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ANTIFEMINISM AND NATIONAL DIFFERENCES: THE GERMAN LEAGUE FOR THE PREVENTION OF WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION AND THE U. S. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE, 1911-1920

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ABSTRACT

ANTIFEMINISM AND NATIONAL DIFFERENCES:
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This comparative analysis of early twentieth-century organized antifeminist movements in the U.S. and Germany utilizes close readings of both movements' journals and polemical pamphlets to demonstrate the affinities between the two groups. The case study is placed in the broader context of historiographical controversy about Germany's purported problematic divergence from the Anglo-American model of a liberal modernity (the so-called *Sonderweg* debate). The thesis not only documents in detail the similarities between German and American antifeminists' rhetoric and strategies, but also the actual exchanges of information and support across the Atlantic. At the same time, the thesis moves the *Sonderweg* debate to new ground by examining the historically specific intersections between antifeminism and racism and antisemitism in the two national contexts.

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a lifetime of encouragement, for the openness of her mind, and for always having time to sit up until the wee hours of the morning discussing my work. My deepest thanks go to my husband, Karl, who has spent innumerable hours walking with me in the woods in all kinds of inclement weather while I tried to work out the details of this thesis. Without his continuous questioning and his never-failing ability to make me laugh this thesis would not have been possible.

In 1912 a group of Germans, organized by a professor from Weimar, formed the German League for the Prevention of Women's Emancipation. The League, through the publication of pamphlets and a newletter, argued vehemently against women's advancement in education, employment, and politics, stressing instead the need for them to remain in their proper place, in the world of "*Kinder, Kueche, und Kirche.*" The League, in both its organization and -rhetoric, presents historians with an opportunity to investigate the connections between antifeminism, feminism, racism, and nationalism in the modern world.[1] Unfortunately, an examination of the League has not been utilized to historicize and analyze the connections between racism, sexism, nationalism and "modernity". It has, instead, been harnessed to theories of Germany's "uniqueness" - theories which posit that the sexism, racism, and nationalism found in the League's rhetoric and writing are evidence of a uniquely German pattern of illiberalism which ultimately culminated in Nazism.

A comparison between this German league and the National

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[1]Too often, for example, scholars assume an intrinsic and transhistorical connection between antifeminism and/or sexism and racism and/or antisemitism. A classic recent example if provided by Silke Beinssen-Hesse "Weininger and the Time-Honored Analogy between the Inferiority of Women and Jews," in John Milful (ed.), Why Germany? : national socialist anti-semitism and the European context (Providence: Berg Publishers, 1993): 9-28.

Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in America will show this conclusion is exceptionally problematic. In addition to sharing common assumptions regarding gender and race, the two groups were similar in composition, utilized similar tactics, and exchanged information and theories across their national boundaries. The presence of two anti-feminist groups, one on each side of the Atlantic, who perceived themselves as participating in similar struggles against a similar enemy should not only serve as a cautionary sign to historians trying to posit a separate (racist and sexist) path for German development, it should also demonstrate some of the complex ways in which gender and race can be, have been, and are used in the modern world.

Historicizing gender, for example, has become a fruitful endeavor for scholars seeking to reveal both its complexity and its artificiality. The resulting analyses demonstrate that rather than being a biological fact which exists a priori of and distant from power relations, gender both constructs and is constructed by cultural, economic, and political forces.[2] It is, in other words, constantly contested and central to power relations. Biddy Martin expresses this relationship when, in her analysis of "Femininity, Modernity, and Feminism", she asserts that:

> The so-called woman question was at the heart of the development and legitimation of a range of

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[2]For a theoretical analysis of gender see Joan Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York:Columbia University Press, 1988).

> knowledge and social practice in Wilhelminian Germany. It was posed in many diverse discursive and institutional fields and answered legally, politically, aesthetically, and medically by antifeminist politicians, scholars, and doctors in ways that situated the identity of woman at the center of political struggles over sexuality, economics, governance, and national identity.[3]

The processes of social, cultural, and economic change which brought gender into the ideological forefront were not confined to Wilhelminian Germany. The changes themselves and the resulting contests over gender identity were, rather, enmeshed in the process of modernity itself, affecting other "modern" nation-states as well.[4] What is remarkable about Martin's analysis is her application of this gendered modernity thesis to Germany, a country typically viewed by many historians as plagued by anti-modernism.

The impulse to brand aspects of German ideological and political development as anti-modern and to argue that Germany's path to "modernization" was flawed is understandable. It isolates the phenomenon of National Socialism and the Holocaust outside modernity. In effect it reassures us that it could not happen in any of the "modern", "liberal" countries and, presumably, could not happen again in

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[3]Biddy Martin, Woman and Modernity:The (Life)Styles of Lou Andreas-Salome (Ithaca:Cornell University Press, 1991), 141.

[4]Much of the groundbreaking scholarship on the workings of gender within the modern nation-state has been carried out by scholars working with Britain. See, for instance, Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments:The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago:The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

Germany as it is seen as having reached a "safe" level of "modernization". The alternative, best posed by Detlev Peukert, that Nazism rose out of contradictions inherent in modernity itself, is truly frightening.[5]

This idea that Germany followed a special path of development, a "*Sonderweg*", has held a powerful sway in the field of German history since it emerged in the 1960s, becoming what one historian called as early as 1976 the "new orthodoxy".[6] This *Sonderweg* thesis which holds that Germany's development was stunted by continuing traditions of militarism, authoritarianism, and illiberalism argues against the association of Germany and modernity. Instead it asserts that Germany's "modernization" was incomplete and hopelessly flawed. It also assumes that the emergence of Nazism in Germany was the product of long-term continuities in Germany's supposedly uniquely authoritarian and illiberal tradition (rather than the product of a particular conjunction of circumstances in the Weimar era). Ultimately, however, this thesis obscures more than it clarifies. Increasingly

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[5]See Detlev Peukert, The Weimar Republic:The Crisis of Classical Modernity (New York:Hill and Wang, 1992). Peukert argues that the "non-democratic tendencies in Germany" which led to the Third Reich "did not so much go back to a persisting reactionary tradition as arise quite functionally out of the structures and problems of modern civilisation." This conclusion, in turn, leads Peukert to argue for a "de-coupling" of progress (particularly with regard to humanitarianism and emancipation) and modernity (social, economic, and technological advancement.)

[6]James Sheehan, in a review in Journal of Modern History, Vol. 48, no. 3 (1976), 566-7.

problematic is the tendency merely to take its existence for granted and, through one's research, to carve out another aspect of German ideology, social development, or politics that demonstrates this "uniqueness". In most cases this is done with little or no analysis of the "liberal" countries, usually France, Britain or the United States, which provide the model for "modernization".[7]

One major problem with the *Sonderweg* thesis is that it assumes that the much-vaunted "bourgeois liberalism" of Britain and the United States is, in fact, "liberal" in its belief in individualism, human rights, equality, and tolerance. This assumption, however, fails to acknowledge the critique of American liberalism recently being carried out by a variety of historians. A number of these scholars have particularly worked to show how problematic American liberalism's relationship to "race" and racism has been. The racism of many American liberals reveals a critical flaw in *Sonderweg* theories which tend to see liberalism as an inoculation against racism. Liberal individuals may have believed in the equality of "individuals" but this recognition co-existed in many cases with the acceptance of inequality for certain groups whose individual identities were perpetually subsumed under their racial or ethnic status. As Evelyn Higginbotham makes clear, race serves as a "metalanguage" in

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[7]Many of the problems with utilizing the "Sonderweg" thesis were analyzed by David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley in their Peculiarities of German History (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1984).

America, masking real differences among both individual whites and individual African Americans. The result is a situation in which "the collective image of the race" has come to be the filter through which each individual African American is viewed.[8]

As Carroll Smith-Rosenberg persuasively argues in her analysis of the production of an "American" identity (male, white, and middle-class) following the Revolutionary War, the always unstable terrain on which identity is formulated depends on the construction of the racial and gendered "other" for its own coherence. This need perpetually to shore up the self by continually re-generating "others" may help explain why it has been so difficult for liberalism's promise of equality between all individuals to be extended to members of those gendered and racial categories.[9] Also in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the production of individual and group identities continued to rely on ideological constructions of race and gender. Gail Bederman's analysis of the construction of masculinity in the period from 1880-1917, for example, demonstrates that producing and manipulating ideas regarding masculinity, gender and race was a strategy utilized by political actors across the political

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[8]See Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," Signs Vol. 17, no. 2 (1992), 352.

[9]See Smith-Rosenberg, "Dis-covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786-1789," The Journal of American History Vol. 79, no. 3 (December 1992), 846.

spectrum.[10] Bederman's analysis is particularly insightful for her recognition of the complex interplay between race and gender in political strategies, an interplay that I would argue limited the liberal vision of a variety of self-styled reformers and stunted liberalism's ability to work toward the goal of true racial and gender equality. Even movements which are often touted as successes of America's expansive liberal philosophy such as the abolitionist movement and the suffrage movement were not free from racism and can hardly be used as evidence of "liberal" victories.[11]

In addition to being extremely problematic with regard to race, liberalism in America has also had serious shortcomings with regard to women's rights. This is because the notion of "universal" human rights on which liberalism claimed to be

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[10]See Gail Bederman, "Manhood and 'Civilization:' American Debates About Race and Gender, 1880-1917", PhD Diss. (Brown University, 1993). See also, Bederman, " 'Civilization,' the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness, and Ida B. Wells's Antilynching Campaign (1892-92)," Radical History Review 52 (Winter 1992): 5-32.

[11]For an analysis of the racism in the suffrage movement see Angela Y. Davis, Women, Race and Class (New York:Vintage Books, 1981), Barbara Hilkery Andolsen, "Daughters of Jefferson, Daughters of Bootblack":Racism and American Feminism (Macon:Mercer University Press, 1986) and Nancie Caraway, Segregated Sisterhood:Racism and the Politics of American Feminism (Knoxville:University of Tennessee Press, 1991). For an analysis of the ways in which anti-slavery ideology was used in support of racist imperialism see Michael Salman, "The United States and the End of Slavery in the Philippines, 1898-1914:A Study of Imperialism, Ideology and Nationalism" Vol. 1 and 2, PhD diss. (Stanford University, 1993). For an analysis of the racism of antiimperialists and "progressive" liberals in early twentieth-century America see George Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind:The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914 (New York:Harper and Row, 1971), 283-319.

based was, and in many ways still is, a gendered concept constructed on ideas of sexual difference and the exclusion of women.[12] What the "model" Western countries against which Germany is so often compared and found wanting demonstrate is that "modernization" and liberalism may themselves produce and institutionalize gender inequality. Susan Kent argues, for example, that liberal ideology in Britain actually rested on the unequal sexual order the suffragettes were fighting, an assertion which makes positive connections between liberalism and feminism difficult at best.[13] Given this, gender studies may, ultimately, emerge as a powerful tool for undermining the hegemony of the *Sonderweg* thesis.

It is, therefore, ironic that early forays into gender issues were merely grafted onto that thesis. Early historians of feminism in Germany, such as Richard Evans, rooted their discussions in the theory of the German *Sonderweg*, describing

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[12]For an analysis of the ways in which the bourgeois public sphere and liberal political theory were based on, and constructed on, the exclusion of women see Joan Landes, Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution (Ithaca:Cornell University Press, 1988) and Joan Wallach Scott, "French Feminists and the Rights of 'Man':Olympe de Gouges's Declarations," History Workshop, Issue 28 (Autumn, 1989), 1-21. See also Carole Pateman, The Sexual Contract (Stanford University Press, 1988).

[13]See, for instance, Susan Kent's analysis of the suffrage movement in Britain in Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860-1914 (Princeton:Princeton University Press, 1987). Liberalism could also prove problematic to feminist activity in other ways. See, for instance, Steven Hause's Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic (Princeton:Princeton University Press, 1984) in which he argues that the French feminists' commitment to the Third Republic led them to narrow their feminist vision so as not to threaten and potentially topple the Republic.

German bourgeois feminism as a conservative, "illiberal" movement which argued for women's rights on the basis of gender difference, utilized eugenic arguments and was "in general so backward and so unsuccessful compared to its Anglo-Saxon counterparts".[14] While other historians are utilizing feminist theory and comparative history to break down the idea of a German feminist *Sonderweg*,[15] both Evans' theories and

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[14]Richard Evans, "Feminism and Female Emancipation in Germany 1870-1945:Sources, Methods, and Problems of Research," Central European History Vol. 9, no. 4 (1976), 336. Ironically, Evans' own comparative feminist history, The Feminists:Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America and Australasia, 1840-1920 (Beverly Hills:Sage Publication Inc., 1976), provides the best evidence that a feminist "Sonderweg" is untenable for he is unable to get Britain or the United States to fit his developmental model. The model posits a movement from moderate feminism (focused on economic, educational and legal reform) to radical feminism (focused exclusively on suffrage), a thesis which forces him to write off all the efforts to obtain suffrage which pre-date the later 1890s as a "premature radicalisation" (66). That both the United States and Britain underwent this "premature radicalisation" does not, surprisingly, lead Evans to question his thesis.

[15]For a corrective to Evans' analysis see Ann Taylor Allen, Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914 (New Brunswick:Rutger University Press, 1991) which argues, through comparison with the United States, that the bourgeois feminist movement in Germany was not alone in its use of maternalist arguments or its use of eugenics. Allen's analysis is particularly useful for demonstrating the ways that feminists have historically used "equality" and "difference" arguments as complementary (rather than competing) elements within their ideology and practice. Historians in other areas are also battling back the "Sonderweg". See for instance, Tom Taylor, "Images of Youth and the Family in Wilhelmine Germany:Toward a Reconsideration of the German 'Sonderweg'," in German Studies Review (Winter, 1992):55-74. Taylor argues that it is modernization itself, rather than stunted modernization, that produced such things as youth suicide in Wilhelmine Germany and that the middle-class family in Imperial Germany was not any more patriarchal than its counterparts in other countries. Taylor's analysis is particularly important as the presumed authoritarianism of the middle-class family has been blamed

the idea of a *Sonderweg* continue to be uncritically utilized by historians working in other areas of gender studies, such as anti-feminism. The continued use of this paradigm, particularly in areas such as anti-feminism (not to mention the study of racism or antisemitism), has implications beyond the national history of Germany.

The implicit assumption among historians utilizing or accepting the *Sonderweg* thesis and its counterpart, "modernization" theory, is that gender inequality is fundamentally incompatible with "progressive", "liberal" development.[16] Anti-feminism in this paradigm becomes an aberration. The constitutive centrality of gender and gender inequality to modernity is thus obscured, marginalizing the formative role that discourses over gender play both historically and within historical analysis. The implicit assumptions regarding gender in the *Sonderweg* thesis are not, therefore, merely an issue for German history or for feminist history. By using gender analysis to battle back the *Sonderweg* thesis, historians are not merely rescuing Germany from historical misdevelopment, they are also rescuing anti-feminism and gender inequality from marginalization within the discourse on modernity. Like the discourse on modernity, however, the development of the discourse on anti-feminism is

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for perpetuating and adding to the authoritarianism of German society at large.

[16]It also assumes that equality can (and will) be achieved without a major reworking of capitalist society and the industrial class relations it produces.

not without its problems.

The latest addition to the study of German anti-feminism, Diane Trosino's "Anti-Feminism in Germany, 1912-1920:The German League for the Prevention of Women's Emancipation", demonstrates the pitfalls of positioning discussions of anti-feminism within a body of scholarship attempting to show Germany's peculiarities. Trosino's general conclusion, that the German League for the Prevention of Women's Emancipation (the Anti-League, for short) was not marginal to gender discourse but, rather, operated as a countermovement which influenced the process and construction of the feminist discourse, is sound. It is, in fact, advanced in its recognition that gender discourse emerges through a process of contestation. The problem with her analysis is that while she is attempting to rescue the Anti-League from marginalization she fails to question Evans' notion that German feminism was "so backward". In short, Trosino does not merge her argument that the anti-feminists helped push the feminists rightward with a critique of the *Sonderweg*.

In her introduction, Trosino asserts that "in light of the 'uniqueness' of German history," she will attempt to answer the question "was German anti-feminism unique?".[17] She does, in fact, address this question and even includes a sporadic comparison of anti-feminism in Germany, Britain and

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[17]Diane Joan Trosino, "Anti-feminism in Germany, 1912-1920:The German League for the Prevention of Women's Emancipation," PhD Dissertation (Claremont Graduate School, 1992), ix.

the United States. Trosino's comparisons, however, are too superficial and, consequently, lead her to a very tenuous conclusion regarding German anti-feminism.

Trosino thus asserts that German anti-feminism during the period under consideration was indeed "unique", distinct from both the British and American models, and (again in classic *Sonderweg* mode) that there was a strong continuity of anti-feminist thought between this early anti-feminist league and subsequent National Socialism. Tellingly, the aspects of German anti-feminism that Trosino finds "unique" are its racism (anti-semitism), nationalism, and concern over the birthrate, elements critical to the National Socialist ideology.[18] In sum, by positing both "peculiarity" and continuity Trosino develops her own version of the *Sonderweg* thesis which sees in the Anti-League's ideology a uniquely German phenomenon, at once anti-feminist, racist, nationalist, and "anti-modern".[19]

A deeper comparison between the rhetoric of the German Anti-League and the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in America will show that this conclusion is untenable and that these anti-feminist movements were

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[18]Trosino, 210-211. Trosino claims that German anti-feminists differed in their anti-socialism in the abstract of her dissertation but does not argue this in her dissertation perhaps because her own sources on American feminism demonstrate that American antis utilized anti-socialist arguments as a critical part of their discourse.

[19]On the Anti-League's supposed "anti-modernism", see Trosino, 205.

surprisingly similar in composition, tactics, and ideology.[20] This was so in spite of the fact that the American organization was expressly organized to prevent woman's suffrage, while the German group sought to combat a wider range of feminist reforms (all of which, however, they feared would culminate in suffrage). While this is not to deny national peculiarities in both cases, the two groups shared common assumptions regarding gender, race, and the incompatibility of individualism and the modern nation-state. The similarities between these two movements, which also swapped information and theories across the Atlantic, should reveal that German anti-feminism was neither unique, nor even anti-modern, in its merging of sexism and racism, and in its appeals to nationalism. This, in turn, should lead us to ponder what the relationship is between modernity and these simultaneously national and international discourses.

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[20]The discourses that emerged in both these anti movements could often be internally contradictory and argue on all sides of one issue, for instance, arguing that suffrage would "unsex" women while simultaneously arguing it would cause a "sex war" or simultaneously arguing that women would duplicate their husband's votes and that women would vote as one threatening bloc. The most compelling explanation for this contradictory rhetoric is that it was a tactical maneuver by the antis who were aware of, and sought to mobilize, numerous arguments against women's emancipation. See Anne M. Benjamin, A History of the Anti-Suffrage Movement in the United States From 1895 to 1920:Women Against Equality (Lewiston:Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 192-200. For additional analyses of American anti-suffragism see Jane Jerome Camhi, Women Against Women:American Anti-Suffragism, 1880-1920 (New York:Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1994) and Thomas J. Jablonsky, The Home, Heaven, and Mother Party:Female Anti-Suffragists in the United States, 1868-1920 (New York:Carlson Publishing Co., Inc., 1994).

The German Anti-League was founded in 1912 by Friedreich Sigismund, a professor from Weimar, who unified a group of like-minded individuals, both male and female, under his leadership.[21] Trosino estimates that during the life span of the Anti-League women composed approximately 22.5% of the total membership and that 18.8% of the league officers were women.[22] By 1914, seventeen local branches had been established with membership numbers which ranged from the required ten to possibly one hundred. The executive committee also grew in size from an initial 7 to 40 within a year.[23] The committee was regularly composed of both men and women but the presidency was typically held by a man. On only one occasion did a woman, Baroness Ida von Meerheimb of Rostock, hold the post of President in the Anti-League, and then only for a five-month period between February to July 1919.[24] Overall, Trosino estimates that while the exact size of the German Anti-League is impossible to determine, it may have reached membership numbers in the range of 2,500 to 5,000.[25] The Anti-League itself lasted through 1919 when, after the granting of woman suffrage by the Weimar Republic, it was reorganized into "The League for the Renewal of the

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[21]Trosino, 26.

[22]Ibid., 122-127.

[23]Ibid., 73-74.

[24]Ibid., 128.

[25]Ibid., 78-79.

German Race" which aimed at preserving gender divisions and the German family. The new league appears to have lasted only a few months into 1920.[26]

The American Anti-League was founded in November of 1911 and, unlike the German Anti-League, had a membership composed exclusively of women. American men organized themselves in several other anti-suffrage organizations.[27]The appeal to anti-suffrage women was, in the American case, highly successful and by 1916 there were 25 state affiliates with a claimed membership of 350,000, a membership figure 70 times higher than Trosino's top estimate for membership in the German Anti-League.[28] Like the German Anti-League, the American Anti-League ceased to exist, as such, shortly after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment by the House of Representatives. Its journal was transformed into a weekly periodical, The Woman Patriot, which was aimed at defending

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[26]Ibid., 196-199. Trosino argues the reorganized League failed to survive because they could not weather the "incredible political pressures which they faced nor the economic damage done by inflation and high employment."

[27]Men's organizations were formed in Massachusetts, Columbus, and Milwaukee and the Woman's Protest called for the forming of similar leagues in other locations. See Woman's Protest 1/4 (August 1912), 5. See also Susan E. Marshall, "In Defense of Separate Spheres:Class and Status Politics in the Antisuffrage Movement," Social Forces Vol. 65, no. 2 (December, 1986), 330-331.

[28]Marshall, "In Defense of Separate Spheres," 330. Population statistics indicate that in 1911 Germany had a total population of 63,886,000 and America had a population approximately one and a half times as large with 93,471,648 people. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts (Press Pub. Co., 1911), 557.

the home and the nation from woman suffrage, feminism and socialism. The Woman Patriot lasted until 1932.[29]

The two movements were remarkably similar in their bourgeois and upper-class composition and historians of both groups have stressed the class and status concerns of both the male and female members of the groups.[30] Trosino's analysis of partial membership rosters for the German Anti-League demonstrate that 57.9% of members with listed occupations were in the services and professions, 8.8% in industry, and 6.1% in commerce.[31] The status analysis is more revealing as women are grouped in the appropriate categories. This analysis demonstrates that 81.3% of the members were of either high-level or mid-level status, levels which include the traditional middle-class categories.[32]

Historians working with the American Anti-League,

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[29]Susan Marshall, "Ladies Against Women:Mobilization Dilemmas of Antifeminist Movements," Social Problems, Vol. 32, no. 4 (April 1985), 354-355.

[30]See Trosino, 31 and 143-146 and Marshall, "In Defense of Separate Spheres" for an analysis of the class and status motivations of the German and American antis. The bourgeois feminists' groups had similar class memberships.

[31]Trosino, 234. The majority of women participants are not included in these figures as they occupy the traditional position of middle-class women in occupational lists as "others" (16.7%).

[32]Trosino, 235. These categories include:officers, officials, teachers, professionals, lawyers, managers, merchants, and mid-level salaried employees. Another 14.6% were drawn from individuals of elite status, which includes top officers, officials, business elites, estate holders, and high nobility. Only 0.6% was drawn from artisans, workers, peasants, and lower officials (3.5% unknown).

unfortunately, do not even have the benefit of partially reconstructed membership lists and have, consequently, had to rely on the rhetoric and activities, along with the names of top officials, to attempt to reconstruct a class analysis of the Anti-League. The conclusion has, however, been that "the bulk of antisuffrage participants were drawn from middle-class communities."[33] This is not particularly surprising as many middle-class and upper-class women saw both their class and gender identity as resting on their roles as homemakers or society matrons, positions which they perceived as threatened by the blurring of the separate spheres ideology inherent in women's suffrage and other feminist reforms.[34]

The greatest difference between the memberships of the two groups was in their gender composition. The rhetorical and tactical outcomes wrought by this difference can, however, be overstated. Critically, in Sigismund's brochure "Women's Suffrage", which he claims played an important role in the founding of the German Anti-League, he expressed his regret that German women were not organizing themselves into anti-suffrage leagues like American women were.[35] Sigismund believed that female leadership of the Anti-League, modeled on the American anti-suffrage leagues' strategy, would increase the possibility of mobilizing other women in support of the

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[33]Marshall, "In Defense of Separate Spheres," 331.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Trosino, 26-27.

Anti-League. Ultimately, however, he attributed the inability to find a female leader to the "reserved nature of German women" and the German Anti-League resorted to using the American antis for propaganda purposes.[36] Thus, for instance, Professor Ludwig Langemann, another founding member of the Anti-League, remarked that:

> What is not known, for example, in Germany-- or which the largest part of the press stubbornly suppresses--is the fact that in the United States there are already women's associations with about 100,000 members which only pursue one purpose: to hinder the right of women to vote.[37]

In light of this inability to organize an all-female group in Germany, Sigismund claims to have patterned the German Anti-League after the English League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, which included both sexes.[38] The comparison to, and use of, American and English models in the founding of the German Anti-League is revealing as it establishes that, appeals to German uniqueness aside, German antis saw their own movement as situated within, and as part of, a larger, international

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[36]Sigismund quoted in Trosino, 32.

[37]Langemann,"Bewaehrt sich das Frauenstimmrecht im Auslande?," Monatsblatt 3/11 (November 1915), 1.
The American Anti-League also used their all-female status as a weapon, making the question, "Why is it after 65 years of constant agitation, the woman suffrage cause is opposed by women themselves more vigorously than ever?" the number one question the women's suffrage associations need to answer. "Nineteen Questions for Suffragists to Answer," Woman's Protest 6/1 (November 1914), 8.

[38]Ibid., 33.

movement against feminism and suffrage in particular.[39]

The all-female composition of the American Anti-League can also be deceiving as mobilizing women for a number of key tasks remained difficult.[40] Just as the German antis only asked men to participate in trying to sway legislators on

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[39]On the issue of the German antis' appeals to nationalism and to Germany's national specificity it should be noted that it is not enough to take these at face value as they were a politically motivated rhetorical strategy (a strategy which was, and is, employed by other countries as well). As Margaret Anderson points out in her analysis of the voting habits in Imperial Germany, the Germans regularly billed themselves as a-political and yet eligible voters were extremely active in both voting and in party politics. See Margaret Anderson, "Voter, *Junker, Landrat*, Priest:The Old Authorities and the New Franchise in Imperial Germany," American Historical Review 98, no. 5 (December 1993):1448-1474. Separating the rhetorical strategies of the antis, which stressed their national uniqueness, from their actions raises the possibility that their motivation was not as much rooted in the deep-seated belief that Germany was different from other modern nations but rather may have arisen from the fear that, with respect to woman's suffrage, Germany might not be so unique at all.

[40]Both groups were also having general problems with regard to mobilization and complained of the indifference of the majority of women. Dr. Helene Hummel, speaking on behalf of the German Anti-League, summed up the sentiment when she tried to motivate women out of this "great indifference" by stating "Wake up! Do not let the great currents of life rush past you unheard! Participate and help us" Hummel quoted in, "Die freie Aussprache," Monatsblatt 1/11 (November 1913), 14. Grace D. Goodwin, speaking for the American antis, went so far as to blame suffrage victories on the indifference of women saying: "it is the States where the women have been too indifferent to organize that suffrage has carried." Goodwin, "Fundamentals of the Opposition to Suffrage for Women-Theory and Practice," Woman's Protest 2/5 (March 1913), 3.

Nonetheless, the indifference of the majority of women to the debate over suffrage was not as big a problem for the antis as it was for the suffragists. As the antis were claiming that the majority of women had no interest in politics and did not want to be involved, the silence of the vast majority lent weight to their claim that they represented, at least tacitly, the viewpoint of the women who preferred to remain silent on political questions.

suffrage,[41] so the American league found it hard to mobilize women to speak at the House debates on a federal suffrage amendment, ultimately recruiting only five women for the task.[42] Men were also frequent contributors of both articles and money to the American league and its publications, and, more importantly, male anti-suffrage organizations were often put in charge of the campaigns prior to state referenda and elections.[43]

The two groups were also similar in terms of their aims and tactics, although the difference in gender composition led to an increased use of "social" functions such as balls and banquets among the American women. The tactics of the German Anti-League, detailed in Langemann's "The German League for the Prevention of Women's Emancipation:Its Purpose and its

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[41]In an Anti-League pamphlet written by Ludwig Langemann, who also edited the League's monthly newsletter, he states: "The male members of the association have to influence the political parties and they must form better communication systems with the members of parliament." See Langemann, "Der Deutsche Bund zur Bekampfung der Frauenemanzipation:Seine Aufgaben und seine Arbeit," Schriften des Deutschen Bundes zur Bekampfung der Frauenemanzipation Nr. 1, 14. See also Trosino, 85.

[42]For a more detailed analysis of the mobilization problems facing female antis in America see Marshall, "Ladies Against Women." This particular example is drawn from p. 353.

[43]For instance, in a listing of activities carried out by the state organizations during 1916, it is noted that the Massachusetts Anti-League raised money "to meet the preliminary expenses of organizing a Men's National Association to assume political activities impossible for women to bear." See Woman's Protest 10/2 (December 1916), 15. The men's organizations against suffrage in Milwaukee and Columbus were also both formed in light of the pending state referenda. Woman's Protest 1/4 (August 1912), 5. See also Marshall, "Ladies Against Women," 349-354.

Work", included:lobbying by male members, reading feminist tracts for information, entering the fight in the newspapers by writing letters, only supporting political candidates who opposed women's suffrage, recruiting members and raising money.[44] The German Anti-League also held annual meetings which served as public forums for debate.[45] The ultimate aim of most of their endeavors was education through propaganda published in their pamphlets and newsletter, Monatsblatt des Deutschen Bundes zur Bekaempfung der Frauenemanzipation.

The same aim guided the tactics of the American Anti-League. The activities listed in the 1916 "Notes on the Year's Work" include:gathering data, circulating literature to libraries and county fairs, banquets, balls, recruiting members, forming junior leagues, and raising money.[46] In 1916 the league members also began holding public annual conventions to serve as education forums showcasing "prominent speakers".[47] Their monthly publication, The Woman's Protest, was also similar to the German Monatsblatt in function, as it served to inform the public on the "views" of the women's

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[44]Langemann, "Der Deutsche Bund," 13-15. Langemann uses the English Anti-Suffrage organization to demonstrate how much money can be raised, saying they raised the equivalent of 260,000 marks before they even put out a public appeal.

[45]Trosino, 80-84.

[46]"Notes on the Year's Work," Woman's Protest 10/2 (December 1916), 14-15.

[47]"Our First National Convention," Woman's Protest 9/6 (October 1916), 3. Prior to this their regular annual meetings were closed meetings designed for business such as the reading of reports and electing officers.

suffrage organizations, advertise pamphlets and books by members or authors with anti positions, update readers on the ongoing and pending struggles, and to convey their own reasons for opposing women's suffrage and/or changes in women's opportunities. Both organizations also stressed the need for a "positive" program in spite of their "anti" labels. As Manuela Thurner has effectively argued in the case of the American anti-suffragists, they were not advocating the traditional public/private gender division in which women were not publicly or politically active. The anti-suffragists were, in fact, dedicated to women's public activism and social reform. Charitable, philanthropic and educational activities were considered acceptable and necessary endeavors for women in the public sphere. What was not considered acceptable was women's involvement in partisan politics which the antis believed would undermine the moral authority on which their public activism was based.[48]

The Woman's Protest described the women leading the anti

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[48]Manuela Thurner, " 'Better Citizens without the Ballot': American AntiSuffrage Women and Their Rationale During the Progressive Era," Journal of Women's History Vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring, 1993): 33-60. See also Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," in Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (eds.), Unequal Sisters:A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History (New York:Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1990): 66-91. Baker argues that separate political spheres and cultures were crucial to many 19th-century women reformers and remained so for the antis into the 20th century. As these women perceived both the legitimation and the success of their political activity as being based on a non-partisan moral imperative, suffrage was seen as undermining the entire structure on which women's political participation was based.

movement as "well known for their work in municipal, civic, educational, and philanthropic lines."[49] Similarly, Baroness Ida von Meerheimb, one-time President of the German Anti-League, was an orphanage matron and active in leading charitable organizations.[50] One of the founding vice-presidents of the German League, Hermine Schneider, was also publicly active, writing books and founding a horticultural school for girls.[51] Efforts to establish a "positive" program along the lines drawn out in the Monatsblatt involved:

> promoting a genuine life for women, furthering women's education and the truly feminine occupations for earning a living, and participating in charitable efforts, and work projects of a social-ethical nature.[52]

That the need for a "positive" program was a concern of the American antis can be seen in their invitation to members to join their first annual convention which:

> will not be devoted exclusively to antisuffrage propaganda. The speakers have been asked to bring out constructive and practical ideas...with special regard to the aspirations and achievements of woman.[53]

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[49]The Woman's Protest 1/1 (May 1912), 3.

[50]Trosino, 127.

[51]Ibid., 128.

[52]"Zum Geleit," Monatsblatt 1/1 (January 1913), 1. Among the acceptable occupations were teaching (presumably teaching females "female" subjects) and doctoring. See: "Frauenbewegung und Frauenbildungsfrage," Monatsblatt 1/1 (January 1913), 1. The concern over the need for a positive program can also be seen in Langemann's "Der Deutsche Bund" (4) where he encourages social welfare work and gainful "feminine occupations" for single girls.

[53]"Our First National Convention," 3.

Tactics and programs aside, the most striking similarity between the two movements is to be found in their rhetorical arguments. First and foremost they shared a similar conception of women's nature, where it came from and what it meant in terms of what was appropriate for "normal" women. For both groups of antis, women's nature was overdetermined by God, nature, and biology. In some cases ethics and morality were also singled out as factors defining womanhood.[54]

Typically, these "sources" of womanhood were used simultaneously or in conjunction with one another. Professor Dr. Woltersdorff, the chairman of the Schleswig Local Branch of the German Anti-League, summed it up when he stated, "religious morality, human ethics and the biological-natural

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[54]While women, particularly married women, were usually portrayed as highly moral and altruistic they were, on occasion, portrayed as overindulgent women who ruined their families by chasing their husbands out of the house ("Schlusswort von Pfarrer Julius Werner," Monatsblatt 1/11 (November 1913), 14-15) or as not deserving of the moral high ground (Langemann, "Was ist Frauenemanzipation, und in welchem Verhaeltnis steht sie zur Frauenbewegung?," Monatsblatt 2/7 and 8 (July, 1914),4). The latter charge was aimed specifically at undermining the German feminists' arguments (similar to those made by American feminists) that the more moral women would clean up the political corruption. This claim was actively refuted in both journals. In the American journals this was done through the use of comparisons of laws passed by the American western suffrage states and the non-suffrage states in the east which aimed to show that politics in woman suffrage states was as, if not more, immoral than in non-woman suffrage states. In the German journal this claim was refuted by summarizing these American anti "findings". For American examples see The Woman's Protest 1/6 (October 1912), 13-14 and "Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States are Compared," The Woman's Protest 2/2 (December 1912), 8-9. For German examples see Sigismund, "Frauenstimmrecht im Ausland," Monatsblatt 1/2 (February 1913), 2-3 and Langemann, "Bewaehrt sich das Frauenstimmrecht?," 1-3.

do not differ or diverge from each other, but are one and the same."[55] Women's emancipation went against nature, custom, religion and the "biologically based ties" necessary for the preservation of people and nations.[56] A woman, at least one who had not forsaken God, nature and biology, was characterized by "boundless altruism, devoted self-sacrifice, especially to those who are depending on her motherly love, her children and her husband."[57] These were the women both the Monatsblatt and The Woman's Protest claimed to represent: the majority of women who were either married with children or were still single but aspired to marriage and motherhood.[58]

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[55]"Frauenbewegung als Individualismus," Monatsblatt 1/2 (February, 1913), 4.

[56]Langemann, "Was ist Frauenemanzipation?," 2.

[57]Helmine Strosser quoted in Langemann, "Was ist Frauenemanzipation?," 3. For articles from the American antis which stress similar opinions regarding women's nature and its source see Louise Robertson, "The Fundamental Laws of Nature," The Woman's Protest 4/4 (February 1914), 5-6., "Suffrage a Battle Against God and Nature," The Woman's Protest 8/2 (December 1915), 10, Florence Goff Schwarz, "Nature's Warning to Suffragists," The Woman's Protest 9/4 (August 1916), 10. For an in-depth analysis of how religious, biological, and natural arguments worked together see Aileen Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York:Columbia University Press, 1965), 14-28.

[58]Great pains were taken by both groups to establish that married (unemployed) women were the vast, albeit silent, majority and that they were uninterested or opposed to becoming independent in an economic or political sense. Both journals, therefore, engaged in establishing statistics and stressing the small size of the suffrage organizations in both countries. Both arrived at the conclusion that within their respective countries approximately 90% of all women were not interested in political independence or, in the case of Germany, in need of expanded opportunities. See Goodwin, "Fundamentals," The Woman's Protest 2/5 (March 1913), 3, and Langemann "Der Deutsche Bund," 6-10.

In conjunction with this were their efforts to establish themselves as supporters of or as the "real" woman's movement. Langemann, for instance, stressed that the German Anti-League supported all women's associations which worked to lift the "real feminine spirit".[59] The American antis likewise argued that the "true woman's movement" would be one which recognized the "principle of a natural division of duties between the sexes," and "aimed at strengthening the woman in her normal, natural sphere".[60] The Americans explicitly represented themselves as leading the "real" woman's movement [61] even arguing that the suffrage movement could not be the real women's movement because it was "fathered by men", in this case European, socialist men.[62] They were, in other words,

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[59]Langemann, "Der Deutsche Bund," 4.

[60]Ethel Colquhoun,"Modern Feminism and Sex Antagonism," The Woman's Protest 4/2 (December 1913), 7.

[61]"Fifteenth Annual Report," (Illinois Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 1911), 2.

[62]"Woman Suffrage:A Socialistic Movement," Illinois Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage Bulletin #17 (1913), 3. The marital status of the women in the German Anti-League is difficult to assess. Trosino does not postulate on the percentage of women who were married which in all probability indicates she was unable to assess their marital status with any kind of certainly from available sources. She seems to assume that most of the women were married and notes that one fifth of the members of the League joined with their spouses (Trosino, 130). She refers to at least one of the members as Miss rather than Mrs. (Trosino, 129) but is otherwise silent on marital status. Historians working with the American antis are also relatively silent on actual percentages for married and single anti-suffragists, again probably due to the absence of membership rosters for the national organization. In her analysis of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, Louise L. Stevenson states that 79% of the of the Standing and Executive

the real women.

The women who were leading the feminist and suffrage organizations, in contrast, had forsaken God, nature and biology. They were not "normal" women and, in fact, there was some question as to whether or not they were women at all. They were the antithesis of everything that presumably characterized the predominantly married mothers who comprised the anti ranks. They were selfish, practical, violent, and, predominantly, single.[63] Both journals regularly portrayed the women's movements as being led by single women, for single women, in a manner which threatened and undermined the security and status of married women. As Langemann stressed, the true German ideal woman should not "be confused with the ideal of a young unmarried woman earning a living".[64] To Langemann the difference was plain: emancipated women were characterized by "egotism and individualism" and the wife was characterized by "unconditional self-sacrifice to the

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Committees were married women but does not give percentages for the rank-and-file membership. See Louise Stevenson, "Women Anti-suffragists in the 1915 Massachusetts Campaign," The New England Quarterly (March, 1979), 89.

[63]The issue of women's violence crops up repeatedly in the journals. Some argued that just the "idea" of suffrage made women aggressive, violent, and abusive in public (The Woman's Protest 1/3 (July 1912), 13). Accusations ran from suffragettes rioting and almost drowning a man in Illinois in the American newsletter, to a description in the German newsletter of how an American "amazon" in Seattle horsewhipped a judge. See The Woman's Protest 1/1 (May 1912), 4. and Sigismund, "Frauenstimmrecht im Auslande," Monatsblatt 1/2 (February 1913), 3.

[64]Langemann, "Die Gegnerinnen," Monatsblatt 1/5 (May 1913), 1.

assignment given her by God and nature."[65] Even in America, antis were arguing that suffrage legislation looked after the interests of the independent wage-earning woman at the expense of married women and the family.[66]

These "other" women, the women participating in the German women's movement and the suffrage movement in America, were, moreover, portrayed as physically ill and deranged. In both countries neurologists lent a hand in this assessment. Dr. Charles Dana, noted American neurologist, argued that the fundamental differences in nervous structures between men and women left women more prone to mental illness, a phenomenon which would increase if women attained the "feministic ideal".[67] The Woman's Protest also printed speculation by a London doctor that the suffrage militancy was an epidemic

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[65]Langemann, "Was ist Frauenemanzipation?," 4.

[66]"Suffrage Ideals," The Woman's Protest 1/4 (August 1912), 6.

[67]Dr. Charles Dana, "A Noisy and Selfish Propaganda," The Woman's Protest 7/2 (June 1915), 19. Dana is identified as the author of this article in "Notes and Comment," The Woman's Protest 7/3 (July 1915), 15.

The standard argument behind all the accusations of abnormality or degeneration of women, whether they were attributed only to suffragists and feminists or potentially to all women, was that with emancipation and suffrage the problem would grow and pose a danger to women in general, government, nation, and race. Women's emancipation would, in addition, lead to changes in male behavior making them violent toward women as chivalry disappeared. The threat of male violence if women achieved their goals is particularly strong in the American case. See The Woman's Protest 1/4 (August 1912), 15., "Five Reasons Against Woman Suffrage," The Woman's Protest 3/4 (August 1913), 13., and Louise Robertson, "The Fundamental Laws of Nature," The Woman's Protest 4/4 (February 1914), 6.

"akin to the dancing mania of the fourteenth century."[68] More common, however, to the American discourse was an accusation that the suffragists suffered from tarantism. Tarantism was said to be defined by monotonous and rhythmical utterance of a short phrase, loss of self-control and attraction to certain colors. One can only guess at the phrase intended ("Votes for Women") or the colors (yellow and red). The research for this claim had apparently been confirmed by German scientists.[69]

The German neurologist Ollendorff also argued that health was tied to appropriate gender roles or, as he states, "The healthier the person is, the more unquestionable are they man or woman." In his assessment, women, even when within their proper functions, have a vast array of problems and, consequently, are incapable of moving beyond childbearing which is both their duty and their weakness.[70] Ollendorff even raises the question of whether or not feminists, of either sex, could be classed as men and women. Ollendorff

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[68]The Woman's Protest 3/5 (September 1913), 16.

[69]"Tarantism: A Suffrage Disease," The Woman's Protest 4/5 March 1914), 10. For additional accusations of Tarantism see Leonard Williams, "Insurgent Hysteria," The Woman's Protest 1/1 (May 1912), 4.

[70] Ollendorff, "Die Frauenemanzipation in aerztlicher Beleuchtung," Monatsblatt 1/3 (March 1913), 1. Ollendorff argues that woman's entire being and, consequently, capabilities, are limited and determined by her menstrual cycle which, as he reveals with statistics, makes a woman not only more prone to crime but also suicidal. It is also menstruation that "releases a feeling of longing for freedom and independence for artificially covering up or blotting out this weakness".

asserts that in addition to men and women there are hermaphrodites, "the transitional form" and that further:

> just as there are bodily hermaphrodites, which are sometimes more man, sometimes more woman, there are also mental hermaphrodites, be they so-called amazons (viragos), be they effeminate men...with whom the feminists also partly are classed;"[71]

This idea was not unique to Ollendorff and, indeed, the specter of masculine women and feminine men is raised repeatedly throughout both journals.[72] It was, in fact, argued that it was this sexual deformity that led individuals to argue for suffrage and feminism. These "mistakes of nature" were, in the words of one American, trying to "hide their miserable abnormality behind a general belief in the sexual identity of men and women". Through feminism these "half women" were trying to make everyone believe they were "an improvement on the race."[73] As one American writer summed it up, this "Third Sex Serves Neither Man nor God."[74]

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[71]Ibid.

[72]The connection between feminism and hermaphroditism was also an enduring one. In 1920 a British woman doctor, Arabella Kenealy (who was also cited in The Woman's Protest) posited in her work Feminism and Sex-Extinction (New York:E.P. Dutton, 1920) that feminism actually leads to hermaphroditism. (Work summarized in Cynthia Kinnard, Antifeminism in American Thought: An Annotated bibliography, (Massachusetts:G.K. Hall and Co., 1986), 80).

[73]"A Monstrous Doctrine," The Woman's Protest 4/4 (February 1914), 4.

[74]The Woman's Protest 1/5 (September 1912), 13. For a German anti perspective on feminists as biological errors see "Frauenemanzipation und Rassenhygiene," Monatsblatt 2/7 and 8

This characterization of woman's nature seems, on the surface, contradictory. If women are defined by their biology then changes to their status should not destroy their womanhood. The connection between the essentialist theories of woman's nature and anti-essentialist theories which argued that feminism and suffrage would destroy women was woven together by Social Darwinist ideas of degeneration.[75] Both groups of antis argued that feminism and suffrage represented a retrogression in evolutionary terms, an argument which made gender difference mutable but in a highly negative way. The threat was perceived as real and immediate.[76]

The blame was typically laid on economics and modernity. Modern civilization, which was seen as pushing women into the economic, competitive struggle, was degenerating women and diminishing their capacity and desire to bear children. Anything which pushed or encouraged women toward this unnatural end was, therefore, both a sign of, and impetus for, racial degeneration. Civilization depended on specialization

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(July 1914), 16.

[75]It is not, therefore, surprising that the editor of the Social Darwinist Political-Anthropological Review, Dr. Schmidt-Gibichenfels, was a member of the German Anti-League. Trosino, 139.

[76]Although the exact details of this process varied from anti to anti, the general theory usually ran something like that expressed by Henry Finck in his article "Evolution of Sex in Mind". There he argued that sexual traits can be altered through education, employment, and environment. Consequently, women engaging in men's work would become unsexed within a few generations, as would men. This was seen as evolutionary degeneration. Finck's article in summarized in Kinnard, Antifeminism in American Thought, 261.

by sex and, consequently, the antis perceived their struggle as one supported by evolutionary biology.[77] Caroline Corbin summed up the antis' arguments when she quoted from the authors of Evolution of Sex; "What was deicded (sic) among the pre-historic protozoa cannot be annulled by act of

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[77]The use of Social Darwinism was not exclusively an anti-feminist tactic. It was also used by feminists and groups at all points on the political spectrum from socialists to liberals to conservatives. Unfortunately, the primary works on Social Darwinism in American and Germany - including Richard Hofstadter's Social Darwinism in American Thought (New York:George Braziller Inc., 1959) and Alfred Kelly's The Descent of Darwin: The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany, 1860-1914 (Chapel Hill:The University of North Carolina, 1981) - fail even to consider the relationship between sex differentiation and Social Darwinism. Even a recent analysis of Social Darwinism such as Richard Weikart's 1993 article on the origins of the theory is completely devoid of even a surface analysis of how the theory relates to gender stratification. See Weikart, "The Origins of Social Darwinism in Germany 1859-1895," Journal of the History of Ideas 54 (July 1993):469-488.

Gendered analyses of Social Darwinism can be found in the works of historians of feminism for, as noted, feminists also mobilized Social Darwinist arguments in support of their causes. For an American example of how feminists used the idea of sexual differentiation to challenge the status quo of sexual inequality see Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Sex and Race Progress," in Calverton and Schmalhausen (eds.), Sex and Civilization (New York:The Macaulay Company, 1929):109-126. For a German example see Martin's analysis of Lou Andreas-Salome. While it should be noted that Andreas-Salome is not universally accepted as a feminist, she appropriated and reworked the Social Darwinist ideas of Boelsche and Haeckel to emerge with a theory which jettisoned the notion of the complementarity of the sexes and saw woman's sexual difference, in evolutionary terms, as the source of their independence and creativity. (Martin, Woman and Modernity, 143-155.) See also Ann Taylor Allen's analysis of the German feminists' use of reform Darwinism (which posited cooperation rather then struggle as the motor of evolution) as a pillar for their emancipatory arguments in Feminism, 156-163.

Parliament."[78] The antis deemed both suffragists and feminists, who were seen as urging women into this unnatural competition with men, as urging a degeneration which would be a return to the condition of "primeval man, when male and female alike fought and snarled and hunted in the jungle".[79] The only perceived benefit to the unnatural desire of feminists to work was posited by a German who speculated that it might be nature's way to "prevent the increase of degenerating individuals and to weed them out".[80] More typical, however, was the fear that the degeneration was spreading and was ultimately leading toward "race suicide". As one American anti remarked "One-breasted Amazons were not successful mothers!"[81]

Trosino, in her analysis of German anti-feminism, posits that the Anti-League's concern over the declining birth rate is one area where it differed from its American anti-feminist

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[78]Geddes and Thompson quoted in Corbin, Socialism and Christianity With Reference to the Woman Question (1905), 14. Corbin, the President of the Illinois Anti-League, consistently used evolution as a weapon. This pamphlet is one of the most detailed analyses of evolution in the anti arsenal. Corbin cites passages from numerous Darwinists in an eleven-page diatribe on the evolution of sexual differentiation. The regular bulletins put out by the Illinois Anti-League should also be noted for their continuous use of evolutionary theory.

[79]Mrs. Benjamin Nicoll, "Votes for Women," The Woman's Protest 1/5 (September 1912), 13.

[80]"Frauenemanzipation und Rassenhygiene," 16.

[81]Mrs. William Forse Scott, "Women and Government," The Woman's Protest 1/1 (May, 1912), 5.

counterpart.[82] In fact, however, both groups expressed an immense fear over the danger they believed the feminist movement posed to a healthy, procreating, vital nation. The debates over the birth rate in the German and American Anti-Leagues did differ but the difference is not, as Trosino posits, the absence of American concern over the declining birth rate. The difference is, rather, to be found in the fact that during this period the American discourse was more explicitly racist in its concern that the white race was being overrun by "negroes" and immigrants who were perceived as breeding faster then Anglo-Saxons.[83] In contrast, historians of German "Rassenhygiene" (race hygiene) have argued that, prior to the mid-twenties, the German movement lacked the racial content it would develop in the thirties.[84] At least one historian of German eugenics argues that the German field of "Rassenhygiene" focused more on an overall increase in the population than did its American "eugenic" counterpart which

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[82]Trosino, 210-211. She also argues that the declining birth rate was one of the reasons the environment was right in Germany for the founding of the Anti-League. See Trosino, 29-30.

[83]This assessment also runs counter to Trosino's claims that the German anti-feminist movement was more racist than the American or British anti movements.

[84]See Robert Proctor, Racial Hygiene:Medicine Under the Nazis, (Cambridge:Harvard University Press, 1988), 21-22 and Paul Weindling, "Eugenics and the Welfare State during the Weimar Republic," in W.R. Lee and Eve Rosenhaft (eds.), The State and Social Change in Germany 1880-1980 (Oxford:Berg Publishers Limited, 1990), 156-158.

stressed quality.[85]

Despite the "time lag" in incorporating racist notions, however, the German antis definitely drew on American ideas about "race suicide" to explain their own situation.[86] In the assessment of both1116XtAmerican and the German antis, public life, working, and academic education ruined potential

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[85]See Sheila Faith Weiss, "The Race Hygiene Movement in Germany," in Mark B. Adams (ed.) The Wellborn Science:Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia (New York:Oxford University Press, 1990), 8. This difference is perhaps best explained by the fact that in America, an immigration country, planning for an absolute increase in the population was not perceived to be a problem whereas the quality and "race" of the population increase was. In contrast, Germany took extreme measures to restrict immigration (while still utilizing foreign labor) a situation which provided an a priori racial exclusivity to the German antis' arguments regarding the "German" birth rate. For evidence that racial exclusivity was taken as a given within the German antis' arguments see Schauff's article (Monatsblatt 2/7 (July 1913), 1-3) in which he states that "It goes without saying" that the families on which the state is based, and those which should have political rights, are within the same "racial community". For an analysis of the ways in which Germany restricted immigrant laborers see Martin Forberg, "Foreign Labour, the State and Trade Unions in Imperial Germany, 1890-1918," in The State and Social Change, 99-130. See also Ulrich Herbert, A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1990: seasonal workers, forced laborers, guest workers (Ann Arbor:University of Michigan Press, 1990), 9-79.

[86]See "Frauenemanziation und Rassenhygiene," 16. The article utilizes the theories of Professor Roswell Hill Johnson from the University of Pittsburgh. This is not surprising as the eugenics community was international in scope. For information on the international dimensions see Adams, The Wellborn Science.

Eugenic ideas were also utilized by feminists in both Germany and the United States and were used to criticize marriage conventions, support the rights of unmarried mothers, argue for birth control and, in some cases, for compulsory sterilization of the "unfit". See the work of Ann Taylor Allen, "German Radical Feminism and Eugenics, 1900-1918," German Studies Review XI, no. 1 (February 1988):31-56 or Feminism, 197-205.

mothers by making them sterile or unwilling to bear children. Of particular concern for both movements was the perceived drop-off in the birth rate among the "better" classes of women. It was, as one American anti argued, particularly tragic as it took the race millions of years to produce the highly gifted women whose special qualities would now perish. As she saw it, it was akin to taking "all the best hens" and setting them aside "to go to college or run a feather factory for the hens." and "You couldn't run a chicken farm on those principles."[87]

In the eyes of the Germans, the women's movement was aiming to put the axe "to the root of the human race."[88] Norway, with its partial suffrage and birth figure 5% below Germany's was taken as proof that "women's emancipation has a damaging effect on the energy and strength of the people."[89] The specters of abortion and birth control were also raised as proof of the unnatural methods emancipated women would go to to drop the birthrate.[90] Even the neurologist Ollendorff's assessment of women's inability to work while pregnant does not keep him from warning that "the state cannot abandon the next generation to please the women's movement; it should

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[87]Mrs. John Martin, "Women in Industry and Politics a Menace to the Nation," The Woman's Protest 2/4 (February 1913), 10.

[88]Presumably a quote from Lily Braun quoted in Langemann, "Was ist Frauenemanzipation," 4.

[89]Sigismund, "Frauenstimmrecht," 1.

[90]Langemann, "Was ist Frauenemanzipation?," 3-4.

rather keep a watchful eye on the number of births."[91]

That the concern over the birth rate was an international phenomenon, which also touched the American antis, can be seen in the attention they paid to the birthrate in other countries, including Germany.[92] An article published in The Woman's Protest in 1912 noted that the German Government was instituting an inquest into the declining birth rate "which is also becoming a menace in that empire" and, further, noted press reports in Germany that argued the Government was pursuing the wrong course of action by filling 8,600 postal servant jobs with women to save money.[93] A previous article in the same "Notes and Comments" section examined the declining birth rate in France along with the high rate of industrial employment for women in that country, leading The Woman's Protest to remark that in America "an increase in criminality and a marked fall in the birth rate, which seem to follow on women's desertion of home are greater evils than can be mended by the votes of women".[94] The situation was deemed to be particularly dangerous in suffrage states such as Kansas where "every tenth Kansas woman is a candidate for some fool

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[91]Ollendorff, "Die Frauenemanzipation," 3.

[92]German antis also stressed the falling birthrate in other countries, usually those with full or partial woman suffrage, such as Australia and New Zealand. See Sigismund, "Frauenstimmrecht," 2.

[93]"Notes and Comments," The Woman's Protest 1/4 (August 1912), 15.

[94]Ibid.

office, and the birth rate is decreasing alarmingly".[95]

To combat this fall in the birth rate the American Antis stressed the responsibility of the "normal" woman with regard to childbearing, arguing that a married woman with no children was "breaking one of nature's most natural and urgent laws." Women with only one child were advised to read "On the Handicapping of the First-born" and reminded what a void would exist in their lives if the only child died.[96] Ironically, while the declining birth rate was blamed on women, the declining death rate was credited to men working in their laboratories.[97] Where the blame rested for the fewer births was also clear. It was "owing to just such movements as suffrage that motherhood has lost so much of its charm to the young generation of women."[98] The fall in the birth rate in the "advanced countries" ultimately raised the possibility of "the end of either the present-day civilization or the end of all". [99] It was, according to the antis on both sides of the

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[95]Paul S. Conwell, "Letters from Double Suffrage States," The Woman's Protest 8/4 (February 1916), 16. States which had voted to allow woman suffrage by 1916 were Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Utah and Idaho (1896), Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona (1912) Illinois (partial suffrage, 1913) and Nevada and Montana (1914).

[96]Peveril Meigs, Jr., "On the Responsibilities of the Normal Woman," The Woman's Protest 7/6 (October 1915), 3.

[97]Mrs. William Forse Scott, "Woman and Government," The Woman's Protest 1/1 (May 1912), 6.

[98]"Women Do Not Want the Vote Despite Cry of Suffragists," The Woman's Protest 1/1 (May 1912), 7.

[99]Max G. Schlapp, "The Enemy at the Gate," The Woman's Protest 1/5 (September 1912), 6.

Atlantic, the national duty of women to bear numerous, healthy children.

The conception of the national duty of women was central to both Anti-League groups for both perceived women's responsibilities in terms of duties. In 1915 The Woman's Protest took as its motto "There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights...Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties".[100] The primary duty of women was to uphold

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[100]See also Scott, "Woman and Government;The Demand for Right, as Opposed to the Recognition of Duty in Relation to Government," The Woman's Protest, 5.

Feminists in both Germany and America also utilized the conception of duty. It has often been argued that the German feminists differed from the American feminists in their stress on duties over rights. See, for instance, Amy Hackett, "The German Women's Movement and Suffrage, 1890-1914:A Study of National Feminism," in Robert J. Bezucha (ed.), Modern European Social History (Lexington:Heath, 1972):354-386. This difference can and has been overstated as American feminists also utilized arguments which stressed their duties. As Ann Taylor Allen points out, even the Seneca Falls Declaration, which Hackett uses to demonstrate the American feminists use of natural rights, also included an appeal to duty (Allen, Feminism, 78). As Hackett concedes in her footnotes, differences between the American and German feminist movements were "matters of degrees" (379). See also Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement for an analysis of the ways the American feminist movement moved away from natural rights arguments and began to posit racist arguments based on political expediency in the period from 1890-1920. Kraditor also stresses that this shift was accompanied by the adoption of the social housekeeping argument (which justified women's involvement in public life through her household role), an argument which has traditionally been associated with the German feminists. In general, Kraditor's analysis shows that the suffragists, who had argued for equal political rights on the basis that justice required them, began arguing that woman suffrage would be useful to the nation. Unfortunately, in addition to arguing this utility could be used to further "reforms" such as prohibition and city sanitation, suffragists

the family. This was particularly critical to both groups as they both perceived the family as the fundamental unit of the state. The German and American Anti-Leagues shared a political philosophy which rested on an anti-individualist conception of the state and society. Consequently, feminism and suffrage were condemned as individualist philosophies aimed at destroying the social basis of the state.[101]

Prof. Woltersdorff, a local leader in the German Anti-League, summed up this connection when he argued that the women's movement was "individualism" which saw the woman as "an end in herself."[102] While the specific target of

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also began arguing that woman suffrage, in conjunction with literacy requirements, would be "useful" in counteracting the votes of African Americans and immigrants and would guarantee the "native", white vote a majority.

As anti-feminism operated in conjunction with feminism it is not surprising to find that they often shared a common discourse. Their conflicts, in fact, often revolved around contesting the meanings and ownership of certain fundamental ideas and images and, ultimately, the "success" of either movement may have revolved around who dominated in laying claim to the terms of the debate. See, for instance, Susan Marshall's, "Opposition Then and Now:Countering Feminism in the Twentieth Century," Research in Politics and Society Vol. 2 (1986):13-34, in which she argued that the suffragists' success came from their ability to co-opt the moral issues raised by their opponents. Feminist discourse, therefore, was often as class based, racist, "sexist" (in its acceptance of culturally constructed gender categories as biological or beneficial), and nationalistic as its anti-feminist counterpart, a phenomenon which will be discussed further below.

[101]Feminists also utilized anti-individualist arguments in both the American and German cases basing their arguments on political expediency or notions of the collective (national) good. See Allen, Feminism and Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement.

[102]Woltersdorff quoted in "Frauenbewegung als Individualismus," Monatsblatt 1/2 (February 1913), 3.

Woltersdorff's diatribe was female individualism, other writers stressed that individualism in itself was bad. I n tracing the historical development of the German parliamentary system, another writer in the Monatsblatt argued that:

> The individual person is worth nothing for the state; not even the man who bears arms...The individual person, moreover, is also nothing more than a little piece with prospects for death;the family, on the other hand, is the germ cell of the state.

Political rights were, in his opinion, granted to the family and were, in turn, "exercised by the head, the natural representative of the family and its natural protector:the man." To increase the emphasis on the individual voter at the expense of family representation would result in the "most malignant, nasty, wicked consequences."[103] The author reinforced his argument by stating that political rights were given not for the people who exercised them but, rather, for the state.[104]

Other German antis, who were not so fundamentally opposed to liberalism or parliamentary organization also did not

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[103]Stauff,(Title Obscured), Monatsblatt 2/7 (July 1913), 2. While in theory the author disenfranchises all single people there is no mention of restricting the vote to married men. He does, however, feel a widow with children must sacrifice her vote to the greater good. The author is also explicit that the families to which he refers are a racial type, a point which will be developed below.

[104]Ibid., 2-3. For another German argument which sees the family as the pillar of the state and female suffrage as a threat to both family and state see Sigismund, "Frauenstimmrecht im Auslande," 1. Sigismund uses a comparison to Finland to demonstrate the dangers of undermining the family.

perceive any contradiction between their anti-woman suffrage stance and liberalism. In fact, they cautioned that the inclination of liberalism to support women's suffrage would harm its cause.[105] In addition, they pointed to the opposition of William Jennings Bryan and the "Liberal Asquith" to woman suffrage as proof that women's suffrage did not naturally flow from Democratic or liberal principles.[106] While the antis were wrong about Bryan's stance on woman suffrage (Bryan often gave speeches in support of the reform), he is a good example of the limits of American liberalism in this period for his acceptance of woman suffrage existed alongside his not so liberal belief in the innate racial inferiority of African Americans, a position which led him to accept their disenfranchisement in his own country.[107] Even

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[105]"Die 'Hilfe' und der Bund," Monatsblatt 1/2 (February 1913), 8. In fact, woman suffrage did not find a great deal of support among German liberals. As Evans points out, even the left liberals who received support from woman suffrage organizations did not endorse the idea. In addition, when the left-liberal splinter groups unified in 1910 the South German liberals refused to join unless the group took an anti-woman suffrage stance, which it did. The National Liberals also refused to support woman suffrage. While individual left liberals were pro-suffrage, the Social Democrats were the only party to take an avowedly pro-suffrage stance. See Evans, The Feminists, 108-109.

[106]Langemann, "Bewaehrt sich das Frauenstimmrecht im Auslande?," 1.

[107]See Peter B. Kovler (ed.), Democrats and the American Idea:A Bicentennial Appraisal (Washington:Center for National Policy Press, 1992), 188-195. Bryan's political philosophy is indicative of yet another political failing of liberalism for in the years following WWI he retreated from even addressing racist issues and argued, in his address to the Democratic convention in 1924, against a proposal to condemn the Klu Klux Klan by name believing that party unity for economic reforms

American liberals who supported woman suffrage could be far from liberal on issues of racial equality. In addition, America's "liberal" democratic traditions did not stop the more conservative American antis from simultaneously arguing for democracy and against woman suffrage.

Many conservative American antis argued strenuously that democracy did not imply woman suffrage, nor was the vote seen as a natural right. As Anne Benjamin argues, theories of natural rights had been replaced by Darwinian theories of slow evolution among many late nineteenth- century conservatives.[108] This was certainly true of the early twentieth-century antis who were arguing that:

> the real aim of Democracy is to obliterate arbitrary and artificial distinctions. Democracy does not attempt to efface distinctions which nature has created. And who shall deny that nature has created a difference between the male and the

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took precedence over racial, "ethno-cultural" issues (Kovler, Democrats, 189-190.) Gary Gerstle argues this was a common position among liberals following WWI. Arguing that there was a crisis in liberal thought following the unleashing of racial hatred in WWI, Gerstle posits that many liberals became convinced that the masses could not achieve freedom from irrational prejudice even with education. In response to this realization they argued for limiting contact between racial and ethnic groups and supported immigration restrictions. Otherwise they ignored racial issues, in spite of increasing racial violence, and focused instead on economic issues. Gerstle argues that the liberalism of our own time which stresses "racial equality, minority rights, and expansive notions of individual freedom" was not present in the inter-war period. Critically, he also argues that it did not merely emerge naturally from America's political culture but was born, rather, from the confrontation of American liberals with Nazism. (See Gerstle, "The Protean Character of American Liberalism," American Historical Review Vol. 99, no. 4 (October 1994):1043-1073.)

[108]Benjamin, A History of the Anti-suffrage Movement, 63.

female?[109]

Democratic society was based not on equal individuals but, rather, on the family unit. Like their German counterparts, American antis felt feminism, of which suffrage was a part, aimed at overthrowing the family as the unit of society and replacing it with the individual.[110] And, as with the German rationale, some argued that men voted not as men but as the head of the family.[111]

An additional argument against women's suffrage which was shared by both the German and the American antis was that the state rested on force and would be imperiled if women were given a "Blank Cartridge Ballot."[112] Men voted because they had the force to secure their right and the right to govern rested, ultimately, on physical force.[113] In America, antis

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[109]Alice Hill Chittenden, " 'Suffrage' Promotes Neither Efficiency Nor Democracy," The Woman's Protest 4/6 (April 1914), 7.

[110]Mrs. A.J. George, "Why We are Anti-Suffragists," The Woman's Protest 7/6 (October 1915), 5. See also George R. Conroy, "An Indissociable Alliance:Socialism, Suffragism, Feminism," The Woman's Protest 7/3 (July 1915), 8.

These arguments could also take on a racist cast as some antis argued that individual rights were also supported by "Negroes". See John Vertress, "An Address to the Men of Tennessee on Female Suffrage," Nashville, Tenn: 1916 (summarized in Kinnard, Antifeminism, 174.).

[111]Jacob A. Riis, The Woman's Protest 1/2 (June 1912), 9.

[112]Rossiter Johnson, "The Blank Cartridge Ballot," New York:New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 1894. Work summarized in Kinnard, Antifeminism, 111.

[113]Scott, "Woman and Government," 5. This argument could be, and was, criticized on the basis of race. In some cases it was used to argue that black men had the right to vote in America because they fought in the Civil War. Fred A. Ewald,

pointed to the calling in of federal troops in Colorado to end a strike by miners, implying that the state government had lost its ability to rule effectively due to woman suffrage.[114] The American antis even quoted the German Emperor in his recognition that the maintenance of the German army secured peace, implying once again that stability rested on male force and would be imperiled with woman suffrage.[115]

Both sets of antis also voiced this argument within the international context, postulating on how their position within the international order would be altered if women were granted the vote or speculating on what would happen to their foes if they succumbed to woman suffrage.[116] Pastor Werner, of Germany, stated that: "If malicious joy at another's misfortune were not unchristian, one might wish that England gets voting rights for women, so that we Germans would gain

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"Some Reasons for Opposition to Woman Suffrage," The Woman's Protest 1/5 (September 1912), 9. Ewald's position toward African-American male voters was highly unusual in the Anti-League. In Germany the fact that this military/suffrage argument had led to the enfranchisement of foreigners after they were conscripted caused others to reject its premise. Stauff, Monatsblatt, 2.

[114]Benjamin, A History of the Anti-suffrage Movement, 55-56.

[115]Mrs. J.T. Waterman, "Women and War," The Woman's Protest 5/5 (September 1914), 6.

[116]British antis also worried that woman suffrage would weaken their standing in foreign relations. "Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons Against the Grant of Female Suffrage in England," The Woman's Protest 1/4 (August 1912), 11. Interestingly, a British feminist journal labelled the German Anti-League's motto a "Curzonian utterance" in an apparent belief that the nation's respective anti-feminists shared a common outlook (quoted in Trosino, 59).

the superior upper hand."[117] In America, The Woman's Protest warned against the peril of "overfeminization" and stated that the Japanese did not consider the United States a threat anymore as they believed it was dominated by women. [118]

In light of this concern over the security of the nation and the state of its armed forces, both Anti-Leagues encouraged women to raise their sons to fight.[119] One American anti argued that "No woman who brings up her son on the policy that she did not raise her boy to be a soldier has a right to the defense of another women's son."[120] Training their sons in preparedness was also seen as the proper role for German mothers by the German antis who criticized feminists for speaking out against war toys and called on German mothers to produce "men", rather than sissies.[121] While this discourse on the imperiled nation could, and did, take specific national forms it also posited the same end: if women voted, the ratio between will and force in government

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[117]Werner, "Schlusswort,", 15.

[118]Harry Carr, "Sorry for Suffrage," The Woman's Protest 10/4 (February 1917), 13.

[119]Louise R. De Haven, "Women Who Send Their Men into Battle," The Woman's Protest 7/6 (October 1915), 7.

[120]Mrs. Lindon Bates, "Woman's Duty to Preparedness," The Woman's Protest 8/4 (February 1916), 5.

[121]"Die Frauen und der Krieg," Monatsblatt 1/2 (February 1913), 4-5.

would be destroyed, paralyzing and jeopardizing both nations.[122]

Due to this perceived connection between force and voting rights, the coming of WWI was seen by both groups of antis as "proof" that men needed sole leadership of the state. As one recently converted American anti stated, "This has suddenly become a masculine age."[123] Both Anti-Leagues also expressed the militarist view that the war would have a "purifying" effect on their respective countries and would set gender relations "right" again. In America, antis were confident that the "purifying" brought about by the war would "cure" civilization of all its ills, including the "woman question."[124] Likewise, the Germans felt that

> the war, with its powerful release of masculine energy, will contribute to the restoration and securing of limits, which will have to be drawn with regard to rights, responsibilities and tasks

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[122]On the national variations see Langemann, "Die Gegnerinnen," in which he uses the occasion of the centennial observance of the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon to warn that if women were ever granted the right to vote glorious revolts like 1813 would become a thing of the past. In the American case the argument was reinforced by raising the specter of a woman sheriff calling out a posse or a woman governor calling in the national guard. See "If Idaho Women Win," The Woman's Protest 2/1 (November 1912), 13.

[123]Henry A Wise Wood, "Government a Man's Job: The War Teaches a Believer in Woman Suffrage to Oppose the Extension of the Right to Vote," The Woman's Protest 11/1 (May 1917), 3. See also the letter Wood wrote to a member of Congress explaining how the war and his concern for national security caused him to change his mind on woman suffrage (from pro to anti) which was reprinted in The Woman's Protest 11/7 (January 1918), 7.

[124]Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr. "The Wane of Feminism," The Woman's Protest 11/5 (October 1917), 3.

for both sexes in private and public life.[125]

Both Anti-Leagues used the war to justify their positions and to stress the dangers of female participation in the political process.

In addition to common perceptions of the danger of feminization for the state, both German and American antis saw woman suffrage as the ultimate threat and both, interestingly, argued that this threat had foreign roots. The German Anti-League stressed the foreign nature of the woman suffrage idea from the beginning by arguing that the very idea of politicizing women was drawn by radical feminists from "international models".[126] In addition to countries where suffrage had already been achieved and Britain, America served as a source for the ideals of the women's suffrage movement in the eyes of the Germans. Indeed, while describing the "American Women and Their Struggle for the Right to Vote," a

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[125]Ernst Oberfohren, "Der Krieg und die Frauenbewegung," Monatsblatt 3/3 (March 1915), 1. See also "Die Frauenemanzipation im Lichte des Krieges," Monatsblatt 3/1 (January 1915), 1-3. The absence of war was also postulated as causing the degeneration of feminism in the first place. See Ollendorff, "Frauenemanzipation," where he argues that physical-sexual abnormalities are more rampant in long periods of peace.

[126]"Zum Geleit," 1. As Trosino points out, Langemann felt this radical character of the German women's movement came from the 1904 International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress which was held in Berlin (Trosino, 42). He was apparently correct as an American feminist, in surveying woman suffrage internationally, asserted that after the Berlin Congress the suffrage society in Germany was "reorganized, in order to bring it into line with the other associations belonging to the International Alliance." See Alice Zimmern, Women's Suffrage in Many Lands (Girton College, 1909),83-84.

German anti expressed the hope that "the German people and German women might be spared from this side of Americanization."[127]

This rhetoric of the vote as a foreign demand increased with the advent of WWI and German antis began arguing that the feminist ideas had come to them "before the war from now hostile foreign lands,".[128] German women were urged to recognize "the worthiness of that which is most inherently German and the unworthiness of that which is intrinsically foreign," and to "shake off, with a mighty blow as if out of a 42 or 50 cm gun, all liking, passion, addiction for foreign things and become German to the core." Women's emancipation was deemed a foreign intrusion.[129] This desire to purge Germany of all things foreign did not, however, apparently apply to the anti-feminists themselves as they continued to borrow arguments from the American antis during the war.[130]

American antis also immediately branded the ideas and tactics of the suffragists foreign, typically British. Hence, in the first issue of The Woman's Protest, the American suffragists were accused of having "taken a leaf from the

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[127]"Die amerikanischen Frauen und ihr Kampf um das Stimmrecht," Monatsblatt 3/7-8 (July 1915), 1.

[128]Oberfohren, "Der Krieg", 1.

[129]"Die Frauenemanzipation im Lichtes des Krieges," 3.

[130] See, for instance, the article entitled "Ein Amerikaner ueber die Frage des Fraunstimmrechts" (Monatsblatt 3/3 (March 1915), 2) which was explicitly presented as a summary and restatement of a pamphlet put out by the Massachusetts Association Against Women's Suffrage.

note-book of their English sisters, if not the entire book," by the Antis.[131] It was, in addition, the "foreign" tongues of immigrants, who were seen as calling for the vote.[132] Moreover, the entire idea of women's suffrage was also deemed foreign. As Grace Goodwin, a frequent contributor to The Woman's Protest, explained in her book, foreign conditions were not a proper basis for American action.

Goodwin argued that while Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavia, and Finland had all granted woman suffrage they were not America and "America is like no other country on the face of the earth." In fact, according to Goodwin it was America's position as "a large and unwieldy democracy, as yet scarcely beyond the experimental stage," which made woman

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[131]"Militancy Of The American Suffragette," The Woman's Protest 1/1 (May 1912), 2. See also "Shoot the King," The Woman's Protest 5/2 (June 1914), 13. This assessment was apparently not far off as historians of the feminist movement in America credit Alice Paul, who underwent a "vigorous apprenticeship in the militant wing of the British suffrage movement.", with reviving the fight for the federal amendment. See Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle:The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (New York:Atheneum, 1973), 262-263.

[132]" 'Votes For Women!', " The Woman's Protest 4/1 (November 1913), 10. The verse of this poem from which this reference is taken is from a description of a suffrage parade which reads:

> Their steps were firm;their bright eyes gleamed,
> Until like something fierce they seem,
> And out from among the ranks there rung
> In accents of each foreign tongue,
> "Votes for Women!"

Feminists perceived the situation quite differently and often argued that it was the ignorant foreign vote that was voting suffrage down. See "Paupers and Ignorant Foreigners," The Woman's Protest 8/3 (January 1916), 9.

suffrage inapplicable to the conditions in America.[133] Goodwin was not alone in making this argument. The Illinois Association argued in its Fifteenth Annual Report that "the doctrine of woman suffrage came first from Europe" and was later reintroduced into America, across the Pacific, from Australia.[134]

As in Germany, the "foreignness" of suffrage was recast in America during the war. Not surprisingly, it became German. More specifically it became a German ploy designed to bring socialists to power in America who would force America to negotiate for an early peace to Germany's advantage.[135] This was, in the conception of the antis, what had happened in Russia.[136] The enemies were not only socialists but were primarily German-Americans who were seen as an internal enemy,

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[133]Grace Goodwin, Anti-Suffrage:ten good reasons (New York:Duffield and Co., 1912), 37-40.

[134]"Fifteenth Annual Report," Illinois Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage:Bulletin No. 10 (1911), 4. See also "Catching Them Young," The Woman's Protest 2/2 (December 1912), 5.

[135]The connection between suffrage and German socialism was not new, it had been voiced as early as 1905 by Corbin, "Socialism and Christianity," who, when discussing Socialists, regularly riveted on the programs and arguments of the German Socialists. The war, however, served to increase this German/Socialist connection to the point where the German Socialists were seen as leading an international take over.

[136]Mrs. Margaret C. Robinson, "Suffrage and Socialism, The Kaiser's Allies," The Woman's Protest 11/8 (February 1918), 10.

aligned with Germany and the socialist conspiracy.[137]

This search for internal enemies promoting suffrage was not limited to the war years and is, in fact, indicative of the racism that pervaded both anti-feminist groups.[138]

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[137]Ibid. The idea of feminism and suffrage being part of a larger socialist movement or the belief that woman suffrage would bring socialism and that the middle-class feminists were being duped by socialists were long-standing arguments in both Germany and America. They represent not only the class fear of the predominantly middle-class movements but also a means to discredit the more moderate feminist movements by claiming they were aiming to overthrow the entire social order through their "association" with socialism. During the war, pacifism also became associated with socialism and feminism as a threat to the social order. In addition, both movements utilized religious affiliations as a means to cast aspersions on the feminist and suffrage movements. For the Germans this meant branding the movements as Roman Papist or Jewish conspiracies (a phenomenon which will be discussed below). For the Americans a favorite association was Mormonism and polygamy which was said to be responsible for suffrage in Utah and other Western states.

[138]Racism also pervaded much of the American feminist movement and increased in the period from 1890-1920 when suffragists began to shift their arguments for suffrage from natural rights to arguments that woman suffrage would be useful for the nation. In addition to arguing that women would use their "moral" nature to promote reform and clean up everything from politics to the air, the white suffrage movement also argued that woman suffrage would be useful in counteracting the votes of African Americans and immigrants. As numerous historians have pointed out, suffragists repeatedly argued that woman suffrage would help guarantee the maintenance of white supremacy. While perhaps expedient for the sake of "white" woman suffrage, it left a racist legacy which the modern feminist movement is still struggling to overcome. For an analysis of the racism in the feminist suffrage campaign, see Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, Davis, Women, Race, and Class and Andolsen, "Daughters of Jefferson,". The problem of anti-semitism in the American feminist movement will be discussed below.

Racism in the German feminist movement, which culminated in the cooperation of many of the feminist organizations with the new Nazi regime and included the ousting of Jewish women from the feminist organizations, does not seem to have been as prevalent prior to the end of WWI and the early years of the Weimar Republic. Allen argues that prior to WWI the non-

Racism, in this case anti-semitism, is described by Trosino as part of German anti-feminism's uniqueness, along with a concern over the birth rate and nationalism. The American antis, however, utilized racist arguments as a fundamental part of a large portion of their arguments.

American antis, in their arguments against women's suffrage, raised the specter of the "negro vote" in the south and warned that woman suffrage would reopen the question of the legality of the Jim Crow laws which disenfranchised African-American men in practice. Antis cautioned that woman suffrage would "lead to racial disorders and an examination by Federal authorities of the entire suffrage conditions in the South."[139] Grace Goodwin, in arguing that woman suffrage was incompatible with our "unwieldy" democracy, based her

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confessional feminist groups encouraged cooperation between Jews and Christians and encouraged the teaching of religious tolerance (Allen, Feminism, 238). As most historians of the women's movement have indicated, Jewish activists were prominent in the pre-war women's movement. And, while noting there were anti-semitic volunteer groups, Marion Kaplan notes that the women's movement actually created a "liminal space...in which Jews and other Germans could mingle,". Marion Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class:Women, Family, and Identity, in Imperial Germany (New York:Oxford University Press, 1991), 206. She also, however, notes that given the anti-semitic atmosphere that arose during the war Dr. Alice Salomon was ruled out as a potential president for the Federation of German Women's Associations for fear that a woman with a Jewish-sounding name would split the women's movement (Kaplan, 217). For an analysis of the ousting of Jewish women from feminist organizations during the Third Reich, see Marion Kaplan, "Sisterhood under Siege:Feminism and Anti-Semitism in Germany, 1904-1938," in Renate Bridenthal, Anita Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan (eds.) When Biology Became Destiny (New York:Monthly Review Press, 1984):174-196.

[139]"The Vote of 1,000,000 Negro Women," The Woman's Protest 4/6 (April 1914), 16.

argument in her belief that "Our negro and our alien problem are ours alone."[140] In both the case of African-Americans and immigrants, Goodwin's fear over the political peril in enfranchising the men was overridden only by her fear of granting the vote to "all the negro women, who are more helpless and ignorant than the men" and the immigrant women who were "much more backward" than the immigrant men.[141]

African-American women came to occupy a critical place in the arguments of Antis, particularly Southerners, who were opposed to both woman and African-American suffrage rights. Even during the Senate debates on the suffrage amendment, the specter of African-American women voting came to occupy a prominent place among Southern and Northern Senators who argued that black women posed a particular threat.[142] The fear of unscrupulous politicians buying the African-American vote, a charge which was also made against immigrants and especially prostitutes, was voiced as well.[143]

In spite of the negative perception many antis held of African-American women, and of the pro-suffrage positions held by many African-American women and organizations, the antis also made an effort to convince their readers that these women

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[140]Goodwin, "Anti-suffrage," 43.

[141]Ibid., 44-46.

[142]See Flexner, Century of Struggle, 303-305.

[143]See Mrs. Margaret Robinson, "Discriminating Against Mother," The Woman's Protest 10/6 (April 1917), 9.

did not want the vote.[144] They ran an article entitled " 'Ladies of Today' as Viewed by a Colored Woman" which, while it never mentions suffrage, is clearly intended to imply African-American women felt empowered as ladies even without the vote.[145] They further argued that the "intelligent colored women" were on the anti side of a suffrage debate at Howard University, a "colored college".[146] They also noted the formation of what they called "The first colored woman's organization opposed to woman suffrage" in Boston in 1913.[147]

In the North, immigrant women served a similar function as Northerners argued that whereas male immigrants would become acclimated to the spirit of the Constitution through their time in America and the naturalization process, the immigrant woman would be franchised automatically, even if she

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[144]On the position of African-American women toward woman suffrage see Davis, Women, Race, and Class, 143-148. Davis argues that, in spite of having their participation rejected by the racist, white suffrage movement, the majority of African-American leaders and club associations supported woman suffrage. She cites, among other evidence, the pro-suffrage position of such leaders as Mary Church Terrell and Mary McCleod Bethune, the Suffrage Department established by the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and the Black Northeastern Federation of Clubs application for membership in the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1919 (which was rejected). In states, such as Michigan, where African-American women were welcomed into the suffrage chapters they participated. See Davis, 118.

[145] The Woman's Protest 4/1 (November 1913), 10.

[146] The Woman's Protest 1/2 (June 1912), 13.

[147] The Woman's Protest 2/6 (April 1913), 13.

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had just arrived fresh off the boat.[148] The antis also feared that the immigrant women would be "exempt" from the language, good character, and oath clauses of naturalization. That they would also be subject to a five year waiting period did not assuage the fears of the antis regarding the potential threat of their naturalization even though it was the same five years that presumably "naturalized" their husbands.[149] As one anti argued in front of the joint Senate and Assembly Judiciary Committee:

> The immigrant woman is a fickle, impulsive creature, irresponsible, very superstitious, ruled absolutely by emotion and intensely personal in her point of view. In many things much resembling a sheep.[150]

As has already been noted, the war served to recast the discourse of the American antis against Germany who came to view both German-Americans and suffragists as "pro-German" and, consequently, a threat to the nation.[151] The enemy was

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[148]"Immigrant Woman and the Vote," The Woman's Protest 1/2 (June 1912), 4.

[149] "Menace of Woman Suffrage in New York," (February 1918), 13.

[150]Quoted in Kinnard, Antifeminism, 139.

[151]There were particularly harsh allegations against Mrs. Catt and her relationship with "Frau" Rosika Schwimmer who was accused in no uncertain terms of everything from serving Germany to duping Henry Ford to do the same in spite of the fact that she was Hungarian and not German. See "Mrs. Catt and the Schwimmer Peace Plan," The Woman's Protest 11/5 (October 1917), 10-11. That the arguments were directed against German-Americans can be seen in the article "How Pro-Germans and Pacifists Carried Suffrage in New York," The Woman's Protest 11/6 (November 1917), 4. This article stresses that prior to the suffrage vote, a socialist spoke

seen as both internal and external. The war and ensuing revolution in Germany caused a similar shift in the rhetoric of the German Anti-League, which moved from occasional anti-semitic remarks and a tacit policy to tone down anti-semitic sentiment within the organization to full-scale, rabid anti-semitic arguments following the revolution.[152]

Trosino notes in her analysis of German anti-feminism that anti-semitic sentiments were expressed by members throughout the course of the League in their other publications.[153] Derogatory references to Jews do appear

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"in German to German Americans." and blamed the higher vote in favor of suffrage on the "German-born men of voting age". These allegations raised the possibility that socialism was being accompanied with sedition.

While analyses on the effect of this anti German-American posturing in war-time America are not plentiful, there is evidence that it was accompanied by discrimination against German-Americans, including women who were refused permission to assist in patriotic services, and on occasion led to violence against German-Americans themselves and their property. See Matthew Goode, " 'Obey the Law and Keep your Mouths Shut':German Americans in Grand Rapids During World War I," Michigan History (March/April 1994):18-23.

[152]The increase in anti-semitic rhetoric within the Anti-League has also been noted by Peter Pulzer in his work The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria (London:Peter Halban, 1988), 216-218. Pulzer argues for a strong connection between anti-semites and anti-feminists which, while undoubtedly true for certain periods and to certain degrees, is a connection which needs to be carefully historicized. For instance, in an early anti-feminist article written by Otto Glagau, a noted anti-semite, there is no reference to Jews or anti-semitic innuendos. See:Otto Glagau, "Gegen die 'Frauen-Emancipation'," Der Bazar 22 (June 8, 1870):181-183 and 24 (June 23, 1870):196.

[153]Trosino, 140-141. Trosino calls the Anti-League's support of anti-semitism "tacit" and, rightly, sees it increasing in the Monatsblatt of 1918. She also notes that not all members of the Anti-League were anti-semitic. She argues, however, that "the majority of the members adhered to

scattered throughout the Monatsblatt but with striking irregularity and infrequency. Typically, a contributor such as Pastor Werner or a "student from Berlin" would allege that some offending party such as the two women elected in the London county elections (in the case of Werner) or the leaders of a student group which supported suffrage (in the case of the student) were socialists and Jews.[154]

Prior to the revolutions, however, the general trend within the organization was toward downplaying anti-semitic references within their newsletter and organization. For instance, in 1916 Langemann expressed concern over the "outspoken position" of the Anti-League's new manager, Schaeffer, toward Jews and agreed to accept the presidency of the League only if the manager's position was made more clearly subordinate to the Executive Committee. Schaeffer apparently left the organization shortly thereafter.[155]

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volkisch ideologies which incorporated notions of Germans being a race superior to all others, including Jews". While this is undoubtedly true it should also be clear by now that a belief in racial superiority was not unique to the German antis and that, in this period, their views did not differ dramatically from the American antis' belief in their "Anglo-Saxon" superiority (nativism), particularly in regard to who should be voting and who should be having children.

[154]"Die freie Aussprache," 15-16. See also "Die Londoner Grafschaftswahlen," Monatsblatt 2/5 (May 1913), 7.

[155]Trosino, 167. Even though she notes this effort of Langemann to downplay and curtail Anti-League anti-semitism, Trosino fails to historicize consistently the association between anti-feminism and anti-semitism. Instead she utilizes Pulzer's transhistorical connection and maintains that a typical member of the Anti-League was "likely anti-Semitic" (145) and that the Anti-League "supported anti-Semitism tacitly and increasingly in writing in 1918" (141-142). This

Following the war and revolution, however, Langemann's position on anti-semitism and the League apparently changed for not only was he declaring the "Jews and their recruits, the feminists" the "most dangerous foes" of Germany in his private letters, he was also by January, 1919 printing the vitriol in the Monatsblatt.[156]

Langemann's 1919 article "Am Ziel" accuses the Jews of leading the feminist movement and destroying the Reich, among other things.[157] Critically, Langemann, like the American antis who were commenting on the connections between socialism, Russia, and women's emancipation (albeit with a German twist), argued that the Russian Revolution and the chaos in Germany coincided with the victory of women's emancipation. In other words, both groups saw woman suffrage as allied to and resulting from the combined force of feminism

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implies that the nature and force of anti-semitism did not change throughout the Anti-League's history but only that their willingness to write about it did. Only in her conclusion where she notes that anti-semitism in the Anti-League increased following the 1918 revolution does she move toward historicizing this phenomenon (209).

[156]Quotes from Langemann's letter drawn from Trosino, 181-182.

[157]Langemann, "Am Ziel," Monatsblatt 7/1 (January 1919), 2-3. It should be noted that a wide array of groups are blamed for the revolution including, obviously, all the women's groups who allowed themselves to be the "tool of revolution", the Centre party which pandered to the women's vote and even the Conservative party which by Langemann's estimation had become saturated with Jews. Langemann particularly targets "Jewesses" (and accused "Jewesses" who were in reality not Jewish) who were involved in the woman's movement in Germany, Austria, and Russia as deserving of blame for playing international party politics, promoting radicalism, and undermining and betraying the German war goals.

and socialism.[158] In both cases the enemy was internal, German-Americans for the Americans and German-Jews for the Germans. The internal enemy was, in addition, a part of a larger international and foreign design. For the Americans it was the German Socialists who were attempting to take over the world. For the Germans it was "international Jewry which rules the world,".[159] The discourse of anti-feminism, at least Langemann's, undoubtedly became increasingly anti-semitic, a change whose roots must be seen in what historian George Mosse has called the "brutalization" of post-war/post-revolutionary politics and experience. Mosse describes this "brutalization" as the continuation of hostile wartime attitudes and the vocabulary of political battle which called for the total destruction of the "enemy" into peacetime. The enemies, however, were now internal foes." [160]

Anti-semitism and its effect on antifeminist rhetoric, it should be stressed, was not unique to Germany and occurred in America during this period as well. Leonard Dinnerstein calls the inter-war years "the worst period of American antisemitism" and also argues, like Mosse, that the post-war period was characterized by the suppression of dissent and

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[158]The Social Democrats were, in fact, the only political party to endorse woman suffrage.

[159]Langemann, "Am Ziel," 3.

[160]George Mosse, Fallen Soldiers:Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars (New York:Oxford University Press, 1990), 159-160. While Mosse argued this occurred in all the participating nations, it was worse in defeated ones, such as Germany, where it became manifest in vitriolic anti-semitism.

difference internally.[161] In fact, both the timing and rhetoric of anti-semitic attacks, in general, and toward feminists, in particular, were remarkably similar in the immediate post-war period.[162] The accusations that the Jews were shirking war duties and/or were pacifists who were hindering the war effort were voiced on both sides of the

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[161] Leonard Dinnerstein, "Antisemitism in Crisis Times in the United States: The 1920s and 1930s," in Sander L. Gilman and Steven T. Katz (eds.), Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis (New York:New York University Press, 1991) 212-213.

[162]Analyses of anti-semitism in America have gone through a number of revisions, moving from the viewpoint of American "exceptionalism" which saw anti-semitism in America as a marginal phenomenon to the viewpoint emerging in the 1970s and 1980s which, as part of the larger feminist, African-American, and leftist critique of liberalism, questioned the validity of American "exceptionalism" when it came to anti-semitism and began to document the pervasive anti-semitism in American history. For an analysis of the debate and essays on all sides of the fence see David A. Gerber (ed.) Anti-Semitism in American History (Urbana:University of Illinois Press, 1986). See also Peter Novick, That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1988), 338-341. While the debate rages on, analyses of the relationship between feminism and anti-semitism are only beginning to emerge and anti-semitism is not yet being culled from the American sources in the same way other manifestations of racism are. So, for example, while Kinnard (Antifeminism) notes that an article by Harry Thurston Peck titled "The Woman of Fascination" includes the assertion that for a woman a large nose is a catastrophe and, in other sections, notes that anti-feminists used the characteristics of a women's face to analyze her character, Kinnard does not call attention to the racism inherent in these arguments. For an analysis of the way that noses, in particular, came symbolically to represent the "other" (both Jewish and African-American) see Sander L. Gilman, The Visibility of the Jew in the Diaspora:Body Imagery and Its Cultural Context (The B.G. Rudolph Lectures in Judaic Studies, 1991).

Atlantic.[163] In addition, Elinor Lerner, writing on the relationship between American feminism and the "Jewish Question" between 1890-1940, points out that the association between Jews, radicalism, socialism, and feminism increased in post-WWI America.[164]

While Lerner acknowledges that both feminists and anti-feminists avoided referring to Jews specifically, she also stressed the anti-semitic prejudice which underlay hostility to some feminists.[165] The connection is more aptly demonstrated with the anti-semitic diatribes found in Henry Ford's series of articles published in 1924 which accuse the

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[163]See Elinor Lerner, "American Feminism and the Jewish Question, 1890-1940," in Gerber (ed.), Anti-Semitism, 320. Lerner asserts that in spite of the fact that many American Jews came to support America's involvement in WWI, "Americans still regarded Jews as pacifists and a hindrance to the war effort." The situation in Germany, which experienced an upsurge in anti-semitism during the final years of the war and after, was more drastic as the accusation that Jews were shirking their war duties was given official credence when the government, in response to anti-semitic accusations, instituted a "Judenzaehlung" (Jew Count) in 1916 to ascertain how many Jews eligible for conscription were actually fulfilling their obligations. See Werner T. Angress, "The German Army's 'Judenzaehlung' of 1916," Leo Baeck Institute Year Book Vol. 23 (1978), 117-135. See also Jacob Katz, From Prejudice to Destruction:Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933 (Cambridge:Harvard University Press, 1980), 311-313. For a detailed analysis of the influence of the war and its aftermath on Weimar anti-semitism see Steven T. Katz, "1918 and After:The Role of Racial Antisemitism in the Nazi Analysis of the Weimar Republic," in Gilman and Katz, Antisemitism, 227-256.

[164]Lerner, "American Feminism," 319-320.

[165]Ibid., 323-324. Lerner specifically points to the attacks on Rosika Schwimmer, an occurrence discussed above. Lerner also, rightly, stresses that overt anti-semitism also existed within the feminist movement itself (316).

women's organizations of being a front for international Bolsheviks.[166] Given this likeness between the German and American anti-semitic, anti-radical, anti-feminist viewpoints in the immediate post-WWI period, arguments regarding German peculiarity on this issue need to be more nuanced in their assessment of the roots of the sexist and racist Nazi ideologies.

As the above analysis has demonstrated, prior to, and even during World War I, the two Anti-Leagues shared a similar mission and argued for their goals in remarkably similar terms. Both Anti-Leagues utilized arguments revolving around: the ideals of "normal" versus the "abnormal" women, Social Darwinism, the declining birth rate, anti-individualist conceptions of the state, the belief that the idea of woman suffrage was foreign, and racial exclusivity. These

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[166]Ibid., 322. As Lerner points out, these post-WWI conservative attacks resulted in the feminists, in response to fears of being "tainted" by their association with radicals and Jews, ignoring and suppressing most of the Jewish involvement in the suffrage campaign to avoid right-wing attacks. As Lerner explains, "Afraid and wary in the midst of repression and growing reactionary politics, they (the feminists) sought to appear as pure as possible" and moved toward a more conservative, reformist program (321-324). Lerner also stresses that while this may have served them tactically it left the majority of feminists and feminist groups unable and unwilling to protest against anti-semitism in this country and abroad. This accusation is also, rightly, made against the German feminists. The majority of both groups of feminists, in America and Germany, were apparently unwilling to take on and support an alliance with Jews if it placed them and their goals in jeopardy, rhetorically or materially. While this fact has been frequently asserted in the case of German feminists, Lerner's assertion regarding how the American feminists were political opportunists who discounted Jews as "inconvenient allies" is both novel and insightful (325).

similarities may well stem from the international nature of the anti-feminist discourse and movements.

Brian Harrison has argued, in his analysis of the anti movement in Britain, that the anti movement did not enjoy the American, Australasian, and European connections that the suffragists did because anti-suffrage was too closely tied to patriotism.[167] While it is true that the antis lacked the international organizations that the suffragists formed, the contrast is overstated for antis did participate in a consciously international discourse. Anti journals borrowed heavily from one another even while attempting to undermine the feminist movement by accusing them of using foreign ideas. The German anti-feminists utilized information from abroad so frequently that even Trosino notes that the German feminists were accusing the League of "taking facts out of context and of using unreliable sources (e.g. The Anti-Suffrage Review from London, New Zealand and Australia from the anti-suffrage point of view, and The Women's Protest from New York)."[168] The above analysis has shown this to be the case at least with regard to the use of articles from the American journal The Woman's Protest.

The borrowing was not only in one direction. The Woman's Protest also borrowed articles from the Monatsblatt such as

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[167]Brian Harrison, Separate Spheres:The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain (New York:Holmes and Meier, 1978), 150-151.

[168]Trosino, 101.

"A Revolution in Finland" which had originally appeared in "the monthly published by the German Anti-Suffrage League."[169] They also showcased the German League in their article "Fight Against Woman Suffrage in Germany:Professor F. Sigismund Argues that Woman's Natural Feminine Qualities Unfit Her for the Duties and Labor of Man."[170] The American analysis of this "pamphlet opposed to woman suffrage" revolves around a positive assessment of Sigismund's arguments that women's entire being is planned for motherhood, rendering them hopelessly subjective and incapable of creativity in the cultural realm.[171]

Also included in the article reviewing the German Anti-League is a reprinting of the German Proclamation and Program regarding women's emancipation which stated the German's five-point program against suffrage, encroachment of women into men's professions, advances in higher education which run counter to womanhood, and the loosening the marriage bond, and for the advancement of "womanly" women's movements. Ironically, the assessment regarding the dangers of education reform uses America as its example of the perils of co-education.[172]

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[169]The Woman's Protest 4/4 (February 1914), 10. The American Anti-League also relied heavily on articles reprinted from British sources.

[170]The Woman's Protest 1/2 (June 1912), 10-11.

[171]Ibid.

[172]Ibid.

Critically, the American Anti-League saw the German League as its own counterpart in spite of the broader focus of the German League against "emancipation" more generally. The American Anti-League increasingly argued against the dangers of "feminism" in general and perceived their own battle against feminism (in addition to their primary battle against suffrage) as akin to the Germans' battle against "emancipation".[173] As Grace Goodwin put it: "Another great danger which is a part of the suffrage movement, because it underlies it all, is the Feminist movement as it is seen in Germany and France today."[174] Similarly, in its 1914 article on the 1913 annual meeting of the German Anti-League, "German Anti-Suffrage League at Work," The Woman's Protest not only noted that "The tenor of the speeches differs very little from that of suffrage discussion here and in England" it also argued that:

> The official title of the German organization (Deutscher Bund gegen die Frauenemanzipation) should be translated "German Opposition to Feminism"; the term used in their name might

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[173]This connection was certainly not without merit as some American feminists were arguing that "feminism means more than suffragism; that the ballot for the ballot's sake is not the whole meaning of the suffrage agitation; that the political demands of women are inseparable from the social, educational, and economic demands of the whole feminist movement" and that "it is a familiar charge of the anti-suffragists that suffrage is a cloak for feminism." This particular feminist also noted that a similar, although reverse, realization was dawning on the German antis as an "anti-feminist" orator in Berlin had been heard arguing that suffrage was the secret aim of feminism! See Katharine Anthony, Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia (New York:Henry Holt and Co., 1915), 10-11.

[174]Goodwin, "Fundamentals," 6.

> otherwise give rise to serious misunderstanding of their object. The secretary was at pains to explain that the word "emancipation" (of women) is applied in german only to the excrescences of perversions of the woman's movement, and the true meaning is therefore covered in english by our definition of the world "feminism" in its latest manifestation.[175]

The American Anti-League did not see their counterpart across the Atlantic as being unique, even explicitly referring to the German Anti-League members as "anti-suffragists".[176]

Given these various conjunctions between the German and American antis, the question for historians to ask may well be not who was unique and why but, rather, why the similarities are so striking. This is particularly true given that historians who adhere to the *Sonderweg* thesis have argued that Germany was "behind" in terms of female emancipation and gender equality, even in the areas with which the German antis were concerned, education and suffrage. The viewpoint that Germany was behind in these areas is, however, undergoing a revision.

James Albisetti, in his analysis of women's education in Germany in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, argues that there was no *Sonderweg* in terms of German women's education and that, although advances may have been lagging behind prior to 1889, between the early 1890s and 1909 the

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[175]The Woman's Protest 4/5 (March 1914), 11. The writer does note that "the German anti-suffragists dwell perhaps a little more than elsewhere on the paramount importance to the nation of woman's influence in the home."

[176]Ibid.

educational situation in Germany for women had rapidly improved to the point where it was equivalent to other European countries, and to the United States. As Albisetti notes, some American feminists even thought Germany's university policy was more advanced in terms of education when compared to the Eastern United States.[177] Albisetti attributes these advances to the success of the feminist movement.[178] This insight goes a long way toward explaining both the rise of the German anti-feminist countermovement and its focus on education, which was the area in which feminists were making gains. The German antis' concern over the politicization of women also undoubtedly stemmed from the 1908 repeal of Prussia's Law of Association which had previously prohibited women from joining or forming political associations.[179]

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[177]James Albisetti, Schooling German Girls and Women:Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century (Princeton:Princeton University Press, 1988), 292. Albisetti is referring to Katharine Anthony and her work Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia.

[178]Ibid., 274-305.

[179]Interestingly, Hackett notes that the pro-suffrage element in Germany was opposed to the 1908 legislation lifting the ban because the new law also included a language paragraph which the radical suffragists noted discriminated against Poles. See Amy Hackett, "Feminism and Liberalism in Wilhelmine Germany, 1890-1918," in Berenice Carroll (ed.), Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays (Urbana:University of Illinois Press, 1976), 133.

With regard to the situation prior to 1908 it should be noted that Harrison, in a comparison of Britain and Germany, downplays the significance of the German Anti-Association Law by arguing that in Britain the social conventions against women's political activity were so strong as to render contrasts in legislation between the two countries

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The resulting focus on suffrage, which utilized American antis' arguments, must certainly be seen as a strategy against a perceived imminent danger. It is within this context that the German antis' borrowing of other "anti" discourses must be viewed. The German antis recognized that while they may as yet be "behind" in terms of suffrage, the recent rapid educational reforms were a hint of things to come. They were convinced that their economic and political development was propelling them down the same road to modernity. Consequently, they adopted the already developed discourses of the English and American countermovements in an effort to halt the changes this progress was seen as producing in gender relations. Langemann made this connection clear when he stated:

> At the moment here in Germany we are beginning a development which despairingly appears similar to the English. The (political) parties are beginning in a way to woo the favor of the women's movement, so that we must be prepared for the worst.[180]

Rather then being motivated by a perception that, as Germans, they were "unique", they were motivated by a fear that they were not. This was clearly expressed in both their broad aims and statements.

In fact, in spite of the broad title of "emancipation", Anti-League members went to great pains to stress that the central point of the association was preventing suffrage.

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unimportant. See Harrison, Separate Spheres, 57.

[180]Langemann, "Die Gegnerinnen," 2.

Suffrage was, as Langemann saw it, the "ripe fruit on the tree of emancipation."[181] The German antis, however, also believed that the tree was being fertilized with advances in other areas, such as education and employment.[182] As Langemann explained, the name of the Anti-League against "emancipation" as opposed to against "suffrage" was chosen to indicate the effort to fight increased employment of women which was seen as inevitably leading down the slippery slope to woman suffrage.[183] The leaders of the Anti-League believed that they were taking a preemptive move in forming and justified it by arguing that the German woman suffrage movement was "very small and we can stop it from getting bigger."[184]

Trosino argues, convincingly, that the importance of the German Anti-League lay in the role it played in limiting the possibilities of radicalism for German feminists in the area

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[181]Langemann, "Der Deutsche Bund," 3.

[182]Trosino repeatedly stresses the Anti-League's focus on education but fails adequately to factor in the role that Langemann, a teacher, played as the editor of the Monatsblatt and the author of most of the articles on education in giving the anti journal this focus. Even Langemann admitted "that some of our members have different viewpoints on women's education and earning a living", a situation which he stated was not too important when there was "otherwise complete agreement on basic views." See Langemann, "Die Gegnerinnen," 2.

[183]Ibid. Woman's access to higher education was deemed as deeply threatening as well, a fact, as Trosino points out, which also stemmed from the high percentage of male teachers (including Langemann) in the Anti-League concerned over their positions and status.

[184]Ibid., 14.

of suffrage by reigning in potential discourses and putting them on the defensive, a view supported by Albisetti. Albisetti argues that feminists spent a great deal of energy countering the arguments of their opponents, "sometimes refining their thinking and demands in the process." [185] As Trosino notes, the Anti-League forced the feminists to clarify their goals, re-evaluate their position on controversial issues and "perhaps to refrain from pursuing goals which may have been too progressive."[186] Trosino believes the Anti-League was a critical factor in the "moderate" course the feminists pursued and also in their continued commitment to traditional gender differences.[187]

This conclusion, that antifeminism acts as a countermovement to feminism and often reigns in the feminist discourse, is supported by American historians working on the effects of American anti-feminism. As anti-feminism forms and operates both in conjunction with and opposition to feminism, the struggle between the two movements often revolves around the struggle to lay claim to certain ideas and images. For example, the efforts of both groups during WWI to claim the nationalist "moral" high ground and appear more patriotic than the other is indicative of this kind of struggle. Critically, the moderating influence of anti-feminism was not unique to

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[185]See Albisetti, Schooling, 178.

[186]Trosino, 208.

[187]Ibid.

Germany. Similar struggles over images and moral issues in America moderated feminist positions on social and political equality and led them to adopt a discourse which was often class-based, racist, nationalist, and which also accepted the idea that gender difference was either biological and/or beneficial for society.[188]

More importantly, it would seem that the ability of the German Anti-League to reign in the German feminists resulted not from uniqueness but, rather, from their preemptive use of an already developing international anti-suffrage discourse.[189] As one American anti noted, the consequences of woman's emancipation in the United States and Britain had "so alarmed the authorities and adversely influenced public opinion" in Germany that the necessary and desired process of revising German laws and regulations regarding women had been halted.[190] The German Anti-League, using the American antis' propaganda, was at least partly responsible for this alarm.

This conclusion, in turn, must lead to a reconsideration of German "uniqueness" in general. Certainly, all countries

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[188]See Marshall, "Opposition Then and Now," 13-34 in which she argues that the success of either movement depends on who is able to lay claims to the terms of the debate.

[189]Marshall stresses that the American anti-suffrage countermovement did not coalesce until after suffrage victories were already mounting in the western United States (Wyoming passed woman suffrage in 1869, Colorado in 1893, and Utah and Idaho in 1896.) See Marshall, "Opposition Then and Now," 14-15.

[190]"The Insidious Peril Now Menacing Our Civilization," The Woman's Protest 3/3 (July 1913), 6.

are "unique" as all develop within different national contexts. But merely branding German antifeminism as unique without a thorough comparative analysis does not add to our knowledge of German history nor of the history of antifeminism. Nor does it add to our knowledge of the relationship between antifeminism and feminism, or the relationships of both to nationalism and racism. "Modernity" has created similar tensions across national boundaries and, in all cases, the conflicts are fought out discursively on gendered and racialized terrains. As such, comparative studies need to forgo sweeping and misleading conclusions and work toward more nuanced assessments of where similarities and differences are located.[191] Comparative analyses should also place the respective subjects in an international discourse and seek to discover the ways "national" developments and discourses influenced one another.

The need for nuanced comparative assessments with regard to Germany in the areas of racial and gender politics is particularly pressing. For when historians find racism and sexism in Germany's development and presume that they are the product of "pre-industrial" tendencies, they ignore, and negate, the way industry and industrial class relations continually recast and re-institutionalize racism and sexism

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[191]See, for instance, Benjamin's comparison of the British and American antis in which she argues that England's Empire allowed the British antis to stress the international ramifications of the ballot in a way the American antis were unable to do. (Benjamin, A History of the Anti-suffrage Movement, 156).

also in the modern world. Similarly, when historians label early twentieth-century German antifeminists' racism and sexism as products of a "uniquely" German tradition of illiberalism, they overlook American liberalism's own failure, in the early twentieth century (and before and since), to overcome racism and to promote racial and gender equality. Most importantly, this comparative analysis of early antifeminism in Germany and the United States highlights the extraordinary irony which lies in simplistically identifying uniquely German illiberal and preindustrial continuities between early twentieth-century antifeminism and Nazi ideology when much of the German antifeminists' arsenal was imported from the "liberal", industrial, United States.

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