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A TYPOLOGY OF WOMEN CHARACTERS IN THE GERMAN NATURALIST NOVEL

Rice University PH.D. 1981

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A TYPOLOGY OF WOMEN CHARACTERS IN THE GERMAN NATURALIST NOVEL

by

Marianne Langenbucher Rowe

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

A Typology of Women Characters in the
German Naturalist Novel

by

Marianne Langenbacher Rowe

The subject of this study is the image of woman in late 19th century German fiction. Upon examining a multitude of works produced within this time frame, it was found that the "naturalist" novel, in particular, provided a wealth of material on the literary interpretation of woman's place in society. And despite the fact that this genre has not, for the most part, been attributed the distinction of artistic quality, an unbiased analysis reveals that it offers perhaps the most comprehensive, illuminating, and realistic view of the life led by the Wilhelmine woman. The patterns of characterization and themes which emerged thus lent themselves to the formulation of a typology of female characters. It is a typology which reflects the temper of the times: the political, economic, social, and cultural upheaval wrought by the industrial revolution, and the subsequent concern of a group of writers and social reformers for the deterioration of the human condition. Part I of this study documents these efforts, while Part II presents the typology, the literary
manifestation of social currents.

The first of the female types to evolve from the study is designated the "mother-martyr-saint." This long-suffering wife and mother is posited as the "Gründerzeit" ideal. Her saintly behavior and sacrifices for the family insure the continuation of the established order. Hermann Sudermann's *Frau Sorge* and Wilhelm Hegeler's *Mutter Bertha* illustrate this type.

The "fugitive into a world of illusion" constitutes the second type. This heroine engages in covert or subconscious rebellion against the "mother-martyr-saint" role. She becomes a distortion of Type 1 and thus represents a fissure in the heroic facade erected by the "Gründer" society. Heinz Tovote's *Mutter!*, Gabrielle Reuter's *Aus guter Familie*, and Hermann Conradi's *Adam Mensch* represent the variations of Type 2.

Type 3, the *femme fatale*, portrays the woman who is openly ill at ease with her role in society and who is determined to become the master of her fate. But her self-assertion, which is realized through her sexuality, exacts a price: the *femme fatale* destroys those who come under her influence. Magdalena Dornis, by Felix Hollaender, best exemplifies this type of heroine.

The woman who has either voluntarily or involuntarily rejected all societal norms is represented in Type 4, the "social outcast." Unlike the other types, this character no
longer attempts to realize her potential within the given order. The variants of the "social outcast" are examined and defined in terms of the artist figure in Helene Böhlau's Halutier, the unwed-mother in Gabrielle Reuter's Das Tränennhaus, and the prostitute in Else Jerusalem's Der Heilige Skarabäus.
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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this study is the image of woman in late 19th century German fiction. An excellent source of material for this undertaking was found in a multitude of novels loosely grouped under the literary designation "Naturalism." However, because previously accepted standards of criticism failed to attribute to the naturalist novel the distinction of artistic quality, many of these works have been condemned to literary obscurity. A revaluation aimed at probing their socio-cultural, rather than strictly aesthetic, merits reveals that they bestow on the student of literature a most comprehensive, illuminating, and highly realistic view of the life led by the Wilhelmine woman. Moreover, the patterns of characterization and themes which can be derived from these novels lend themselves to the formulation of a typology of female characters. It is a typology which reflects in literature woman's role in German society at the close of a turbulent century.

A study of female types is desirable for a number of reasons. First of all, it reintroduces works of literary, sociological, and historical interest to the contemporary reader. An awareness of their significance will contribute to a re-examination of those areas of naturalist literature
which have thus far received only cursory attention. Secondly, this study investigates the impact which the changing mores of a newly created technological society have on traditional role behavior, an example of which is found in the newly emergent women's movement. Finally, it establishes the relationship between the problems faced by women in the past with those confronting woman in the present. It is the immediate aim of this study, therefore, to define and to differentiate, with specific attention to detail, what can be described as the individual and distinctive features which constitute the typology.

In constructing the typology of women characters in the naturalist novel, special attention is paid to the question of emancipation: to what extent has woman been allowed to liberate herself from the "neo-classic" ideals of the Gründerzeit, Germany's era of most rapid and decisive transformation in economic and military affairs, and a period of highly visible prosperity. The norms of German imperial society from 1870 to the turn of the century will serve as a point of reference and orientation for this social phenomenon.

The period following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, commonly referred to as the Gründerzeit, generated in Germany a feeling of power, of unbrideled expansionism, of wealth, opulence, and crass materialism in every sphere of life. Socially, it was a time in which the bourgeoisie be-
came firmly entrenched as the dominant industrial class, and in which the last vestiges of feudalism were cast off. It also marked the beginning of an incredible growth in the urban population due to migration from the land to the city, of greater disparity between the rich and the poor, and of the rise of an exploited proletarian under-class.

Economically, the Gründerzeit was a period of reforms aimed at accommodating Bismarck's plans for establishing the German Reich. The influx of French preparations payments, a clause in the peace treaty which provided most-favored-nation treatment between France and Germany, high protective tariffs, and an emphasis on exports for a rapidly developing industrial technology, brought to Germany sudden and incredible wealth. They also brought rampant inflation, and the crash of 1873.

Politically, this was a time of colonization, empire consolidation, and repression of a new force, socialism. Most of all, it was a period in Germany's history stamped by the politics of Otto Bismarck and large-scale capitalism.

Culturally, the Gründerzeit was an epoch of stagnation. Everywhere in the arts, in architecture, in the homes of the wealthy, could be found signs of classicism, renaissancism, historicism, and heroicism: pretentious fassades behind which there was little artistic truth or reality.¹ This time, which has also been referred to as a "Verschwörung gegen den Geist" and characterized by a pervasive "idealism-
tisches Epigentum"² was, artistically, depleted and devoid of life. In fact, the conservative attitudes of the Gründerzeit reached such an extreme of societal snobbery, i.e., the exclusion of all that was not deemed noble and befitting this grandiose time, that all but the upper bourgeoisie were denied access to the realm of public or "dignified" art.

It is no wonder then, that a revolution erupted in the arts, an area which has always served not only as a mirror of the times, but also as a prognosticator of the social condition. The artistic revolution to which the Gründerzeit gave rise became known, as well as reviled, as Naturalism. The expressed purpose of Naturalism was opposition to everything connected with the Gründerzeit, including rejection of the literature of Poetic Realism. One of the startling effects of this total rejection, particularly of the literary tradition, is that the resultant literature lacked the gentle humor and resignation which had humanized, and hence made acceptable, the lot of the underprivileged. Naturalism exaggerated, instead, the plausible immediacy between character and circumstance found in the realist's works into an unavoidable determinism. What remains of the mitigating authorial presence, particularly in the naturalist novel, is often inescapable sentimentality and bathos, traits which are largely responsible for the novel's lack of literary distinction. The more positive aspects of the naturalist revolution thus fall into the sphere of a socio-cultural
expansiveness, which serves as the basis of much of the recent critical revaluation of the period.

The term "Naturalism" still defies unified definition, despite much discussion. Used frequently in the past to describe "consequent naturalism," a brief, extreme experiment in aesthetics and style prominent chiefly in the drama, the movement has been rediscovered with emphasis on its social engagement and opposition to all forms of artistic limitation. As such, it must also be viewed as an exposé of the past which brings with it a distortion of the ideals fostered by the previous epoch, and as a period of revolutionary fervor. It is in this spirit of revolution, reaction to the past, and stimulus to social change, that the concept "Naturalism" will pertain to this study.

The poets of opposition reacted to Gründerzeit restrictions on art with a degree of vehemence that corresponded with equal measure, to the previous avoidance of all that was considered ugly, or unworthy of artistic expression. Art, as viewed by the new breed of writer, was social engagement; it was reality in its crassest manifestations. The common man whose problems were previously repressed now became the object of literary concern. The naturalist hero or heroine emerged as the common man, the worker, the bohemian, the social outcast, the criminal, and, most significantly, as the proletarian woman. The "milieu" of the new hero or heroine, reflecting shifting social patterns,
was predominantly the city. The effects of city life on a formerly agrarian population posed new problems and challenges to the naturalist writer. The strain on the human condition produced by the stresses of urbanization and the sense of being uprooted presented a wealth of themes which were, in turn, viewed from the perspective of new philosophies, scientific discoveries, and new values. In brief, social upheaval and its inevitable victims now became the subject of literary experimentation, the vehicles of the artistic revolution.

One of the more important naturalist "discoveries" was the working-class woman. This previously repressed, quiescent, and literally unacceptable victim of the social upheaval of 19th century Europe was now granted recognition. Her condition became the focus of attention in political, socio-economic, anthropological and philosophical treatises which made an undeniable impact on the European intellectual community. The naturalists, in the literary vanguard, thus adopted the issues of women's rights, of woman's role in society, and of her lowly status in the human hierarchy in their program of social objectives.

In their concern for the special social problems afflicting women, the naturalists found their predecessors in the Young-Germans. This group of writers had already broken with literary tradition to expose certain types of hypocrisy related to sex roles. They did not, however, take
issue with the totality of what amounted to the culturally entrenched repression of women in all spheres of life. Nor did they reach beyond the upper-bourgeoisie to find heroines, for whom they shockingly demanded "emancipation of the flesh," i.e., sexual liberation. The Gründerzeit art of the poetic realists was not even this generous. The major literary figures of the time, such as Theodor Fontane and Theodor Storm, who did exhibit particular sympathy for their heroines, did so by seeking refuge in the traditional patriarchal attitudes. Resignation and acceptance in the face of "order" in nature and in society was preferable to revolutionary thought which might generate chaos and dissolution of that order.

For the naturalists, however, the need to look beyond 19th century liberal concessions such as "emancipation of the flesh" and regard for the sanctity of the social order, became a matter of social necessity. It was a need arising out of the dilemma posed by the unavoidable extremes which increasingly characterized society. Gründerzeit opulence on the one hand, and the economic plight of the masses, including the many women who were now displaced and forced onto the labor market, on the other hand, could no longer be avoided as unworthy of literary treatment. In other words, Naturalism did not discover the "woman question." It was forced to confront it as a result of the social changes which were engendered in Germany by the development and growth of in-
The naturalists accepted the challenge and, in conjunction with the German women's movement and an ascendant socialism, exposed problems which had long been endemic to the social structure and were now exacerbated as a result of the upheaval evident everywhere. Naturalist literature thus came to express its growing awareness of woman and found that as a second-class citizen in an unstable society her plight was particularly unsettling. The naturalists discovered that for the first time in modern history woman was thrust, unprepared, from the "security" of the home into a competitive, hostile work force created by the industrial revolution. And since her role had changed in actuality, her literary image also required revision. Thus they transposed her from the realm of male fantasy which had long dominated the bourgeois tradition in literature to that of brute reality. The upper-middle class heroine who had reigned supreme in the body of respectable literature was now pre-empted by the exploited servant girl, the dehumanized factory worker, the cast-off, unwed mother, the over-worked, under-cherished, submissive housewife, the aging, homeless single woman, and the previously romanticized, now pitied prostitute. These new heroines became an integral part of naturalist literature, as they had long been of society. And as such, their plight was permitted to invade the consciousness of the reading public.

However, despite major thematic and stylistic innova-
tions which reflected and accommodated the social engagement of the authors, the German naturalist novel, in contrast to its European counterpart, is found to be lacking in literary distinction. Moreover, many of the works selected for this study have been relegated to obscurity by traditional criteria of criticism which set them apart as "trivial," "Erbauungsliteratur," "Unterhaltungsliteratur," or "Frauenromane," designating that they were intended primarily for a female readership. In addition, many of the authors of the novels selected are women whose works have been subject to further discrimination with descriptions such as "Salon-, Liebes-, und religiöse Romane." Finally, the naturalist novel has been reproached for having fostered an "unerträgliche Mischung von Mitleidssozialismus und Pessimismus, die den Naturalismus in Verruf brachte."\(^4\)

The elements of truth in this type of classification and in such epithets cannot be denied. Nor will an attempt be made in this study to elevate these novels to the ranks of literary masterpieces. But it must be said in their support that, perhaps more so than the acclaimed works of the period, they serve as an accurate mirror of the social conditions, the mood, and aspirations of the epoch. This factor alone renders them worthy of reexamination and revaluation in an attempt to come to terms with a particular aspect of the naturalist heritage. It must also be said in the defense of the naturalist novel that perhaps the themes which
preoccupied the naturalist authors, by their very nature, evoked the mixture of at times excessive bathos and pessimism which tends to stigmatize the naturalist novel. The overwhelming misery and dehumanization of the urban poor, depicted in a deliberately "objective" and thus, at times, exaggerated realism, could easily overwhelm the author, and hardly inspire the reader to transcend the realm of the ordinary. At best, naturalist descriptive writing hopes to evoke on the part of the reader a positive social response. The latter is perhaps the best test of the author's ability to recreate for the reader an unwelcome reality. Emphasis on criteria of stylistic and aesthetic preference which reveal a cultural and class bias must, therefore, be circumvented for the purpose of this investigation in favor of thematic relevance and literary impact of the individual works.

Chronologically, the novels selected range from early Naturalism in the 1880's to those written in the first decade of the 20th century. This wide spread, which clearly extends beyond the acknowledged decline of the movement, is due to the continued concern of many authors, particularly women, with the, as yet unresolved, social dilemma posed by woman's role in society. As such, the selection of works runs counter to the main literary current of Naturalism which exhibits an interest, bordering on sensationalism, in the "woman question" in the 1880's, followed by a definite loss of in-
volvement in the early 1890's.

Literary treatment of the "woman question," i.e., fictionalization of the naturalist heroine, was thus also bound to differ radically in accordance with the ideological premises of individual authors. Closer examination of the naturalist heroine shows that she did not always enjoy authorial sympathy, nor that she was necessarily permitted more than token success in her quest for self-actualization. Some naturalists were in sympathy with the emancipation movement, others exhibited degrees of concern for social inequalities, but were incapable of breaking with traditional thought. A minority was clearly hostile to the changing social climate and the "Machtweib" which loomed menacingly in the future. Thus, the extent of authorial engagement in the "woman question," and commitment to the need to recognize society, i.e., foster equality within the social structure, was as varied as the authors who attempted to confront the issues. The positions taken by the sampling of naturalist authors featured in this study may best be derived from the characterization, problematics, and resolutions offered to the heroines which constitute the various types. These types are: the mother-martyr-saint, the fugitive into a world of illusion, the _femme fatale_, and the social outcast.

The first of these types, the mother-martyr-saint, most closely resembles the _Gründerzeit_ ideal. She is the long-suffering wife and mother, the "martyr" for the estab-
lished order, and the "saint" who unquestioningly and unerringly carries out her mission in life. The pragmatically realistic rewards for her loyalty to the family, and thus, untiring service to the Fatherland, are few. She must find her emotional and spiritual contentment from knowing that she has fulfilled her role as proscribed; she gains satisfaction through her children. Her impact on society is redemptive: through her sacrifices the basic unit of society, the family, is perpetuated, and the future of the empire secured.

The fugitive into a world of illusion, the second type, has been offered the opportunity to realize the goals of the mother-martyr-saint, the most traditional of female types. But her success in achieving perfection within this role is questionable. Burdened with longing and deep-seated dissatisfaction, she seeks solace in flight from reality and hopes to find fulfillment in a world of illusion. In her inability to cope with the expectations of the bourgeois paradise, she appears as a deviation from the norm. Thus she poses a threat to the established order, even though her rebellion is neither public, nor often conscious and her attitude quiescent. Although the dilemma of this woman is one of the most common found in literature, the naturalists failed to foresee a solution to her problem within the framework of the existing social order. Most often, they condemned her to self-destruction.
The *femme fatale* portrays the woman who is openly ill at ease with her role in society. This woman actively seeks to alter her situation and to ameliorate intolerable conditions of societal restraint placed upon her. She is the rebel who is denied recognition, the naturalist version of the "Machtweib" whose repressed strivings surface as a destructive force. This type demands emancipation or self-assertion and, upon society's refusal, resorts to the use of her sexuality as the only means of shaping her destiny. But because her rebellion exacts a price in the form of victims, even the naturalist authors who set out to shatter the complacency of the bourgeois are not prepared to interpret her actions in anything but a negative light.

Society's outcast, the woman who voluntarily or involuntarily rejects all societal norms is represented in the last type to be examined. This character no longer attempts to realize her potential within the given order. Her existence outside the realm of respectable society is manifested in three main variations. In the first case she is cast as the voluntary outcast, usually the striving artist who has long given up hope of finding social approbation, and who chooses to live on the fringes of society rather than to accept the traditional role constraints. In the second and third variations, she exists as the involuntary outcast, the unwed mother, or mother-to-be, and the prostitute. The lives of these characters are determined by cir-
cumstances beyond their control. They are the obvious examples of naturalist determinism, victims of conditions created either by the industrial revolution and its social upheaval, or of a moral code which permits and even condones the exploitation of women. As the social outcast, the most easily recognizable victim of social inequity, type IV has unwittingly emancipated herself from traditional role expectations. But again: emancipation exacts a price. By living on the periphery of society she is, even more so than the other types, locked into a lifestyle which is, especially in the case of the second and third variants, physically and psychologically oppressive. This fourth type is both the most "emancipated" and most oppressed of the principal female characters found in naturalist fiction. As such, she represents the philosophical opposite to the Gründerzeit ideal of type I.

In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the social climate in the last quarter of the 19th century which was responsible for the type-casting of women into inescapable roles, it is necessary to examine briefly the socio-cultural revolution which decreed a reevaluation of these roles. The first part of this study will, therefore, focus on aspects of the philosophical, political and economic theories which both advocated and opposed women's emancipation. These theories and the men who proposed them will serve as a counter-point to literary treatment of the subject. The pro-emancipation thought of Charles Fourier, John Stuart
Mill, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and August Bebel will be juxtaposed to the influential anti-feminist works of Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche, Paul J. Möbius, and Otto Weininger. A summary of the rise of the German women's movement, as a political counterpart to pro-emancipation ideology, will complete the historical perspective. The remainder of the study constitutes an evaluation of the treatment of woman as the subject and object of the naturalist novel and the typology of female characters found in the novel.
NOTES: INTRODUCTION


2 Hamann and Hermand, p. 12.


PART I

INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY:

Advocates of Change

and

Defenders of Patriarchal Ideals
CHAPTER I

Advocates of Change

The historian Friedrich Heer has called 19th century Europe the "Mother of Revolution." This epithet is particularly relevant to this study because one of these revolutions, the sexual revolution, had a particularly unsettling effect on the European psyche. It reached deep into the heart of one of the oldest and socially most entrenched institutions of Western history, the patriarchal family. Its aim, more simply put than realized, was to restore woman to her rightful place as an equal partner to man, i.e., to restore her human and consequently her social rights.

Drastic political, philosophical, scientific, and economic upheavals in the course of the entire 19th century combined for the first time in such a manner as to cast a dark shadow of doubt on what had previously been accepted as an inalienable right: the right of male domination over the most basic social institution, the family. The spirit, as well as economic reality of the 19th century, rendered this time-honored and rigidly upheld institution, with its hierarchy of members, in need of modification. And European intellectuals and artists, as well as the newly established technological and industrial forces, now recognized that changes in the role structure which relegated women to the
home as dependent members of the family were necessary, if not inevitable: industry needed women in the work force to operate its machines; political scientists preached economic independence of women as the first step toward emancipation; social philosophers such as John Stuart Mill felt keenly the inequities between new obligations and the lack of related rights; utopian visionaries such as Charles Fourier hoped for a world in which all peoples could have their basic needs satisfied.

1. Charles Fourier: the Visionary

One of the first and perhaps most outrageous and innovative of the 19th century European advocates of women's emancipation is the utopian thinker, Charles Fourier. Sharing the fate of most of the social theorists, Fourier has had his vision drawn upon to support a variety of subsequent and related ideologies: he has been called into the service of socialism communism, women's emancipation, and, in general, utopian ideas of any sort. His speculations at best were bold and before their time and, at worst, impractical and quaint; his style was unusual: his cosmogeny extravagant. Nonetheless, his sharp critique of the bourgeois mercantile society established his appeal to Marxists and socialists while a basic conservatism in his ideas spoke to other elements of society. His ideas on sexual freedom and
the relationship between the sexes, even though they proved to be a source of embarrassment even to his most loyal followers, have guaranteed him a firm position in the ranks of those who hoped to bring about changes in women's role in society, placing him at the vanguard of 19th century revolutionary thought.

Fourier's point of departure on the subject of women was his belief that God created men and women to be equal, in conjunction with his condemnation of the hypocrisy which pervaded bourgeois morality. For example, practices such as prostitution were condoned by the bourgeoisie for their convenience, while the women forced to oblige were condemned on a philosophical basis. Moreover, ideals of the liberated man who was in harmony with his nature and thus lived in tune with "passions"¹ historically did not, but of necessity must be extended to include women. According to Fourier, the Christian social order had, up to his time, merely enslaved women under the guise of sanctifying a physical union which often represented the worst kind of tyranny. He compares this social order, the "civilized order," with the "barbarian order"² of the past, and with biting irony suggests that man's social progress was not yet up to the task of addressing itself to the emancipation of women:

I do not mean to criticize education here nor to suggest that a spirit of liberty should be inculcated in women. Certainly, in each social period youth must be made to venerate the dominant ab-
surdities. In the barbarian order it is necessary to brutalize women, to convince them that they have no souls, so as to dispose them to allow themselves to be sold on the market and shut up in a harem. Similarly in the civilized order it is necessary to stupefy women from their childhood, so as to make them fit the philosophical dogmas, the servitude of marriage and the debasement of falling into the power of a husband whose character will perhaps be the opposite of their own.3

Because society had been forcing this fate on women for centuries, Fourier maintained that it was hardly fair to judge their apparent shortcomings as innate inferiority:

To attempt to judge women by the defective character that they display in Civilization is like (. . .) judging beavers by the sluggishness that they show in captivity whereas in a state of liberty and coordinated labor they become the most intelligent of all the quadrupeds. The same contrast will reign between the enslaved woman of Civilization and the free women of the Combined Order.4

Thus the future social orders envisioned by Fourier necessarily focused on the progressive enfranchisement of women. In his first and most definitive work Theorie des Quatre Mouvements, he lays down the principle, repeated in subsequent works, that "the extention of privileges to women is the general principle of all social progress."5

Fourier's outlook is evolutionary and, unlike his contemporaries, he recognized the need for basic changes in the social order before the emancipation of women could be realized. And although attempts to carry out his utopian system failed in his lifetime, it is to the credit of his followers
that his ideas were to exert an undeniable influence on the next generation of European radicals who were also to espouse the emancipation of women as an integral part of their programs for social change.

2. New Concepts of the Family:
Marx, Engels, Morgan, Bachofen

The major 19th century theoretical contributions on the role of woman in society are found in the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, whose socio-economic theories have enjoyed the distinction of finding practical application the world over. Moreover, the resurgent interest in the women's movement during the past two decades has served to focus special attention on that aspect of Marxist thought which features the liberation of women as an integral part of the new order. The development of Marxist ideology in respect to women, in particular, woman within the family structure, can be traced in both the joint and in the individual works of Marx and Engels, and culminates in Engels' book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884), written a year after Marx's death.

The ideas of Marx and Engels, which find their final expression in *Origin* are rooted in the tradition of romantic revolution and utopian socialism. Thus their theories concerning the liberation of women are inseparable from their ideology as a whole, and the many contradictions which
occur throughout their writings reflect the general change of emphasis and evolution of thought, as well as the complexity of the issues. An example of this evolutionary thought process is found in their ultimate solution to the woman question: abolition of the family as an economic unit. This revolutionary concept is a complete departure from the patriarchal tradition in which the bourgeois Marx and Engels had been entrenched. One aspect of their work which never changed, however, was the fact that the woman question was never isolated from economics in Marxist theory.

In the initial stages of their careers, the concept of "family" was still traditional, i.e., the father was the dominant member of the family, while the wife shared with the children few, if any, legal rights or status. The ideas found in Origin are clearly not yet in evidence in the early articles written by Marx in 1842 for the Rheinische Zeitung, a Cologne newspaper. Moreover, studies on Marxism indicate that Marx, in particular, began with a very traditional view of women and marriage. He persisted in this view up to the writing of The German Ideology (1845-46) in which the materialist concept of history is developed. In the early works Marx still resorts to the use of arguments, later totally discarded by Engels, on the inherent weakness of women as a justification of the division of labor. By 1845 this pre-socialist approach to marriage, conceived of in Hegelian-idealist terms, had already been abandoned and
abolition of the traditional family unit had been adopted
as the only way of achieving equality of the sexes. 8

Marx is strongly influenced in his early concepts of
the man-woman relationship by Charles Fourier, whom he
quotes at length in the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts
of 1844. Here he develops a theme which is generally dis-
cussed in the utopian socialist writings on women, primarily
in connection with Fourier: the irrevocable connection of
the emancipation of women with the general advancement of
society. 9 Marx and Engels' debt to Fourier is clearly ex-
pressed in the lengthy quote which was incorporated in the
text of The Holy Family (1844). The following excerpt from
this quote is evidence of the impact made by Fourier on
Marxist thought: "The change in a historical epoch can al-
ways be determined by the progress of women toward freedom
( ... ). The degree of emancipation of women is the natural
measure of general emancipation." 10

Engels' study The Condition of the Working Class in
England (1844) is the result of his observations of the
hardships imposed on the English urban proletariat family.
Here a new note is added to his ideological development: one
of the most obvious and pathetic results of the inhumane
social conditions endured by the proletariat family was the
increase in crime, depravity, and child prostitution. This
meant general degradation of both men and women. Hence
Engels concluded that the family as a functional unit was
already dissolving. Moreover, the employment of women in the mills and factories in the place of men, because they were much cheaper labor made it impossible for them to take care of the family. Inevitably, role inversion would take place and cause the wife to dominate the husband because she was the bread-winner for the family. Engels uses this role inversion as a point of departure to illustrate the basic inhumanity of any type of domination:

We must admit that so total a reversal of the position of the sexes can have come to pass only because the sexes have been placed in a false position from the beginning. If the reign of the wife over the husband, as inevitably brought about by the factory system, is inhuman, the pristine rule of the husband over the wife must have been inhuman too. If the wife can now base her supremacy upon the fact that she supplies the greater part, nay, the whole of the common possession, the necessary inference is that this community of possession is no true and rational one, since one member of the family boasts offensively of contributing the greater share."

In the German Ideology, Engels sees the bourgeois institution of the family in a historically changing context. The family is perceived as the first form of social relationship which produces the division of labor with the patriarch at the head of the unit. Since women and children are considered property, slavery is an inherent factor in this type of institution:

The nucleus, the first form (of property) lies in the family, where wife and children are the slaves of the husband. This latent slavery in the family,
though still very crude, is the first property (...,) \(^{12}\)

Engels later moderated his ideas on the need to abolish the family somewhat. In 1888 for instance, he wrote a revised version of the thesis on Feuerbach in which he stated that the family must be "criticised in theory and revolutionised in practice rather than be destroyed." \(^{13}\)

Engels most definitive and widely read work on woman in society is *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884). This book, strongly influenced by Lewis H. Morgan's *Ancient Society* \(^{14}\) (1877), has been published in numerous editions. It has also been translated widely, a further indication of its world-wide significance. In this work Engels also expressed his indebtedness to Johann Jacob Bachofen, who, independently of Morgan, developed similar theories on primitive society in his historico-religious study, *Mutterrecht und Urreligion* (1861). Engels attributed the same level of importance to Bachofen as to Morgan \(^{15}\) when he formulated the ideas contained in this treatise.

Morgan's data and Bachofen's discoveries served to confirm what Engels had long sensed: social institutions change as the result of socio-economic conditions. Thus Engels deduced that the concept of private property and the concomitant enslavement of women developed somewhere between the three main epochs of human history proposed by Morgan: savagery, during which time the economy was based on hunting
and food gathering; barbarism, which began with the introduction of food production through agriculture and stock raising, a time in which the "mother right" described by Bachofen was at its peak of influence; and civilization, which commenced with the development of trade, metallurgy, industry, and art. Engels also found in Morgan what he had suspected all along; that the family had not always existed but had developed as a social unit during the period of so-called "late barbarism."

Social changes brought about the rise of the concept of private property ownership; ownership of private property went hand in hand with the origins of the family; the family unit was victorious over the previous social organization, the maternal "gens," or clan. This new combination of private property and the family became firmly entrenched in the epoch of "civilization" as the new order. With these changes the social "mothers" who had dominated the "gens" became the subjects of a patriarchally dominated family structure, i.e., they became part of the property which now belonged to the dominant male.

Morgan's theories have been refuted by modern anthropological schools as overly simplified, but also because they were adopted by the socialists. It cannot be denied that Morgan's writings do approximate a socialist orientation, nor that he was known to have deplored civilizations concern about private property. And despite the fact that he did not consider himself a social revolutionary, Morgan was incensed
over the antagonism which existed between the classes which were defined by the ownership of property. Moreover, like Engels, he did not consider monogamy in its present form as the final and perfect solution:

When the fact is accepted that the family has passed through four successive forms, and is now in a fifth, the question at once arises whether this form can be permanent in the future (. . .) As the monogamian family has improved greatly since the commencement of civilization, and very sensibly in modern times, it is at least supposable that it is capable of still further improvement until the equality of the sexes is attained. 17

Engels obviously did not share Morgan's opinion on the positive state of the family as he knew it, but it is not difficult to see why Morgan's influence on him was so great. His feminist philosophy is based primarily on the theories found in Part III of Morgan's Ancient Society. These theories, which form the core of fully evolved Marxist thought on the family, can be summarized as follows: the family has undergone basic changes in the course of history; the monogamous family could not become strong within the context of the "gens" because the married pair belonged to different clans; the monogamous family is based on private property; the patriarchal family arose in the transition toward monogamy and imposed severe restrictions on women. 18 To this Engels added that the patriarchal family was monogamous in name only, and that the features which characterize it give rise to the social and legal inequalities between the sexes.
The evolution of Marxist theory culminated in Engels' conclusion that class exploitation and the sexual oppression of women had not always existed in history and therefore need not continue to exist. His special contribution to the clarification of woman's changing role in society is recognition of the fact that for centuries woman was oppressed not because of biological inferiority, but because of the development of socio-economic institutions based on the ownership of private property.

3. August Bebel:

Redefining Socialism for the Working-Class Woman

As the founder of the German Social Democratic Party and selective proponent of Marxist thought, August Bebel was perhaps the most powerful advocate of the working woman's rights in 19th century Germany. As early as 1875 he proposed that equal rights for women be incorporated in the official party program at the socialist congress in Gotha, an idea which was overwhelmingly rejected by other factions within the party on the grounds that women were not yet ready for emancipation. His book, Woman and Socialism, first published in 1878 in Leipzig under the title Woman in the Past, Present and Future, then smuggled out of the country because of the anti-socialist laws in Prussia, was received with about as much shock and indignation by the German bourgeoisie as his proposal for equal rights for women had been received at the
party congress. It is impossible to assign limits to the importance of this book to the feminist movement in Germany and throughout Europe. One indication of its magnitude is that in 1913, the year of the author's death, it had reached more than fifty editions in the original German and had been translated into many foreign languages. It has also been cited in most of the studies on feminism as well as, needless to say, in socialist writings.

Despite his enormous role in the socialist women's crusade, Bebel's importance does not lie in his ability as an original thinker. Woman and Socialism is basically a compilation of 19th century thought on the state of woman in society. Its merit lies in the fact that the ideas of Fourier, Bachofen, Morgan, Marx and Engels and John Stuart Mill were made comprehensible to the average reader. The frequent references made to these thinkers leave little doubt as to the theoretical stimulation operative in the creation of this work. Whereas the first section, "Woman in the Past," recapitulates the theories of Morgan and Bachofen on the development of the family as an institution from primitive society to the present, his central thesis, which holds that economic development was the cause of woman's enslavement, clearly places him at the center of Marxist political ideology. Thus, although the work is by nature derivative, it was to Bebel's credit that it brought new and revolutionary ideas to millions of readers. Moreover, in it he permitted woman to
see her role in society in a new perspective by putting into clearer focus those issues which were pertinent to the condition of the working-class woman. Bebel's work also became the subject of numerous inquiries: it provided a source of debate for academicians, sexologists, eugenicists, and sociologists, thereby expanding his sphere of influence beyond the class which he was addressing.

Although Bebel was aware of the antagonism which existed between the different classes and, in turn, between the rapidly developing socialist and bourgeois women's movements, he tended to defuse these antagonisms by encouraging women to form a united front against their oppressors. He was also aware of the conflicts which raged within his own party in respect to women's rights and was cognizant of the fact that the differences existing within the socialist camp were often glossed over by the ideology of party comradship. Bebel's awareness of prevailing conflicts within his party and their effects on the women's movement has been interpreted as one of the more significant aspects of his work. Nevertheless, as a true socialist, he always emphasized that the class struggle would remain of paramount importance and that the social revolution was only the beginning of women's emancipation, i.e., that equal rights for women would go hand in hand with socialism.

Apart from presenting a compendium of 19th century thought on woman in society, Woman and Socialism includes a
wealth of charts and statistical data. While this data is primarily of historical interest to the modern reader, it does provide a very graphic representation of the inequities which dominated the every-day life of 19th century woman. Interestingly, the data found in the book corresponds closely to the fictional accounts of life found in naturalist prose. Thus the book serves as a factual corollary to the novel. Graphic depiction of the facts as presented in this work must have conveyed to the working woman the gravity of her situation with much more impact than party rhetoric, socio-economic arguments and historical analyses.

Unlike the more philosophically oriented advocates of women's emancipation such as John Stuart Mill, Bebel did not attempt to refute contemporary clichés about the "nature" of woman. Indeed, he can be faulted with accepting the stereotypes of women which tout their impulsiveness, instinctiveness, naïveté and passionate natures. Bebel excused women's foibles through a traditional conceit: "These traits of character are expressed in their most beautiful form by the unselfish self-sacrifice with which she serves her children and others who are near and dear to her and cares for them during illness."

Such statements are an obvious indication that Bebel, despite the best intentions, had not been able to "liberate" himself totally from centuries of stereotypes which had, in fact, been used by anti-emancipation forces to explain woman's inferiority.
But perhaps Bebel's lack of sophistication in dealing with the nature of woman is one of the reasons of the popularity of the work: prevailing myths are not yet refuted and society as a whole has always been slow to discard traditional attitudes. Moreover, the fact that a century has elapsed since the publication of the *treatises on women's rights*, coupled with the reality that basic concepts of equality are still disputed, may serve as a vindication of Bebel's transgressions in this area. It also remains that several generations of women of all classes have accepted the book as a charter of their own emancipation.

The scope of *Woman and Socialism* is very ambitious. The bulk of the work is devoted to three main sections—woman in the past, present and future. "Woman in the Present" is of particular interest to a study of women in naturalist literature in so far as Bebel discusses all aspects of the 19th century woman's life: private, social, economic, and legal. It is easy to extrapolate from this study that the condition of the single or married, proletarian, bourgeois, or even upper class woman was not very positive. The work clearly shows that, regardless of class, woman's position in society was one of social and economic dependence. She was considered property and, as such, had no legal recourse: according to German common law she was considered a minor to her husband. This, and other unnatural conditions, had their consequences in an increased divorce rate which Bebel, in turn, interpre-
ted as a sign of the deterioration of the bourgeois institutions and their subsequent inability to rectify existing abuses. His final solution, like that of his ideological precursors, was a new social order:

As all these unnatural conditions that are especially harmful to women are established by the nature of bourgeois society and increase with the duration of its existence, this society proves itself incompetent to abolish the evils and to liberate woman. To accomplish this a different social order will be necessary.24

Bebel ends his book with the following prognosis: "The future belongs to Socialism, that is, primarily, to the worker and to woman."25

4. John Stuart Mill:
Bourgeois Plea for Equality

The most influential European champion of women's rights outside the socialist camp was the Englishman, John Stuart Mill. His eloquent plea for women's rights, The Subjection of Women, written in 1861, but not published until 1869, appeared at a time when the status of women was undergoing its first revolutionary evaluation in modern history. This work has been designated as "unquestionably the most eloquent, the most ambitious, and at the same time among the most heartfelt pleas in the English language for the perfect equality of the sexes."26

Before John Stuart Mill embarked on his career as the
bourgeois champion of women's rights, he had spent much of his early life involved in an array of 19th century English reform movements. He grew up at the center of English "philosophic radicalism," which was distinguished from the liberal reform movements by its scientific approach to social issues. His father, James Mill, and the distinguished legal reformer Jeremy Bentham were its dominant advocates. 27

Heir to this legacy, John Stuart Mill eventually broke ground on his own by espousing women's causes, especially their right to vote. However, his interest in women spanned a lifetime. At the age of seventeen, Mill was taken into custody by the London police for distributing birth control information. In 1865, at the age of 59, he had become a respected political voice of the women's suffrage movement in Parliament. His amendment to the 1867 Reform Bill to read "person" instead of "man" generated in Parliament not only the first debate on universal suffrage, but also on the question of total equality. 28 He also fought most vigorously for the repeal of the "Contagious Diseases Act" which had given local officials the right to harass suspected prostitutes by forcing them to undergo humiliating medical examinations for venereal diseases. This was a law which extended beyond harassment of the prostitute, for often innocent women were examined and then entered into the medical register as prostitutes, a stigma which they could never escape.

Mill's attitude toward the woman question achieved new
dimensions through a long-lasting relationship with Mrs. Harriet Taylor. Within three years of this fruitful acquaintance, Mill and Mrs. Taylor were involved in a classic 19th century friendship. Through a combination of emotional and intellectual rapport, and a sense of common purpose, this alliance gave rise to one of the greatest intellectual achievements in the history of women's emancipation, The Subjection of Women. Mill finally married Mrs. Taylor two years after her husband's death, almost twenty years after the beginning of their relationship. At the time of the marriage Mill issued a formal protest "against existing laws of marriage" giving the husband excessive power over "the freedom of action of the other party."  

While Harriet Taylor Mill had a significant effect on Mill's deep personal commitment to women's emancipation, his intellectual commitment to the equality of the sexes was deeply rooted in 19th century liberal thought. The philosophical roots of his thought combine ideas borrowed from Benthamite radicalism, James Mill's influence, and personal romantic concepts about the mutual needs between men and women: the concept of "wholeness."  It was primarily on the question of woman's right to vote that John Stuart Mill deviated from his father's philosophy. James Mill did not think that women needed the franchise since their interests were represented adequately by the votes of their fathers and husbands; his son, John Stuart, recognized that this was a concept pre-
supposing ideal rather than real conditions. But apart from this deviation, based on political reality, John Stuart Mill's concrete proposals offered in The Subjection of Women differed little from those of the other 19th century liberals who influenced him:

What distinguished The Subjection of Women was its typically 'Millian' combination of deep passion and high philosophy; its relentless concern with questions about human nature, the formation of character, and the psychology of the sexes; its pervasive uncertainty about whether masculine and feminine character were essentially different; and its insistence on the inseparable connection between women's rights and one of the overriding aims of all Mill's mature thought—the moral reformation of mankind.

Mill's philosophic investigation of the subjection of women began with the question of whether the duration and extent of the present patriarchal system could actually be justified in a valid philosophical argument. His answer, in the negative, took the form of a historical exegesis on the revolution of historical institutions on the basis of master-slave relationships and subsequent entrenchment in the male dominance principle. Mankind apparently developed a tendency to see any form of established institution as natural:

There was a time when the division of mankind into two classes, a small one of masters and a numerous one of slaves, appeared, even to the most cultivated minds, to be natural, and the only natural, condition of the human race.  

Mill concludes that "the subjection of women to men being a
universal custom, any departure from it quite naturally appears unnatural." Thus the argument goes that the subjection of women was based on centuries of practice rather than on natural law, the premise of 19th century misogynist arguments.

Despite the fact that Mill, like Marx and Engels, used historical analysis, the crux of his method consists of an investigation of human nature which led him to the conclusion that society could definitely manipulate its members. Or, as stated by Wendell Robert Carr:

His basic argument against subordinating women to men, for example, hinged on an assumption that for more than two hundred years had been a commonplace of English political theory and that James Mill had placed at the center of his thought: the inevitable tendency of human beings, when not restrained by appropriate laws and institutions, to usurp power over their fellows.

Mill's answer to the use of power by one segment of society over another through marriage was equal partnership in marriage. He did not advocate the dissolution of the family, which was the Marxist solution, but saw the marriage relationship as a natural one, based on "a division of powers between the two; each being absolute in the executive branch of their own department, and any change of system and principle requiring the consent of both." Needless to say, he also considered the ownership of private property a woman's right in or outside of marriage. The law of divorce was about the only form of grievance of married women on which Mill
failed to suggest an improvement. It has been suggested that he failed to speak out on divorce out of fear of reducing the impact of his other proposals and out of a desire to let women themselves speak out on the issue. 36

The one issue in *The Subjection of Women* which proved to be a source of contention for Mill was the fundamental difference in the masculine and feminine natures. Here Mill was caught up in an intellectual-emotional dilemma. His romantic idealism sought a wholeness issuing from the complementary natures of men and women, whereas his attempt at psychology led him to the conclusion that there were no inherent psychological differences. What was called woman's nature "was an eminently artificial thing—the result of forced repression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others." 37

The nervous susceptibility and hysteria in women, frequently featured in 19th century novels, are "the result of conscious or unconscious cultivation." 38 Moreover, "women brought up to work for their livelihood show none of these morbid characteristics, unless indeed they are chained to an excess of sedentary work in confined and unhealthy rooms." 39 Mill also shows concern for another characteristic trait of women, their tendency to be self-sacrificing, which has been used frequently in 19th century misogynist writings to prove their moral superiority as opposed to their intellectual and physical inferiority. Mill's solution is stated in his belief "that equality of rights would abate the exaggerated self-
abnegation which is the present artificial ideal of feminine character.40

Thus, despite amateur attempts at psychology, and despite logic which could at times be considered faulty, Mill's theories on human nature represent a vision of a society which would provide justice for both men and women. His special contribution to the women's movement has been aptly summed up by the English suffragette, Millicent Garrett Faucett: "The growth of the (women's movement) and its adaptations to the practical spirit of the 19th century are to a very large extent due to the life-long advocacy and guidance of the late John Stuart Mill."41
NOTES: CHAPTER I

1 Fourier believed that the same mechanism which moved the planetary world also affected man. This mechanism which for him was the mainspring of all human action he called "attraction passionelle." It was the drive, inclination, or instinctual force given to man by nature. Fourier defines this term at the beginning of his Le Nouveau monde industriel.

2 Fourier sees humanity as going through 36 periods. The periods of barbarism and civilization are only the fourth and fifth such periods, indicating that Fourier believed our social evolution to have merely begun. His complex system was based on the premise that nature propels and necessitates this social evolution.


7 Draper, p. 20.

8 Draper, p. 21.


10 Draper, p. 21.

11 Draper, p. 21.

13 Draper, p. 22.


15 Engels expresses his indebtedness to both Morgan and Bachofen in the text as well as in the prefaces to The Origin of the Family.

16 Morgan, p. Ivi.

17 Morgan, p. 499.

18 Morgan, p. III i.


20 Thönnessen, p. 36.

21 Rowbotham, p. 83.

22 Rowbotham, p. 83.


24 Bebel, p. 173.

25 Bebel, p. 508.


27 Carr, p. V.


29 Schneier, p. 162.

30 Carr, p. XXII.

31 Carr, p. VIII.

33 Mill, p. 44.
34 Carr, p. XVI.
35 Mill, p. 40.
36 Carr, p. VII.
37 Mill, p. 22.
38 Mill, p. 60.
39 Mill, p. 61.
40 Mill, p. 42.
41 Carr, p. XXV.
CHAPTER II

Defenders of Patriarchal Ideals: the Philosophical and Psychological Defense

The fervor generated by the outcry for women's rights did not fail to also produce a proliferation of misogynist polemics. Resistance to a new role for women, which would take them out of the home, came first from the labor sector. Here it surfaced primarily as a fear of female competition on the labor force and of the subsequent wage depression which would pose a threat to all workers. Economic friction as a source of anti-feminism, discussed in Chapter III, was accompanied by a cultural antagonism in which opposition to women's emancipation was elevated to high respectability. The writings of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, complemented by the pseudo-scientific studies and treatises produced by the likes of Otto Weininger, Paul J. Möbius, and Oscar A. H. Schmitz popularized misogyny, disseminated anti-feminist views, and lent scientific credence to ideas which had for centuries been accepted as an integral part of western culture. Together, they constitute what can be viewed as a philosophical and psychological defense of the patriarchy.

These forces of social reaction affected every aspect of Wilhelmine life, and all but dealt the coup de grace to
the women's movement. The following discussion of this burgeo
ning anti-feminist effort will focus upon, and be restricted
to, those particulars in the works of these proponents of the
patriarchal order who proclaimed to "know" the true nature
of woman, and thus continued to advocate her confinement
within the traditional, i.e., subordinate role.

1. Philosophical Defense:
   Schopenhauer and Nietzsche

The most outspoken of the 19th century forces of re-
action and anti-feminist sentiment are found among the phi-
osophers, in particular. Friedrich Nietzsche and Arthur
Schopenhauer, whose writings on the nature of woman contain
some of the most vitriolic and dangerous polemics on woman's
"biologically determined inferiority." A contemporary fem-
inist, Minna Cauer, confirms in her study Die Frau im 19.
Jahrhundert (1898) that "die Art, wie die Philosophen über
die Frauen geurteilt haben, von ganz bedeutendem Einfluss
auf die deutschen Männer gewesen ist."1 Because of the in-
fluence which they exerted on the intellectual community,
as well as the population as a whole, the anti-feminist
rhetoric of these men played a major part in promoting cul-
tural regression within the very social institutions which
were subject to criticism on other levels.

Arthur Schopenhauer, whose pronouncements on women
are so extreme as to appear absurd to the modern reader, was
one of the chief sources of inspiration to the late 19th
and early 20th century anti-feminists. His claim made in
respect to the inferiority of women was based first of all
on the female physique, which he condemned as unaesthetic.
According to the philosopher, these undersized, narrow-
shouldered, broad-hipped and short-legged creatures could
capture the male's attention only because he was driven by
his sexual urges. In addition, biology determined woman's
fate to be one of suffering, which extends from the pain she
bears in childbirth to every-day submission to her husband's
commands. Because of her predestination to suffering, she
is also precluded from experiencing intense emotions or from
performing feats of greatness:

The sight of the female form tells us that woman
is not destined for great work, either intellec-
tual or physical. She bears the guilt of life not
by doing but by suffering; she pays the debt by
pains of childbirth, care for the child, submis-
siveness to her husband, to whom she should be a
patient and cheerful companion. The most intense
sufferings, joys, and manifestations of power do
not fall into her lot.

To further help woman fulfill her biological role,
nature has equipped her with what Schopenhauer calls a "Knall-
effekt." This attribute provides her, for a few years of
youth, with beauty and charm sufficient to capture a man's
imagination to such an extent that he becomes willing to
care for her and her future children. However, because woman
possesses charm only early in life and because man attains his
prime later, Schopenhauer postulates that man is the nobler and more perfect of the species. This is due to the slower maturation process which results in the physically and intellectual superior product. Woman's biological function also is responsible for her intellectual short-sightedness and over-abundance of intuition. Her most fundamental fault, however, lies in her female duplicity, faithlessness, treachery and ingratitude.  

In order to validate his arguments, Schopenhauer cites numerous historical sources such as Aristotle, Thomas Moore, Rousseau, Napoleon, etc. He also draws upon the favorite argument used by anti-feminists that women have made no major contributions to culture, an argument which is refuted quite convincingly by, for example, Mill in his *The Subjection of Women*. Schopenhauer also blames European society for having gone too far in bestowing rights on women. The "appearance" of equality he scorns, in particular, as an unnatural privilege.  

Enjoyed primarily by the ladies of the European upper classes, the privileges gained by marriage only make life more difficult for women from the lower classes. Poor women are frequently forced to submit to the moral degradation of prostitution which could be avoided if all women assumed their naturally submissive positions in, preferably, a polygamous society.  

Thus, Schopenhauer's solution to the woman question in Europe was a return to a harem culture in which all women would be taken care of and
relegated to their true role of propagating the species. 8

Schopenhauer’s condemnation of women won him a large following in Europe, and many of the unjust and prejudicial attitudes toward women prevalent at the turn of the century can be attributed directly to his overwhelming influence.

A contemporary critic attests to this:

Wenn jener über die Weiber solche ungerechte und oberflächliche Urtheile fällen kann, wie in seinen 'Parerga und Paralipomena' stehen, welche von Gedankenlosen gern nachgesprochen werden, so kann man sich nicht wundern, dass unter uns eine Nichtachtung des Weibes vielfach verbreitet ist. 9

Friedrich Nietzsche, Schopenhauer’s disciple in misogyny, shares in the implication of this reprimand. Characterized as a reactionary influence on social progress, if social progress implies the extension of rights to women, he has also been condemned as "der Denker, der verführerisch auch auf jene ehrlich gesinnten, fortschrittlich orientierten deutschen Intellektuellen im imperialistischen Zeitalter wirkt." 10 His anti-feminist polemics can be distinguished only slightly from those of his mentor, and here the difference lies primarily in a certain ambivalence and sense of humor which is lacking in Schopenhauer.

Thus echoing Schopenhauer throughout, Nietzsche believed woman’s primary purpose of existence to be one of procreation. His persona, the prophet Zarathustra, speaks for the author when he proclaims "Everything about woman is a riddle, and everything about woman has one solution: that
is pregnancy. Man is for woman a means: the end is always the child."¹¹ And as a result of her child-bearing role she develops an understanding for the practical aspects of life. In exchange, however, she has no sense of aesthetics, is vain, frivolous, has no sense of honor or justice.¹² Her belief in inspiration is brought on by an occasional intelligence which washes over her now and then with an unexpected, hypnotic force.¹³ Especially the Goethean concept of "das Ewig-Weibliche" is debunked by Nietzsche with great relish because the act of enlightenment implied herein, i.e., the selfless love which overcomes the sinister elements of human nature, has always been the realm of the male.¹⁴

To render the lot of women even more burdensome, Nietzsche imposed on them what he felt to be man's prime weakness: sensuality. Ironically, this aspect of woman's nature is hidden even from herself, thus causing further internal conflict. She is thought to be so controlled by her sensuality that she is incapable of approaching any attractive male without having to cope with sexual tension.¹⁵ As a result, women are slaves to their emotions; they become destructive forces in that they hamper the energy and creativity of those who fall victim to their wiles.

On the one hand Nietzsche scorns women for expressing those very characteristics which they have to acquire in order to fulfill their biological function. On the other hand, he condemns them for any attempt to transcend those
limitations inherent in their "nature." Thus, women involved in the emancipation movement were especially subject to Nietzschean invective as those "misratene Elemente" who have not yet managed to ensnare a man and beget children. Feminist endeavors are misinterpreted to the extent that the unconscious driving force of feminism is considered by Nietzsche to be merely a need on the part of ugly women to find sexual gratification. Moreover, emancipation of women equals emasculation, "Vermännlichung," to which Nietzsche conveys apocalyptic significance. It is a form of degeneration which will ultimately lead to the demise of Western culture.16

The combined influence of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer on late 19th century writers is overwhelming. Studies on German literature dealing with the turn of the century are ample evidence of this. Those aspects cited most frequently in respect to their impact on, for example, the naturalist authors, are Schopenhauer's pessimism and the Nietzschean concept of the new man. However, the impact which these philosophers had on the negative portrayal of women is equally strong and even more alarming. The typology of women which is developed in this study clearly illustrates their unmistakably misogynist influence.
2. Psychological Defense:
Moebius, Weininger, Schmitz

Perhaps one of the most dangerous forms of reaction to women's emancipation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is contained in the pseudo-scientific writings of Paul J. Moebius, Otto Weininger, and Oscar A. H. Schmitz. The works of these men represent some of the most popular and influential "scientific" treatises published at the turn of the century which claimed to probe the depths of the female psyche and to produce definite answers on the "nature" of woman. Their studies may well be said to constitute the scientific or empirical counterpart to the logic of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche since, in effect, they propagate basically the same line of thought: the biologically determined differences between the sexes resulting in woman's inferiority. The particular contributions of Moebius, Weininger, and Schmitz to the cause of anti-feminism thus consists of the presentation of "new evidence," based on psychological studies, that attests to and validates scientifically what previously was considered a part of tradition, or a prejudice.

The Leipzig neurologist, Paul J. Moebius, who is also known for his studies on the physiognomy of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, may be considered the leader of the school of scientific anti-feminism and is perhaps the best example of ingrained discrimination against women. His study Über
den physiologischen Schwachsinn des Weibes first appeared in a scientific journal and was then published as a book because of the controversy it engendered. It served to establish Möbius as the foremost anti-feminist in Europe at the turn of the century.

Möbius encounters difficulty in defining the term "Schwachsinn" in his work. Thus, it is used primarily in a comparative sense in order to focus on the intellectual differences between men and women, thereby methodologically dismissing the effects of centuries of cultural deprivation and discrimination against women. Physically as well as intellectually, woman is viewed as a "Mittelding," i.e., an intermediary thing, between child and man. Furthermore, the argument for this distinction is based on a comparison of the weight of the brain. Because the brains of women are lighter than those of men, it follows that they are less highly developed. This difference in brain weights, postulates Möbius, becomes evident at birth, rendering women intellectually inferior from the outset. Consequently they must be classified as belonging to a lower order of being than man and cannot be considered capable of engendering the same degree of human progress:

Der instinkt nun macht das Weib thierähnlich, unselbstständig, sicher und heiter (. . .) Wie die Thiere seitundenklichen Zeiten immer dasselbe tun, so würde auch das menschliche Geschlecht, wenn es nur Weiber gäbe, in seinem Urzustande geblieben sein.
The remainder of Möbius' argument on female inferiority is a reiteration of traditional clichés.

Otto Weininger, Möbius' disciple, represents a continuation of, and elaboration upon, the pseudo-scientific school of thought on the nature of woman. Weininger's dissertation, which was also published as a book entitled *Sex and Character*, found immediate acceptance and acclaim by both the intellectual community and by strident anti-feminists. His analysis of women is developed on the basis of characterology, a system of psychological types for which he claimed intellectual indebtedness to Plato, Kant, and Schopenhauer. The basic premise of Weininger's characterology divides women into two elemental types, the seductress and the mother, which differ primarily in their approach to the sex act. The "normal" type, the mother, is concerned with the end result of the sex act, the child, whereas the "abnormal" type regards sex as an end in itself. The "abnormal" type also tends to be hysterical by nature. There can be little doubt upon reading Weininger's work that his characterology exerted an enormous influence on the typecasting of women found in much of the fin de siècle literature.

Weininger's use of the historical perspective in *Sex and Character* to justify his characterization of women was considered, by the author himself, to be of the utmost importance in countering the waves of feminism sweeping Europe. Women striving for emancipation were, according to
him, sexually intermediary forms of abnormal types to whom he devotes an entire chapter of his book. All of the women whose achievements are held up for consideration by the advocates of emancipation are thus relegated by Weininger to the category of "abnormal" types. The fact that they deviate somewhat from the two elemental types mentioned above is due to the predominance of male hormones found in their body chemistry. It is their "maleness" which drives them toward emancipation and atypical female behavior. As evidence of this, Weininger mentions various centuries in which these intermediary, or as he also calls them, hermaphroditic forms, were produced in excess. This "excess" of women who deviated from the true female nature subsequently gave rise to women's movements. The Renaissance is mentioned as one such period, and its failure as a liberation movement for women should contain in it a lesson for contemporary advocates of women's rights who seek to upset the balance of nature.

Sex and Character represents a culmination of turn-of-the-century anti-feminism. The popularity of the book, which by 1927 had attained its 26th printing, indicates how strong social conservatism had become after the gains made by feminism in Germany during the final two decades of the 19th century. The author, unfortunately, could not enjoy the impact of his work: four months after the book was published he committed suicide, at age 24.

Weininger's countryman and contemporary, Oscar A. H.
Schmitz, disseminated his anti-emancipation views both in the form of "scientific" essays and in fiction. His ideas are in keeping with anti-feminist polemics as presented thus far: tradition is equated with natural law, historical perspective is drawn upon as evidence of women's inferiority, and the psychological, emotional, intellectual, and physical differences between men and women are used to determine woman's place in society.

For Schmitz, the psychic differences between men and women are directly linked to their physical differences. Biology has destined man to be the bearer of logos, woman of eros; it is man's task to advance civilization, while woman must perpetuate the species and serve man. In his treatise "Psychologie der Geschlechtscharaktere," however, Schmitz maintains that women should be given some rights, as long as these do not disturb the balance of nature. Striving for equality he opposes as being unnatural and a distortion of woman's true personality. Thus the aspirations of feminists are to be condemned accordingly. Schmitz's ideas, for which he claims scientific credibility, merely place him in the forefront of the misogynist tradition which seeks to perpetuate domination of the patriarchy.
NOTES: CHAPTER II


3 Schopenhauer, p. 614.
4 Schopenhauer, p. 615.
5 Schopenhauer, p. 617.
6 Schopenhauer, p. 623.
7 Schopenhauer, p. 623.
8 Schopenhauer, p. 623.

9 Friedrich Kirchner, Grundeutschland, 2nd ed. (Wien and Leipzig: Kirchner & Schmidt, 1893), p. 78.


13 Nietzsche, Die Unschuld des Werdens, p. 303.
14 Nietzsche, Die Unschuld des Werdens, p. 305.
15 Nietzsche, Die Unschuld des Werdens, p. 306.
16 Nietzsche, Die Unschuld des Werdens, p. 311.


18 Möbius, p. 15.
Möbius, pp. 18, 19.


Weininger, p. 65.


PART II

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND FICTIONAL LITERATURE:

The Interaction between Feminism and Naturalism

Excursus. Evaluation of Scholarship on the Role of Women in the Naturalist Novel

A Typology of Women in the Naturalist Novel
CHAPTER III

The Interaction between Feminism and Naturalism

In conjunction with the proliferation of 19th century theories advocating changes in all aspects of social life, the changing role of woman must also be approached as a consequence of the interaction between social theory, politics, and art. One of the most pronounced and controversial products of this natural interaction of forces is the German feminist movement. Because of the extent to which feminism influenced politics and permeated literature, it lies within the scope of this study to examine, in brief, some of its salient features and the causes underlying its emergence in 19th century Germany.

In the second half of the 19th century, Germany also experienced the rise of a major political force, international socialism, in direct response to the needs of the newly created urban class, the proletariat. Socialism aimed to achieve the liberation of all oppressed members of society. The two main disenfranchised segments of the population most in need of socialist promises were the working class and women. These two groups had similar economic and social needs; they also had in common the fact that both were victims of a rigid patriarchal order. However, the development of the socialist party in Germany soon gave evidence that the
cause of the proletariat was to take precedence over that of women.

The problems encountered by women as a sub-group with special pressures and constraints were programmatically subsumed to those of the class struggle. And despite evidence to the contrary, socialist ideology continued to maintain that history would ultimately emancipate both women and the proletariat. This ideological miscalculation of actual conditions gave rise to the German women's movement. At birth a liberal bourgeoisie movement whose purpose it was to help the proletariat woman, the German women's movement later also espoused the cause of the bourgeois woman. However, from its inception it developed along class lines, and despite continued calls for unity from both bourgeois and socialist feminists, continued to defy a much needed unification.

The German women's movement, founded by Luise Otto-Peters, grew out of a "Weltanschauung" which combined ideas from the traditions of Romanticism and Idealism and from the experiences of the Revolution of 1848. The bourgeois faction, which developed from this initial impetus, perpetuated the German liberal tradition by remaining intellectual in structure and ideology throughout. Bourgeois feminism demanded more rights and responsibilities for women, freedom in professional pursuits, self-realization and, eventually, complete equality of the sexes under the law. But Luise Otto-Peters, whose battle cry was to remain "Dem Reich der Frei-
heit werb ich Bürgerinnen,"¹ was cognizant of the fact that women workers had special needs which were irrevocably interwoven with economics and an ascendant socialism. She was also aware that the women worker's movement which functioned within the Social Democratic Worker's Party failed in respect to these special needs. This was a fact long ignored by Clara Zetkin, the revolutionary stimulus of the socialist women's movement. Zetkin steadfastly refused to acknowledge the subordinate position held by women workers within the industrial hierarchy, in the home, and in social life. Thus both programs, that of the bourgeois feminist and that of the women workers, were oriented at demanding equal working conditions for men and women workers alike, ignoring the disparities in social standing between men and women. Eventually it became obvious to the socialist women's movement that protective legislation had to be incorporated into the socialist program. A detailed account of this struggle is provided in Hilde Lion's classic study Zur Soziologie der Frauenbewegung (1926).

Lion divides the women worker's movement into two major phases, thereby helping to delineate its complex beginnings and separation from bourgeois feminism.² According to Lion, both movements initially, i.e., from 1860 to the 1890's, stood strongly under the influence of Luise Otto-Peters and the women's organizations founded by her. This first phase thus serves as a preparatory stage to the pro-
anarchist women's uprising within the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The second phase, from 1890 to 1917, is characterized as the revolutionary era of Clara Zetkin, whose dynamic leadership and initiative transported the movement from the realm of the emotional to that of a goal-oriented faction within the socialist party. This second phase is also defined by Zetkin's attempt to convert abstraction and theory into action.

The women worker's movement, upon Zetkin's insistence, continued to resist integration into the bourgeois movement. It has been pointed out that this seemingly irrevocable lack of unity was a direct cause of the failure of German feminism, and that there are two main reasons for the lack of consolidation between the two factions:

The separation between bourgeois and proletarian women did not only arise from the fact that the former wanted to abolish women's privileges while the latter were fighting for special legislation to protect women workers. They also confronted one another on the labor market. 3

The underlying causes of the multiplicity of changes in German society which generated the growth of feminism in Germany are to be found in the industrial revolution. The transformation from an agrarian to an industrial society touched all women, including those from the formerly protected bourgeoisie. Industry needed workers for its rapid development and, in addition to hiring the working class man and woman, sought to employ also those women who could
no longer be accommodated within the bourgeois household as domestics. Thus this new state of affairs affected the single woman, the not-yet married daughter of the bourgeoisie, and the married woman whose husband's income, in a time of opulence and inflation, was no longer adequate to meet family expectations. As women joined the labor market it soon became apparent that social abuses of all working women existed and that there was an urgent need to eliminate them. In other words, the need for organizing the bourgeois woman was established as clearly as that for consolidating the proletariat.

Chief among the abuses which affected the bourgeois woman and encouraged the growth of feminism was the lack of education for work outside the home, the lack of freedom to choose a profession, fear and resentment of competition in industry, lower wages for women resulting in wage depression for all workers, and the ingrained social prejudice that women were simply incapable of doing many types of work. Other factors which facilitated the rise of the bourgeois women's movement were the new social theories directed at the improvement of the lot of women and the publicity accorded them. There appeared also countless "Frauenromane" addressing themselves to the yearning and fantasies of the bourgeois woman and the widely read works on women by writers such as Tolstoy, Zola, and Ibsen. Last, but not least, there was the strong influence exerted by American and Eng-
lish feminism.

All of these factors combined to lend a fashionable air to and supply a new perspective to woman's dissatisfaction. But it was the critical attitude toward marriage as a social institution, which emerged from the new social theories, that became one of the chief points of departure for the bourgeoisie women's movement. Based on a growing dissatisfaction with existing marital conditions, criticism of the institution of marriage now went hand in hand with a new awareness of personality and independence for women, ultimately pointing toward new social forms and goals. 4

Once the bourgeois women's movement achieved this sense of awareness and consolidation, it entered its most productive stage. Richard Evans, in his study on German feminism, defines this phase as the "radical period" between 1894 and 1908. The forces behind the radicalization of feminism in Germany, according to Evans, are: 1) pressure-group politics following the lapse of the Anti-Socialist Laws in 1890; 2) rapid changes in the social structure brought about by industry; 3) the expansion of opportunities for women in industry due to the upturn in the economy following the depression of 1896; 4) the rapid expansion in the number of professionally-conscious women school teachers, the backbone of the women's movement; and 5) the concern, shared with German liberals, for a peaceful solution to social problems and tensions created by the industrial rev-
olution. The end of the radical period coincides with a growing conservatism in society, equating the retreat from liberalism with a retreat from feminism.

The strong interaction between the bourgeois women's movement and literature which culminated in this "radical" phase was the natural consequence of class orientation. Writing was a socially acceptable activity for middle and upper class women since it contributed to their ability to engage in polite conversation in the salon. It was a social grace which greatly improved their standing in society. In the second half of the century alone, for example, there were 6,000 authoresses in Germany. But in addition to appreciating the social aspects of literature, the bourgeoisie women's movement was motivated by ideology. Thus it was able to develop a natural working relationship with Naturalism, a literary movement receptive to exposing social inequities. Because of this symbiotic relationship between female politics and literature, German women of means could engage in a leisure activity which was socially sanctioned and at the same time enabled them to relate to the outside world through fiction. Literature came to translate the bourgeois woman's particular type of deprivation, her dissatisfaction, and her aspiration into a form of action. Through her novels and essays, the best of which appeared in the naturalist periodicals, she was able to contact a receptive audience, thereby also hoping to engender change.
One of the first examples of feminist polemics to appear in the naturalist journal *Die Gesellschaft* is Ida Barber's essay "Das Toleranzsystem." Influenced by the English feminists, Barber set out to chastize German men and women alike for tolerating such public injustices as the harassment of unescorted women under the pretext of guarding the public from the evils of prostitution, but for at the same time permitting officially regulated and tolerated prostitution. These policies created a cast of women who were without legal recourse or rights and totally at the mercy of the "Sittenpolizei." In addition to pointing out this obvious hypocrisy directed solely at women, Barber's article also opened public debate on other feminist issues such as total equality under the law for both men and women—a daring demand at a time in which class inequality had not yet been resolved. Barber also called for the participation of women in the legislative process and decried the conditions which provoked class hatred. It is interesting to note here that Barber pleads in particular with middle class women to come to the support of their proletariat sisters, a plea for feminist consolidation which found little reciprocation and was never realized.

*Die Gesellschaft*, the first naturalist periodical to publicize the feminist cause, promoted articles on women's emancipation by writers of both sexes, thus becoming a forum for the bourgeois women's movement. *Freie Bühne für modernes*
Leben, on the other hand, tended to view the women's movement primarily in the light of the proletariat woman. The social value of the periodical has been assessed by Georg Lukács as follows:

Ihre Bedeutung besteht darin, dass sie ziellosen, zerfahrenheit oppositionellen Literaturbewegungen einen Halt gibt. So gewinnt diese eine scharf umrissene Physiognomie, ihre Wirkung geht über die literarischen Zirkel hinaus, erobert wenigstens die Leser in den grösseren Städten und ändert sehr rasch das Gesicht der ganzen deutschen Literatur.  

In keeping with its policy of venting opposition views, the Freie Bühne allowed the young Paul Ernst to establish a position on the woman question in the form of a rebuttal to Laura Marholm's anti-feminist article "Die Frauen in der skandinavischen Dichtung" in the first volume of Freie Bühne. Ernst's response, entitled "Frauenfrage und soziale Frage," in that same volume, constitutes his first contribution to the defense of feminism and establishes the periodical's socialist feminist orientation.  

However, despite his position as Marxist spokesman for the women workers in Freie Bühne, Ernst appeared to actually know little of what concerned the proletarian women's movement. In this respect, he is symptomatic of many of the "engaged" writers of this period who abandoned both Naturalism and the social issues which it espoused in favor of the "Volkstum" movement, an effective mass literature which advocated a return to the land and the agrarian idyll.  

The
most genuine vehicle of communication for the proletarian woman was to be Clara Zetkin's *Gleichheit*. The purpose of this socialist organ, founded in 1891, was "to provide an educational and promotional influence within the movement" for the woman worker. Under Zetkin's continued control, however, *Gleichheit*, much like its naturalist contemporaries, remained too theoretical and intellectual to appear to, or be understood by, the broad membership of women at whom it was directed. On the whole, it was probably the novel which best filled this vacuum and best satisfied the reading appetite and psychic needs of both the bourgeois and the proletarian woman. And it was through the novel that questions relating to woman's place in society could be made accessible to the majority of the female reading public.

The naturalist periodicals fall short of the impact which they could have had on the public for a number of reasons. First of all, not unlike the public mood which they reflected, they maintained an interest in the woman question for only a few years. Secondly, they were never exclusively pro-feminist in sentiment, and, despite featuring articles by a small number of women who satisfied their literary standards, they were dominated by men. Thirdly, they were primarily theoretical in nature and offered no practical solutions to the problems posed. Moreover, closer examination of the articles printed in these journals could lead the reader to conclude that the bour-
geois feminists suffered from confusion on major issues. To correct such an impression, it must be remembered that our only evidence of feminist writings in periodicals is the articles actually published, not the manuscripts submitted. In regard to what is an apparent confusion on the issues in these journals, the Scheuer/Bänsch study concludes that writers, publishers, and readers were in fact as yet uncertain about their positions. Consequently, they wrote "für eine abstrakte moralische Vernunft." And finally, the woman question never became a central theme in the naturalist periodicals. Nor did successive development of the issues and their incorporation into the general program of the periodicals ever take place.  

It must be said in the defense of the periodicals, however, that, more directly than the novel, they legitimized the feminist issues and reflected authorial attitudes on these issues. Through the periodicals many naturalist writers were able to take what was, at that time, considered a progressive position on the problems of sexual inequality and to openly present their views to the public. Thus they became major disseminators of feminist ideology.  

Likewise, an overall evaluation of the successes of the bourgeois feminism must show the movement in a positive light. Despite its predilection for theory, as opposed to the promulgation of practical solutions, and despite its proclivity toward literary expression rather than overt po-
itical activism, the bourgeois women's movement did initiate major changes in the life of the bourgeois woman. Its primary contribution was made in the area of education. In the 1870's "höhere Mädchenschulen" were opened for the daughters of the bourgeoisie, and in 1889 Helene Lang, the advocate of educational emancipation, opened "Frauenrealkurse" in Berlin which were to confer college degrees on their female students. 15 Lang's ideas on education, expressed in her essay "Die Höhere Mädchenschule und ihre Bestimmung," called for the education of women not for the benefit of an impending marriage or for the spiritual expectations of their husbands, but for the purpose of raising female consciousness. 16 However, Lang's emancipation program was oriented toward elevating the position of the bourgeois woman at the cost of ignoring the plight of her proletarian sister. Her position was typical of the ideology of the bourgeois women's movement as a whole: insistence on the elimination of all privileges for women in favor of strict equality with men. Strict equality of the sexes, by definition, dictated the rejection of protective legislation or concessions to workers in areas which primarily affected the working class woman. Thus, it remained the task of the socialist women's movement to engage in political activism in order to obtain badly needed reforms on the labor market.

The proletarian woman, in contrast to her bourgeois counterpart, had little time or money for literary pursuits.
Most of the time she had to contend herself with a copy of Bebel, her bible, a songbook, and a novel borrowed from the public library. But it was she who was to overcome major obstacles and become responsible for most of the special legislation enacted for women and children at the end of the 19th century. Her movement, once established as separate from the bourgeois feminism, began and continued to operate within the socialist worker's party. Here it encountered special problems from the onset. The first and most problematic of these was proletarian anti-feminism, the overwhelming fear that female competition would ruin the working man's chance on the labor market. Proletarian anti-feminism focused on eliminating woman from the work force altogether, with the result that she would be forced to remain economically dependent, and thus under male domination.

The second major problem which confronted the female worker was one of gaining acceptance within the Social Democratic Worker's Party as a fully qualified member. Ironically, her greatest ally in the fight for integration within the party was Bismarck, whose Anti-Socialist laws fostered a feeling of sharing a common cause, in turn, brought women into the mainstream of the party. But once accepted as a contributing member of the party, the proletarian woman had to contend with internal factions in order to gain Social Democratic support in the German Reichstag for protective legislation for women and children, and for female suffrage.
Social Democratic reluctance to come to the aid of its women members is evident from the fact that protective legislation was not achieved until 1891, female suffrage not until 1918.\textsuperscript{18}

The history of the socialist women's movement shows that the Social Democratic Worker's Party did not go beyond the framework of the capitalist society in setting and achieving legislative goals for its female constituents. The party aimed at expanding male rights into universal rights, a philosophy which was inadequate at best in view of the complexity of the problems faced by the woman worker.\textsuperscript{19} But despite the lack of influence which characterized their membership within the party, the women workers of Germany did not see it clear to convene their own party conference until 1900, when they met in Mainz.\textsuperscript{20} Studies of the socialist women's movement clearly show that, contrary to expectation, the party founded on the theories of some of the greatest and most vocal advocates of women's rights could not overcome the traditional male prejudices, and did little to liberate the woman worker. Proletarian anti-feminism which, from the beginning of the party's history, posed a direct threat to women's emancipation proved to be stronger than socialist theory. It began as, and remained, the task of the bourgeois feminists to fight for the cause of equal rights for men and women.
NOTES: CHAPTER III

1 Hilde Lion, Die Soziologie der Frauenbewegung (Berlin: F. A. Herbig, 1926), p. 15.
2 Lion, pp. 13, 14.
3 Thönnessen, p. 42.
7 Bänsch, pp. 136, 137.
8 Ida Barber, "Das Toleranzsystem," Die Gesellschaft I, (1885), pp. 662-64.
9 Lukács, Zeitalter des Imperialismus, p. 17.
10 Markolm's "Die Frauen in der skandinavischen Dichtung" appeared in 3 parts of volume I of Freie Bühne für modernes Leben: No. 6 (March 6, 1890), 168-71; No. 9 (April 2, 1890), 261-65; No. 13 (April 30, 1890), 364-68. Ernst's rebuttal "Frauenfrage und soziale Frage" appeared in Freie Bühne I, No. 15 (May 14, 1890), 423-26.
11 See Gert Mattenklott and Klaus R. Scherpe, Positionen der literarischen Intelligenz zwischen bürgerlicher Reaktion und Imperialismus (KRONBERG/Ts: Scriptor Verlag), n.d.
12 Thönnessen, p. 49.
13 Bänsch, p. 133.
14 Bänsch, p. 132.
15 Gisela Brandt, Johanna Kootz, and Gisela Steppke, Zur Frauenfrage im Kapitalismus (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1973), p. 18. This study points out that women could attend German
universities as guest listeners only from 1895 onward, and that in 1908 they could finally enroll as fully participating students. Equality under the law for men and unmarried women was not formulated for incorporation into the BGB until 1900, but in 1911 women were still fighting for this right.

17 Thönnessen, p. 155.
18 Thönnessen, p. 34.
19 Thönnessen, p. 41.
20 Thönnessen, p. 61.
Excursus:

Evaluation of Scholarship on the Role of Women in the Naturalist Novel

Structuring a typology which typically reflects social changes in the attitudes and perception of women in the naturalist novel also entails coming to terms with an anomaly found in German literary criticism well into the 20th century. The anomaly appears in the form of a sex-based dichotomy which establishes for the works of female writers categories that are contrivedly distinct from those of contemporary male authors. This approach to criticism, found predominantly in the first half of the 20th century, is, for purposes of this study, regarded as the "traditional" approach. It relegates most of the novels written by women to separate categories such as "Frauenliteratur," "Frauendichtung," or "Familien-und Liebesromane" as opposed to integrating them in the body of "respectable" prose. It must be emphasized here that by adhering to this principle certain critics have automatically constructed barriers which preclude works of sociological, historical, and literary interest from serious literary consideration. Consequently these critics have also raised obstacles to balanced and objective literary analysis of an artistic innovation: a new and different approach to the portrayal of women in Naturalism.

This sex-based prejudice on the part of many critics
has placed a stigma on literature produced by women at a
time in which women entered and gained prominence in German
letters. Moreover, many novels of merit have been relegated
to a no-man's land which lies somewhere between the very
clearly delineated "trivial" literature or "Kitsch," and
literature as a high art. Today it can no longer be denied
that in order to properly evaluate Naturalism, the works of
writers such as Clara Viebig, Gabrielle Reuter, Helen Böhlau,
and others deserve consideration along with the works of
writers such as Hermann Sudermann, Felix Hollaender and Max
Kretzer. This particular trend in classification ceases in
respect to most 20th century women writers, beginning with
Ricarda Huch and is probably based on the assumption that
in the 20th century woman had finally achieved a degree of
literary maturity.

As a result of the above observations, the following
evaluation of scholarship on the naturalist novel will focus
on the critical attitudes displayed toward women both as
the subject and object of Naturalism. Also featured as sig-
nificant will be those studies which enhance the reader's
understanding of the social currents which define the period
and which echo the changes reflected in its literature. As
a result, it is hoped that the student of Naturalism will
be provided with an insight into a wealth of material on
the topic of women which could become the subject of fu-
ture studies.
The sex-biased approach to naturalist criticism dominates German studies from the turn of the century until approximately 1960. It is found particularly in many of the literary histories on the late 19th century, as, for example, in Friedrich Kirchner's contemporary study *Gründeutschland: Ein Streifzug durch die jüngste deutsche Dichtung* (Wien and Leipzig: Kirchner und Schmidt Verlag, 1893). This selective examination of Naturalism, while providing an interesting view of how naturalist authors were received in their own time, is also revealing in that female naturalists are totally precluded from mention. Adolf Bartel's *Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart: Die Alten und die Jungen*, 5th ed., (Leipzig: Avenarius, 1903), does include women writers, but only in brief and under the sub-heading "Die Frauen der gemässigten Richtung." Richard Meyer's *Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Bondi, 1912), II, features a section on "Schriftstellerinnen" which, despite its traditional approach, points out the connection between social criticism on the part of the naturalists and the greater participation of women in naturalist literature. These women are discussed in terms of being "das nervösere Geschlecht" which is moved to write "durch eine viel herreissende Bewegung im Innersten" (p. 760). Nevertheless, their writings, while said to exhibit a "gewisser Dilettantismus" (p. 760) are not dismissed as being trivial. Mielke-Homann's *Der deutsche Roman des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*,
5th ed. (Dresden: Carl Reißner, 1920), in a similar vein, observes that the influence of the women's movement, in conjunction with the liberal spirit of the times, permeates the works discussed under "Frauenromane."

Even literary histories which accord a comprehensive treatment to the naturalist women, such as Albert Soergel's *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit* (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1911), as well as the revised edition by Albert Soergel and Curt Hohoff (Düsseldorf: August Bagel, 1964), I, perpetuate the traditional approach. In the 1964 revised edition a new category, "Emanzipation und Literatur der Frauen" is devised to expand on the discussion of women writers. The fact that male authors were also concerned with issues of women's emancipation is obscured here. This edition, furthermore, continues to promote the paternalistic attitude that women writers have a "natürliche Gabe, eigene und fremde Erlebnisse zu erzählen und zu berichten, die Stimmungen des Herzens lyrisch auszusprechen, das familiäre und gesellschaftliche Leben eindringlich zu schildern" (p. 295). Thus it is not surprising that this study proceeds to state the obvious: at its worst, "Frauenliteratur" consists of gossip and intrigues, at its best, it includes reminiscences by highly gifted women. Liselotte von der Pfalz, Goethe's mother, and Johanna Schopenhauer, the mother of the philosopher, are cited here as highly gifted women along with poets such as Annette von Droste-Hülshoff. This grouping of talent is
generous and unusual, to be sure, but it hardly does justice to the subject.

Otto Heller's *Studies in Modern German Literature* (Boston, New York, Chicago, London: Ginn & Company, 1905) takes issue with the naturalist authoresses who are in sympathy with the women's movement. Heller also justifies the separate classification of women as a traditional practice which is, in fact, preferrable to omitting women from mention altogether. Moreover, he detects in women writers a "startling absence of freshness and originality, counterbalanced in a measure by a great imitative faculty" (p. 231). Accordingly, the fault here lies in their absorption with domestic affairs and the subsequent lack of opportunity to develop their talents. Some of the writers, says Heller, were aware of their deficiencies and expressed this by creating characters who rebelled against the female stereotypes. Gabrielle Reuter's artist figure is an example of this type. He also points out that the most commonly featured heroine in women's literature is the famed angelic maid, the clinging damsel without a backbone who, according to Helene Böhlau is much-loved by the German reading public. The naturalist writers have countered this trend, and Heller ascertains: "On the whole it may be averred without undue exaggeration that nearly all women who play a conspicuous role in German letters write in a reformatory frame of mind" (p. 238). But Heller also finds that "in the reformatory
zeal which impels our women writers to redress the wrongs of their sex, the great human problems under discussion do not receive sober study" (p. 238). Novellists such as Böhlau, Reuter and Viebig are thus dismissed as lacking "calm objectivity" which flows from historic consciousness, while, in contrast, Herman Sudermann is considered a radical writer "with a distinct pedagogical task to which he brings intellectual and moral equipment" (p. 6).

Merker/Stammler attempt in their *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1925/26) to discuss in several pages on "Frauendichtung" the history of women in German literature from the Middle Ages to the 20th century. According to this compilation, biology has determined the extent of woman's literary productivity throughout the ages. Her role as wife and mother has left her little time for literary pursuits, and when she does write, it usually takes the form of the letter which is designed to express personal feelings, or the form of the "Familien-und-Liebesroman" in which the man is the central figure. An exception to this pattern is found in the women who dedicated their lives to the Church and whose energies could thus be used like those of men. Because of the severe limitations placed upon a woman's time, education, and range of interest, women writers have, according to Merker/Stammler, saturated the literary market with inferior works. The "Frauenliteratur" which they pro-
duced tended to emphasize Eros and to present a falsification and superficiality of characters. The history furthermore contends that women who do not fit this model are set apart as anomalies who have found their way out of the morass of personal issues and thus become able to raise questions of a political and social nature. Clara Viebig is cited as one of the writers.

Wolfgang Stammler’s *Deutsche Literatur vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Breslau: Hirt, 1924) relates the ascendency of women in literature to those social changes which made the artistic expression of their own experiences possible. He also points out that the female novelist owes her freedom of expression to the liberal climate engendered by the naturalist movement in particular. Thus the woman writer is cast as a beneficiary of a new wave, rather than an innovator and generator of change on her own merits. In this way he justifies her separate classification.

Criticism from the turn of the century to approximately 1960 which runs counter to the "traditional," sex-based approach to women in literature includes perhaps some of the most enlightening studies on the naturalist authors. Adalbert von Hanstein, in his work *Das jüngste Deutschland* (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1900), provides a historical approach to the period of literature from 1880 to 1900 which uncharacteristically allocates to female novelists such as Gabrielle Reuter a place within the mainstream of Naturalism.
He views the proliferation of women writers as part of a trend to integrate social issues into the realm of literature. They are representative of a new generation of women, part of a new social phenomenon, and it is in these terms, Hanstein explains, that they are discussed separately, "nicht ihres Geschlechtes wegen" (p. 356). In a similar vein, writers such as Böhlau, Reuter, Janitschek, and Viebig are integrated into the discussion of "modern social realism" in Hermann Hölzke's Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Literatur (Braunschweig: Sattler, 1905). Here the works of these women are examined in conjunction with the prose of authors as diverse as Hermann Sudermann, Felix Hollaender and Thomas Mann. The emphasis of this study on naturalist prose is material obtained from the city, the chief source of naturalist inspiration.

Studies by Ludwig Lewisohn such as The Spirit of Modern German Literature (New York: Huebsch, 1916) and Friedrich Kummer's Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts (Dresden: Reissner, 1924) also integrate women writers into the mainstream of naturalist criticism. Lewisohn divides naturalist prose into two categories: the "doctrinal novel" and the "novel of pure naturalism." The works of Wilhelm von Polenz fall into the first category while those of, for example, Clara Viebig are grouped into the latter. Kummer, on the other hand, discusses the works of writers such as Ricarda Huch, Gabrielle Reuter, Clara
Viebig, and Helene Böhlau under the sub-heading "Künstlerische Erzählerinnen." His non-sexist and objective approach, however, differentiates him from the "traditional" critics. On the whole this study contributes to the integration of the female naturalist into the mainstream of Naturalism.

Kurt Martens' *Die Deutsche Literatur unserer Zeit: In Charakteristiken und Proben* (Berlin, Leipzig: Paetel, 1928) and Elisabeth Darge's *Lebensbejahung in der Dichtung um 1900* (Breslau: Maruschke und Berendt, 1934) aid in our understanding of the role played by woman in literature at the turn of the century. Martens treats Viebig under "Naturlisten und Realisten" along with authors such as Gerhart Hauptmann, while Böhlau is discussed under topics such as "Verinnerlichung" and "Seelische Verfeinerung." While Darge focuses on literary currents dominant at the turn of the century, her examination of female types views women from a counter-naturalist perspective.

Woman is approached as both subject and object of the naturalist novel in Ludwig Niemann's "Soziologie des naturalistischen Romans," *Germanische Studien*, Heft 148 (Berlin: Dr. E. Ebering, 1934). The bourgeois woman is viewed as the member of society who "übernimmt vom Manne die Stumpfheit gegen alles, was nicht materiell ist" (p. 40). Her social activities betray the unfortunate tendency of the bourgeois to do everything for the sake of effect and to live in a world of opulence and illusion. Thus it was against
the "Bürgerfrauen," in whom the naturalists saw their own social and ethical ideas "entweiht und herabgezerrt" (p. 41) that they vented their anger. Niemann discusses women's emancipation and its ramifications in literature, economics and politics under the caption "Familie." It is interpreted as a manifestation of the growth and influence of the modern sciences. The ideology of the women's movement emerges in the naturalist novel primarily as "emancipation of the flesh" while "spiritual emancipation" was accorded little attention. Of the novels which provide the basis of Niemann's study, however, the work of only one woman, Clara Viebig, is drawn upon.

A socio-cultural approach to the naturalist novel is also projected in Victor Lange's Modern German Literature, 1870-1940 (New York: Cornell Univ. Press, 1945). Lange forwards the thesis that, on the whole, the German novelists in the 19th century failed in respect to their social responsibility. He attributes this largely to the fact that the "German world had not in itself the unity of experience which elsewhere characterized the Victorian generation" (p. 8). Instead, revolutionary figures such as Wagner, Bismarck, and Karl Marx established themselves "in opposition to the crippling forces of a heritage which had become irrelevant" (p. 8). Lange also doubts the effectiveness of the naturalists and criticizes their alleged social concerns:

It can be doubted whether the naturalistic
movement as a whole was genuinely alive to the inexorable and radical nature of the economic situation. The marks of social calamity were recorded with much humanitarian concern, but in the main they were presented as the result of human depravity and a temporary aberration from the normal conditions of the bourgeois order" (p. 20).

Lange concludes that the "fundamental intention of most of these writers was aesthetic, not political" and that many were "caught between callousness and sentimentality" (p. 20). This study serves as an excellent aid in understanding the cultural phenomenon which defines Naturalism.

Criticism on the role of women in naturalism which is contemporary with the naturalist movement and, therefore, of particular interest in regard to historical analysis of the period can be found in the naturalist journals such as Die Gesellschaft and Freie Bühne. Issues published between the years 1885, the year in which Gesellschaft was founded and 1895, when the woman question encountered reaction and appeared to show signs of loosing the public's interest, serve as particular indicators of reaction to the issue on the part of the intellectual community. The socialist call for the emancipation of women is promoted by Paul Ernst in the first issue of Freie Bühne, 1 (1890) in the article "Frauenfrage und Geschlechtsfrage" while Julius Hart expresses himself on socialist ideology in "Freie Liebe, Betrachtungen zu Bebels 'Die Frau und der Sozialismus'" Freie Bühne, 1, (1890). The feminist point of view is registered by Irma
von Troll-Borostyani's frequent contributions to both organs, for example in "Schopenhauer und Hartmann über die Liebe," _Die Gesellschaft_, 1 (1885) and "Die Liebe in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Literatur," _Gesellschaft_, 7 (1891). Her essay "Das Recht der Frau" appeared in _Freie Bühne_, 4 (1893) while Ida Barber took issue with social problems directly affecting women in "Das Budget in der Ehe," _Die Gesellschaft_, 2 (1886) and in "Das Toleranzsystem," _Die Gesellschaft_, 1 (1885).

The topic of women in literature is taken up in Conrad Alberti's "Die Frau und der Realismus," _Die Gesellschaft_, 6 (1890); in Laura Marholm's "Die Frauen in der skandinavischen Dichtung," _Freie Bühne_, 1 (1890); in Frieda Freiin von Bülow's "Männerurtheil über Frauenichtung" in _Zukunft_, 7 (1898/99); Paul Schettler's "Frauen in der Dichtung," _Die Frau_, 3 (1895/96); and Lou Andreas-Salome's "Ketzereien gegen die moderne Frau," _Die Zukunft_, 7 (1898/99). Blatantly anti-feminist points of view are expressed in these periodicals by writers such as Eduard von Hartmann, "Die Lebensfrage der Familie," _Gesellschaft_, 1 (1885) and by Falk Schrupp in "Die Moderne im Frauengehirn," also in _Gesellschaft_, 8 (1892).

Modern scholarship, i.e., studies undertaken primarily after 1960, has exhibited a growing interest in Naturalism as a literary expression of socio-cultural protest. Thus the movement has been redefined and reassessed in terms
of politics, economics, philosophy, advances in the natural sciences, and, in general, the social upheaval of the times, rather than in terms of aesthetics and stylistics. This trend in criticism, encouraged in part by the awakened social consciousness of the 1960's, including a resurgence of the women's movement, has also generated a more catholic approach to the place of women in literature, particularly to their role in Naturalism. The current status of literature on women in the naturalist novel cannot, therefore, be undertaken without first viewing the period as one of opposition to dying values, and as one championing the cause of those elements in society which were previously suppressed or excluded from serious literature.

The following studies thus serve as sources of orientation on Naturalism primarily as a movement of protest and espousal of social causes. Erich Ruprecht's *Literarische Manifeste des Naturalismus 1880-1892* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1962) and *Literarische Manifeste der Jahrhundertwende, 1890-1910*, ed. Erich Ruprecht and Dieter Bönisch (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1970) provide introductions to trends and authors which constitute German literature in the last two decades of the 19th century, in addition to excerpts from significant essays which document and define the literary pulse of the time. Walter Mönch's *Deutsche Kultur von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart: Ereignisse, Gestalten, Strömungen* (München: Hueber, 1962); the anthology *Realismus und Gründerzeit*. 
Manifieste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur 1848-1880, vol. 1, ed. Max Bucher, Werner Hohl, Georg Jäger, Reinhard Wittmann (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976); Hans Schwerte's "Deutsche Literatur im Wilhelminischen Zeitalter," Wirkendes Wort, 14, 1964; and Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1830 bis Ausgang des Jahrhunderts by Kurt Böttcher, Paul Günther Krohn and Peter Wruck (Berlin: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1975) all comprise excellent sources of orientation as to the nature of naturalism and the historico-cultural forces which gave rise to the movement. The Böttcher, Krohn, Wruck study provides the historical basis for the literary developments which took place in the time of German imperialism, while Schwerte's study serves as an introduction to Naturalism as literary opposition to the political and social forces dominant during this time. Schwerte considers it the task of literature from 1880/90 to modern to "see" the proletarian industrial society and to express its existence in language rather than to continue expression of the conservative bourgeois ideals.

Samuel Lublinski's Die Bilanz der Moderne (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1974) is an attempt to interpret literature as a purely sociological phenomenon, with emphasis placed on the social philosophies which prevailed in the 1880's and 1890's. Theorie des Naturalismus, edited by Theo Meyer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1973) approaches Naturalism as a reflection of 1) the political and social reality of the industrial age, 2) the scientific-technological reality of the epoch, and
3) the aesthetic-artistic conception of the new literature resulting from the above. Jost Hermand, in his essay "Der verdrängte Naturalismus," *Der Schein des schönen Lebens: Studien zur Jahrhundertwende* (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1972) tends to dismiss "Naturalism" as an artistic epoch. He favors, instead, dealing with the basic revolutionary substance which characterizes the movement. For Hermand "Naturalismus" describes a revolutionary impulse, a spirit of opposition rather than stilistic elements. The "Gründerzeit" culture, for example, is seen as the remnant of feudalism in Germany against which naturalist literature rebelled.

Gert Mattenklott and Klaus Scherpe also provide the reader with a solid sociological background for Naturalism as a movement of opposition in their *Positionen der literarischen Intelligenz zwischen bürgerlicher Reaktion und Imperialismus* (Kronberg/Ts: Scriptor, 1973). In this study the naturalists are depicted as a literary avant-garde which opposed the authoritarian state and its capitalist-induced alienation. The class conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat appeared in literature as the "soziale Frage," and in this manner invaded the consciousness of the public. Manfred Brauneck's excellent study *Literatur und Öffentlichkeit im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974) places emphasis on the relationship between Naturalism and socialism which are described as, respectively, aesthetic and political anarchism. Social-democratic leaders
such as Wilhelm Liebknecht are seen in relationship to social literary critics such as Franz Mehring. It is learned, for instance, that Franz Mehring condemned Naturalism at the Gotha Party Convention as having produced, contrary to the generally held view, bourgeois literature.

"Naturalismus und Zensur," *Naturalismus*, ed. Helmut Scheuer (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974) by Gerhard Schulz, "Art, Society and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany. The Lex Heine," *Oxford German Studies*, 8 (1972/73) by R. J. V. Lenman, and Hugh Ridley and Keith Bullivant's "A Middle-Class View of German Industrial Expansion 1853-1890" *Oxford German Studies*, 7 (1972/73); and Dieter Pforte's "Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die Naturalisten," *Naturalismus*, ed. Helmut Scheuer (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974) all deal with some aspect of naturalist involvement with the politics of the times. Lenman's study, with its focus on the Heinze murder trial in 1891, gives evidence of the tension existing between political conservatism and the literary avant garde of the 1890's, while Gerhard Schulz investigates the censorship trials staged in the 1890's against naturalist authors such as Sudermann, Conradi and Alberti. The Ridley/Bullivant study examines, from the perspective of the journal *Gartenlaube*, the attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie to reconcile industrial expansion with traditional values. The conclusion states that the period is marked more by "Heimatkunst" than by naturalist portrayals of contemporary
society.

Scholarship on naturalist drama which contributes to an understanding of the social currents defining the movement include John Osborne's work *The Naturalist Drama in Germany* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1971), Sigfrid Hoefert's *Das Drama des Naturalismus* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968), and Gerhard Kluge's "Das verfehlte Soziale. Sentimentalität und Gefühlskitsch im Drama des deutschen Naturalismus," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 96 (1977). Osborne's work provides an informative introduction to Naturalism as a movement arising from the Gründerzeit, while Hoefert finds naturalist thought to be generated by progress made in the natural and social sciences, and by the rise of socialism in Europe. Included in this work is a bibliography on both naturalist works and naturalist authors. Kluge ascertains that whereas naturalist drama is usually analyzed as "social drama, the sentimental element prevalent in the conception of characters and in determining the mood establishes its close connection with the bourgeoisie family drama. He bases this on the fact that in both types of drama the social conflict is resolved within the family atmosphere and on the predominantly bourgeois milieu featured in the naturalist drama.

The close connection between Naturalism and social issues also serves as a focal point of *Prosa des Naturalismus*, ed. Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1973). While
phenomena such as the women's movement are not included in
the scope of social themes attributed to Naturalism, the
introduction to this study nevertheless provides a satis-
factory overview of selected naturalist writers of prose.
Mary Stewart expresses the opinion in her study "German Na-
much of naturalist prose is suffering from an "inner uncer-
tainty of purposes and resultant triviality" (p. 856).
Hence she explains the second-rate quality of the German
novel of this period which, as she puts it, in no way ap-
proximates the achievement of Zola's social novels.

The following critical works take issue directly
with the problem of woman as the subject and object of
German naturalist literature. The Richard Hamann/Jost
Hermand studies Gründerzeit (1965) and Naturalismus (Berlin:
Akademie Verlag, 1968) discuss the literature of the last
century in terms of dominant themes, ideologies, style, and
literary effectiveness. Thus they remove the stigma of
trivial literature from, for example, "domestic" themes
such as "Familie und Ehe," which were previously considered
the domain of women. Consequently, the women writers who
echoed such concerns were also legitimized. Female charac-
ters in works of fiction are now viewed as having become
"ein Hauptglied in der Kette der Armen und Entrechtteten"
(Naturalismus, p. 118) and their striving for emancipation
becomes a critique of bourgeois institutions such as mar-
riage. Combined, the Naturalismus and Gründerzeit studies comprise one of the better efforts to redefine and delineate Germany's cultural life at the onset of modern literature.

Klaus Günther Just's *Von der Gründerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur seit 1871*, vol. 4 (Bern/München: Francke, 1973) establishes the period referred to as "Gründerzeit" as the time from which the German empire was proclaimed, January 18, 1871, until Bismarck's dismissal on March 20, 1890. Naturalism, which arose as a period of rebellion against "Gründer" values, is then examined in respect to the social, political, and economic questions with which it concerned itself. The position taken on women as an integral part of these social issues in the naturalist repertoire echoes the one found in the Hermand/Hamann study. However, for Just the new, and consequently political, element defining woman's involvement in naturalist literature is seen as "das Auftreten von Schriftstellerinnen in breiter, geschlossener Front, neu in Zentrierung sämtlicher individueller Probleme in der Frage, welche existentielle Bedeutung der Frau in der Gesellschaft in Zukunft zukomme" (p. 55). Just's discussion of the new type of woman found in the works of, for example, Bleibtreu, Conrad, Reuter, and Böhlau provides some of the most informative and incisive insights into the new role which women assumed in naturalist literature.

The naturalist sympathy for the downtrodden and ex-
exploited masses is emphasized in Ursula Münchow's *Deutscher Naturalismus* (Berlin: Akademie, 1968). Münchow regards many of the naturalist novels expressing social concerns as "Unterhaltungsromane," written by second rate writers. Moreover, she holds these writers responsible for "jener unerträglichen Mischung von Mitleidsozialismus und Pessimismus, die den Naturalismus in Verruf brachte" (p. 43). However, the women writers are credited with having achieved "Rang innerhalb der naturalistischen Bewegung" (p. 138) in conjunction with the emergence of the woman question, which she sees as a sign of the times. But the best characterizations of women lie within the context of "echter Gesellschaftskritik," (p. 138) rather than in those works which feature women's emancipation for its own sake. Roy Cowen's *Der Naturalismus* (München: Winkler Verlag, n.d.) also places significance on the role of women, with an emphasis on female types. The most extreme type, the prostitute, according to Cowen, is found most frequently in the literature. Other types featured are the unwed mother, the daughter who offers up her life for her parents, the mistreated orphan and the adulteress. However, a critical attitude reminiscent of the "traditional" school of criticism in regard to women is still betrayed in this study by the following statement: "Dass es jedoch den wirklich grossen Dichtern wie Hauptmann gelingt, das wahre Menschliche, nicht bloss das Trivial-Sentimentale zu gestalten,
gewährleistet die Einordnung auch dieser Stoffe in den Vorrat der grossen Dichtung" (p. 99).

Rudolf Majut examines the role of woman in the naturalist novel in light of the new morality in love and marriage, and in conjunction with the concept of the new man and woman in his "Geschichte des deutschen Romans vom Biedermeier bis zur Gegenwart," Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß, ed. Wolfgang Stammer (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1954). The new morality which emerged in the last quarter of the century is attributed to economic changes which affected women more than men and resulted in the emergence of the "Frauenfrage." Majut also points out that this new morality is reflected in many of the novels through the numerous unmarried heroines. Moreover, he explains that the morality of the "free" woman, which could indeed offend the public, is rendered harmless by the call for woman's right to motherhood. In Dieter Bänsch's study on "Naturalismus und Frauenbewegung," Naturalismus/ Bürgerliche Dichtung und soziales Engagement, ed. Helmut Scheuer (Stuttgart/ Berlin/Köln/Mainz: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1974) the topic woman in Naturalism forms a triad of "Frauenliteratur," feminism, and Naturalism. This relationship defines the quality of the literary output without which women authors could not survive as "abgehobene Intelligenzen" (p. 123). Of particular interest in this study is the documentation of the role played by the naturalist periodicals in generating debate
on the women's movement and related issues.

The impact of the German women's movement on the selection of thematic material by naturalist authors is also discussed by Günther Mahal in *Naturalismus* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975). Mahal views the women's movement around 1890 as "ein Versuch kleinster Schritte in die bislang monopolisierte Männerwelt des sozial-, kultur- und realpolitischen Bereichs" (p. 132). The new role accorded women in naturalist literature, i.e., the first appearance of an "emancipated" figure, is seen as a direct response to a series of journalistic, political and sociological developments. Women writers are mentioned, in brief, as having advanced from the realm of the "Hauskalenderbereich" to the vanguard of their own movement. For them Naturalism was a means of integrating the woman question into the social question as a whole: "Die Rolle der Frau in der Männerwelt zu revolutionieren, geht parallel zu der Absicht, die Rolle der Unterdrückten und Ausgebeuteten als aufgezwungen deutlich zu machen" (p. 134).

The ensuing works, while they do not deal with the naturalist woman, do provide an interesting perspective on the perception of female characters in preceding or following literary periods. As such, they contribute to a better understanding of the problematic of women in literature, as well as to the naturalist breakthrough in regard to traditional stereotypes. Informative studies of this nature include

*Studies limited to specific aspects of woman's role in naturalist literature are largely the domain of dissertations. Reflecting general trends of scholarship, most of the dissertations written prior to 1960 tend to approach the topic through the traditional classification of "Frauenroman." For example, Amalie Aschkenazy's study "Die Frauenbewegung im Spiegel des deutschen Frauenromans in der zweiten*
Zottleder's "Das Bild der Zeitgenössischen Frau im deutschen
Frauenroman vom Naturalismus zur Gegenwart," Diss. Vienna
1932, investigate the ramifications of the women's movement
in the "Frauenroman" from the 1880's to 1932. Both studies
focus on this type of literature to elucidate the character-
ization of woman by women, producing what is referred to by
Zottleder as "Problem-typengeschichtliche Ergebnisse"
(p. 13). She concludes that the impact of the women's move-
ment on this particular genre is basically nonexistent. Un-
like Aschkenazy, who depicts the novel as a mirror of the
women's movement, Zottleder views the relationship between
the two as a manifestation of the same cultural phenomenon,
interpreted as "Bewusstwerdung der Frau" (p. 119).

The naturalist innovation, the emancipated woman,
is examined by Heidi Guntrum in an excellent study on female
types entitled "Die Emanzipierte in der Dichtung des Natura-
limus," Diss. Giessen, 1928. Guntrum establishes this new
type in opposition to the two main types traditionally
featured in western literature: the mother and the whore.
 Analyzed in this study are female figures whose problems
range from "emancipation of the flesh" to "emancipation of
the spirit," from free motherhood to freedom from male dom-
inination. The study is concluded with a synthesis of types.
It also provides an excellent overview of the psychological,
philosophical, and social resistance to women's emancipation
at the turn of the century.

The social forces which determine the lives of women in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and the manner in which they are mirrored in the naturalist novel, constitute the basis of Irene Huber's work "Die soziale Stellung der Frau im deutschen naturalistischen Roman," Diss. Stanford 1942. Drawing upon the works of both male and female writers, Huber defines her female characters primarily in terms of their class, milieu, education, occupation, and response to social institutions. Thus she provides a comprehensive cataloguing of sociological factors which circumscribe the life of the naturalist heroine, presenting thereby a wealth of organized and detailed information on the life of 19th century woman. Sigrid Gerda Scholtz Novak's "Images of Womanhood in the Works of German Female Dramatists: 1892-1918," Diss. Johns Hopkins 1971, focuses on women characters portrayed by female writers. Based on a collection of little-known works, this study reveals significant contributions to German drama. As to the particular accomplishments of these authors, Novak concludes that the female characters portrayed in these dramas are highly diversified and that, collectively, they "voice the main concerns of that generation of women, their principal hopes and aspirations, sorrows and fears" (p. 248). Her investigation opens up an area of literature which has suffered from obscurity. As such, it could generate rediscovery of

Interest generated primarily within the United States by the women's movement, in conjunction with the integration of women in all areas of social, political, and institutional life, is reflected strongly in the increase of scholarship on women in literature. The following dissertations, limited to aspects of women in 19th century literature, were completed while work on this study was in progress: Patricia Margaret Ryan Paulsell, "The Relation-

Despite the fact that the topic of women in literature has enjoyed a renaissance of literary scholarship in the past decade, the main emphasis has remained on major authors known for their unorthodox or revolutionary portrayals of women. Thus there remains a wealth of material, primarily in the area of women writers such as Else Jerusalem, Helene Böhlau, Gabrielle Reuter, and Clara Viebig, which must be rescued from literary obscurity. The influence of German feminism on late 19th century literature also requires more detailed examination. Another area of research
is suggested by the naturalist author, primarily male, who exhibits concern for the avid consumption by his female characters of trivial literature or "kitsch." The late 19th century heroine, both of the working class and of the bourgeoisie, is frequently featured spending all her spare time obsessed with the equivalent of today's dime-store novelette or comic-book romance. It would be interesting to investigate, for example, the extent to which authors comment on this state of affairs and deride this type of literature.
CHAPTER IV

A typology of Women in the Naturalist Novel

1. The Mother-Martyr-Saint

The portrayal of women in the naturalist novel reflects both contemporary attitudes toward the plight of 19th century woman and the degree of freedom or emancipation which the authors felt society could or should tolerate. This study illustrates that at least four basic types of portrayals of women can be distinguished. These types range from the one extreme, the heroine which most closely approximates the Gründerzeit ideal, to the other extreme which features women "emancipated" to the extent that they exist totally outside of, or cannot function within, the framework of society.

The first type represents traits which combine to form the mother-martyr-saint. This woman may be described as a recessive character exerting a constant, beneficent influence on those around her, or she is cast as a peripheral character who functions as a quiet, stabilizing force barely perceptible in the plot development. Even though this heroine is found predominantly in the social novel, the greater part of the naturalist repertory, she is, in fact, a common fixture throughout literature. Her pervasiveness in literature is facilitated by the fact that she appears to
defy ideology and philosophy in that the political proclivities of the authors appear to be irrelevant in the basic construction of the type. In other words, this heroine can readily be the manifestation of an author's concern for the urban poor, coupled with a basically conservative attitude toward changes in the family structure and the role of women within this structure.

As a literary character, the mother-martyr-saint transcends all distinctions of class, economic status, age, place, or even marital status. She is found among the rural poor, in, for example, the figure of Frau Elsbeth in Sudermann's Frau Sorge; among the urban bourgeoisie in the mother featured as Helene Böhlau's Halbtier and in Lou Andreas Salome's Mai; among the young and unwed mother in Wilhelm Hegeler's Mutter Bertha and Clara Viebig's servant girl, Mine Heinze, in Das Tägliche Brot; and among older and wiser maternal figures such as Ida Merk in Max Kretzer's Die Verkommenen, a prime example of the social novel dealing with the urban proletariat.

Regardless of her social standing or relative importance within the novel, this heroine is found to have been equipped with many of the same characteristics throughout. She also carries out a very definite, circumscribed role: she is the pillar supporting the Gründer society or, more generally, western culture, yet she is denied the advantages which this culture offers. Her chances for advancement within the
society which she serves are restricted to the dictates of ancient customs, both in her personal life and in her social position. Her future lies strictly within the family where it is her role to bear and raise children, to serve her husband and family without complaint, to be selfless, loyal and virtuous. In carrying out this proscribed role she supports the very foundations upon which the empire is built—the patriarchy.

Because this type has been selected to bear the burdens of society with little outward reward, her role has been imbued with compensatory religious significance. She is the 19th century manifestation of the Virgin Mary whose strength is derived from the knowledge that her mission is God-ordained and thusly sanctioned by society. Furthermore, her selfless dedication to others provides its own reward system. If the household is conducted to the husband's satisfaction, if the sons are successfully prepared for their careers and daughters suitably married, this woman is rewarded by knowing that her sacrifices have helped achieve this. But if her family is fated to struggle for survival and if there are no immediate rewards for her in her present mode of existence, religion assures her that her saintliness is rewarded in the next life. But whatever her fate, this heroine never violates the moral code of society. Thus her virtue has an edifying and redemptive affect on those around her; she exemplifies Goethe's principle of the eternal feminine in naturalist
guise. Through her sacrifices and self-abnegation her family, and thus society, will continue to exist and to thrive. Herein lies the ultimate reward of this nurturing mother.

In dealing with this type it becomes obvious that issues of individual rights, personal freedom, or emancipation come into play only indirectly, if at all. This heroine is never perceived of by the reader as a woman with legitimate desires or needs. She is always depicted as a stereotype and frequently becomes the subject of role-related abuse. Moreover, the authors established the viability of this cliché by making this woman a paragon of virtue and elevating her to a form of social sainthood. Thus, as projected, her role is indispensible to the harmonious functioning of society and transcends mere individual needs. Consequently, also, the demands for change on the part of social reformers appear insignificant in the face of this established cosmic order.

This is not to say that authorial sympathy for this heroine is lacking. On the contrary, the authors who depict the mother-martyr-saint express a sentimental concern for her which is at times overwhelming and borders on bathos. But despite this apparent concern for this character, the need for basic changes in the social role structure is negated in that this type is imbued with metaphysical implications. Thus on the whole, the mother-martyr-saint figure promotes the position that oppression and subservience of one particular group is vindicated by the benefits which
society as a whole derives from this group. In other words, emancipation of women could result in the very collapse of the patriarchal structure, i.e., of the society which we have known for centuries. The manner in which this complex of attitudes emerges from a number of representative novels is illustrated in the following discussion.

Hermann Sudermann's novel *Frau Sorge* best exemplifies the glorification of the mother-martyr-saint who is placed within the context of Gründerzeit morality. This novel first appeared in print in 1887 and appeared in its 31st edition in 1896, ample evidence of its public appeal. The combined factors of a very favorable reception by the public, the author's reputation, and the strong presence of the feminine element make this work a particularly interesting subject for an analysis of the long-suffering wife and mother of Wilhelmine fiction.

*Frau Sorge* traces the growth to manhood of Paul Meyhöfer, the third son of Frau Elsbeth and Max Meyhöfer. Paul's life is determined by four major factors: a constant struggle on the part of the family Meyhöfer for survival within an agrarian environment; a drunken, abusive father; a saintly, timid mother; and a childhood sweetheart. The trials which beset Paul and the Meyhöfer family are brought about by a combination of external forces--economic conditions which render survival on a farm difficult--and by domestic conflicts which are caused by a patriarch who is unable to
cope with this environment and ultimately resorts to criminal action. It is the mother, Frau Elsbeth, who through her total self-abnegation and sacrifices enables the sensitive Paul to rise above the circumstances of this milieu. In the following selection of passages the manner in which the mother-martyr-saint figure is developed through Frau Elsbeth will be demonstrated.

The novel begins with Paul's birth, a time in which the Meyhöfer family finds itself in a state of crisis: the white house, their home, is taken away from them. The allegorical "Frau Sorge" who dominates the lives of Paul and his mother is introduced as the dominant motif on the first page, as are the roles circumscribed for the main characters:

Gerade, als das Gut Meyhöfer sich unter dem Hammer befand, wurde Paul, sein dritter Sohn, geboren. Das war freilich eine schwere Zeit! Frau Elsbeth mit ihrem vergrünten Gesicht und ihrem wehmütigen Lächeln lag in dem grossen Himmelbett, neben sich die Wiege des Neugeborenen, liess die Augen unruhig umherschweifen und horchte auf jegliches Geräusch, das vom Hofe und aus dem Wohnzimmer in ihre traurige Wochenstube drang. --Bei jedem verdächtigen Laute fuhr sie empor, und jedesmal, wenn eine fremde Männerstimme sich hören liess oder ein Wagen mit dumpfen Rollen daherkamen kam, fragte sie, in heller Angst die Pfosten des Bettes umklammern: "Ist's so weit? Ist's so weit?" (1).

From this introduction it is obvious that the author places emphasis on the depiction of Frau Elsbeth as the care-laden mother, as the direct link to the title figure, "Frau Sorge." Frau Elsbeth—here and throughout the novel—is al-
ways found to be either on the verge of tears or crying silently. Indeed it is difficult for the reader to imagine that she was ever anything but the anxious, timid woman whose smile is "wehmütig," whose eyes are "unruhig," face is "vergrämmt," voice reveals "helle Angst," and whose very air is one of sadness. Everything about Frau Elsbeth evokes not joy at having given birth, but apprehension and anxiety, which are intensified by helplessness and an air of resignation. Thus Sudermann's first impression of Frau Elsbeth sets the tone for the female condition of the Gründerzeit. This impression is reinforced throughout the course of the heroine's life through the other female characters such as Frau Douglas, her benefactress, and her daughter, Elsbeth Douglas, through whom the circles of positive female influences on Paul closes. From the onset the reader is led to assume that suffering is an integral part of woman's life.

In addition to delineating the role of the mother figure, the author also defines the role of the patriarch in the first passage. The concept of the all-powerful patriarch is subtly presented and questioned in that the estate is referred to as "das Gut Meyhöfers," i.e., the property belongs to the father, Max Meyhöfer, as does Paul, "sein Sohn." The author thus establishes that the father, who it is learned later was responsible for the loss of the estate, is nevertheless the undisputed authority figure to whom the family owes its loyalty and respect. The abuses which he
inflicts on Frau Elsbeth, Paul and the rest of the family through his drunkenness, mismanagement and profligacy only serve as tests of Frau Elsbeth's saintliness and martyrdom and of Paul's virtue. Thus on the first page the author has laid out the traditional pattern of roles: women suffer, men dominate.

The problematic figure in this family scheme is Paul. His special relationship with his mother, established through the travail-laden conditions of his birth, destines him to become a martyr like she. When, for example, the young Paul attends school and the older boys take his lunch and bully him, he permits them to do so, "denn er glaubte, es müsse so sein" (p. 26). Paul in fact functions as an extension of his mother's personality, participating in her oppression until he has earned his way to manhood and its inherent privileges. Through his hard-earned material successes later in life and through the love of Elsbeth Douglas, his mother's namesake, the circle closes and Paul, as the adult male, finally throws off the curse of "Frau Sorge." By doing so he vindicates his mother's lot in life and finds the happiness which was denied her.

But unlike Paul, who through hard work, endurance, and virtue is ultimately permitted to join the ranks of male privilege and who is granted the projection of a "happy end," Frau Elsbeth, the mother-martyr-saint is designated by the author from the first passage to suffer a gradual deterio-
ration of her condition. Although she tries her best to absorb the misfortunes to which the family falls prey, the position of subservience in which society has cast her renders her defenseless not only against the outside world but also within the family structure. Frequently her lack of control over the circumstances which dominate her life is expressed through crying, the ultimate sign of female vulnerability. This typically female expression of emotion only generates more abuse from the husband:

"Weine nicht, du Tränensock," sagte er, "du bist bloß dazu da, um mir mein Elend noch größer zu machen."
"Aber, Max," antwortete sie leise, "willst du den Deinen verwehren, dein Unglück mit dir zu tragen? Müssen wir nicht um so enger zusammenhalten, wenn es uns schlecht geht?"
Da wurde er weich, nannte sie sein braves Weib und belegte sich selber mit bösen Schimpfnamen.
Frau Elsbeth suchte ihn zu beruhigen, bat ihn, Vertrauen zu ihr zu haben und tapfer zu sein.
"Ja, tapfer sein--tapfer sein!" schrie er, aufs neue in Ärger geratend, "ihr Weiber habt klug reden, ihr sitzt zu Hause und breitet demütig die Schürze aus, damit euch Glück oder Unglück in den Schoss falle, wie's der liebe Himmel beschert; wir Männer aber müssen hinaus ins feindliche Leben, müssen kämpfen und streben und uns mit allerhand Gesindel herumschlagen.--Geht mir mit euren Mahnungen! Tapfer sein, ja, ja--tapfer sein!" (p. 31)

In this passage Frau Elsbeth is also condemned by her husband for having assumed the passive personality and manner dictated by her role, i.e., of sitting and waiting to be acted upon. Thus she is, in fact doubly punished for accommodating the dictates of society. She suffers as a result
of the impending economic crisis brought about by Meyhöfer's unwise speculations and because of his irritation at her concern. Both factors contribute to her subsequent and increasing denigration.

Frau Elsbeth's conditioned helplessness and passivity find their strongest manifestation in her relationship to her husband. Subjected to frequent beatings and constant verbal abuse, her reactions to him are characterized by a fear which is so paralyzing that "Wenn sie ihren Mann ein nachdenkliches Gesicht machen sah, lief es ihr eiskalt den Nacken hinunter, und erst, wenn er wieder lachte, wagte auch sie erleichtert aufzuatmen" (p. 51). Eventually this fear renders her incapable of taking any kind of independent action. When confronted with a matter as trivial as buying ribbons for her daughter's hair, she defers the decision to Paul:

An der Mutter fand er selbst für diese weiblich gearteten Sorgen keinen Rückhalt mehr. Sie war nun durch die steten Scheltreden ihres Mannes so sehr verängstigt, dass sie nicht mehr den Mut fand, einen Fetzen Band auf eigene Verantwortung einzukaufen. (p. 102)

The final stage of the deterioration of Frau Elsbeth's sense of self, i.e., total resignation to the hopelessness and impotence of her situation, sets in when a former worker who holds a grudge against the father seeks revenge by burning down the Meyhöfer house and barn. For the second time in twenty years, the Meyhöfer family looses everything.
Paul returns in the middle of the night to find his mother, for the first time, "stumm und tränenlos" (p. 153) in the face of the overwhelming tragedy. Frau Elsbeth has finally come to the point where she can no longer express herself, even by crying. She has reached the state of total self-negation:

Als er die Laube betrat, welche die Hausthür umrahmte, fand er die Mutter mit gefalteten Händen in einer Ecke zusammengekauert.—Über ihre Wangen zogen sich tiefe Rinnen, und ihre Augen starrten ins Leere, als sähe sie noch immer die Flammen züngeln.

"Mutter," rief er angstvoll, denn er fürchtete, dass sie nicht fern von Wahnsinn wäre.

Da nickte sie ein paar mal und meinte: "Ja, ja, so geht's!"

"Es wird auch wieder besser gehen, Mutter," rief er.

Sie sah ihn an und lächelte. Es schnitt ihm ins Herz, dieses Lächeln.

"Der Vater hat mich eben hinausgejagt," sagte sie, "ich bitte dich herzlich, jag du mich nicht auch hinaus."

"Mutter, um Jesu willen, red nicht so!"

"Sieh 'mal, Paul, ich bin wirklich nicht schuld daran," sagte sie und sah mit flehendem Ausdruck zu ihm empor, "ich gehe nie mit Licht in die Scheune."

"Aber wer sagt denn das?"

"Der Vater sagt ich sei an allem schuld, ich soll mich zum Teufel scheren.—Aber thu ihm nichts, Paul," bat sie voll Angst, als sie ihm auffahren sah, "pack ihn nicht wieder an, er hat so grosse Schmerzen."

"Der Doktor kommt in einer Stunde, ich hab' schon nach ihm geschickt."

"Geh zum Vater, Paul, und trößt ihn . . . ich möchte, ja selber gern, aber mich hat er hinausgejagt," und sich wieder zusammenkauern, murmelte sie vor sich hin: "Hinausgejagt hat er mich—hinausgejagt." (p. 156)

Two major aspects of the plot culminate in this passage:
the mother-martyr-saint is taken to its extreme, and the status quo of the patriarchal structure is totally upheld. Frau Elsbeth has, for the second time in her married life, lost everything, but now time has run out for her: she has no more hopes of defeating "Frau Sorge," the curse placed upon her gender. Her sense of self has completely given way to a mechanical implementation of societal demands. She has, in fact, become an abstraction of her role. In face of this new tragedy she harbors no thoughts of herself; her only concerns and fears center around her husband.

In the wake of this episode, Meyhöfer's cognizance of his wife's worth and the extent of his own transgressions in respect to her are ironically coupled with her ultimate deterioration. The kindness and consideration due her, but denied in all her years of married life, are now forthcoming. But the author tells us it is too late:

Es war zu spät. Seine milden Worte machten keinen Eindruck mehr auf sie, ihr angstgequältes Herz hörte aus ihnen heraus schon die Scheitreden grolen, die ihnen, wie immer, folgen mussten (. . .) Sie wurde mütter von Tag zu Tag, auf ihrer bleichen, blaugeäderten Stirn schien bereits der Stempel des Todes zu brennen und das Glück, das lebenslang ersehnte, war ferner denn je. (p. 157)

Finally, on her deathbed the reader is permitted a brief vision of the young woman who was raised with the romantic illusions of her age. The young Elsbeth's dreams of love and marriage to a "schlank und blond" (p. 186) prince charm-
ing, and of happiness thereafter, are revealed and replaced by a stark reality. Instead, Frau Elsbeth falls victim to “Frau Sorge.” The mother-martyr-saint then realistically confronts Paul with the dilemma which was her life:

ICH HAB’ EUCH KINDER ALLE GROSS GEZOGEN UND KEIN EINZIGES DURCH DEN TOD VERLOREN,--ZU ESSEN UND ZU TRINKEN HABEN WIR AUCH IMMER GEHABT.--DER VATER HAT ZWAR MANCHMAL GEBRUMMT, ABER DAS IST NICHT ANDERS IN DER EHE, DAS WIRST DU SELBST EINMAL ERLEBEN.--IHR JUNGEN SEID TÜCHTIGE MÄNNER GEWORDEN, UND DIE MÄDCHEN WERDEN TÜCHTIGE FRAUEN WERDEN, SO GOTT WILL UND DU SIE NICHT AUS DEN AUGEN LÄSST. WASS WIL ICH DENN NUN EIGENTLICH?" (P. 187)

Frau Elsbeth has lived a life which many Wilhelmine women knew. She counts her blessings because she found a husband, bore and raised children, and did not lose them. The author indicates that this is perhaps not enough in that he poses the rhetorical question "Was will ich denn nun eigentlich?" He expresses obvious sympathy for the dying woman who is, during the last moments of her life plagued by doubt and uncertainty about what could have been, but he does not actively pursue the issues he raises. Nor does he probe into what was lacking in his heroine’s life or explore alternatives to her mode of existence. According to Paul, Frau Elsbeth’s longing was for "Glück" or happiness, something which he later finds with his childhood sweetheart, Elsbeth Douglas, and a return to the "white house," the lost paradise. Is the reader to assume that Frau Elsbeth could have found her "Glück" if her life had been structured differently,
if she had not lost the "white house," if her husband had been kinder, or if she had captured the love of the blond, slender young man? This appears to be simplistic, and ultimately the author suggests no solutions. By transferring the realization of happiness to Paul he avoids the issue of Frau Elsbeth's human rights, i.e., her right to self-actualization which extend beyond her role as wife and mother. Thus he vindicates her wretched existence, albeit with sympathy and excessive sentimentality, through her redemptive influence on the family and the traditional reward system which she cites on her deathbed. For the 19th century female reader, Frau Elsbeth's life must have appeared to have been worthwhile and even rewarding: the father mellows into an almost acceptable human being, the sons mature into successful, respected burghers, the daughters marry the right kind of men, and Paul closes the circle by finding the fulfillment in life which was denied the mother. But was this Sudermann's intent, and was the reading public so lacking in sophistication? If the answer can be found in the modern reader's view, Sudermann's mother-martyr-saint would have had the opposite effect on the reader and constituted a case for total social reorganization.

While Hermann Sudermann's _Frau Sorge_, represents an at times extreme depiction of a woman stripped of everything but her mother-martyr-saint role, Wilhelm Hegeler's _Mutter Bertha_ (1893)² provides a variant of the first type which
goes one step farther by transforming motherhood and suffering into an all-encompassing religious experience. In Mutter Bertha the concept of womanhood is not denied initially, as it is in Frau Sorge. In fact, there are indications that social progress could be extended to women by the attention the author accords to Bertha's evolving career. But instead, the female character voluntarily cedes her creative potential to the overwhelming myth of motherhood. As in Frau Sorge, the female character is totally subsumed to the mother-martyr-saint role and finds release from it only in death. Frau Elsbeth dies of a broken heart and unfulfilled dreams; Bertha's persona cannot survive without her child.

Mutter Bertha appears at first glance to be a defense of unwed-motherhood and the concept of free love, themes which found particular favor with the naturalists. It is, rather, an expression of reverence for traditional stereotypes. Bertha lives in violation of society's moral code and must atone by giving up her life for the child that was illegitimately conceived.

The plot of mother Bertha is simple. Bertha, a young woman growing up in Munich on the periphery of the bohemian milieu, becomes involved with an artist, bears his child, is abandoned, and moves to Berlin to make a new life for herself and her son. In Berlin she pursues the route of employment common to the working class girl, waitressing in
a pub, and finds that she cannot adapt to the implied expectation of prostitution. She discovers a talent for flower arranging, a talent which takes her out of an oppressive milieu and offers possibilities of a rewarding career and a sound financial future.

During her brief time as a waitress she meets the student Fritz Graebe, who, although not of the same class, is attracted to Bertha's vitality and humanity. Bertha enters into a relationship with the socially and psychically stunted young Graebe and brings her child from Munich to live with her. It would appear that love, career, and motherhood could be combined to now secure a fulfilling life for Bertha. However, fate would not have it so. The child, Fritzle, who has been frail since birth, takes ill and dies. Bertha refuses to accept life without her child and commits suicide.

The author introduces Bertha as a special sort of woman, one who is set apart from her co-workers at the pub:

--Wie heissen Sie denn?
--Fritz,

Als sie seinen plötzlich erstaunten, argwöhnischen Blick bemerkte, fuhr sie fort:
--Gelt, Sie sind mir nicht böse, weil ich Ihnen das gesagt habe? . . . Ich hab' Ihnen doch erzählt dass ich gerade' aus München komme. Und in München
ist das nicht so schlimm. Da haben alle Mädchen ein Kind . . . (p. 2)

In this passage the reader is informed that Bertha is first of all a mother, but one with an unusual, uninhibited, almost naive, attitude toward her condition. In addition, Bertha is presented as a very devoted and loving mother who exhibits no restraints in confiding this fact to a stranger. The reader is also led to suspect that Bertha's new environment, the more sophisticated and depersonalized urban milieu of Berlin could affect her adversely. Her conversation with Fritz already indicates a consciousness of the fact that Berlin's social mores are harsher on the unwed mother than those of Munich. Also established in this passage is the identification of Fritz Graebe with Bertha's son, Fritzle, both of whom become the beneficiaries of Bertha's extreme, self-sacrificing motherhood.

In order to intensify Bertha, the mother, at the expense of Bertha, the woman, the author develops Bertha's purity of spirit and excludes all hints of sensuality or carnality from her personality. The reader learns in the early stages of the novel that, with the exception of the one violation of the moral code which resulted in the conception of the child, Bertha is totally innocent. She has had no other relationships with men after the artist, and even in this brief affair she was left with a sense of repulsion and fear of the physical act of love. The conception
of Fritzle provided her with no satisfaction other than that of having created a child and of having pleased her lover, the artist. Thus, Bertha's spiritual purity has been preserved and all her energies can now be diverted into caring for the child. She becomes the personification of motherhood, left with nothing but disgust for the prospects of a normal relationship: "Nach ihrem ersten Verhältnis in München wollte sie kein anderes anfangen. Die ganze Liebe hatte ihr nichts als den Eindruck des Schreckens und Ekels hinterlassen" (p. 14). Nor does the relationship with Fritz Graebe diminish Bertha's strong sense of motherhood. She senses in him a person who is in need of her warmth and humanity and bestows her love on him freely. Fritz functions as a partial replacement for the child she left behind in Munich; and it is only after Fritzle has been brought to Berlin that the relationship between Fritz and Bertha begins to show signs of strain. Upon the arrival of the child, Bertha, lover and mother to Fritz, is transformed totally into "Mutter Bertha." The change is signalled in that the author no longer refers to his character by her name but as "die Mutter." Fritz Graebe now assumes a secondary role in Mother Bertha's life, and the mystical element of Bertha's doomed identification with motherhood and the child begins to be explored.

The conflict between Fritz and Fritzle for Bertha's affections becomes evident immediately upon the child's arrival. Fritzle refuses to sit on the strange man's knees and
and cries. He ceases crying only in Bertha's presence:

Aber als die Mutter herzugelaufen kam, wie dann blitzartig der Ausdruck sich veränderte, wie er, die kugelrunden blanken Tränen noch in den Augen, sie enthusiastisch begrüsste, hell auflachte, in die Hände klatschte und vor Freude krähte! . . . Und wenn sie sich dann wieder entfernte, war der kleine Kerl kaum noch zu halten, er wand sich hin und her. (p. 56)

It should be mentioned here that the child has been separated from his mother for quite some time, senses no strangeness in respect to her, but exhibits an instinctive fear of the man who has come between him and his mother. In addition to this element of male competition, another factor in the Fritz-Fritzle conflict stems from the question of the child's paternity and the effect this has on the mother. Since Fritz Graebe is not the child's natural father, he can be placed on the same level as Fritzle for Bertha's mothering. Furthermore, Bertha's role as mother is intensified since Fritz cannot assume the role of father due to his own emotional deficiencies, and because Bertha will not permit him to function as such. In addition, a growing consciousness of her social state as an unwed mother contributes to Bertha's transformation into a martyr for the cause of the child. She begins to feel that her fate is inextricably tied up with that of her child, regardless of Fritz: "Das Kind würde ihr Verhängnis sein!" (p. 115). The author then elaborates on why this will be so:
Die ganze Zeit ihres früheren Lebens zog an ihr vorüber, die Jahre des Leichtsinns, der ungebundenen sorglosen Gesundheit. Damals, als das Kind geboren wurde, hatte sie keine Ahnung gehabt, dass es die Frucht einer Sünde sei. (p. 115)

Bertha's preoccupation with the social stigma of having born an illegitimate child, despite Fritz's understanding and support, drives her to an extreme of motherhood which eventually does cause her downfall. She feels that since the child can have no father, i.e., since she will permit no father, she must compensate by being both mother and father: "Es gehörte ihr ganz allein. Mit keinem Vater brauchte sie es zu teilen. Sie wollte ihm beides sein, Mutter und Vater" (p. 117).

The burden of being both mother and father becomes an obsession with Bertha. When the child falls seriously ill, Bertha's whole existence focuses on saving his life. The turn of events is ironic because Bertha has finally come to the point where her work, and thus financial future, is secured and where Fritz Graebe's offer of marriage would remove the social stigma from her and the child. Instead, she remains true to the mother-martyr-saint type and redirects all her energies into saving the life of the dying child:

(., . . .) in ihrer Angst dachte sie nur an das Kind. Alles andere hatte sie vergessen, für alles andere war sie blind . . . Sie sah bloss dieses angstverzerrte Gesicht, auf dem die dunkle cyanotische Röte lag (., . . .) Und das war die schlimmste Qual, dass sie nichts, gar nichts tun konnte. Diese Ohnmacht zu helfen, zu lindern, machte sie
tot. Warum konnte sie es nicht auf sich nehmen? . . . O, die echte Mutter er duldet die Leiden ihres Kindes ver tausendfacht als ihre eigenen! (p. 143)

But taking the role of mother and martyr even farther than Frau Elsbeth, Mutter Bertha cannot do enough to absorb the pain of the child she loves. Obsessed with the necessity of saving Fritzle, Bertha resorts to the ministrations of a charlatan faith healer, Dr. Larus, who has the reputation for compromising young women as payment for his services. Thus, in the face of the child's suffering, Bertha betrays herself for the first time. The relationship with Fritz Graebe and the purity of spirit which she has maintained throughout, become insignificant now. Bertha sacrifices her innocence for the sake of the child. When all is in vain and Fritzle dies, Bertha cannot live with the fact that she has been victimized and that her role has been desecrated. She chooses to die with the child.

While the child benefits from Bertha's self-sacrificing obsession, the student Fritz Graebe is the chief recipient of Mutter Bertha's redemptive influence. Because of her generous love for him, Fritz has been able to break down the emotional barriers which separated him from his own mother. Having been able to express love for his mother before her death as a result of Bertha, he has been released to approach Bertha with a new emotional maturity and in a new capacity, that of a lover. However, this new relationship could only have been possible if the
child Fritzle remained alive and sustained Bertha's mother role. Her identification with motherhood is such that, having lost Fritz to his own mother, she is now dependent on Fritzle for survival. Thus, saving Fritzle's life assumes the significance of a pseudo-religious rite in which Bertha herself becomes the sacrifice.

The author devotes the last third of the novel to the progression of the child's illness, reinforcing thereby the extent to which Bertha becomes the mother-martyr-saint. He indulges in emotional excess, repetitive narration illustrating Bertha's "sorgende Mutterschaft," and obvious symbolisms of her unsullied nature such as the white swan (pp. 163, 193). There is also a profusion of flowers at the death site of mother and child to reassure the reader that Bertha has indeed retained her purity throughout, and has more than adequately atoned for violating the mores of a society of which she was, in fact, the true victim. Moreover, the author accomplishes his purpose of depicting through his heroine the hypocrisy of a thoroughly corrupt society upheld by the likes of the faith-healer Larus.

But despite his defense of unwed motherhood, Hegeler is not speaking out for women's rights. He is, indeed, upholding the status quo, making concessions to the concept of free love, which, it appears in literature, generally benefits the male. The female figure, Bertha, despite her unconventional behavior, still exists for the sake of others, not for
herself, as is substantiated by her self-reproach for years of self-indulgence before the birth of the child (p. 115). And as long as she fulfills her role of mother, either through Fritz or through the child, her life is imbued with meaning. When the need for her role ceases, Bertha is overcome by the culpability of her existence and chooses death.

2. The Fugitive into a World of Illusion

In contrast to the mother-martyr-saint, the idealized form of womanhood that came to assume pseudo-religious proportions, the naturalist heroine of Type 2 represents a fall from social grace and is doomed to consequent expulsion from the bourgeois paradise. She is the naturalist Eve, the woman who was designated to thrive in Wilhelmine society and to function faithfully as the perfect wife, mother or daughter, but who did not live up to social expectations. Internal forces or socially conditioned factors which rendered realization of her place in society difficult or problematic, combine to generate a type of rebellion which manifests itself as escape into a world of illusion.

The manner of escape or rebellion chosen by this heroine is of necessity self-destructive because she is, in reality, the captive of a rigid social structure which precludes woman's rejection of her preordained role. Consequent-ly, all measures which she undertakes to ameliorate condi-
tions which become intolerable are illusory, temporary, and ultimately directed against her. Self-destruction on the part of the heroine thus safeguards the patriarchy against the potential disruption to its basic structure posed by her. In other words, she is permitted to seek alternatives to improve her condition, but she may never be successful in her quest. Any attempts at self-assertion or emancipation must thus remain futile and be rendered harmless and incapable of transcending the appearances of personal inadequacy, hysteria, neuroses, or merely personal idiosyncrasy in order to protect the social order.

The flight from 19th century standards and role contingencies undertaken by the heroine of type 2 is manifest in the naturalist novel in two major ways: escape into a world of romantic illusion, and/or a retreat into the self, resulting in emotional instability and neurosis. The world of romantic illusion as a form of escape is sought on the one hand by the married woman imprisoned in a socially sanctioned but personally frustrating and unfulfilling marriage. This figure attempts to find the love and happiness, which was promised by the institution of marriage but was denied, primarily through adultery. She is the victim of the dictum: "Was das Kapital zusammenfügt, das soll die Moral nicht scheiden." She appears as Felix Hollaender's Charlotte Adutti, in Heinz Tovote's Mutter, as Leopoldine in M. G. Conrad’s Was die Isar rauscht, and as the source of notoriety in such
major works of literature as Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and Fontane's *Effi Briest*.

Romantic illusion is also pursued by the single heroine who has been raised to believe that her future is predicated on a "good match" and who, instead, finds herself the victim of an impossible and hopeless affair, heartbroken and disillusioned because she in some way violated the rules of the game. She is found in Conradi's *Adam Mensch*, in Hedwig Irmer and in Keyserling's *Fräulein Rosa Herz*. As the extreme variant of this single heroine, she may totally retreat into a world of the self, into emotional turmoil and neurosis.

Here she is, for instance, the hyper-sensitive version of the "höhere Tochter" who finds that she has waited too long to meet her "Prince Charming," and that the doors to romance and future as wife and mother are suddenly closed to her, or that she is too old to be considered a worthwhile "match" and consequently destined to act out the role of the aging coquette, to become the proverbial "alte Fräulein." This is the fate projected for Agathe Heidling in Gabrielle Reuter's *Aus guter Familie*. This extreme manifestation of type 2 provides us with one of the most penetrating critiques of society's practice of not permitting its girls to mature into women, of not preparing them for life in the real world and of keeping them forever dependent and role-bound.

The heroine treated in this type is one of the most popular and frequently cited female figures in late 19th
century fiction. Her complex and contradictory condition provides an interesting vehicle of social criticism for the author, while it simultaneously ensures the interest, empathy, or identification of the reader. She lends herself most easily to the Freudian mechanism of reader identification in the novel because she is almost always a member of the bourgeoisie or lower aristocracy and as such addresses herself to the problems of the classes which comprise the majority of the naturalist reading public. The phenomenon of reader identification which is particularly relevant in the reception of this heroine has been described as follows:

Wenn man einen Roman liest, wird man in ein Fik tionsfeld hineingestellt, das man zwar nicht selbst als solches geschaffen hat, aber doch als das hier und jetzt der fiktiven Gestalten nach erleben kann, wenn man die "Welt" der Roman person als "seine Welt" empfindet, insofern man sich in dieser als Mit-Geschöpf, als repräsentiert, fühlt und erfährt. Der Prozess der Identifikation ist zu verstehen als Umweg zur Selbstdarstellung.  

The impact of reader identification with this heroine is further intensified in that she is generally cast as a character who is central to the plot and prototypically appealing. Her education is that of the "höhere Tochter," which rose above the standards of the population as a whole, but was still within the confines of education considered permissible, or "not dangerous" for women in the 19th century. The heroine of type 2 is prepared by her education at home
and in the public institutions to enter the elevated ranks of the mother-martyr-saint. Thus, to all extents and purposes, she should have been content to lead the best of lives ordained for Wilhelmine women. Instead, she manifests signs of spiritual deprivation arising from the very values of a society which thrived on the exploitation not only of its underprivileged members, but also of its women. More concretely, her deprivation may be the result of an unfortunate marriage arranged for economic reasons, of the boredom and frustration afflicting an active mind forced to adhere to the social rules of the salon, and of impotence in the face of restrictions imposed upon her by class, education and sex. August Bebel's compelling and damming view of bourgeois institutions best summarizes the setting and attitudes in which the heroine of type 2 acts out her very personal tragedy:

In the upper and middle classes of society, the money matches and matches for social position are the mainspring of the evils of married life; but, over and above that, marriage is made rank by the lives these classes lead. This holds good particularly with regard to the women, who frequently give themselves over to idleness or to corrupting pursuits. Their intellectual food often consists in the reading of equivocal romances and obscene literature, in seeing and hearing frivolous theatrical performances, and the fruition of sensuous music; in exhilarating nervous stimulants; in conversations on the pettiest subjects, or scandals about the dear fellow mortals. Along therewith, they rush from one enjoyment into another, from one banquet to another, and hasten in summer to baths and retreats to recover from the excesses of the winter, and to find fresh
subjects for talk. The chronique scandaleuse recruits itself from this style of life: people seduce and are seduced.\textsuperscript{5}

Bebel's condemnation of the lifestyle of the bourgeois woman, even though it may appear to the modern reader overly moralistic in tone, does provide an interesting perspective for the naturalist portrayal of the woman who is dissatisfied with the bourgeois paradise. And both Bebel and many of the naturalists were aware that there was little option for women but to adhere to this way of life. Divorce laws were so stringent and punitive toward women that divorce was sought, according to Bebel, only "in cases of crassest infidelity or maltreatment."\textsuperscript{6} If women did pursue this route of escape, society isolated them from the mainstream, transforming them into social "neuters" with whom one had as little contact as possible. Single women, despite the abuses associated with marriage, were forced to seek entry into the socially stabilizing institution of marriage for financial support and social standing at any price. Thus, the options for 19th century woman were few and the flight into the world of illusion depicted by the naturalists appeared to be a most viable, even if ill-fated alternative.

In view of rigid social mores and a family structure which had not kept pace with the changing economic picture of Europe, the real tragedy of this heroine lies in the fact that she does not actively set out to rebel against her role.
She does not consciously attempt to determine, define, change, or challenge the causes of her depression or, as she sees it, the causes of her unhappiness. She has a need to be the perfect daughter, wife and mother, to maintain the respect of society, to fulfill her obligations—and, to all outward appearances, she succeeds. Any awareness of the real causes of her discontent usually remains on a subliminal level, and recognition of the necessity for change in her condition resides with the author. But the naturalists, with the exception of feminist authors such as Gabrielle Reuter, adhered to the principles of objectivity and avoided posing the possibility of change in the social structure. Thus they depicted female rebellion which is both ineffectual and self-destructive. To all appearance then, the heroine of type 2 mirrors a society which permits its women the luxury of illusory escape, a form of rebellion which is then punished by their downfall.

Heinz Toivote's Mutter! exemplifies bourgeois heroine's fall from social grace. In this work the character, Anna Braun, is transformed from the perfect wife and mother into the culpable but very vital character of type 2. The author gradually strips away the facade of a woman whose whole life revolves, on the surface, around her family in the usual, acceptable fashion to reveal a passionate, self-assertive woman who brings tragedy upon herself and her family.

Depicted throughout the first part of the novel as
Willy Braun's young and beautiful mother, and only secondarily as Dr. Braun's beloved wife, Anna Braun radiates the serenity of the Wilhelmine madonna. Devoted to her son and loved by him, in turn, to the exclusion of anyone else, Anna Braun appears outwardly to exist for and through her role as wife and mother. And even though her relationship to her husband pales in comparison with the intimacy enjoyed with her son, the reader is informed that the marriage between Anna and Dr. Braun is successful. It is the typical marriage of the age, a marriage of convenience in which the much younger woman is wedded to the older, successful man for a combination of financial security, social respectability and stability. The other criterion which has been satisfied is that of providing an heir. Moreover, over the years, husband and wife have developed a form of interaction based on mutual respect and caring as opposed to the less solid sentiments of love or passion.

This idyll of Gründerzeit bliss enjoyed by the Brauns begins to exhibit signs of strain when Mignon, the natural daughter of a close family friend, Professor Petri, arrives for a visit and awakens Anna Braun out of her state of psychological and emotional dormancy. The obvious happens: Willy, up to that time totally devoted to his mother, is attracted to Mignon. Anna Braun sets out to prevent the mutual attraction from blossoming into love. The reader is first led to suspect jealousy on the part of the mother, but
soon learns that the serene, placid Anna Braun has, since her youth, harbored passionate feelings for Professor Petri. She has, in fact, born him a son, Willy.

Once the truth of the situation is revealed to prevent the love relationship between Willy and Mignon from further developing, Anna Braun rapidly deteriorates in the eyes of the reader into the fallen woman. Moreover, the revelation to her son of her unfaithfulness to Hermann Braun brings with it a culpability which had previously been repressed or lacking. Unmasked before Willy as to her real nature, Anna is overtaken by the enormity of her sins: she takes ill and dies. Willy Braun's life is also shattered. Unable to deal with the fact that his "perfect" mother was in fact flawed and that she sought to fulfill her need for love outside the bond of marriage, Willy, the former idealist, now perceives love as "etwas Entsetzliches, das nur vernichtete und zerstörte" (p. 314).

The problematic nature of the character, Anna Braun, who outwardly possesses all the qualities of the ideal Wilhelmine woman and inwardly harbors the most devastating kind of rebellion against her role, is introduced by the authors in the form of a conversation between Willy and his friends on the nature of women and love and the duplicity which arises thereof. Willy, the idealist, reflects upon the cynical views of his friends bemusedly when he is confronted with the image of his own mother: "Schon am folgenden
Tage, als er seiner Mutter gegenüber trat, hatte er lächeln müssen—das war nicht möglich, dass eine Frau zugleich eine grausame Geliebte und eine zärtliche Mutter sein konnte" (p. 27). In this passage two significant aspects of the novel are introduced: the theme of love and duplicity, and its obvious bearing on the woman, Anna Braun, in her role as wife and mother. The statement of the theme is followed by a first impression of the relationship between Anna and her son, Willy: the son is seen looking down on his mother tenderly, while she, in turn, looks up to him with overwhelming pride and happiness.

This traditional image of a loving mother and a loving son soon takes on a disquieting note when the reader learns the following: "Sie hatten fast immer wie zwei Kinder miteinander gespielt, und als er älter wurde, wurden sie wie zwei gute Freunde und Kameraden" (p. 28). It becomes obvious here that the relationship between mother and son contains disquieting elements and role distortion. The fact that Anna Braun is introduced within the context of a particular relationship and role is symptomatic of the author's approach to his heroine. Anna Braun is defined throughout the novel by her interaction with the men in her life. She is known as the beloved mother through the adoring eyes of Willy Braun, as the aloof but dutiful wife through the invalid Hermann Braun, and as the passionate, self-seeking, possessive woman through her lover Reinhold Petri. The only
time the reader becomes aware of Anna independently of her role is in her deathbed apology. And here the reader's sympathy is solicited for the once proud, wilful, beautiful Anna Braun who is now repentant and defeated, a mere shadow of her former self.

Anna's violation of the moral code and flight into a world of illusion is clearly established in the fact that she has been unfaithful to her husband through the affair with Petri. However, all three of her relationships contain in them elements of the woman rebelling against a role and seeking to escape from reality. The author sets the scene for Anna's flight into illusion first of all in a description of her daily activities, a description which could have served as the model for August Bebel:


Wenn sie nicht Besuche machte, was in den ersten Jahren ihrer Ehe geradezu eine Leidenschaft von ihr war, so ging sie oft den ganzen Vormittag langsam, ganz langsam im Garten spazieren, oder sie liess sich zwischen den Bäumen, ganz hinten, an einer recht schattigen Stelle ihre englische Hänge- matte befestigen, und dort sich leise wiegend verträumte sie die Stunden.

Meist war sie so träge, dass selbst der neueste und spannendste Roman tagelang sich unaufgeschnitten umhertrieb, und das gelbe Buch, dem meist war es ein Franzose, wiederholt draussen im langen Grase gefunden wurde, manchmal von einem plötzlichen Regenschauer völlig sich in eine wie
The author depicts here a life-style without material needs, worries, conflicts, or (apparent) sufferings, but also one posing no challenges, stimulation, or sense of purpose. Anna Braun has become the victim of a bourgeois paradise which exacts its toll through a psychic form of deprivation: boredom. Her rebellion, which is by no means intentional, is manifested in her dreamy, outwardly serene composure, her open indulgence in phantasies, and her inability to focus upon and carry through such simple tasks as are considered appropriate activities for the bourgeois housewife.

Anna Braun's attempt to break out and to escape into an illusory world is also affected on another level, one more dangerous and destructive: her rebellion against the traditional role as realized through the three men in her life. The first example of role subversion is found in the mother-son relationship which evolves from one of two children playing together to a type of interaction in which the two give the appearance of being lovers. Willy and his mother are frequently referred to by others as "das Liebespaar," "Romeo und Julia" (p. 60) or, at best, are mistaken as brother and sister (p. 23). Willy's treatment of his mother, as well as her response to him, is an exaggeration.
of the normal relationship between mother and son. In one scene he typically approaches the house, sees his mother at the window, and rushes toward her in the manner of a young lover: "Sie grüsste und winkte, und er lächelte und winkte hinauf, und dann stürmte er fast über den Kiesweg und die breite Steintreppe hinauf, zu ihr . . . seiner Mutter--" (p. 54). Upon meeting her, he presents her with flowers; the repartee between the two hints at an unusual erotic element in their relationship:

"Du Verschwender!" schalt sie ihn voller Glück. "Wie schön die Blumen sind, wie wunderbar schön!"
Er stand vor ihr und sah auf sie nieder, wie sie dasass und jetzt nach seiner Hand griff und ihn zu sich zog.
Er beugte sich nieder, und voll überströmender Zärtlichkeit griff sie nach seinem Kopf und küsste ihn auf die Stirn. (p. 55)

Willy ceases this near-courtship of his mother only after Mignon enters into his life and a strong mutual attraction develops between the half-brother and sister, forcing Anna suddenly into the traditional role of mother from which she has been escaping. The adjustment is a natural one for Willy, but impossible for Anna because it is irrevocably connected with her initial role violation: of being the unfaithful wife. However, Anna's transgressions are never realized by Hermann Braun, from whose perspective she remains the model wife in the perfect marriage. In appearance, his marriage is one which corresponds to standards
which he upholds, and against which Anna inwardly rebels:

Es war von seiner Seite keine blind leidenschaftliche Liebe gewesen; und er wusste, dass auch Anna ihm nur eine liebevoll innige Freundschaft entgegenbrachte.

Es war eine musterhafte Ehe, anfangs ohne sonderliche Leidenschaft und daher ohne Unruhe.

Allmählich aber fing Hermann an, sich in seine Frau zu verlieben; er war im Begriff, sich gehen zu lassen, als er herausfühlte, wie er sie damit erschreckte, und nun sich langsam wieder vor ihr zurückzog.

Sie hatte kein Verständnis für ihn, und er hatte nicht den rechten Mut, ihr dies Verständnis für sein Wesen zu eröffnen.

Und so lernte er sich beherrschen, er blieb so gleichmässig ruhig wie zuvor, um sie nicht zu verwirren. Er hoffte, dass es eines Tages auch bei ihr durchbrechen würde.---Aber der Tag kam nicht.--- (pp. 73, 74)

Both Hermann and Anna Braun have been unable to break with the social conventions which characterized a marriage lacking in passion as one also lacking in conflict. Thus Hermann retreats into himself, secure with the thought of his successful marriage, while Anna hides behind her sense of duty to the invalid husband: "Sie tat ihre Pflicht, peinlich genau, (...) sie tat ihr Äusserstes, ruhig und still, ohne Murren, aber auch ohne in ihrer Hingebung ganz aufzugehen. ." (p. 75). The tension which existed between the two was, according to the rules of the game, subordinated to feelings of mutual respect, but not considered sufficient reason for disrupting a marriage:

Zuweilen hatten sie beide das Gefühl, als ob sie sich wie zwei Gegner mit gekreuzten Klingen
The marriage between Hermann and Anna Braun was strictly one of convention, conditioned by class, economics, and tradition. Hermann remains caught up in convention, never learning that his wife was unfaithful and that the son who comes between them is not even his own. Anna, on the other hand, totally subverts convention through first, a fanciful relationship with her son, and secondly a long-standing affair with the artist, Reinhold Petri.

It is, ironically, through Petri that the author depicts Anna in the most critical light. The arguments with which he justifies to his daughter Mignon why he had abandoned her as a child serve as a means of exposing that side of Anna's personality which could not adhere to the social restrictions placed upon women. He presents to the reader an image of a woman who was both great and terrible, who could not be restrained within the role of mother-martyr-saint. In place of the subdued, dutiful, dreamy-eyed madonna, the reader is confronted with "eine schöne stolze Frau" who was "tonangebend" in her social circle and who inspired Petri to create his best work (p. 140). But she is also a vengeful, jealous tyrant who threatens to destroy the artist if he abandons her for another woman. Petri confesses to Mignon "Ich sah im voraus, wie ihr Stolz, ihre gekränktere
Eitelkeit sich rächen mussten, und—schwieg. Ich schwieg, weil ich den Mut nicht hatte, ihr die Wahrheit zu sagen. " (p. 141). The truth here refers to the fact that Petri loved another woman and fathered a child by her. The admission of this to his daughter, an attempt to exculpate himself of the involvement with Anna, ends with the following concession to conventional morality: "Ich habe sie geliebt, ehe ich Hedwig fand. Aber die Frau war nicht mehr frei,—und es war nicht gut" (p. 143). Petri's account of the affair with Anna, which the reader learns, continues through the years (p. 153) places the blame for the breach of social mores solely on Anna. At the same time, it degrades the model wife and mother to the level of a destructive femme fatale.

This view of Anna is however countered by the author, in that he provides background information on her youth and on the motivation for her marriage, and the deathbed apology to her son. Here the author unveils the real woman existing behind the ideal. And she is not shown only as the powerful, self-seeking woman who seeks to dominate the weak Petri, or as the loving mother and unfaithful wife. The combined picture of Anna Braun shown here portrays her as the victim of her upbringing, social class, environment, and of the traditional role structure against which she is forced to rebel. The reader is informed that Anna was raised in what was considered the best tradition of her class—"in der strengen Zucht ihrer Mutter" (p. 76) and that she lived for the day
when she would be free. Out of childish rebellion and the desire to become someone "who counts," she takes the first recourse available: marriage to Hermann Braun, a frequent and well-established visitor in her home. The reality of marriage, however, does not correspond to the romantic illusions inculcated into this "höhere Tochter":

Sie hatte sich das eigentlich alles ganz anders vorgestellt, damals noch ganz befangen in romantischer Mädchenschwärmerei,--und dieses Missverhältnis zwischen ihrer Empfindung, ihren heimlichen Wünschen und der prosaischen Wirklichkeit brachte sie aus der Fassung, stumpfte sie vollkommen ab, bis sie jedes Gefühl verlor.
So war sie sein Weib geworden, mit der redlichen Absicht, ihre Pflicht wie jede andere zu erfüllen. (p. 77)

Here the author makes it clear that Anna Braun began her marriage, and thus initiation into society, with the intention of adhering to all the social dictates, of fulfilling the duty implicit in her role. The childhood ties with Reinhold Petri, his long absence and his return to find Anna locked into an unhappy marriage sets the stage for Anna's subsequent attempt to realize the romantic illusions of her youth and to recapture the emotional life she had forfeited. As she dies, she confesses to her son that the uncontrollable urge for love and emotional gratification drove her to break the social commandments:

... Und die klugen Menschen mit ihren Schwüren und Vorsätzen und ihren Geboten,--es hilft ja alles nichts, kein Schwören und kein Wille, und
wenn er noch so riesenstark ist. Man kann nicht anders.—Es hilft zu nichts, es hilft nichts. Denn es ist das Glück, das lockt und sättigt und zieht, und hinter einem Elend und Verzweiflung; und so wirft man sein Leben hin für eine einzige Minute des Glücks.—Ich hatte ihn ja geliebt, immer nur ihn. Ja, mein Junge, nur ihn, der Dein Vater ist, vor Gott und vor mir. Damals—siehst Du—damals war er fern, und sie alle drängten mich. Ich schrieb ihm, er solle kommen, er solle mir helfen. Aber er half nicht, er kam nicht,—und da hatte der Trotz Gewalt über mich, und ich verschenkte mich; und ich verschenkte mich.—Ich durfte es nicht, denn ich gehörte ihm. Und als er dann wieder kam und sah, dass all das andere eine Lüge war, eine jämmerliche, feige Lüge, da nahm er sich sein Recht. Und ich hatte keine Kraft, ihm zu wehren; ich war hilflos, denn ich war sein Geschöpf, und niemand war, der mir helfen konnte, niemand ahnte meinen Jammer. Ich wollte ja halten, was ich versprochen hatte, aber ich allein konnte es nicht. Und dann war es zu spät.— (pp. 280, 281)

In justifying their violation of the moral code, both Anna and Petri claim weakness in face of the power of attraction exerted by the other. Anna vindicates her actions on the basis of the mythical powers of love, whereas Petri transfers all blame to Anna, who is depicted to his daughter as the prototypical seductress. Of the two, Anna, of whom no traces of the beautiful woman, "die trotz ihrer Jahre so jugendlich aussah" (p. 278) remain and who is on her deathbed "nur eine hilflose arme Kranke (...) deren Anblick Mitleid heischte" (p. 278), emerges as the nobler character. Anna fought to stay within the parameters of her role but in seeking to satisfy needs basic to the human condition, she rejects her proscribed role and lived in a world of illusion. Consequently, the man whom she loves betrays her,
the fragile relationship with her son is destroyed, and the myth of the bourgeois paradise is exposed.

The author, although he does not permit Anna to retain her membership in respectable society once her sins are unveiled, is clearly critical of the conditions which necessitated her rebellion. He expresses his sympathy through Anna herself, who recognizes that the marriage in which she was supposed to realize her potential is a lie, "eine jämmerliche, feige Lüge" (p. 285). Moreover, the double standard which permits Petri to survive without blame and untainted is questioned by Anna's strength of character, a quality which is totally lacking in Petri. Furthermore, Anna has already paid for her sins by dedicating her life to the care of an invalid husband. The author tells us this through Anna: "Und so mussten wir weiterleben mit der Lüge, ewig mit der Lüge. Das war die Strafe. Der Gatte für alle Zeit ein Krüppel und ich an ihn gefesselt" (p. 285). Thus for the author, the only alternative for Anna is continued existence in a world of illusion and of subverted roles, until even this world is shattered. Tovote neither tempts his audience nor rouses the ire of the censors by permitting Anna to divorce Braun. The possibility of such action is eliminated when Braun becomes an invalid, and Anna is simultaneously given the opportunity to atone for her sins by obligating herself to his care. Nor is she permitted to continue in her dream-like existence within the framework of the family
structure. This relatively harmless form of escape is destroyed by the son's coming to maturity and awakening to the prospects of love upon Mignon's arrival. Anna's rebellion, expressed as a child in her desire to become someone "who counts," continually poses a threat to the existing order in that it challenged the traditional role of woman. Thus even though her plight constituted a theme which was in agreement with naturalist opposition to a stagnant society, Anna's rebellion is punished. The author hereby accommodated the righteous indignation of a reading public which would resolve the dilemma of the adulteress in the traditional manner by having her die before her time.

Conradi's novel *Adam Mensch*, (1889) in contrast, represents a conscious attempt to agitate the complacent and morality-conscious reader. At the center of much opposition for both moral and aesthetic reasons which culminated in a sensational censorship trial, this controversial work also contains a number of interesting female types. Hedwig Irmer, Adam's most challenging victim, serves as a good example of the single woman who falls short of meeting the expectations of a rigidly structured society. Her subsequent attempts to cope with internal and externally applied pressures lead her into a two-fold world of illusion: retreat into a self-contained world ordered by her father, and an attempt to save herself from this sterile existence through romantic illusion revolving around the shallow would-be savior, Adam
Mensch. Hedwig Irmer's significance as a female type for fin de siècle fiction has been already noted by Elisabeth Darge who posited her as "das Mädchen das noch an die Illusion der Liebe glaubt und an seinem Glauben Schiffbruch erleiden muss." ⁹

Hedwig's two-fold escape into illusion as a method of dealing with bourgeois expectations, closes a circle which was drawn before Adam enters her life. Fate had previously cast her unkindly in the role of the unwed mother who looses her child and who is then rejected by her fiance. Thus, Hedwig has already been denied the opportunity to function within the confines of a proscribed role and upon meeting Adam she is already a "fallen" woman. In addition to her questionable past which reduces her chances on the marriage market, Hedwig is left without a dowry and committed to the care of an unemployed, ailing father. Professor Irmer compensates for this unfortunate state: he creates his own world based on Schopenhauer's philosophy of pessimism and resignation which he then imposes on Hedwig. Hedwig is forced to deal with this imposition by withdrawing into herself until Adam, the "man of transition," the hope of the future, who appears to be unencumbered by the social conventions which restrain Hedwig, comes along and holds up the prospect of a new life. As could be predicted, the socially "progressive" Adam seduces, then abandones Hedwig for the conventional but wealthy widow Lydia who offers him a
secure position in society. Hedwig is left to face a future of destitution which defies all illusion and precludes all alternatives or possible avenues of escape.

Hedwig Irmer's retreat into the self, and the attraction which her apparent withdrawal from society exerts on Adam, is introduced in the first few pages of the novel. Here Conradi presents the enigmatic Hedwig through Adam's eyes, establishing through his description those qualities in her which differentiate her from other, ordinary women:

Fräulein Irmer ging langsam, einformig, beinahe schwerfällig. Sie wandte sich nicht nach rechts noch nach links, gerade aufrecht trug sie den Kopf und musste, wie Adam aus ihrer Haltung schloss, stets in der Richtung ihres Weges vor sich hinstarren—und doch über all die Menschen, die vor ihr hergingen, unberührt von den lärrenden, zuckenden Schatten, mit denen das ungestüme Leben sie umgab. Adam Mensch imponierte diese Theilnahmlosigkeit immerhin ein wenig. Und sie imponierte ihm vor allem darum, weil seine eigene, sehr nervöse und unrühige Natur sich von Jedwedem in Anspruch nehmen liess, was auf sie eindrängte, auf Alles eingehen musste, was um sie herum athmete, lebte und sprach. (p. 5)

Hedwig's air of alienation, the result of her suffering and rejection of society's "Formencultus" (p. 53) sets her apart from the other women as Adam's female counterpart of the Nietzschean rebel. The difference in the pair's flaunting of social convention is obvious: Adam's is voluntary, Hedwig's is necessitated by a hostile environment. The lifestyle Hedwig has been forced to adopt is, in fact, a continuum of monotony and sterility which has left her emotion-
ally dead:


The spark of life which is left in Hedwig is rekindled by Adam, whose ideas of individual freedom and a new society appear to offer hope. Adam is carried away with the phantasy of liberating Hedwig, and nurtures her romantic illusions with meaningless emancipation rhetoric. His ideas are fortuitously projected into future epochs in which "diese dummen, einfältigen, nichtswürdigen Schranken, die jeden natürlich, naiven Verkehr zwischen Mann und Weib unmöglich machen," (p. 236) will fall and "unendlich viele Ihres Geschlechts werden von den scheusslichsten, unerträglichen Qualen befreit sein" (p. 237). But Hedwig is seduced by Adam's rhetoric and totally delivers herself up to the belief in his love. When she confesses to him her need for love and
her inability to continue living as a recluse, she exposes her vulnerability and her retreat into the self is temporarily lifted:

"Das Jahrelang verleugnete Weib in mir konnte sich nicht länger verleugnen. Ich fühlte noch zu heftige Jugendbedürfnisse in mir . . . und fühle sie noch. Du kannst jetzt mit mir machen, was du willst, Adam. Ich sage Dir das ganz offen. Und nicht etwa, um Dich um Schonung zu bitten. Mein Schicksal liegt in Deiner Hand ( . . . ) Ich bin nur ein Schatten noch von dem, was ich einst war. Ich gehe durch die Welt . . . durch die reale Welt der Sinne wie im Traum . . . wie eine Nacht wandlerin. . . ich habe kaum Fühlung mit dem, was die Zeit bewegt. Nur ein dunkles Ahnen. ein gewisser Instinkt sagt mir noch Manches." (pp. 242, 243)

Hedwig's revelation to Adam of her needs, fears, and most intimate emotions also contains the germ of self-destruction: her past which Adam will use, in turn, to justify his egoism. Adam, the philosopher and proponent of a new society of men unhampered by 19th century conventions, obfuscates his own lack of responsibility by hiding behind the very prejudices which he has been condemning:

"Eh bien—eine 'Vergangenheit'—eine 'Vergangenheit' had schliesslich Jeder. . und es ist immerhin besser, eine hinter sich, als eine vor sich zu haben . . . Aber . . . aber es ist doch . . . doch immerhin misslich für einen Mann, wenn eine Frau, mit welcher er verkehrt—und die er. . . die er also liebt—wenn eine solche Frau eine 'Vergangenheit' hat. Das kann unter Umständen sehr weh thun. Aber es ist eigentlich zu dumm. . . zu dumm . . . Sitzen denn diese verfluchten Vor urtheile so fest—sind sie so eingewurzelt—so die ganze Natur durchtränkend und überklettrand vererbt? Entsetzlich ist dieser Zwang des Gewesenen—und lächerlich—über alle Begriffe
After Adam's conquest of Hedwig is complete, he rationalizes his desire to forego his responsibility toward this woman by refusing to become "ein Opfer ihrer lächerlichen Subalternenmoral" (p. 341), but he does not hesitate to resort to this archaic morality by using her past to justify abandoning her. In essence, Adam places Hedwig on the same level as the prostitute, Emmy: "War denn diese kleine, unscheinbare Hedwig wirklich etwas Anderes, als die fürtreffliche Emmy, die aus der Sache allerdings so etwas wie ein Geschäft machte" (p. 367). Adam thus hides behind bourgeois morality and "Hurenromantik" in order to seal Hedwig's fate by extricating himself from her problems. He closes the cycle of seduction, abandonment, romantic illusion and withdrawal into the self which has become her existence. The final confrontation between Adam and Hedwig finds her grief-stricken over her father's death and Adam's faithlessness. Totally distraught and ranting irrationally, Hedwig prepares to embrace the ultimate escape from an unbearable future, madness.

The character of Hedwig Irmer represents Conradi's summary indictment not only of those forces in society which oppress the individual but also of those, such as the naturalists and Wilhelmine intellectuals, in general, which propose social progress but cannot rid themselves of ins-
grained social prejudices. Hedwig Irmer was such a victim of social oppression and it is her plight which is, in particular, explored in Conradi's work. The irony of Hedwig's downfall is that it was precipitated not only by the rigid social structure which pervaded the culture, but by the very critics of the established system, first her father and then Adam, who base their reputations on clichés about freedom and individual rights. Thus, even though Conradi does not count among the proponents of women's rights and, in fact, portrays his women as embellishments of or antagonists to his male characters, his work exposes the condition of women in a particularly penetrating manner.

Unlike most of the naturalist authors who expressed their criticism of the social oppression of women primarily through opposition to the institution of marriage, Gabrielle Reuter, in her novel Aus guter Familie (1895) joins forces with the German bourgeois feminists by condemning society as a whole for its failure to prepare women for life outside the family. Blame for the inability of women to adjust to and be prepared for the realities of life outside the home is placed by Reuter on the manner in which they are educated and on the deliberate distortions of life which are perpetuated by the family and other social institutions. While Conradi's Adam Mensch depicts, in Hedwig Irmer, the end result of a system which teaches its women to be dependent on romantic love and marriage as their only viable option,
Reuter focuses on those educational forces which are set in motion during the formative years of women's lives to produce characters such as Agathe Heidling and Hedwig Irmer: they are women who represent the tragedy of the "höhere Töchter" who are unable to break out of their roles, and are doomed because of their inability to reconcile their romantic expectations with what turns out to be harsh reality.

_Aus guter Familie_, the story of Agathe Heidling, perhaps one of the most effective portraits of the misuse to which the bourgeois ethic relegates its women, is developed in two parts. The first part presents the education of the bourgeois daughter. Here Agathe is seen spending her time with painting, needlework, pressing flowers, and academic subjects which are considered "safe" for the impressionable minds of over-sheltered girls. In preparation for her real occupation, that of future wife and mother, she creates fantasy worlds of ideal lovers. Part II follows Agathe from the marriageable age onward. Disillusioned time and again because her suitors do not live up to her romantic ideals, she embarks on a desperate search for meaning in life. Each quest is couched in fantasy and culminates in hopes for marriage. When she at last has no more dreams, Agathe suffers from a nervous breakdown and, not yet 40 years old, faces the prospect of living out her life in one of the dreaded homes for the unmarried daughters of the bourgeoisie. As is suggested in the sub-title of the novel, "Leidensgeschichte
eines Mädchens," which predicts the fate of the unmarried woman, Agathe is to remain forever dependent, an aging "girl" who is at the mercy first of the dictates of her parents, then of relatives.

Agathe's life is one in which expectations come into conflict with reality. In her resolution of the problems posed hereby, Reuter incorporates all the elements which constitute the heroine of Type 2. Oppressed within the role of the privileged but restricted daughter, who has no life of her own, nor viable alternatives for the future, Agathe structures her life in a progression of romantic fantasy, neurosis and finally total withdrawal into the self. Unable to rebel outwardly against restrictive family ties and social pressures, and having no apparent control over her destiny, all of Agathe's energies are diverted into a self-destructive escape into a world of illusion.

Reuter introduces her heroine at a transitional stage in her life, marked by her confirmation. Agathe is the hypersensitive, impressionable girl who is full of expectation and awe toward the mysteries of life, a girl whose "junge Mädchenphantasie wurde bewegt von unbestimmten Wünschen nach Grösse und Erhabenheit" (p. 6). Unlike the other girls in her class, she takes the confirmation rite seriously and is overcome by its significance for her future. The way Agathe responds to her confirmation and to the obligations due her parents and society shows that those qualities which make
her the model daughter have been instilled in her. It also establishes her as a problematic character whose impressionability causes her to internalize everything she is taught. Her inability, even as a girl, to reconcile the contradiction posed by strict obedience to the bourgeois code of ethics with self-assertion leads to early withdrawal into a fantasy world.

Agathe's education as a young girl is outlined in the compendium of the Wilhelmine woman's comportment entitled "Des Weibes Leben und Wirken als Jungfrau, Gattin und Mutter." It is presented to her as a confirmation present and impresses her with the necessity to adhere to the "wondrous" teachings contained therein:

"Denn das Weib, die Mutter künftiger Geschlechter, die Gründerin der Familie, ist ein wichtiges Glied der Gesellschaft, wenn sie sich ihrer Stellung als unscheinbarer, verborgener Wurzel recht bewusst bleibt." (pp. 21, 22)

The ideals contained herein are reinforced by her father, patriarch Heidling, who further imbues Agathe with the significance of self-abnégation. Woman is, according to Heidling, "die Wurzel, die stumme, geduldige, unbewegliche, welche kein eigenes Leben zu haben scheint und doch den Baum der Menschheit trägt" (p. 22). Overwhelmed by this responsibility, Agathe subsumes her own needs to those of her family. The much-needed escape is found in a world of idealized lovers. When even these fail her, she seeks solace
in a fanatic piety.

It is inevitable that dream lovers and a life spent in search of romantic illusion threaten Agathe's fragile contact with reality. The rules of conduct which operate in her dream world affect her ability to enter into or deal with normal relationships. When an encounter with her adolescent love, Martin Greffinger, offers her a viable alternative to a bleak, dependent existence, Agathe is not able to separate fact from fiction. Martin, a revolutionary and advocate of women's rights, exhorts her to break away from her father and to help her sisters fight for individual freedom:


Initially, Agathe recognizes the challenge, the prospect of an existence outside of restrictive parental control, and the opportunity to supplant her dreams with meaningful activity:

Etwas Werendes--! Darin lag die Befreiung. Darum hatte das Zusammenleben mit den Eltern sie so unglücklich gemacht, trotz aller Liebe und aller Pflichttreue: es war ohne Hoffnung. Sie sah nichts als Absterben um sich her. (. . .) Und mit den Erinnerungen, die sie eigentlich gar nicht angingen --mit den Errungenschaften der vorigen Generation
But being "aus guter Familie" Agathe remains true to character and chooses "ein Wahn," illusion, and projects her craving for love onto Martin. He, too, destroys her hopes by unwittingly testing the limits of her sensitivity. Martin's departure and her failure to free herself from years of indoctrination bring on Agathe's final collapse. The following excerpt depicts her agonizing self-indictment for her failures, combined with a bitter irony regarding society's conception of what is deemed proper behavior for young women:

--Anständigen Mädchen kamen gewiss keine blasphemischen Gedanken--Anständige Mädchen sind nicht mit dreissig Jahren noch eifersüchtig auf eine Kellnerin . . .

Anständige Mädchen--beträgen sich die so, wie sie sich betragen hatte? Was war denn nur in ihr?
Sie ist gar kein anständiges Mädchen. Sie hat nur geheuchtelt. Und wenn es schliesslich doch verraten wird. . Ach, der arme Pappa--so ein tadelloser Ehrenmann--wenn es sich zeigt, was seine Tochter für ein Geschöpf ist . . .
Nur alles über sich ergehen lassen . . . Sich mit aller Gewalt zusammennehmen--ruhig sein--keine Szenen mehr machen! (pp. 367, 368)

Once she comes face to face with reality, Agathe for the first time externalizes her resentment of the forces which were controlling her destiny. She physically attacks the hated sister-in-law, Eugenie, in whose charge she has been
placed, and is then committed to an institution for the mentally unbalanced. Upon her release, her brother and his wife, Eugenie, determine the final course of the once-dutiful daughter's life:

Walter und Eugenie bemühten sich, eine Stelle für sie in dem neugegründeten Frauenheim zu erlangen. Denn, sollte Pappa einmal abgerufen werden—ins Haus nehmen kann man sie doch nicht gut, zu den Kindern—ein Mädchen, das in einer Nervenheilanstalt war ...  
Und Agathe hat vielleicht ein langes Leben vor sich—sie ist noch nicht vierzig Jahre alt. (p. 380)

For Agathe Heidling, "aus guter Familie," life has become a hell of thwarted expectations, and, finally, of rebellion against an unbearable role. For her inability to function within her role, she is condemned to spend the rest of her days as a total dependent, deprived of her rights as an adult and as a free human being. She is destined to bear forever the stigma of the aging "Mädchen," a non-person without social significance or status.

The feminist Reuter's criticism of society's misuse of its women, in particular the inutility to which the bourgeois ethic condemned its daughters, is particularly penetrating in her description of the resort at which Agathe suffers her breakdown. However, Reuter's critique extends beyond the subject of woman as a victim of male oppression. She goes one step farther by vividly depicting the healing place of the affluent as built upon the enervation of the poor:
Fast alle waren sie jung, auf der Sommerhöhe des Lebens. Und sie teilten sich in zwei ungefähr gleiche Teile: die von den Anforderungen des Gatten, von den Pflichten der Geselligkeit und den Geburten der Kinder erschöpften Ehefrauen und die blächen von Nichtigstun, von Sehnsucht und Enttäuschung verzehrten Mädchen. (pp. 369, 370)

In her juxtaposition of the life of the proletarian woman with that of the daughters of the bourgeoisie, Reuter leaves little doubt about the universality of female oppression. Devoid of obvious feminist rhetoric and characterized by biting irony, this passage establishes her as one of the most eloquent defenders of women's emancipation and one of the most convincing proponents of social change. Moreover, Reuter does not indulge in the elements of bathos for which the naturalist novel is typically condemned. It is also sig-
significant that she offers the 20th century reader an accurate picture of the making of the 19th century woman, i.e., of the cultural and social forces and pressures which go into the formation of her character. In addition, Aus guter Familie must be set apart as an exception to the tendency found in the majority of the naturalist works to recognize social ills but to refrain from posing possible solutions. Reuter achieves this end through her character Martin Greffinger, a spokesman of bourgeois feminism who, despite personal shortcomings, does advocate cooperation on the part of all classes of women to defeat the age-old prejudices and traditions of the dominant patriarchy.

3. The Femme Fatale

The third female type in the departure from the "Gründerzeit" ideal of the mother-martyr-saint is, as seen from a contemporary perspective, the most emancipated of the types presented. This observation can be attributed to the fact that the woman featured in this category eschews traditionally accepted modes of behavior in favor of self-assertion at all cost. She will be referred to as the "femme fatale," not because her effect on men in the usual fictional sense posits her as the seductress, but because her self-assertion, i.e., rejection of the traditional role, is frequently combined with strong drives which attract and
subsequently destroy those who fall into her sphere of influence. Rather than submitting to social restraints which deny her the right of self-expression, self-determination, or self-actualization, this type actively seeks to control her destiny and to ameliorate intolerable conditions resulting from social repression. She achieves this control through the only means available to her, her sexuality, and uses her womanhood to avoid the confinement of the traditional role of Type 1, the self-destructive, futile rebellion of Type 2, and the complete social ostracism and oppression of Type 4.

The _femme fatale_ is the naturalist Venus, as opposed to the Madonna, Eve, or unrepentant Magdalene of the other types. She also appears as the demystified progeny of the Baroque "Machtweib," of Goethe's Adelheid and Kleist's Kunigunde. However, her actions and their ramifications are less grandiose than those of her predecessors because she functions within the world of the naturalist aesthetic. The naturalists brought her down to earth from the realm of the mystic, the mythic and power politics to function as an ordinary woman. The strong drives, mysterious charms and demonic powers of the traditional _femme fatale_ in fiction have been transmuted into a basic sexuality which, even though celebrated by the naturalists as part of their rejection of "Gründerzeit" values, was simultaneously understood as a threat to male supremacy and thus projected in
a negative light. The *femme fatale's* sexuality, which is merely another mode of expressing the need for self-assertion or self-realization not permitted women in the patriarchal order, becomes her dominant feature. Moreover, social mores, religion, and ethics become irrelevant in the face of what appears to this heroine's amorality. In fact, her rejection of traditional values is such a complete and voluntary response that she poses the greatest threat to the social structure of all the female types. She is dangerous because she inadvertently reverses the male-female dominance roles. Thus the patriarchy is at the mercy of this heroine and she is, of necessity, presented as an evil, destructive presence.

The *femme fatale* consequently serves as the best naturalist projection of the male's fear of his own inadequacy and the resultant danger of female dominance. It is also a call for revaluation of the stereotypical roles which give rise to these fears. The woman represented in type 3 has indeed emancipated herself at the expense of the male. But she destroys those who are under her influence for two reasons. In the first case the male character involved with her is capable of dealing only with the traditional female type, the submissive woman, an indication that he is intrinsically of weak character. In the second case the male actually permits her to manipulate him. In either case, this type of heroine basically derives her power to be destructive from
the male who becomes, in turn, her victim.

The *femme fatale*, who spellbinds and victimizes the innocent male, forms an integral part of our mythology, and Western literature. In the German naturalist novel, her counterpart is popularized in many of the "artist" novels, an example of which is found in the figure, Kathi, in Bleibtreu's *Grössenwahn*. She is also a fixture in literature which is primarily anti-feminist in tone, such as in Felix Hollaender's *Magdalena Dornis*, or Anna Bergemann in *Frau Ellin Rôte*. Or she assumes more humane and sympathetic dimensions in works such as Hermann Bahr's *Dora* and in Maria Janitschek's frustrated heroines which dominate the collection *Vom Weibe*. In Clara Viebig's strong, instinctual maid-servant Barbara, "Die Schuldige," from the collection *Kinder der Eifel*, she comes close to achieving demonic or perhaps the converse, saintly, proportions. What these women have in common is a basic sexuality which is given expression, rather than repressed and which, in the Freudian sense of the unbridled, Id, brings chaos to the established order.

The heroine of Type 3 defies origin, class, or locale; she may be single or married, with or without children. The common denominator is that she is young, of unusual sexual attraction and amoral in the pursuit of her own desires or needs. The *femme fatale* flagrantly violates society's code of ethics and rejects its values. Furthermore, she does not succumb to the
feelings of guilt which bring about the demise of Type 2, nor is she necessarily punished for her transgressions. She acts with full awareness of her superiority, based in her sexuality, and thus exculpates herself from the rules of conduct which govern her more repressed and obedient sisters.

 Perhaps because she is so strongly a fantasy projection—the woman who both attracts and repels—and the type which least corresponds to reality, she is generally permitted to implement her very personal form of emancipation. But she is also one of the most one-dimensional of the naturalist heroines because of the emphasis on her sexuality. No reconciliation is attempted which would enhance her humanity and thus counter the misogynist concept of women by creating an effectual model of female behavior. The heroine of Type 3, the most emancipated of the types in the extent to which she breaks out of the traditional role, bases her emancipation primarily on sexual manipulation. In this respect the naturalist authors who depicted her did not progress much beyond the Young-German philosophy of "emancipation of the flesh." Furthermore, examination of this type reveals that the naturalist heroine is still very much a product of 19th century literary traditions. Assertion of the self through purely sexual means, and the negation of this attempt through the destructive factor fails to establish an acceptable model for a change in the status of 19th century woman. The por-
trayals of this type merely reinforce misogynist sentiments which increased in popularity at the turn of the century in response to the growing feminist movement.

Felix Hollaender's "Frauenroman" Magdalena Dornis (1892) provides a comprehensive study of the femme fatale in naturalist literature. The author, who held a reputation among his contemporaries for being critical of women to such an extent that Schopenhauer was "ein Lämmlein dagegen," was also noted as being "die psychologische Note der deutschen Literaturbewegung der neunziger Jahre." In his title character, Magdalena Dornis, he combines his distrust of women with psychological observation, investing even the name of the heroine with a very obvious reference to the nature of her character. She is both the unrepentant "Magdalen" and the "thorn" in the outwardly harmonious social façade. Hollaender does not stop with exposing the femme fatale. The entire state of womanhood at the end of the century falls under his scrutiny when he juxtaposes Magdalena, the destructive femme fatale to her opposite, Johanna, the extreme mother-martyr-saint. But in doing so, Hollaender calls into question the system which produces such extremes and generates the tragedy of Magdalena Dornis. He also draws attention to the prevalent conditions of female opposition which, he feels, can only be changed by an upheaval in the patriarchal structure, while still maintaining the principle of male dominance.
Magdalena Dornis, in brief, traces the development of a young woman's awareness of passion, and the tragedy brought about by her uncompromising pursuit of her desires. Left an orphan with little inheritance and an unconventional background, the vain, self-indulgent Magdalena is forced to seek her livelihood on the streets. She is rescued from a life of prostitution by her first encounter, Gerhart von Renck. The sensitive idealist, Gerhart, takes the enigmatic, strangely attractive Magdalena into his home. Here he treats her with deference, falls in love with her, and offers her respectability through marriage.

Magdalena agrees to marry Gerhart out of gratitude and visions of being "Frau von Renck," but also because of the inevitable envy of those in her home town who had always predicted her downfall. All the while she is fully aware that she does not love him. Called to Africa for a period of time, Gerhart leaves Magdalena with his brother Arnold, a minister, and his wife Johanna until his return. It is here, in the parsonage, that Magdalena discovers new and totally different emotions. With complete disregard for conventional morality or concern for the welfare of her benefactors, Magdalena sets out to satisfy her passionate attraction for Arnold. She pursues a course of reckless self-assertion which leaves behind it a legacy of destruction and insanity for the von Renck family. Arnold totally succumbs to her powers, unable to resist even in the face of the distress of his son, the
abandonment of his wife, and the betrayal of his brother. Gerhart returns from Africa to discover the duplicity of his beloved. He shoots Magdalena and Arnold, and spends the rest of his days in an asylum painting pictures of preachers debauching with whores. All the paintings bear the faces of Arnold and Magdalena.

Magdalena's rebellion against social conventions and her subsequent driven, almost demonic course of self-assertion are established by Hollaender in a number of conventional ways. The author first of all reconstructs the girl's rather bohemian background. Her father was a petty-bourgeois-baiting postmaster who married an aspiring but unsuccessful actress and "lebte in der glücklichsten Ehe, in einer Welt, die er sich selbst erträumte, und die mit der Wirklichkeit wenig gemein hatte" (p. 35). The couple spoil their only child, certain that some day "der Rechte" would come to provide the same type of life for their daughter that they have enjoyed. The fact that the right man does not materialize leads to the second aspect of Magdalena's departure from standard behavior. She becomes reluctant to marry, turning down a series of suitors. The local prophets of doom anticipate a bad ending for the girl who "verdreht den Männern den Kopf und führt sie am Narrenseile herum" (p. 37). The third mode of casting Magdalena as the potential femme fatale and of differentiating her from types 1 and 2 is achieved through the girl's aura. Gerhart perceives that
there is something extraordinary about her just as they are about to enter his apartment:

Sie hatte sich an die Tür gelehnt, zitternd vor Kälte, bleich vor Hunger und sah ihn mit ihren tiefblauen Augen beinahe ängstlich und doch auch lauernd an, dass von diesem Blick ein Beben ihn durchfuhr.

Etwas Eigenartiges, absonderliches lag in ihrer Erscheinung. Sie hatte merkwürdig fein geschwungene Augenbrauen und lange, zarte Wimpern, wie er solche nie zuvor gesehen zu haben meinte. Dabei schimmerte in ihren Augen ein feuchter Glanz, der ihr etwas fieberhaft Erregtes gab. Ihre feinen Nasenflügel zitterten, und um den festgeschlossenen, etwas breiten Mund zuckte es verräterisch. In ihrem ärmlichen, grauen, fast verschlossenen Jäckchen, dessen Nähte hervorlugten, und der fast vonnehmen Pelzmütze, die von ihrer ganzen Kleidung sonderbar abstach und etwas schief und unternehmer auf ihrem Kopfe ruhte, lag soviel Widerspruchsvolles, dass es im Augenblick unmöglich schien, die Lösung dieses Rätsels zu finden. (p. 16)

Magdalena's physical appearance and manner of dress, which are a mixture of poverty and past luxury, generate a sense of the contradictory in Gerhart. This feeling is compounded by the reflection of her inner state in her "ängstlich" but "lauern" eyes which appear to reveal an air of feverish excitement as well as fear. Thus, even initially, Magdalena, who is characterized here and throughout the novel by epithets such as "eigenartig" and "absonderlich," invokes in Gerhart a strong reaction which combines both a powerful attraction and a subconscious fear.

After having provided a description of the heroine, which could not have been intended to elicit the sympathies
of his reading public, the author proceeds to develop those aspects of Magdalena's character which differentiate her from other women. He does this by emphasizing two features: first of all her reticence to bow to male domination and secondly, the importance of Magdalena's sexuality in determining her fate. In the following scene the basis is laid for both Magdalena's fear and recognition of the power of her sexuality as opposed to the values she has as a person. It also foreshadows the fact that one will be used to achieve the other. She has just awakened in Gerhart's apartment and becomes fascinated by two pictures: one is of Venus and a satyr, the other, a portrait of Arnold. Gerhart enters the room and she responds to his greeting as follows:

"Das ist die Venus?" fragte sie leise und wies mit dem Zeigefinger auf die Figur.
"Ja, Fräulein, das ist die Venus."
"Und der da, mit dem entsetzlichen Blick?"
"Ein Faun, Fräulein!"
"Wissen Sie," sagt sie nach einer kleinen Pause, "dass ich diesen Blick kenne, und dass ich ihn," fuhr sie fort "nicht einmal, nein hundertmal gesehen habe?"
"Wie meinen Sie das?" fragte er erstaunt.
"Wie ich das meine? Es ist dieser Blick, vielleicht nicht ganz so, aber sprechend ähnlich, mit dem die Männer"-- sie blickte ihm fest in das Gesicht--"einen anstarren, ich möchte beinahe sagen, . . . abschätzen."
Sie stockte. Dann bebend: "Dieser niederträchtige, gemeine Blick, der einen als Ware behandelt--der--Herr Gott--das lässt sich gar nicht ausdrücken--das ist so--" sie brach plötzlich ab und kreuzte blass und verlegen die Hände und schielte mit gespannter Miene nach dem Rahmen auf dem Diwan.
"Und wer ist das?" fragte sie leise und reichte ihm das Bild.
"Das, das Magdalena--das ist einer, den ich
liebe, wie niemanden auf Gottes Welt---das ist---sehen Sie mich einmal an und raten Sie."
SIE schüttelte den Kopf. "Ihr Vater kann das nicht sein . . ."
"Es ist mein Bruder--mein herrlicher, mein einziger Bruder."
"Wie Sie ihn lieben," sagte sie, und indem sie die Photographie in der Hand behielt und aufmerksam betrachtete: "Das ist ein Gesicht, das man nicht vergessen kann, wenn man es einmal gesehen, ein herrlicher Kopf--ja die Stirn haben Sie auch, dieselbe Stirn--aber sonst ist er anders, ganz anders wie Sie." ( . . . )
Und wieder sah sie mit einem eigenartigen Blick auf das Bild. (p. 33)

In this pivotal passage Magdalena clearly expresses a new awareness of the female's role in society. Her response to the male attention which she has received thus far is not one of flattery but of repulsion at the realization that she is being viewed not as a person, but as an object, as "Ware." However, her aversion to the elemental forces projected by the picture of Venus and the satyr is also based on a subconscious fear of that part of herself which elicits this sort of attention. It is clear from this passage that in the initial stages of her development as a femme fatale Magdalena rejects her sexuality. This changes, however, in that Hollaender simultaneously predicts her transformation from the shy, aloof girl to the passionate woman by indicating the vacillation of her attention between the picture of the satyr and the portrait of Arnold. The remark "Und wieder sah sie mit einem eigenartigen Blick auf das Bild," reinforces the shift of attention. It signals the beginning of an evolution which engages Magdalena first in recognition
then in acceptance, and finally in full expression of the
primordial elements which both fascinate and repel her in
the Venus picture. Through Arnold's portrait, she is awakened
to a new experience, physical attraction for a man, which,
in order to come to fruition involves incorporating what is
exposed to her in the Venus picture: the natural, instinc-
tual dimension repressed in her personality. Thus the two
pictures present a polarity which Magdalena later attempts
to reconcile: Arnold, the noble, pure man of God who is
above reproach, as opposed to Venus and the satyr, the base,
pagan elements. She is confronted by a dialectic posed by
civilized, rational man with his conventions and code of
ethics and an image of primitive man who lives by his in-
stincts and primordial drives. And in order to achieve her
ends, the forbidden relationship with Arnold, Magdalena
must reject the former and embrace the latter.

Thus the femme fatale achieves self-realization by
drawing upon the resources of her primitive, heretofore re-
pressed, nature. In doing so, she echoes the anti-feminists
who based their arguments of female inferiority on the fact
that women are subject to the dictates of biology, i.e.,
preservation of the species, and thereby function strictly
within the realm of eros. Magdalena does, in fact, satisfy
this schemata of female behavior by resorting to the age-
old method of binding Arnold: pregnancy. By becoming preg-
nant she pits her unborn child against Johanna and her son
Erich, thus attempting to equalize in Arnold's eyes his sense of obligation to both women. Needless to say, this final development secures her total domination over Arnold.

Magdalena's evolution as the femme fatale is circumscribed within the novel by the degree of influence which she exerts over the other characters, beginning with Gerhart and ending with Johanna. Over Gerhart, her influence is at first positive. The author tells us that Gerhart was enveloped in "eine gesegnete Fröhlichkeit," which gave his "unruhigen Wesen Halt und Frieden" (p. 43). He further defines this influence, which later also mesmerizes Arnold and renders him incapable of resisting to the extent that he gives up everything for Magdalena, as a type of sexual magnetism:

Der beruhigende Einfluss gewisser Frauen auf das Nervöse Flackern, Hin-und-Herwogende in den Seelen so vieler Männer ist bekannt; man weiss, dass sie durch den Blick ihrer Augen, den Klang ihrer Stimme, das Kosen ihrer weichen Hände, mit denen sie ihnen über die Stirn fahren, eine Wirkung ausüben, die, man könnte vielleicht sagen, einem sexuellen Magnetismus entspringt.

Magdalena übt eine solche Wirkung auf Garhart aus; er vergass in ihrer Gegenwart alles. (p. 43)

But Magdalena's positive influence over Gerhart is transformed to near demonic dimensions when it is exerted on Arnold. In her passion for Arnold, she became like that "Typus von Frauen der in der Ophelia seinen dichterisch größten Ausdruck gefunden hat. Ihr keuches, jungfräuliches Empfinden sah sie plötzlich von sinnelüsternen Gedanken zersetzt" (p. 107). It is interesting to speculate here
whether Magdalena's initial soothing effect on Gerhart would also have become destructive, had the sexual element of their relationship been exploited. A comparison of the two constellations—Magdalena-Gerhart, Magdalena-Arnold—clearly indicates that it is the sexual dimension which dominated the Magdalena-Arnold plot which contains in it the destructive factor. Female sexuality, liberated and uncontrolled, is thus posited as an immediate threat to the social order. With the arrival of Magdalena in Arnold's life, the microcosm which constitutes the world order of the von Renck family begins to disintegrate.

Magdalena's increasing hold over Arnold and the concomitant disintegration of the family's pattern of existence is depicted through a series of symbolic acts or events. The most obvious and conventional of these is the flame motif which occurs in connection with Magdalena's chief antagonists, the family physician, Lürsen, and the child, Erich. Lürsen, a close friend of the von Renck family, views Magdalena in terms of the flame metaphor from the onset of her arrival at the parsonage (p. 130). This metaphor then becomes reality through the child, Erich, who, unable to counteract the threat posed to his family by Magdalena, expresses his desperation by setting fire to his room, thereby endangering his own life (p. 179). In doing so, he plays into Magdalena's hands by almost removing the strongest remaining obstacle to Magdalena's power over Arnold and
Johanna, himself.

The strain inflicted on the family order by Magdalena is also developed by the author through the child's aversion to and fear of Magdalena, combined with Lürsen's noticeable absence from the parsonage. Magdalena's sexual magnetism fails to deceive or entrap these two characters. Thus Erich, the youngest and most innocent victim of her disruptive influence, and Lürsen, the healer cast in the role of Magdalena's exorcist, stand as immediate threats to her self-assertion and as reminders of her days of innocence:

"Der Kreisphysikus!" sie grub ihre scharfen Zähne in die schwellende Unterlippe, während ein böser Zug in ihre Mienen trat. Ja, das war ihr Feind, wiederholte sie sich, unzweifelhaft ihr Feind, der Kreisphysikus Lürsen. (p. 83)

In the same breath Magdalena is reminded of her other foe, Erich:

Was der Knabe nur gegen sie haben mochte, fuhr es ihr durch den Sinn, des Pastors Knabe. Wie verschüchtert scheu und misstrauisch von der Seite er sie anblickt. (. . .) Sie glaubte plötzlich, dass etwas Verbrecherisches in ihr steckte, ein Drang zu irgend etwas Schlechtem, ja Niederträchtigem, ein Drang, der lange heimlich in ihr gewuchert und nun mit Gewalt sich loslöste. Und mit einem Schlag kam ihr die Erinnerung an ihr ganzes Leben, das bis zur Stunde gleich einem Traum dahingeflossen war. (p. 83)

Lürsen and Erich, the two persons capable of recognizing the demonic aspect of Magdalena's power, react to the threat posed by her first by avoidance, then by undertaking measures
which prove to be powerless in the face of her overwhelming influence over Arnold. Erich attempts to counteract the "flame" by setting a fire, while Lürsen, the healer, seeks to exorcise Magdalena's demon through rational discourse. In the following passage, Lürsen invokes the tenets of the social order and woman's place within this order in an attempt to instill in her an awareness of her wrong-doing:


( . . . )

Da hub er an: "Ich sag' Ihnen, Fräulein Magda, dass Sie ein Spiel gewagt haben, in dem Sie als Einsatz verloren gehen. In der Liebe hält man sich für allmächtig und schweigt in Kraftgefühlen—and in solchem Kraftgefühl wähnen Sie auf den Trümmern dieses Hauses Ihr Glück bauen zu können. Können Sie denn wirklich glauben, dass die Gesellschaft ungestraft an ihren Grundlagen rütteln lässt, und auf wen meinen Sie wohl, wird alle Welt den Stein werfen?

Er machte eine kurze Pause, dann: "In solchen Fällen pflegt man nur von der Ehebrecherin zu sprechen, von dem Weibe, das den Mann verführt hat, und die Welt ist immer und immer geneigt—mit welchem Rechte, das steht auf einem anderen Brett—den Mann in Schutz zu nehmen."

"Die Welt?" sie lachte—"wir brauchen die Welt nicht!"

"Oho," rief er und seine Stimme hob sich, "Das sind ja wahnsinnige Schlüsse, die Sie ziehen, ( . . . ) "Und soll ich Ihnen sagen, in welchem Augenblick Ihr Rausch zu Ende sein wird: Glauben Sie mir," unterbrach er sich, "das Fundament der Ehe aus seinen Fugen heben, an diesem Grundpfei—"
ler all' und jeder Kultur rütteln zu wollen, das ist ein so vermessenes Unterfangen, ein solches Wahngebilde--da musste erst alles umgewühlt und umgewälzt sein--ehe. . ." (p. 220)

Magdalena's response to Lürsen's defense of the established order is evidence that her "emancipation" has reached an irreversible state. Her obsessive pursuit of Arnold and her self-realization as a woman through him, has elevated her to the ranks of an "Übermensch." She has transcended the conventional forms of behavior, ethics, and morality and has created for herself a world in which eros rules supreme:

"Mich--mich kann niemand wanken machen. . . das gerade ist für mich ein herrlicher Gedanke, dass er und ich alles . . . alles . . . der Welt zu Trotz . . . preisgeben . . . denn es gibt für uns kein Rückwärts mehr . . . selbst wenn . . . da fällt mir," sagte sie plötzlich weich lächelnd, "ein Wort Goethes ein--ich lese nämlich jetzt viel Goethe, auf Arnold's Rat:
    Allen Gewalten zum Trutz sich erhalten"
    Nimmer sich beugen und rustig sich zeigen--
    Rufet die Arme der Götter herbei! (p. 220)

The confrontation between Lürsen's world of ratio and Magdalena's magical domain of eros ends with her victory over Arnold. Moreover, if society dares to punish her by depriving her of Arnold's love, she will not shrink back from using the ultimate weapon of defiance: "In dem Augenblick, wo er mich von sich stieße, würde . . . seine . . . und meine . . . letzte Stunde . . . geschlagen . . . haben. . ." (p. 222).

The disintegration of the von Renck family due to
Magdalena's disruptive presence, depicted symbolically by Lürsen's deliberate and conspicuous absence from the parsonage and by Erich's aberrant behavior of setting fire to his room, is intensified by Arnold's gradual alienation from his life's work in the ministry. In that religion plays a central role in society by both postulating and reinforcing the basic tenets of the moral code, rejection of religion and its symbolism signifies rejection of the established order. Thus in the developmental stages of the femme fatale, Magdalena's irreligiosity tends to be emphasized as a behavioral characteristic. In the initial stages of their relationship, Magdalena confesses her lack of faith to Gerhart:

"Weisst du, Gerhart," sagte sie nachdenklich, indem sie seine Hand zwischen die ihrige nahm, "oft kommt es mir so vor, als ob ich zu dem lieben Gott kein rechtes Verhältnis hätte." (p. 61)

The reader is then informed that Magdalena is amused at the pious practices in the parsonage:

"Nun wollen wir beten," sagte Arnold ernst, nachdem sich alle niedergesetzt hatten. Er schlug die Augen nieder, und Frau Johanna, Gerhart und Erich folgten seinem Beispiel. Magdalene aber sah, wie auf aller Mienen ein frommer Zug trat, und ein heimliches Lachen regte sich in ihr; denn das war ihr neu und fremd. (p. 71)

In these scenes the author creates an obvious allusion to the "evil" lurking in Magdalena. However, he also depicts
Magdalena's rejection of religious practices and imagery as a symbolic rejection of the moral code which restricts her self-actualization. By utilizing the religious motif in this manner, the author establishes Magdalena's amorality and prepares the reader for her subsequent disregard for all social institutions and precepts in her pursuit of Arnold.

The religious motif which figures so strongly in the novel also serves as a means of juxtaposing Arnold's piety to Magdalena's demonic nature. Before admitting to her own lack of faith, Magdalena is informed by Gerhart that his brother Arnold's "Glaube ist unverwüstlich" (p. 61). Thus the model of piety, the respected minister in the service of God, falls prey to the evil seductress—a theme so common in literature through the ages that its continued effectiveness in "serious" literature at the turn of the century must be doubted. Nevertheless, infatuation with Magdalena obscures Arnold's religious fervor and causes him first to question, then to repudiate the beliefs upon which his life has heretofore centered. In order to restore harmony to an existence which has now become a lie, Arnold fanatically embraces the new, materialistic philosophies which are reconcilable with his breach of contemporary ethics:

Stückweise riss er sich seinen alten Glauben aus dem Herzen, und mit dem Feuereifer des Abtrünnigen stürzte er sich in die Worte der Wundermänner, die die neue Lehre verkündigten. Er beunruhigte sich an ihrer Weltanschauung, die von marternden Tugenschlüssen frei, ihm Trost und Balsam für sein zerkleischtetes Innere boten. (p. 164)
Arnold's alienation from religion and his growing dependency on Magdalena also parallels the disintegration of the von Renck family, of which the chief victims are Johanna and the son, Erich. The role ascribed to Johanna points to a central feature of the novel, the author's critique of woman's place within the family structure and, as such, within society. The contrast between Johanna, the model wife and mother, and Magdalena, the femme fatale, is used by Hollaender to comment on the state of the family in general and, in particular, on contemporary patterns of husband-wife communication. Johanna, the woman who accepts unquestioningly all that has befallen her, must succumb to the amoral, self-seeking, iconoclastic and scheming Magdalena who has, in fact, forged her own destiny. By providing this extreme contrast of types, the author directly takes issue with the time-honored practice of relegating women to the care of "Haus und Küche" and the subservient status which is implied therein. The anti-feminist Hollaender examines the traditional role of women through the eyes of Arnold, the adulterer, and finds it wholly inadequate. Tormented by his betrayal of Johanna, his wife of more than a decade, Arnold agonizes over his culpability in his treatment of the perfect "Gründerzeit" woman:

Er fragte sich, ob Frau Johanna in gleicher Weise sich entwickelt hätte, wenn er sich Zeit und Mühe genommen haben würde, auf sie einzuwirken. Aber das war es ja—er war teilnahmlos an ihrer Seite
In contrast to Johanna, Magdalena, who had been freed from the daily tedium of housekeeping, was permitted to grow intellectually, not out of a desire to educate herself, the reader is informed, but to please Arnold (p. 166). It is here that Hollaender fails in projecting a truly emancipated female out of the composite of Johanna and Magdalena. And, instead, expresses the most basic sentiments of the male superiority ideology. While he decries the attitudes which keep woman at the level of chattel, he is not capable of visualizing her as an equal to man in and of her own merits. He cannot break with the misogynist views prominent at the turn of the century. It follows, then, that Arnold is culpable primarily because he failed to elevate Johanna by educating her to be his worthy companion and consequently rendered her vulnerable to Magdalena. Arnold's interior monolog on man's responsibility to educate woman expresses an "enlightened" but highly traditional paternalistic view:

Aber dass es die höchste Aufgabe des Mannes war, das durch falsche Erziehung verkümmerte Weib zu sich emporzuheben, ihr eine freiere, höhere Anschauung über Welt und Dinge einzuflössen, mit
Thus, despite the author's renownedly conservative view of woman and of marriage, Magdalena Dornis exposes, through the formulation of two extreme female types, the monumental problems confronting a society in which the traditional role structure is no longer tenable. His portrayal of the femme fatale, Magdalena, as a destructive but necessary antagonist to the traditional female model, Johanna, constitutes perhaps one of the strongest arguments for a re-evaluation of the stereotypical roles. The synthesis of Magdalena and Johanna projects a pseudo-emancipated type combining the mother-martyr-saint qualities of Johanna with the self-assertiveness, drive and eagerness to transcend social limitations which characterize Magdalena. The author leaves it up to the reader's own devices to construct the composite woman who could realize her human potential without threatening the very heart of the social structure. The changes directly recommended by the author, however, do not advocate basic redefinition of roles. Hollaender promotes, instead, through Arnold's tortured self-examination, an increased awareness
of the part of the patriarchy of its duty to educate women so that they will become more suitable and better companions for men. His proposal for "humanizing" women does not, however, include educating them for their own sake, i.e., for the purpose of freeing them from dependency on the male.

4. The Social Outcast

Whereas literature has mostly idealized the role of woman in society, there has always existed, on the periphery, a shadowy figure which gave evidence that woman's life was not always the one of self-sacrificing nobility. It is this figure, the social outcast, which more than any other type, points to the inequities and victimization to which women have been subjected since the rise of the patriarchy. The existence of the social outcast in literature has constantly served as a reminder that no amount of romantic obfuscation, philosophical defense or male fantasy projection has been able to totally obliterate from the reader's consciousness the fact that women have indeed been denied full human status and the rights implied therein.

The social outcast also exists as the most damning evidence that infractions of certain social mores, which are permitted and condoned in the male, are subject to severe psychological and, frequently, physical punishment if perpetrated by women. Moreover, violations of social mores, if committed by women, usually appear as a form of role rebel-
lion and have, in the past, served society with an acceptable outlet or safety valve for the hypocrisy, such as the double standard, which characterizes public morality. Suppressed hostility and prejudicial attitudes toward women, which are otherwise concealed under the guise of chivalry or protection of the "fair sex," are thus given full vent at the expense of those women who either cannot, or will not, function within the realm of conventional morality, i.e., adhere to the traditional role structure. Frequently women who do not abide by the rules proscribed for them by their male superiors become the victims of socially sanctioned scorn and contempt. Consequently, the social outcast of type 4, more than any other fictional heroine, is an example of the extent to which the female condition has been taken to extremes. The woman who has become the social outcast, the pariah in the midst of bourgeois respectability, experiences the paradox of ultimate "liberation" from convention, combined with the most severe forms of femal oppression.

The social outcast appears in the German naturalist novel in the form of three variants. Each of the variants is driven by psychological or material needs, drives, social pressures, ignorance, or a combination thereof, into extremes of role violation which condemn her to an existence of social and, frequently, personal alienation. The first variant of type 4, the artist, is forced to eschew the traditional life-style proscribed for women in favor of artis-
tic expression. Attempts to combine love, marriage and motherhood with her work end in tragedy. Isolde, the heroine of Helene Böhlau's *Halbtier*, is driven to extremes of behavior, while the young artist Olly in Böhlau's *Rangierbahnhof* finds that the pressures and demands placed upon her by a bourgeois existence are fatal when combined with an all-consumming drive to create.

The second variant, the unwed mother or mother-to-be, is the victim of her own anatomy and the hypocrisy of the double standard of behavior which is applied differently to men and women. Pregnancy leads to social ostracism and is followed frequently by infanticide or suicide. Gabrielle Reuter's *Tränenhaus* depicts the plight of the abandoned pregnant woman while Max Kretzer's unwed mother, Magda Merk, (*Die Verkommenen*) commits suicide. Loss of the child through death or infanticide represent common solutions to the unwed mother's dilemma, as is shown in Keyserling's *Fraulein Rosa Herz*. Clara Viebig's strong heroine Barbara, *Die Schuldgige*, (*Kinder der Eifel*) resorts to murdering the lover who betrays her: she is both sinner and saint.

The exigencies of the unwed mother frequently force her to become the third variant, the prostitute, who finds in the oldest of "professions" the only means of support for herself and her child. Prostitution is also the fate of the working class woman who is driven to supplement inadequate wages in this manner. It is also the solution sought by the
woman who has been seduced and abandoned, the cast-off wife, or simply by the woman who has been lured by promises of a glamorous life which is otherwise inaccessible to her.

The plight of the prostitute has been trivialized and romanticized in numerous naturalist novels, particularly by the authors of the Munich school, as the Venus Vulgivaga. In many of these works, for example, in the artist novels, she is seen as a "Geschlechtswesen" and "Massenerscheinung" in which a deplorable social condition is consciously degraded into what has aptly been referred to as "Hurenromantik." In works of this type, the prostitute appears as a minor character created for the enjoyment or entrapment of the hero. She has also been used as a vehicle to establish authorial empathy for the demimonde and the proletariat. Examples of this particular manifestation of the social outcast are invariably found in the works of Hermann Conradi, Michael Georg Conrad, and Karl Bleibtreu.

The naturalist approach to the prostitute does, however, assume dimensions which are of considerably more sociological and psychological interest. Else Jerusalem, for instance, in her novel Der Heilige Skarabäus casts the prostitute as the main character. She focuses on the psychic and physical deprivation of the social outcast, portraying her in all her female vulnerability. The social novels of authors such as Max Kretzer and Clara Viebig also depict prostitution as the consequence of social ills rather than perpet-
uating the image of the carefree street walker who functions happily within a bohemian milieu.

Regardless of the configuration, motivation, needs, or social pressures which contribute to the creation of the social outcast, her condition brings with it a fundamental conflict between her unorthodox lifestyle and her womanhood. As a result of her role rebellion and subsequent alienation from the mainstream of society, she is punished not only through various degrees of ostracism and harassment, but also by deprivation of her rights as a woman. The structure which her life has taken precludes her from finding happiness in love, personal security, and a sense of belonging. It also deprives her of the "natural" right to have, raise and derive pleasure from children. Society has stripped her of all vestiges of human dignity.

In fact, each of the variants of type 4 has had to surrender vital aspects of being a woman because of her non-compliance with social expectations. The artist discovers that the pursuit of her work dominates her life and is incompatible with the demands of being a wife and mother. While she often commands respect not accorded her sisters, let alone the other variants of type 4, Wilhelmine society had not yet advanced to the stage of social progress in which equality of the sexes would have permitted woman to place self-actualization on the par with care for the family. Consequently, the woman artist is a misfit, a freak, an
outcast, rather than excused, as is her male counterpart, for the "eccentricities" or asocial behavior associated with the artistic drive. The unwed mother, a cause célèbre in 19th century avant garde literature, serves as one of the strongest statements on prevailing misogynist beliefs that biology is destiny. The fact that, in addition to social ostracism, she forfeits her claim to future happiness and often even the right to raise her child, constitutes an ironic state of affairs affirming and assuring the continuation of the family in its traditional form and, in praxis, under male domination. The unwed mother stands in violation of the law which dictates that motherhood, the one purely female function, be predicated on marriage. Thus, by punishing her for having violated this law, it can be assumed that a relapse into the primitive matriarchal order or social chaos is duly prevented.

Data found in August Bebel's *Woman under Socialism* are alarming evidence of the extent to which society kept its young women in control in the 1890's. The incidence of suicide, infanticide, and infant mortality reported in this study was found to be unproportionally high among unwed mothers and their offspring. The public support system for mother and child, along with the much-touted Christian ethic, appear to have been reserved for those who adhered to accepted standards of morality. Bebel writes that
Suicide by women and infanticide are to a large extent traceable to the destitution and wretchedness in which the women are left when deserted. The trials for child murder cast a dark and instructive picture upon the canvas. (. . .) The seduced and outrageously deserted woman, cast helpless into the abyss of despair and shame, resorts to extreme measures.\textsuperscript{16}

In respect to the problem of infant mortality, Bebel adds that

The difference in the mortality between legitimate and illegitimate children is especially noticeable during the first months of life. During this period, the mortality of children born out of wedlock is on the average three times as large as that of those born in wedlock.\textsuperscript{17}

The sad reality of this data appears to have found ample reflection in the naturalist novel. Keyserling's \textit{Fräulein Rosa Herz} and Hegeler's \textit{Mutter Bertha} are just two examples of works in which an unwed mother, even if "repatriated," atones for her sins with the death of the child.

Bebel also points out that the common fate of the unwed mother was prostitution, which represents the most devastating conflict between the ideals of womanhood upheld by Wilhelmine society and the fate of an ever-increasing number of women victimized by the industrial revolution. The prostitute is the best example of social aberration, of the distortion created by an untenable image of women and the corresponding reality. A vestige of the matriarchy transposed into patriarchal times and thus subject to the contempt of the new order for the old\textsuperscript{18}, the prostitute con-
stitutes the reverse side of the mother-martyr-saint. She is deprived of the "reverence" accorded her counterpart because she functions outside of the family unit, the social institution which accompanied the patriarch's take over of power. Rather than becoming the property of one man, she places herself at the disposal of many, thereby hoping to "earn" her independence. Society consequently makes certain that she is physically and psychically punished, that she looses her sense of self and is degraded into an object of sexual exploitation. Moreover, the womanhood upon which she bases her survival is reviled. As a rebel against the role proscribed for women, she becomes the chief victim of the social role-playing of others and of its inherent hypocrisy. The prostitute thus serves as the target of exploitation in a society which Bebel claims resembles a huge carnival festival, at which all seek to disguise with dignity, in order later, unofficially and with all the less restraint, to give a loose to his inclination and passions. All the while, public life is running over with "Morality," "Religion," and "Propriety."\[9\]

Even though studies such as Woman under Socialism and other 19th century treatises on the condition of women indicate that the lot of the prostitute is a magnification of the problems encountered by women as a whole, the prostitute shares with the other variants of type 4 the basic premise of extreme deviation from the "Gründerzeit" ideal, coupled with the resultant castigation. As such, her type
elicitst the strongest plea for emancipation in that through her is expressed need for change. However, when emancipation of women is treated by direct reference within a novel, it is usually in relationship to the artist figure, i.e., the exceptional woman. Helene Böhlau's Rangierbahnhof for instance, generates overwhelming sympathy for the talented artist, Olly. This character is portrayed in a manner so sympathetic that even the reservations of the most conservative reader would have to be dispelled. On the other hand, the conflict experienced by Cornelia Reimann, the heroine of Reuter's Tränenhaus, is one in which the artist's strident feminism is exposed as an arrogant aberration which must first be tempered into a humanist concern for the plight of her sisters. Thus, despite obvious references to issues dealing with women's emancipation, Reuter's basic concern is for more humane treatment of the unwed mother: hypocrisy, cruelty and primitive attitudes toward pregnancy take precedence over questions of women's rights per se.

An examination of the prostitute in works which do not project "Hurenromantik" shows that of the type 4 variants, the prostitute represents the strongest indictment of social injustice inflicted on women. Women's rights and the role of woman in society are subsumed to the depiction of the human indignities suffered by the prostitute, and the appalling conditions speak for themselves. Surprisingly, despite the extremes which characterize this variant it
appears, in general, to generate conservative authorial positions in regard to social change, or, at best, utopian projections into the future. This does not necessarily indicate failure on the part of the authors to deal with prostitution, but rather a realistic evaluation and recognition of the fact that the prostitute must first be restored to female status before thoughts of emancipation can be entertained. However, in respect to overt rejection of the traditional role, the outcast, much like the femme fatale, has already emancipated herself. But her emancipation exists as a negative manifestation which entails a complete distortion of "Gründerzeit" ideals. She represents the irony of being both the victim of societal norms while being liberated from their restrictions.

Role rejection which results in alienation and isolation as exemplified by the artist, is aptly illustrated in Helene Böhlau's **Halbtier** (1899). At the heart of this novel are two heroines which represent opposites of female types. The one extreme features the mother-martyr-saint who functions at the level of a Halbtier, somewhere between the world of man and that of animal. Her opposite is found in her daughter Isolde, the artist, who consciously strives to counteract the fate of her mother, and of women in general, a fate which dictates that women be excluded from the cultural and intellectual life of society. Isolde achieves both greatness as an artist, and personal emancipation. But she
does so at the expense of self-imposed isolation from society and alienation from her womanhood. In her endeavors to transcend the social restrictions imposed upon women, Isolde is forced into extremes of behavior. These extremes culminate in the murder of Henry Mengersen, with whom she has been embroiled in a love-hate relationship and an eros-thanatos struggle. By shooting Mengersen, Isolde symbolically purges herself of the last vestiges of female weakness in addition to the obvious male oppression which he represents.

_Halbtier_ follows Isolde's development from a small girl growing up in a very traditional middle class household, to her entry into the aristocratic bohemian circles where, as a fledgling artist, she meets the artist, Henry Mengersen. Isolde has been in love with Mengersen from the time she first saw one of his paintings in a museum. And it is both through him and in spite of him that she achieves artistic greatness as well as emancipation from all that is implied in the female role.

The process of role rebellion and alienation which Isolde subsequently undergoes occurs in two stages: physical emancipation and spiritual emancipation. Her "physical" emancipation first takes place in Mengersen's studio when she poses for him in the nude. However, Mengersen, who represents the male society which has been designated as the creative force in civilization, cannot reconcile Isolde, the woman, with Isolde, the artist. Even though he is con-
temptuous of "das weibliche in der Natur," the procreative rather than the artistic-creative force, he still cannot deal with a woman who strives to transcend this dichotomy. In the following excerpt Mengersen, who has convinced Isolde to pose for him, attempts unsatisfactory to come to terms with this dilemma:

"Entsetzlich," denkt Henry Mengersen und sieht wieder auf Isolde, "das Weibliche in der Natur! Dies blinde, sich-ins Blender-stürzen-wollen, dies Gedankenlose, Nie-die-Folgen-überschauende. Egoistisch wie der Mann, aber so unsäglich dumpf, unbewusst, so instinktiv, so elementar. (. . .)

Wäre Fräulein Isolde Ladenmädel, würde ich sie zu meiner Geliebten mache. Weshalb nicht?--und sie davonjagen, wenn sie mir unbehem würde--vielleicht zu kunstsinnig--kunstsinnig--kunst- sinnige Weiβe--; grüsslich! (pp. 86, 87)

Isolde's "spiritual" emancipation, i.e., total rejection of what she considered female weakness, comes about after Mengersen becomes engaged to her conventional, traditionally-oriented sister, Marie. His rejection of her love and of the sacrifice of her beauty for his art, fills her with profound shame. She becomes fully aware of the stigma which has been placed upon women and repudiates her femaleness:

Ach, ein Ekel, eine unsägliche Qual packte sie, wie sie mit einem Blick überschütte. Das Weib ist nicht Mensch, nur ein Weib für ihn--etwas Geist- loses--ohne Freiheit--etwas Brutales--das nur Körper ist! (. . .)

Und da dachte sie in fiebrhafte Angst über "das Weib" nach. (. . .)

Alles, was je gedacht, war vom Manne gedacht worden; alles, was je getan, war vom Manne getan
worden.
Nie war ihr das noch klar geworden--ganz neu
starrte sie das an. (. . .)
Und da fühlte sie die ganze Verachtung, die auf
dem Weibe liegt. Wie einen schweren, bleiernen
Druck empfand sie diese große Verachtung, die
Stolz und Freude nimmt. (pp. 120, 121)

Isolde, the feminist, is born and she exhorts women
to react against their oppression and their oppressors:

"Ich beschwöre euch, tut etwas Königliches,
etwas Freies: Nichts Althergebrachtes. Nichts Klu-
ges--Lasst die Tat der Frau wie eine lang verschüt-
tete, eingeengte Quelle mächtig rücksichtslos her-
vorspülen--tut etwas, das davon zeugt, dass ihr
den grossen Willen habt, den weltüberwindenden
Willen. Breitet eure grossen Flügel aus wie Gluk-
ken. Bereitet dem jungen starken Weib ein Nest
(. . .) Ein Kind und Arbeit! Gebt ihnen Arbeit,
bei der ihnen die Seele weit wird, und ein Kind,
das ihnen das Herz froh macht (. . .)
Macht etwas Ganzes aus ihr. (p. 152)

Isolde now devotes all her energies to her art. Art makes
her a free woman. However, the child, i.e., the outgrowth
of love which she proclaims is a woman's right, is denied
her. Also denied to Isolde is communication with her family,
the one form of human contact which could offer her comfort.
Thus she enters both a state of isolation from society and
alienation from her womanhood: "Und was für ein Leben lebte
sie denn eigentlich selbst? Es spielte sich in ihrem stillen
hohen Atelier ab; da lebte sie--ja--das nannte sie "Leben",
was sie da tat" (p. 196). Isolde begins to question the value
of the life which she has chosen and laments its futility:
Was hatte sie im Leben?
Wen hatte sie im Leben?
War denn das, was sie lebte, das Leben? das wirkliche wahrhaftige, lebendige Leben? ( . . . )
Ja, wäre sie ein Mann! Da lohnte es sich, für die Kunst zu leben und zu sterben, sich märtern zu lassen.
Da lag die grosse, glänzende Vergangenheit des Mannes wie eine Sonne über seinem Wollen, die ihm leuchtete, ihm Leben gab und Mut machte, die ihm alles herhiess.
Aber sie als Weib! Da lag die tote, leblose Vergangenheit des Weibes über ihr wie eine tote, dunkle Masse und drückte und erstickte und machte jede Bewegung schwer, über jeder Hoffnung lag sie, über jeder Freudigkeit— (pp. 173-74)

The futility of her endeavors, combined with the tragic recognition that she can no longer function as a half-person, as, ironically, the reverse side of the "Halbtier" state against which she was rebelling, drives Isolde to the final resolution. This is the murder of her oppressor, Mengersen. For Isolde this extreme act symbolizes her triumph as a woman over a history of female deprivation, as well as her reintegration into a world she had rejected: "Sie empfand sich wieder als der Begriff des ewig bedrückten Weibes, des geistesberaubten Weibes, der Sklavin aller Völker" (p. 183).

Böhlau's Nietzschean heroine has emancipated herself, but for what purpose? The author leaves her future open-ended. Does she face a new life as the Super-woman, or does she triumph through her death? Halbtier suffers from other obvious limitations arising from the depiction of extreme situations, hyperboly, ineffective symbolism, and excessive rhetoric. Moreover, the modern reader may well question the
author's lament that artistic endeavors by women are futile because women have not been attributed their due in our cultural history. Her position may, however, in truth reflect a pessimism as to the possibility of social change in face of the reactionary tendencies which she encountered at the turn of the century. Thus her work serves to expose a social climate which, it appears, rendered it nearly impossible for women to simultaneously break out of a tradition of cultural inactivity and to maintain a semblance of their womanhood.

In Gabrielle Reuter's Das Tränenhaus (1909) the artist figure is also the unwed mother-to-be, thus exacerbating her conflict with society. Cornelia Reimann, Reuter's feminist heroine, is portrayed as a well-known author on psychological studies on women. At the height of her career, Cornelia finds herself pregnant and deserted by the father of her unborn child. Despite being the model of the emancipated woman, she goes alone and without anyone's knowledge to a house for unwed mothers which is hidden in a rural area. It is here, in this "house of tears" which represents institutionalized ostracism, that the intellectually arrogant Cornelia evolves from a brittle feminist into a humanist. Surrounded by the suffering of other women who, like her, are banned from society for the duration of their period of shame, Cornelia develops an understanding of women which far transcended her previous intellectualization of feminist issues. In the process she also resolves her own latent conflicts about
being female, and repudiates much of her former ideology. But as in the case of Böhlau's heroine Isolde, Cornelie's emancipation exacts its price. Like Isolde, she faces isolation, male rejection, and ultimate re-evaluation of her emancipated role.

Reuter presents in Das Tränenhaus primarily a study of 19th century social attitudes toward pregnancy in single women and, more basically, of the psychology of being female and falling victim to the dictum that biology is destiny. The novel is developed on the basis of the interaction of two main characters: Cornelie Reimann, and the "collective character," the unwed-mothers-to-be who are in residence at the "Tränenhaus." The latter are instrumental in raising Cornelie's consciousness to the level of humane concern for her sisters.

At the beginning of her pregnancy, Cornelie, the Nietzschean woman, is convinced that her superiority over other, unemancipated women will enable her to transcend the shame and fear which characterizes the condition of the unwed mother. She plans to withdraw from society, have her child, and write. Cornelie thus envisions a new life for herself and her child, a utopia unhindered by convention.

War ihr Kleines erst geboren, so konnte sie in einem der Seitentäler dieses Bergelandes ein bescheidenes Besitztum mietweise oder vielleicht auch zu eigen erwerben. Hier, wo keiner von ihnen wusste, wo sie sicher sein konnten vor Demütigung und Schande, waren ihnen friedevolle Tage doch wahrscheinlich. (p. 26)
But when her mother learns of her pregnancy, Cornelie finds that indeed she cannot cope with the social pressures and, like other unwed-mothers-to-be, seeks refuge in the house operated by the greedy Frau Uffenbacher. In this house, which is filled with "scheue und stille Gäste" (p. 29) Cornelie's idealistic view of her new life with the child first gives way to self-hatred for being female, weak, and for having fallen in love. She feels resentment for having succumbed to the fate of these other, "unthinking" women. And in spite of her feminism, Cornelie feels no bonds of sisterhood with the other "guests" of the house. Instead, she is bored with their uneducated conversations, their childish fears and their bowing to convention. She is also dismayed by the attitude these women have toward motherhood:

Cornelie dachte mit schwerer Traurigkeit, wie keinem der schwangeren Mädchen die Ahnung aufgegangen war, dass Mutterschaft auch ohne den Trauring am Finger etwas Heiliges und eine schmerzlich-selige Verantwortung sein könne. So verdorben und verdreht waren ihre Instinkte durch die Gewöhnung konventioneller Anschauungsweise, der auch diese freien Vögel der Liebe, und wie sehr noch, unterworfen waren! (p. 130)

However, her own difficulties in dealing with her pregnancy facilitate a change in attitude. She comes to view the relationship between the sexes as the tyranny of man over woman; her initial aloofness from these victims of this tyranny turns into empathy and admiration. An understanding of the love these girls had for their men and the suffering
they endured for them gives Cornelie a new insight into the nature of women: they were destined to suffer and to accept their suffering with resignation. Herein lay the "Urinstink-
ten des Weibes" (p. 140) and the consequences of educating women to rebel against the role prematurely, as she had done in her books, can have devastating results. She finds proof of this in two of the "guests" who had been familiar with her work and who, persuaded by her ideology, had emancipated themselves: one of them dies in childbirth. Her new comprehen-
hension of the nature of womanhood also helps her to become reconciled to the father of her child. She no longer hates him, but still decides to raise her child alone. Her own suffering, she now views as a necessary step in the evolving consciousness of women:

Einmal musste wohl all dieses von einer Frau gelitten werden die es nicht nur dumpf quälend fühlt, sondern die es in Erkenntnis umwandeln wird . . . jetzt noch nicht--einem in der Zu-
kunft. . Das geschieht nur, wenn die Zeit dafür gekommen ist. Ich meine, wenn da draussen viele sind, die warten, dass eine letzte Türe zu einer Erkenntnis ihnen geöffnet wird. (p. 163)

Thus Cornelie has become reconciled with her female condition through contact with the social outcasts constituted by the collective character, the unwed mother-to-be, who Reuter depicts as coming from all social classes, from the most diverse of backgrounds and milieus. What the un-
wed mother has in common is that she was either the vol-
untary or involuntary victim of seduction and abandonment,
and was consequently cast out from the mainstream of society. She receives no social support in the face of her predicament and, indeed, becomes the object of contempt even in the dismal surroundings of Frau Uffenbacher's "Tränennhaus." Her predicament is exacerbated after her confinement: she is at times even sold to a "husband" for whom she and her child become free sources of labor. The best she can hope for is a still-birth so that she can return to society to lead the semblance of a normal life. The unwed mother-to-be is also at a psychological disadvantage. All of the "Mädchen" in residence at Frau Uffenbacher's have an overwhelming desire to be considered "anständige Mädchen." This need is present in the self-composed, shrewd business-woman, Annerle, who is pregnant with her second child to the same man, right down to the innocent peasant girl Toni, and the more fortunate Fräulein Lucie Bubenberg, who is "aus gutem Hause" and manages to escape lengthy incarceration at Frau Uffenbacher's by being moved to an abortion clinic in Switzerland.

The history of the unwed mother-to-be is exemplified, for instance, by Annerle, the young woman who manages to break through Cornelie's aloofness. Annerle is a liberated woman, i.e., she flouts Wilhelmina convention in her own manner. In love with a man whom she cannot marry because he is a Jew, she is, nevertheless, confident of her sexuality and her long-standing relationship with her Hans. Abandoned by him for the duration of each pregnancy, Annerle has not
been able to avoid learning the meaning of the "curse of pregnancy." She is interested in her work, caters to her irresponsible lover, and shows not the slightest interest in motherhood. But Annerle has twice become a social outcast, a victim of her anatomy and a society which holds her responsible for the inescapable fate of the female.

Annerle, like Cornelie Reimann, is one of the more fortunate women because she has a life to return to and a strong sense of self. The young, plain, totally innocent and naive Toni, on the other hand, has experienced the worst kind of exploitation. After inheriting a small legacy from an aunt, Toni is deceived by a man who is interested only in her inheritance. This brief, unsatisfactory encounter with "love" brings Toni to the "Tränenhaus," where, in addition to the fears associated with childbirth, she also suffers the extreme loneliness of a child who is cast out by her family. Toni, like many of the other women in residence at the house, looks forward to a very questionable future, indeed.

Another fate awaits Lucie Bubenberg, Annerle's friend from the privileged class. Lucie has led a gay life with her aristocratic lover. When she becomes pregnant, her indulgent parents take her to a private hospital in Switzerland for an abortion, the solution found by the wealthy to deal with their daughter's shame. Lucie dies as a result of the abortion, thus proving that for 19th century woman, anatomy determined destiny in a society which could not ac-
comodate those women who violated its laws.

The author's position on female rebellion or defiance of established social mores emerges from her transformation of Cornelia Reimann from a strident feminist into a humanitarian advocate of women's rights, a woman who learns to accept both the biological and the social restrictions imposed upon her. Thus Reuter lets her reader know that society is not yet prepared to condone female self-assertion which questions age-old patriarchal practices. On the other hand, she strongly advocates more humane psychological and physical treatment of the unwed mother until a more enlightened society has evolved in which confinement in a "Tränenhaus" will no longer be necessary.

Hope for a Utopian society in the future in which women will no longer be subjected to sexually based prejudices is also voiced in Else Jerusalem's Der Heilige Skarabäus (1909). Jerusalem's depiction of two generations of prostitutes provides a comprehensive study of "institutionalized" social ostracism for the extreme variant of type 4, the prostitute, much as Reuter's Tränenhaus does for the unwed mother. Both novels feature Nietzschean heroines who transcend, but do not escape the condition of being female in a male-dominated society; both works juxtapose these heroines to minor characters within the work which combine to form a collective character representative of the type. The collective character in both works shares the fate of the out-
cast, but exhibits no awareness of victimization, i.e., these women accept, without question, ostracism as punishment for their role rebellion.

Das Heilige Skarabäus, an image for the object of beauty which arises out of the dung-heap of social decay and corruption, represents the life of Milada, child of the once-proud prostitute, Katrine. Born in the brothel in order to satisfy her mother's vendetta against the wealthy landowner who rejected her in her pregnancy, the child Milada experiences the worst kind of psychic and physical deprivation. Milada's future, moreover, is certain: she is to become a prostitute like her mother. However, the highly intelligent, introspective Milada learns early to survive. She becomes adept at all aspects of managing the bordello trade and, under the tutelage of the cynical, degenerate intellectual, Horner, learns to profit from society's degradation. Milada uses the system to rise above it. As the manager of the brothel in which she was raised as a child, she captures the attention of a young, wealthy medical student, Gust, whose aid she enlists to alleviate some of the suffering of her charges, the collective character, "the prostitute." Through Gust, Milada is also permitted a glimpse into the world of "respectable" relationships.

However, the horrors of her past cannot be erased by Gust's love and the lure of a place in a society for which she was not destined. Nor will her past and, consequently,
the strong woman who evolved from it, permit her to sustain a normal relationship with its implied roles, for Milada was never educated to assume a traditional role. Thus she subverts her outcast position into one of personal strength. Realizing that even with Gust's aid she can never be integrated into the mainstream of society, Milada sets out to help those of her own kind. She knows that it is too late to "save" those women who are already dehumanized by prostitution and, instead, channels her energies, savings, dreams and aspirations into founding an asylum for the children of prostitutes. High in the Alps and away from the corrupting influence and mores of the city, Milada sets out to create her own Utopia.

While Milada's life depicts and simultaneously counteracts the hopelessness of the social outcast, the life stories of the unfortunate women who enter the brothel on the Rothausstrasse serve to illustrate the motto of the novel: "Auch im zerbrochenen Spiegelglase zeigt sich von unserer Zeit ein Bild." Jerusalem's detailed portrait of brothel life, as drawn from the perspective of an insider, primarily casts a harsh light on the respectable society which profits from the exploitation of these women, and then destroys them. It is through the philosopher of pessimism, Horner, who frequents the brothel that the author most explicitly condemns this "moral" society which is instrumental in creating the social outcast:
Die moralische Welt hatte zu lange daran gearbeitet, diese nur durch die möglichen Geschöpfe von der Niedertracht und Verworfennheit ihres Gewerbes zu überzeugen, -- und Horner sagte sich, dass es dem löblichen Eifer der Gerechten und Guten gelungen war, in ihnen Selbstverachtung und Selbstaufgabe wie eine soziale Verpflichtung grosszuziehen. (p. 197)

From Jerusalem's narrative evolves a grim picture of this structure of exploitation. It is made up, first of all, of the esteemed patron, the customer without whom the trade could not exist. Secondly, it supports the public officials, such as Theobald Sucher, without whose tolerance and protection--not to mention percentage profit--the trade could not survive. Thirdly, it consists of the brothel doctors who violate professional ethics through the administration of non-existent or sub-standard treatment. And, in a sense it depends on the madames, the Goldscheidlers and Spizzaris, who traffic in women in order to buy their way into the bourgeois life-style. And, finally, it includes the pimps, ordinary burghers who wait in train stations for the arrival of the naive country girl and lurk about in the corridors of the charity hospitals awaiting the release of the new unwed mothers. All thrive on the institutionalized ostracism of the prostitute, a commodity whose supply appears to be unlimited and unrestricted. In the following excerpt Jerusalem soberly exposes the social conspiracy which is operative in the creation of type 4:

Noch eine letzte sichere Quelle hatte sich die Goldscheider eröffnet, aus der sie ohne Gefahr Mädchen beziehen konnte, die sie in die Schule nahmen, erzogen und ausbeuteten. Das waren die öffentlichen Gebärinstalten und Krankenhäuser. Sie unterhielt freundliche und gut bezahlte Beziehungen mit den Portiers und den Wärterinnen und konnte mit Sicherheit darauf rechnen, dass es ihr mitgeteilt würde, sobald etwas für sie Passendes eingegangen war (. . .) Da lagen in den mit grobem grauen Leinen überbreiteten Eisenbetten Stundenlehrerinnen neben Dienstmädchen, Handwerkerfrauen neben Bürgerstöchtern, die die Provinz verstossen hatte,—und ganz unreife, vierzehn- bis sechzehnjährige Proletarierkinder, die gran und abgezehr in ihren Betten lagen, froh, dass sich ein Dach über ihrem Elend wölbte. (pp. 129-30)

Once rescued by the madame and engaged in the brothel, the women were forced to stay because of their indebtedness and the fact that they are branded for life. After their youth and beauty erode, they are "traded down" to the provinces or banished to the street and the worst forms of degradation. Drugs, alcohol, ill health and, finally asylum in
the charity wards of the dreaded public hospitals mark the end of the former residents of the "Rothausstrasse." The degeneration, for example, of the once-proud Katrine, Milada's mother, is depicted with naturalistic detail reminiscent of Zola. Here the totally wasted and ill Katrine is exploited by the greed of her landlady who, under the guise of taking care of her becomes her final procurer:

So legte sie sie also in ein zweifelhaft weisses Bett, das nach grüner Seife und Bleichpulver roch, gab ihr einen Fächer in die Hand, beschüttete sie mit Parfüm und führte ihr dann die Besucher zu,--Soldaten,--Arbeiter,--halbwüchsige Junge,--be-trunkene Gesellen, die sie mit geheimnisvollen Versprechungen lockte, mit widerlichen Andeutun-gen von einer feinen Dame, die mal Lust hätte auf so 'nen Kerl; umsonst natürlich; für sie nur ein kleines Trinkgeldchen--natürlich.

Nacht für Nacht und viele Nächte hindurch lag die Katrine mit keuchendem Atem, gewaltsam auf-gerissenen Augen und Armen da und wartete.

Ein stinkendes Nachtlämpchen brannte auf dem Ofensims, und die Glut des eisernen Öfchens warf gefährliche Strahlen auf das käsige Gesicht, wenn sich die Liebende erhob und den Eintretenden schnappselig zulächelte. Immer hinfälliger wurde sie dabei, immer schwieriger wurde es der Alten, die Bettlägerige ordentlich aufzuputzen und zuzu-richten für die Kunden. Eines Abends aber versag-ten selbst die wildesten Schimpfworte und Roh-heiten der Alten, sie puffte und stiess, zeterte und beschwor, sie lockte endlich mit Schnaps und schüttete ihn gewaltsam zwischen die zusammenge-pressten Zähne der Katerine, aber es half nicht, die blieb regungslos, und nur unartikulierte Laute drangen zeitweilig über die Lippen. (p. 124)

The once-proud Katerine, who openly defied the patriarchy by espousing the life of the outcast, and who knowingly sacrificed her daughter to the brothel life to gain revenge, dies unknown, unloved, in a charity ward. She does
not even recognize Milada who is by her side.

Katherine's fate is one which Milada challenges and rejects. Her subversion of the system which has ostracized her culminates when she wins the love of one of its respected members. She then rejects her possible "repatriation" through him. But Milada cannot escape the psychological damage which has been inflicted upon her by the knowledge of the exploitation of her sisters, or the emotional deprivation resulting from the lack of love in her life. She attempts to explain to her potential savior, Gust, her inability to walk away from her past:


Prohibited both by society's disapproval of repatriation and by her own psychological scars from experiencing the kind of love relationship permitted a "free" woman, Milada seeks and finds a new kind of love to which she can dedicate her life. It is caritas, rather than eros, and is unhampered by convention and mores. Her new mission in life is first articulated by Gust's friend Joszi who recognizes the futility of her future with Gust and guides Milada into new directions. Rather than attempting the impossible of
"saving" women who are already in the bondage of prostitu-
tion, Joszi exhorts her to instead save the children of pros-
titutes from the type of life to which she, herself, had been predestined:

Sie können die Prostituierte von heute so wenig retten, wie Sie Gesetze zu ihrer Duldung oder menschenwürdigen Erhaltung diktieren können. 
Sie haben mir vorhin viel über Ihre Kindheit erzählt. Über die erschreckende Einsamkeit und Verlassenheit des Dirnenkindes, das zwischen zahlenden Männern und geschminkten Frauen pendelte, deren eine es Mutter nannte. — Solche Kinder gibt es viele. — Gehen Sie, retten Sie die Dirne im Kinde! (. . .) Für die Prostituierte gibt es keine Ret-
tung.

Revealed in this passage is the author's pessimism as
to the possibility of immediate social change, humanization
of the patriarchy in respect to its less fortunate members,
and "repatriation" of the social outcast. Much like the
other naturalist authors who expressed social concern for
the lot of the social outcast, Jerusalem resolves the con-
flict by anticipating a future in which "die Entwicklung der
Geschlechter jene reine Höhe erreicht hat, --die allein vul-
gäre Prostitution überflüssig machen kann" (p. 567). But
for the woman who has fallen out of social grace and, in
turn, becomes society's chief source of exploitation and
hypocrisy, no salvation exists in the present or near future.
NOTES - CHAPTER IV

1 Hermann Sudermann, *Frau Sorge* (Stuttgart: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1896). All further references to this work will appear in the text.

2 Wilhelm Hegeler, *Mutter Bertha* (Berlin: Egon Fleischel, 1903). All further references to this work will appear in the text.

3 Hamann and Hermand, *Naturalismus*, p. 117.


5 Bebel, p. 102.

6 Bebel, p. 98.

7 Heinz Toyote, *Mutter!* (Berlin/Wien: Ullstein, 1910). All further references to this work will appear in the text.

8 Hermann Conradi, *Adam Mensch* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich, 1889). All further references to this work will appear in the text.

9 Dorge, p. 236.

10 Gabrielle Reuter, *Aus guter Familie* (Berlin: G. Fischer, 1911). All further references to this work will appear in the text.

11 Felix Hollaender, *Magdalena Dornis*, vol. 5 of *Gesammelte Werke* (Rostock: Carl Hinstorff, 1926). All further references to this work will appear in the text.


16 Bebel, pp. 162-63.

17 Bebel, p. 164.

18 See Johann Jacob Bachofen’s *Mutterrecht und Urreligion* and Lewis Henry Morgan’s *Ancient Society* for a discussion of the degeneration of the gynacocracy and its replacement by the patriarchal order.

19 Bebel, p. 156.

20 Helene Böhlau, *Halbtier*, vol. 5 of *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin/Wien: Ullstein, 1915). All further references to this work will appear in the text.

21 Gabrielle Reuter, *Das Tränenhaus* (Berlin: Fischer, 1919). All further references to this work will appear in the text.

22 Else Jerusalem, *Der Heilige Skarabäus*, 19th-32nd ed. (Berlin: Fischer, 1919). All further references to this work will appear in the text.
CONCLUSION

The self-proclaimed literary revolution referred to as Naturalism aimed to expose the ills of a recently industrialized Germany which was reveling in its newly found prosperity on the one hand, and harboring social inequity and mass discontent on the other. An examination of the works produced by this movement shows that Naturalism succeeded in this task. Through a combination of stylistic innovation and unorthodox themes, incorporated for the first time in serious literature, the naturalists forced the German reading public to confront the effects of industrialization and urbanization on a previously agrarian population. The resultant works pointed out the subsequent dehumanization and impoverishment of a great number of people. Analysis of naturalist works further revealed that the oppression and repression of women emerged strongly as one of these themes.

For the newly discovered "woman question," the novel, in particular, proved to be a most suitable instrument of naturalist protest. Among the literary genres, it was best suited to reach a vast audience. This was due partly to its entertainment potential, as well as to its accessibility to the average reader: the novel assured public exposure to issues of social relevance while maintaining mass appeal. It also facilitated the participation of women in the dissemination of new ideas. Long permitted only on the periph-
ery of serious art, women were now integrated into the mainstream of literature through the novel. In turn, they contributed their own--frequently feminist--views to the social re-evaluation which was dominating politics, economics, the sciences, philosophy and the arts. Thus, in Naturalism a two-fold phenomenon occurred: woman was established as both the subject and object of artistic expression.

In espousing the "woman question," the naturalists found ample inspiration in European realism and persuasive reasoning in the revolutionary social theories which abounded in the second half of the 19th century. The literary masterpieces of Zola, Flaubert, Ibsen, and Tolstoy had already broken ground outside of Germany and sensitized the European reading public as to the problems of the poor, the disenfranchised, and the otherwise alienated members of society. They had also established in literature, as a part of a litany of social inequities, the special stigma attached to being female in a repressive patriarchal order.

Thus, in an effort to escape the label of imitation, the German naturalists sought to take European Realism to its artistic limits by promulgating the theory of "consequent Naturalism," a staccato reproduction of a narrow and usually pathetic segment of life. But, primarily, they responded to their literary mission by combining sentimentality, bathos, or crass depiction of human misery in the guise of total "objectivity" on the part of the artist. Consequently,
scholarship has not been particularly kind to the German counterpart of Zola's social experiment. More recent studies on Naturalism, however, have sought to evaluate the period in terms of its revolutionary fervor and espousal of causes, rather than by dwelling strictly on accepted modes of literary evaluation. It has been shown that Naturalism did, indeed, promote social progress, and that the literature produced by the movement serves as an excellent mirror of the mood and aspirations of a society which was in a state of moral torpor.

The recent literary re-evaluation, or rediscovery of Naturalism as a period of social engagement also contributed to a revision of the manner in which women are viewed in literature. Examination of the novel in the revisionary mode provided a particularly penetrating insight into woman's role in society, the discrimination with which she is daily confronted, her physical and, frequently, psychic deprivation, and the avenues which she can explore to affect changes in her condition. It also became clear that in their formulation of female characters, the naturalist authors were influenced by the currents of change all around them and that the most persuasive reasoning for the restructuring of sex roles came from the 19th century thinkers who overwhelmingly promoted the liberation of women. For example, Charles Fourier's concept of harmony dictated that man live in tune with his passions, i.e., his nature. Achieving this end ne-
cessitated liberating women from the slavery of outmoded institutions and their inherent system of inequality. Fourier's Utopia was as shocking and thought-provoking at the time of its inception, at the beginning of the 19th century, as it was at the end.

Several decades later, the socio-economic theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels also pointed out—in a more realistic and threatening manner—the necessity of restructuring the basic social unit, the family. Again, equality and economic independence for women were seen as steps which must be taken to cure the abuses inherent in the capitalist social order. August Bebel drew upon the font of Marxism, in addition to the anthropological studies undertaken by Bachofen and Lewis Morgan, in order to present a compendium of 19th century speculation of woman's role in society of the present, past and future. While Bebel addressed his book to the working class woman, the focus of much of his ideological energies, the popularity of *Woman and Socialism* betrays the impact which his work had on a much broader reading public. And while socialist concerns for women, in general, frequently encountered difficulty in the translation of theory into practice within the Socialist Workers Party, the influence of socialist theory on the naturalists is unmistakable.

In addition to treatises of a socialist or utopian nature which called for equality between the sexes in order
to rectify social and economic imbalances, the naturalists were eloquently persuaded of the moral exigencies of woman's subjection by the writings of John Stuart Mill. Mill's works were widely read in Germany, exerting a significant influence on the bourgeois women's movement in particular. The works of writers such as Gabrielle Reuter and Helene Böhlau, for example, echo Mill's plea that women be educated, that they have freedom of choice in profession and lifestyle, and that they be given equality under the law.

Needless to say, the currents of reaction and social regression were also mirrored in the treatment of women in Naturalism. And while the popularization of Nietzschean philosophy is represented positively by some authors who portrayed strong women daring to defy convention, the misogynist sentiments of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer were found to be by far more pervasive. Even in sympathetic treatments of Nietzschean super-women, those women who dared to rebel against social mores and traditional restrictions imposed upon their sex were ultimately subject to punitive measures. For the most part, women modeled along the lines of the super-woman were seen as a threat to male supremacy, and thus to the perpetuation of Western culture.

The pseudo-scientific writings which received much popular and professional acclaim at the turn of the century provided scientific, or "objective" validity for the misogynist ideology promoted by Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. En-
couraged by a wave of anti-feminist reaction in the 1890's, authors such as Otto Weininger, Oscar A. H. Schmitz, and Paul J. Möbius claimed to scientifically probe the very depths of the female psyche. Their findings proved that women were, indeed, inferior to men in most respects and that their primary purpose was procreation. It is obvious that the writings of these men did little to promote the cause of women.

Thus the portrayal of women in the final decades of the 19th century, in general, and in the naturalist novel, in particular, echoes both emancipation and anti-feminist sentiment. In addition, these portrayals reflect the degree of freedom or emancipation which individual authors felt society could or should tolerate for its women. This study has illustrated that, as a result, at least four basic types of female portrayals can be distinguished, and that these types span the range of the Gründerzeit ideal, "the mother-martyr-saint," to her opposite, the woman who has been cast out of respectable, bourgeois society.

The first type, referred to as the "mother-martyr-saint," is a pervasive element in literature through the ages. She constantly and quietly exerts her beneficent influence on those around her, transcending all distinctions of class, economic status, age, milieu, or even marital status. Because she was selected, or divinely ordained to bear the burdens of society with little outward reward, her role has
been imbued with religious significance. She exemplifies Goethe's principle of the eternal feminine, the Christian Virgin Mary in naturalist guise. The "mother-martyr-saint" is a literary stereo-type: issues such as individual rights, personal freedom, or ultimately, emancipation, come into play only indirectly, if at all. And despite authorial sympathy, frequently in the form of excessive sentimentality, it appears that the sacrifices made by this type, her oppression and subservience to the good of the patriarchy, are vindicated by the benefits which society as a whole derives from her. The mother figure in Hermann Sudermann's *Frau Sorge* represents a prototype of the naturalist "mother-martyr-saint," the woman who becomes the very abstraction of her role. Wilhelm Hegeler's *Mutter Bertha*, on the other hand, was found to take the mother-martyr-saint to its logical extreme: Motherhood is imbued with such metaphysical implications that death of the child, signifying the death of motherhood, necessitates the actual death of the mother, Bertha.

Type 2, the "fugitive into a world of illusion" was established as the first digression from the idealized form of womanhood represented by the "mother-martyr-saint." Designated to function in the manner established for the first type, type 2 nevertheless does not live up to social expectations. Thus she is destined to fall from grace and to ultimate expulsion from the bourgeois paradise. Those forces
—internal or socially conditioned—which rendered her life problematic also combined to generate role rebellion. This heroine's role rebellion, which is not conscious or socially oriented, is manifested, instead, as escape into a world of illusion: romantic illusion or retreat into the self and ultimate insanity.

Unlike the "mother-martyr-saint, the woman featured in type 2 has been permitted to seek alternatives to improve an intolerable condition. But she may never be successful in her quest, and her manner of escape is of necessity self-destructive. She is a captive of a rigid social structure which precludes woman's rejection of her pre-ordained role. Consequently, any attempt at emancipation must be rendered harmless and incapable of transcending the realm of personal idiosyncrasy, inadequacy, hysteria or neurosis.

The heroine of type 2 is also one of the most popular in late 19th century fiction. Her complex and contradictory condition provided an interesting vehicle of social criticism for the author, while insuring the interest, empathy, or mechanism of identification for the reader. Usually a member of the bourgeoisie or aristocracy, she thus echoes in fiction many of the problems which afflicted those who comprised the majority of the naturalist reading public. Because the "fugitive into a world of illusion" is more limited in scope, she usually suffers from psychic, rather than physical deprivation which frequently is visited upon
the heroine of type 1. Heinz Tovote's *Mutter!* aptly illustrates the main schemata which defines this heroine. Anna Braun is featured as a woman whose life on the surface revolves around her family, but whose passionate nature forces her into the world of romantic illusion. And characteristic of the type, she invokes tragedy upon herself and her family.

Hermann Conradi's *Adam Mensch* provided the first variant of type 2 in the character of Hedwig Irmer, an unsentimentalized example of the single woman who falls short of social expectations. Her unsuccessful attempts to cope with both internal and externally applied pressures lead her into a two-fold world of illusion: retreat into romantic illusion and retreat into the self. Gabrielle Reuter's heroine Agathe Heidling, the girl *Aus guter Familie*, depicts the extremes to which the "fugitive into a world of illusion" can be taken. Neurosis and total emotional collapse are the final prognosis for Agathe, whose life constitutes one of the more effective studies of the misuse to which the bourgeois ethic relegated its women.

The third female type in the departure from the *Gründerzeit* ideal, the *femme fatale*, appeared at first sight to be the most liberated of the types. Characterized primarily by an overwhelming sexuality, a manifestation of her self-assertive drive, she ultimately achieves her goals by destroying all who fall into her sphere of influence. Rather
than submitting to social restraints which deny her the right of self-determination and self-actualization, this type openly rebels. She actively seeks to ameliorate the conditions which she finds intolerable. Thus she is cast as the naturalist Venus, as opposed to the Madonna of type 1 or the Eve of type 2. But this Venus has been brought down to earth from the realm of the mystic and mythic to function as an ordinary woman. Her powers, traditionally interpreted as demonic, have, instead, been transmuted into basic sexuality.

A study of the *femme fatale* thus shows that of all the types she is the strongest naturalist projection of the male's fear of his own inadequacy and the resultant danger of female dominance. But she also represents a call for re-evaluation of the stereo-typical roles which give rise to these fears. And perhaps because she is so strongly a projection of the male's fantasy—the woman who both attracts and repels—and the type which least corresponds to reality, she was generally permitted to implement her very personal form of emancipation. However, because of her one-dimensionality, i.e., emphasis on sexuality rather than any other quality, she is very much a product of the 19th century literary tradition, rather than a figure of emancipation. Her portrayal, as was shown in Felix Hollaender's *Magdalena Dornis*, tended to reinforce misogynist sentiments which were becoming increasingly popular at the turn of the century.
The female figure which has always existed in literature on the periphery of society, as part of the demi-monde or of the bohemian milieu, was portrayed in naturalist literature as the "social outcast," type 4. More than any other type, she blatantly points to the inequities and victimization to which women have been subjected throughout most of recorded history. She also exists as the most damning evidence that the violation of certain social mores, which are permitted and condoned in the male, are subject to severe psychological and physical punishment if perpetrated by women.

It was found that the "social outcast" appears in the German naturalist novel in the form of three variants, each of which is driven by psychological or material needs, drives, social pressures, ignorance, or a combination thereof, into extremes of role violation. These role violations condemn her to an existence of social, personal, and sexual alienation. For example, the first variant of type 4, the artist, is forced to eschew the life-style proscribed for 19th century woman in favor of a lonely life, devoted to artistic expression. Attempts to combine love, marriage and motherhood with her art end in tragedy. Helene Böhlau's Halbtier was used to illustrate that role rejection in favor of artistic endeavor results in isolation, alienation, and finally extremes of behavior such as murder for Isolde, the emancipated artist. Isolde must pay the price for daring to
be different by joining the ranks of the social outcast.

The second variant of the "social outcast" type, the unwed mother or mother-to-be, is the victim of her own anatomy and the hypocrisy imposed upon her by society's double standard of behavior for men and women. Pregnancy for her leads to ostracism and is followed, frequently, by infanticide or suicide. Gabrielle Reuter's Tränenhaus explored the plight of this heroine. While there is obvious reference to issues of women's emancipation by this feminist author, the central concern expressed in this work is for humane treatment of the social outcast, the unwed mother: hypocrisy, cruelty and primitive attitudes toward pregnancy are emphasized and take precedence over questions of women's rights as such.

It was further shown that the exigencies of the unwed mother frequently force her to assume the life-style of the third variant of type 4, the prostitute, for it is here that she finds the only means of support for herself and her child. This dominant variant of the outcast type is also found in the working class woman who has been driven to supplement inadequate wages; in the woman who has been seduced and abandoned; in the cast-off wife; or, simply, in the woman who has been lured by promises of a glamorous existence, which is otherwise inaccessible to her.

Two chief approaches to portrayal of the prostitute were found in the naturalist novel: first, the trivialization and/or romanticization of the prostitute in the artist
novels; and second, the social approach which focuses on
the psychic and physical deprivation of the outcast heroine.
The works, selected for interpretation of the type in respect
to their sociological relevance, deal with the latter. In
Else Jerusalem's Der Heilige Skarabäus, for example, the
prostitute represents one of the strongest indictments of
the social injustice inflicted on women. Her portrayal of
two generations of prostitutes provides a comprehensive
study of "institutionalized" social ostracism in which the
Nietzschean heroine manages to transcend, but not escape,
her condition. A future utopia, in which the sexes will ex-
perience equality will resolve the problems of prostitution,
but for the present, Jerusalem suggests saving the children
of prostitutes from the fate of their mothers.

Elements of life in an ideal society in which the
"woman question" has been eliminated are, in fact, alluded
to in many of the works which focus on female characters
and which have, consequently, lent themselves to the formu-
lation of a typology. However, it is primarily in the novels
written by women, themselves, that social change becomes a
viable feature. Writers such as Böhlau, Reuter, Viebig and
Jerusalem concentrate on issues of social reform which are
specific to women. But they do so without necessarily pro-
posing models of women who are liberated from patriarchal
constraints from a modern perspective. Thus they frequently
appear to fall short of the modern reader's expectations
by appearing to surrender to social censorship, or by harboring basically conservative tendencies. But, more penetratingly than the male authors included in the study, these women expose the particular prejudices and types of discrimination levelled against women and sanctioned under the guise of paternalistic protectionism. Moreover, a comparison of the works of the male writers with those of the naturalist women reveals that the men were less responsive to the need for the revision of sex-related roles. On the whole, they reserve their ideals of individual freedom for their male characters despite acknowledging the need for equality between the sexes. Even in the writings of socially engaged authors such as Max Kretzer, or literary revolutionaries such as Hermann Conradi, an improvement in the female's condition is attributed secondary significance.

The portrayal of women in the naturalist novel thus leads to the formulation of a typology of female characters as presented, as well as to the discovery that the naturalist women writers represent a major contribution to the study of woman in 19th century society. The fact that few of them, and even fewer of their works, are known to the modern reader is explained to a large extent by previous trends in literary scholarship. However, the resurgence of interest in the past few decades in social issues, in general, and in feminism, in particular, has engendered interest in the role of woman for historical and sociological, rather than
purely literary purposes. This, in turn, has resulted in a rediscovery of the naturalist novel and the insights which it produces. Through it, the reader is permitted to enter his cultural past and to thus draw conclusions as to current problems and the progress, or lack of it, which society has made to solve them.
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