



## Im/possible Careers. Gendered Perspectives on Scholarly *Personae* around 1900<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

In German-speaking countries as elsewhere, women, especially from the middle classes, demanded entry into the male-dominated academic world with growing vehemence around 1900. This essay focuses on the constellations and dynamics that prompted the reframing of the social field of knowledge production. Taking the case of the women's rights activist and writer Käthe Schirmacher, who publicly campaigned for women's access to higher education, I explore the motivations, social transformations and socially available life plans behind her path. To this end, I draw on the concept of the scholarly *persona* as a mediating instance between individual aspirations and social relations and examine its potential for a gender-sensitive intellectual history. Here I argue that a differentiated analysis of knowledge production in the sciences and the humanities is only possible if non-institutional and, therefore, less obvious gender regimes are also addressed. The institutional and private arrangements that enable academics, intellectuals, and also artists to concentrate on their work play an essential part in their production of knowledge and artistic work. Therefore, the key argument of this paper is that questions about gender-specific (as well as class-specific) life plans in various creative social fields can only be examined in a differentiated way if this support is systematically included in research on the scholarly, intellectual, or artistic *persona*.

*Keywords:* scholarly *persona*, gender, domestic work, intellectuals

## Zusammenfassung

Um 1900 forderten auch im deutschen Sprachraum Frauen insbesondere aus den Mittelschichten mit wachsender Vehemenz Einlass in die männlich dominierte akademische Welt. Die Konstellationen und Dynamiken, die den Umbau des sozialen Feldes der Wissensproduktion vorantrieben, stehen im Fokus dieses Aufsatzes. Ausgehend vom Fall der Frauenrechtsaktivistin und Schriftstellerin Käthe Schirmacher, die sich öffentlich für den Hochschulzugang von Frauen einsetzte, frage ich nach Motivationen, sozialen Transformationen und gesellschaftlich verfügbaren Lebensentwürfen, die hinter ihrem Weg standen. Ich knüpfe dazu an das Konzept der wissenschaftlichen *persona* als Vermittlungsinstanz zwischen individuellen Bestrebungen und gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen an und untersuche seine Brauchbarkeit für Fragestellungen einer gendersensiblen Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Eine differenzierte Analyse wissenschaftlicher Wissensproduktion ist, so mein Argument, nur möglich, wenn auch nicht-institutionelle und daher weniger offensichtliche Genderregime thematisiert werden. Die institutionellen und privaten Arrangements, die wissenschaftlich, intellektuell oder auch künstlerisch tätigen Menschen Konzentration auf ihre Arbeit ermöglichen, haben essentiellen Anteil an ihrer Wissensproduktion, ihrem künstlerischen Schaffen. Nur wenn diese Unterstützungen in Forschungen zur wissenschaftlichen, intellektuellen bzw. zur künstlerischen *persona* systematisch einbezogen werden, können, so das Argument dieses Aufsatzes, Fragen nach geschlechtsspezifischen (wie auch nach klassenspezifischen) biographischen Entwürfen in unterschiedlichen kreativen gesellschaftlichen Feldern differenziert untersucht werden.

*Schlagworte:* Wissenschaftliche *persona*, Geschlecht, Hausarbeit, Intellektuelle

## Is a Female Scholarly Persona Conceivable in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany? And Is It Liveable?

In the Eighteen-Eighties, in Prussia, aspiring to become an erudite person implied a male identity. In all likelihood it was this observation that was behind two young girls' choice of their pseudonyms for each other: Wolfgang and Jean Paul. We know about their playful adoption of two famous German poets' first names from lyrics that survived in Käthe Schirmacher's papers. In October 1883, four friends celebrated their graduation from the seminar for female teachers in the town of Danzig. To mark the moment of passage, one of the young collegians wrote a festive poem imagining their

future careers. Dedicating the artistic attempt to her admired friend Käthe Schirmacher (1865–1930) (aka Wolfgang), Elisabeth Matthes (?–?) (aka Jean Paul) envisaged brilliant Wolfgang fighting limitations and prejudice:

Nicht die Beschränkung kann Dir Befriedigung geben/ Nein des vollen Lebens  
reicher und mächtiger Strom soll/ dich umrauschend, heben und tragen Dein  
Schifflein der Zukunft entgegen/ daß im Kampfe mit Sturm und Wellen erprobt  
die Kraft Du/ die der Genius des Lebens Dir mitgab in reichlicher Fülle/ Glück auf  
denn zum rühmlichen Kampf mit des Vorurteils [törichtem] Wahne. [‘Constraint  
cannot satisfy you/ Full life’s rich and mighty river/ Shall sweep around you and  
carry your boat into a future/ of battling storm and waves with all the might/ life’s  
genius has given you in abundance/ Good luck for your glorious fight against  
jaundice’s foolish delusions!’ (All translations from German: J.G.)]<sup>2</sup>

At the age of eighteen, these eager young women had reached the highest level of formal education a female person could achieve in Prussia. Their school-leaving degree did not give them access to any further opportunities of studying. With marriage figuring as a woman’s true destiny in the eyes of their contemporaries, further education would have been a pointless investment, and any job they would be able to find as a governess in a private household or teaching children in a primary school was considered an emergency solution.

To strive for an academic career as a woman was perceived as a presumptuous wish and a foolish life plan that would sully the purity of the academy and spoil the girl’s marriage prospects.<sup>3</sup> Despite such denigration, Elisabeth Matthes and Käthe Schirmacher dreamed of a life of learning, not of marriage and family. Both the institutional and social obstacles were enormous. Apart from the fundamental exclusion of women from German universities, the education girls received in the strongly gendered German school system in no way provided the educational fundamentals (such as Latin, Greek, or mathematics) for university studies.<sup>4</sup> And even if they should overcome all obstacles, was there any chance that they could earn their living with scholarly or scientific knowledge? German universities would only start to admit women as regular students in a few disciplines around 1900.<sup>5</sup> When Schirmacher and Matthes graduated from the teachers’ seminar, German women had to go abroad to earn an academic degree. Some Swiss universities accepted female students since the Eighteen-Sixties; hence Switzerland became an important destination for women from Central and Eastern Europe who wanted to study.<sup>6</sup> During the last decades feminist research has analysed the institutional and

ideological exclusions of women and demonstrated the achievements of courageous women who succeeded in their field despite significant obstacles.<sup>7</sup> Such research often also points to the limitations of focusing on academic misogyny and/or extraordinary female scholars and scientists.<sup>8</sup>

The analysis of the entangled processes of academic professionalisation and women's exclusion can significantly enrich the history of science; it shows how changing social contexts of knowledge production are closely linked both to gendered divisions of labour and gender ideologies. As Mineke Bosch points out, the introduction of anthropological concepts, and particularly the concept of the scientific *persona*, has paved the way for connecting "'science as knowledge'" with science as "social process".<sup>9</sup> Referring to Lorraine Daston's and Otto Sibum's seminal text, she defines "'persona" as an intermediary between the individual and the institution [...] a cultural identity that simultaneously shapes the individual in body and mind and creates a collective with a shared and recognisable physiognomy.'<sup>10</sup> Bosch, however, also argues that previous to this development in science history, gender studies had already devised a similar concept of gender identity as performance.<sup>11</sup> Both, biographical research in gender history and the history of science, increasingly focus on the "'doing" of identity [...] as a relational (dialogical) and social process'.<sup>12</sup>

In a recent issue of the journal *Persona Studies* Kirsti Niskanen, Mineke Bosch and Kaat Wils expand the concept of the scientific *persona*. They particularly ask how scientific *personae* are created in institutions and under institutional conditions and emphasise differences like gender, class, and social background.<sup>13</sup> Falko Schnicke similarly argues for consistently including questions of gender in projects in the history of science. We should, he claims, not only analyse human resources, institutional structures and social practices but also examine whether and how the choice of topics, perspectives, categories and metaphors of research is gendered. Like Niskanen, Bosch and Wils, he focuses on the institutional and cultural contexts of academic biographies.<sup>14</sup> His argument that the way scholars designed their scholarly *persona* was not only conditioned by time-specific gender stereotypes, but also served to create specific (masculine) group identities in academia,<sup>15</sup> is particularly helpful for my questions regarding the gendered boundary between scholarly and non-scholarly identities.

Tying in with these concepts, we can go beyond the ideological and institutional levels of analysis and ask what kind of gendered scholarly and scientific *personae* the 1883 graduates from the Danzig teacher's seminar were confronted with. We may also dig deeper and inquire whether, despite their apparent exclusion on the normative level, any covert biographical models for a woman's career in a scholarly context

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existed, and how young women could gain knowledge of such models. The tortuous life paths of Käthe Schirmacher and Elisabeth Matthes (married Bentele) epitomise the lack of any straightforward entranceways into academe for them. Without the education and funds necessary for university studies, they both initially started to earn money as governess and teacher. After years of struggle, they earned their academic degrees abroad. Despite their achievements, neither of them had the opportunity to develop a university career, and both had to find other ways to make use of their academic education. It took ambitious Käthe Schirmacher twelve years of study in several countries, interrupted by illness and various employments, to earn her doctorate in Romance languages and literature in Zurich in 1895.<sup>16</sup> Elisabeth Matthes Bentele worked as a governess in private households around the world for nearly twenty years, got married and was divorced before she seized on an opportunity to study medicine at the University of Illinois as a middle-aged woman.<sup>17</sup>

In this article, I will address two related questions. Firstly, I will ask what motivations and meanings may have been behind a young German woman's desire to contemplate a life in science in the Eighteen-Eighties. Secondly, I will examine what the practical conditions were for a woman to earn a living from what she had studied. Taking the case of Käthe Schirmacher, I will explore what, despite all obstacles, rendered an academic career thinkable for her. I will explore what she may have had in mind when she embarked on becoming a learned woman and where she sought the necessary information for her plans. I will then analyse how later in her career she managed her life as a self-sufficient woman and a public intellectual within a society where scholarly and—more broadly—intellectual *personae* were nearly exclusively male.<sup>18</sup> Focusing on how she organised her daily life in collaboration with—primarily female—companions, I will argue that stable support in recurrent scholarly and mundane tasks is an important prerequisite for a career as an intellectual inside and outside academic institutions. Here I propose that there is a close link between the gendered nature of scholarly *personae* and the mostly invisible but essential support domestic arrangements provided (and still provide) to scholars. It is therefore essential to combine the analysis of hegemonic scholarly identity concepts on the one hand and the exploration of practical and economic support in familial and para-familial contexts on the other.

Before I address these issues, I would like to briefly discuss the sources on which this research is based. Using the case of Käthe Schirmacher, a radical feminist activist around 1900 and one of the first German women to earn a doctorate, is possible because the prolific author had an extraordinary sense of self and history and became an exceptional self-archivist early in her life.<sup>19</sup> Women's legacies are very rarely

deemed worthy of preservation, and comprehensive estates similar to Schirmacher's papers only survived in exceptional cases.<sup>20</sup> The story of Elisabeth Matthes Bentele is a good example. We only know of her transnational life in Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Mexico and the USA because Käthe Schirmacher valued her letters and kept them until her death.<sup>21</sup> Käthe Schirmacher was convinced that her itinerary was exemplary in more than one sense. This is why she was determined that her records be kept for posterity. Declaring that the material was of historical relevance, she secured a place for her huge private archive at the University of Rostock shortly before her death in 1930 at the age of only 65.<sup>22</sup> The fact that she was a venerated figure in late Weimar right-wing milieux certainly defined the composition of her papers. Most probably, however, it was also the reason why her extensive papers were preserved in a public archival space.

For any study based on private papers such as Schirmacher's estate, it is necessary to reflect on the autobiographical agency of the bequeather.<sup>23</sup> In my approach to this material, which could be used for a multitude of research questions, I always assume that Schirmacher's biography can be used for a case study precisely because she herself already experienced and presented her life as a case.<sup>24</sup> Hence, I analyse her autobiographical practices as a continuous process of publicly and privately making sense of the self and the world. In this article, my focus will be on Schirmacher's persistent desire to study and to pursue a university career that she expressed early in her teens and maintained her whole life. Schirmacher's practices of self-reflection and self-documentation expressed in diaries and letters, published and unpublished autobiographical writings, and fictional and political publications were closely linked to her struggle for higher education. They were also a way of managing her work as an independent professional writer. Her well-kept diaries and correspondence served as a repository and resource for her work. As a meticulous bookkeeper of her various tasks and obligations, she used her diaries to structure and organise her daily workloads.<sup>25</sup>

### **If You Are Not a Genius, Become a Wife of a Genius!**

To get a sense of the motives and inspirations that may have been behind Käthe Schirmacher's plan to study, we must look to the years of her adolescence. At the age of sixteen, she started a correspondence about her education and her future with her grandfather Julius Scharlok (1809–1899), a botanist and apothecary in Graudenz and the only person in her family who had a close connection to science.<sup>26</sup> In her once well-to-do family involved in transnational trade, she observed growing difficulties fuelled

by the economic failure of her father's company and various illnesses of both her parents.<sup>27</sup> Having finished school and hoping that she would be allowed to attend the teacher's seminar the following year as the first step to further study, she pondered ways of becoming self-employed. Her observations of her elder sister's marriage intensified her desire for independence. Despite her otherwise liberal grandfather's firm conviction that a woman's destiny was to become a loving wife and mother, she defended her wish to study and her belief in women's ability to reason.<sup>28</sup> She persisted in the debate by sending him elaborate pamphlets in which she criticised the different levels of progress men and women had reached and demanded equal higher education for women.<sup>29</sup> Her 1882 Christmas present for him was an essay she had written on 'true education' and 'modesty.' By embracing contemporary concepts of progress and the historicity of civilisation, she argued that women should be allowed to educate themselves. As everything was changing they should also have the opportunity to evolve.<sup>30</sup>

While Schirmacher discussed the appropriateness of higher education for women with a respected older member of her family, she sought advice about the opportunities she might have from a peer. Her sister's young brother-in-law Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916), two years her senior, had begun his studies in Geneva in 1882 and told her about the famous Russian woman students he had met there. In the summer of 1882, Münsterberg wrote long letters answering Schirmacher's questions about her chances to enrol as a student, too. A 48-page letter he sent to her on her seventeenth birthday was not without some inadvertent humour. In stilted terms, the nineteen-year-old fledgling student lectured her about marriage and motherhood being incompatible with a woman's public appearance on a lectern. 'Die Seele der Frau soll wie ein Tempel sein, wo wenige Andächtige niederknien, nicht wie eine Jahrmarktsbude, wo sich für Geld die große schaulustige Menge jubelnd amüsiert' ['a woman's soul should be like a temple where only a few worshipers kneel, and not be offered for money to a gawping and cheering crowd at a fair.']<sup>31</sup>

The young man's verbose response to the information Schirmacher had requested from him offers deep insights into the misogynist discourse of the time. The sources of some of his utterances can be traced – pamphlets against women's higher education enjoyed considerable circulation among male students of the time.<sup>32</sup> Here, however, I am more interested in other aspects of his advice for the aspiring girl. Münsterberg began by presenting in grim terms the major obstacles Schirmacher would have to overcome if she set out to study. She would have to study privately for years to acquire the necessary knowledge for university admittance. Then she would have to go to a university abroad where she had to face hostility from male fellow students and

professors without her family's help. All this would cost her parents a lot of money they could not afford, and after all these efforts, her marriage prospects would be poor.

However, after painting this daunting picture, Münsterberg also outlined two possible entrance ways into the academic world for her. On the one hand, using the example of the Russian student he had met, he acknowledged that there was a natural force of true vocation. Some extraordinary women were drawn to science and to work for the greater good by an irresistible calling against their expressed wish to become mothers and wives. However, he claimed that these individuals with a calling never made a principle of their extraordinary path but humbly accepted their fate as a burden they had to bear.<sup>33</sup> In doing so he unintentionally also sketched a possible, if uncomfortable, *persona* for a female scholar: the brilliant woman, the female genius who was unable to escape her vocation and therefore had to forgo the happiness of love and motherhood.

That kind of genius, he explained to Schirmacher, was rare and, obviously, he did not see it in her. Nevertheless, he had another suggestion, derived from his own needs, which might open a back door into the academic world for her. He knew that while he had studied Greek and Latin at grammar school, she was good at modern languages, considered a more appropriate competence for women. In order to study his particular interest, anthropology and cultural history, he needed someone to translate books from English and French (which he did not read well enough) into German. He would send her these texts, and in exchange for her translating excerpts from them, he would teach her about this innovative field of research. 'Schulter an Schulter' [*Shoulder to shoulder*] they would go through life in science and explore new ideas. As he put it, a clear decision was required: 'Ja oder nein, Käthe? Ich warte auf Antwort, auf schnelle Antwort, ohne langes Besinnen, Ja oder nein? [*Yes or no, Käthe? I am waiting for an answer, a quick answer without long deliberation, yes or no?*']<sup>34</sup> He did not explain the urgency—was this a covert marriage proposal, or did he just need the translations quickly? Notwithstanding the association of comradeship among equals in the phrase 'shoulder to shoulder', he did not want to relinquish a heteronormative order of social relations. A few days earlier, he had responded to Schirmacher's farewell formula 'Ihr Freund' [*Your friend*—the German word 'Freund' implying a male identity] with the mocking signature 'Ihre Freundin Hugo Münsterberg' [*Your girl-friend H. M.*].<sup>35</sup> In any case, the relationship cooled soon after this intense exchange for other reasons. Still, with his proposal, the self-assured Münsterberg had also outlined a second model for a female scholarly *persona*: the educated supporter of a brilliant man.



To put it bluntly, two models of academic life for a woman emerge in the young man's letter: to present herself as a genius who had to follow her vocation, or to become the wife of a learned man, preferably a genius. The exclusionary intention of the first model is obvious. It derived from Theodor Bischoff's assertion that there was no need for change in the gendered system of higher education because true female genius in a woman would prevail if only it were present.<sup>36</sup> As early as the Eighteen-Seventies, Hedwig Dohm had criticised this position in one of her sharp and lucid treatises.<sup>37</sup> We might also dismiss the second model as an obscure caricature of more complex conditions and relationships. However, it is worth reading Münsterberg's letter as the expression of a keen observer who described both what he saw and surmised and also what he wished to establish for himself. In so doing, we can ascertain what was to become a widespread model of cooperation between a man in an academic position and a well-educated woman supporting him as secretary, translator, housekeeper, and often also as a wife.<sup>38</sup> What transpired was a transformation of the scientific household that reflected the advance of women into the sciences and rearranged scholarly practice along gendered hierarchies. Before I turn to this second model in more detail, however, I want to accompany the young Schirmacher a little further on her arduous path to an academic degree.

### Fact, Fiction, Persona

For more than a decade, Schirmacher combined work and studies for her doctorate in different forms. She started as an eighteen-year-old governess in a private household in Thuringia, where she fought for a few free hours in the evenings to read the books Münsterberg had recommended.<sup>39</sup> With the financial help of her affluent brother-in-law Otto Münsterberg (1854–1915), Hugo's older brother, she then went on to France to improve her French and later to study at the Sorbonne. In Paris, she started to give language lessons to her fellow students to support herself. After her successful *agrégation* in German studies, she worked as a language teacher at a girls' school in Liverpool, where she also studied English literature at the university for a year. She then returned to Danzig for several years to cure her poor health. To contribute to her family's tight household budget, she gave correspondence language lessons to women and also started to translate and write. At the same time, she began to study Romance languages. In 1893 she continued her studies in Zurich, where she obtained a doctorate in 1895. For a long time, she hoped to become a professor at a university—the latest attempt to reach this goal is documented in her papers when she was nearly fifty years old.<sup>40</sup>

During the years of her academic training, the focus of her work to earn a living progressively shifted from teaching to writing. An essential part of this writing as a journalist and author of fiction and non-fiction reflected and challenged the marginalised situation of women in academia and the professions. Some literary texts with an autobiographical background – autofiction in today's terms – are particularly relevant in this respect.<sup>41</sup> A number of characters that mirror her own experiences in the student milieu recur in several of her published and unpublished texts.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, without equating these characters with historical individuals, I understand Schirmacher's fictional texts as part of her autobiographical practices.<sup>43</sup>

Schirmacher's first (anonymously) published book, the short novel *Die Libertad* [The Libertad] (1891), portrays a group of former female fellow students who meet again at the summer house of US-Americans Lotte and Arthur Kent a few of years after their student days. The reunited friends reflect on their various situations as educated women in different countries and share how they have fared since leaving university. The question of whether one is part of a couple or not has some resonance in this exchange. While the main character, Phil, lives as a single woman and maintains herself, the American hostess Lotte is part of a working couple and collaborates with her husband as a lawyer. The third protagonist, artist Anne Marie, is fatally ill; she has been too proud to seek help after losing the support of a wealthy relative and has literally worked herself to death.<sup>44</sup> The little book, which had a considerable public echo for the debut of an unknown author, was the first example of what would later become a flourishing genre of female student novels in German literature.<sup>45</sup> Some of these later books would dramatise the question of whether love and a happy family life were compatible with a woman's professional career.<sup>46</sup> Schirmacher's novella, however, did not rule on the issue. The author related observations on the different situations of the protagonists – the romanceless camaraderie of the working couple, the loneliness of the proud artist in her dismal lodgings, from where Lotte rescued her, Lotte's functional household, Phil's nomadic life – but she did not present either one of the different paths as the only possible solution.<sup>47</sup> The openness of an experimental space, and the relaxed insight into the private life of an otherwise often scandalised avantgarde group, won the book enthusiastic readers among the radical protagonists of the women's movement while others feared it might harm the common cause.

The innovative genre reflected the emergence of a new, albeit extremely small, group in European societies: female students. They were both fiercely criticised and eloquently idealised, which is a sign of ongoing negotiations about a livable *persona* for this group.<sup>48</sup> Schirmacher also participated in the debate with a non-fiction book.

In *Züricher Studentinnen* [Female students in Zurich] she affirmed the new type and at the same time attempted to demystify it.<sup>49</sup> However, the fiction and non-fiction literature on female students also marked out the boundary of what was conceivable and what was not. To my knowledge, female scholars or scientists did not appear as either negative or positive fictional characters in the German literature of the time. While the *persona* of the female student was slowly taking shape, the woman scholar or scientist remained a singular exception. For her, a viable, publicly accepted *persona* had not yet emerged around 1900.

The provocation that lay in demanding the possibility of a female scholarly *persona* in the first place was also reflected in a fierce epistolary conflict over the novella *Die Libertad*. One anonymous writer's letter forwarded by the editor accused the author of using individual experiences as evidence for general facts. The critic also chided the author for the book's assertion that women should have the same educational and professional opportunities as men, as they would only be shabby competitors for academic men. Not only were professors treating female students better than their male peers, but educated women were also unfairly favoured: 'Die studierte Frau ist etwas Apartes [...], dem der deutsche Mann [...] Vorrang lässt vor jungen Männern, die dasselbe leisten.' [The educated woman is something special [...] to whom the German man [...] gives priority over young men who achieve the same.]<sup>50</sup>

After a heated exchange of letters via the publisher it turned out that Schirmacher's former correspondence partner Hugo Münsterberg, now teaching psychology as an assistant professor at the University of Freiburg, had been the anonymous critic. He had used his knowledge of Schirmacher's personal career to write the anonymous diatribes. A long-term estrangement between the two relatives was the result of the dispute.

However, her first book also won Käthe Schirmacher new friends. Among them was a young woman from a devout protestant background: 21-year-old Helene Stöcker (1869–1943), later in her life a well-known activist for sexual liberation and peace.<sup>51</sup> Like Münsterberg, she was convinced that the narrative was based on biographical experience. But this did not diminish the relevance of the book in her eyes, quite the contrary. She wrote to the author by way of the editor and asked for advice on how she could become a student herself. Helene Stöcker identified with Schirmacher's alter ego Phil, by whom she felt comforted and inspired: ‚[D]er beste Trost, den man auf seinem einsamen Wege hat, daß es Menschen giebt [...], die fühlen, denken; streben wie wir und denen man [...] nur nachstreben kann!‘ [‘[T]he best consolation one has on one's lonely path is that there are people [...] who feel, think, strive like us and whom [...] one can only try to emulate!]<sup>52</sup> The young admirer got

the advice she needed from Schirmacher, and the two women remained in touch for years. Helene Stöcker left her parental home in Wuppertal shortly after reading Schirmacher's book and took courses organised by the women's movement to prepare women for university studies.<sup>53</sup>

What can we infer from Schirmacher's debut book and the reaction it received? I'd hold that the autobiographical element was deliberately hidden only superficially. The similarity to the author's life helped to support the text's authenticity and political stance. On the other hand, the fictional character allowed the author to create models that hardly existed in real life. As Romana Weiershausen and Miriam Wallraven both have convincingly argued, fictionalisation (of the autobiographical as well as of social analysis) was a common strategy in the feminist literature of the time when neither theoretical nor literary concepts suited the argument the authors wanted to make.<sup>54</sup> Käthe Schirmacher rejected the restrictive model of vocation as the only possible legitimate reason for a woman's higher education, and thus made her story into a plea for equal rights and opportunities for women in general. Making a case of her own career plans, she helped to develop a future *persona*: the erudite woman who could make a living with her academic education.

In the Eighteen-Nineties, when Schirmacher received her doctorate, a female scholar existed only as an absolute exception; her path at the fringes of academia—as an independent social researcher, a journalist who time and again had to use her PhD to assert her authority, a lecturer, an activist, a translator—illustrates this. Therefore, in order to move to the second question of this paper and discuss aspects of the daily practice of a woman who lived off what she had learned at university, we need to further open the perspective and work with the broader definition of the professional intellectual personality.

### **Käthe Schirmacher, Her Diaries, Her Wives and Her Secretaries**

Schirmacher, who lived in Paris as a journalist from 1895, published on many different topics, also in popular and academic contexts, including, for example, a sociological study on the nationally segregated labour market in Paris or a popular biography of the French philosopher Voltaire.<sup>55</sup> In her papers, we can find many sources on how she managed the massive amount of work she accomplished. Over the two decades after she graduated from the University of Zurich, she wrote several books, hundreds of newspaper articles, essays, and studies, and travelled as a public lecturer for the women's movement and abolitionism, as well as for German-nationalist organisations.<sup>56</sup> She had specific daily techniques to make herself get on with her

work, and she had various types of assistance from others—from family members, partners, and hosts on her travels.

From the time Schirmacher left her home in Danzig at eighteen, she wrote into a diary nearly every day until the end of her life. Most of these diaries (written in French until the beginning of the World War I) have survived in her papers. For a very long period, the daily entries had a similar structure, although differing in detail and completeness. In a full entry, Schirmacher jotted down when she had gotten up, sometimes also how she had slept or whether she had a headache. She documented whom she had met during the day, which text(s) she had worked on, what correspondence she had received and which letters she had answered. Sometimes she briefly commented on the weather; more often, she noted the atmosphere of a meeting, particularly when it had been nice.<sup>57</sup> When analysing the functional notes, we can see performative and organising aspects.<sup>58</sup> On the one hand, Schirmacher had established fixed routines that she kept (or at least wrote down) whether she lived alone, with a partner or family, whether travelling or at home. On the other hand, she used her diary as documentation for her work by meticulously taking note of when she had sent a letter, an article, an invoice.

A recurring term was the single French word ‘rangé’ (meaning to tidy, file or arrange) without further explanation. Irritating in its vagueness, it indicates the diarist’s awareness of necessary domestic and clerical chores and serves as an always-available explanation for time lost during the day.<sup>59</sup> A seemingly useless repetitive element in a functional worktext, I read it as its *punctum*, a seemingly incidental detail that changes the perspective. It hints at other notes on tasks that a scholar’s wife and/or secretary usually fulfilled and conveys Schirmacher’s knowledge that such support was not always available for her as a woman. In order to reconcile her daily experience with her self-image as a university-educated professional woman, in her diary she established a *persona* that expressed both her demand to be valued equally with a man and her knowledge of her particular life situation as a professional woman.

Schirmacher did not always lack support; for extended periods it was quite the opposite. Already during her time in Liverpool, a friend and admirer, Amelia Hartely, shared the flat with her and nursed her when she fell ill.<sup>60</sup> From her time in Zurich in the early Eighteen-Nineties onwards, she cohabitated with younger women for many years. Her first long-time companion, Margarethe Böhm, followed her to Zurich and then to Paris. While pursuing her own studies, Böhm also assisted Schirmacher in her work. As a former pupil of Schirmacher, she copied texts and dealt with other secretarial work for her, but also took care of the household in their shared flat in Paris.<sup>61</sup> It is hard to say whether she received payment, did this work for room and

board, or out of friendship or love. However, we do have documents that, albeit jokingly, depict her as Schirmacher's wife. In a letter to her mother, Schirmacher, whose nickname in her family was 'Katz' [cat], signed with 'Dein alter Kater und Frau' ['Your old tomcat and wife']. Next to the signature, she had drawn a bigger and a smaller cat: obviously the tomcat Käthe and his wife, Margarethe.<sup>62</sup> This reference to marital life was not a single occurrence. Schirmacher described their relationship as a 'glückliche Ehe' ['happy marriage'].<sup>63</sup> In the correspondence between Margarethe Böhm, Schirmacher, and her mother, Böhm both presented herself as 'Sekretarius' and as 'Frau Doctorin' who hoped to be soon reunited with her 'Doctor' (Schirmacher).<sup>64</sup> However, Böhm left Schirmacher because of her strained health in 1896; a nervous illness had been diagnosed. Another friend, Henriette Josephson, who lived in the same tenement in Paris, inherited her role.<sup>65</sup>

Elisa Heinrich has described Schirmacher's intimate relationships to Böhm, Josephson and other partners in detail and has also discussed whether they should be characterised as sexual relations. In her lucid analysis, she highlights some consistent patterns of these relationships that are pertinent also to the questions of this article: the division of labour (the household and secretarial work being the remit of Schirmacher's partners) as well as the inner hierarchy constituted by the admiration these young women had for the self-assured and publicly active Schirmacher. Taking all this into account, I adopt her concept of 'wives' even though it does not reflect a legally binding relationship.<sup>66</sup> Heinrich also points to the problematic endings of these relations in which illness and nervous disease on the part of Schirmacher's companions played a role more than once.<sup>67</sup> We can infer both that it was not easy to live with Schirmacher and that she was good at finding people to adore and support her. However, what distinguished her from the male scholars and intellectuals against whom she measured herself was that she repeatedly had to find new support—she could neither marry a wife for life, nor did she work at an institution that provided her with a secretary. What she was able to offer in this barter was her charisma as a pioneer and activist, her role as an intellectual and model for younger women, often, arguably, her emotional and sexual appeal. Despite her often-complicated life and career, her value in this respect remained stable. At the time of her death at the age of 65 in Meran, she was accompanied and nursed by a young woman, described as her secretary, Hanna Krüger, who, after Schirmacher's death, secured her papers and wrote her first biography.<sup>68</sup>

Another support Schirmacher occasionally received were invitations to the private homes of admirers and fellow activists. During her lecture travels in winter, she usually stayed at these houses for a few days before proceeding to the next town. In

this way, she gained intimate knowledge of the movement and social and political developments in a specific region.<sup>69</sup> She was also taken care of and enjoyed the comfort of her hosts' often wealthy households. Some more extended visits took place in the summer when she was invited to write and study and relax at the country homes of friends and supporters. Schirmacher received the most constant support from two women with whom she had different but close relationships: her mother, Clara Schirmacher, and her partner, Klara Schleker, with whom she had an increasingly close relationship from 1903 onwards. From 1910, she lived with Schleker in Marlow near Rostock where she had previously spent several summers at Schleker's house. In this relationship, too, Schirmacher's partner took care of the brunt of housework. While she travelled around, lectured, wrote, and earned money with it all, Schleker did most of the household chores and also various secretarial work.<sup>70</sup>

For many years, Schirmacher had an intense epistolary exchange with both her mother and Klara Schleker, and the rich correspondence forms an invaluable source on many biographical and other issues. Here I interpret it as a vital element of support for Schirmacher, consisting of three areas. Firstly, the continuous communication with these confidantes provided a place where she could try out both ideas for her writing and performances of her *persona*. Secondly, it was a medium to negotiate practical assistance—e.g. clothing Clara Schirmacher had made for her daughter in Danzig, mail that was forwarded to Schirmacher on her journeys, many diverse household issues that were Klara Schleker's remit in their domicile. Thirdly, since her parents' house in Danzig and Klara Schleker's house in Marlow were her most stable residences, her mother and Klara Schleker also helped her to store and organise her material—correspondence, manuscripts, books—and kept track of them. In a way, they became her first archivists.<sup>71</sup>

Käthe Schirmacher knew how much her career (and women's careers as professionals in general) depended on stable domestic support. She also said so in public. Corinna Oesch has laid out Schirmacher's pioneering analysis of the gendered division of labour in detail.<sup>72</sup> She shows how, already in the Eighteen-Nineties, Schirmacher emphasised the fundamental importance of domestic work for the functioning of industrialising societies in her lectures, pamphlets and articles. Schirmacher argued that the domestic support that men unquestionably received was what enabled them to work outside the home for money in the first place. Therefore, women should have a right to remuneration for this essential work and thereby gain independence. She also claimed that economics hitherto had neglected the aspect of women's domestic work entirely and thereby created a distorted picture of economic relations in society.<sup>73</sup>

Above all, Schirmacher pointed out that women working outside the home did not have the same support and, therefore, had to carry at least a double burden.<sup>74</sup> Here, she was not misled by the achievements of a small number of wealthy women in the arts and sciences who were able to delegate housework to servants, but insisted on the fundamental challenge the vast majority of women faced. There is not enough space here to present Oesch's in-depth analysis of the various aspects, ambivalences and developments of Schirmacher's campaign and the controversy she unleashed in the radical wing of the German women's movement, nor the recognition she received in the early stages of second-wave feminism.<sup>75</sup> But two aspects, in particular, are relevant to the subject of this article. The first is Schirmacher's insight into the close connection between a concept of femininity that entrusted women with household chores without remuneration and the many obstacles and barriers for their personal freedom and intellectual development. The second pertinent aspect here is her demand that professional and working women should be exempt from housework. As a possible solution, Schirmacher discussed new forms of cooperative living with an outsourced household (one-kitchen house) even before the onset of World War I.<sup>76</sup>

Schirmacher not only investigated the gender-specific division of labour sociologically, she also provided an innovative popularisation of the issue: In 1903 she created a *laterna magica* lecture on women's work in collaboration with the Urania Wien, an institution for adult education. It was performed several times in Vienna and Prague between 1903 and 1908. One of the show's missions was to demonstrate that women were able to do all sorts of work that required higher education and that they were successful in doing so. Portraits of prominent artists and university-trained women such as the legal expert Dr Anita Augspurg or a female physician at work were part of the visual programme of the lecture. However, another aim was to demonstrate the value and necessity of domestic work, displayed in various forms in numerous images of the show. We might therefore say that Schirmacher tried to promote a double equation: women were able to do the same jobs as men. But also: housework and professional work were equally valuable.<sup>77</sup>

How much Schirmacher was aware of the importance of domestic support for her career as a publicly active personality became evident in a conflict with her long-time partner Klara Schleker in the early Nineteen-Twenties. At the time, both women were engaged in the right-wing German-nationalist party DNVP. In 1920, Schleker ran for the state parliament of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and was elected. Schirmacher, instead of congratulating her, sent an angry letter full of scorn because she expected to lose Klara's daily support, which she considered essential for her own work: 'Ich habe Dir vorher ganz klar geschrieben, dass deine Wahl mir die Grundlage der



Leistungsfähigkeit zerschlägt. [...] Dass ich aber jetzt [...] nirgends ein Heim [...] habe [...] das ist bei meinem geringen Rest an Kraft bitter schwer' [‘I told you openly that your being elected would shatter the foundations of my capability to work. [...] Now, I have no home, nowhere to go [...] As I am already exhausted, this is bitterly hard for me.’]<sup>78</sup>

She only calmed down when she found another supporter, apparently provided by her party. In her autobiography, she would later describe the situation in terms explicitly reminiscent of the institution of marriage, and the close relation between domestic and secretarial chores: ‘[N]ahm die Politik mir meine “Hausfrau”, Danzig schickte Vertretung. Elisabeth Rausche, die in Weimar bereits mein freundwilliger Sekretär gewesen, folgte mir nach Berlin...’ [‘Politics took my “housewife” away from me, but Danzig sent a replacement. Elisabeth Rausche who had been my willing and friendly secretary in Weimar followed me to Berlin...’]<sup>79</sup> The uncommon German term ‘freundwillig’ left open whether Rausche was paid for her secretarial work, or for standing in as a substitute wife in Berlin, or whether she worked for Schirmacher out of friendship and/or political commitment.

The interconnected struggles that Käthe Schirmacher fought to both create a *persona* that would allow for public recognition of her work and to secure a place where she could conduct research and write undisturbed by everyday household and administrative matters are individual problems only in their specific manifestations. The problems she had to deal with had a long history. Likewise, similar forms of self-representation and hierarchical collaboration were also practiced in other creative milieus.

## Scholars and Geniuses in Their Households

In his inspiring analysis of the transformation of the scholarly *persona* in early modern Europe, Gadi Algazi discusses the effects of secularisation on forms and contexts of knowledge production. He points to the transfer of the (male) scholar from the monastery to married life and their struggle to create a new *persona* in the environment of a family household. He argues that the North European humanists’ practice could be ‘characterised by a systematic production of ambiguity: combining involvement and detachment with family settings, intimate presence with studied absent-mindedness.’ He focuses on how these married scholars ‘carved out’ space for their work in the shared space of the household<sup>80</sup> and at the same time established a new style of self-presentation as emotionally distant, learned men, deliberately forgetful of mundane issues: ‘The relative weakness of institutional demarcations between home

and work, higher things and bodily concerns, may explain the marked emphasis on symbolic gestures and cultivating a distinctive habitus.<sup>81</sup> Algazi, thereby, also discusses the wives and the expectations placed on them. While their husbands sometimes presented them as a nuisance interrupting ongoing intellectual work, they were also indispensable supporters providing care and often economic security, too. Focusing on a phase of insecurity and transition that exposed underlying structures and dependencies, Algazi, among other things, examines the search for a marriage pattern that would provide the scholars with suitable wives. Furthermore, he shows that the new *persona* and the importance of domestic support become more palpable where it is not a given and makes medieval scholar Christine de Pizan (1364–1429?) in her study room a case in point. In contrast to the male scholars, she explicitly reflects on the domestic division of labour in her writings by describing her mother calling her to supper as an interrupting voice but also as a reminder of forgotten bodily needs.<sup>82</sup>

While we should not draw a direct line from medieval and early modern scholars' households to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' domestic collaborations and distractions, there are some striking echoes. Even today, forgetfulness as a scholar's learned habitus displaying the thinker's unperturbedness by mundane business has a symbolic and a practical side: it calls for the assistance of those living and working with that scholar. However, the history of science and the humanities has, until now, seldom put the question of the domestic realm centre-stage. Prina G. Abir-Am and Dorinda Outram point to this lacuna and call the historical narrative of the professionalisation of modern science into question. The studies they compiled on various examples of collaborative relationships in several disciplines complicate this story by showing the many contributions of women to science and how particular family situations enabled or hindered these contributions. They therefore argue that the 'massive underrepresentation of women' in modern science also derives 'from the exclusion of the domestic realm from science'.<sup>83</sup> Whereas Abir-Am and Outram focus on the domestic collaborative constellations of female scientists, I argue for going one step further to include the question of domestic support for female and male researchers more generally. To be free from domestic or administrative chores has neither lost its practical and symbolic relevance for the production of various kinds of knowledge, nor has it become gender neutral in late modernity. Here I tie in with a focus on family environments of male academics Lorraine Daston developed in her research on what she called the 'domestication' of the scientific *persona* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>84</sup>

To better understand the relationship between domestic (and secretarial) work and scholarly (or scientific) work, it is worthwhile to broaden the perspective once more and to take a look at the practices of artists' households in the same period, too.<sup>85</sup> The wife of the (male) artist was a much-discussed and ambivalent figure in nineteenth-century literature. Celebrated as an inspiring muse, she was often also disparaged as the housewife unable to grasp her husband's geniality, tormenting him with everyday worries.<sup>86</sup> Her counterpart was the male genius, a *persona* conceived in the eighteenth century to liberate artists' creativity from traditional aesthetic models but also, as Christine Battersby argued, to affirm creativity as a masculine quality in a time of changing gender roles.<sup>87</sup>

In her inspiring analysis of Gertrude Stein's famous book *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* Nora Doyle shows how Stein laid bare the genius/wife dichotomy by her 'parodic appropriation of the form, content and style of the domestic memoir, a specifically feminine form of autobiography' consisting of the 'dual narrative of the domestic life of the author and the intellectual trajectory and genius of her husband.'<sup>88</sup> She convincingly argues that Stein appropriated the voice of her partner Alice B. Toklas not only to confirm her own geniality but to undermine the existing model of the genius. Stein used the form of the domestic memoir, to 'play with the personas of both wife and genius, and relocate genius within a collaborative domestic space.'<sup>89</sup> By means of a series of scenes from the book, Doyle shows what Stein was tying in with—the male model of the genius—and demonstrates that Stein was concerned with more than just claiming a male artistic personality for herself. Rather she created an 'autobiographical manifesto' (Sidonie Smith), a powerful counter-narrative that highlighted the joint work and mutual intellectual engagement of 'woman' and genius'.<sup>90</sup> Citing 'Alice's' often quoted statement on the 'wives of geniuses'—'geniuses, near geniuses and might be geniuses, all having wives, and I have sat and talked with them all'—Doyle infers that obviously Stein wanted to show that 'the first qualification for genius [...] is the possession of a wife'.<sup>91</sup> Using the voice of 'Alice', Stein maintained for instance that the painter Matisse depended on Madame Matisse, who not only was an excellent housekeeper but also 'posed for all of Matisse's pictures'. Similarly, 'Alice' asserted 'Gertrude Stein's' dependence on her as she was the only one able to read her handwriting.<sup>92</sup> She furthermore suggested that through her intense domestic and secretarial work with works of art, she could recognise a brilliant piece of art: 'I always say that you cannot tell what a picture really is or what an object really is until you dust it every day and you cannot tell what a book is until you type it or proof-read it.'<sup>93</sup>

Gadi Algazi explores how early modern scholars carved out a space for contemplation in their households while establishing a *persona* that made their ability to immerse themselves in thought believable despite the worries surrounding them. Nora Doyle analyses Gertrude Stein's redefinition of the genius as somebody who creates in a collaborative domestic space. Both observations are also instructive for reconceptualising scholarly *personae* in late modernity from a gender perspective.

### Contemplation, Collaboration, and Cooking

In this article, I started with the question of whether two young women in Eighteen-Eighties Germany had any chance at all of developing a scholarly or scientific *persona*. Here, I argue that we can read the struggles and extraordinary careers of Käthe Schirmacher and Elisabeth Matthes Bentele as clues to the imminent transformations of European societies. The fact that two female teenagers devised life plans that their environment in no way seemed to have suggested hints at ideas that circulated and at emerging alternative models. In exploring their aspirations, I argued that we should not only look at the few exceptional individuals who have overcome the significant obstacles placed in the way of women striving for an academic career. It is equally important to analyse the overt or covert gendered forms in which scholarly *personae* in the phase of the opening of the universities to women were redefined. Using the correspondence of Käthe Schirmacher and Hugo Münsterberg in 1882 to fathom nascent concepts, I have mapped out the emergence of two models of a female *persona* in the academic field—the exceptional genius and the supporter of a learned man. Here I believe that particular attention needs to be paid to the genius/supporter model and the many aspects of this both productive and exploitative hierarchical formation that spread much faster than the integration of women into the academe as equals.

When women fought for admission to higher education and universities opened their doors, albeit hesitantly, to female students, the conditions they had to deal with after graduation were prefigured by concepts such as the scholarly household or the model of the genius. They had to reckon with these preconceptions that placed them in a fundamentally different position from men. During the twentieth century, I argue, many of the growing numbers of female university graduates became supportive wives and collaborators of (mostly) male academics, who in this way benefited greatly from the admission of women to university studies. To become an independent scholar as a woman was more challenging—not only because of institutional hindrances and misogyny in the academic tribes. As I have demonstrated in the case of Käthe Schirmacher, securing the necessary domestic and secretarial support also

was much more difficult than for men as neither the secretary provided by an institution nor the supportive wife were a given. Whereas the invisibility of household chores and secretarial work reinforces the image of the self-sufficient male genius, unresolved mundane problems often turn out to be an insurmountable impediment to the careers of female scholars. Research on female and male academics' various support arrangements and on their strategies to balance their private and professional lives could contribute greatly to the analysis of gendered working conditions and gendered codings of knowledge production.<sup>94</sup>

When we trace Schirmacher's struggle for recognition as a university-trained scholar, two aspects are particularly interesting: the political strategy of making a personal experience into an exemplary case, and the diversity of *personae* she appropriated. As I have shown, Schirmacher used (auto-)fiction and non-fiction in various forms to argue for equal rights for women in universities, the humanities, and science. She staged her conflicts as exemplary confrontations that would pave the way for other women. Although Schirmacher never achieved her goal of becoming a professor, she did develop a new *persona* as a university-trained woman that contrasts both with the extraordinary genius and the educated wife: the public intellectual who champions a greater cause. However, not least because of the need to earn a living, she was unable to leave it at this one public identity. She had to develop a number of different professional identities and could only strive to unite them in one *persona* as there was no predefined pattern of being a learned, gainfully employed middle-class woman. Given her case, it seems particularly productive to consider a *persona* as a bricolage constructed in response to various obstacles, exclusions, limitations, and also opportunities.<sup>95</sup>

To give an impression both of Schirmacher's impact and of the models she had to compete with I want to conclude these reflections with a few insights into the careers of other personalities mentioned here. Helene Stöcker, whom Schirmacher's first book had so inspired, finally became a guest student of history in Berlin. She had to ask every single professor whether he allowed her attendance at his lecture. In her memoirs, she named several professors (such as Karl Weinhold or Heinrich von Treitschke) who had turned down her request.<sup>96</sup> She received her doctorate in Bern in 1901, a decade after her exchange with Schirmacher. Stöcker became an internationally renowned activist for sexual reform and a pacifist. A staunch opponent of National Socialism, she fled Germany in 1933 and died in dire poverty in New York in 1943.<sup>97</sup> Hugo Münsterberg learned English and became a pioneering psychologist and the founder of experimental psychology at Harvard University. As a German academic with experience in the United States, he contributed a chapter on academic women in

the US to Arthur Kirchhoff's 1897 book on academic women in different countries. Describing American women's colleges, Münsterberg stated that these institutions often failed to provide real academic education and should therefore not be used as an argument for admitting women to German universities.<sup>98</sup> Citing an American observer with whom he agreed, he argued for a good general education for women, which, he held, would morally improve marriage, but he still disapproved of learned women.<sup>99</sup> He was also convinced that women, with very few exceptions, could only reproduce but not produce in science and the humanities and were therefore generally not suitable for scientific or scholarly research.<sup>100</sup> In this respect, he had not changed his views since the age of nineteen, neglecting both his own experiences with Schirmacher and hers.

Elisabeth Matthes Bentele, who had taken up medical studies in the USA after her divorce, received her doctorate in medicine in 1910. She founded her own sanatorium in St. Louis and, although otherwise photo-shy, had herself photographed in front of the institute next to the plaque with her name at the entrance. She sent the picture to Schirmacher as a postcard and wrote underneath: 'Es ist erreicht: Dr. E. Bentele. St. Louis' ['It is achieved: Dr E. Bentele. St. Louis.']



Figure 1. Elisabeth Bentele in front of her sanatorium in St. Louis. *Postcard*<sup>101</sup>

Since humour is a particularly transient mood, it is always hard for a historian to determine whether a historical protagonist is using irony. What is striking, however,

is that Elisabeth Bentele's caption, deliberately or not, alludes to a widespread symbol of masculinity in Germany around 1900. It had to be tended to every night to maintain its upright appearance: a beard in the style of the German Emperor Wilhelm II whipped into shape by a moustache wax called 'Es-ist-erreicht'.<sup>102</sup>

Returning to the central concept of the *persona* as developed by Lorraine Daston and Otto Sibum in their influential 2003 text, the exploration of women's struggles for admission to academic life around 1900 as exemplified in Käthe Schirmacher's career proved the usefulness of the concept for a gender analysis in the broader field of intellectual history, although, obviously, the authors did not conceptualise this perspective in detail.<sup>103</sup> They, for instance, explain that not every profession would 'crystallise into a persona' as *personae* only emerge and disappear where individual aspirations and social institutions need to be mediated.<sup>104</sup> It seems understandable that a *persona* can be dispensed with in many everyday situations. However, it smacks of the misleading cliché of an a-historic domestic realm that they refer to that sphere, of all things, to find an example of a *non-persona*: the cook. It might be worth reconsidering this choice in the light of how Alice B. Toklas, the life partner of Gertrude Stein, is remembered in a biography: as 'Koch- und Lebenskünstlerin' [bon vivant and cooking artist].<sup>105</sup>

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### Notes

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<sup>3</sup> Glaser, Edith, "'Sind Frauen studierfähig?'" Vorurteile gegen das Frauenstudium', in: Kleinau, Elke and Claudia Opitz (eds.), *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung. Vol 2: Vom Vormärz bis zur Gegenwart*, Frankfurt/Main, New York: Campus, 1996, 299–309 (303). Weiershausen, Romana, *Wissenschaft und Weiblichkeit. Die Studentin in der Literatur der Jahrhundertwende*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Hausen, Karin. 'Die Polarisierung der „Geschlechtscharaktere“ – eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben.' In: Werner Conze (ed.), *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas. Neue Forschungen*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1976, 363-93.

<sup>5</sup> Glaser, Edith, 'Die erste Studentinnengeneration – ohne Berufsperspektiven?', in: Kleinau, Elke and Claudia Opitz (eds.), *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung. Vol 2: Vom Vormärz bis zur Gegenwart*, Frankfurt/Main, New York: Campus, 1996, 310–324 (310, footnote 2); Soden, Kristine von, 'Auf dem

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<sup>6</sup> Belser, Katharina (ed.), *'Ebenso neu als kühn'. 120 Jahre Frauenstudium an der Universität Zürich*, Zürich et al.: eFeF-Verlag, 1988; Rogger, Franziska, *Der Doktorhut im Besenschrank. Das abenteuerliche Leben der ersten Studentinnen – am Beispiel der Universität Bern*, Bern: eFeF-Verlag, 1999.

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<sup>8</sup> Hausen, Karin, 'Warum Männer Frauen zur Wissenschaft nicht zulassen wollten', in: Hausen, Karin and Helga Nowotny (eds.), *Wie männlich ist die Wissenschaft?*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1986, 31–39; Schaser, Angelika and Falko Schnicke, 'Wege zu einer Geschlechtergeschichte der Universitäten und Geisteswissenschaften: Forschungsstand und Desiderata', in: *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 20 (2017), 27–42.

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<sup>10</sup> Idem, page 15. Also compare with Daston, Lorraine and H. Otto Sibum, 'Introduction: Scientific Personae and Their Histories', in: *Science in Context* 16:1–2 (2003) 1–8.

<sup>11</sup> Bosch, Mineke 2013, 16.

<sup>12</sup> Idem, page 20.

<sup>13</sup> Niskanen, Kirsti, Mineke Bosch, and Kaat Wils, 'Scientific Personae in Theory and Practice – Ways of Creating Scientific, Scholarly, and Artistic Identities', in: *Persona Studies* 4:1 (2018), 1–5 (2).

<sup>14</sup> Schnicke, Falko, 'Fünf Analyseachsen für eine kritische Geschlechtergeschichte der Geisteswissenschaften. Aufriß eines Forschungsfeldes', in: *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 20 (2017) 44–68 (50–55).

<sup>15</sup> Idem, page 48.

<sup>16</sup> For comprehensive biographical information, see Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher: Agitation und autobiografische Praxis zwischen radikaler Frauenbewegung und völkischer Politik*, Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018 (532).

<sup>17</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 876/019, Elisabeth Bentele to Käthe Schirmacher, 20 September 1903.

<sup>18</sup> Evans, Mary, 'Can Women Be Intellectuals?', in: Fleck, Christian, Andreas Hess and E. Stina Lyon (eds.), *Intellectuals and Their Publics. Perspectives from the Social Sciences*. London et al.: Routledge, 2009, 29–40.

<sup>19</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch 2018 (514–518).

<sup>20</sup> Gerhalter, Li, 'Decisions and Chances – The Winding Path of Women's Personal Testimonies. The Collection of Women's Estates/Sammlung Frauennachlässe, Vienna', in: Popova, Kristina et al. (eds.), *Women and Minorities: Ways of Archiving*, Sofia, Vienna: SEMARSh, 2009, 20–34.

<sup>21</sup> On the archival and other difficulties of transnational biographies: Gehmacher, Johanna and Katharina Prager, 'Transnationale Leben – Formen, Begriffe und Zugriffe', in: Christian Klein (ed.), *Handbuch Biographie*, second revised edition. Metzler Verlag, 2022, 123–132; Prager, Katharina, 'Exemplary Lives? Thoughts on Exile, Gender and Life-Writing', in: Brinson, Charmain and Andrea Hammel (eds.), *Exile and Gender I: Literature and the Press*, Leiden, Boston: Brill Rodopi, 2016, 5–18.

<sup>22</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, Dedication letter.

<sup>23</sup> Stanley, Liz, *The Autobiographical I. The Theory and Practice of Feminist Autobiography*, Manchester et al., Manchester University Press, 1992. Also compare with: Gehmacher, Johanna, 'Leben Schreiben.

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<sup>24</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, 'A Case for Female Individuality: Käthe Schirmacher – Self-Invention and Biography', in: Damousi, Joy, Birgit Lang and Katie Sutton (eds.), *Case Studies and the Dissemination of Knowledge*, New York, London: Routledge, 2015, 66–79.

<sup>25</sup> On diaristic practices: Gerhalter, Li, "'Einmal ein ganz ordentliches Tagebuch'? Formen, Inhalte und Materialitäten diaristischer Aufzeichnungen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts', in: Steuwer, Janosch and Rüdiger Graf (eds.), *Selbstreflexionen und Weltdeutungen. Tagebücher in der Geschichte und der Geschichtsschreibung des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015, 63–84; Seifert, Nicole, 'Tagebuchschieben als Praxis', in: Hof, Renate and Susanne Rohr (eds.), *Inszenierte Erfahrung. Gender und Genre in Tagebuch, Autobiographie, Essay*, Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2008, 30–60.

<sup>26</sup> Abromeit, Johann, 'Carl Julius Adolph Scharlok', in: *Berichte der deutschen botanischen Gesellschaft* 18 (1900) 153–157.

<sup>27</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 686/004, Käthe Schirmacher to Julius Scharlok, 9 March 1882.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>29</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 686/012, Käthe Schirmacher to Julius Scharlok, Spring 1882.

<sup>30</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 686/013, Käthe Schirmacher to Julius Scharlok, December 1882.

<sup>31</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 522/007, Hugo Münsterberg to Käthe Schirmacher, 6 August 1882.

<sup>32</sup> Weiershausen, Romana 2004 (9, 119).

<sup>33</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 522/007, Hugo Münsterberg to Käthe Schirmacher, 6 August 1882.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>35</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 522/006, Hugo Münsterberg to Käthe Schirmacher, 2 August 1882.

<sup>36</sup> Bischoff, Theodor Ludwig Wilhelm, *Das Studium und die Ausübung der Medicin durch Frauen*, München: Th. Riedel, 1872.

<sup>37</sup> Dohm, Hedwig, *Die wissenschaftliche Emancipation der Frau*, Berlin: Wedekind & Schwieger, 1874 (35–36).

<sup>38</sup> A third model that became particularly relevant to Schirmacher later in her life was encapsulated in this option of the supporter: the model of the independent translator. On that perspective compare with: Gehmacher, Johanna, 'In/Visible Transfers: Translation as a Crucial Practice in Transnational Women's Movements around 1900', in: *German Historical Institute London Bulletin* 41:2 (2019) 3–44.

<sup>39</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 684/022, 684/040, 684/042, Käthe Schirmacher to Clara and Richard Schirmacher, 10 May 1884, 13 November 1884, 20 November 1884.

<sup>40</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 1000/025, Käthe Schirmacher to the Prussian Ministry for Education, 8 September 1914 (concept).

<sup>41</sup> Gronemann, Claudia, 'Autofiction', in: Martina Wagner-Egelhaaf (ed.), *Handbook of Autobiography / Autofiction*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2019, 241–246.

<sup>42</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 369/001, Käthe Schirmacher, Sturm. Drama. Fragment, 1889/90 (manuscript); 909/001, Käthe Schirmacher, Die Fahrt nach Thelema. Ein Skizzenbuch. Rauschen 13.08.1892 (manuscript); Schirmacher, Käthe, *Die Libertad. Novelle*, Zürich: J. Schabelitz, 1891; Schirmacher, Käthe, *Halb. Roman*, Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich, 1893.

<sup>43</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch 2018 (523–528).

<sup>44</sup> Schirmacher, Käthe 1891.

<sup>45</sup> Weiershausen, Romana 2004 (68–70, 259–263).

<sup>46</sup> Idem, page 100.

- <sup>47</sup> Schirmacher, Käthe 1891. For a detailed discussion: Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch 2018 (107–118).
- <sup>48</sup> For an in-depth analysis of debates on the female student as a type compare with: Hacker, Hanna, *Frauen und Freundinnen. Studien zur 'weiblichen Homosexualität' am Beispiel Österreich 1870–1938*, Weinheim et al.: Beltz, 1987.
- <sup>49</sup> Schirmacher, Käthe, *Züricher Studentinnen*, Leipzig, Zürich: Th. Schröter, 1896.
- <sup>50</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 695/001, Anonymous (Hugo Münsterberg) to Käthe Schirmacher, 12 June 1891.
- <sup>51</sup> Wickert, Christel, *Helene Stöcker 1869–1943 Frauenrechtlerin und Pazifistin. Eine Biographie*, Bonn: Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1991.
- <sup>52</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 309/011, Helene Stöcker to Käthe Schirmacher, 1 November 1891.
- <sup>53</sup> Stöcker, Helene, *Lebenserinnerungen. Die unvollendete Autobiographie einer frauenbewegten Pazifistin*, (eds.) Lütgemeier-Davin, Reinhold and Kerstin Wolff, Köln et al.: Böhlau, 2015.
- <sup>54</sup> Weiershausen, Romana 2004 (76); Wallraven, Miriam, *A Writing Halfway between Theory and Fiction*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007 (272).
- <sup>55</sup> For example: Schirmacher, Käthe, 'Die Ausländer und der Pariser Arbeitsmarkt. I', in: *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 27:1 (1908) 234–259; Schirmacher, Käthe, *Voltaire. Eine Biographie*, Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1898.
- <sup>56</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, 'Reisende in Sachen Frauenbewegung. Käthe Schirmacher zwischen Internationalismus und nationaler Identifikation', in: *Ariadne* 60 (2011) 58–65.
- <sup>57</sup> A short daily entry reads for example: 'art. National. dej. Siegel. achat Bon Marché. écrit. lu.' and documents that she had written an article in the morning, met a friend for lunch, had made an economic purchase, and in the later afternoon had written and read. University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 922/009, Diary Käthe Schirmacher, 29 May 1903.
- <sup>58</sup> For an analysis of performativity in Eileen Power's diaries compare with: Van den Wal, Rozemarijn, 'Constructing the Persona of a Professional Historian. On Eileen Power's Early Career Persona Formation and Her Year in Paris, 1910-1911', in: *Persona Studies* 4:1 (2018), 32–44.
- <sup>59</sup> For example: 'rangé.- écrit. dej. Duval. Dubois.- rangé. Besson soir.' University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 922/009, Diary Käthe Schirmacher, 13 May 1903.
- <sup>60</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 312/048, Amelia Hartley to Clara Schirmacher, 1 June 1889.
- <sup>61</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch 2018 (208–209).
- <sup>62</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 11/009, Käthe Schirmacher to Clara Schirmacher, 4 March 1896.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>64</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 008/057, Käthe Schirmacher to Clara Schirmacher, 1 December 1894; 008/065, Margarethe Böhm to Clara Schirmacher, 14 January 1895.
- <sup>65</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch 2018 (208).
- <sup>66</sup> *Idem*, page 207.
- <sup>67</sup> *Idem*, page 212.
- <sup>68</sup> Krüger, Hanna, *Die unbequeme Frau. Käthe Schirmacher im Kampf für die Freiheit der Frau und die Freiheit der Nation 1865-1930*, Berlin, 1936.
- <sup>69</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, 'Reisekostenabrechnung. Praktiken und Ökonomien des Unterwegsseins in Frauenbewegungen um 1900', in: *Feministische Studien* 35:1 (2017) 76–92.
- <sup>70</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch 2018 (227–234).
- <sup>71</sup> *Idem*, page 516.
- <sup>72</sup> *Idem*, page 302–310.
- <sup>73</sup> Schirmacher, Käthe, 'Die Frau gehört ins Haus', in: *Das Leben. Vierteljahresschrift für Gesellschaftswissenschaften und sociale Cultur* 1:3 (1897) 1–9; Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch 2018 (303, 306).

<sup>74</sup> Schirmacher, Käthe, 'Berufsarbeit und Einküchenhaus', in: *Die Frau der Gegenwart: Deutsche Zeitschrift für moderne Frauenbestrebungen* 1:2 (1909) 10–11; Gehmacher, Johanna, Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch 2018 (307).

<sup>75</sup> Idem, page 310–312.

<sup>76</sup> Idem, page 308.

<sup>77</sup> Gehmacher, Johanna, "'Frauenarbeit' 1903 Oder: Feminismus im Modus der Anschaulichkeit', in: González Athenas, Muriel and Falko Schnicke (eds.), *Popularisierungen von Geschlechterwissen seit der Vormoderne*, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020, 215–238.

<sup>78</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 085/036, 085/038, Käthe Schirmacher to Klara Schleker, 14 June 1920, 16 June 1920; Gehmacher, Johanna et al. 2018 (Gehmacher) (481).

<sup>79</sup> Schirmacher, Käthe, *Flammen. Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Leipzig: Dürr&Weber, 1921 (90).

<sup>80</sup> Algazi, Gadi, 'Scholars in Households: Refiguring the Learned Habitus, 1480–1550', in: *Science in Context* 16:1–2 (2003) 9–42 (34, 36).

<sup>81</sup> Idem, page 34.

<sup>82</sup> Idem, page 27. It is interesting in this context, that Pizan, unlike many other medieval authors, describes Xanthippe as the exemplary, patient wife of Sokrates. Weithmann, Michael W., *Xanthippe und Sokrates. Eros, Ehe, Sex und Gender im antiken Athen. Ein Beitrag zu höherem historischen Klatsch*, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003 (195).

<sup>83</sup> Abir-Am, Pnina G. and Dorinda Outram 1987, Introduction (4). Also compare with: Pycior, Helena M., Nancy G. Slack and Pnina G. Abir-Am (eds.), *Creative Couples in the Sciences. Lives of Women in Science Creative Couples in the Sciences*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

<sup>84</sup> Daston, Lorraine, 'Die wissenschaftliche Persona. Arbeit und Berufung', in: Theresa Wobbe (ed.), *Die wissenschaftliche Persona. Arbeit und Berufung. Zwischen Vorderbühne und Hinterbühne: Beiträge zum Wandel der Geschlechterbeziehungen in der Wissenschaft vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart. Bielefeld: Transkript*, 2015, 109–136. For an exemplary analysis of daily routines in a scholarly household, compare with Hüntelmann, Axel C., *Paul Ehrlich: Leben, Forschung, Ökonomien, Netzwerke*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012.

<sup>85</sup> Unseld, Melanie and Christine Fornoff-Petrowski (eds.), *Paare in Kunst und Wissenschaft*, Göttingen et al.: Vandenhoeck, 2021.

<sup>86</sup> For example Daudet, Alphonse, *Les femmes d'artistes*, Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1874.

<sup>87</sup> Battersby, Christine, *Gender and Genius. Towards a Feminist Aesthetics*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990.

<sup>88</sup> Doyle, Nora, 'Gertrude Stein and the Domestication of Genius in the Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas', in: *Feminist Studies* 44:1 (2018) 43–69 (44).

<sup>89</sup> Idem, page 62.

<sup>90</sup> Idem, page 68. Compare with: Smith, Sidonie, 'The Autobiographical Manifesto: Identities, Temporalities, Politics', in: *Prose Studies* 14:2 (1991) 186–212.

<sup>91</sup> Doyle, Nora 2018, 60; Doyle quotes from: Stein, Gertrude, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

<sup>92</sup> Doyle, Nora 2018, 60.

<sup>93</sup> Idem, page 64.

<sup>94</sup> For a sociological perspective compare with Kraus, Beate, *Wissenschaftskultur und Geschlechterordnung. Über die verborgenen Mechanismen männlicher Dominanz in der akademischen Welt*, Frankfurt/Main et al.: Campus, 2000; Beaufäys, Sandra 2015.

<sup>95</sup> Niskanen, Kirsti, Mineke Bosch and Kaat Wils 2018, 2.

<sup>96</sup> Stöcker, Helene 2015 (53).

<sup>97</sup> Wickert, Christel 1991 (156–157).

<sup>98</sup> Münsterberg, Hugo, 'Das Frauenstudium in Amerika', in: Arthur Kirchhoff (ed.), *Die akademische Frau. Gutachten hervorragender Universitätsprofessoren, Frauenlehrer und Schriftsteller über die Befähigung der Frau zum wissenschaftlichen Studium und Berufe*. Berlin: Hugo Steinitz Verlag, 1897, 343–354 (351).

<sup>99</sup> Idem, page 353–354.



<sup>100</sup> Idem, page 349.

<sup>101</sup> University Library Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher papers, NI Sch 876/029, Elisabeth Bentele to Käthe Schirmacher, 25 October 1910. Reproduced by permission of the University Library Rostock.

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<sup>103</sup> For earlier reflections on gendered concepts of intellectuality compare with: Daston, Lorraine, 'The Naturalized Female Intellect', in: *Science in Context* 5:2 (1992), 209–235.

<sup>104</sup> Daston, Lorraine and H. Otto Sibum 2003, 3.

<sup>105</sup> Rieger, Eva, 'Alice B. Toklas'. <https://www.fembio.org/biographie.php/frau/biographie/alice-b.-toklas/>. Date accessed: 1 May 2021.