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‘An unbroken family’? Gertrud Bäumer and the German Women’s Movement’s Return to Internationalism in the 1920s

Ingrid Sharp

At the end of the First World War, the international women’s organisations presented a unified face to the world, claiming to have emerged from the conflict as an ‘unbroken family’. However, the return to internationalism was not as straightforward as this suggests and there were many barriers to re-establishing the links that had been interrupted by the conflict. Reintegration into the international community was particularly challenging for women in defeated nations, especially for those who had engaged in patriotic war work and identified strongly with the bitter fate of their nation. By exploring the difficult return of the German women’s leader, Gertrud Bäumer, to working with the international organisations, this article will highlight some of the obstacles and ambiguities they faced in their project of restoring the ‘imagined community’ of international women activists in the aftermath of a brutal conflict that had established war and peace as matters of vital feminist concern.

Emerging from the First World War in 1918 were three main international women’s organisations, two of which had existed before 1914: the International Council of Women (ICW) founded in Washington DC in 1888, the International Women’s Suffrage Alliance (IWSA - Alliance) founded in Berlin in 1904¹; and a newcomer, the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).² The WILPF had been founded as the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace at the International Women’s Congress at The Hague in 1915 and represented the desire of a minority of women within the suffrage movement to use their international contacts in the cause of peace, even in the midst of the war.³ These organisations were keen to restore or build on the international relations that had been interrupted or restricted by the war, and their public statements very soon claimed that this was indeed the case. ICW president Lady Aberdeen addressed the first post-war meeting of the organisation in 1920, claiming that they had emerged from the war as ‘an unbroken family’;⁴ a report on the first meeting of the Alliance in Geneva in 1920 reflected optimism that ‘women had come as a new force into the politics of the world. Through the Alliance they could be a humanitarian and internationalising force, and a great power for good’.⁵ The WILPF met in Geneva in 1919 and

presented a demonstrative unity between women of former enemy nations that contrasted starkly with the approach of the men negotiating peace in Paris.⁶

However, the process of re-establishing international links was by no means as straightforward as this public face suggests.⁷ What was presented as the natural solidarity of women coming together unproblematically in the post-war world in fact represents a triumph of strategy and will within international women's organisations determined to restore the international community of women as a first step to 'heal the wounds the war has caused and to bridge the gaps that have divided nation from nation'⁸ while also continuing, in many cases, to respect the competing national commitments and loyalties of different members.

This article will explore the obstacles to restoring harmony within the international women's organisations in the decade following the war. Taking the case of Dr Gertrud Bäumer, leader of the main German umbrella group, the League of German Women's Organisations, (Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine, BDF) from 1910-1919, who had co-ordinated the National Women's Service (Nationaler Frauendienst, NFD) during the war, it will trace the particular set of challenges faced by nationally-minded women in a defeated nation, where bitterness over the defeat and resentment over the terms of the peace created powerful obstacles to internationalism. Using Bäumer's own writings, it will explore what she describes as 'the most decisive struggle' of her life,⁹ her journey from intense scepticism about the value and effectiveness of international women's organisations in 1920 to the view she expressed in 1928 that they were 'perhaps the most powerful force of transnational understanding'.¹⁰ In tracing Bäumer's gradual and tentative reintegration into the international women's organisations after 1918 and her apparent conversion to a strong position of female international co-operation as a force for peace by 1928, this article will offer an insight into what has been a neglected aspect of scholarship in Germany. More particularly, it will highlight some of the barriers to internationalism in the post-war world, and examine the strategies within the international women's organisations that ultimately made international co-operation possible and the motivations that made it a desirable goal, even an urgent priority, for women activists in the inter-war period.

The problems that worked against post-war co-operation between former enemy nations affected the women activists just as much as they did the rest of the population. Women were influenced by the continued mind-sets of war, by the difficulties of communication and barriers to civilian travel, by the

terms of the peace treaties and the bitterness over lost lives and destroyed infrastructure, and by all the unresolved issues arising from occupation, invasion and aggression. Women in defeated nations continued to suffer from the effects of a blockade that was slowly starving the most vulnerable members of society, an issue that was particularly acute in Austria and Germany, where child mortality was high and surviving children were dangerously underweight.¹¹ These nations were also destabilised by revolutionary unrest, the collapse of empire and acute economic insecurity, for example the galloping inflation and soaring exchange rates against foreign currency experienced in both Germany and Austria in the early 1920s. The humiliation and shock of defeat and the punitive terms of the peace, plus the hostility and rejection by some national women's organisations in Allied states made many women in defeated nations shy away from international contacts, either from inner conviction or because domestic public opinion viewed such contact as a betrayal of a nation under siege. Furthermore, the granting of suffrage complicated international women's solidarity by bringing party politics into the women's organisations. Often those women who were most active in international feminism were also those politically engaged in their own nations, which added competing political allegiances to existing national and ideological divisions, undermining pre-war consensus over a shared women's position. Even within the WILPF, an organisation that had emerged from an act of wartime solidarity and had been kept alive by expressions of mutual support during the conflict, it was enormously difficult to overcome the bitterness that divided former enemies and threatened to tear apart the organisation's fragile unity.¹²

'Superfluous, untimely, impossible and tactless' Gertrud Bäumer's problematic relationship with wartime internationalism

If women of the WILPF, who had stood together against nationalism during the war, found the post-war maintenance of international solidarity difficult, how much more so must it have been for those nationally-minded women who identified themselves deeply with the fate of their nations, had spent the war years engaged in patriotic war work and had often very publicly distanced themselves from international links? This article seeks to address this question by looking at the case of Gertrud Bäumer, who was a central figure in the German women's movement throughout the Weimar Republic. Bäumer can be seen as representative of the German women's movement because of the large number of members represented in her organisation¹³ and her position as the most prominent

and highest ranking of its spokeswomen.¹⁴

For German historian Irene Stoehr, Bäumer's shifting attitudes to internationalism and pacifism can be seen as indicative of the attitudes of the majority within the middle-class women's movement in Germany.¹⁵ She published widely in the BDF journals *Die Frau*, which she co-edited, and *Die Frauenfrage* as well as in the mainstream press. What is more, from 1914 to 1918 she had published a *Heimatchronik* or 'Home Diary', which had appeared weekly in the newspaper *Die Hilfe* and monthly in *Die Frau*, recording the unfolding events of the war as seen from the perspective of women on the home front. Her political career was remarkable, and indeed for its length and success remained an exception in Weimar politics.¹⁶ She was elected to the first national assembly in January 1919 and became Deputy Leader of the left-liberal German Democratic Party (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*, DDP), which formed part of the governing coalition from 1919-1930, and rose to prominence as ministerial advisor on school and youth welfare in the Ministry of the Interior, the only woman to reach such prominence.¹⁷

Although she was removed from office in 1933 and the BDF dissolved, Bäumer has attracted controversy because she remained as co-editor of *Die Frau*, which appeared throughout most of the Third Reich, and was seen by some as expressing support for the regime.¹⁸ *Die Frau* was the main organ of the BDF, appearing monthly from 1893 to 1944 and, as Kathleen Canning has noted, engaging eagerly with issues of citizenship in the post-suffrage years after 1918.¹⁹ Bäumer herself claimed that she had preserved the journal as a space for feminist ideas and as a site of resistance to National Socialist policies, but even her close associates expressed doubts whether this aim was worth the inevitable compromises and unintended consequences it entailed.²⁰ Historians have shared these doubts: writing in 1976, Richard Evans was highly critical of her position even before 1933, seeing in her national-mindedness the seeds of a darker nationalism.²¹ More recent scholarship, such as that by Eric Kurlander and Anglika Schaser, takes a more nuanced approach, Schaser characterising Bäumer's post-1933 activities as incorporating elements of both courageous opposition and accommodation²² and Kurlander noting that the post-1933 articles in *Die Frau* did not in fact shy away from 'pointed criticism or trenchant analysis' of National Socialist policies concerning women.²³ It is beyond the scope of this article to consider questions of Bäumer's complicity with National Socialism or to offer a detailed assessment of the extent to which Bäumer moved away from her position on international co-operation after the early 1930s. Instead, it will be taking the view that

Germany's hosting of the jubilee congress of the International Congress of the Alliance in 1929 represents the high point of post-war reintegration into the international community of women for both Gertrud Bäumer and the German women's organisations she represented.

During the First World War, Bäumer's enthusiastic and effective co-ordination of patriotic war work in the NFD had been supported by statements of inner solidarity with the German nation at war and public condemnation of the International Women's Congress at The Hague in 1915 as 'superfluous, [...] untimely, [...] impossible [...] and tactless'.²⁴ As in most nations, the BDF broke off international links at the outbreak of the war and turned its attention towards supporting Germany's war effort in every way possible, seeing success in this as 'the great test of strength' of the women's movement itself.²⁵ After the war, Bäumer did not return enthusiastically or unproblematically to international activities, yet despite this reluctance and her reputation as a nationalist, she achieved a highly international career during the 1920s, during which she was active in both the ICW and the Alliance, in her capacity as a ministerial adviser and as one of the first delegates to the League of Nations after Germany's admission in 1926, serving also on the Traffic in Women and Child Welfare Committee from 1928 to 1932.²⁶ This aspect of German women's internationalism has been somewhat neglected in scholarship, with few English-language publications available: Leila Rupp's seminal work, *Worlds of Women*, covers the restoration of international relations in the ICW, the Alliance and the WILPF from the point of view of the organisations,²⁷ but in the main, as Jennifer Davy noted in 2002, the emphasis has been very much on the WILPF rather than on nationally-minded women, as the peace campaigners of the First World War provide a positive historic point of identification for women's and gender historians.²⁸

German scholars Ute Gerhard and Irene Stoehr have researched and written on the internationalism of nationally-minded women,²⁹ while Sabine Hering's 1990 study condemned Bäumer's wartime record as compromising feminist goals by siding with militarism.³⁰ Two unpublished doctoral dissertations by Carol Miller and Irmtraud Remme provide useful information about Bäumer's post-war involvement in international organisations and the League of Nations³¹, while Angelika Schaser's political biography of Bäumer and her partner Helene Lange discusses her parliamentary career.³² Rafael Scheck and Christiane Streubel have written on right-wing nationalist women's sustained public campaign against Bäumer and the BDF,³³ and Julia Sneeringer's work on political parties' appeal to female voters offers a valuable insight into the German political context.³⁴ Writing in

1994, Gerhard notes the difficulty of reconstructing the history of internationalism in the bourgeois German women's movement due to the destruction of sources under National Socialism and during the Second World War as well as the scattering of archival materials throughout the world. She also notes that international reflections take up only a small amount of space in official histories of the movement written during the inter-war period and concludes from this that this aspect of German women's activities was not considered central by the women themselves.³⁵ In contrast, Bäumer's writings on internationalism peaked during the inter-war years, especially between 1922 and 1929.³⁶

This article will focus on Bäumer's own words, particularly her articles in *Die Frau* and other published expressions of her shifting attitude to international co-operation aimed at a national and international audiences. The sentiments expressed in her published sources are of course aimed at a public readership and cannot be taken as unmediated access to her private convictions, but they are echoed in her private correspondence and backed up by increased activity in the international sphere from her first attendance at a meeting of the ICW in 1922 to her speeches at congresses in Paris in 1926, Berlin in 1929 and Vienna in 1930.

'A superficial exchange of words.' Obstacles to Internationalism in the Aftermath of War

As noted above, the outward-facing rhetoric of the major international women's organisations was of uninterrupted sisterhood and an uncomplicated return to harmony in the aftermath of war, which might suggest a level of naivety about the barriers to be overcome. In fact there was a great deal of realism in the leaders' understanding of the forces that could continue to divide women from the former enemy nations and the difficulty of the task ahead: in 1920, Alliance president Carrie Chapman Catt wrote in a private letter to Aletta Jacobs 'I agree with you that it is the task of women to save the world from the results of this terrible man-made war, but I am sure I do not know how to go at it'.³⁷ As the appeal to 'fellow women' in the first post-war issue of *Jus Suffragii*, signed by British pacifists Helena Swanwick, Maude Royden, Margaret Ashton and Kathleen Courtney, notes: 'the bitter memories of the last 51 months will be unendurable unless we pour over them the balm of reconciliation. Always in past history the brooding over wrongs and grief has led to further wrong' and calls on women not to allow past bitterness to poison a future in which 'women of the International Alliance once more clasp hands all the world over.'³⁸ In the same issue, Isabella Ford articulates the belief that 'it is only internationalism in its best and widest sense [...] that can build the new world for which we all long so

ardently', and calls for 'the women in the Alliance without one exception to draw together again in even closer comradeship than before'.³⁹

The expression of internationalism and the outward denial of rupture can thus be seen as both an acknowledgement of but also a desire to break the cycle of bitterness that would lead to new and terrible conflict. This position was initially rejected by the leaders of the BDF: beyond an appeal to women in victorious nations to use their influence to end the blockade that prevented food from reaching a starving German population, Bäumer did not set out to restore international links in the immediate aftermath of war.⁴⁰ In 1920 she considered the ICW 'powerless and insubstantial'⁴¹ and wondered how the women's movement would ever 'find its way back to one another after all that had happened.'⁴² When former ICW president May Wright Sewall wrote in a personal letter to the BDF in April 1919 that 'for our ICW there has been no war [...] All of our councils are allied; each equally with all the others',⁴³ she failed to take into account the German women's perception of continued hostilities that continued to a greater or lesser extent throughout the early 1920s, not least as a result of the Allies' occupation of the Rhineland from 1920, and the Franco-Belgian invasion of the Ruhr in 1923. As Helene Lange expressed it in 1920, a precondition for taking up active membership of the ICW was peace, but 'for us there is not yet peace.'⁴⁴

Internationalism, whether in terms of the government's foreign policy, links with international organisations or simply espousing an internationalist outlook, was a highly contentious concept in post-war Germany and was liable to stir up and cement internal divisions within women's organisations. Bäumer's BDF emerged from the war numerically large, but threatened and attacked in print on the one side by right-wing nationalist women and on the other by the radical pacifists of the WILPF.⁴⁵ In particular, the rise of a powerful and vocal right-wing nationalist women's movement committed to maintaining the mind-sets of war complicated the return to international relations. Christiane Streubel describes the founding of the Ring of Nationalist Women (Ring Nationaler Frauen) in January 1920 as directly aimed at competing with the BDF for members.⁴⁶ This was most troubling in the early years of the Ring's existence, when its leaders had influence on public opinion through the national press and the rising popularity of the nationalist parties, the German National People's Party (Deutschnationale Volkspartei, DNVP) and the more moderate German People's Party (Deutsche Volkspartei, DVP). Bäumer's and other prominent BDF women's membership of the DDP was also a complicating factor in the return to international-mindedness as the support for their party dwindled at

the same time as the 'reactionary, anti-republican and monarchist' DNVP doubled its share of the national vote up to 1924 'through its strict opposition to the Weimar system and its advocacy of a confrontational foreign policy'.⁴⁷

Within the BDF itself the views of right-wing members had to be accommodated - Emma Ender, who took over from Marianne Weber in 1921 and served as president of the BDF from July 1924 to 1931, was herself a member of the DVP. The BDF was also pushed by the sympathies of many of its members and fear of secession by its more conservative groups to consider ways of working with nationalist women – Streubel notes that these discussions took up a great deal of their agenda, while possible cooperation with Social Democratic women rarely even merited a mention.⁴⁸ However, the organisation took care not to move too far to the right, even while retaining its membership of right-wing groups such as the German Defence League and the Women's Committee for the Struggle against the War-guilt Lie (Frauenausschuss zur Bekämpfung der Schuldlüge) founded 1921, until 1925.⁴⁹ Although the nationalist women, as 'the BDF's most dangerous opponents',⁵⁰ were largely unsuccessful in poaching members, they were able to embarrass and misrepresent the BDF, most notably through personal attacks on Bäumer. Bäumer's defensiveness can be clearly seen in the BDF Yearbooks of 1920 and 1921: in 1920, her report was an uncomfortable document in which Bäumer was forced to justify her war record against accusations that 'the League is characterised by an internationalism that is alien to German nature ('volksfremd')'.⁵¹ In all her contributions to the yearbook, she was at pains to spell out that the BDF was first and foremost a national organisation, dedicated to unity above party politics and to the German nation above everything else.⁵²

Bäumer's writings in 1918-20 reveal that not only was internationalism a low priority due to the pressing and immediate needs of the nation, but that she to some extent shared the antipathy towards the victorious nations that dominated public discourse. In her article in *Die Frau* of December 1918, 'Between the Times' ('Zwischen den Zeiten'), she described the armistice conditions as 'paragraph by paragraph an expression of a simple desire to destroy' and embodying 'the principle of violence in the most naked brutality imaginable'.⁵³ She showed her commitment to preserving a nationalist sense of the meaning of the war, describing it as having been conducted with honour and having awakened the 'most noble moral powers' in the German people. 'To retain a sense of that is demanded by our self-respect and a duty towards the dead'.⁵⁴ Her writings at this time reflect a

sceptical, even hostile attitude to internationalism, using language that suggests a continuation of war mentality and an explicit rejection of the humiliating terms of the 'peace'. In November 1918, the BDF published a declaration in the German press opposing the armistice and those who signed it, stating that German women 'can have no faith in a "just peace" whose first condition is to expect the German nation to place its internal affairs under the control of external forces' and that rather than accept such dishonourable terms, 'women, too, would be prepared to lend their strength to a struggle for survival to the bitter end'.⁵⁵

This echoes the entries in Bäumer's Home Diary, which she continued to publish until 23 June 1919 and which show the enormous and rapid changes the German nation was subject to from October 1918. Her entry for 10 November 1918 records her response to the armistice conditions: 'at first there's only the wild, outraged feeling that someone has placed their foot on our neck. Yes, one feels crushed. Then comes the fear'.⁵⁶ On 9 March 1919 she wrote 'every sentence in the negotiations with the enemy is like a blow with a cudgel'⁵⁷ and on 7 May, when the terms of peace treaty had been made known, 'now one can understand the ancient gesture of covering one's head: one doesn't want to see or be seen by anyone'.⁵⁸

Bäumer's first speech in the National Assembly in February 1919 (printed in *Die Frau*, April 1919) began with a heartfelt vote of thanks to the German army 'for every duty done, every spark of courage and self-denial and every valiant death'.⁵⁹ The speech issued a warning and a challenge to the international women's movement: if they failed to speak out against the injustice of the armistice conditions and the continued blockade, German women's desire to heal the wounds of war 'will suffocate in blood and violence'.⁶⁰ This was echoed in Helene Lange's statement of August 1920 that 'the women of our enemies should know that it will not be so easy to build a bridge over the monstrous injustice of this peace' and her demand that the ICW should openly declare their support for Germany.⁶¹

The ICW did not meet until 1920, and then it met without German women.⁶² Despite apparent urging by the German government,⁶³ Bäumer refused to attend the first meeting in Oslo (Kristiania) until the ICW's attitude to Germany's exclusion from the League of Nations had been clarified. Writing in *Die Frau* in October 1920, Bäumer defended her decision in terms that reveal her sceptical attitude towards the value of international links.⁶⁴ She wrote that for anyone who had fully experienced the 'rivers of blood' and 'seas of pain' of the war years, 'the revival of so powerless and insubstantial an

organisation as the old one [i.e. ICW] is impossible to reconcile with inner feelings.’ and claimed that in the face of Germany’s ‘monstrous fate [...] we do not feel able to join in with such a superficial exchange of words’.⁶⁵ To the reproach of the ICW for their absence, in which they were admonished for not showing the ‘love that is demanded of all of us, also and perhaps especially from the German women’,⁶⁶ Bäumer replied that it was not primarily the BDF’s job to ‘create pleasant situations for others’, but rather to express their convictions honestly ‘and we can’t help it if by doing so we necessarily disturb illusions of friendship’.⁶⁷ For Bäumer, women’s suffrage in a number of countries, including Germany, had fundamentally changed the relationship of women to international politics: while previously it had been possible to express a vague and sentimental desire for peace, the new circumstances demanded concrete policies and shared responsibility.⁶⁸ In this new context, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles could not be swept under the carpet:

Anyone who wants a renewal of relations between peoples in the spirit of real inner and outward solidarity of nations, cannot ignore the injustice, the senselessness of Versailles.

While that stands it is an eternal obstacle to anything new that could emerge.⁶⁹

A similar decision was taken not to attend the Alliance Congress in Geneva that same year, but it is notable that the very public boycott of the international congresses in 1920 was in fact rather permeable. Although prominent BDF member Alice Salomon was absent from the congress itself, she did spend the summer of 1920 in Oslo helping with preparations, and was elected deputy leader in absentia.⁷⁰ The BDF sent a report of its activities along with a letter assuring the ICW of its desire for continued membership.⁷¹ While the Alliance congress report for 1920 lists no German delegates at its Geneva conference, there are in fact three German women listed under different headings – the Social Democrat Adele Schreiber as officer of the Alliance, Lida Gustava Heymann representing the WILPF and BDF member Marie Stritt present in her role as official government delegate.⁷²

‘Rebuilding nations in the spirit of trust.’ Bäumer’s return to international work in the 1920s

Despite the sensitivity of internationalism in the German context, articles in *Die Frau* from 1922 onwards show a gradual moving together on the international scene that can be understood as both pragmatic, especially after 1923, when her position was broadly in line with DDP party politics, and emotionally heartfelt. In 1922, Bäumer attended the executive meeting of the ICW at The Hague, noting in her report that the German delegation was met by every member of the ICW with tact,

friendship and a genuine desire to work with German women as equals.⁷³ She expressed the view that no German woman 'however deeply her soul is wounded by the fate of her own land' could have resisted the appeal of their reception. Distancing herself from her previous scepticism, she wrote that 'before the war we did not realise how much moral strength really lies in these women's organisations, in their work together and their inter-connectedness'.⁷⁴ For Bäumer, the shared fate of women, particularly those who had experienced the war as belligerents, was 'unifying in a very profound sense' and she was left with feelings of gratitude and hope: '[g]ratitude for the kindness, hope for a future in which women's community will become more and more a force that will influence and shape the world'.⁷⁵

During this period, too, one of the oldest women's organisations, the General German Women's Union (Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein, ADF), founded in 1865 by Auguste Schmidt and led by Helene Lange from 1901 to 1921, underwent a surprising change of direction to embrace internationalism. In 1923, under the leadership of Dorothee von Velsen and Else Ulich Beil, the organisation, now renamed the League of Women Citizens (Staatsbürgerinnenbund), stepped into the gap left by the dissolution of the Reich Association for Female Suffrage (Reichsverband für Frauenstimmrecht) led by Marie Stritt after suffrage had been awarded in 1919.⁷⁶ Bäumer remained very engaged with the organisation and both von Velsen and Beil represented Bäumer at congresses abroad when parliamentary duties prevented her from travelling.⁷⁷ Von Velsen's reflections on the nature of international cooperation in *Die Frau* in September and November 1922⁷⁸ reveal an open-minded attitude that embraced international congresses as a forum to represent German interests abroad, but equally saw such interaction as a two-way process in which German women had to be open to the viewpoints of women of other nations. In particular, von Velsen criticised the attitude of right-wing women, who were at that time seeking to use international congresses as a way simply to hammer home their sense of Germany's unjust treatment at the hands of the international community, which in von Velsen's view was counterproductive as well as confirming foreign prejudices about German gracelessness.⁷⁹

By 1926, Germany's position on the international scene had improved as a result of Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann's conciliatory foreign policies. Germany's international rehabilitation – and in particular its mending of relations with France – was expressed in the Locarno Treaties of 1925 and Germany's admission to the League of Nations 'under the most favourable circumstances possible' as

a permanent member of the Security Council in September 1926.⁸⁰ Bäumer was a member of the first German delegation serving on a special committee from 1928-1932, and we see that her attitude to the League mirrored her shift towards international rapprochement. Bäumer moved from a position of intense scepticism in 1918 - 'we can have no confidence in a League of Nations based on Germany's trampled honour'⁸¹ - to a conviction that the League offered women a genuine international platform to co-operate in the prevention of war. Writing in 1927, she declared that 'all forms of international women's work have been transformed by the existence of the League of Nations'.⁸² In her memoirs, Bäumer describes herself as feeling immediately at home in the League because of her existing connections with the ICW and the Alliance⁸³ and in fact Remme notes that through their work within the international organisations German women had already been active in the League long before 1926.⁸⁴ In contrast to the frustration felt by women of the WILPF at the League's failure to overcome national self-interest,⁸⁵ Bäumer understood that it was primarily a forum in which national interests could be negotiated and was able to take a pragmatic view of what could be achieved: 'it is here that internationalism reaches its limits – in this necessity to respect the individual will of the nations'.⁸⁶ She was certainly not uncritical, and the League's failure to enforce disarmament equally on its member states is seen as a crucial flaw,⁸⁷ but she felt that the League offered a rational basis for a new international politics, in which the nations could 'patiently and truthfully' work together to lay the foundations for cooperation 'stone by stone'.⁸⁸ In 1926 she wrote of a 'moral force' within the League that drew the nations together, independently of their national interests.⁸⁹

In July 1926, Bäumer was ready to share her views at the Alliance congress in Paris. In the first public meeting addressed by Germans in France, speaking in French to a public audience of over 3,500, Bäumer was there primarily to offer an outline of her political work.⁹⁰ In an addition to the speech, which she described in her memoirs as 'walking a tightrope' because of the delicacy of the situation,⁹¹ Bäumer referred to the 'tendresse' felt by one soldier for another, even for the enemy. She declared that she felt the same for the women in enemy nations who had suffered and sacrificed during the war, declaring that 'the ideal of rebuilding nations in the spirit of trust is worth living and even dying for'.⁹² The speech was greeted by thunderous applause, and one of the French delegates, Madame Malaterre-Sellier, described as having worked for French-German reconciliation for years, responded warmly on behalf of the French women "'tell the German women'" and after a second's hesitation – "tell our German sisters [...] that we have understood what they are saying to us and that

they can count on us”’. She followed these words with a spontaneous public embrace that pleased the crowd as well as the press in both France and Germany.

In May 1927, the same year in which the Tannenberg memorial was unveiled in East Prussia alongside a militarist celebration of Hindenburg’s ‘great’ victory over the Russians in September 1914,⁹³ Bäumer described a visit to Verdun war cemetery in which she reflected on the shared heroism of French and German soldiers. Making no distinction between them, she concluded that the legacy of their suffering did not match the price paid and even questioning the nation’s right to ask for such a sacrifice. ‘Are such deaths fruitful?’ she asked, ‘as fruitful as a full life?’⁹⁴ For Bäumer the final balance of accounts was negative – the war had not been worth the loss of life.⁹⁵ This international outlook was also evident in Bäumer’s review of a collection of fallen students’ war letters which had been published in 1928.⁹⁶ Here she made her stance very clear: the letters certainly demonstrated the heroism of those who had fought: ‘the individuals stood the test of a fate that they had not wanted and were not responsible for’, but this did not in any sense justify the war itself, indeed the letters were ‘a solemn and compelling accusation’.⁹⁷

In 1929, the Alliance’s Silver Jubilee congress in Berlin represented the full rehabilitation of German women on the international scene and was a public statement of their successful reintegration into international organisations. The congress, which fell the year after the Kellogg-Briand pact and enjoyed the full support of the German government, the co-operation of the German WILPF members and a generally sympathetic press response, ended with a public demonstration reflecting women’s continued commitment to peace. Bäumer’s speech on this occasion summed up her conviction that harmony in international relations depended on ‘mutual respect for other nations’ right to existence’ and the ‘recognition of their human interconnection [...] as something real, not just as an insubstantial dream’,⁹⁸ in her case combined with ‘a blood connection with my own people’. Bäumer made clear that her own road to international co-operation had not been easy and that she spoke for those who, like her, found reconciling ‘duties towards their nation and the demands of a new era in human development [...] the most decisive struggle of their lives’.⁹⁹ This reflects views expressed in Bäumer’s 1928 publication, ‘The women’s movement as international phenomenon’, and reveals the extent to which she had embraced the concept of an international community of women whose inter-connection rested on a deep mutual understanding that transcended any external cooperation.¹⁰⁰

'The spiritual dismantling of the war.' Difficulties on the road to internationalism

The account offered above could suggest a seamless progression in Bäumer's thinking and feeling once the initial post-war scepticism had been overcome, but there were difficulties and hurdles along the way. Some of these were internal to the women's organisations, for example, a history of the Alliance, co-written for the organisation's Golden Jubilee in 1955 by German founder member Adele Schreiber, records that at the first post-war congress in Geneva in 1920, Belgian women refused to cooperate with German members, and French women tried to insist on an apology for atrocities committed by German occupation forces during the war, which Marie Stritt as an official government delegate was unable to offer.¹⁰¹ Presumably this kind of incident was precisely what Bäumer had wished to avoid when she refused to attend the ICW congress. At both the next Alliance congress in Rome, 1923 and at the Washington quinquennial congress of the ICW in 1925, there was controversy over the public laying of a wreath at Italian and US war graves respectively.¹⁰² In 1924, German women felt unable to attend the London conference on 'The prevention of the causes of war' as it was not possible to raise issues related to the punitive peace treaty.¹⁰³ Because Germany had been forced to disarm as part of the conditions of the Versailles peace settlement while other nations retained their military capacity, disarmament remained a sensitive issue throughout the inter-war period and could be divisive whenever it was discussed.¹⁰⁴ It is clear that the failure of the World Disarmament Conference in 1932 was important in Bäumer's apparent disillusionment with the League after 1932. In articles written after the National Socialist takeover in 1933 and doubtless constrained by the new national context, although she stopped short of commenting directly on Germany's withdrawal from the League, Bäumer continued to express impatience with the League's failure to limit arms equally in all nations.¹⁰⁵ What is more, in 1938, in an article entitled 'The Curse is Lifting', she appeared to embrace the Munich agreement as a correction to the unjust terms of Versailles,¹⁰⁶ the peace treaty that she had identified in 1920 as an 'eternal obstacle' to a new world order and which the League of Nations had in her view never seriously challenged.¹⁰⁷

Nationalist women, some of whom were present at international meetings, also caused difficulties. In 1926, there was a minor incident at the Alliance congress in Paris, when the old imperial flag was mistakenly used in place of the new republican colours, and right-wing women took offence in a highly public manner when this error was corrected.¹⁰⁸ In 1929, the Alliance congress in Berlin

was challenged by the attitude of nationalist German women who wanted to use the event as a platform to protest against the injustice of the Versailles settlement and in fact organised a public demonstration to mark the Treaty's tenth year anniversary to coincide with the closing ceremony on 23 June, the date on which Germany had been given no option but to sign.¹⁰⁹ The nationalist women's criticism of the BDF was played out in public through the right-wing press – for example even the very low-key presence of a few German women in Geneva in 1920 prompted DNVP member Pia Sophia Rogge to describe the performance of these women on the first page of the right-wing *Deutsche Zeitung* as 'doglike bootlicking' and beg for forgiveness from the fallen German soldiers, 'whose graves had been abased' by these 'rootless, homeless, mollusc-like wretches'.¹¹⁰ The most prolonged attack was directed against Gertrud Bäumer in response to the 1927 article 'Mai über Verdun' discussed above, and came to be known as 'The Bäumer Case'.¹¹¹ Beda Prillipp, leader of the Ring Nationaler Frauen, expressed her horror at Bäumer's sympathy for fallen French soldiers: 'in your words, Gertrud Bäumer, we do not feel the beat of a German heart'.¹¹² Even more difficult to swallow was Bäumer's judgement that the war had not in the end been worth the suffering and loss of life:

Who gives you, Gertrud Bäumer, the right to deny and denigrate before all the world [...] that which is most holy to us women, to our nation: the memory of our fallen?¹¹³

That Bäumer in 1927 was still being forced to defend herself from attack for expressing sentiments of empathy that reached across national boundaries shows how little the right-wing forces had managed to overcome the mind-sets of the war. Where Bäumer saw the French and German soldiers as motivated by same principles, moved by same desire to defend their nation, Prillipp's sympathies were limited to her own nation's dead and any move towards understanding was seen as a betrayal expressed in fulminating language still redolent of the hatred and bitterness of war. 'The Bäumer case' also shows very clearly how even markedly nationally-minded women were vulnerable to accusations of lack of patriotism if they moved towards international reconciliation.

In fact, a major factor in the slow return to internationalism was Bäumer's own emotional attachment to her nation, which at first rebelled at cooperation with enemies she believed were continuing to crush Germany after 1918 through the terms of the armistice, the continued blockade and most of all through the punitive terms of the Versailles Treaty.¹¹⁴ In contrast to the women of the WILPF, Bäumer remained consistent in her strong emotional identification with Germany's national fate and in prioritising this over international co-operation. Crucially, it is only when she was able to

harness this emotional nationalism that she could commit fully to international work and begin work on 'the spiritual dismantling of the war' ('seelische Liquidation des Krieges').¹¹⁵ In this way the experience of the war that had divided women could be used as a basis for their shared response. In her memoirs, Bäumer described the first emotional reunion with French and British women in 1922, stating that 'only we [i.e. as former enemies IS] can measure what stands between us (and perhaps precisely for this reason, what connects us)'.¹¹⁶ It is the French women with their experience of occupation, loss and devastated territory that she related to most profoundly and it is therefore not surprising that in 1926 it was in Paris that Bäumer felt able to talk of mutual 'tendresse' and publicly embrace a French woman.

Bäumer's reflections at the French war cemetery in 1927 show how far a sense of shared humanity had enabled her to overcome the war mentality, in stark contrast to the nationalist women. Bäumer's writings between 1922 and 1929 suggest that her international vision combined a pragmatic approach in which international structures such as the League of Nations served national interests at the same time as guaranteeing the preservation of international stability, with an emotionally-felt sense of belonging to the international women's movement. Her sense of emotional interconnectedness was extended to her assessment of the League of Nations when she stated in 1928 that 'there are powers of feeling in the world that can be easily overlooked by political strategy, but which have an effect nonetheless'.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

The case of Gertrud Bäumer demonstrates the complexity of internationalism within the women's movement and the struggles and difficulties that underlay the post-war claim to be 'an unbroken family'. After the war, women's international organisations struggled with a number of factors that threatened to fragment the movement, including the failure to overcome war mentalities, the unstable conditions in the defeated nations and the split allegiances of feminists active in political parties that diluted their shared identity. However, the experience of the war and the instability of the post-war context had strengthened and clarified their rather vague pre-war commitment to internationalism, while their increased political influence in national and international politics heightened their sense of moral responsibility for protecting the fragile peace in the face of new and terrifying weapons and strategies of war that targeted civilian populations. Responsibility for war and peace could no longer

be seen as issues outside women's control: in a hostile and threatening world, the imagined community of internationally-minded women was urgently needed as a model for harmonious relationships between nations and as a platform for building a sustainable peace.

Bäumer's motivation in re-joining the international movement after a difficult transition period in the immediate aftermath of war appears to be a mixture of national self-interest and a commitment to a womanly responsibility for combating the forces that could lead to renewed conflict between nations. Her writings suggest a gradual return of trust on a personal level, too, coupled with a growing commitment to peace that found public expression in her reflections of 1927 and in her activities with the League of Nations. Although a highly pragmatic and strategic politician, Bäumer expressed her love of nation in emotional terms, citing strong national 'feelings' as the main reason for her post-war reluctance to rejoin the international scene on a basis of inequality. As we have seen, her sense of belonging to the international women's organisations is also on the basis of a shared emotional response, crucially building on and emanating from a profound love of nation and a common experience of war that united women across enemy lines. Unlike the pacifist-internationalist women of the WILPF, whose overriding aim was overcoming national divisions and transcending national boundaries in their quest for peace, Bäumer's approach was always to prioritise German interests and use her international influence to improve the position of her own nation. However, it is clear that in the decade following the war she came to see that Germany's interests were best served as a member of an international community of women united by strong emotional bonds.

Notes

¹ In 1926 the IWSA changed its name to the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. I will refer to it as the Alliance throughout this article.

² See Leila J. Rupp (1997) *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

³ For accounts of the Hague Congress, see Annika Wilmers (2008) *Pazifismus in der internationalen Frauenbewegung (1914-1920): Handlungsspielräume, politische Konzeptionen und gesellschaftliche Auseinandersetzungen* (Essen: Klartext); Anne Wiltsher (1985) *Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War* (London: Pandora Press); Jane Addams,

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- Emily G. Balch and Alice Hamilton (2003 [1915]) *Women at The Hague: The International Congress of Women and Its Results* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press).
- ⁴ ICW Report 1920, cited in ICW (1966) *Women in a Changing World. The dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888* (London: Routledge), p. 44.
- ⁵ Adele Schreiber and Margaret Mathieson (1955) *International Alliance of Women: Journey Towards Freedom* (Copenhagen: IAW), p. 30.
- ⁶ Jo Vellacott (November 2001) *Feminism as If All People Mattered: Working to Remove the Causes of War, 1919–1929*, *Contemporary European History*, 10(3), pp. 375–394 (here p. 384).
- ⁷ Leila Rupp outlines some of the difficulties faced by international organisations in the inter-war period in *Worlds of Women* pp.115-117.
- ⁸ Mary Sheepshanks (December 1918) *Peace*, *Jus Suffragii*, pp. 25-26.
- ⁹ Gertrud Bäumer (June 1929) *Ansprache bei der Friedenskundgebung des Weltbundes für Frauenstimmrecht*, Berlin 1929, *Die Frau*, pp. 681-683 (here p. 681).
- ¹⁰ Gertrud Bäumer (1928) *Frauenbewegung als internationale Erscheinung*, *Die Böttcherstrasse*, 1(5), pp.1-2 (here p. 2).
- ¹¹ These are described in Alice Hamilton and Jane Addams (6 September 1919) *After the Lean Years. Impressions of Food Conditions in Germany After the War Was Signed*, *Survey*, pp.793-797. Reproduced in Kathryn Kish Sklar, Anja Schüler and Susan Strasser (1998) *Social Justice Feminists in the United States and Germany* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), pp. 246-255. See also Ruth Fry (1919-1920) *Quaker Adventure*, a personal account of the work of the Quakers in the Friends War Victims Relief Committee and in Germany and other countries in Europe after World War I (MS Box 4/1, Library of the Society of Friends).
- ¹² Wilmers, *Pazifismus* p. 187; Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, p. 116.
- ¹³ Although it is hard to be accurate about membership, Hering gives figures of 46 member organisations and 500,000 members, Sabine Hering (1990) *Die Kriegsgewinnlerinnen* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus), p. 100.
- ¹⁴ Irmtraud Remme (1955) *Die internationalen Beziehungen der deutschen Frauenbewegung vom Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1935* (PhD, Freie Universität Berlin), p. 74; Irene Stoehr (2004) *Gedämpfte Euphorie. Internationale Frauenkontakte und Friedensaktivitäten der deutschen*

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- Frauenbewegung in der Weimarer Republik, in Susanne Elpers and Anne-Rose Meyer (Eds) *Zwischenkriegszeit Frauenleben 1918-1939* (Berlin: Ebersbach), pp. 33-58 (here p. 42).
- ¹⁵ Stoehr, *Gedämpfte Euphorie*, p. 42.
- ¹⁶ Angelika Schaser (2000) *Helen Lange und Gertrud Bäumer: Eine politische Lebensgemeinschaft* (Cologne: Böhlau), p. 213.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 214. There were two further female ministerial advisers during the Weimar Republic, but neither was as prominent or as active in women's organisations as Bäumer.
- ¹⁸ Eric Kurlander (2009) *Living with Hitler. Liberal Democrats in the Third Reich* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), p.112.
- ¹⁹ Kathleen Canning (2006) *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class and Citizenship* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), p. 232.
- ²⁰ Schaser, Lange und Bäumer pp. 302-3. See *ibid* pp. 344-348 for a detailed discussion of the controversy. Bäumer herself defends her position in Gertrud Bäumer (March 1947) *In eigener Sache*, Auszug, reproduced in Bäumer (1956) *Des Lebens wie der Liebe Band* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich), pp. 339-344.
- ²¹ Richard J. Evans (1976) *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1933* (London: Sage), pp.153-158.
- ²² Schaser, Lange und Bäumer p.328.
- ²³ See Beckmann, *Kongress*; Remme, *Internationale Beziehungen*, p. 111.
- ²⁴ Bäumer, *The League of German Women's Associations*, in Sklar et. al. *Social Justice Feminists*, pp. 197-202 (here p. 199); Gertrud Bäumer (September 1915) *Der BDF und das Haager Frauenkongress*, *Die Frauenfrage*, pp. 82-85. See also Ingrid Sharp (2014), 'A foolish dream of sisterhood': Anti-Pacifist Debates in the German Women's Movement 1914-1919, in Christine Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger and Birgitta Bader-Zaar (Eds) *Gender and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave), pp. 195-213.
- ²⁵ Gertrud Bäumer (16 March 1915) *Zu dem Plan eines internationalen Frauenkongresses*, *Die Frauenfrage*, pp. 82-85 (here p. 82).
- ²⁶ Carol Miller (1992) *Lobbying the League: Women's Organizations and the League of Nations* (PhD, University of Oxford), p. 304.
- ²⁷ Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, esp. pp.115-117.

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- ²⁸ J. A. Davy (2002) German Women's Peace Activism and the Politics of Motherhood: A Gendered Perspective of Historical Peace Research, in Benjamin Ziemann (Ed.) *Perspektiven der Historischen Friedensforschung* (Essen: Klartext), pp. 110-132 (here p. 114). See also Kuhlman, *Reconstructing Patriarchy*; Jo Vellacott (2007) *Putting a Network to Use: Formation and Early Years of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, in Eva Schöck-Quinteros, Anja Schüler, Annika Wilmers and Kerstin Wolff (Eds) *Politische Netzwerkerinnen* (Berlin: trafo), pp. 131-154 and Vellacott, *Feminism as If All People Mattered*.
- ²⁹ Ute Gerhard (1994) National oder International. Die internationalen Beziehungen der deutschen bürgerlichen Frauenbewegung, *Feministische Studien* (2), pp. 34-52; Stoehr, *Gedämpfte Euphorie*.
- ³⁰ Hering, *Kriegsgewinnlerinnen* p. 104.
- ³¹ Remme, *Internationale Beziehungen*; Miller, *Lobbying the League*.
- ³² Schaser, *Lange und Bäumer*.
- ³³ Raffael Scheck (2004) *Mothers of the Nation: Right-wing Women in Weimar Germany* (Oxford: Berg); Christiane Streubel (2006) *Radikale Nationalistinnen: Agitation und Programmatik rechter Frauen in der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag); Christiane Streubel (2011) *Raps across the Knuckles: the extension of war culture by radical nationalist women journalists in post-1918 Germany*, in Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe (Eds) *Aftermaths of War: Women's Movements and Female Activists 1918-1923* (Leiden: Brill), pp. 69–88.
- ³⁴ Julia Sneeringer (2002) *Winning Women's Votes: propaganda and politics in Weimar Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press).
- ³⁵ Gerhard, *National oder International*, p. 34. The women may of course have been downplaying the importance of their international links to avoid controversy.
- ³⁶ During this period Bäumer was a prolific writer on subjects ranging from literary criticism, religious biographies and moral, political and social welfare issues relating to women. Her memoirs, written in 1933, end with an account of her public speech on international understanding in Paris in 1926 and she largely avoids commenting on international issues while the National Socialists remain in power.
- ³⁷ Minecke Bosch (1990) *Politics and Friendship: Letters from the IWSA 1902-1942* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press), pp.188-189 (here p.188).
- ³⁸ Helena M. Swanick et al. (December 1918) *Fellow Women, Jus Suffragii*, p. 27.

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- ³⁹ Isabella Ford (December 1918), 'Short appeal to Alliance members', *Jus Suffragii*, p. 27.
- ⁴⁰ BDF Appeal of Berlin Women to President's Wife and Jane Addams for Aid, in Sklar et al. *Social Justice Feminists*, p. 227.
- ⁴¹ G. Bäumer (October 1920) Prinzipienfragen des Frauenweltbundes *Die Frau*, pp. 1-4.
- ⁴² G. Bäumer (1933) *Lebensweg durch eine Zeitenwende* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich), p. 435.
- ⁴³ Stoehr, *Gedämpfte Euphorie*, p. 45.
- ⁴⁴ Helene Lange (August 1920) Die deutschen Frauen und der Frauenweltbund, *Die Frau*, pp. 239-242 (here p. 241).
- ⁴⁵ See Ingrid Sharp (2014) Overcoming Inner Division: Post suffrage strategies in the organised German women's movement, *Women's History Review*, 23(3), pp. 347-354.
- ⁴⁶ Streubel, *Radikale Nationalistinnen*, pp. 245-256.
- ⁴⁷ Scheck, *Mothers of the Nation*, p. 9.
- ⁴⁸ Streubel, *Radikale Nationalistinnen*, p. 249.
- ⁴⁹ Scheck, *Mothers of the Nation*, p. 120.
- ⁵⁰ Streubel, *Radikale Nationalistinnen*, p. 250.
- ⁵¹ Gertrud Bäumer (1920) Die nationalpolitische Stellung des Bundes Deutscher Frauenvereine während des Krieges, *BDF Jahrbuch*, pp. 6-14.
- ⁵² Gertrud Bäumer (1920) Nationale Einheit und die Einheit der Frauen, *BDF Jahrbuch* pp. 50-59.
- ⁵³ Gertrud Bäumer (December 1918) Zwischen den Zeiten, *Die Frau*, pp. 69-72 (here p.70).
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- ⁵⁵ Gertrud Bäumer (November 1918) Rechtsfrieden?, *Die Frau*, pp.37-40 (here p. 37).
- ⁵⁶ Gertrud Bäumer *Heimatchronik III*, p.11.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- ⁵⁹ Gertrud Bäumer (April 1919) Rede zum sozialen Teil des Regierungsprogramms, *Die Frau*, pp. 197-205 (here p. 197).
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204.
- ⁶¹ Lange, *Deutsche Frauen und Frauenweltbund*, p. 242.
- ⁶² Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, p. 26.
- ⁶³ Bäumer, *Lebensweg*, p. 435.

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- ⁶⁴ Bäumer, Prinzipienfragen, pp.1-4.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 3.
- ⁶⁶ Dr. jur L. van Dorp (October 1920) Eindrücke von dem Internationalen Frauenkongress zu Kristiania, Die Frau pp. 18-21 (here p. 21).
- ⁶⁷ Bäumer in ibid p. 19.
- ⁶⁸ Bäumer, Prinzipienfragen, p. 3.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 4.
- ⁷⁰ ICW, Women in a changing world, p. 46.
- ⁷¹ Alice Bensheimer (1921) Tätigkeitsbericht des Bundes Deutscher Frauenvereine vom 1. Oktober 1919 bis 1. Oktober 1920, BDF Jahrbuch, pp. 1-11 (here p. 10).
- ⁷² Jus Suffragii (July 1920) Eighth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Geneva June 6-12, pp.148-153 (here pp. 150-152).
- ⁷³ Gertrud Bäumer (June 1922) Der Frauenweltbund im Haag, Die Frau, pp. 264-270.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 264.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., pp.269-270.
- ⁷⁶ Described in Dorothee von Velsen (April 1923) Ein neuer Friede, Die Frau, pp. 105-108.
- ⁷⁷ See Irmgard Rathgen (July 1924) Die Kopenhagener Tagung des Internationalen Frauenbundes Mai 1924, Die Frau p. 311.
- ⁷⁸ Dorothee von Velsen (September 1922) Voraussetzungen und Möglichkeiten internationaler Arbeit, Die Frau, pp. 353-359 and Dorothee von Velsen (November 1922) Deutsche Interessen auf internationalen Frauenkongressen, Die Frau, pp. 43-46.
- ⁷⁹ Velsen, Voraussetzungen und Möglichkeiten p. 358.
- ⁸⁰ Christoph M. Kimmich (1976) Germany and the League of Nations, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) p. 74.
- ⁸¹ Bäumer, Rechtsfrieden, p. 38.
- ⁸² Gertrud Bäumer (July 1927) Überlegungen zur internationalen Frauenarbeit, Die Frau, pp. 586-591 (here p. 590). See also Rupp Worlds of Women, pp. 210-217.
- ⁸³ Bäumer, Lebensweg, pp. 410-411.
- ⁸⁴ Remme, Internationale Beziehungen, p. 139.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 143.

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- ⁸⁶ Gertrud Bäumer (November 1928) Bilanz des Völkerbundes, *Die Frau* pp.67-69.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- ⁸⁹ Gertrud Bäumer (October 1926) Der Völkerbund, *Die Frau*, pp. 1-6 (here p. 4).
- ⁹⁰ Bäumer, *Lebensweg*, pp. 438-441; Stoehr, *Gedämpfte Euphorie*, p. 43. See also Dorothee von Velsen (July 1926) Internationale Frauentagung in Paris, *Die Frau*, pp. 577-587 (here p. 584).
- ⁹¹ Bäumer, *Lebensweg*, p. 440.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, p.440.
- ⁹³ On the Tannenberg memorial, which was unveiled in September 1927, see Anna von der Goltz (2009) *Hindenburg: Power, Myth and the Rise of the Nazis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), esp. pp. 126-127.
- ⁹⁴ Gertrud Bäumer (June 1927) Mai über Verdun, *Die Frau*, pp. 513-517 (here p. 516).
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 517.
- ⁹⁶ Philipp Witkop (1928) *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten* (Munich: G. Müller).
- ⁹⁷ Gertrud Bäumer (April 1929) Botschaft der Toten, *Die Frau*, pp. 385-389 (here p. 389).
- ⁹⁸ Bäumer *Ansprache bei der Friedenskundgebung*, p. 681.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 681-682.
- ¹⁰⁰ Bäumer, *Frauenbewegung als internationale Erscheinung*, p. 2. The contrast is between 'Verstehen' meaning understanding and 'Verständigung', which suggests a more superficial accommodation.
- ¹⁰¹ Schrieber and Mathieson, *Journey towards freedom*, p. 28.
- ¹⁰² Emmy Beckmann (July 1925) Kongress des Frauenweltbundes in Washington 4.-14. May 1925, *Die Frau* pp. 289-294 (here p. 293).
- ¹⁰³ Stoehr, *Gedämpfte Euphorie*, p. 39; Miller, *Lobbying the League*, p. 236.
- ¹⁰⁴ See Beckmann, *Kongress*; Remme, *Internationale Beziehungen*, p. 111.
- ¹⁰⁵ Gertrud Bäumer (November 1933) Zum Bruch mit dem Völkerbund, *Die Frau*, pp. 65-66. The demand for 'equality of rights' had been a central part of the German negotiation team's strategy at the Geneva World Disarmament Conference from its opening in 1932 until Hitler's withdrawal of the German delegation in October 1933. Germany left the League of Nations at the same time.
- ¹⁰⁶ Gertrud Bäumer (October 1938) Es löset sich der Fluch, *Die Frau*, pp. 1-6.

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- ¹⁰⁷ Bäumer Prinzipienfragen, p. 3. For a discussion of the Disarmament Congress see Remme Internationale Beziehungen, pp. 145-149.
- ¹⁰⁸ See Streubel, Radikale Nationalistinnen, p. 252.
- ¹⁰⁹ Scheck, Mothers of the Nation, p. 127.
- ¹¹⁰ Pia Sophia Rogges (August 1920) Genf, Deutsche Zeitung, leading article, cited in Streubel, Raps across the Knuckles, p. 81.
- ¹¹¹ Discussed in Scheck, Mothers of the Nation, p. 126.
- ¹¹² Gertrud Bäumer (August 1927) Parteifanatismus über Gräber, Die Frau, pp. 666-672 (here p. 666).
- ¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 666-667.
- ¹¹⁴ See Angelika Schaser (1996) "Corpus mysticum": Die Nation bei Gertrud Bäumer in Frauen und Geschichte Baden Württemberg (ed.) Frauen und Nation (Tübingen: Silberburg), pp.118-32.
- ¹¹⁵ Bäumer, Lebensweg, p. 437.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 436.
- ¹¹⁷ Bäumer, Bilanz, p. 67.