

Chapter 5

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## MODERATE ACTIVISM

Helene Lange and Alice Salomon



*Alleinstehende Frauen*—literally, women standing alone—led the moderate German women’s movement.<sup>1</sup> The leadership of the largest women’s associations of the *Kaiserreich* (Imperial Germany) advocated the belief that women lived in an era of pervasive and sometimes pernicious change. That change, spurred by industrial and technological innovation, had forced women from the protective environs of *Kinder, Küche, und Kirche* (children, kitchen, and church). Made redundant in their childhood household by the advances of technology, thousands of women would not be able to count on the likelihood of establishing their own homes in marriage. This understanding of the female surplus served as the primary springboard for the moderate women’s movement of Imperial Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Female activists found themselves continually assessing the meaning of woman’s *Beruf* (vocation, calling). Maternalist sensibilities hallowed the female mission as wife and mother, yet the movement predicated its pragmatic appeal for female occupation and engagement in the broader society upon an understanding that fulfillment could be realized outside of the home.<sup>3</sup> Complicating this delicate balance of ideology and interests was the fact that the various states of Imperial Germany largely prohibited married women from professional work.<sup>4</sup> Rare exceptions were occasionally granted in the cases of married teachers, but, for the most part, wedded women of the *Kaiserreich* were barred from gaining job-related credentials and from being admitted to civil professions. More than their European and North American counterparts, leaders of the German women’s movement thus had no choice but to grapple with marital status as a central component of the woman’s question. The terms of the debate were set in both law

and custom: women could work only if they were single, and many single women had no choice but to work.

Moderate activists thus argued for expanded women's rights based upon the conditions of the status quo and tended to refrain from arguments founded on the equality of the sexes. The reformers considered in this chapter set about providing what they believed to be practical solutions to a pressing problem created at the nexus of the economy, law, gender, and nature. In response, mainstream leaders of the German women's movement embraced the maternal essence of the female and sought reform on this basis.<sup>5</sup> Moderates campaigned for more expansive female education and greater professional opportunities through a maternalist vision inspired by the belief in a demographic event. This chapter examines the advocacy of Helene Lange and Alice Salomon in the fields of education and social work, respectively. Both of these women consistently maintained that their advocacy was created by a demographic and economic upheaval, essentially arguing that without the *Frauenüberschuß*, there would be no *Frauenbewegung* (women's movement).

### **“Sharpening the Wooden Sword”: Helene Lange and Education**

The moderate women's movement realized some of its greatest achievements in the educational domain. By 1914, reformers of female education had succeeded in gaining female admittance to some universities, opening access to occupational areas that required professional certification, modernizing the curriculum of girls' schools, and providing expanded career opportunities for female teachers. The most significant and recognized reformer of women's education was Helene Lange, from the publication of her critical “Yellow Brochure” in 1887 until her death in 1930. Education was the most important vessel through which spiritual motherhood could transform German society. But as the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* (BDF; Federation of German Women's Associations) described the state of education in 1898: “With a wooden sword, one cannot fight, and today's women's movement is a wooden sword in a struggle for existence ... The higher girls' schools, with their accumulation of superficial knowledge, are not suitable to prepare girls for serious work in any area.”<sup>6</sup> Helene Lange dedicated her career to sharpening the wooden sword by transforming middle-class female education.

Born in 1848 in Oldenburg, Lange was orphaned at the age of sixteen. Like many middle-class females of her generation who were denied the haven of their parents' home, Helene turned to teaching. Left with only a very small income, Lange recalled in her autobiography that not long after her father's death, she realized that “childhood was past, the time of independent life formation, youth, began.”<sup>7</sup> Lange's memoirs reveal no yearning for marriage and recount a smooth path toward becoming a teacher.<sup>8</sup> She cherished the profession, making its promotion her life's work. Her early career included four years as a governess followed by fifteen years of teaching at a Berlin school for elite young women.

Lange left fulltime teaching in 1891, thereafter devoting herself to reform movements in the realms of both education and women's rights.<sup>9</sup> Over the next three decades, she became a central figure in the debates surrounding the German woman question, leading one historian to call her the "leader of the German's women's movement."<sup>10</sup> In the last ten years of her life, Lange receded from a leadership role. Her 1930 autobiography, published in the year of her death, reveals a lifetime commitment to expanding opportunities for women and providing an educational system in which they could flourish.<sup>11</sup>

Lange's activist career was enhanced by her partnership with Gertrud Bäumer, Lange's successor as the spiritual leader of the moderate German women's movement. Twenty-five years younger than Lange, Bäumer emerged to become a prominent political figure in both Imperial and Weimar Germany. Her early career followed the path of many other principal figures in the women's movement: from teacher to association member, on to writing and leadership. Bäumer and Lange's friendship began at the 1897 national meeting of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Lehrerinnenverein* (ADL; General Association of German Female Teachers). The following year, Bäumer moved to Berlin and became Lange's assistant, a critical position due to Lange's chronic vision problems. The two formed a working partnership and were life companions until Lange's 1930 death. Both their reformist activity and the nature of Lange and Bäumer's private partnership have been the subject of significant recent scholarship in the fields of sociology, education studies, and history.<sup>12</sup>

Lange and Bäumer's private partnership existed in the very public domain of the associational meetings, publications, and lectures of the Berlin women's movement. They were arguably the two most prominent women's rights advocates of the *Kaiserreich* (Lange's era of activity) and Weimar Germany (when Bäumer emerged as a *Deutsche Demokratishce Partei* [DDP; German Democratic Party] representative in the *Reichstag* and a figure of great significance in the interwar women's movement). In positions of increasing leadership, the two women advocated for the rights of single women. Lange linked the origins of the women's movement directly to the onset of industrialization, which, like "a callous hand," had "brushed across the domestic hearth and directed millions of women out into the world."<sup>13</sup> Empathy for the plight of the surplus woman permeates the writing of both Lange and Bäumer. The juxtaposition of their private partnership and their public activism bears no small measure of irony, for two of the best-known *alleinstehende Frauen* of the German women's movement did not stand alone in their private lives. Yet this tension between the public and private gets at the very heart of the *Frauenüberschuß* as a problematic cohort in German society. Regardless of the contours of her private life, the surplus woman stood alone in the eyes of the law, the universities, the professions, and—more broadly—in the culture of Imperial Germany. Lange and Bäumer's linkage and symmetry on key issues regarding women's rights provided both a distinct foundation to the mainstream German women's movement as well as a clear target against which opponents could aim. As to their personal lives, it is important that Lange and

Bäumer's own strict delineation between private and public be reflected in the historical approach to their biographies.

The *Lebensgemeinschaft* (life partnership) formed by Lange and Bäumer emerged first out of their common experience as teachers. The arena of education formed both the starting point and the central preoccupation of Helene Lange's reformist vision. Lange's views on female education reflected debates that were over a century old. In the late eighteenth-century, Joachim Heinrich Campe and Dorothea Leporin promoted a vision of German female education that incorporated elements of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's advocacy of gender-specific education. Campe and Leporin believed that female secondary education ought to be restricted primarily to elites and that the instruction of girls and boys would be separate (and not very equal).<sup>14</sup> The education would prepare a young woman to meet her *Bestimmung* (designation), a term which signified the female duty toward her intended sphere of home and family.<sup>15</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, female curriculum moved beyond the foundations promoted by Campe and Leporin. Increasingly, girls' schools reduced the emphasis on embroidery and the refined arts and began to offer more courses on literature, language, and science, a menu of courses which ultimately culminated in what historian James Albisetti has called a "cluttered curriculum."<sup>16</sup>

By the time Helene Lange began to teach, instruction of German girls had thus haphazardly expanded to include more academic subjects. Yet the limitations placed upon the education of bourgeois young women were myriad. While much of Lange's reform work focused on the future by addressing specific issues such as curriculum, teacher training, and the ratio of female to male instructors in girls' schools, she nonetheless offered sharp censure of the past and present systems. She argued that the nineteenth-century system sold its pupils short by training them only to be good and vapid wives. Lange powerfully made this case in an assessment of Rousseau's influence: "Nothing will change with German female education as long as the German woman is taught in correspondence with Rousseau's very questionable opinions regarding female education, as long as the intellectually dependent woman is best because ... she will meet the interests of a future husband whose way of thinking she cannot possibly foresee."<sup>17</sup> Such an education amounted to mere obedience training.

Led by Lange in 1887, a group of female educators sent a petition to the Prussian Ministry of Education that came to be known as the "Yellow Brochure." The document demanded more extensive training for teachers in higher girls' schools as well as an expanded role for women in the management of such schools.<sup>18</sup> Arguing that the German system suffered in comparison to other industrial nations, Lange envied the structure of girls' education in "America, England, France, Holland, in almost all of the cultured states; the intolerable conditions of young women's education remains with us alone."<sup>19</sup> The brochure accepted the principle of separate schools and advocated an instructional program similar to that of boys' schools, including more practical curriculum and vocational training. Since the schools would continue to be separate, Lange argued that females would best

be suited to teach “ethical subjects’ such as religion, history, and literature” in girls’ schools.<sup>20</sup>

The ideas presented in the 1887 petition were not new, for Lange and other female educators had previously made similar claims under the auspices of teachers’ associations. In a strictly political sense, the petition ultimately failed because both the Prussian Education Ministry and State Assembly rejected the call for change.<sup>21</sup> Yet the “Yellow Brochure” touched off widespread discussion of the nature of female education and initiated a proliferation of petitions in the years to come. The extent of the reaction and its often very polemic nature compelled Lange to leave teaching in 1891 to campaign fulltime for educational reform.

Debate over female education in the late nineteenth century reflected the rising fixation on marital status as a central component of the woman question. Concern about the female surplus permeated all aspects of the discussion. Women’s rights advocates like Lange regularly noted the impact of the “unfavorable numerical conditions and unfavorable marriage possibilities” facing young German women.<sup>22</sup> Advocates of female education utilized the *Frauenüberschuß* to advance their cause. Such advocacy was rooted in a gendered social code. Lange’s vision of female education rested upon a maternalist understanding of German society. Women were not to be educated to compete with men, but to stand beside them in creating a better world—patriarch and matriarch renewed.

Lange’s educational reform and her critique of extant practice focused on the middle-class, for bourgeois interests formed the core of the moderate women’s movement. Lange justified her focus on the middle-class through an analysis of the demography so essential to the moderate movement’s self-understanding: “According to the census of December 1, 1885, Germany had 15,181,823 adult women ... Of these 52.3% were married ... 34% were unmarried ... 13.7% had been married ... there must be [at least] five million women, unmarried or widows, who temporarily or permanently earn their own living.” She linked this rudimentary analysis to social class: “As far as the lower strata of society are concerned, a part of them find occupation quite easily ... Many of these have to toil inexpressibly, but they have at least the satisfaction that ... in these walks of life there are no arbitrarily made differences between man and woman. The woman question in the lower classes is therefore only an integral part of the great social problem.”<sup>23</sup> Lange expunged the impact of the demographic crisis upon working-class women by implying that such women were perpetually damaged—no marriage crisis could worsen their lot. Moreover, these women were accustomed to unskilled labor. Because the industrial economy offered little differentiation between working-class men and women, the educational and occupational opportunities of female laborers were not in arrears. Thus, for the most part, Lange excluded working-class women from her reformist platform.

Lange viewed the *Frauenüberschuß* as a middle-class affair:

In the middle and higher classes we meet an arbitrary disparity, hence, one that may easily be removed; and in these classes we meet most unmarried women. Here man has privileges;

he has not only advantages given him by nature, but also advantages bestowed upon him by society, that is, by his own sex; and thus the weight of the misery, which may be supposed if we look at the foregoing figures, is doubled. He has all the opportunities for education, and all imaginable facilities. To woman is denied the state's sanction, even to an education acquired independently of state aid, except the professional education of a teacher. To him are open all the many places in the civil service, where life-long maintenance awaits him; to women places are open to such limited extent that they almost disappear from sight.<sup>24</sup>

Omitting statistical analysis, Lange claimed that more unmarried women were to be found among the bourgeoisie, tapping into the general understanding of the female surplus. The crux of the issue then was straightforward: middle-class women did not have the educational or institutional opportunities that were available to middle-class men. Yet by identifying the middle-class unmarried as her target for reform, Lange had to grapple with a deep-seated, archaic stereotype: the *alte Jungfer*, or old maid.

The inequity between the bourgeois old maid and the bachelor offended Lange's sensibility, because she believed that single men bore no small measure of responsibility for the female surplus. Lange claimed that while middle-class men waited longer to marry as they gained professional training and advancement, they remained free to engage in amorous liaisons at will. Adding injury to insult, these same men often were most vocal in opposing the expansion of middle-class female education and work opportunities: "A cry of desperation is raised among the better educated classes ... when their women make an attempt at participating in male privileges in order to acquire the knowledge made necessary for competition ... they are ever and again reminded of their 'natural calling.'"<sup>25</sup> Those men who "exercised their sex outside of marriage"<sup>26</sup> refused bourgeois women the opportunities to exercise their intellect or capacity for work. Lange condemned the double standard: "Verily, he is not to be envied for his heart or his judgment who in the face of the foregoing figures still has the courage to point out to those who cry for bread or a satisfactory sphere of activity a calling which they are unable to follow ... The fate of women is made easier by opening all the professions, and thus offering at least a limited number of them satisfactory maintenance."<sup>27</sup> Lange castigated all who hallowed a ground upon which single women could not walk.

Because so many women could not exercise their "natural calling," Lange argued that middle-class men needed to expand their understanding of the female *Bestimmung* and open professional and educational avenues for women. The ideology of spiritual motherhood provided a comforting framework from which to straddle the realms of tradition and progress. Steering clear of advocacy limited only to single women, Lange maintained that improved female education would serve all women. Among the married, lack of education would leave a wife unprepared for the consequential undertaking of motherhood. In the "Yellow Brochure," Lange asked: "Does one really then believe ... the education which the school gives to our girls is suitable preparation?" Responding to her own cue, Lange declared that a mother needed to be "educated as a person whose abilities are developed for their own sake ... who has learned to set her intellectual

and spiritual life in connection with a set of daily duties ... which through the breadth of its scope and the depth of her understanding commands her child's attention ... We want to develop a noble, mentally and morally independent personality."<sup>28</sup> To meet this goal, teachers would have to be trained in far more enlightened ways. More rigorous training would cultivate teachers who could both understand and convey values. In this way, Lange's vision emphasized the feminine by making it distinct from the superficial.

Problems with the existing system went beyond a dulling curriculum. Women also faced practical limitations because of the limited schooling options and professional opportunities available to them. Even those who emerged from the girls' schools with a modicum of independence and intelligence, even "these bearers of raised heads and firm steps were not to be allowed to stride through life. Limited to the confined space of a few occupations 'appropriate to their station,' these women could hardly gain internal security and independent pride through the modest domestic work as 'companion' or in a contested teaching position."<sup>29</sup> The education problem reflected the entire woman question. According to Lange, women faced a "real and legal sphere in which, under the conditions of modern production, their abilities have no full worth and in which they have no freedom to pursue the requirements of their happiness."<sup>30</sup> Improper education not only created dependence, but it could well lead to a rotten life. Such would be the result, Lange warned, if a girl suffered through shallow schooling while "all the paths to worthwhile and satisfying employment are obstructed by an insufficient education and she must lifelong endure one of the many monotonous and poorly paid positions of women's work."<sup>31</sup>

The female surplus lurked in this sad fate: "Who is bold enough to assert that *every* young lady in our wealthy families can find sufficient occupation for her internal and external life if she but look for it?" Lange did not demand that all unwed women work, arguing that "there are families in which daughters are sufficiently and satisfactorily occupied with domestic duties; there are other girls who without being really occupied are contented in beautifying the lives of their parents and friends ... until they marry; or, if they do not marry, lead a happy, peaceful existence, full of blessing for others, as the ever welcome 'aunties.'" The *alte Jungfer* lives on in this image, as the happy, if perhaps addled, aunt. But such devotion could not be guaranteed: "Blissful such an existence is only when it is chosen voluntarily. If the girl who is to beautify life fights a battle royal with the desire to be of use, to create an existence of her own, it would seem a downright sin committed upon undying reason to deny it to her, provided no real duty intercedes. It stands to reason that not all these young girls can devote themselves to university studies; the guard against modern pessimism is not university culture, but *work*—useful, practical work."<sup>32</sup> Lange gave agency to the hackneyed image of the old maid by offering her a most crucial choice—to be an auntie, or not to be? It was the unmarried woman's question to answer. But she could not make such a choice without an education; she could not carve her existence with a wooden sword.

Poor education did not invent the elusive promise of marriage that so plagued unmarried girls and young women. Lange blamed the proliferation of false marital hopes on the illusions of middle-class families who did not know quite what to do with unwed daughters: "In very many cases, what obstructs the way to a respectable female education is simply the thoughtless habit of regarding girls as family assistance without raising concern over their future." Though some families still relied on the domestic skills of adult daughters, "even in such cases the question may not be ignored: What later becomes of them, after they have cared for little siblings and helped their mother, perhaps through their best years? Such thoughtless ... demands by the family on the time and strength of the daughters have already laid the foundation for many unfortunate, purposeless and helpless female existences."<sup>33</sup> The economic plight of the single woman is latent in this description. Lange assumed that 'later' would impose a demand for some form of female economic self-sufficiency. If unmarried daughters were 'unfortunate, purposeless, and helpless,' thoughtless families were unintentionally responsible. Families had to consider the future by educating their daughters and offering them preparation for the unknown. Lange again gave credence to the stereotype of the idle single woman, inverting it in order to promote her cause of more accessible and practical female education.

While the institutional domain of education was the primary target of Lange's reformist efforts, she also supported a vigorous reorientation of the domestic sphere. Bourgeois families ultimately created barriers to female happiness as great as those established by ill-designed education. Limited by their own unworthy educations, mothers failed to provide daughters with the knowledge and sense of self that could prepare them for the modern world. Lange believed that domestic education was as slipshod as that found in girls' schools and at its worse "consciously and unconsciously awoke in [daughters] the conviction that their brothers were the more important part of the family and that women would have to adjust themselves to serve and to set aside their own desires. This was done in the belief that every girl would marry and ... through the traditions of readiness to serve and sacrifice, the woman would find her natural complement in the man's equally strong traditions of chivalrous protection and tender attentions." Lange decried the link between the anticipation of marriage and a domestic training centered on subservience: "Whoever knows of life knows that this belief has deceived often enough ... and that some women would have been better raised for their fate with a little more self-esteem and independence ... This notion of female natural dependency and selflessness has in the past strengthened and trained in brutal natures everything other than the chivalrous sense of the protector."<sup>34</sup>

Despite curricular and institutional reform, the existing educational system could not change until parents recognized daughters as equal to sons in their quests for knowledge and opportunity. Lange urged parents to value their children equally, for "boys must learn to see in the sister an equal companion from whom just as much is required, who therefore must be respected. The boy will take his criteria for the judgment of the woman, however, not only from his sister,



but his mother.”<sup>35</sup> Egalitarianism would require a reformation of the household. In 1912, after universities had been opened to female matriculants and significant curricular advancements had begun to make headway, Lange wrote about the work yet to be done:

What use is it that we have the best educational opportunities for girls, if in the parents' house the opinion still prevails that it does not very much matter what girls learn? If the parents themselves, who know quite well that their daughters may come into a situation in which they have to stand on their own feet, cannot decide to equip them for it? ... The development of the girl of modern times not only depends upon what she has learned and which examinations she has passed, but also upon how she is *raised*, how her character, her self-confidence, her courage to face life, her physical health and emotional strength is developed. Therefore, knowledge of the new conditions of life in which women are placed today must find its way into the customs of domestic education. All mothers must be imbued with [the knowledge] that it is not enough to train girls in the traditional style which, in different conditions, is certainly valuable and expedient, but instead they must bestow attention in the education on the new demands which are placed on women today.<sup>36</sup>

In order to raise daughters well, mothers had to abandon the notion of marriage as the end goal and saving grace of the female life.

Lange believed that both mothers and female teachers played uniquely important roles in equipping girls for life. Because the female nature was configured completely differently from the male, girls needed to be educated predominately by women in single sex schools instead of attempting to compete in male schools and in imitation of their fathers and brothers. This difference between the sexes was of transcendent origin: “So far as Nature dictates a division of vocations, we all agree ... ‘At the anvil I shall always imagine a man; at the cradle, always a woman.’”<sup>37</sup> Lange asserted that the female intellect was just as sharp as that of the male, but quite differently attuned. Men had taken hold of occupations that demanded mental agility because they were “more interesting and more lucrative”—and because they had created the institutions that furthered their abilities to do such work.<sup>38</sup> But women merited a unique place in the public sphere: “*Creative* intellectual capacities are at hand in the woman as well, a spiritual productivity that rises not from the mind, but from her motherliness, which although borne out of the gender designation ... penetrates each *genuine* woman, independent of physical love and maternity.”<sup>39</sup>

Spiritual motherhood proceeded from every true woman, whether she was wife and mother or not. Herein lay the solution to the female surplus. Education would enhance the ‘creative intellectual capacities’ stemming from the maternal nature of the surplus woman and these capacities would be transmitted to society through work: “This spiritual female productivity is just as necessary to the world as the purely mental male productivity. And therefore this spiritual productivity is the true educational goal for the woman.” Marital status no longer had to define womanhood: “Once this specific female power is awakened, brought to blossom, then it can never ‘wither in isolation’, it must make itself felt, whether to the good

of one's own family or in an independently chosen circle."<sup>40</sup> In this passage from her autobiography, Lange embraces her fellow single women and offers them a vocation.

The creative maternal capacity separated women from men and gave them purpose. In this understanding of the female role, Lange differentiated herself from prominent feminist thinkers such as John Stuart Mill and the German activist, Hedwig Dohm.<sup>41</sup> Exposure to these authors sparked an awakening in Lange's own feminist understanding. After reading Mill and Dohm in the 1880s, Lange began to object to the notion "that women could just as well fill the sphere designated as male, sometimes perhaps even better than the average man, that the woman is liberated due to her humanity and must be admitted to the male sphere of activity, [these ideas] were to me missing what was most compelling, most primary." Female exceptionalism became the bedrock of her activist ideology: "There was much that *only* women could do, which men could not do or not as well, that equal rights then did not have to be demanded for the sake of the equality, but instead for the sake of the inequality of the sexes, that one-sided male culture must be completed by the female." Insistence upon female distinctiveness emerged into an agenda for the entire women's movement: "At that time I had not yet formulated in such a way that the goal of the women's movement is the full cultural imprint and unlimited social effect of the female personality; nevertheless it lived underground in such a way not only in my consciousness, but also in that of so many women who at all concerned themselves with these problems."<sup>42</sup>

The feminine spirit had singular tasks before it. Male culture had dismissed women from the home, shattered traditional family life, and created economic uncertainty. Those who had destroyed the private domain had to be countered by their victims, but not drawn into competition with them. They would work from different capacities and in separate arenas. Lange sought "to prove that the one-sided male economy had functioned in just such a way in the world and functioned as would motherlessness in the family." Just as children suffered without a mother, so Germany labored under the ill effects of male industry. Lange's views about the ravages of modernity formed the basis for her opposition to Mill and Dohm: "I was elevated by Stuart Mill and Hedwig Dohm directly to the conviction of the fundamental difference between both sexes ... The conviction slowly formed in me that the basic construction of the sexes could not be shifted through similar education and that it is a precondition for many occupations and spheres of activity which the woman can transform and fulfill with her special characteristics."<sup>43</sup> Arguments of female exceptionalism reflected the pervasive maternalism of the era, enhanced the appeal of the women's movement, legitimated activism on behalf of single women, and provided a gesture of comfort to the unwed.

Such a view dictated that female education was instinctively women's work. Lange saw the field of education as a fulfillment of the maternal vocation and argued that the responsibility of teaching could not be left to inadequate training: "In our hands is the education of the coming humanity, the care of the noble

qualities which make humans human: morality, love, fear of God. We are to cultivate the world of the mind in the child, are to teach the child . . . to respect the godly more than the temporal, the moral more than the sensual; but we should also teach the child to think and function.”<sup>44</sup> This passage from the “Yellow Brochure” summarized Lange’s reformist platform: female education had to be joined with woman’s distinct nature and character; it had to inculcate social and cultural values—who could object to a curriculum seeking morality, love, and fear of God?—and it had to transcend the current offerings of the German system.

Education directed toward establishing a vocation would help women to cultivate their maternal qualities. Proper schooling would provide “the habits of dutiful work, orderliness, and independence.”<sup>45</sup> The teaching profession, especially, would transmit to the next generation the maternal characteristics of patience, insight, and understanding. Genuine education, both that provided by teachers in the classroom and that which they received in their own training, “shows us our responsibilities . . . in a new light and teaches us to fulfill them from another spirit . . . it even frees us thereby from all the thousands of prejudices which pull from one generation to another, and exactly which the teacher, who educates the future mothers, necessarily must eliminate.”<sup>46</sup> Guided by maternal instinct, learners and teachers would thrive in an atmosphere that bolstered morality, celebrated reason, extinguished prejudice, and perpetuated motherhood. The work of the teacher responded to and fulfilled the most vital interests of civilization. And those teachers would almost certainly be unmarried, for while Lange in principle supported the right of wedded women to teach, she also argued that in practice, teachers should very rarely be married—and absolutely should not be mothers.<sup>47</sup> As James Albisetti has put it, Lange viewed the ban on married teachers as an invasion of the private sphere: “women teachers should have the right to marry, but few should make use of it.”<sup>48</sup>

The profession of teaching not only could help to transform German society, but it also could create community for *alleinstehende Frauen*. The ADL, founded by Lange and Auguste Schmidt in 1890, became the most prominent women’s organization involved in educational reform. It played an important role in expanding teaching opportunities for women and making more academically rigorous the curricula in girls’ schools.<sup>49</sup> The ADL gave its mostly unwed membership a venue in which to learn occupational solidarity and create a professional culture. But it did more: in Lange’s eyes, the ADL provided an ersatz family. Lange’s autobiography described the development of organizational solidarity: “A feeling emerged in us. Service to an idea had come out of the profession that so many had grasped on to in emergency.” Driven by urgency, unwed women found community in a circle of teachers. The ADL sought to provide a forum in which women collectively could express “what individually we had long felt: ‘We love our profession, we rejoice in it, we feel that we belong together as a class and in our job we fulfill one of the most important tasks of civilization . . . Thus we feel a belonging that means something more than that which is created from daily or material interests; thus we feel an earnestness which turns our thoughts toward the

eternal, the godly.”<sup>50</sup> The ADL provided in a communal structure what Lange’s own reform efforts and writing had sought to establish: affirmation of fulfilling work as a new *Bestimmung*, sanctioned in eternal and godly form.

Through such affectionate mutuality, the single female teacher could be transformed from an isolated creature into the mother of the new world. Forced into teaching out of economic duress, the unwed woman could live out her years in service to an idea and in communion with colleagues just like her—a new family. Lange held that these women together would guide the women’s movement: “We felt . . . that exactly we teachers had to bring our deciding weight to bear in the women’s movement, that it must be we who fought for the female direction of girls’ development and education, so that they could unshackle in the youth their special female powers, make voices from echoes.” This new sphere of female activity not only satisfied a demographic crisis in the present, but it would anticipate and erase such trauma for the future. Lange continued: “We knew that we stood at the threshold of a development which had to initiate one of the most important periods in the history of human thought: the introduction of new productive forces to a unilaterally oriented world.”<sup>51</sup> Such a grand vision was less utopian than essential, given the modern conditions of middle-class life. Lange believed that, more than any other professionals, female teachers understood the trauma of the modern age—for they themselves had suffered so greatly at its hands. Their suffering would propel them to the most important work of their time: the development of young women prepared to inspire the world with a transformative maternalist vision.

### **Serving the Family: Alice Salomon and Social Work**

The developing field of social work provided an important sphere of engagement for women in Imperial Germany. This new field called for women to become a source of aid where traditional economic and familial supports were not available. Social work brought together the domestic sphere and the public domain, providing a form of motherhood recreated. The life and career of Alice Salomon offers an important case study both in the dissemination of spiritual motherhood and in the appropriation of the *Frauenüberschuß* as a justification for German female activism. Salomon’s work demonstrates a commitment to the infusion of maternalist principles into society and further illustrates the anxiety regarding life opportunities for single middle-class women.

Maternalist thought plays an important role in the evolution of social welfare practice and policy. Historians Seth Koven and Sonya Michel have shown how maternalist ideology and the welfare state developed concurrently in several different Western national contexts.<sup>52</sup> Koven and Michel offer a historical framework for considering maternalism in the arena of social work. The historians define maternalism as the “ideologies and discourses that exalted women’s capacity to mother and applied to society as a whole the values they attached to that role:

care, nurturance, and morality.”<sup>53</sup> Care and nurturance stemmed from the formative traditions of bourgeois charity work, which sought to provide improved living conditions to the underprivileged through confessionally based relief organizations, groups dedicated to health, hygiene, and sanitation, or almsgiving societies.<sup>54</sup> Maternalist efforts at social reform sought to apply care and nurturance to a higher calling: the greater good of the human community. If motherly love could ease the burdens of poverty, it potentially could be applied to an array of issues including unemployment, sexuality, crime, rapid urbanization, and the implications of industrial development.

Imperial Germany provides a particularly apt case for evaluating the legacy of maternalism in establishing the welfare state and in considering the development of social work as a profession. Two essential elements characterized the German social state at the end of the century: a long-standing tradition of voluntary poor relief and a dynamic battery of national support programs instituted by Otto von Bismarck. Before the turn of the century, the most organized form of voluntary social work was known as the Elberfeld system.<sup>55</sup> Established in 1853, the Elberfeld system entailed the visitation of poor families by volunteers who evaluated the level of need. Those who were judged indolent or otherwise ill-suited for support were denied aid. This policy did not embrace a holistic concept of welfare in its format for assistance; only those who met the volunteers’ standard for aid received it. These unpaid workers were not philanthropists. Local taxes provided financial relief in cases where need was ascertained, making the Elberfeld system a quasi-municipal project. Because of their essential role in disseminating monies, the Elberfeld volunteers (though they were uncompensated) can be considered the first German social workers. The blurred line between volunteer and professional status of German social workers would remain entrenched as the vocation evolved. A final aspect of the Elberfeld system is significant: because of municipal involvement in poor relief, the program maintained that only full citizens could serve as volunteer visitors—and citizens were men. The earliest form of German social work excluded women from service.

German maternalists such as Alice Salomon favored an approach to social welfare that rejected the Elberfeld role of moral judgment and instead attempted to understand and eradicate poverty at its roots. Middle-class women’s charitable groups of the *Kaiserreich* adopted a maternalist approach to social care that focused on issues including child care, public housing, education, and health care.<sup>56</sup> Maternalists determined need on the basis of privation rather than merit, an evaluative process that reflected the class stratification of Imperial Germany. Class informed every aspect of social reform; while male volunteers exercised judgment about the indigent, female social reformers based their efforts on a sustaining belief that the poor required supervision and guidance as well as care and nurturance.

Indeed, class anxiety served as the primary motivating force behind the earliest social welfare programs established during Bismarck’s chancellorship of united Germany (1871–1890). Bismarck had hoped to gain the allegiance of the work-

ing-class to the young German state through a dual approach of anti-socialist policies and a broad system of national social support. Bismarck's social policy, instituted in the 1880s, included a national health insurance package, accident insurance for injured workers, and a social security program, which provided a modest pension for retired workers.<sup>57</sup> These programs served to solidify two central principles of German social reform. First, employing a model established by Koven and Michel, Germany emerged as a "strong state" by asserting its role as the primary protector of its populace.<sup>58</sup> As a result, activists like Alice Salomon would struggle to define a role for female social reformers outside of the state apparatus. Second, Bismarckian relief was afforded only to workers, barring the unemployed from coverage. This policy emulated the spirit of the Elberfeld system by demarcating those fit and unfit for state benevolence.

While Bismarck's social policy excluded female volunteers from the national welfare system, it also identified a mission for them. Those supplicants who fell beyond the state's purview became the wards of women. Voluntary female social work of the late nineteenth century evolved to especially embrace the disabled and discounted, including unemployed men, women, and children.

Alice Salomon emerged in this context as the most prominent voice calling for the development and professionalization of social work. The field of social work, and Salomon's career within it, has been the subject of a great deal of recent historical study.<sup>59</sup> Salomon was born in Berlin in 1872 into a moderately wealthy, nominally Jewish family that experienced a significant financial setback when Alice's father died in her early adolescence.<sup>60</sup> This crisis was formative in that it both greatly diminished Salomon's prospects for marriage and inspired in her empathetic responses toward the impoverished. Out of this childhood emerged a woman driven to serve. Salomon could not abide the prospect of a life of "domestic tedium"—a fear that historian Anja Schüller has noted as the "deciding motivation for taking up social work" for many middle-class German women.<sup>61</sup> Instead of a life spent in idling uncertainty, Alice Salomon dedicated her life to improving social welfare and broadening the range of women's life choices. She believed that she and her middle-class peers were obligated by good fortune at birth to help and educate those less favored by circumstance.<sup>62</sup> This worldview encouraged her in 1893 to become a founding member of the *Mädchen- und Frauengruppen für soziale Hilfsarbeit* (Girls' and Women's Group for Social Assistance), known as *die Gruppen* (the Groups).<sup>63</sup> In 1899, she took over the leadership of the organization and initiated a career that has been called the "first feminist approach to social work."<sup>64</sup>

Under Salomon's helm, the Groups advocated the expansion of traditional charitable activities into professional work. Profession in this case denoted a calling, in the sense of *Beruf*, and not necessarily paid work. The emphasis on a vocational calling was vital to Salomon. She believed that she and her contemporaries were living in a noteworthy time in human history, one that urgently required middle-class women to soothe class antagonism and create a communal family. Salomon wrote of the ill effects of industrialization: "One need only think

of the origins of large-scale industry, of the time that the impulse for income boundlessly increased ... The division of labor severed the connection between the rich and poor ... [and] the foundation was laid for an alienation between the propertied and the property-less classes." Invoking socialist thought, Salomon asserted that class antagonism resulted from the industrial mode of production: "Societal atomization occurred ... so that today we have almost forgotten that we are members of a whole; that every time an individual member does harm, the prosperity of the whole is also undermined; [but] all—rich and poor—are inextricably connected to a greater organism."<sup>65</sup> For that organism to thrive, Salomon believed that middle-class women had to lead the promotion and provision of social welfare. The Groups thus sought to make more efficient and scientific the hodgepodge efforts of various charitable societies.

Salomon maintained that bourgeois female caregivers needed the fruits of social work as much as the destitute needed relief. Offering nurturance and moral guidance to those less fortunate had the potential to elevate the characters of middle-class women. Bismarckian social policy created a readily accessible group toward which to aim this maternalist fervor: the many who had been excluded from the social net. Salomon directed the exertions of the Groups toward this marginal population. She also criticized a view of social work as simple goodwill and charity, arguing that such a conception minimized the transformative capacity of the field for workers, clients, and German society alike: "If we, the propertied, use the liberation from heavy work that characterizes this age ... not to lead a life of idleness and immersion in the refined joys of life, but instead if we take from this the responsibility to become champions of a higher culture for all, it is not generosity, not charity, instead only just and fair behavior."<sup>66</sup> The aimless dilettante could be saved from an idle life through training in this sphere of essential activity.

Salomon's goals received a significant boost in 1908 when she established the first *Soziale Frauenschule* (Social School for Women) in Berlin. By this time, she had received special permission—"exceptions could be made for people with merit"—for university study and had earned her Ph.D. in economics under the tutelage of Max Sering, Gustav Schmoller, and Adolf Wagner.<sup>67</sup> The school she established after completing her dissertation would form the culmination of her intellectual and professional vision. The mission statement declared that "advanced education for young women should serve to strengthen the sense of duty to the family" and "offer training for both paid and volunteer regiments of social assistance workers."<sup>68</sup> By emphasizing female obligation to the family and encouraging the development of a new profession, the founders of the Berlin school built upon the efforts of the many leaders of the moderate German women's movement. The curriculum of Salomon's school echoed the aims of moderate maternalism not only by intending to bring motherly concern and loving discipline into social welfare, but also by establishing social work as a viable career path for unmarried bourgeois women while simultaneously building moral character.<sup>69</sup>

Moved by the plight of single women seemingly left untethered and without hope of finding a spouse, Salomon sought to provide options for them. This concern for unmarried women was essential to Salomon's vision and corresponded to her maternalist leanings. In a study of German social work, historian Young Sun Hong has observed that the early schools were predominantly female in their formulation, reflecting "the intention of the leaders to make social work into an exclusively feminine realm." Salomon was the central figure in promoting female social work: "Alice Salomon argued that the sphere of women's public activities was one in which women's natural abilities and inclinations could be most fully realized ... Social work was to be a calling in which women could simultaneously realize their natural biological, and their public political roles."<sup>70</sup> Men could not equal female care and nurturance. Their efforts at social relief would fall ever short because the nature of social work affirmed essential gender difference. Though Salomon's writings did not articulate gender ideology in the same way as did Helene Lange's, a similar conviction about male and female difference pervaded her reformist stance.<sup>71</sup>

Salomon's program for social work engaged the concept of a female surplus. She worried about the fates of frivolous, aimless girls and linked what she believed to be their lack of depth to life in the industrial era. She wrote in 1913: "Today it is common knowledge ... that through industrial development and the advent of modern technology useful work in the household has declined, and that daughters in many cases can find no adequate sphere of activity." Commemorating her two decades of engagement with the Groups, Salomon noted that social work had begun to provide just such an adequate sphere: "Today the daughters of the middle-class ... have migrated into the professions, into gainful employment. Twenty years ago ... work still was something entirely out of the ordinary, almost something unfitting ... At that time, girls simply remained at home and remained uncultivated. One fed canaries, watered flower-pots, embroidered, played piano, and 'waited.'" Salomon evoked the spiritual and moral despair confronting middle-class girls who were left waiting: "Many became lonely or lost their belief in the meaning of life. But it was also a condition that was highly dangerous for the moral standards of young women. The absence of real work led so easily to a ... shadowy transformation of the entire existence towards superficiality and triviality ... [and] a squandering of life's energies that meant an injustice for all of society as well as for oneself."<sup>72</sup> Proper training in professional social welfare offered a panacea. Social work brought mercy to the poor while also providing remedy and regeneration to the literal and figurative German mothers of the future.

The vocation of social work provided an outlet of motherly love for those young women whose idleness might otherwise pose a social threat. Salomon's 1913 text maintained that bourgeois female dilettantism was a thing of the past and that vocational engagement had channeled antiquated censure into professional admiration. Social work formed a perfect maternalist vehicle: "Just as it is the natural task of the woman to produce life, it seems to me to be her cultural



mission to preserve life.”<sup>73</sup> For those women who would not (for whatever reason) become life-producers, social work provided the most consequential and meaningful form of life preservation. And for those social workers who would one day wed, Salomon affirmed marriage as a well-founded reason for leaving the vocation of social welfare. While work might be only a temporary haven, the lessons learned would inform the young wife for life.

Salomon’s efforts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted in significant advancement. After the first school was established in 1908, several more followed; by the end of World War I, 27 schools offered training for social work with curricula similar to Salomon’s original Berlin school.<sup>74</sup> The Great War helped to legitimate women’s claims to a special engagement in social welfare because, as men departed for the fronts, female engagement became more vital.<sup>75</sup> The impoverishment of wartime and postwar Germany also made clear the tenuous nature of the Elberfeld and Bismarckian delimitation of worthy and unworthy.

Yet as the historian Christoph Sachsse has demonstrated, Salomon’s vision of the great social organism ultimately receded in the postwar era. Many practical reasons brought about this shift: the much broader social net cast by the optimistic creators of the Weimar state, the mounting discontent with governmental relief efforts in the 1920s, the greater variety of supplicants after the war, and the chaos of the early Weimar economy, which weakened the German middle class. As war and inflation conflated class lines, so faded the notion that relief work was the duty of the privileged. Though women from the middle- and working-classes staffed the vast majority of positions in the expanding sphere of Weimar social work, they rarely supervised workers. Nor, for the most part, did they serve to design and direct policy. The leadership of the bureaucracy of social administration was a male affair.<sup>76</sup> Salomon’s goal of infusing the profession and the nation with maternalist values became increasingly fleeting. Her lifelong efforts to create a purposeful role for women in the public sphere were ultimately thwarted by the advent of the National Socialist government in 1933. After a confrontation with the Gestapo in 1937, the Jewish Salomon emigrated from Germany and lived in New York until her death in 1948.

Why were Salomon’s great hopes never realized? While the quelling of maternalist impulses in the interwar era was not unique to Germany, some particular aspects of the German experience and of Salomon’s formulation of maternalism are especially noteworthy. In the *Kaiserreich* and as a result of the Elberfeld and Bismarckian visions, middle-class female reformers largely operated outside of the realm of policy decisions. Still, hundreds of women trained in schools like Salomon’s were employed in social work before the outbreak of the war, a significant increase from the statistically insignificant numbers to be found at the turn of the century.<sup>77</sup> Salomon later wrote that this advance had been met with great resistance: “Government officials were inclined to be hostile towards the organization of schools for social work. They wanted to train public health workers and in addition a type of child welfare worker responsible for kindergarten or

play ground supervision independently of each other and under the control of different ministries.” Schools embracing Salomon’s program instead offered a comprehensive curriculum that entailed child care, public health training, and pedagogy. Salomon’s description of the German government’s myopic view of social work noted that, “They denied that there was a profession of social workers with manifold duties working in various fields.”<sup>78</sup> The failure to acknowledge the existence of the profession paralleled Elberfeld and Bismarckian relief, both of which had been predicated upon neglecting the most indigent populations in the provisioning of social welfare. Moreover, Salomon herself never articulated a fully comprehensive view of social work as a profession in the sense of a job, rather than a calling. Salomon’s limited interpretation of the vocation is most clearly revealed in her views on social work compensation.

Since social work emerged from the foundations of charitable work, its advocates had to wrestle with the concept of volunteerism. Alice Salomon never intended to upend the work of volunteers; indeed, she celebrated charitable work as long as it was done out of a sense of holistic social responsibility and not simple altruism (or, worse yet, boredom). Salomon did not insist on exclusively voluntary social work, but she did prefer the volunteer to the paid social worker. The woman least encumbered by financial concerns would be best able to demonstrate her sincerity and resolve.<sup>79</sup> Compensation muddied the picture; could maternal love be turned on and off based upon the availability and amount of a salary? Only the surplus woman could strike the delicate balance between paid labor and charity; because she so needed to be needed, no form of remuneration could dampen her maternal zeal. Salomon called upon unmarried women to commit to the vocation spiritually, but she also recognized that such commitment required material support. She demonstrated her concern for unmarried women by allowing for the possibility of compensated social work.

Salomon made the distinction between paid and unpaid work on the basis of need: “For certain women whose inclination lies in the direction of social work, but who are forced into paid work, it is a great happiness that our period has created the necessity of social work as a profession.” The trauma of the times created surplus women—but it also provided them with a purpose. Though accepting remuneration might seem to taint the maternal spirit, Salomon contended that the “voluntary nature of the work can never be doubted, even if they must accept a salary for it ... The volunteer is most normal, but that shall obviously remain [the case only] where and for whom it is possible.”<sup>80</sup> Voluntary and compensated social workers would be partners in training and labor, for “it lies in the essence of social work that the practitioner ... ‘shall earn, in order to be able to serve.’”<sup>81</sup>

By preserving the normative status of the volunteer, Salomon placed herself in the context of a much broader discussion about the nature of public relief. German social reformers at the turn of the century debated whether local volunteers mainly should provide social welfare or whether more expansive control of welfare ought to be commandeered by the state. As Hong has argued, increasing state engagement in social relief both before and during World War I raised es-

sential questions, “because the underlying discourse on social rights provided a positive rationale for expanded state activity, which contradicted the deterrent, disciplinary function and the subsidiary nature of poor relief.”<sup>82</sup> Salomon’s own unwillingness to make a distinction between paid and unpaid social workers reflected more general uncertainty in Imperial Germany both about the nature of poor relief and about the delineation between state and society.

By defining social work as the fulfillment of the female calling, especially for the unmarried and childless, Alice Salomon sought to elide the potential collision of compensated and voluntary social workers. In accepting compensation on the basis of need rather than merit, Salomon attempted to create a non-threatening space in which Germans could be comfortable with the relatively new notion of unmarried bourgeois women working in the public sphere. The tensions associated with public acceptance of social welfare programs were not exclusively German, nor were they exclusively Salomon’s. Nonetheless, the balance Salomon struck between voluntary and professional status was a precarious one that did not secure a role in the evolution of German social policy for women.

Alice Salomon argued that the uniqueness of the female contribution to the public sphere rested in women’s maternal capacities, yet she also recognized that the field of social work would be led by women who personally never experienced motherhood. Salomon herself never married and never had children. Precisely those experiences allowed her to channel her maternal instinct not only toward the poor, but also toward unmarried young women embarking on a new career. In her autobiography, Salomon wrote of disappointment in love as a young woman: “In one case, where a man of unimpeachable background courted me . . . I simply was not attracted. Other suitors in whom I was deeply interested could not offer me the sort of union I wanted, in connection with my work and ideas. Disappointment in love is one of the saddest experiences, sadder than the death of a beloved being.” That disappointment lingered on: “For years, I could not see a child without feeling pangs over my lost hopes.” Still, “in looking back, I have been thankful that none of these attachments led to marriage. Passion rarely lasts a lifetime.”<sup>83</sup> Work and service to her students replaced romantic passion: “During my marriageable years I had wanted a dozen daughters. Somehow I had never thought of children in terms of boys. Now I got the girls, hundreds and hundreds, and I looked upon them all as my adopted daughters.”<sup>84</sup> Social work offered unmarried women such as Salomon the opportunity to experience the maternal life that the vagaries of romance and the marriage market had denied them. Alice Salomon’s work aimed to recast motherhood as a subject to teach, as a calling, and as the essence of a distinctly female view of social policy.

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Leaders of the moderate women’s movement pursued a variety of reformist paths. Spiritual motherhood and the *Frauenüberschuß* are intertwined as the central tenets of moderate advocacy in the arenas of education and social work. Helene Lange and Alice Salomon shared a belief in the economic advent of the female

surplus and a conviction about the basic importance of work in establishing new, worthwhile pursuits for surfeit women. Both women also embraced the family as the most fundamental sphere of female activity. Yet examination of the careers of Lange and Salomon also shows that moderates differed in their strategies and in the extent to which they linked reformist programs to an understanding of gender roles. Lange was a political creature who evinced self-consciousness about her place in the women's movement and who appealed to politicians in support of her ideas. Lange's autobiography linked her personal history to the evolution of the German women's movement and positioned herself as a historical figure.<sup>85</sup> She was an activist for educational reform, a founder of the German women's movement, and a theoretical thinker who articulated a very pronounced vision of spiritual motherhood as the foundation of male and female roles. In each of those concerns, she held firm to the conviction that demographic necessity—embodied in the surplus female—created the crisis to which her life's work responded.

Salomon's career was neither as ideologically driven nor as self-aware as that of Lange. Salomon's agenda was more focused and thus in many ways more concretely conflicted. Her ambivalence about the status of voluntary workers attests to a reformer faced with practical dilemmas as well as someone rather mired in her own bourgeois background. But Salomon's articulation of social work as a practical field of single women's activity was also less heady than Lange's educational program and less constrained by ideological ruminations. It is important to keep in mind that Salomon was over twenty years younger than Lange and inherited the legacy of Lange's organizational headway. Both women served as officers in the BDF and worked together on the organization's journal, *Die Frau*. No doubt Lange influenced Salomon's views on both the plight of the surplus woman and on the transformative power of the spiritual mother. Salomon's less ideological approach was bolstered by the precedence of earlier maternalists like Lange.

By embracing a maternalism based on notions of gender difference, moderate activists constructed a movement that offered as its product a palatable notion of the modern woman. Unlike more radical voices in the German women's movement, these moderates crafted a vision that sought to affirm rather than displace the traditional family.<sup>86</sup> Helene Lange once assured those who might be alarmed by extensive changes to female education that, "as in the past, the majority of women will live for their families and endeavor to make home happy and comfortable"—a cozy picture, capped off with an innate promise—"Nature guarantees that."<sup>87</sup> Working women would always be the minority: "As long as the world will exist the great majority of women will find ample occupation in the care of their families and the education of their children. Their professional engagement will be at best a temporary one, but as such it may prove of the highest usefulness."<sup>88</sup>

But this comforting depiction of the women's movement held at its core a transformative vision of the future. As articulated by its most prominent spokespersons, the goal of moderate activism was to "create a new impact on the total

culture by the entrance of the woman into those areas which have been closed to her so far and which nevertheless need her.”<sup>89</sup> The woman simultaneously best positioned and most desperate for admission to those areas was the unmarried bourgeois woman who would “create out of the world of the man a world which reflects the character of *both* sexes; she must carry into the world her own values and thus help to create the view of the whole in which her standards have the same validity as those of the man.” The resulting society would be built upon a foundation of the family through “the delicate, human consideration for others [and] the loving value placed on the life of the individual overall.”<sup>90</sup> Lofty tasks indeed. The maternalist perspective articulated by women like Lange and Salomon sought to offer this transformative power precisely to those individuals whom they believed had been most wounded by the modern age: single middle-class women. With proper education and significant work, these women in theory could revive for Germany what had been taken from them in fact: an environment in which the maternal instinct could serve and nurture, and in which it would be welcomed and treasured.

## Notes

1. Some married women played formative roles in the women’s movement, including Minna Cauer (1841–1922), Luise Otto-Peters (1819–1895), Marie Stritt (1855–1928), and Marianne Weber (1870–1954). But most of the visible activists and professional leaders were unmarried. These include Helene Lange (1848–1930), Alice Salomon (1872–1948), Anita Augspurg (1857–1943), Otilie Baader (1847–1925), Gertrud Bäumer (1873–1954), Lida Gustava Heymann (1868–1943), Mathilde Lammers (1837–1905), Marie-Elisabeth Lüders (1878–1966), Marianne Menzzer (1814–1895), Bertha Pappenheim (1859–1936), Anna Pappritz (1861–1939), Auguste Schmidt (1833–1902), and Franziska Tiburtius (1843–1927).
2. On the division between moderate and radical feminism, see Jean Quataert, “Writing the History of Women and Gender in Imperial Germany,” in *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930*, ed. Geoff Eley (Ann Arbor, MI, 1997), 51–55.
3. See chapter 4.
4. James Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women, Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1988), 70.
5. See chapter 4.
6. HLA-BDF, Karton 54, Mappe 245, BDF pamphlet “Was die Frauenbewegung für die Frauen will,” 1898.
7. Helene Lange, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin, 1930), 68.
8. *Ibid.*, 93–95.
9. On Lange’s early career, see Dorothea Frandsen, *Helene Lange* (Breisgau, 1980), 15–26.
10. Ute Gerhard, *Unerhört. Die Geschichte der deutsche Frauenbewegung* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1992), 146. Highlights of Lange’s activism include the 1890 co-founding of the General Association of German Female Teachers, the 1893 establishment of the journal *Die Frau*, and membership on the Executive Committee of the BDF (1894–1906).
11. Lange, *Lebenserinnerungen*.

12. Sociologist Margit Göttert's, *Macht und Eros: Frauenbeziehungen und weibliche Kultur um 1900—eine neue Perspektive auf Helene Lange und Gertrud Bäumer* (Königstein, 2000), employs the partnership of Lange and Bäumer to establish a typology by which to assess female relationships and female culture at the turn of the century. Regarding education, see Caroline Hopf and Eva Matthes, eds., *Helene Lange und Gertrud Bäumer*, vol. 1, *Ihr Engagement für Frauen- und Mädchenbildung* (Bad Heilbrunn, 2001), vol. 2, *Ihr Beitrag zum Erziehungs- und Bildungsdiskurs vom Wilhelminischen Kaiserreich bis in die NS-Zeit* (Bad Heilbrunn, 2003); these volumes contain primary texts and assess Lange and Bäumer's contributions to the field of education. Angelika Schaser, *Helene Lange und Gertrud Bäumer: Eine politische Lebensgemeinschaft* (Köln, 2000), situates the pair in the history of political debates surrounding women's rights in the changing Germanies of the twentieth century.
 

Both Göttert and Schaser have investigated Lange and Bäumer's relationship based on the available primary sources. Göttert argues against those who might conjecture about the nature of the partnership by stating that their "relationship not only occurred in private, but also was lived and commemorated in the setting of the publicity of the movement of the time. To classify these and other women's relationships in the current categories of homo- and heterosexuality therefore seems to no small degree to be unreasonable because neither these women nor other contemporaries labeled themselves in this sense" (2000, 10). Schaser notes that both women were very aware of their public personae and "in their efforts toward social recognition, to a great degree [they] adapted themselves to the rituals of male self-portrayal. In their autobiographies, they strictly separated public and private life and gave to the latter only marginal significance in that they largely excluded it. The subjective and emotional were largely omitted, the rational was accentuated." (2000, 88) I share Göttert and Schaser's approach to Lange and Bäumer's partnership.
13. Helene Lange, "Was wir wollen," *Die Frau* 1(1) (October 1893): 1; see Introduction.
14. Peter Petschauer, "Eighteenth-Century German Opinions about Education for Women," *Central European History* 19 (3) (1986): 289.
15. Albisetti, *Schooling*, 10–22; Albisetti offers an extensive discussion of the nuances of 'Bestimmung.'
16. *Ibid.*, 46; Albisetti's book provides the most thorough history of curriculum and the debates surrounding German female education in the nineteenth century.
17. Helene Lange, "Die höhere Mädchenschule und ihre Bestimmung," October 1887; cited in Helene Lange, *Kampfzeiten* (Berlin, 1928), 19.
18. Albisetti, *Schooling*, 136, 151–159.
19. Helene Lange, "Höhere Mädchenschule," 58.
20. Albisetti, *Schooling*, 152.
21. *Ibid.*, 136, 155.
22. Helene Lange, *Die Frauenbewegung in ihrer modernen Problemen* (Leipzig, 1908), 3.
23. Helene Lange, *Higher Education of Women in Europe*, trans. L.R. Klemm (New York, 1890), 128–129.
24. *Ibid.*, 130–131.
25. Lange, *Higher Education*, 131.
26. Lange, *Frauenbewegung*, 3.
27. Lange, *Higher Education*, 131.
28. Lange, "Höhere Mädchenschule," 20.
29. Lange, *Funfzig Jahre*; cited in *Lebenserinnerungen*, 103.
30. Lange, *Frauenbewegung*, 3.
31. HLA-BDF, Karton 54, Mappe 245, Helene Lange, "Grundsätze und Forderungen der Frauenbewegung auf dem Gebiet der Erziehung und Bildung," in *Grundsätze und Forderungen der Frauenbewegung*, ed. BDF (Berlin, 1912), 13.
32. Lange, *Higher Education*, 126; emphasis in text.
33. Lange, "Grundsätze," 14.

34. *Ibid.*, 12.
35. *Ibid.*, 13.
36. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
37. Lange, *Higher Education*, 138; Lange cites Mathilde Lammers (1837–1905), a teacher, writer, and editor of the Bremen monthly magazine *Nordwest*.
38. Lange, *Higher Education*, 138.
39. Lange, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 158; emphasis in text.
40. *Ibid.*, 159.
41. Hedwig Dohm (1833–1919) was an early prominent female activist and wrote a number of influential essays, articles, and books on women's rights; see Cornelia Pechota Vuilleumier, "O Vater, lass uns ziehn!": *literarische Vater–Töchter um 1900*; Gabriele Reuter, *Hedwig Dohm, Lou Andreas-Salomé* (Hildesheim, 2005), and Ute Speck, *Ein mögliches Ich, Selbstreflexion in der Schreiberfahrung: zur Autobiographik der Politikerinnen Lily Braun, Hedwig Dohm, und Rosa Luxemburg* (Frankfurt a.M., 1997).
42. Lange, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 111–112; emphasis in text.
43. *Ibid.*, 113–114.
44. Lange, "Höhere Mädchenschule," 20.
45. Lange, "Grundsätze," 1912.
46. Lange, "Höhere Mädchenschule," 50.
47. Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Imperial Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1991), 167.
48. Albisetti, *Schooling*, 178.
49. *Ibid.*, 250–273.
50. Lange, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 191.
51. *Ibid.*, 192.
52. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Introduction: 'Mother Worlds'" in *Mothers of a New World*, eds. Koven and Michel (New York, 1993), 2.
53. *Ibid.*, 4.
54. Christoph Sachsse, *Mütterlichkeit als Beruf* (Frankfurt a.M., 1986), 36–50.
55. Eve Rosenhaft, "The Historical Development of German Social Policy," in Jochen Clasen and Richard Freeman, eds., *Social Policy in Germany* (New York, 1994), 26.
56. Christoph Sachsse, "Social Mothers: The Bourgeois Women's Movement and German Welfare-State Formation, 1890–1929," in Koven and Michel, eds., *Mothers*, 147.
57. Rosenhaft, "Social Policy," 28–29.
58. Koven and Michel, "Mother Worlds," 24–25.
59. The history of social work in Imperial Germany has experienced a boom in recent years. The works on Salomon have assessed her life and career in a comparative vein and in the context of social and gender history. See Manfred Berger, *Pionierin der sozialen Arbeit und der Frauenbewegung* (Frankfurt a.M., 1998); Young Sun Hong, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State* (Princeton, NJ, 1998); Carola Kuhlmann, "Gender and Theory in the History of German Social Work—Alice Salomon, Herman Nohl and Christian Klumker," in *History of Social Work in Europe (1900–1960)*, eds. Sabine Hering and Berteke Waaldijk (Opladen, 2003), 95–104; Andrew Lees, *Cities, Sin, and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (Ann Arbor, 2002); Rosenhaft, "Social Policy"; Sachsse, "Mothers"; Sachsse, *Mütterlichkeit*; Anja Schüler, *Frauenbewegung und soziale Reform: Jane Addams und Alice Salomon im transatlantischen Dialog, 1889–1933* (Stuttgart, 2004); Kathryn Kish Sklar, Anja Schüler, and Susan Strasser, eds., *Social Justice Feminists in the United States and Germany* (Ithaca, NY, 1998). Lees has also edited a new edition of Salomon's autobiography; see Alice Salomon, *Character is Destiny: The Autobiography of Alice Salomon* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2004).
60. Salomon, *Character*, 13, 21–23.
61. Schüler, *Frauenbewegung*, 195–196.
62. Alice Salomon, *Soziale Frauenbildung* (Berlin, 1907), 11.

63. On the work of the Groups, see Lees, *Cities*, 298–301.
64. Kuhlmann, “Gender,” 99.
65. Salomon, *Frauenbildung*, 5.
66. *Ibid.*, 10.
67. Salomon, *Character*, 44; see pp. 44–47 for a discussion of her time at the university; Salomon’s dissertation examined pay inequity between men and women.
68. Alice Salomon, “Moderne Bildung,” *Centralblatt des Bundes deutscher Frauenvereine* (15 June 1908): 41.
69. Schüler, *Frauenbewegung*, 220.
70. Hong, “Professionalization,” 236.
71. On Salomon’s views of gender difference, see Lees, *Cities*, 296–298.
72. Alice Salomon, *Zwanzig Jahre Soziale Hilfsarbeit* (Karlsruhe i.B, 1913), 2–4.
73. Alice Salomon, “Die Bedeutung der Frauenbewegung für das soziale Leben,” in Alice Salomon, *Was wir uns und anderen schuldig sind* (Leipzig, 1912), 130–131; quoted in Lees, *Cities*, 298.
74. Sachsse, “Social Mothers,” 153.
75. Sachsse, *Mütterlichkeit*, 151–173.
76. Sachsse, “Social Mothers,” 152.
77. *Ibid.*, 148.
78. Alice Salomon, *Education for Social Work* (Zürich, 1937), 21.
79. Salomon, *Zwanzig Jahre*, 82.
80. *Ibid.*, 82–83.
81. *Ibid.*, 86.
82. Hong, *Welfare*, 29–30.
83. Salomon, *Character*, 35.
84. *Ibid.*, 74.
85. And so she is—the papers of the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*, the largest women’s organization in the *Kaiserreich*, are housed in the *Helene Lange Archiv*.
86. See chapter 6.
87. Lange, *Higher Education*, 179.
88. *Ibid.*, 21.
89. HLA-BDF, Karton 77, Mappe 310, Der Bund deutscher Frauenvereine, *Offiziellen Pressbericht über den Berliner Frauenkongress*, 27 February through 2 March 1912.
90. Lange, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 159; emphasis in text.