and guarded them jealously against any intrusion. They did not even learn German. Moses Mendelssohn broke with the old traditions and against the wishes of the orthodox members of the Jewish community did learn German. Thus he became familiar with the intellectual currents of the 18th century. His writings were to a large extent responsible for the intellectual emancipation of the Jews and his house became the center and meeting place of many famous
people of the Jewish and Christian communities. Along
with Mendelssohn's achievement ranks the book by Christian
Wilhelm Dohm, Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden.
This work was published in 1781 and was very successful.²
A second part followed in 1783. Moses Mendelssohn had had
a great deal of influence on this work and some of his wri-
tings were incorporated in it.³

Brendel Mendelssohn, later known as Dorothea Schlegel,
grew up in this intellectual environment. Her father had
given the talented girl an excellent education. This edu-
cation, like much of what the old Mendelssohn did, was quite
contrary to the traditions of the Jewish community which
confined Jewish women even more strictly to home and chil-
dren as their Christian counterparts. But in complete
contradiction to his otherwise enlightened thinking, Moses
Mendelssohn married his daughter Brendel to the banker
Simon Veit. Veit was an unimaginative and dull man and
Dorothea was extremely unhappy in this marriage.⁴ After
many unhappy years, Dorothea decided to get a divorce;
she wrote to a friend, "... after scenes — after some
wavering and doubts I am finally divorced from Veit, and
I live alone, freed from a long slavery and have saved
nothing from this shipwreck, but a small pension, ...
much good spirit, my Philip (one of her sons), a few
people, my piano, and my beautiful desk, ..."⁵

The decision to divorce Veit had not been made easily;
Dorothea was attached to her two sons and Veit threatened to prevent her from seeing the children if she remarried. But the break-up of the marriage had become inevitable; she had been so desperate that she even contemplated suicide. She finally left her husband, trading a secure future for an insecure, bohemian existence, but a future that promised to be emotionally much more satisfying.

When thinking about her marriage and her options, Dorothea naturally thought about the role she played as a woman in society. Custom demanded that she be a wife and mother and stay with her husband and children. But she chose not to do this. Was she encouraged by the few publicized divorces that occurred around the turn of the century? We cannot tell. What we know is that Dorothea felt that her marriage was too confining and that her life did not correspond with her idea of the dignity of women. With Veit she lived a lie and she was uncomfortable because of it. "In a good marriage," she wrote, "it is necessary that the woman has as much intelligence as the man, what is above it causes trouble." "A good and proper marriage requires the woman to be interested in the business of the man and take part in it as much as possible. There is no area in which she could not do this ..."

Since Dorothea had no place in her husband's life
and was bored with her own, she and her equally bored friend, Henriette Herz, organized the 'Tugendbund,' a secret society of young people, who were to be good friends and completely open with each other about all their problems. Among the Bund's famous members were Wilhelm von Humboldt and his fiancée Caroline von Dacheröden, Karl La Roche (son of Sophie La Roche), Caroline von Beulwitz, who divorced her husband and married her cousin Wolzogen, and Therese Heyne. Schiller and his fiancée Charlotte von Lengefeld were also, for a time, associated with this group. But this attempt of Dorothea and Henriette to become involved in the outside world failed, since there was little of the problem-sharing they had expected.  

In 1793 Dorothea decided to give her life more direction and she opened a school for poor children in Schönhagen near Berlin. She seemed delighted with this accomplishment and wrote, "... perhaps you may think it ridiculous that a small institution can give me so much joy. But large or small... I cannot dawdle on the shabby middle course and pick the semi-wilted flowers,... which fall from the blessed happiness in its intoxication."  

In the end, all these activities did not satisfy her; she wanted more, she felt she had a right to more. After her divorce she wrote to her friend Gustav von Brinckmann, "... I acted with conviction, that I have not done this [divorce Veit] until now, is unforgivable, I can only
explain it by saying that up to now I had not understood my rights... this is the first time in my life that I am free of fear to suffer an unpleasant conversation, an annoying presence, or even a humiliating rudeness."\(^\text{12}\)

Subsequently Dorothea joined the ranks of female writers who in true Romantic enthusiasm had left the confines of their home and had ventured to become equals to men; in the literary field at least.\(^\text{13}\) However, Dorothea never used her name for her writings; they were generally published by Friedrich Schlegel. Perhaps she wished to avoid further publicity after her highly publicized divorce. She had written to her friend Brinckmann that her divorce, "... had public opinion against me — maybe the news is being discussed all the way to Paris... "\(^\text{14}\) Moreover, Friedrich Schlegel was a well known writer and commanded a higher fee than she could have expected. Money was an important problem for Dorothea and Schlegel, and lack of it plagued them for the rest of their lives. Therefore her writings and translations were also designed to add to their income. She asked Brinckmann to help her find some material for translations. "It is necessary that I work,... I have a great deal of time, little money and good friends ... The work would have to be new, just published in Paris..."\(^\text{15}\) But before she was able to find any good material to translate she began on her novel Florentin.

Florentin was published in 1801 and was quite success-
The influence of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehr- und Wanderjahre* is evident. Florentin explored partnership, love, friendship, and the relationship between men and women; these were topics that had become very important in the Romantic novels. Dorothea did not shy away from portraying her characters as sensual beings, but she never went as far as Schlegel had gone in *Lucinde*, where sensuality was less veiled — to the point of immorality in the view of many contemporaries.

Naturally, Dorothea discussed marriage in Florentin. Marriage without love she considered as immoral and unethical; there ought to be only marriages based on love, understanding, and friendship between two equal partners.

Central to Florentin was the development of the individual. The author called upon men and women not to submit to social restrictions and conventions, but to "live for your own individuality." Children, too, were to enjoy greater freedom. Dorothea wrote, "Children are viewed from generation to generation as acquired property, which one uses for one's own advantage or according to one's whims." The freedom of children had also been discussed by Schlegel in *Lucinde* and Schleiermacher had called on adults to protect the rights of children in his *Katechismus für edle Frauen*.

Along with the rights of children Dorothea showed great concern for the poor and the disadvantaged. One of the main
characters of the novel, a woman, founded a school for the poor in the community and she ran the school with a great deal of enthusiasm and ability.\(^{23}\) Social and economic problems are often discussed and solutions proposed.\(^{24}\) Women, in particular, demonstrate an interest in the alleviation of the suffering of the poor.\(^{25}\) Dorothea also chastized class distinction.\(^{26}\)

Dorothea had always shown concern for the poor; her school in Schönhausen attests to this as do her comments in her letters.\(^{27}\) In one letter that survived, she described the exploitation of the poor and condemned the aristocrats who were responsible for many of the ills of society. She wrote, "Damned Aristocracy! They have symphonies performed so they cannot hear the cries of anguish... An opera costs more, than it would cost to rebuild and repair a hut, in which peace and well-being could be established... Now I understand the French."\(^{28}\)

Dorothea's literary accomplishments have never been adequately honored. This may be partly due to the fact that she published her writings under her husband's name and that it was never quite clear to her contemporaries what had been written by her.\(^{29}\)

Dorothea was a talented writer; her novel Florentin as well as her reviews and articles indicate this. Even though Florentin was patterned along the lines of other Romantic novels, it is a very readable novel with a well-executed plot — in fact, it is a much better written novel than her
husband's Lucinde. Unlike the latter, however, Florentin was quickly forgotten; but the women who many years later were instrumental in forming the organized women's movement in Germany were aware of it as they were of Lucinde.

With the Romantics the literary careers of women had generally become accepted. Most importantly, many women of this period who did not pursue a literary career were able to emerge as individuals outside the family and pursue a pedagogical career, a career that traditionally seemed most suited for women. In 1810 Betty Gleim, founder of a small private school for girls, published Erziehung und Unterricht des weiblichen Geschlechts in which she advocated a vocational or professional education for girls that would enable them to earn their own living. Gleim felt that women were particularly well equipped to become educators and she demanded that the state set up pedagogical training centers. According to Gleim, there was an increasing interest in the education of girls and in the training of women as teachers and she headed a successful girls' school in Bremen. Other schools for girls were founded in various cities in the early decades of the 19th century.

Both of Dorothea's sisters became educators too. Both had received an excellent education, yet they could expect nothing from the future but marriage and children. Recha, the oldest, after divorcing her husband, earned her
living by establishing a girls' school in her home in Altona. This school seems to have been quite successful and apparently prompted the third Mendelssohn daughter, Henriette, to become an educator too. A cripple since birth, Henriette grew tired of having to live with her relatives and wanted to earn her own living. Aside from a literary career the educational field was the only one open to women of middle-class background. Her education qualified her to become a governess or a teacher and she went first to Vienna and then to Paris to "try out her own independence and her pedagogy on the children of other people," as her sister Dorothea put it. In Paris she founded a girls' school in her home; later she became the governess of the daughter of a Count Sebastiani.

As the governess of Sebastiani's daughter, Henriette became painfully aware of the lot of women. Her young student was rather vain, a vanity that was encouraged by the family whose sole interest was to find for her a suitable husband with money and most of all a title. Henriette's letters reflect her disappointment and her thoughts about the degrading role that women were forced to play in society.

Another interesting Jewish woman around the turn of the century was Henriette Herz who according to the French writer Madame de Genlis was, "beautiful as an angel and full of spirit and goodness." Henriette Herz was indeed beautiful; the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher fell in love
with her,\textsuperscript{39} and Ludwig Börne, the writer was in love with her too.\textsuperscript{40} Henriette was married to the physician and Kantian disciple Marcus Herz and she too had a famous salon in Berlin. She became much more interesting as an individual after her husband's death when she was forced to supplement her meager income. She translated two travel descriptions and at various times found employment as a teacher for girls from well-to-do families.\textsuperscript{41} Realizing from her own experiences that women were sometimes forced to earn their own living, Henriette opened a school for girls in her home to train them as educators and companions and enable them to gain a certain measure of economic independence.\textsuperscript{42}

The most outstanding and complex woman in the circle of the intellectuals of Berlin was Rahel Levin. Her life has been described in a number of biographies; noteworthy are the one by Ellen Key and Otto Berdrow and a portrait by Hannah Arendt.\textsuperscript{43}

The youth of Rahel Levin was overshadowed by a tyrannical father who made life miserable for his wife and children. Most of all, however, Rahel suffered from her background which she tried very hard to forget. For the most part of her life she felt the discriminations against Jews as intolerable and rather than fight them wished to escape from Judaism. She resented the fact that she was born to Jewish parents and once wrote that fortune "... had plunged a dagger into the heart... be a Jewess! — and now
the whole life is a slow bleeding to death." She hated the "deservedly despised nation" and felt that she along with the rest of the Jews were nothing but "galley slaves." All her life she fought for her social acceptance as a Jewess but never succeeded. Even after she had finally married a Christian, had acquired the Christian name of Antonie Friederike Robert, she remained Rahel Levin. When the Jews were made citizens of the state of Prussia in 1812 the anti-Jewish restrictions and discriminations still continued and in fact became more intense. In the end Rahel accepted the fact that she was Jewish and wrote resignedly that one had to "wrap oneself into one's coat and remain a Jew." A few days before she died Rahel Levin became reconciled with her people and reportedly said, "To be a Jewess remained for my entire life the greatest dishonor, the strongest suffering and unhappiness. Yet I would not have wanted to miss this at any cost."

Rahel Levin was strongly individualistic, and for this reason she valued Goethe. Goethe's ideals of the inalienable rights of the individual impressed her deeply; she described him as the "embodiment (Vereinigungspunkt) of all that calls and wants to call itself man (Mensch)." She became increasingly interested in the freedom of the individual, the rights of men and women and also the rights of the Jews. Her salon was the most famous of the salons in Berlin during the 1790's and early 1800's. In the ab-
sence of a parliament or political clubs the salons served as a platform where political and social problems could be discussed freely. Rahel's salon in particular was frequented by important political figures and she became increasingly more interested in public issues.

But Rahel had to fight her own battle for individual recognition. Even though Friedrich Gentz, the famous publicist, the Humboldt brothers, and Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia were her very good friends who came to visit her frequently, she remained outside their society, because of her Jewish background. The discrimination she was experiencing she felt was irreconcilable with the dignity and the freedom of the individual.

Her sensitivity to injustices naturally aroused her concern for the lot of the poor and the role of women in society. Reflecting about the social injustices and economic hardships of the poor, she warned, "... the working class is larger than one thinks,... you few be careful, lest the many will get you." During the War of Liberation against the French she severely criticized the heavy burden that was placed on the poor and the military practice of flogging. She took her social concerns seriously and she organized relief operations for those in need; the relief work gave her a purpose in life that until then had seemed empty and disappointing to her. She organized a women's group to aid war refugees and the wounded and she established a regular relief office for the collection
and distribution of food and clothing. Her letters and her diary entries indicate that she had been interested in relief work for quite some time and that the War of Liberation reinforced this concern. When the cholera epidemic of 1831 broke out in Berlin, she again organized relief and in doing so she saw for the first time the inadequate relief work that the state had organized. She realized then that women were needed in directing charity organizations, because the existing relief system was run poorly. Only women, she thought, could affect a change, because women were more concerned, compassionate, and practical in these matters.

Rahel had thought about the role of women in society for a long time. Progressing beyond her spiritual mentor, Goethe, who identified mankind with men, she wrote about mankind in terms of both men and women. She was glad to be a woman. As she wrote David Veit, she wished to be considered primarily as a woman. Yet she noted also that women were a part of mankind. Mankind, she thought, had the duty to perform good deeds and women in particular should be 'noble, benevolent, and good,' because women had a greater capacity for compassion than men.

Rahel knew of the restrictions and the disadvantages of being a woman yet she was confident that women were destined for great achievements. She never planned to start an organized movement that was aimed at improving the position of women in society, but she demanded
greater intellectual freedom and independence for women and greater freedom of action. Many Romantic women had already achieved this greater independence through a writing career or by becoming educators or by freeing themselves from confining marriages. Rahel had never wanted to become a writer or an educator yet she was able to lead an independent life and she believed that all women had a right to such a life and their own careers. She supported women who wanted to express themselves and thought that they had the same right as men to pursue a literary career. Rahel felt that there was no need to defend and excuse one's ability and she believed that Madame de Staël's fears that a literary career would tend to make women too masculine, was sheer nonsense.

Most of all Rahel opposed male arrogance and male attempts to look on women as inferior human beings. She vigorously rejected the old conviction that women were less intelligent than men and that sex was the determining factor of intelligence. "Is it proven that a woman cannot think and cannot express her thoughts?" she asked, pointing out that she could think as could many other women and that she herself owed nothing to men.

Her views concerning marriage were naturally influenced by her views of women and therefore she rejected the traditional concept of marriage. She compared the conventional marital relationship to what she called
'Geisterzwang' which totally suppressed the personality and individuality of women.66 "Men and women in Europe are two different nations," she argued and felt the traditional male dominance and female subjugation had caused the 'two nations' to drift apart.67 She resented in particular the notion that a woman's complete fulfillment could only come from their being wives and mothers.

Rahel did not agree with the traditional arguments that supported female education in order to make women better wives and mothers. Because a bad personal experience made her at one time turn against marriage altogether and she demanded "freedom, freedom."68 Traditional marriages, she maintained, were nothing more than a 'Hausstand,' confining women.69 In 1803 she wrote in her diary that "Negro slaves, war and marriage" were all equally abhorrent.70 In order to ensure escape from confining marital situations, she proposed that divorce laws be eased.71

In Rahel's opinion a legal document in itself did not create a real marriage; she preferred a meaningful relationship. She argued therefore for the abolition of the distinctions between legitimate and 'so-called' illegitimate children.72 In order to eliminate all prejudice against illegitimate offspring, children were to receive their mother's last name rather than that of their father. Similarly, women, should have the ultimate authority in the
family, also financially, and not men. Even though Rahel despised conventional marriages, she finally married Varnhagen, a young and impoverished member of the middle class who, however, claimed noble status on the grounds that he had found his family's noble patent. Rahel stressed that she considered herself entirely free in this relationship. Since Varnhagen's ideas about marriage coincided with hers, this made the relationship not only possible but also a good one. Varnhagen once wrote, "I do not know anything worse than a woman who gives up her independence for the sake of a husband."

During the 1820's the Industrial Revolution made great strides and with the concentration of capital the class differences between capital and labor became more noticeable and social and economic problems became more intense. In the area of social and economic concerns the ideas of the Frenchman Henri de Saint-Simon gained a great deal of influence. Basically Saint-Simon's reform proposals provided for a complete reorganization of human relationships, a reorganization that was based mainly on labor.

Rahel, who had always expressed concern for the poor and the underprivileged, was drawn to the reform proposals of the Saint-Simonians. Her letters and diary entries reflect again and again the ideas of the French reformer and his disciples. She shared articles and ideas about
social reforms with her friends. She wrote to the young poet Heinrich Heine in 1832, "I am the deepest Saint-Simonian. To make the world more beautiful... Liberty for every human development. I am convinced in the existence of progress, perfectability, ... and happiness." Rahel also found her ideas on the freedom of the individual, man and woman, reaffirmed by the French social reformers, the Saint-Simonians. She shared in particular their ideas on marriage, which should be a union of two free and equal people. Rahel could not, however, endorse communal living in a reformed society; this offended her concept of the individuality which she valued above all else.

The historian Treitschke believed that Rahel was one of those people who played a profound role in a political and social reform movement known as 'Young Germany,' a movement that combined German Romantics with a new realism. He assessed the role of the movement in a very negative way — his anti-Semitism was very apparent when he wrote:

"How strong the power of Judaism had become over the years!... Börne and Heine, Eduard Gans und Rahel were the leaders in Young Germany, added as a fifth person perhaps Dr. Zacharias Löwenthal, the busy publisher in Mannheim. Cosmopolitanism and hate for Christians, the acid irony and the corruption of language, the carelessness vis-à-vis the history of the fatherland — everything was Jewish in the movement... Because these five stood above their Germanic supporters,
the Jewish spirit experienced an influence over the Germanic literature, as never again... This half-Jewish radicalism could not accomplish anything, however. It helped to loosen the foundations of state, Church, society, that helped to bring about the downfall of the year 1848;..."80

Few people shared this negative interpretation of Rahel's influence, least of all her contemporaries who had been impressed by her when she was alive and were impressed just as much by her letters when they were published after her death. In the development of feminism in Germany, Rahel personified a new woman; independent, intelligent and often rebellious; a woman who would owe nothing to a man. In many ways she reminds one of Caroline Schlegel, who was just as independent and rebellious vis à vis conventions and traditions. But even though she resembled Caroline Schlegel in many ways, Rahel had an added burden to carry; she was Jewish. Her attempts to escape from Judaism are related by Hannah Arendt. Rahel as well as those around her in the Jewish community had lost their identity through the promises and expectations aroused by the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment had taken the Jews out of their isolation. The German Jews had hoped to become citizens with full rights like their gentile countrymen and were willing to give up most if not all of their traditions and completely assimilate to their non-Jewish environment. Rahel had attempted this, as had Dorothea Schlegel, Henriette Herz,
Henriette Mendelssohn, Helmina von Chézy, Pauline Wiesel, and many others of the Jewish communities. Despite baptism and the change of names they all remained pariahs in an alien society, a society that did not want to accept them, that was despite reform movements strongly anti-Semitic. In the end Rahel had not been successful in her quest to disassociate herself from the religious and cultural ties of her forefathers. But to German feminists she along with the other women of the Romantic period became an inspiration and as such furthered the progress of the feminist movement.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V


3 Dohm's title Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden inspired Hippel to write Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber. But Hippel did not think that the civil improvement of Jews was possible; in fact, he advised against granting rights to Jews. See Hippel, op. cit., II, 37; also see Geiger, Die Geschichte der Juden in Berlin, I, 141, II, 177 ff.


6 In order to be able to see one of her sons who stayed with Veit and keep Philip, Dorothea did not immediately marry Friedrich Schigel, but lived with him. The intellectual community, even though it was quite broadminded did not easily accept this relationship. See for details Schmidt, ed., op. cit., I, 478 ff. Dorothea was saddened by the criticism and defended her actions in a letter to Gustav von Brinckmann, a Swedish diplomat and friend of hers. See Deibel, op. cit., p. 162.

7 Ibid., p. 162.


9 Ibid., I, 24.

10 See the correspondences of Wilhelm and Caroline von Humboldt about the Tugendbund; Sydow, ed., op. cit., I, 13 ff., 44 ff., 48, 177 f., 109, 216, 285.
11 Raich, ed., op. cit., I, 9.
12 Deibel, op. cit., p. 162.

13 See for a detailed list of female writers p. 88 footnote # 74 of this dissertation. Dorothea never defended her literary career; as far as she was concerned, Schlegel had settled the issue in the women's favor. Apparently not all women of her circle of acquaintances felt that sure and saw a need for defense. As we have already seen, Esther Bernhard defended women's choice to a better education and a literary career. See p. 54 of this dissertation.

14 Raich, ed., op. cit., I, 181.
15 Deibel, op. cit., p. 170.

16 See ibid., pp. 67 ff, Deibel cites contemporary comments about Florentin; it is also apparent that even though Florentin was published under Schlegel's name, many seemed to have known who the real author was. See Raich, ed. op. cit., I, 19.

17 Joachim Otto Donner, Der Einfluss Wilhelm Meisters auf den Roman der Romantiker (Berlin: R. Heinrich, 1893). Also see Deibel, op. cit., p. 53 who showed in some detail the influence of Wilhelm Meister, novels by Rousseau and others on Florentin. In the end one gets the feeling that not much was her own. Deibel wrote, "It is characteristic of Dorothea's talents that her characters are best, when she can copy literary examples... in great detail... She lacks imagination..."

18 Friedrich Schlegel [Dorothea Schlegel], Florentin (Leipzig: Friedrich Bohn, 1801), pp. 36, 80, 301, 331, etc. Goethe's works did not shy away from sensuality either; this fact caused a great deal of friction between him and his platonic friend Charlotte von Stein, see Dünnzer, op. cit., I, 267 ff. Schlegel's Lucinde had gone far beyond the morally acceptable. However, when one reads Lucinde today it is difficult to understand what all the excitement was about.

19 Schlegel, Florentin, pp. 81, 46. Also see comments on Lucinde p. 68 of this dissertation.

20 Schlegel, Florentin, p. 308.
21 Ibid., p. 99.
22 Schlegel, Lucinde, p. 136 and Schleiermacher, op. cit., p. 3.

23 Schlegel, Florentin, pp. 341 ff.

24 Ibid., pp. 55, 259 ff., 337 ff., etc.


26 Ibid., pp. 271, 274 ff.

27 There are only six letters left from the period 1788-98. Dorothea destroyed most of her letters or asked her friends to destroy them. See Fürst, ed., op. cit., p. 119.

28 This letter was written in September of 1792 and is one of the six that have escaped destruction, see Raich, ed., op. cit., I, 6 ff.

29 Through philological studies Deibel was able to determine the authorship of a large number of articles written by Dorothea. These articles were published in the magazines Athenäum and Europa; most of them were printed under Schlegel's name; see Deibel, op. cit., pp. 73 ff. Dorothea's literary talents and her thorough knowledge of French made her German translations of Madame de Staël's Corinne a standard that was used for many years. Goethe even believed that Dorothea and the Schlegel brothers had co-authored the work which is possible. At least A. W. Schlegel had exercised a great deal of influence on Madame de Staël and it was decided that Dorothea had the talent and the knowledge to accomplish this task; see Raich, ed. op. cit., I, 211, 225. Also see Wilhelmine von Chezy, Unvergessenes: Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben der Helmine von Chezy, I, 246., about Dorothea's and Chezy's translating work in Paris. Both women cooperated in a number of tasks in order to earn a living. Dorothea's works have never been published in tota.

30 Lucinde was republished in 1848 and in 1870. In 1967 it was republished in the Goldmann Taschenbuch series.

31 Otto, Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich, p. 67.

In 1804 the Elisabethenschule was founded in Frankfurt/Main, in 1811 the Luisenstift in Berlin, and in 1818 the Katharinenenstift in Stuttgart. In 1832 the Augusta-Schule was founded in Berlin. Apparently there were a number of small schools that were run by women in their homes. Humboldt mentioned a small school in Hamburg that was run by a woman named Karoline Rodolphi; see Humboldt, *op. cit.* (Tagebücher), XIV, 327. In addition see the following paragraphs.

Not much is known about Recha Mendelssohn; Hensel devotes only one small paragraph to her. Apparently there were no letters of Recha in the Mendelssohn family; Hensel, who was a descendant of the Mendelssohns, seems to have known nothing more about Recha. Recha was mentioned twice in letters by Friedrich Schlegel, see Schmidt, ed., *op. cit.*, I, 483, 487. Dorothea mentioned her sister in a letter to Brinckmann in 1790, see Deibel, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff. Judging from the comments, it seems that Recha divorced her husband after Dorothea left Veit.

See Hensel, *op. cit.*, I, 67 f. Also see Schmidt, ed., *op. cit.*, I, 461 ff, 470, 477, 480, 481, 482 f., etc. for Henriette's plans to become a teacher in Caroline Schlegel's household for her daughter Auguste.

Deibel, *op. cit.*, I, 162.


Börne lived in Henriette's home when he was a student in Berlin.


Ibid., p. 152.

The biography by Ellen Key, *Rahel Varnhagen* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1813) and Otto Berdrow, *Rahel Var-
Hagen. Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild (Stuttgart: Greiner und Frei­ffer, 1902), are based on the collections of letters between Bahel and her friends. This collection was pub­lished after Bahel's death by her husband. Berdrow, did however, use some unpublished sources from the Varnhagen Nachlass, which apparently did not substantially alter the picture one gets from the published letters. Hannah Arendt, Rahel Varnhagen. The Life of a Jewess (London: East and West Library, 1957) is to a large extent based on unpublished sources or excerpts that were omitted by Varnhagen's popular publications of the letters of his wife. The Arendt book was begun before the author emigrated to the United States in 1933, it was only completed in the 1950's without access to the original sources of the Varnhagen Nachlass again, which had gotten lost. The Arendt book is not a bio­graphy but a portrait that deals with the complex question of Rahel's attempts to escape Judaism and her Jewish back­ground. Naturally, some of the particular insights of the Jewish problem, their assimilation or better their inability to assimilate in German society, because society was gene­rally hostile to the Jews, are reflected in the Arendt book in the light of the experiences during the Nazi rule in Germany. The book is very interesting, but for this par­ticular purpose was not always applicable.


46. Varnhagen, Rahels Briefwechsel mit David Veit, II, 238.


50. Ibid., I, 144.

51. Arendt, op. cit., discussed the attempts of Rahel to become an accepted member of society. At various times Arendt believed that she could do so through a marriage; once she was engaged to a count, but the count's family prevented the marriage, because Rahel was Jewish. Arendt interprets her marriage ventures as attempts to flee her Jewishness, therefore Rahel presumably never considered marrying a Jew.
Judging from published letters and the biographies of Key and Berdrow as well as a novel by Fanny Lewald, *Prinz Louis Ferdinand*, 2 vols. (Berlin: A. Hofman & Co., 1859) this problem does not seem as clearly defined as Arendt saw it.


54 Ibid., III, 174. Ludmilla Assing, ed., *Aus Rahels Herzensleben. Briefe und Tagebücher* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1877), 122 ff. Rahel had had some demoralizing experiences with two men to whom she was engaged. Both left her and her preoccupation with relief work seemed to have saved her from despair. Arendt, however, called the relief work that she did childish and naive and also did not take her patriotism for Germany serious, see Arendt, op. cit., pp. 156 ff.


56 She had had a salon throughout the 1790's and the early 1800's, this had kept her immensely busy. But in 1806 the war against France had taken many of her most famous guests to the front and some of them never returned. After Prussia's defeat in 1806 Berlin did not seem to return to normal. The crowd changed and Rahel's salon never regained prominence. The new group of intellectuals was according to Arendt anti-Semitic. In this new group were Achim von Arnim and his wife Bettina, also Clemens von Brentano, Bettina's brother. While Arendt gives some evidence of their so-called anti-Semitism, there is evidence that points to the opposite. See p. 120 of this dissertation.


58 Ibid., III, 520 ff.

59 'Edel sei der Mensch, hilfreich und gut,' is a quote von Goethe.
Organization for reform purposes did not come about until several decades after Bahel's death. During the time of her first salon which existed from the early 1790's until 1806, political and social reforms were discussed freely in her home. But she never thought of organization for action. Her second salon of 1819 until her death in 1833 was for a time more conservative or better more cautious, as the political climate was not conducive to talk about reforms. Many members of this group were the later Romantics who lacked revolutionary fervor. Only toward the end of Bahel's salon, during the late 1820's and early 1830's, did writers who are identified as the Junge Deutschland, Young Germany, add a more liberal and sometimes radical approach to this group.

Bahel never wrote a novel, article, or play, but became famous for her letter writing. A few of them were published during her lifetime and many more after her death by her husband Varnhagen. Many were never published and are lost. During her lifetime she became a literary personality of sorts, even though she never wrote anything intended for publication. Her letters were published in Morgenblatt which was edited by Therese Heyne; letters also appeared in Gustav Brinckmann's Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung (Berlin, 1833), Ludwig Börne's Wage, and Berlinische Blätter für Frauen.

Several times in her life did Bahel consider marriage and finally married Varnhagen.
the plea for easing the divorce laws. Rahel was familiar with Lucinde. Schlegel was a frequent visitor in her house.


73 Ibid., III, 19

74 Varnhagen read some documents on the history of Westphalia and discovered a reference to his family along with a family tree. From that time on he called himself Varnhagen von Ense, see Varhagen von Ense, Denkwürdigkeiten und vermischte Schriften, 6 vols. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1843), II, 256.


76 Leitzmann, ed., op. cit., p. 83.

77 Varnhagen, Rahel. Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde, III, 531.


80 Treitschke, op. cit., IV, 434.

81 One woman who was influenced by Rahel and who had been known to Rahel was Johanna Goldschmidt, see Varnhagen, Rahel. Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde, III, 124. Goldschmidt became active in the movement to bring about the emancipation of Jews in Hamburg and to work for the better­ment for women as well. See pp. 126 ff. of this dissertation. The women of the Romantic period, especially the Jewish women, were celebrated in novels by women; an example was Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand.
CHAPTER VI
A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

The Romantic period had been a time of unrest, a stage of germination of the intellectual concepts of the 19th century. As for the development of feminism, it had shown characteristics that were new, that had not appeared during the 18th century. But no immediate feminist movement resulted from the Romantic conception of women. The women of the Romantic period were still searching and could not yet translate their ideas of women's roles and rights into organized action. The ideas of Friedrich Schlegel had inspired them as they portrayed an optimistic picture of the position of women in society; the Schlegel ideal gave them the courage to free themselves individually from the bondage of a humdrum life. But they did not draw a practical conclusion for their entire sex nor did they think of organizing themselves.

After 1830 the thinking of men and women in Germany relied less on individual initiative and more on cooperate efforts. The inspiration for such thinking came from France and from the development of the economic situation. The socialist theories of Saint-Simon substituted class consciousness for individualism; these theories became influ-
ential on the Young Germany movement and on their thinking about the role of women in society. Thus the Young Germans strengthened the Romantic idea of women. Along with the ideas of Saint-Simon, the influence of the French feminist George Sand was also felt. The Romantics, the Young Germans, the Saint-Simonians, and George Sand wished to emancipate women, they also wished to harmonize and humanize the relationship between men and women.

None of these were advocating anything more advanced or immoral than Schlegel's *Lucinde*, but the younger generation after 1830 seemed much more offensive, possibly because the threat of revolution seemed inherent in the newer literature. Also during the 1830's the element of numbers began to become important; the doctrines of Saint-Simon and the ideas of George Sand found much wider acceptance than Friedrich Schlegel's ideas on women.

Since the group of people who disseminated the ideas on the 'new' woman or the 'emancipated' woman was objectionable to the establishment, the 'new' woman also became objectionable. Since the establishment was composed of men, the emancipated woman, as depicted in George Sand's novels *Indiana* (1832) and *Lélia* (1839), seemed to threaten men. Some women were able to escape a purely family-centered existence as the founding of a number of women's clubs during the 1840's indicates. Some of these women's associations were dedicated to charitable work; others seem to have had no special purpose except maybe to get
together for a **Kaffeeklatsch**. Despite this show of female independence, it is questionable to what extent the 'emancipated' woman of the type of George Sand made her appearance in German life; yet some men were apparently worried. Most German women were not at all the George Sand type, but the French feminist was admired and supported by the Young Germans. George Sand's writings, her habit of wearing men's clothing and her smoking cigars in public places were quite upsetting to the establishment. This visual evidence of her emancipation was probably more upsetting than her writings. She became the prototype of the masculine woman, the virago, and supposedly inspired other women to do the same. Louise Aston, who tried to show Berlin what it was like to smoke and dress like George Sand, was immediately expelled for her reprehensible behavior from that city.

The French influence was very much present, but even without George Sand and the Saint-Simonians some German women had overcome their inferiority complexes and had been encouraged to experiment with their lives. That had been the contribution of the Romantics, and a number of German women during the 1840's were becoming more outspoken and interested in general social and political issues.

Bettina von Arnim was one of these women; she actually never took a stand on the position of women in so-
ciety, however, she had a great deal of influence on the
development of feminism in German society. Bettina was
the granddaughter of Sophie La Roche; she was born in 1785
and died in 1859 and became the link between the Romantic
era and the tumultous 1840's. She was the embodiment of
the emancipated woman, yet she was not a champion for
women's emancipation.

Bettina had grown up in the free imperial city of
Farnkfurt, the hometown of Goethe. She had spent hours and
days listening to Goethe's mother discussing everyday events
and recalling her famous son's childhood. These conver­
sations became an important part of her growing up and
influenced her writing. Her letter novels Goethes Brief-
wechsel mit einem Kinde (1834) and Die Günderode (1837) as
well as her letters indicate her compassion for the under­
privileged, the poor, the oppressed, and the Jews. In her
own salon and that of Rahel Levin, Bettina discussed the
ideas of Saint-Simon and George Sand. In a letter to
a friend Bettina wrote, "I have received only one letter
from George Sand, surely that does not make me a socialist­
communist sympathizer. But I do approve of much she has
to say." There is, however, no evidence that Bettina
took a stand on the role of women in society. Instead,
she wrote about social and political problems in general
and looked at men and women as one group of human beings
with the same problems that needed solutions.
Bettina believed that she had the solutions to the social and political problems of the time. When Fredrick William IV became king of Prussia in 1840, she along with other liberals felt that a new era would begin and she believed that Fredrick William would use his position as father of the people and initiate reforms. Bettina realized that sweeping reforms were needed; this realization had been confirmed in particular by the outbreak of cholera in Berlin in 1831, when she went into the slums of Berlin and organized help. She had been appalled by the disease, violence, and despair in the slum areas and she felt that only large scale reforms from the top would be able to right the wrongs. She was convinced that Fredrick William would be more receptive to the problems of the poor and in general would become a better ruler than his father, Fredrick William III.

The new Prussian king, however, disappointed the liberals and he disappointed Bettina in particular. When nothing really changed under the new Hohenzollern ruler, Bettina assumed that he was badly advised and felt that the time had come to remind the monarch of his royal duties. She wrote to him that she had written a book which she wished to dedicate to him and the permission was granted. The book in question was a curious novel Dies Buch gehört dem König (1843) which became known as the Königs-
Bettina clothed her ideas in her characteristic, whimsical manner. The book consists of conversations which Frau Rat Goethe, Goethe's mother, had with a mayor, a minister, and Bettina. The King was probably not impressed, neither were the censors, because they failed to grasp the meaning from the book. When a digest, *Bettina und ihr Königsbuch*, was published by Adolf Stahr, it was confiscated.

Concealed behind a humorous and whimsical conversation between Frau Rat Goethe and others was a message. Bettina attacked the churches and clergy and called the ministers "executors of intellectual slavery." She attacked the political hierarchy and insinuated that Prussia's state ministers were stupid and attempted to isolate the King in order to keep reality away from him. She therefore advocated the firing of all the state ministers, and a return of the old union between king and people (*Volk*). Only then could the ills of society be rectified.

According to her, society had many ills and she attempted to impress upon the King that reforms were thoroughly needed. She drew a picture of the social decay that had been brought about by the Industrial Revolution. In doing so, she was at her best, because she pictured her experiences in the slums of Berlin during the cholera epidemic.
of 1831. In order to impress upon Fredrick William the urgent task she added a sociological study that a friend had compiled about the slums of Berlin. The social and political reforms she demanded should be inaugurred by the King, but the people also needed freedom; "Our sign is the flag of freedom, it spreads light in the middle of the night." 

Bettina's Königsbuch caused a stir, particularly after Stahr's digest of the book was confiscated. In his pamphlet Stahr praised, "... this book contains both Strauss and Feuerbach." And to a friend Stahr wrote, "This woman is the most courageous Pythia of the near future." Varnhagen von Ense, the late Rahel Levin's husband, also admired Bettina for her courage and wrote in his diary that she was, "... the only hero, the only true, free, and strong voice of this time." It seems that another pamphlet on the Königsbuch was written by Leberecht Fromm, probably a pseudonym, Bettina mentioned this in a letter to a friend, "Leberecht Fromm's sarcastic little book about the Königsbuch understood everything I wanted understood." A number of people including several newspapers did not understand and maintained that the Königsbuch propagated 'communist-socialist' ideas.

The Königsbuch was one of the first and one of the most daring social-political tracts in Germany prior to
the 1848 revolutions.22 Bettina, however, was not satisfied with the impact of the book, since it appeared that the King did not care to understand the message. She therefore set out to collect material for another book, which was to dramatize the need and poverty of the weavers of Silesia. This book, the so-called Armenbuch, was never published, because it was too explosive and could not have passed the censors. Bettina wrote to Stahr, "It is sad, to help the hungry is now called to preach insurrection."23 The Armenbuch contained observations such as "Men, women, and children are exploited by the rich..."24 "A twenty-year-old woman can easily pass for forty... These people work for twenty hours... and go to bed (if one can call their boards and rags a bed) hungry at night."25

There were a number of other women who wrote about social and political issues during the 1840's. In most instances these writers, like Bettina, generally did not specify the problems that women faced in society, but they wrote about general social and political problems.26 One such woman was Luise Otto who published her first social-political novel, Ludwig der Kellner, in 1843. In the introduction to this novel she wrote, "I look around in the present, see the battle of new elements of life with old prejudices, I see young, new shoots and green life... We witness the beginning of spring, and if spring does not come today, it will come soon."27
A few years later Otto published the novel Schloss und Fabrik (1846). This novel had been inspired by Bettina von Arnim's Königsbuch and the author's own travels through the industrial areas of Germany. This particular novel identified her to the authorities as a 'socialist' and she had to make changes to please the censors.

During the 1840's Luise Otto became closely identified with a group of democrats in Germany, who supported her views. One such group was formed around Robert Blum, the famous democratic leader of the 1848 Revolution.

In 1843 Robert Blum asked the question, "Do women have the right to participate in the affairs of the state?" in his new magazine Vorwärts-Volkstaschenbuch. Luise Otto answered this question, "Yes, women have not only the right but also the duty to participate in affairs of state." She went on to defend the political rights and duties of women and pointed out that in the future both men and women would be able to exercise their political rights.

Otto thus made the transition from a social critic to a political activist for women at a time when men had not yet achieved their political goals. Even though there was a great deal of oppression, Luise Otto felt confident that changes would come about in the near future. In 1847 she wrote again about the subject of women's rights in Blum's magazine. She reaffirmed her earlier stand that women had a right and a duty to participate in the state. Whether...
this right and duty would bring with it real equality, she thought, remained to be seen. Real equality, she believed, may not come easily, because most men were opposed to female emancipation. Even if political rights were granted to women, women would not automatically become equal citizens. As long as women were economically dependent on men, they could not achieve complete equality and could not consider themselves free. Fundamental changes had to take place; attitudes of men and women had to be changed, before women could consider themselves free and equal; real equality would only be achieved through equal education and the right of women to work for a living.32

Prior to 1848 a number of people in Leipzig, men and women, were enthusiastically supporting Luise Otto's views. She even thought of organizing a women's group. This plan was postponed with the outbreak of the revolution.33

Another emerging feminist had similar ideas about the role of women in society. This was Johanna Goldschmidt, of Hamburg, an acquaintance and admirer of Rahel Levin. Goldschmidt wrote the letter novel Rebekka und Amalia. Briefwechsel zwischen einer Israelitin und einer Adeligen (1847). This novel was a social commentary and strongly chastized the discriminations against Jews in Germany and especially in the author's hometown, Hamburg.34 In addition to the discriminations against Jews, Goldschmidt identified another problem that needed attention — the role of
women in society, not just Jewish women, but all women. Women, she argued, regardless of their religious, economic, or cultural background, were being exploited. To prevent this kind of exploitation, women needed to get a better education in order to become economically independent. In order to fight for women's rights and for an end to all religious and cultural discrimination, the author suggested the founding of a club that would be open to all women regardless of economic, social, cultural, or religious background.35

In November of 1847 a number of women, following Goldschmidt's suggestion, organized a women's association, the first actual Frauenverein of Germany. Fifteen women of both Jewish and Christian faith signed the charter, pledging to fight against religious prejudices and for the betterment of the position of women in society.36 This Frauenverein lasted until 1849.37

It was to take almost twenty more years and many setbacks until a number of these women along with women of the younger generation were able to found a permanent women's association of Germany.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VI


2 Ibid., p. 139.

3 There are a number of documents in the Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburg, West Germany), hereafter cited Nachlass Wüstenfeld. These documents indicate the existence of a number of women's associations during the 1840's. Several of these groups were reading circles and others were charitable organizations. Others are just simply called Frauenclub without stating a purpose. The existence of these clubs indicate that women were emerging. Apparently some men were worried about the 'emancipated' woman or they wanted to make fun of her. In the Münchner Fliegende Blätter of August 1847 three small articles and caricatures of the 'emancipated' woman were published. The headline reads 'Emanzipierte Frauen' and one such woman was pictured as 'Der weibliche Don Juan,' another 'Die Frau Professorin,' a woman lecturing; a third 'Die Malerin,' a woman painting a male act. In the paper Freie Blätter, of September 1848, a cartoon depicts an 'eman­cipated' woman; the title reads 'Ludwig, watch the child. I am going to my club.'

4 Louise Aston described this episode in Meine Emanzipation, Verweisung und Rechtfertigung (Brussels: Vogler, 1846).

5 Bettina von Arnim to Klara Mundt, July 19, 1845, Nachlass of Bettina von Arnim (Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt/Main, West Germany), hereafter cited Nachlass Bettina von Arnim, # 13264. George Sand's letter is in the Nachlass Bettina von Arnim and is also reprinted in Ludwig Geiger, ed., Bettine von Arnim und Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Ungedruckte Briefe und Aktenstücke (Frankfurt/Main: Rütten und Loening, 1902), pp. 215-16.

6 Ibid., pp. 4 ff.

7 Rahel Levin had also organized help for the cholera
victims of Berlin; see p. 102 of this dissertation.


11Ibid., I, 127, 144, 142 f.

12Ibid., I, 45. This was particularly funny, because her brother-in-law was a Prussian minister.

13Ibid., I, 58, 380.

14Ibid., I, 280, 349, 559 f., 290 f., 292 ff., etc.

15The study of the Vogtland, the slum area of Berlin, was added to her book as documentation.


17Adolf Stahr, Bettina und ihr Königsbuch (Hamburg: Kittler, 1844), p. 4. David Strauss and Ludwig Feuerbach were contemporary philosophers.


20Bettina von Arnim to Klara Mundt, August 4, 1845. Nachlass Bettina von Arnim, # 13265.

21Several newspapers maintained that Bettina von Arnim was corresponding with George Sand and other radicals. See p. 120 of this dissertation. Also see Geiger, ed., Bettine von Arnim und Friedrich Wilhelm IV, pp. 82 ff. It was, however, true that Bettine had contact with known radicals. The Polish revolutionary Mieroslawski knew her and Bakunin came to see her during the revolution.
A number of socialist publications began to be published in Germany during the 1840's; see Werner Sommer, Der proletarische Sozialismus (Jena: G. Fischer, 1924) I, 33.


The Armenbuch is in the Nachlass Bettina von Arnim. Armenbuch, sheet # 16.

Ibid., sheets # 24, 27.

Some of these novels were written by women who later became well-known. Luise Otto began her writing career with a social novel in 1843, see p. 124 of this dissertation. Luise Mühlbach, whose real name was Klara Mundt, wife of the German writer of the Young Germany group, Theodor Mundt, and correspondent of Bettina von Arnim, wrote a number of novels with social content. She wrote Ein Roman aus Berlins Gegenwart, 2 vol. (Leipzig: Kößling'sche Buchhandlung, 1844); Ein Roman in Berlin (Berlin: Mylin'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1846); Justin (Leipzig: C. L. Fitzsche, 1843). Ein Roman aus Berlins Gegenwart has some social criticism in common with Bettina's Königsbuch. Other novels with social content were novels by Fanny Lewald, a Jewish writer and feminist; Clementine (Leipzig: Weber, 1842) and Jenny (Leipzig, 1843, reprinted Berlin: O. Janke, 1872). These two novels deal primarily with the discriminations against Jews. Johann Goldschmidt's novel Rebekka und Amalia. Briefwechsel zwischen einer Israelitin und einer Adeligen über Zeit- und Lebensfragen (Leipzig: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1847) also deals with the discrimination against Jews, but it also dealt with the position of women in society. See pp. 126-27 of this dissertation.


Ibid., p. 104. It also became known that Luise Otto was influenced by George Sand.

31Ibid., 2.

32Luise Otto, "Die Teilnahme der weiblichen Welt am Staatsleben," Vorwärts-Volkstaschenbuch, V (March 1847); cited in Auguste Schmidt and Hugo Rösch, Luise Otto-Peters, die Dichterin und Vorkämpferin für Frauenrecht. (Leipzig: Voigtlander, 1898)

33Otto, Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich, p. 92.

34At the time of the publication of the Goldschmidt novel in 1847, Hamburg had not granted civil rights to Jews and discrimination was apparently widespread.

35Goldschmidt, Rebekka und Amalia, p. 235

36A document of this association is in the Nachlass Emilie Wüstenfeld. There are fifteen signatures attached to the document, the signature of Emilie Wüstenfeld, who later founded a pedagogical school for women, is on this document.

37I do not know why this organization did not last.
CHAPTER VII
THE CONTRIBUTION OF 1848

Before the revolution of 1848 a number of German women, as we have seen, had already stated that they favored a change of the traditional role that women played in society. When the revolution broke out, German women shared in the excitement and hoped that the future would bring about a change for them as well. But the question of women's rights did not receive much attention during the revolutionary months. The discussions about the rights of men and mankind may have implied the inclusion of women, but the rights of women were not specifically discussed in the National Assembly that was elected to draft a constitution for the united German empire. Yet women were very much interested in the developments of 1848; the diaries and memoirs of many women let us share in the exhilaration they felt at the beginning of the revolution. Many women sat in the galleries during the deliberations of the National Assembly and already during the meetings of the Vorparlament, women had hidden behind drapes and had listened to the discussions. Significantly, they had to sneak into the Paulskirche, because initially the galleries were only open to men.
In looking at the women who took an active interest in the events of 1848, one can identify two distinct groups: a liberal segment and a democratic one. The latter, it seems, were more active and the establishment thought of them as the 'emancipated' women.¹

In liberal circles a number of political salons became famous in the German cities; one particularly active salon was that of Clothilde Koch-Gontard in Frankfurt.² In her salon some well-known members of the National Assembly, including Heinrich von Gagern, the president of the Assembly, met and discussed political problems and events. Koch-Gontard as well as other women actively participated in the political discussions. They were interested and well-informed about the political developments, the constitutional questions, the election of a Reichsverweser and so on.³ Koch-Gontard's salon and her interest in the political sphere were widely known and women admired her for her knowledge and her ability to grasp the important political problems of the time. One woman wrote about Clothilde Koch-Gontard to another woman, "Clothilde reminds me of Madame Roland,... will she pursue the question of women's rights,... and will the Assembly have the courage to discuss them?"⁴

Josefine Buhl, wife of a liberal politician, had also given the question of women's rights some thought and she wrote to a friend, "I am profoundly convinced that we women will obtain our rights, but only after our husbands
have fulfilled their tasks." And in her diary Josefine Buhl wrote, "One speaks of women's emancipation,... I do not think it is wished for by many people of our background. It will surely come, but not in the near future." The democratic women were not merely content with having salons and discussing political events. Many of them were in the thick of things, writing, corresponding with democrats, helping their husbands, distributing leaflets and giving advice. But even the democratic women were not expecting dramatic changes in the status of women. They understood, just as the liberal women had understood, that some major issues had to be settled first. Their correspondence was in some ways similar to that of the liberal women, but their letters did reflect more interest in the issue of women's rights. Johanna Kinkel, composer and wife of the radical democrat Gottfried Kinkel, was a strong-willed woman, who was not content to give piano lessons to her children or children of other people. She edited Kinkel's paper, she composed and corresponded with democrats all over Germany. Johanna Kinkel had earlier written to Kathinka Zitz, wife of another democratic representative, "We must be free from tradition and dependence, but only in a republic will women become free... but even then it will be a difficult task, because many men do not support us." Kathinka Zitz, too,
was aware that a republican government was more apt to
grant women's rights, but she was also aware that this
would not be easily accomplished. She wrote to a friend,
"Have patience, women's rights are not important now.
The most important problem is the success of the revolu-
tion... It will decide the future, although I am sure we
will have to work hard to get our rights, even then."11
Diary entries of Kathinka Zitz indicate that she was quite
aware of what was going on throughout Germany and seemed
to have knowledge of various like-minded groups of women.
One entry reads "I read the 'Adresse eines deutschen Mäd-
chens.' I am sure it was written by Luise Otto."12 An-
other entry mentioned a Frauenzeitung edited by Malthilde
Anneke, writer and wife of the revolutionary Fritz Anneke.13

Luise Otto also continued to be interested in the
question of women's rights, but she, too, seemed to have
kept in the background, realizing that other issues had to
be settled first. In March of 1848, however, she did come
forward and demanded the inclusion of female workers in a
newly founded workers commission.14 Her diary gives some
insight into her thinking and her activities during 1848-49;
one entry reads, "I am not occupied enough... The ques-
tions that seem most important to me, are being.... for-
gotten. I know that it is too soon to expect changes, but
we [women] have to solve our own problems. Men can only
give us limited aid..."15 Most of her time during the
summer of 1848 seems to have spent in writing a novel and occasionally writing agendas for workers meetings and petitions for workers deputations. During October Otto seems to have become restless and to have toyed with the idea of founding a non-political women's organization. Nothing, however, came of this. On November 14, 1848 she heard about the execution of Robert Blum, the democratic political leader. "Everything is lost, the revolution died with Blum," Luise Otto recorded in her diary. The following diary entries are disheartened prophecies of the impending catastrophe. Apparently she foresaw that the failure of the revolution would destroy all hopes for women to gain more rights. "The attention, which the women's question has been receiving, seems to be drowning with all our hopes and wishes..." In order to keep the interest in the women's question alive, Otto decided to publish a women's paper; the result was the Frauenzeitung which had the subtitle Dem Reich der Freiheit werb' ich Bürgerinnen (I recruit female citizens for the realm of liberty). Even though the paper was dedicated to the idea of freedom, the contents seems to have been somewhat limited. Otto mainly used the paper to keep some of the issues such as female education and economic independence alive. Generally, she refrained from making any controversial comments. But despite this self-restraint, the Frauenzeitung was offensive to the authorities and after a great
deal of harassment, the paper was suspended in 1852. Apparently, she had been too closely identified with 'radicals' like Robert Blum and therefore was considered a dangerous democrat.\textsuperscript{21}

The letters, diaries, and reflections of some of the women of 1848 are an interesting source. An additional insight about the attitude of women in 1848 is presented by Malvida von Meysenbug. Her \textit{Memoiren einer Idealistin} contain a flashback, a view about 1848, as she remembered it during the 1870's. These memoirs give an interesting account of the hopes and aspirations of women during 1848 and 1849, and of the disappointments and the continued struggle to provide women with a more dignified role in society.

Malvida von Meysenbug came from an aristocratic family that did not appreciate her liberal and later 'radical' views. Even before the revolution her sentiments were with the revolutionary elements in society. When the revolution broke out, she became an excited eyewitness and sometimes even a participant. In Frankfurt she was able to attend parliamentary sessions, she explained the meaning of the revolution to the common people and at various times distributed political leaflets.\textsuperscript{22}

The cry for liberty had caused Malvida von Meysenbug to feel more restricted by her upbringing and her family and she wished to escape from her past and become econo-
mically self-sufficient. Her family was appalled by such notions and prevented her many times from gaining the economic independence she wanted. Eventually, she was compromised by her contacts with known revolutionaries and decided to move to England where she earned her own living.

Throughout her memoirs Malvida wrote of emancipation — in spirit she was an emancipated woman; she had been able to free herself from political as well as religious prejudices and might have become completely independent early in life, had she been able to free herself from an overbearing and demanding mother and family. Malvida was in a sense emancipated as the romantic women had been. But she did not merely want intellectual emancipation — she wanted the freedom to choose what she thought was right for her. She realized, however, that as a woman she was not able to control her life and her aspirations. Complete emancipation, she found out, could only come with complete economic independence. Again and again she observed that women could not be emancipated as long as they could not earn their own living. Like other women of the time, she thought of setting up an organization and planned to correspond with like-minded women all over Germany to encourage them to found women's organizations. These organizations were to take up the cause of women's rights, especially the rights to a good education and to earn a living. Education, she believed, was the key
right, the basic principle that women had to fight for.
Without it, women were doomed to remain second class ci-
tizens. Nothing, however, came of these plans, no letters
were written and the failure of the revolution put to rest
any further attempts to work toward an organization of
women.

When the failure of the revolution became apparent,
Malvida, as well as other women, attempted to salvage some
gains from the wreckage. Otto continued to publish her
Frauenzeitung, and Malvida von Meysenbug went to Hamburg
against the wishes of her family, where she joined a group
of like-minded women. This was the closest, she actually
came to the realization of her high-minded plans and
dreams, she had had during the ominous year 1848. The
women, she worked with, in Hamburg, were attempting to
improve the lot of women through better education and
training that would enable them to earn their own living.
This group was formed around Emilie Wüstenfeld, one of the
signers of the document that created the Frauenverein of
1847. Johanna Goldschmidt, the author of the book Rebekka
und Amalia was also a member of this group. Wüstenfeld
founded a Hochschule for women in 1849. This school was
supported by an educational association of mostly married
women whose husbands seem to have financed the institution.
The women who had come to found and support the Hochschule
"had gained the conviction from their experiences that life
had another basis than mere devotion to another person."
Wüstenfeld's school was remarkable. It had been founded in the spirit of 1848 and became quite successful. The best teachers were hired and the school was led by Karl Fröbel, the nephew of the educator Friedrich Fröbel. Girls of all backgrounds were admitted, among them many who could not afford the tuition. The minimum age of the girls was sixteen, but since the classes were informal, older women, mostly married women, joined the lectures. Malvida von Meysenbug observed that at times there were three generations of women sitting together in one classroom. 

Wüstenfeld's Hochschule became a women's college, a pedagogical institution that trained women to become better educators. A kindergarten was established at this school in order to give students practical experience as kindergarten teachers. The graduates of the Hochschule became the first generation of German women who gained their economic independence from men.

Meysenbug became the assistant to Fröbel, and for a short time in her life she had a sense of purpose and fulfillment, a feeling that was shared by the women around her. This happiness, however, came to an end, because the school became suspect during the period of increasing political reaction. Many members had openly sympathized with the revolution and financial support became increasingly difficult to obtain. After a great deal of harassment and without sufficient funds, Wüstenfeld and her
advisers decided to close the school in 1852. What could have become a starting point for other women's colleges, became a nostalgic memory for many women. Even the kindergartens that had been founded in various German cities were closed down, because the establishment feared that the teachers would instill the desire for freedom in the small children under their supervision. But the short-lived triumph of the Hamburg Hochschule was not forgotten. Most of the women involved in the schools continued to work for the economic, and in the long run, the political emancipation of women. When women finally organized in 1865, several of the women of Hamburg were on hand to continue the work that was interrupted in 1852 and became active in the organized women's movement.

The democratic women of 1848 that have been discussed in this chapter were either of middle class or upper class background; they had generally identified with two causes; their own rights and the rights of the working class. They could not identify with their own class, because the aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie were both guilty of exploiting the working class and wanted no changes. The women of 1848 had interpreted liberty, fraternity, and equality in the true sense and believed that these high-minded ideals could only be accomplished in a republic. In the beginning of 1848 many women had viewed the future with optimism as they saw the old authorities crumble.
Malvida's recollections of the revolution show just how hopeful women and men were and how widespread the belief was that liberty would bring about social changes as well. But the hopes were shattered and women did not come closer to their goals. In the end, a number of German women ended up fighting not for high-minded ideals, but for their own freedom and the lives of their husbands. Johanna Kinkel, for example, left no stone unturned to save her husband's life, after he was condemned to death for high treason. Malvida von Meysenbug was interrogated by the police and fled to escape prison. Luise Otto, along with other women, also fought for the lives of people close to them; Otto, too, was harassed by the police.

In the end there were even a few heroines, a few women who captured the imagination of the masses as well as the attention of the authorities. These women accompanied their husbands to the battlefield in a hopeless attempt to stem the tide of reaction. Armed to their teeth, decked out in men's clothing, Mathilde Anneke, Emma Herwegh and Mathilde Struve, all wives of revolutionaries, fought on the side of their husbands for liberty and lost during the uprisings in Baden in 1849. After their defeat these women shared their husbands' exile. Louise Aston, who had scandalized Berlin for having dressed in men's clothing, was also back in Germany, writing inflammatory material on behalf of women, asking them
to take up weapons and fight on the barricades. These heroic figures overshadowed those women who were more realistically attempting to bring about changes. Fanny Lewald, that astute observer of women and men in 1848, felt that the appearance of women on the barricades and on the battlefield, was unsettling for the establishment and detrimental to the women's cause. The entire women's movement, Lewald argued, received a setback from which the cause of women could only slowly recover. Malvida von Meysenbug made a similar observation; when the police came to her apartment to search it and to question her, they had obviously expected a gun-toting, cigar-smoking female.

Those women who could, tried to remain behind during the reactionary years, carefully salvaging their ideals, or what was left of them. But the women of 1848 never lost sight of their primary goal; women's emancipation. This had, however, become a far-removed dream after 1849. Not even men had been able to achieve their goals. Many of the women of 1848 understood that they had to concentrate their efforts on more attainable objects such as educational reform that would benefit women. The realists Johanna Goldschmidt and Emilie Wüstenfeld, Kathinka Zitz and Johanna Kinkel, Luise Otto and Fanny Lewald, and even the 'idealists' Malvida von Meysenbug
took the lessons of the aftermath of the revolution of 1848 seriously.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1 See Fanny Lewald, Erinnerungen aus dem Jahr 1848, 2 vols. (Braunschweig: Vieweg & Sohn, 1850); Malvida von Mey senbug, Memoiren einer Idealistin, 2 vols. (Berlin: Schuster und Loeffler, 1900); Georg Küntzel, ed., Tagebuch von Frau Clothilde Koch-Gontard über die Konstituierende Deutsche Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main (Mai bis Dezember 1848) (Frankfurt/Main: Englert und Schlosser, 1924); Diary of Josefine Buhl, Nachlass of Josefine Buhl (Bundesarchiv Abteilung Frankfurt/Main, West Germany), hereafter cited Nachlass Josefine Buhl.

2Mey senbug, op. cit., I, 145 f.

3Ibid., I, 249.

4Clothilde Koch-Gontard was a member of an old Frankfurt family; she married Robert Koch, consul of Great Britain to the city of Frankfurt.

5Küntzel, ed., op. cit., reveals Clothilde Koch-Gontard's understanding and thoughts about the political developments before and during the revolution. In addition, there are a number of unpublished letters of Clothilde Koch-Gontard in the Nachlass of Josefine Buhl.

6Emilie Bassermann to Josefine Buhl, June 12, 1848. Nachlass Josefine Buhl, #199-190-3

7Josefine Buhl to Karoline Gräfin Egloffstein, August 14, 1848. Nachlass of Josefine Buhl, #199/205-1.


9Johanna Kinkel gave piano lessons to Gisela von Arnim, daughter of Bettine von Arnim. When Kinkel's husband was condemned to death for high treason after the revolution had failed, she contacted Gisela von Arnim and Bettina also became involved to save Kinkel's life. See p. 142 of this dissertation.

10Johanna Kinkel to Kathinka Zitz, November 12, 1844. Nachlass of Kathinka Zitz (Stadtarchiv Mainz, West Germany), hereafter cited as Nachlass of Kathinka Zitz, #98/211-62.
11 Kathinka Zitz to Sophie Gräfin Hatzfeld, August 6, 1848. Nachlass of Kathinka Zitz, #98/218-2.

12 Diary entry of April 16, 1848. Nachlass of Kathinka Zitz.

13 Diary entry of November 21, 1848. Nachlass of Kathinka Zitz. I could not find a copy of this paper. Valentin, op. cit., II, 580, mentions the paper.

14 'Adresse eines deutschen Mädchens.' Otto mentioned the address in her diary and in her Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich. This address was also mentioned in a diary entry by Kathina Zitz; see p. 135 of this dissertation.

15 Diary entry of June 15, 1848. Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld. The diary is marked; 'Tagebuch der Luise Otto-Peters, kopiert 1876.' The entries start with November 29, 1847, and end with an entry on May 25, 1849. I do not know whether this is a copied part of a larger diary, or whether Luise Otto only wrote in a diary for this period of time.

16 Diary entry June 21, 1848 and July 2, 1848. Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

17 Diary entry of October 16, 1848. Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

18 Diary entry of November 14, 1848. Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

19 Diary entry of December 13, 1848. Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

20 Otto, Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich, p. 146 mentioned the paper and her determination not to publish anything controversial. Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., pp. 34 ff. also mention the paper. I could not find a copy of it.

21 Otto, Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich, p. 158.

22 Keysenbug, op. cit., I, 146, 142, 163.

23 Ibid., I, 139, 185, 193 f., 196, etc.

24 Ibid., I, 172 f.

25 Ibid., I, 193.

Johanna Goldschmidt became the head of the Fröbel-Verein in Hamburg in the late 1850's. She also wrote a number of pedagogical books that encouraged women to devote their energies to becoming educators. She later became involved in the German Women's Association; see p. 166 of this dissertation.

Meysenbug, op. cit., I, 245; also see p. 134 of this dissertation.

Meysenbug, op. cit., I, 138 ff.

There are a number of letters written by Johanna Kinkel to Bettina von Arnim and Gisela von Arnim, imploring them to intervene with Fredrick William IV on behalf of her husband. These letters along with a number of others written by women seeking help from Bettina von Arnim are in the Nachlass of Bettina von Arnim.

Meysenbug, op. cit., I, 247 ff. Malvida reports that a number of women who were suspect of democratic sentiments were interrogated by the police. Malvida's apartment was searched and many letters that had value only to her were taken from her without ever being returned.

Luise Otto, too, wrote petitions to spare the life of her fiancée who was imprisoned and condemned to death for high treason. His sentence reduced to imprisonment, but he spent seven years in jail. Otto was interrogated by the police about her friends, her connections with Robert Blum and finally had to suspend the publication of her Frauenzeitung; see Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., p. 36.

Mathilde Anneke went to Wisconsin with her husband, where she became active in the women's movement. Mathilde Struve also came to United States with her husband; see Valentin, op. cit., II, 581, also see Anna Blos, Frauen der deutschen Revolution 1848. 10 Lebensbilder (Dresden: Kaden, 1928).

See p. 119 of this dissertation.

Louise Aston, Revolution und Kontrerevolution (Mannheim: Grohe, 1849).
37 Lewald, Erinnerungen aus dem Jahr 1848, I, 178; also see Fanny Lewald, Für und wider die deutschen Frauen (Berlin: O. Janke, 1875).

38 Meysenbug, op. cit., I, 247 ff.

39 Otto, Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich, p. 97; Meysenbug, op. cit., I, 236.
Up to the middle of the 19th century one can follow the story of feminism in Germany by investigating the lives of a number of outstanding women. In a way they were the women's movement of Germany and they had at one time or another proclaimed what they thought were their rights. With the revolution of 1848 and the rising expectations that accompanied it, the ranks of women demanding their rights grew more numerous. With more women willing to identify with a cause, leaders could begin to think of a women's organization. Women's organizations finally came in the mid-1860's. Just as the Socialist Party of Germany was able to organize after it seemed to have nearly ceased to exist during the reactionary 1850's, women of Germany were able to put into effect a plan that some of them had had for quite some time.

The 1850's passed without any important changes in the position of women in Germany. The correspondences of some of the women mentioned in Chapters VI and VII were generally apolitical and questions of women's rights along with other political and social problems were avoided. Yet a number of women had not given up hope, and the discussion
of how to bring about social and political changes for them went on in some circles.\textsuperscript{1} Luise Otto wrote, "...the climate after 1852 was not conducive to organization, but it was still on our minds."\textsuperscript{2} Especially those women who had identified with the democrats of 1848 were still hoping for organization.\textsuperscript{3}

In 1863 a pamphlet called \textit{Die Emanzipation der Frauen, Den Frauen gewidmet} was written and published by the philanthropist Joseph Heinrichs of Posen. This pamphlet, it seems, reawakened some women to the cause of women's rights. Otto read the pamphlet and believed that it could become the rallying point for renewed efforts to organize. She, however, had no intentions to organize a women's movement or even to get involved in one. For that she lacked the necessary confidence and she would rather resort to the pen than the gavel.\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Die Emanzipation der Frauen} attempted to renew the interest in the cause of women; the pamphlet pointed out that both working man and slaves had made progress,\textsuperscript{5} but that the position of the middle class women, in particular the unmarried middle class women, and the working class women was not improving, that it was, in fact getting worse.\textsuperscript{6} In short, there seemed no end in sight to the oppression of women.\textsuperscript{7}

The emancipation of women, Heinrichs pointed out, seemed to have been a foregone conclusion in the 1840's; but after 1848 it had been largely forgotten. Since there
were no physical reasons or mental reasons, why women should be considered inferior to men. Heinrichs argued that the oppression of women was a product of man-made traditions. Women could perform the same jobs as men and in some positions they probably could perform the same jobs even better. "It seems strange that I am using the arguments today that were used by Hippel in 1792... Women of the middle class are now better educated than during Hippel's time, and a few are able to earn their meager living as teachers, but no real progress has been made... The oppression experienced by working class women is particularly bad..." Heinrichs wrote and he advocated concerted action against the oppressors. He advised women to organize in order to bring about change. Organization would aid women to clarify their views concerning legal rights, female education and the right to work, and finally political emancipation. Female education and the right to work, according to Heinrichs, were the most important tasks, and a women's organization should address itself to those primarily.

During the 1860's the hardships of unmarried middle class women as well as working class women became more noticeable as their numbers increased. Luise Otto knew that organization of women was the only way to improve their lot and she began to give it a great deal more thought. Yet she was still hesitant to start a move-
ment of such magnitude, a movement that would not be universally supported by women, to say nothing of men. Otto had remained in the background during the 1850's and 1860's, but she had written a number of articles on female education and economic self-sufficiency. She also used her novels of that period to express her views concerning the position of women in society. But, according to those women who knew her well, Otto never planned to become an activist again.

In 1864 Luise Otto was widowed at the age of forty-five. She had a meager income from her writings, and many shattered dreams. She had entered middle age and she was alone, without a husband or children. Her life, by normal, contemporary standards seemed to have been a complete failure; her earlier impassioned pleas for women's rights were buried under the wreckage of the revolution. But she was actually at the beginning of a remarkable career as an activist for the cause of the women of Germany.

Several incidents had an influence on her decisions. First of all, the death of her husband had shown her with renewed intensity the precarious position that women had in society. Secondly, she had been influenced and stirred by Heinrich's pamphlet, *Die Emanzipation der Frauen*, and according to her friends talked at great length about the possibility of organization. Thirdly, a Captain Korn, a Hungarian revolutionary who had fled to the United States,
came to Leipzig in the hope of publishing a women's paper and to discuss the possibility of founding a women's organization. Korn, it seems, had had some contact with American women's organizations and when he returned to Europe, he came to Leipzig, where he thought he would be most successful in his ventures. Apparently, he had thought that the presence of Luise Otto had prepared the ground for his undertaking.\textsuperscript{15}

Korn approached Luise Otto with his plans, but she was hesitant to lend her support to Korn's ventures. Otto did not share Korn's basic concepts and philosophy; she also believed that a women's organization and a women's paper should be entirely handled by women. In the end Korn began with the publication of a paper, but when women of Leipzig and the surrounding areas were called together for a conference by Korn's Frauenzeitung,\textsuperscript{16} Otto began to take matters into her own hands. On March 8, 1865 the Frauenbildungsverein, the Women's Education Association, was founded by Otto. Korn was invited to attend, as were a number of other men, but had no voice in the decision-making process. Luise Otto became the president of the association and thirty-five women signed the statutes of the Frauenbildungsverein.

Besides the fact that Luise Otto believed that a women's organization should be run entirely by women in order to have credibility, there were other reasons why
Otto could not come to terms with Korn. She along with her closest supporters doubted the sincerity of Korn. Korn was not a rich man and apparently looked upon the venture of a Frauenzeitung and a women's organization as means to earn a living. Neither Otto nor her supporters could condone this and they attempted to dissociate themselves from Korn. The most important reason, however, why Otto could not fully cooperate with Korn were basic philosophical differences about the women's question. Korn tended to view the women's question as a purely economic one. Since not all women could get married, they should be prepared for a job. Otto, on the other hand, felt that this attitude was an oversimplification of a more complex issue — the right of women to work as a matter of principle, not as an economic necessity. Korn also was mainly interested in the lot of middle class women, while Otto continued to stress the importance that both middle class and working class women should cooperate.

The statutes of the Frauenbildungsverein called for social gatherings of middle and working class women to make women more aware of the importance of education, concerted action, and the causes of women in general. The statutes also envisaged the founding of a Fortbildungsschule for girls, offering additional schooling. This Fortbildungsschule was actually modelled after the Hochschule of Hamburg. In October of 1865 the Fortbildungsschule
schule was founded. Like the Hochschule of Hamburg it was a teacher's college. Teaching, of course, seemed the most natural occupation for women, and teaching as an occupation for women was least opposed by men. Therefore, it was almost the only remunerative occupation open to middle class women.

Another of the statutes of the Frauenbildungsverein called for the convocation of a nation-wide conference of German women to be held at the earliest possible time.21 Not all women who had participated an the Frauenbildungs-konferenz were in favor of this particular point of the statutes. Many were reluctant to sign the statutes if they included the plan for a German women's conference.22 To found a local educational association for women was one thing, but to organize a national women's conference was another. It was apparently because of this point that of the forty-nine participants only thirty-five signed the final statutes.

Between March of 1865 and October of the same year, Luise Otto and her supporters were busy preparing the details of the women's conference. They also founded the Fortbildungsschule in order to impress other women who were to come to Leipzig that they were serious about a women's organization and the causes of women in general. Letters were written to women all over Germany.23 Korn's Frauenzeitung printed the invitations and a number of
articles about the upcoming Frauenkonferenz in the city of Leipzig.\textsuperscript{24}

The response was encouraging; more than one hundred women from all over Germany came to Leipzig to attend the first national women's conference of Germany. The conference was held from the 16th to the 18th of October 1865; Luise Otto presided over it. Not only women but a number of men attended the conference; among them the industrialist and philanthropist Moritz Müller of Frankfurt, Joseph Heinrichs of Posen, the author of the pamphlet Die Emanzipation der Frauen, and August Bebel, later leader of the socialists and defender of women. Otto revealed herself as a skillful leader; she astonished the participants with her knowledge of parliamentary procedures and her skillful control of the discussions which often became quite heated and controversial.\textsuperscript{25}

After three days of meetings, the first women's conference of Germany decided to found the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, the National Association of German Women, short ADF. The primary goals of this association were concerned with a woman's right to work,\textsuperscript{26} and the right to a better education for women.\textsuperscript{27} Even though the political emancipation of women was discussed during the sessions and a declaration adopted that it was the ultimate goal for women, a call for their political emancipation was not entered in the final statutes.\textsuperscript{28} Luise Otto feared that fewer women
would support the ADF if a call for female emancipation was included in the statutes. ²⁹

One of the most important decisions of the conference concerned the exclusion of male members from the newly founded ADF. Otto had insisted on the exclusion of men and had justified it by stating that only if women learn to help themselves, could they become independent and in later years equal working partners with men. ³⁰ This stand, however, cost the first women's organization dearly; only nineteen women were willing to sign the statutes, the other participants felt that the leaders of the women's movement had definitely gone too far. When the ADF was founded by only nineteen women, its very existence seemed to have been threatened. Despite the meager beginnings, however, the fact remained that the founding of both the Frauenbildungsverein and the ADF had been the work of women. These women had no precedent to guide them. ³¹ None of the founders of the Frauenbildungsverein or the ADF had had any training in speaking to public audiences; no woman, for that matter, had this kind of experience. But these women undertook a task that required courage and they founded an organization that had credibility despite its small beginnings.

Though the ADF started out small, its nucleus of dedicated women was able to carry out ist task with so much drive that by 1870 there were a large number of branch
societies and the membership had grown from the original nineteen to over 9,000 members. The original founders knew what they wanted and worked with a great deal of zeal and determination.

In 1866 Luise Otto and her closest supporters in Leipzig decided that they could no longer use the Frauenzeitung published by Korn as their official organ and they founded their own paper Neue Bahnen, named after one of Luise Otto's novels. Women's papers and magazines had of course been around for a long time, but Neue Bahnen was different than any other women's paper that had ever been published in German. It was strictly concerned with educational problems, professional problems, progress that women made, and setbacks that they suffered. It also reported on legislation that could possibly affect the position of women in society. The usual fare of the women's magazines such as child-rearing problems, recipes, needlework patterns, and fashion news were not discussed in Neue Bahnen.

The decision to exclude men from membership of the ADF had, at first, been quite unpopular and had frightened a number of women who decided against becoming members of the ADF. There were other points that were not totally acceptable to many women. One of them was the insistence on the right of women to work. Not only did Luise Otto
believe that the right to work was important enough to be entered as one of the statutes, but she thought it so significant that she published a book on the subject in 1866. In Das Recht der Frauen auf Erwerb she briefly mentioned the fact that many women needed to work in order to survive, but that survival should not and should never become accepted as the sole reason for women's employment. Women should have the right to work, whether or not this was a matter of economic need. Most of all, women's work should be accepted along with the right to work for men.

Das Recht der Frauen auf Erwerb not only clarified the position of the ADF, but it was also directed against those people who did not want to see women leave the home; this of course meant the majority of German women and men, including members of the working class as well as their socialist organizations. In Das Recht der Frauen auf Erwerb Otto attacked the socialists in particular for their anti-feminist stands. The leadership as well as the rank and file of the working class had continually condemned the employment of women. The opposition to women's work came from fear of competition, because women were paid less than men and therefore took jobs away from men. Opposition also grew out of a demand for social justice; if upper and middle class women did not work, why should working class women? In addition, the early socia-
lists argued that employment of women would destroy the family unit. Women's work, it was maintained, could only be entirely prevented with the destruction of the capitalist system and with the introduction of a just wage that would enable the working men to adequately support their families. This reasoning was obviously very much influenced by the bourgeois family ideal. In later years under Marxist influence, the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party began to accept women's work and their quest for equality. This acceptance was, however, often quite reluctant. It was interesting that Luise Otto who belonged to the middle class, saw much clearer in this respect than the socialists did, when she demanded the right to work for all women, regardless of economic necessity and social status.

It was impossible for the ADF to cooperate with the socialists, because of the proletarian anti-feminism; in fact in the beginning, the socialists wanted to have nothing to do with that movement. Therefore, the ADF carried on as sole champion for the middle class and the working class women. Since the leadership of the ADF was made up of middle-class women, it was later ridiculed by the socialist women because of its alleged maternalism and its Frauenrechtlerlei. Many of the later socialists, however, forgot that the ADF initially was the only orga-
nization that was interested in the rights of women of the working class, while the early socialists had been quite content to assign women to the kitchen and the bedroom forever.

Whether the later proletarian feminists accept it or not, the ADF under the leadership of Luise Otto had a real interest in the welfare of all women, the working class women in particular. It may be that Luise Otto, being of middle class background, could not fully appreciate the terrible lot of working class women, but the ADF proved many times that it was truly concerned about the exploitation of the women of the proletariat. A petition was sent from the ADF to the fourth congress of the Deutsche Arbeitervereine in Gera to impress the workers with the plight of working class women and to point out the advantages of mutual help. But the men of the working class did not feel any kind of solidarity with the proletarian women and rejected any kind of meddling by the ADF. For them the problem was to a large extent one of competition. A similar petition was sent by the ADF to the middle-class Kongress der Volkswirtschaftlichen Vereine in Hamburg in 1867, but no support came from that meeting either.

Two petitions were sent to the Reichstag of the North German Confederation asking it to remove all barriers to
women's industrial and commercial employment. 46

Since the socialists would not cooperate with the ADF, Luise Otto attempted to deal with the plight of the working class women in a more direct way. In 1869 she founded the first Deutsche Arbeiterinnenverein in Berlin. This club was at first dedicated to organizing social evenings for proletarian women. Sensing that these women needed more than social evenings, the ADF decided to use the few hours of these gatherings to try to raise the educational level of these women. Since trade unions were not representing the proletarian women, the ADF through the Arbeiterinnenverein tried to put enough pressure on the unions to include women in their demands for shorter hours, better working conditions, and higher pay. As the ADF became involved in these activities, it became suspect to the authorities and by 1871 the first Deutsche Arbeiterinnenverein was closed down. 47

Almost simultaneously with the ADF another women's organization was founded in Germany. This organization was the Lette Verein of Berlin. The impetus for the founding of the Lette Verein came from the founding of the ADF and the increasing economic needs that women were experiencing. Even though their basic statutes were similar, there were, nevertheless, great differences between the Lette Verein and the ADF; these differences were so
great that Luise Otto and her supporters refused to meet with the representatives of the Lette Verein. The Lette Verein simply viewed the women's question as an economic question. Since not all women were able to marry, they had to have a means of support. Therefore, the Lette Verein argued certain jobs should be opened to women.

"What we do not want, and never even in the most distant future centuries wish or aim for, is the emancipation and equal rights for women," wrote Adolf Lette, the founder of the Lette Verein. He went on to say that he thought women were not capable of scientific or artistic work and only could handle simple jobs, since women's brains lacked the capability to think logically. Needless to say, the ADF could not be expected to make common cause with the Lette Verein. Not only did the members of the ADF believe in the right to work but also in the full emancipation of all women.

The Lette Verein seemed less offensive and enjoyed the patronage of members of the establishment. Lette was not a social innovator, he was a conservative philanthropist whose ideas belonged more in the 18th century than the 19th century. He simply wanted to help those women who could not find a husband and needed to work. His moderate approach helped him win many friends, because his association had nothing to do with such radical demands as the right to work and the emancipation of women. The
Lette Verein was interested in alleviating the economic misery of women by providing them with some training and jobs. It was not concerned with changing the legal status of women. The Lette Verein broke less with tradition and therefore experienced less opposition. It was a disaster relief organization that dealt strictly with bringing relief to victims of disasters rather than with the causes of the problems.

For a number of German women the Lette Verein was more acceptable than the ADF. Some women, who had attended the first women conference in Leipzig in October 1865, could not support the goals of the new ADF. One such woman was the writer Jenny Hirsch who returned to Berlin and in December 1865 became one of the founders of the Lette Verein. Hirsch became the secretary of this organization and the editor of the paper Der Frauenanwalt. Yet even though Jenny Hirsch was not ready to join the more activist and more radical ADF, she was nevertheless interested in the question of women's emancipation and she translated into German John Stuart Mill's *Subjection of Women*. Subjection of Women made a profounder impression than either Hippel's or Wollstonecraft's books in 1792.
Wollstonecraft's work, because it was published at a time when the question of women's rights had become a pressing problem and more and more people paid attention to it or became concerned about it.

Along with the organizations of the ADF and the Lette Verein there were a number of organizations that became involved in the field of pedagogy and attempted to bring about changes in the teaching profession as well as the schools for girls. The ADF, which had grown out of the Frauenbildungsverein, the Educational Association for Women, was of course very much interested in matters of pedagogy. The first article of the ADF statutes was concerned with female education; "... improved education of the female sex is the mission of the ADF."56 Other organizations also entered the battle for better female education. Various educational associations were founded during the 1860's that demanded an end to the prevailing inadequate female education.55 The discrepancies between boys' and girls' high schools were quite apparent. The facilities of the boys' schools were much better and the teacher salaries in boys schools were much higher. Needless to say, the schools for boys therefore had the better teachers. Despite the educational associations and the demands that were made by the ADF, progress was slow in the improvement for girls' secondary schools. Many men, while
accepting the need for a better secondary education for girls, did so only because a better education would make women better wives and mothers. The old argument, against equal opportunities for women heard for decades were slow to die, and the ADF condemned it.\(^{56}\)

A real step forward in the field of pedagogy was made by women on the primary level of education. For a number of years the ideas of the kindergarten had been around and women in particular were interested in becoming kindergarten teachers. As we have seen, a kindergarten had been established with the *Hochschule* in Hamburg. Even after the closing of this school the idea of the Fröbel kindergarten remained alive. Fröbel kindergarten and women trained to run them materialized all over Germany after the initial assault on them.\(^{57}\) In Hamburg Johanna Goldschmidt founded and headed the *Fröbel Verein* and in Berlin Lina Morgenstern headed the *Kindergarten Verein* and founded a school for kindergarten teachers. Morgenstern believed that the profession of educators was best suited for women, especially in the fields of elementary education.\(^{58}\) Henriette Goldschmidt, one of the founders of the ADF, founded a kindergarten association in Leipzig, and Henriette Schrader-Breymann, a great niece of Fröbel, set up and led a kindergarten in Wolfenbüttel.\(^{59}\) Publications by these women and articles in the ADF magazine *Neue Bahnen*
kept these women informed about what was going on throughout Germany as far as the founding of kindergarten and the training of teachers was concerned. By 1870 women had made important gains in the field of primary education and especially the kindergarten level. Teaching in a kindergarten was one of the professions that was not disputed by men, since they felt that it was a natural extension of motherhood.

But advances in the secondary field were very slow. There were two obvious factors that were still disputed. Should girls receive a quality secondary education and if so, who should teach them? The ADF of course demanded a better education on the secondary level and also insisted that women were best qualified to teach in girls' schools. These questions and problems had not been satisfactorily settled by 1870. Luise Otto and many of her supporters had definite ideas on the subject, but the woman who ended up leading the fight for a better female education and women teachers was Helene Lange, a younger member of the ADF, the second generation rebel so to speak. This story, however, leads beyond 1870.

When some German women became activists and organized themselves in the mid-1860's, feminist literature increased and a philosophy of the women's movement was created. Luise Otto's books and articles that have already been mentioned were a most eloquent and influential expression of this
feminist philosophy. Hippel and Wollstonecraft were vividly remembered and John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* was avidly read in Germany. A unified feminist philosophy could not be established just as the women's movement was not united. But women like Jenny Hirsch, who had written a number of articles in the magazine *Der Frauenanwalt*, which were of high standard, helped the women's cause as much as did the pedagogical books that demanded a better female education and the training of female teachers.

One woman who did not identify with any specific group, nevertheless contributed a great deal in formulating a feminist philosophy. This woman was the highly individualistic Fanny Lewald, an admirer of Rahel Levin. Fanny Lewald had something of Rahle's common sense and spirit. For years Lewald supported herself with her pen and she acquired a good name as a novelist and journalist. During the 1840's she published several socially critical novels that dealt with social problems in general and the discrimination against the Jews in particular. With the revolution of 1848 Lewald became interested in feminist issues and when German women began to organize in the 1860's she did not join any particular group, but wrote on feminist problems and contributed to both *Neue Bahnen* and *Der Frauenanwalt*. Lewald basically supported Luise Otto's argument that demanded the right to work for women. But Fanny
Lewald looked back with regret to a period when women could stay at home and did not have to work for a living. Since this was no longer possible, she felt that women ought to have the same opportunities as men; this meant that she wanted to see the universities opened to them so women could become physicians and lawyers, university professor and teachers. Emancipation, she believed, was not only desirable but also inevitable, because it would sooner or later come about as a natural byproduct of the forces that had been unleashed by the changes in the economy. To prevent women's emancipation was an unreasonable approach, a futile attempt to return to the time prior to the Industrial Revolution.

Fanny Lewald believed that it was not helpful that men agonized about the effects of emancipation and thought of female emancipation in negative and derogatory terms. She realized that this negative attitude stemmed primarily from the actions of a few women such as Emma Herwegh, Mathilde Anneke, and Mathilde Struve, during the revolutionary upheavals of 1848-49; these actions had attached a great deal of odium to the meaning of emancipation and the majority of men and women too were opposed to it. But since the incidents during the revolution much progress had been made and women were finally becoming active on their own behalf, and with this activism women had been
able to acquire a certain amount of self-confidence.

"Now that almost a generation has passed since those days, I think often with smiles and regrets of how painfully we had to wrest from prejudice... the ground on which all women stand today without embarrassment,... how much was considered shocking before! What was not thought unbecoming for a woman,...! We were not supposed to have any opinion of our own, and it was an accepted rule... to begin every sentence with 'I believe' or 'they say' in order to remove from us even the semblance of independence, which in itself was regarded as presumptuous." 67

The period of organization and activism had begun in 1865; by 1870 the experimental stage was over and the organization of women became a permanent fixture and was more or less accepted. Luise Otto and her supporters had wanted to found an all-encompassing women's organization, one that would unite bourgeois and proletarian women in one organization. She had always had a great deal of interest in the women of the working class, but in the end the ADF became a bourgeois movement, because working class women had no desire to participate in it. This was not the fault of the ADF or of its leaders, who were genuinely interested in the well-being of working class women. The split in the women's movement was primarily a result of deep class differences and class hatred. Neverthe-
less, the middle class women's organization laid the groundwork for the proletarian organization as well and even provided some of its leaders.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1 Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., p. 28; Otto, Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich, p. 98.

2 Ibid., pp. 123 ff.

3 Ibid., pp. 120 ff.

4 Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., p. 34; Meysenburg, op. cit., II, 120.


6 Because working class women worked for lower wages than men, their number in industry was increasing; see Jürgen Kuczynski, Studien zur Geschichte der Arbeiterin in Deutschland von 1700 bis zur Gegenwart, XVIII of Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, 18 vols (Berlin [East] : Akademie-Verlag, 1963), XVIII, 65, 161. With increasing numbers of female workers in industry, proletarian anti-feminism grew. Both low wages and anti-feminism within the proletariat made the position of working class women more precarious. Middle class women were experiencing serious problems as well; Heinrichs maintained that fewer of the middle class women were getting married and that unmarried middle class women often were no longer welcome in families of relatives. Unmarried and widowed middle class women were often left with few means of support. Custom prevented them from working, and the few that did work were of course not easily accepted. They too were underpaid. See Heinrichs, op. cit., p. 5.

7 Ibid., p. 4.

8 Ibid., p. 12.

9 Ibid., pp. 14 ff.

10 Ibid., p. 24.


12 I could not find any copies of the articles which
were printed in the Mitteldeutsche Volkszeitung, a paper that was published by Luise Otto's husband. The articles are mentioned in Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., p. 32. Novels by Luise Otto of this period were Buchenheim, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Wienbrack, 1851); Vier Geschwister, 2 vols. (Dessau: Gebrüder Katz, 1851); Cäcille Tellville, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Mathes, 1852); Zwei Generationen, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hübner, 1856); Neue Bahnen in Bibliothek deutscher Originalromane, XII & XIII (Leipzig and Vienna: Günther, 1864); Mädchensbilder aus der Gegenwart (Leipzig: Colditz, 1864).

13Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., p. 78.

14Ibid., p. 38. Otto also read the book of Louise Büchner, Die Frauen und ihr Beruf. Ein Buch der weiblichen Erziehung (Frankfurt/Main: Meidinger Sohn & Co., 1856). It seems that Otto read the Büchner book in 1864 and agreed with a great deal that Büchner wrote; for example, that women should have a better education in order to be able to support themselves if they had to. Also, Die Frauen und ihr Beruf stressed that the teaching profession, especially for the elementary grades was the most natural profession for women. Otto generally agreed with some of the ideas of the book, but disagreed with some basic concepts that Büchner stressed; see p. 159 of this dissertation.

15Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., p. 36.


17Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., p. 78.

18See p. 162 of this dissertation for additional information on these views.

19A copy of the statutes are in the folder of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein in the Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

20See p. 140 of this dissertation.

21Statute # 3 of the Frauenbildungsverein von Leipzig, in the Folder of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

"Einladung zur ersten Deutschen Frauenkonferenz zu Leipzig," Allgemeine Frauenzeitung, (August 1865), p. 1. All other issues of the Allgemeine Frauenzeitung between April of 1865 and September of the same year contain articles and references to the upcoming Frauenkonferenz in Leipzig.

Statute # 1 of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

Statute # 2 of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

See protocol and final statutes of the meeting of the 'Konferenz zur Gründung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Frauenvereins,' in the Folder of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

With the possible exception of the Frauenverein of Hamburg, see p. 127 of this dissertation.

A sheet, dated October 16, 1871, establishes that the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein had thirty-four branch societies and 9,621 members; see Folder of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

See p. 35 of this dissertation.

Werner Thönnessen, Frauenemanzipation. Politik und Literatur der deutschen Sozialdemokratie zur Frauenbewegung (Frankfurt/Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1963), pp. 13 ff. Thönnessen points out that proletarian anti-feminism was not a phenomenon of the 1860's, but continued to exist for a long time. Also see Wilhelm Schröder, Handbuch der Sozialdemokratischen Parteitage von 1863-1909, 2 vols. (Munich: G. Birk und Co., 1910), I, 165 ff. for anti-feminism in the Social Democratic Party of Germany. August Bebel, however, was one of the defenders of women, see August Bebel, Die Frau und der Sozialismus (Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz, 1891).

Thönnessen, op. cit., p. 17.

Schröder, op. cit., I, 462 f.

Tbid., I, 463.

At the party conference at Gotha in 1875 a faction within the party, led by Bebel, wanted to include the demand for the right to vote for women in the Gotha Party Program. The majority of the delegates, however, voted for the exclusion of this demand and only in 1891, at the Erfurt Party Congress, did the Social Democratic Party demand the vote for all persons over 20 years of age. See Schröder, op. cit., I, 165 ff. Even so, the Social Democratic Party of Germany was the first German political party to call for universal suffrage.


A copy of this petition is in the Folder of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

See p. 159 of this dissertation.

A copy of this petition is in the Folder of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

Copies of the text of these two petitions are in the Folder of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.
Luise Otto, Das erste Vierteljahrhundert des Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitervereins (Leipzig: Schaefer, 1890), p. 22. Clara Zetkin, the leader of the proletarian women's movement, claimed that it cost the bourgeois women too much time and money and that they lost interest in the Arbeiterinnenverein of Berlin. See Zetkin, op. cit., p. 56 f.

Otto, Das erste Vierteljahrhundert des Allgemeinen Deutschen Frauenvereins, p. 35; Schmidt and Rösch, op. cit., p. 88.

Adolf Lette, "Denkschrift für die Erwerbsquellen für das weibliche Geschlecht," Der Arbeiterfreund, III (1865) 358.

Ibid., 359.

The Crown Princess of Prussia was its patron.


See pp. 45-47 of this dissertation.

Statute #1 of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein, Nachlass of Emilie Wüstenfeld.

See Otto, Das Recht der Frauen auf Erwerb, p. 103.

Otto, Das erste Vierteljahrhundert des Allgemeinen Deutschen Frauenvereins, p. 34; Also see Luise Otto, "Unser Mädchenschulwesen," Neue Bahnen, IV (April 1870), 12.

Lina Morgenstern, Der Beruf der Frau (Berlin, 1869); I could not find a copy of this book.

Ibid., pp. 21-65. Lina Morgenstern, Das Paradies der Kindheit (Berlin, 1861) also not available to me. Das Paradies der Kindheit was a manual for kindergarten teachers.

Lyschinska, ed., op. cit.

Henriette Goldschmidt, "Bericht vom Darmstädter Frauentag — Vortrag der Frau Johanna Goldschmidt aus
Hamburg über die Fröbellehre,” Neue Bahnen, II (September 1867), 9 ff.

61 Helene Lange, Die Frauenbewegung in ihren modernen Problemen (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer 1908); Otto, Frauenleben im Deutschen Reich, p. 81.

62 Ibid., p. 120.

63 Fanny Lewald, Für und wider die deutschen Frauen (Berlin: O. Janke, 1875), pp. 43 ff.

64 Ibid., pp. 79 ff.

65 Ibid., pp. 123 ff.


67 Lewald, Für und wider die deutschen Frauen, p. 115.
CONCLUSION

As we reviewed the transition of German women from critics to activists over a period of more than 80 years, one can distinguish several phases which influenced them. The efforts of women to improve their position in society were often supported by men; these efforts generally reflected the spirit of the respective times. The Age of Enlightenment was of particular importance for the development of feminism in Germany. During that time the middle class gained in significance and middle class concerns such as education became important. The philosopes called for educational reforms and some wanted women to be educated as well. German thinkers took up these views; in the rational atmosphere of the Enlightenment they found the educational neglect of women an appalling waste of potential talent and ability. In the beginning of the 18th century men usually took the initiative and wrote scholarly treatises advocating female education. Toward the end of the same century women began to defend their right to an education and they demanded changes in their status in society.

In the development of feminism in Germany the enlightened woman à la Madame Gottsched signifies progress.
But the enlightened woman bore the stamp of the male guide and instructor all too clearly. As long as women followed the initiative of men alone they were unable to free themselves from preconceived male examples. Nevertheless, the 18th century was a time of general progress for women, as it was a time of progress in general. Only the attacks of Rousseau on the so-called *femmes savantes* dangerously imperiled this progress in the latter part of the 18th century.

With the French Revolution the question of social and political rights for women was also discussed in Germany. Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, the German *philosophe*, became the champion of the female sex and some German women agreed with him. These German women also began to act more forcefully on their own behalf around the turn of the century and pushed aside the Rousseauist female that was supposed to have been created solely for man's pleasure. Hippel argued among other things for female emancipation, but the women who read his treatise *On the Civil Improvement of Women* knew that female emancipation was an untimely demand, even though they may have wanted it. German women who had an interest in the improvement of their position in society generally brought up the question of female education. Although the Enlighten-
ment had seemingly solved this problem in favor of women, the ideas of Rousseau were very influential and had to be overcome again and the right to an education had to be reasserted by women and their advocates. Several treatises were written by women around the turn of the century that defended women's right to an education, a right that continued to play a significant role throughout the development of German feminism.

Despite the upheavals of the French Revolution and the feminist treatises that resulted from it, the social and political position of German women was largely left unchanged. Another revolution, however, had a greater impact on men and particular on women. The poet Jean Paul wrote in 1799, "There are not only murderous revolutions, but there are great spiritual revolutions, which are almost more murderous than others." The spiritual revolution that Paul was referring to was the romantic movement; it had a most significant impact on the position of women in German society. During the beginning and the middle of the 18th century German middle class women were among the worst educated women in Europe, but by the turn of the century a good many were among the best educated. The reason for this dramatic development was on the one hand the impact of the Enlightenment, and on
the romantic revolution.

A young generation of men and women had come of age that had been impressed by the revolutionary upheavals, by the fresh breeze that was blowing from France. Coupled with these influences was the impact of the romantic movement, with its emphasis on man's human qualities rather than the differences of the sexes. Under these circumstances women played a most significant role during the romantic period. These romantic women with their concern for social and spiritual self-realization were of great importance for the development of German feminism. The intellectual emancipation of these women stands at the beginning of modern German feminism. They were wholeheartedly supported by a number of very well-known men.

One of the most interesting aspects of the romantic feminism was the growing criticism of conventional marriages. Divorces became much more acceptable, and as a significant sign of female emancipation even women initiated divorces. The attacks on conventional marriages continued throughout the 19th century, they were often inspired by the Saint-Simonians and George Sand who had a great deal of influence on the development of German feminism.

During the industrial age economic and social questions determined the thinking of the time. Since
German women had gained entrance to intellectual circles during the romantic era, they, too, began to become interested in social and economic problems, in women's right to work, equal pay, and related questions. In line with a general trend toward organized activism on the political, social, and economic level, German women, too, started to organize. Again they were supported by a number of German men, but an increasing number of German women activists wrote their own treatises in their own defense. The moralizing novel, the novel with a message, that had been so popular for decades, began to make way to more scholarly treatises on feminism written by women.

A fateful development in German middle class feminism was the failure of the 1848 revolution. Just as middle class men suffered a serious setback in 1848, so did German women. When the latter finally organized in the mid-1860's, they lacked the spirit that German feminists had had prior to the 1848 failure. Fearing that the movement would not gain support of many middle class women, the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein did not demand political equality. Not only did the leaders worry about the support they could get, they also feared harassment from the authorities. These factors explain why the first women's organizations were only mildly reformist. These problems, moreover, were further aggravated by the inabi-
licity and unwillingness of women at the time to present a united front beyond class differences.

From the experiences of the 1848 revolution German feminists learned an important lesson; even though some men were supportive of the women, they could not be completely relied on. Women like Luise Otto had witnessed this lack of real interest on the part of men in 1848 and never forgot this experience. Now women decided to organize without the help of men and try to obtain decided changes on their own.
NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1See p. 10 of this dissertation.

2See Chapter III of this dissertation.

3See pp. 45-47 of this dissertation.

4Caroline Schlegel had made a similar observation; see Schmidt, ed., op. cit., II, 355-56.

5See pp. 82-83 of this dissertation. Conventional histories have condemned the romantics, especially romantic women for lack of morality.

6See pp. 117-19 of this dissertation.

7An example are the treatises by Tinette Homberg, Biographien berühmter Griechen in genauer Verbindung mit der gleichzeitigen Geschichte Griechenlands dargestellt. Nebst ausführlichen Nachrichten über Erziehung, häusliches Leben, Stellung der Frauen, Sitten, Poesie und Kunst, 2 vols. (Crefeld: Funck'sche Buchhandlung, 1840-01); Eine sittliche and Ästhetische Abhandlung für das weibliche Geschlecht (Cleve: Char, 1839); Über die sogenannte Emanzipation der Frauen. Nebst einigen Ideen über die dem weiblichen Geschlecht zu gebende Bildung (Crefeld: Funck'sche Buchhandlung, 1839).

8This was probably due to the fact that German women were receiving a better education and also became more interested in the social and economic theories of the time. Luise Otto is a very good example; she tended to write moralizing novels; but after she had become actively involved in the movement, generally wrote treatises on questions concerning the rights of women.

9See pp. 143-44 of this dissertation.
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