Philosophie und Politik im 20. Jahrhundert, I: 1875-1914

WiSe 2011-12

1.2.2012

Frauenbefreiung und Herrschaftskonstellation in der *belle époque*, 1: die Vorgeschichte

Frieder Otto Wolf

Freie Universität Berlin Institut für Philosophie

Frauenbewegung und Frauenbefreiung

- Diskrimination und Herrschaft
- Mehrfache Unterdrückung
- Moderne und traditionelle Herrschaftsverhältnisse
- Informelle und formalisierte Herrschaft (Herrschaft, Staatsgewalt, Rechtsverhältnisse)
- Politische Bewegung und demokratische Politik
- Institutionalisierte Philosophie und spontane ,Selbstverständigung'

Das Denken der Frauenbewegung, 1

- Das Erbe der Französischen Revolution
- Société fraternelle de l'un et l'autre sexe (Februar 1790: Claude Dansard): Heiratsreform, Scheidung, Frauenbildung. (Februar 1791: « toutes les demoiselles ou femmes de la Société qui devraient se marier n'épouseraient jamais ce qu'on appelle un aristocrate »)
- Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne (Sept. 1791: Olympe de Gouges)
- "Frauen, wacht auf! Was auch immer die Hürden sein werden, die man euch entgegenstellt, es liegt in eurer Macht, sie zu überwinden. Ihr müßt es nur wollen."
- Société des républicaines révolutionnaires, (Februar Sommer 1793: Pauline Léon und Claire Lacombe)
- Mary Wollstonecraft, 1792: «Vindication of the Rights of Woman», frz. 1792 als «Défense du droit des femmes», dt. 1793-1794 als "Rettung der Rechte des Weibes"

"Would men but generously snap our chains and be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience, they would find us more observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers--in a word, better citizens"

Art. I: Die Frau wird frei geboren und bleibt dem Mann an Rechten gleich [...]

Art. II: Das Ziel jeder politischen Vereinigung ist die Bewahrung der natürlichen und unverjährbaren Rechte von Frau und Mann: diese Rechte sind Freiheit, Eigentum, Sicherheit und vor allem Widerstand gegen Unterdrückung.

Art. III: Die Grundlage jeder Staatsgewalt ruht ihrem Wesen nach in der Nation, die nichts anderes ist als die Wiedervereinigung von Frau und Mann [...]

Art. IV: Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit bestehen darin, alles zurückzugeben, was einem anderen gehört. So hat die Ausübung der natürlichen Rechte der Frau keine Grenzen ausser denen, die die ständige Tyrannei des Mannes ihr entgegensetzt. Diese Grenzen müssen durch die Gesetze der Natur und der Vernunft reformiert werden.

Art. V: Die Gesetze der Natur und der Vernunft verbieten alle Handlungen, die der Gesellschaft schädlich sein können. Alles, was nicht durch diese weisen und göttlichen Gesetze verboten ist, kann nicht verhindert werden [...]

Art. VI: Das Gesetz muss Ausdruck des Gesamtwillens sein; alle Bürgerinnen und Bürger müssen persönlich oder durch einen Stellvertreter zu seiner Entstehung beitragen: alle Bürgerinnen und Bürger, die ja in seinen Augen gleich sein, müssen gleichermassen zu allen Würden, Stellungen und öffentlichen Ämtern zugelassen sein [...]

Art. VII: Keine Frau ist ausgenommen; sie wird in den vom Gesetz bestimmten Fällen angeklagt, festgenommen und gefangengehalten. Die Frauen sind wie die Männer diesem unerbittlichen Gesetz unterworfen. Art. VIII: Das Gesetz darf nur Strafen festsetzen, die unbedingt und offensichtlich notwendig sind [...]

Art. IX: Auf jede für schuldig befundene Frau wird die ganze Strenge des Gesetzes angewandt.

Art. X: Niemand darf wegen seiner Überzeugungen, auch wenn sie grundsätzlicher Art sind, belangt werden. Die Frau hat das Recht das Schafott zu besteigen; sie muss gleichermassen das Recht haben, die Tribüne zu besteigen [...]

- Art. XI: Die freie Gedanken- und Meinungsäusserung ist eines der kostbarsten Rechte der Frau, da diese Freiheit die Legitimität der Väter gegenüber den Kindern sichert. Jede Bürgerin kann deshalb frei sagen: "Ich bin Mutter eines Kindes, das Euch gehört", ohne dass ein barbarisches Vorurteil sie zwängt, die Wahrheit zu verbergen [...] Art. XII: Die Garantie der Rechte der Frau und der Bürgerin muss einem höheren Nutzen verpflichtet sein. Diese Garantie muss dem Vorteil aller gegründet sein und nicht auf dem besonderen Nutzen derer, denen sie gewährt wird.
- Art. XIII: Für den Unterhalt der Staatsmacht und für die Ausgaben der Verwaltung sind die Beiträge von Frau und Mann gleich. Sie ist beteiligt an allen Frondiensten und mühseligen Arbeiten; sie muss deshalb gleichermassen beteiligt sein an der Verteilung der Posten, der Anstellungen, der Aufträge, der Würden und der Gewerbe

. Art. XIV: Die Bürgerinnen und Bürger haben das Recht, selbst oder durch ihre Stellvertreter die Notwendigkeit der öffentlichen Steuer Festzustellen. Die Bürgerinnen können dem nur zustimmen, wenn eine gleichmäßige Teilung zugelassen wird, und zwar nicht nur beim Vermögen, sondern auch bei den öffentlichen Ämtern, und sie die Höhe, die Veranlagung, die Eintreibung und die Dauer der Besteuerung mitbestimmen.

Art. XV: Die Masse der Frauen, die durch die Steuerleistung mit der der Männer vereinigt ist, hat das Recht, von jedem öffentlichen Beamten Rechenschaft über seine Verwaltung zu verlangen.

Art. XVI: Jede Gesellschaft, in der die Garantie der Rechte nicht gesichert und die Trennung der Gewalten nicht festgesetzt ist, hat gar keine Verfassung. Die Verfassung ist null und nichtig, wenn nicht die Mehrheit der Individuen, die die Nation bilden, an ihrer Ausarbeitung mitgewirkt hat.

Art. XVII: Eigentum kommt allen Geschlechtern zu, gemeinsam oder getrennt [...] niemand kann seiner als eines wahren Erbteils der Natur beraubt werden [...]

Frühsozialismus und Frauenbewegung

- William Thompson / Anna Wheeler: Appeal of One Half the Human Race, WOMEN, Against the Pretensions of the Other Half, MEN, to Retain Them in Political, and Thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery; in reply to a paragraph of Mrs. Mill's Celebrated "Article on Government" (1825)
- Born in Ireland, Wheeler (1785-1848) traveled to Dublin, London, France, and Scotland in 1820s, meeting Owen and Fourier and learning about the religiously-based Saint Simonian socialist communities in France. In Ireland she befriended William Thompson, wealthy socialist author of *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness* (1824). Thompson's *Inquiry* critiqued early capitalism and inequalities of wealth from the perspective of Robert Owen's belief that all wealth springs from labor and that both the capitalist and the landlord exploit the laborer. Women would never gain independence in competitive capitalist society, the *Appeal* insisted. Only in socialist communities would women "cease to be dependent on individual men for their daily support". Yet despite his economic radicalism, in many ways Owen's views of women remained traditional, and Thompson and Wheeler's *Appeal* went beyond him by viewing women's oppression from women's point of view.]

Frances Wright (1795-1852), 1

- Frances Wright (1795-1852) combined Wollstonecraft's tradition of feminism with Fourierist social visions. During several visits to the United States, she also represented the new internationalism that connected feminists across national boundaries.
- Wright recorded her impressions of her first trip to the United States (in 1818) in *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821), including very positive comments on the "condition of women"
- Returning to the United States in 1824, she visited Robert Owen's community at New Harmony, Indiana, and decided to create her own settlement.
- Having viewed slavery during a trip up the Mississippi, Wright published A Plan for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in the United States without Danger of Loss to the Citizens of the South, a pamphlet in which she proposed that the U.S. government create Owenite slave plantations where profits would go to purchase the slaves' freedom. Wright established such a community near Memphis, called Nashoba, which never prospered, before retreating to England in 1827.

Frances Wright (1795-1852), 2

- Returning to New Harmony in the summer of 1828, Wright delivered lectures that she expanded into a series and delivered in American cities, beginning in Cincinnati and ending in New York. In 1829 she bought the Ebenezer Church on Broome Street in lower Manhattan, remodeled it into a "Hall of Science" capable of seating 1,200, and lectured there. Adopting a radical perspective on topics of current interest, she promoted women's rights, attacked the pro-slavery leanings of the American clergy, and broke the taboo against women speaking in public.
- Walt Whitman, who attended regularly, later said she was "one of the few characters to excite in me a wholesale respect and love."
- Robert Owen lectured with her during visits to New York, and his son, Robert Dale Owen, helped her and labor activists in New York City launch the Free Enquirer, a newspaper that gave rise to a workingman's political party, dubbed "the Fanny Wright Party."
- Between 1830 and her death in 1852, she crossed the Atlantic several times, dying in Cincinnati, where her lecture tour of 1828 had begun

Zur Bedeutung des Saint-Simonismus

- The most radical feminist ideas of the 1830s were probably those of the Saint Simonians, a religiously-oriented socialist movement in France. Founded by Henri, comte de Saint-Simon, the movement promoted free love as a better foundation for marriage and called for marital bonds based on sexual or emotional inclinations rather than socio-economic needs.
- However women within the movement downplayed the free love idea and, after reading Fourier, advocated women's economic independence. They founded a periodical, La Femme Libre (The Free Woman), which they published under first names only for fear of persecution.
- "Appel aux Femmes," originally published in La Femme Libre, was translated as
 "Call to Women" and reprinted in Robert Owen's The Crisis. The author was
 probably Jeanne Deroin, a French schoolteacher of working-class origins who
 joined the Saint-Simonian movement of the 1830s and, in Paris during the
 Revolution of 1848, urged the new government to provide for the rights of
 women.
- -> From Wollstonecraft to Mill: What British and European Ideas and Social Movements Influenced the Emergence of Feminism in the Atlantic World, 1792-1869?

- At the moment when all peoples are aroused in the name of Liberty and the proletariat calls for its own emancipation, shall we women remain passive spectators of this great moment for social emancipation that is taking place before our eyes?
- Is our own condition so happy that we ourselves have no demands to make? Until now woman has been exploited and tyrannized. This tyranny, this exploitation must cease. We are born free, like man, and half the human race cannot, without injustice, be in servitude to the other half.
- Let us then understand our rights; let us understand our power. We have the power of attractiveness, the power of charms--an irresistible weapon. We must know how to employ it.

- Let us refuse as husbands any man who is not sufficiently generous to consent to share his power; we want no more of this formula, Woman, submit to your husband!
- We demand equality in marriage. We prefer celibacy to slavery!
- We are free and equal to man; a powerful and just man [Enfantin] has so proclaimed, and he is understood by many who follow him.[A]
- Honor to these generous men! A halo of glory awaits them in the future. Let us lift our voices, let us claim our rights as citizens in the new temple, which recognizes rights for women equal to those for men.

- Universal association is beginning; among nations there will no longer be relationships other than industrial, scientific, and moral; the future will be peaceful. No more war, no more national antipathy, love for all. The reign of harmony and peace will be established upon earth, and the moment has arrived when woman should have her place upon it.
- Liberty, equality--that is to say, a free and equal chance to develop our faculties: this is the victory we must win, and we can succeed only if we unite in a single group. Let us no longer form two camps--that of the women of the people and that of privileged women. Let our common interest unite us. To this end, let all jealousy among us disappear. Let us honor merit, let us give precedence to talent, on whichever side it appears.

- Women of the privileged class--you who are young, rich, and beautiful, you who think yourselves happy when, in your salons, you breathe the incense of flattery lavishly bestowed by those who surround you; you reign, but your reign is of short duration; it ends with the ball! When you return home you are slaves once again; you find there a master who makes you feel his power, and you forget all the pleasures you have tasted.
- Women of every class, you can exercise a powerful action; you are called upon to spread the notion of order and harmony everywhere. Turn to the advantage of society-at-large the irresistible charm of your beauty, the sweetness of your convincing words, which can make man march toward the same objective.

- Come inspire the common people with a holy enthusiasm for the immense task that lies at hand.
- Come calm the warlike ardor of young men; the elements of grandeur and glory are in their hearts. But they see grandeur and glory only as helmets on their heads and lances in their hand. We will say to them that it is no longer a matter of destroying, but of building anew.
- The ladies of Rome awarded wreaths to the warriors; we will weave wreaths of flowers to encircle the heads of the peaceable and moral men who will lead humanity toward a social goal and who will enrich the globe by means of science and industry.

"Jeanne-Victoire," (attrib. to Jeanne Deroin) "Appel aux Femmes" (Appeal to Women), La Femme Libre (The Free Woman), 1 (1832): 1-3. English translation by Anna Wheeler originally published in Robert Owen's The Crisis, 15 June 1833. Reprinted in Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, eds., Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents, Volume I, 1750-1880 (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), pp. 146-47

Harriet Martineau: Sklavenbefreiung und Frauenemanzipation

When anti-slavery radicalism fostered the emergence of a women's rights movement in the United States, British writer Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) reported on that emergence. Her travels in the United States (1834-1836) occurred just as women moved to the forefront of the antislavery movement.

Witnessing the courage of women whose meetings were attacked by pro-slavery mobs, Martineau became their avid supporter and received reports about their continuing struggle after she returned to England.

Writing for English readers, Martineau completed two books on her American travels, Society in America (1837), and The Martyr Age of the United States (1839). The first commented on women in American society generally; the second documented the anti-slavery struggle. In the latter she highlighted the leadership of Maria Weston Chapman, president of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society

Das Denken der Frauenbewegung in den 1840ern

- An outpouring of feminist writings accompanied the growth of radical social and religious movements in Britain and Europe in the 1840s.
- Flora Tristan, 1803-1844:

"In unserer unglücklichen Gesellschaft ist die Frau von Geburt her eine Paria, sie hat die Stellung einer Dienerin ... und fast immer kann sie nur wählen zwischen Heuchelei und Schmach.,

Promenades en Londres, 1840, 160: Wiederentdeckung von Wollstonecraft (vermutlich daran anschließend Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-1884 in Milwaukee) deutsche Übersetzung von Auszügen aus Vindication of the Rights of Woman)

Catherine Barmby (1817?-1853)

Catherine und Goodwin Barmby, 1

 Catherine Barmby's "Demand for the Emancipation of Woman, Politically and Socially" (1843) led the way. Under the pen name "Kate" in 1835, Catherine Watkins (1817?-1853) began writing articles for the Owenite newspaper, New Moral World. In 1841 she married Goodwyn Barmby, a leader in the Chartist movement, which in the 1830s and 40s championed the political and economic rights of working people through "the People's Charter."

Catherine und Goodwin Barmby, 2

- In 1841 the Barmbys published a "Declaration of Electoral Reform." There, in the name of Mary Wollstonecraft, they called for the People's Charter to be amended to include women's suffrage, asking "how can we allow the political subalternity of woman when we advocate her social equality? If woman is not free, man must ever be a slave."
- Seeking a richer spiritual life than Owenite socialism or Chartism offered, soon after their marriage Catherine and Goodwyn Barmby founded the Communist Church. Although the church expired in 1849, in the mid-1840s it had more than ten congregations. Drawing on this mixture of Chartism, unorthodox socialism, and religious millenarianism, Catherine Bramby wrote "The Demand for the Emancipation of Woman, Politically and Socially" in 1847, published in the Barmby's periodical, New Tracts for the Times. There, in addition to calling for the political and social emancipation of women, she also urged "the ecclesiastical emancipation of woman".

Die 1848er in der Frauenbewegung, 1

 Die "Frauen von 1848"
 Forderung nach Abschaffung des Sonderstatus der Frauen gemäß dem Code Civil und Scheidungsrecht

Eugénie Niboyet (20. 3.): La Voix des femmes; Désirée Gay (Juni): La Politique des Femmes; Jeanne Deroin (Januar 1849): L'Opinion des femmes

Die 1848er in der Frauenbewegung, 2

 Jeanne-Marie Poinsard, genannt Jenny P. d'Héricourt (1809-1875): Société pour l'émancipation des femmes (Sekretärin)

« Émanciper la femme, c'est la reconnaître et la déclarer libre, l'égale de l'homme devant la loi sociale et morale et devant le travail »

Gegen «classification de l'espèce humaine soit en castes, en classes, en sexe» «La Femme affranchie, réponse à MM. Michelet, Proudhon, É. de Girardin, Legouvé, Comte et autres novateurs modernes », 1860 (engl. Übersetzung, Aufenthalt in den USA bis 1872)

- Comité des droits des femmes, Vorsitz Allix Bourgeois fordert Wahlrecht
- April 1848: Club des femmes, , Vorsitz Eugénie Niboyet (später: wg. Störung der öff. Ordnung geschlossen)

In Deutschland (-> liberaler ,Vormärz'):

Louise Aston oder Luise Dittmar versuchen Zeitschriften zu gründen, die sich der Sache der Frauen widmen; Luise Otto gründet die erfolgreich die *Frauen-Zeitung* (1849-1852), die sich an die Mittelschicht richtet und für ökonomische Forderungen eintritt: Frauenbildung, ökonomische Unabhängigkeit und das Recht zur Verweigerung arrangierter Ehen.

Frauenbewegung in den USA

- In den USA (zeitgleich in den 1840ern)
- Radikalprotestantische Ansätze (Quakers)
- Abolitionistische Verbindungen
- Seneca Falls Convention (Lucretia C. Mott / Elisabeth Cady Stanton: 1848):
 Declaration of Sentiments
- National Women's Rights Convention, Worcester, Mass., mit mehr als 1,000
 TeilnehmerInnen, anschließend jährlich (nicht 1857) bis einschl. 1860

(1861-1865: Civil War)

- 1869, Mai: Susan B. Anthony/Elisabeth Cady Stanton initiieren National Woman Suffrage Organisation (Ziel: Constitutional Amendment)
- 1869, November: Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell u.a. initiieren *American Woman Suffrage Association* (Ziel: Verfassungsänderungen in den Einzelstaaten)
- 1890: Vereinigung zur National American Woman Suffrage Association
- 1896: National Association of Colored Women

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to law in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men, both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right as a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead. He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master-the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes and, in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of the women-the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation, in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

Das Denken der Frauenbewegungund die 1848er Revolution

The revolutions of 1848 created unprecedented opportunities for the expression of feminist ideas in France and Germany. These revolutions sought to expand political rights to middle-class and working-class citizens.

In France the Revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic (1848-1852) established universal male suffrage, creating a strong opening for feminists to call for women's suffrage rights.

Jeanne Deroin

Jeanne Deroin (1805-1894) was a vigorous leader of that call. At the beginning of the revolution in February 1848, she left her husband, Saint-Simonian M. Desroches, placed their three children with women friends in Paris, and, using her own family name so as not to implicate her husband, entered the maelstrom of revolutionary political activism. Drawing on her involvement with Saint-Simonian socialism in the 1830s, her working-class background, and her experience in founding a working-class co-educational school, she wrote petitions and articles, founded clubs, journals, and economic associations, and tried to run for legislative office. As a staff member of La Voix des Femmes in 1848, she championed the political rights of women. In 1848 she founded Opinion des Femmes, where in 1849 she published a series of articles on women's rights and workers' rights before the government forced her to stop publishing the periodical.

Anne Knight

British feminist Anne Knight described the Parisian revolution in a letter to Richard Cobden: "I heard the shout of the people-king, and the din of martial music and guns up the Champs Elysée from my window, and a man said, `Louis-Philippe is no longer king.'"[21] Having emigrated to France in 1846, Knight participated in the revolution by circulating feminist demands. She and Jeanne Deroin co-authored letters to prominent male politicians calling for women's rights, and Knight wrote letters that asserted women's historic right to public assembly in Britain, France, and America.

In 1851 Knight returned to England, where she continued to promote women's rights- Drawing on networks in the Chartist movement in the early industrial city of Sheffield, in 1851 she organized the Sheffield Female Political Association, the first such organization in Great Britain.

Louise Otto, 1

In Germany the Revolution of 1848-1849 produced similar uprisings on behalf of expanded civil, political, and economic rights, and there too women's voices emerged to urge women to claim a place in public life.

Louise Otto (1819-1895) illustrated that process in her weekly periodical, *Frauen-Zeitung* (Women's Journal), which was the longest-running feminist publication of the era, beginning in 1849 and continuing to 1852. There she urged that "In the midst of the great revolutions in which we find ourselves, women will find themselves forgotten, if they forget to think of themselves!"

Louise Otto, 2

Otto exemplified themes that were prominent in the lives of midnineteenth feminists. Prohibited from continuing school beyond the age of 15, she taught herself by reading contemporary literature. Recognizing the importance of political changes then underway, she wrote in 1847, "There is a vitality and a striving in our time which there has never been before." She traveled as a young woman, leaving her small town to explore the thirty-seven small German states as well as the two large ones of Prussia and Austria. She attended workers congresses and first gained a public voice by writing articles for workers' newspapers. She married a man she met in the socialist movement, and joined a radical religious congregation that brought the authority of Christian religious traditions to her political activity.

Louise Otto, 3

- Louise Otto's writings reflected German political culture, especially its conservative views of women's identities. Partly to make her writings more acceptable within that culture, Otto rejected the "femme libre" of Saint-Simonian socialism, rejected the term "emancipation" for German women, and insisted that female liberation did not imply sexual licentiousness.
- After the failed revolutions of 1848-1849, Prussia and other German states passed legislation prohibiting the participation of apprentices and women in political groups (*Vereingesetz*). Aspects of these laws were included in Prussia's anti-socialist legislation of 1878, which prohibited women's participation in political groups. Although the bans against socialist groups were lifted in the 1890s, those against women remained in force until 1908.

Frauenbewegung in Großbritannien

- Großbritannien
- Erfolgreiche Frauenbildungsbewegung (u.a. mit Unterstützung von Henry Sidgwick)
- Erfolge in der Mittelschicht
- Bedeutung der Klassenkämpfe

Harriet Taylor

- Harriet Taylor (1807-1858), one of the most influential British advocates of women's rights at mid-century, though familiar with and attracted to Owenite socialism, wrote about women's legal, economic, and political rights in ways that accepted many more aspects of contemporary social organization than did most socialists. Addressing an emerging consensus of Anglo-American feminists, Taylor's 1851 essay, "Enfranchisement of Women" introduced British readers to the women's rights conventions then underway in the United States.
- Taylor and other middle-class feminists did not rely on material and political considerations alone; they buttressed their arguments with ethical and religious values. For Taylor and many others those values were <u>Unitarian</u>. Founded by Joseph Priestly (1773-1804) in the 1790s, English Unitarianism attracted primarily a middle-class and upper-middle-class free-thinking constituency, who substituted a single rational deity for the mystical Christian trinity of God, Jesus, and the Holy Ghost. With the possible exception of Quakers, Unitarians embraced gender equality more readily than other Protestant groups.

John Stuart Mill

- J.S. Mill (unter Rückgriff auf Diskussionen mit Harriet Taylor?): The Subjection of Women (1869)
- in 1850, he wrote her, "it is almost like ourselves speaking--outspoken like America, not frightened & servile like England--not the least iota of compromise--asserting the whole of the principle and claiming the whole of the consequences."

Eine Deutschamerikanische 1848erin

Mathilde Anneke (1847): Das Weib in Konflikt mit den sozialen Verhaltnissen

Rede auf der 1869 Equal Rights Association convention in New York

We are no longer in the beginning of history—that age which was a constant struggle with nature, misery, ignorance, helplessness, and every kind of bondage. The moral idea of the State struggles for that fulfillment in which all individuals shall be brought into a union which shall augment a million-fold both its individual and collective force. Therefore, don't exclude us—don't exclude woman—don't exclude the whole half of the human family. Receive us—begin the work in which a new era shall dawn. In all great events we find that woman has a guiding hand—let us stay near you now, when humanity is concerned. Man has the spirit of truth, but woman alone has passion for it. All creations need love—let us, therefore, celebrate a union from which shall spring the morning of freedom for humanity. Give us our rights in the State. Honor us as your equals, and allow us to use the rights which belong to us, and which reason commands us to use. Whether it be prudent to enfranchise woman, is not the question—only whether it be right. What is positively right, must be prudent, must be wise, and must, finally, be useful. Give the lie to the monarchically disposed statesman, who says the republic of the United States is only an experiment, which earlier or later will prove a failure. Give the lie to such hopes, I say, by carrying out the whole elevated idea of the republic—by calling the entire, excluded half of mankind and every being endowed with reason, to the ballot-box, which is the people's holy palladium.

Frauenwahlrecht in den USA

- 1893: Colorado
- 1896: Utah und Idaho
- 1910: Washington State
- 1911: Kalifornien
- 1912: Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona
- 1913: Alaska und Illinois
- 1914: Montana und Nevada
- 1917: New York
- 1918: Michigan, South Dakota und Oklahoma
- 1919/20: Amendment zur Verfassung der USA

Sozialistische Frauenbewegung

- Marx/ Engels: Deutsche Ideologie:
 Arbeitsteilung im Geschlechtsakt (gestrichen)
- Friedrich Engels: Der Ursprung der Familie
- August Bebel: Die Frau und der Sozialismus