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”Warum noch länger die demütige Magd, die ihrem Herrn die Füße wäscht?“:

Mathilde Franziska Anneke’s Feminist Manifest
Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen (1847)¹

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Mathilde Franziska Anneke (née Giesler) was a Forty-Eighter, lecturer, educator, writer, newspaper editor, and abolitionist. She was the mother of seven children, three of whom survived to adulthood. Perhaps most notably, Mathilde Anneke was a suffragist who fought for women’s rights in pre-1848 Prussia and later in the United States.

Mathilde Franziska Giesler was born on April 3, 1817, in Hiddinghausen, Province of Westphalia, Kingdom of Prussia. In 1836, she married Alfred von Tabouillot, a wealthy wine merchant ten years her senior. In exchange, von Tabouillot paid off her father’s debts. However, her poems about Tabouillot suggest that this was not solely a marriage of convenience.² The von Tabouillots’ daughter Johanna (Fanny) was born on November 27, 1837, but the marriage soon became a very unhappy one. After only one year of marriage, Anneke³ left her abusive husband and moved to the city of Wesel and later to Münster with her daughter. Anneke filed for divorce, citing domestic violence, and the divorce proceedings were initiated in 1838.⁴ In 1841⁵, the divorce was granted, but Anneke had to assume responsibility as the guilty party despite evidence of her husband’s violence. She did secure custody of her daughter Fanny.⁶ Not a new phenomenon, divorce had been established by law in the Prussian Civil Code of 1794. Historian Annette Hanschke points out that Anneke’s divorce caused much less of a sensation than some secondary sources claim, but it certainly shaped her feminism.⁷

Since

Mathilde had to assume responsibility for the von Tabouillots’ divorce, she did not

receive alimony from Alfred. And because her parents were impoverished by that time, Anneke had to find employment to provide for herself and her daughter. She contributed to several local newspapers in Münster, she published three almanacs and two Catholic prayer books, and she wrote her play *Oithono*, which was first performed in Münster with considerable success. During her time in Münster from 1839 until 1846, and shortly before she wrote her feminist tract, Anneke repeatedly tried to befriend German poet Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, who preferred to avoid her as much as she could due to Anneke’s status as a divorcée.⁸ Despite the fact that Droste-Hülshoff eventually agreed to contribute to Anneke’s volume of poetry *Producte der rothen Erde*,⁹ Anneke never succeeded getting into Droste-Hülshoff’s circles during her time in Münster. But she did make a name for herself in political circles. Among the conservative residents of Münster, Anneke became known as a “mother of communists” (“Kommunistenmutter”).¹⁰ She joined the “Democratic Club” (Demokratischer Verein), where she met her later husband Fritz Anneke, a former Prussian artillery officer.¹¹ Mathilde married socialist Fritz Anneke on June 3, 1847 and moved to Cologne with him.

That same year, Mathilde wrote her essay *Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen* (Woman in Conflict with Society). This text, penned in the winter before the failed revolution of 1848–1849, marked a significant change in Anneke’s views and in her writing. Following her separation from Alfred von Tabouillot, Anneke had first turned to her faith and had published Catholic prayer books for women.¹² But by 1846, Anneke had become very critical of the way religious beliefs and traditions were used to oppress women. *Woman in Conflict with Society* was published in a small print run. Anneke also published excerpts in the *Frauen-Zeitung* and later in the *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung*, short-lived women’s newspapers that she published in Cologne and in the U.S. In 1859, excerpts of her pamphlet were reprinted in Rudolph Lexow’s German-American newspaper *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*.¹³ With a circulation of 40,000 in 1870, Lexow’s paper was read by many German-Americans all over the United States.¹⁴ Overall, however, *Woman in Conflict with Society* reached a limited

audience. In Germany, the manifest was considered lost until Renate Möhrmann located a typescript in the Fritz and Mathilde Anneke Papers at the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison in the 1970s.¹⁵ That 17-page typescript is considered by Anneke researchers to be the only surviving document that contains the full text.¹⁶ However, during my research for this article I was able to locate a digital copy of the handwritten original.¹⁷

Compared to other manifestos on women’s rights produced by 18th- and 19th-century women writers like Olympe de Gouges or Mary Wollstonecraft, Anneke’s essay received very little attention. Anneke was certainly influenced by these writers, however, and she also translated excerpts taken from Wollstonecraft’s works from English into German and published them in her *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung*. Claims made by Germanists Susan L. Piepke and Stephani Richards-Wilson that the publication of Anneke’s feminist pamphlet gained her a national reputation and resulted in changes in Prussian laws related to marriage and divorce¹⁸ are unfounded. In fact, divorce proceedings in Prussia were often unpredictable, as Hanschke concludes after examining original court records and evaluating divorce cases in Prussia in the years between 1839 and 1853. Anneke’s own divorce from Alfred Tabouillot was not atypical and her manifesto bore no influence on Prussian marriage and divorce laws.¹⁹

Anneke’s feminist treatise began as a defense of Louise Aston, a divorced woman who was exiled from the city of Berlin in 1846 because her attitudes toward gender roles, marriage, and sex were deemed threatening to conventional order.²⁰ Anneke was outraged by the fact that Aston had been banned for views that in Anneke’s opinion would be excused in a man. Anneke was one of few writers to come to Louise Aston’s defense. Since her time in Münster and once she had become politically active, Anneke had kept in touch with German feminists of her time, including Kathinka Zitzewitz and Louise Aston, although the informal contacts did not amount to close friendships.²¹ There are parallels between the lives of Mathilde Anneke (1817-1884) and Louise Aston (1814-1871). Both had married at a young age and for the financial benefit of their parents. Both had decided to

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free themselves from their abusive husbands. Anneke and Aston each had a daughter to raise without help from their former husbands. Louise Aston, like Mathilde Anneke, Louise Otto-Peters, Louise Dittmar, Fanny Lewald, and others, is one of the women writers associated with the *Vormärz* period.

Louise Aston, née Hoche, was the daughter of theologian Johann Gottfried Hoche and his wife Louise Charlotte. According to Aston, her parents forced her to marry the wealthy English industrialist Samuel Aston at age 17. Aston divorced the considerably older factory owner twice and permanently cut ties with him in 1845. She moved to Berlin with her daughter shortly thereafter. In 1847, Louise Aston wrote a semi-autobiographical novel about her unhappy marriage entitled *Aus dem Leben einer Frau*.²² In Berlin, Aston was said to wear men’s clothing and smoke cigars. She became an advocate of democracy and “free love,” or sex outside of marriage. Banished from Berlin in 1846 because of her “scandalous” life style and her feminist and atheist opinions, Louise Aston published *Meine Emancipation, Verweisung und Rechtfertigung* [My Emancipation, Expulsion and Defense], in which she condemned the way society treated women.²³ Despite her radical views, there was another side to Aston. Ruth-Ellen Joeres suggests that Louise Aston is a radical only at first glance:

For while Aston could produce a document as searingly critical of male authority as her polemical tract *Meine Emancipation, Verweisung und Rechtfertigung* [My emancipation, expulsion and defense], she also wrote rambling novels in which heroines cater openly and willingly to the patriarchy not because they are subtly undermining the system but because they seem to want to be a part of it, perhaps even to support and further its values.²⁴

Anneke used the Louise Aston case as an example and an opportunity to write a manifesto that addressed the situation of women in general. Three decades later, on April 26, 1877, in a letter written to Alexander Jonas, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, Anneke reflected on her motivations for writing *Woman in*

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Conflict with Society. She did not mention Louise Aston in this letter, giving another reason for producing her essay on women’s rights:

Ich hatte die Schrift im Jahre 1846-47 verfasst und mit einem Gedicht meinem eben angeheiratheten Gatten Fritz Anneke gewidmet. Fast zur selben Zeit war mir das goldene Buch vom alten Hippel über die Rechte und Stellung des Weibes in die Hände gerathen. Dies brachte mich zur vollständigen Klarheit und regte zur Thatkraft an, wo und wie es möglich war für die Befreiung des Weibes zu kämpfen und zu arbeiten.²⁵

I had written the text in 1846-47 and had dedicated it to my newly married husband Fritz Anneke, along with a poem. Almost at the same time, the golden book by the elder Hippel about the rights and the status of women came into my hands. It brought me complete clarity and motivated me to actively fight for and work toward woman’s emancipation wherever and whenever possible.²⁶

There are two books on women’s rights by Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel. *Über die Ehe* [On Marriage]²⁷ was first published in 1774 and appeared in four editions between 1774 and 1793. The other important work by Hippel, entitled *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber* [On Improving the Status of Women], was published in 1793.²⁸ It is now regarded the first text written in German that called for the civil equality of men and women.²⁹ Since Hippel was a high-ranking government official who wrote secretly and anonymously about women’s rights, his works had little influence on the German women’s movement during his lifetime. However, his works did encourage and inspire individual 18th- and 19th-century German women writers, such as Amalia Holst and Mathilde Anneke.³⁰ In her 1877 letter, Anneke stated that she had also published excerpts taken from Hippel’s works in her *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung*, along with her translations of excerpts taken from works by Mary Wollstonecraft and Margaret Fuller.³¹ Hippel’s early writings on women’s equality were clearly important to Anneke.

In *Woman in Conflict with Society*, Anneke mainly recounts Louise Aston’s life story and her expulsion from Berlin for about the first two-thirds of the essay before addressing the situation of women in general. Anneke uses irony, sarcasm and hyperbole as the main stylistic elements in her searing essay. Her early feminist tract, as historian Mischa Honeck points out, conjures up “the image of women living in a double cage.”³² Anneke maintains women live within the cage of male supremacy and the cage of a Christian belief system that enables and legitimizes male authority.

In describing Aston’s case, Anneke tells of Aston’s banishment from Berlin, and she analyzes how Aston’s recently published booklet of twelve poems entitled *Wilde Rosen* [Wild Roses] is a testament to her suffering as a woman who had been forced to marry a man she did not love. Louise Aston uses the image of faded roses to describe her lost youth and being trapped in an abusive marriage, writing “Meine Rosen sind entblättert” [My roses have been defoliated].³³ In the eighth poem, “Lebensmotto,” Louise Aston presents her life motto: her devotion to living freely and loving freely [“freiem Lieben hab ich mich ergeben”]. Anneke then cites the full text of Aston’s ninth poem “Harmonie,” as published in *Wilde Rosen*. This poem also takes a hopeful and positive tone, but, as Anneke observes, Aston’s final three poems speak to her despair and exasperation. In all, Anneke notes that the twelve poems are basically “dark and grim” [“dunkel und schaurig”].³⁴ Anneke concludes that readers of Aston’s *Wild Roses* will realize that Aston had lost all happiness in life.

However, as Anneke points out, Louise Aston’s pamphlet *Meine Emancipation, Verweisung und Rechtfertigung* [My Emancipation, Expulsion and Defense] will give her readers new hope. In it, Aston, with renewed energy and courage to face life, emerges as a woman fighting for her rights and openly criticizing her treatment. Aston writes that she had committed no crime, unless smoking cigars, surrounding herself with free-thinking educated men and admitting being a free-thinker and atheist were considered unlawful.³⁵ Anneke, holding up the shameful way Aston had been treated as an example, calls upon women to free

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themselves from men who treated them as slaves. She makes the point that women have been treated disrespectfully by men long enough and that it was finally time this had to change:

Warum auch sollte das Weib überhaupt die schweigsame Dulderin fortan noch sein? Warum noch länger die demütige Magd, „die ihrem Herrn die Füße wäscht“ – warum noch länger die christlich duldende Magd eines Herrn der zum Despoten ihres Herzens geworden ist, weil er selber ein Knecht ward?³⁶

Why then should woman still be the patient sufferer? – Why continue to be the humble maid “who washes the feet of her lord” – why continue to be the Christianly suffering maid of a man who has become the tyrant of her heart because he himself had become a servant?³⁷³⁸

Interestingly, Anneke, who also wrote abolitionist fiction, chose the word “Knecht” (servant) to describe Louise Aston’s husband. Anneke is likely referring to the fact that Samuel Aston served an inequitable system of male superiority.

This quote is immediately followed by Anneke’s proclamation that Aston’s case must be a wake-up call for all women. She emphasizes the importance of *Meine Emancipation, Verweisung und Rechtfertigung*:

Die Stimme dieses Büchleins rief manche Schläferinnen wach, die von dem Broddeln ihres Kochtopfes am Herde noch nicht zu tief eingenickt waren. Sie rief manche stille Trägerin die blutend unter dem Joch des socialen Elendes ringt, das ungeahnt und ungekannt auf den Frauenherzen lastet, zum Bewußtsein des letzten Rechtes ihrer hinsterbenden Kraft, damit sie sich aufraffe und ermanne um mindestens nur noch laut ihr Geschick anzuklagen.³⁹

The voice of this little book awakened many a dormant woman who was not yet too sound asleep from the bubbling of her cooking pot on the hearth. She put many a quiet bearer who suffers under the yoke of social misery – which bears down on women’s hearts

unexpectedly and without precedent – in mind of the ultimate power of her dying strength so that she would take courage to, if nothing else, at least bewail her fate.⁴⁰

The word choice “ermannen” is curious in a women’s right’s context. Anneke likely did not intentionally use a masculine turn of phrase to make a point, but she used language that carried the gender baggage of the society around her. Her letters to her husband Fritz show that Mathilde was trying to claim the courage traditionally associated with men and demonstrated that she had internalized those associations.

Anneke writes that some of her fellow females, after reading Aston’s pamphlet, had come to realize that their own hardships were caused by living in a society of male dominance. Anneke herself, as she goes on to write, certainly identified with Aston’s life story and her escape from an abusive marriage. Anneke states that she knows what it feels like to be in Aston’s shoes, having experienced degradation herself under the pretext of “holy” law and tradition. The allusion here is to her own divorce proceedings, in which she had become a victim of the Prussian justice system herself.

It was also during that time that Anneke had come to understand the situation of women as absurd and ignominious.⁴¹ Consequently, in her tract, she encourages all women to find common cause with Aston instead of vilifying her, and she recounts the pain and suffering that Aston had to endure when she was arrested. She writes, with much irony, that male philosophers, including Bacon, Spinoza, Hegel, and Feuerbach, were free to express atheist opinions and even publish and teach their ideas. But this, Anneke sarcastically remarks, must be a right reserved for men and that “well, women have never been allowed to think” (“ach dem Weibe war ja stets zu denken verboten”).⁴² Anneke criticizes the fact that women did not have access to education the same way men did – and were not granted the same basic human rights as men. *Woman in Conflict with Society* makes it unequivocally clear that religious dogma not only enables male supremacy, but also ensures that men will continue to stay in power.⁴³

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The most important point Anneke makes in her manifesto is that in her opinion, ultimately the Church is to blame for the situation of women. In her view, men were using religious beliefs to suppress women. Anneke encourages her fellow females to reevaluate their personal circumstances so that they would be able to come to that same realization:

Bleibt länger nicht die Betrogenen! Ihr bleibt es wenn Ihr selbst nicht muthig mit eignen Händen dessen Besitz ergreift. Mit Weihrauchduft will man Euer Sinnen umnebeln, mit glatten Worten Euch bethören, in Blüthenduft gehüllt Euer Märchen für schlichte Wahrheit darreichen.⁴⁴

Do not be deceived any longer! You will be, if you do not courageously take into your own hands what is yours! They want to cloud your senses with the smell of incense. They want to beguile you with empty words. They want you to mistake their fairy tales, which they have immersed in flowery fragrance, for the truth.⁴⁵

Anneke argues that mothers have the power to educate children who would help to improve society and establish democracy. Consequently, Anneke writes that society can only change if mothers raise independent daughters:

O, seht Eure Säuglinge, Ihr Mütter, in Euren Armen ruhen! Wollt Ihr sie mit der Ammenmilch der Lüge fortan noch nähren? wollt Ihr sie nicht an Eurer Brust schon mit dem gesunden Hauche des neuen geistigen Frühlings kräftigen und sie zum heiligen Empfange der vollständigen Wahrheit vorbereiten? An Euch liegt es, sie für die Wahrheit oder – für die Lüge empfänglich zu machen; an Euch, dem freien Vater den freien Sohn zu zuführen, damit er vollende was und wie Ihr begonnen! – an Euch liegt es, Töchter zu erziehen, die keinen Sklaven jemals mit ihrem Lächeln beglücken werden!⁴⁶

Oh, you mothers, look at your babies who are resting in your arms! Do you really want to continue nursing them with the fairy milk of lies? Do you not wish to strengthen them at your breast with the

healthy breeze of spiritual spring and to prepare them for the sacred reception of the complete truth? It is your task to make them receptive to the truth – or to lies. It is your task to bring the free son to the free father so that he can finalize what you have begun in the same way you have! – It is your task to raise daughters who will never bring a smile to the face of a slave!⁴⁷

Anneke calls for women to raise free sons and daughters as independent thinkers. The image of women as nurturers and educators who could bring about change in a society was made by several of Anneke’s contemporaries, including Malwida von Meysenburg and Johanna Kinkel. Feminist scholar Birgit Mikus writes that this argument is seen as counterproductive today, since equating womanhood and motherhood is problematic from a modern feminist viewpoint. However, as Mikus outlines, the dominating image of women as creators of a new generation had its place in the 19th century and implied a potential political power as well.⁴⁸ Again, Anneke uses the “slave” image when referring to men. Similar to her previous use of “servant,” she is not referring to enslaved African Americans, but is alluding to all of society, which has been caught in a web of lies about God and hierarchy. Anneke is making the argument that men who don’t see the truth about how society works are enslaved to their own ignorance.

Woman in Conflict with Society is a testament to Anneke’s ideals and values, most of all to her life-long fight for women’s rights. She came back to this early text many times throughout her life. It was reprinted in her *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung*, and Anneke gave speeches on women’s rights presenting the same ideas, especially during her time as an active member of the National Woman Suffrage Association. While Anneke did not live to see the suffragist movement succeed, she made significant contributions to the early feminist movement. Historian Michaela Bank attributes Anneke’s influence to “her hybrid position as a woman of two countries,” an identity she was given in letters by US-American feminist leaders.⁴⁹ Within the German-American community, Anneke was a mediator and a translator who brought the ideas of her fellow suffragists (Susan B. Anthony,

Elizabeth Cady Stanton) to the German community in the U.S. Anneke was a lifelong advocate for women’s rights and her text is a valuable addition to the literature written by German female authors of the *Vormärz* period.

Anneke herself was a “new woman” who broke with traditional norms of gender and sexuality. She was one of the few women who actively participated in the Revolutions of 1848, yet she was frequently mocked as being “ein Flintenweib” [a Gunwoman].⁵⁰ In 1848, Mathilde and Fritz Anneke joined the armed revolutionary forces in Palatine and in Baden. They later fled Europe after the failed revolutions of 1848/49, arriving in Milwaukee in 1850. In 1852, Anneke began publishing the first German-language pro-suffrage newspaper in the United States, the *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung* in Milwaukee and later in New York. In September 1853, Anneke began attending suffrage conventions, starting with a meeting held in New York City in September 1853. She held her speech in German with Ernestine L. Rose as her (consecutive) interpreter.⁵¹ Anneke made friends with fellow suffragists in the U.S., including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The Annekes lived in Newark from 1853 to 1859 and in Milwaukee from 1859 until 1860. Anneke and her companion Mary Booth lived together in Zurich, Switzerland from 1860 until 1865 while Fritz Anneke participated in the American Civil War. Mary Booth died in 1865, and Anneke returned to Milwaukee to open a girls’ academy (Töchter-Institut) with her friend Cäcilie Kapp. Anneke led her school until her death in 1884.⁵²

Anneke understood that she was a very controversial figure, even in Milwaukee, where she spent most of her life and where she was highly regarded in general. In many ways, she was ahead of her time. Anneke became very involved in the women’s suffrage movement upon her return from Zurich to Milwaukee in 1865. In 1869, she became one of the co-founders of the *Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association*, representing Wisconsin in the *National Woman Suffrage Association* founded by Susan B. Anthony and Elisabeth Cady Stanton that same year.⁵³ In line with her goal to raise independent daughters, Anneke founded her school for girls based on the belief that equal rights and opportunities for men and women must

begin with an equal education. Her school had an excellent reputation and girls were taught in German, English, and French. Anneke’s goal was to educate girls and prepare them for a life and career outside of the sphere of “children, church, kitchen” (Kinder, Kirche, Küche).⁵⁴ However, Anneke, was aware that her radical opinions might have gotten in the way of her school being successful, and so she decided to stay in the background when she established her school. Cäcilie Kapp should assume a more dominant role in this process, as in Anneke’s words Kapp was more moderate and “by no means a heathen, like me.”⁵⁵ Milwaukee’s German community preferred that Anneke not share her political opinions with her students, and, as Alison Clark Efford writes, “a group of parents wrote to a German-language newspaper to reassure German immigrants that Anneke kept her political opinions out of the classroom.”⁵⁶

In her writings and in her speeches, however, Anneke did express her radical political views. Anneke received praise within the U.S. women’s rights movements. Historian Michaela Bank attributes this to Anneke’s unique position representing the American women’s right’s movement within the German-American community, saying Anneke assumed the role of a powerful mediator.⁵⁷ As such, she translated English feminist texts written by Susan B. Anthony and others into her native German, and published excerpts in German-American newspapers. It was through her abolitionist fiction and editorial activities, as well as through her engagement in the American women’s rights movement that Anneke most closely represented and fought for the ideals that she had first expressed in her feminist tract *Woman in Conflict with Society*.

¹ This is a modified version of my presentation given at the 43rd Annual *Women in German* Conference in Sewanee, Tennessee (The University of the South) on October 19, 2018.

² Hockamp, Karin. “*Von vielem Geist und großer Herzensgüte*”: *Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-1884)*, (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 2012), 15.

³ Mathilde Franziska took her second husband’s last name and is known as Mathilde Anneke today. For this reason, the name Mathilde Anneke is used throughout this article.

⁴ Hanschke, Annette. “Frauen und Scheidung im Vormärz: Mathilde Franziska Anneke. Ein Beitrag zum Scheidungsrecht und zur Scheidungswirklichkeit von Frauen im landrechtlichen Preußen,” (Köln: *Geschichte in Köln: Zeitschrift für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte* 34, no. 1, 1993), 67–98.

⁵ Contrary to the incorrect information in multiple publications about Mathilde Anneke, she was granted a divorce in 1841 and not in 1843.

⁶ Hanschke, Annette. “Frauen und Scheidung im Vormärz: Mathilde Franziska Anneke. Ein Beitrag zum Scheidungsrecht und zur Scheidungswirklichkeit von Frauen im landrechtlichen Preußen,” (Köln: *Geschichte in Köln: Zeitschrift für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte* 34, no. 1, 1993), 76.

⁷ Ibid., 91-92.

⁸ Mikus, Birgit. “Mathilde Franziska Anneke und ihre Texte – Menschenrechte literarisch“ in “*Die Vernunft befiehlt uns frei zu sein!*” *Mathilde Franziska Anneke: Demokratin, Frauenrechtlerin, Schriftstellerin*, ed. Karin Hockamp, Wilfried Korngiebel, and Susanne Slobodzian, (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2018), 102.

⁹ Tabouillot, Mathilde. *Producte der Rothen Erde*, (Münster: Coppenrath, 1846).

¹⁰ Henkel, Martin and Rolf Taubert. *Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen. Mathilde Franziska Anneke und die erste deutsche Frauenzeitung*, (Bochum: Verlag edition egalité. 1978), 15.

¹¹ Hockamp, Karin. “*Von vielem Geist und großer Herzensgüte*”: *Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-1884)*, (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 2012), 19.

¹² Tabouillot, Mathilde. *Des Christen freudiger Aufblick zum himmlischen Vater. Gebete und Betrachtungen*, (Wesel: Bagel 1839); Mathilde Tabouillot. *Der Meister ist da und ruft dich. Ein vollständiges Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch für die gebildete christkatholische Frauenwelt*, (Wesel: Bagel 1840).

¹³ Wagner, Maria. *Mathilde Franziska Anneke in Selbstzeugnissen und Dokumenten*, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1980), 423.

¹⁴ Arndt, Karl and May Olson. *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955*, (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), 345.

¹⁵ Möhrmann, Renate. *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz. Texte und Dokumente*, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1987), 220.

¹⁶ Mikus, Birgit. “Mathilde Franziska Anneke und ihre Texte – Menschenrechte literarisch,” in “*Die Vernunft befiehlt uns frei zu sein!*” *Mathilde Franziska Anneke: Demokratin, Frauenrechtlerin, Schriftstellerin*, ed. Karin Hockamp, Wilfried Korngiebel, and Susanne Slobodzian, (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2018), 106.

¹⁷ Anneke, Mathilde. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen, 1846-1847” in *Die deutschen 1848/1849er Revolutionäre und ihre Einflüsse in den USA / German 1848/49 Revolutionaries – their impact on 19th Century USA*, Ebook CD-ROM-Ausg.: (Wildberg: Belser Wiss. Dienst, Digitalisat der Original-Handschrift / Digital copy of the original handwritten pamphlet), [Courtesy of Dr. Rolf D. Schmid.]

¹⁸ Piepke, Susan L. *Mathilde Franziska Anneke, 1817-1884: The Works and Life of a German-American Activist, including English Translations of “Woman in Conflict with Society” and “Broken Chains,”* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 7; Stephani Richards-Wilson. “Mathilde Franziska Anneke (née Giesler).” In *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 2, edited by William J. Hausman. (German Historical Institute. Last modified June 30, 2014. <http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=204>).

¹⁹ Hanschke, Annette. “Frauen und Scheidung im Vormärz: Mathilde Franziska Anneke. Ein Beitrag zum Scheidungsrecht und zur Scheidungswirklichkeit von Frauen im landrechtlichen Preußen,” (Köln: *Geschichte in Köln: Zeitschrift für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte* 34, no. 1, 1993), 67-98.

²⁰ Möhrmann, Renate. *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz. Texte und Dokumente*, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1987), 227.

²¹ Hanschke, Annette. “Frauen und Scheidung im Vormärz: Mathilde Franziska Anneke. Ein Beitrag zum Scheidungsrecht und zur Scheidungswirklichkeit von Frauen im landrechtlichen Preußen,” (Köln: *Geschichte in Köln: Zeitschrift für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte* 34, no. 1, 1993), 69.

²² Aston, Louise. *Aus dem Leben einer Frau*, (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1847).

²³ Möhrmann, Renate. *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz. Texte und Dokumente*, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1987), 227-228.

²⁴ Joeres, Ruth-Ellen. *Respectability and Deviance: Nineteenth-Century German Women Writers and the Ambiguity of Representation*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 112-113.

²⁵ Anneke, Mathilde. Letter to Alexander Jonas, April 26, 1877. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 4, Folder 5).

²⁶ My translation.

²⁷ Hippele, Theodor Gottlieb. *Über die Ehe* [Nachdruck der anonym erschienenen Ausgabe von 1796], (Selb: Notos, 1976).

²⁸ Hippele, Theodor Gottlieb. *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weibe*, (Berlin: Voß, 1792).

²⁹ Schmiesing, Ann. “Theodor Gottlieb von Hippele’s *Über die Ehe* and *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber*: Moderate and Radical Contexts.” in *The Radical Enlightenment in Germany*. ed. Carl Niekerk, (Leiden/Boston: Brill-Rodopi, 2018), 265.

³⁰ Neiseke, Eric. „Theodor Gottlieb von Hippele als Fürsprecher einer egalitären Stellung der Geschlechter?“ in *Frauenrecht und Rechtsgeschichte. Die Rechtskämpfe der deutschen Frauenbewegung*. eds. Tatjana Aigner, Stephan Meder, Arne Duncker, and Andrea Czelk, (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), 228.

³¹ Anneke, Mathilde. Letter to Alexander Jonas, April 26, 1877. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848. (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 4, Folder 5).

³² Honeck, Mischa. *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 131.

³³ Louise Aston. *Wilde Rosen*, (Berlin: Moeser und Kühn, 1846), 5.

³⁴ Tabouillot, Mathilde. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen.” Deutsche Dichter der Neuzeit. II. Louise Aston. (Im Winter vor der Revolution geschrieben) 1846 – 1847. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 6, Folder 7), 4.

³⁵ Aston, Louise. *Meine Emancipation, Verweisung und Rechtfertigung*, (Brüssel: C. G. Vogler, 1846).

³⁶ Anneke, Mathilde. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen, 1846-1847” in *Die deutschen 1848/1849er Revolutionäre und ihre Einflüsse in den USA / German 1848/49 Revolutionaries – their impact on 19th Century USA*, Ebook CD-ROM-Ausg.: (Wildberg: Belser Wiss. Dienst, Digitalisat der Original-Handschrift / Digital copy of the original handwritten pamphlet), [Courtesy of Dr. Rolf D. Schmid.]; Mathilde Tabouillot, “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen.” Deutsche Dichter der Neuzeit. II. Louise Aston. (Im Winter vor der Revolution geschrieben) 1846 – 1847. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 6, Folder 7), 5.

³⁷ My translation.

³⁸ This translation does not follow the English translation by Piepke. Piepke, Susan L. *Mathilde Franziska Anneke, 1817-1884: The Works and Life of a German-American Activist, including English Translations of “Woman in Conflict with Society” and “Broken Chains,”* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006).

³⁹ Anneke, Mathilde. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen, 1846-1847” in *Die deutschen 1848/1849er Revolutionäre und ihre Einflüsse in den USA / German 1848/49 Revolutionaries – their impact on 19th Century USA*, Ebook CD-ROM-Ausg.: (Wildberg: Belser Wiss. Dienst, Digitalisat der Original-Handschrift / Digital copy of the original handwritten pamphlet), [Courtesy of Dr. Rolf D. Schmid.]; Mathilde Tabouillot. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen.” Deutsche Dichter der Neuzeit. II. Louise Aston. (Im Winter vor der Revolution geschrieben) 1846 – 1847. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 6, Folder 7), 5-6.

⁴⁰ My translation.

⁴¹ Anneke, Mathilde. Letter to Alexander Jonas, April 26, 1877. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848. (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 4, Folder 5).

⁴² Anneke, Mathilde. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen, 1846-1847” in *Die deutschen 1848/1849er Revolutionäre und ihre Einflüsse in den USA / German 1848/49 Revolutionaries – their impact on 19th Century USA*, Ebook CD-ROM-Ausg.: (Wildberg: Belser Wiss. Dienst, Digitalisat der Original-Handschrift / Digital copy of the original handwritten pamphlet), [Courtesy of Dr. Rolf D. Schmid.]; Mathilde Tabouillot. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen.” *Deutsche Dichter der Neuzeit*. II. Louise Aston. (Im Winter vor der Revolution geschrieben) 1846 – 1847. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 6, Folder 7), 12.

⁴³ Möhrmann, Renate. *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz. Texte und Dokumente* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1987), 223.

⁴⁴ Anneke, Mathilde. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen, 1846-1847” in *Die deutschen 1848/1849er Revolutionäre und ihre Einflüsse in den USA / German 1848/49 Revolutionaries – their impact on 19th Century USA*, Ebook CD-ROM-Ausg.: (Wildberg: Belser Wiss. Dienst, Digitalisat der Original-Handschrift / Digital copy of the original handwritten pamphlet), [Courtesy of Dr. Rolf D. Schmid.]; Mathilde Tabouillot. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen.” *Deutsche Dichter der Neuzeit*. II. Louise Aston. (Im Winter vor der Revolution geschrieben) 1846 – 1847. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 6, Folder 7), 12.

⁴⁵ My translation.

⁴⁶ Anneke, Mathilde. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen, 1846-1847” in *Die deutschen 1848/1849er Revolutionäre und ihre Einflüsse in den USA / German 1848/49 Revolutionaries – their impact on 19th Century USA*, Ebook CD-ROM-Ausg.: (Wildberg: Belser Wiss. Dienst, Digitalisat der Original-Handschrift / Digital copy of the original handwritten pamphlet), [Courtesy of Dr. Rolf D. Schmid.]; Mathilde Tabouillot. “Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen.” *Deutsche Dichter der Neuzeit*. II. Louise Aston. (Im Winter vor der Revolution geschrieben) 1846 – 1847. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 6, Folder 7), 13-14.

⁴⁷ My translation. “Ammenmilch” is a play of words on the German “Ammenmärchen” (fairy story).

⁴⁸ Mikus, Birgit. “Mathilde Franziska Anneke und ihre Texte – Menschenrechte literarisch,” in *“Die Vernunft befiehlt uns frei zu sein!” Mathilde Franziska Anneke: Demokratin, Frauenrechtlerin, Schriftstellerin*, ed. Karin Hockamp, Wilfried Korngiebel, and Susanne Slobodzian, (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2018), 109.

⁴⁹ Bank, Michaela. *Women of Two Countries: German-American Women, Women’s Rights and Nativism, 1848-1890*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 69.

⁵⁰ Hockamp, Karin. *“Von vielem Geist und großer Herzengüte”: Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-1884)*, (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 2012), 7.

⁵¹ Anneke, Mathilde. Letter to Alexander Jonas, April 26, 1877. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848. (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society. Box 4, Folder 5).

⁵² Hockamp, Karin. *“Von vielem Geist und großer Herzengüte”: Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-1884)*, (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 2012).

⁵³ Ortlepp, Antje. *Auf denn, ihr Schwestern!: deutschamerikanische Frauenvereine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1844-1914*, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 153-154.

⁵⁴ Wagner, Maria. *Mathilde Franziska Anneke in Selbstzeugnissen und Dokumenten*, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1980), 308.

⁵⁵ Anneke, Mathilde. Letter to her sister Johanna Weiskirch, March 30, 1865. Fritz Anneke and Mathilde Franziska Anneke Papers, 1791-1848. (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, Box 1, Folder 4). My translation.

”Warum noch länger die demütige Magd,
die ihrem Herrn die Füße wäscht?“

⁵⁶ Efford, Alison Clark. *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 50.

⁵⁷ Bank, Michaela. *Women of Two Countries: German-American Women, Women’s Rights and Nativism, 1848-1890*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 69.