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Published in:
 Rosa Manus (1881-1942)

DOI:
[10.1163/9789004333185_005](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004333185_005)

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
 Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:
 2017

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Bosch, M. (2017). Rosa Manus, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb and the bonds of high-financial Womanhood. In M. Everard, & F. de Haan (Eds.), *Rosa Manus (1881-1942): The International Life and Legacy of a Jewish Dutch Feminist* (pp. 88-127). (Studies in Jewish History and Culture; Vol. 51). BRILL ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004333185_005

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Rosa Manus, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb and the Bonds of High-Financial Womanhood*

Mineke Bosch

The Rosa Manus Papers contain an extensive correspondence between Rosa Manus and a German woman called Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb (1879–1962).¹ My first encounter with these documents, letters, press cuttings and pictures, must have been in the early to mid-1980s when the Rosa Manus Collection (as it was then called) was housed at Amsterdam's International Archives for the Women's Movement (IAV) and encompassed only a fraction of what the Rosa Manus Papers do today. We know that three months before the Nazis invaded the Netherlands on May 10, 1940, Manus had written to her American friend Carrie Chapman Catt about how she was clearing out her flat and had brought most of the documents that she had collected over the previous thirty years to "our International Archives."² We also know that many of the IAV documents were stolen by the Nazis in 1940, relocated to the Soviet Union and finally unearthed during Glasnost and archival reform.³ These documents contained some of the papers that Rosa Manus had assembled during

* I am very grateful to the editors of this volume for their thorough and critical comments on the text, and to Annie Wright for her relentless efforts to understand my English and amend the text.

- 1 Rosa Manus Papers, Collection IAV in Atria, Amsterdam (hereafter cited as Manus Papers), nos. 52–55. For further documents related to Kardorff-Oheimb's visit to the Netherlands in 1930, see Manus Papers nos. 46–51 and 56–59, which also include pictures and press clippings.
- 2 See Rosa Manus to Carrie Chapman Catt, 2 February 1940 in Mineke Bosch, with Annemarie Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship: Letters from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1902–1943* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), 257. The fact that in 1990 we were still hoping that the papers would eventually turn up somewhere is evidenced by this volume's Introduction.
- 3 For this episode, see Francisca de Haan, "Getting to the Source. A 'Truly International' Archive for the Women's Movement (IAV, now IIAV): From its Foundation in Amsterdam in 1935 to the Return of its Looted Archives in 2003," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 4 (2004): 148–72.

her active life but not the Manus-Kardorff letters.⁴ All we can be certain of is that this correspondence was originally part of Rosa Manus's personal archive because the letters written by Kardorff-Oheimb are the originals whereas Manus's letters are copies. These letters and the pictures found their way to the IAV at some point between 1954 and 1960, although the circumstances of how they got there remain a mystery.⁵

That I had never really dug into this material was due to my unfamiliarity with Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb and her politics. She figured nowhere in the organized international women's movement that I knew so well. Nevertheless, as measured by the sheer quantity of material, there was clearly a story to be told. The main body of the correspondence consists of about seventy-five letters (1929–1935) that are evenly divided between the two women as they always faithfully answered each other.⁶ Most of them are typed. Almost all of Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's letters are obviously dictated, as is demonstrated by the illegibly handwritten sentences that are often added to the signature. Some were clearly written on her behalf by her secretary, Elfriede Zippel, and one by Hannah Ackermann, both of whom used the third person singular when referring to "Kathinka."⁷ Some of Rosa Manus's letters were also typed by an unnamed secretary or assistant, and one letter to Kardorff-Oheimb was written by Rosa Manus's assistant "Dé." This correspondence was especially frequent after Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's visit to the Netherlands in 1930 with twenty-six letters within a period of three months. The tone of these letters is intimate with Katharina addressing Rosa as "Liebe beste Rosa, mein Herzensröschen" (little rose of my heart) and Rosa ending her letter with "Sei herzlich gegrüsst und geküsst!" (Warm greetings and

4 Myriam Everard and I went to Moscow in February 1994 to inspect the IAV documents that had been found in the "Special Archive" (*Osoby Archiv*), which was opened after the fall of the Soviet Union. See Myriam Everard and Mineke Bosch, "Feminisme als oorlogstrofee. De vooroorlogse IAV-archieven in Moskou," *Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 13 (1994): 193–200; and a later reflection in Mineke Bosch, "Over het jatten van schatten. Mijn bezoek aan het Osoby Archiv te Moskou," *Lover* 30, no. 2 (2003): 25–28.

5 The years are based on a list of archives acquired between 1954 and 1960 that mention the Kardorff letters. IAV Records, Collection IAV in Atria, no. 441. I thank Annette Mevis, archivist of the Collection IAV at Atria, for this information.

6 They are mainly, but not wholly, complete, as there are some references to letters that are not in the Collection.

7 According to Baddack, Elfriede Zippel entered Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's employment at Rosa Manus's recommendation. Rosa Manus was not a complete outsider in Berlin as her sister, Anna Manus, lived in the city and was married to Felix Jacobi, a Berlin-based doctor.

FIGURE 3.1 *Katharina von Kardorff, 1931 or before.*
STUDIO PORTRAIT, © KÖNIG-ROHDE, BERLIN. ROSA MANUS PAPERS,
COLLECTION IAV IN ATRIA, AMSTERDAM, NO. 3856.

kisses to you!). Apart from their mutual correspondence, letters both to and from others had been added by Kardorff-Oheimb so as to clarify or prove a certain point. Moreover, there are press clippings, photographs, lecture schedules and various other materials, which were either enclosed with these letters or were collected as part of their contexts.

The correspondence peters out in November 1931 for no obvious reason. One probable explanation is that Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb was largely occupied with women's educational courses in Berlin, while Rosa Manus was busy arranging the petitions of the Women's International Organisations' Disarmament Committee for the League of Nations' World Disarmament Conference, which was to be held in Geneva in February 1932. However, the real reason has to have been more than a mere lack of time. Perhaps both women realized that they had reached the limits of their cooperation and friendship.

This book finally allowed me to delve into the story of this relationship and to explore the following questions: who was Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb and how can she be understood in terms of German and international feminism, and Weimar and Nazi (gender, class-related, national and racial) politics? Given Rosa Manus's Jewish background, did anti-Semitism play a role in Kardorff-Oheimb's ideology and activities, and might that explain why the correspondence was terminated? What do the letters and the supplementary evidence of newspaper clippings tell us about the relationship between her and Rosa Manus, and how can this be understood in the context of Rosa Manus's feminist activities? Was it a friendship that Rosa Manus embarked on more in her capacity as vice-president of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship (IAWSEC, hereafter cited as IAW or Alliance)⁸ or was it something more personal or possibly a combination of the two?

While preparing this chapter, I was able to fall back on earlier studies and research concerning Rosa Manus.⁹ But in order to answer the questions posed I had to dive also into Kardorff-Oheimb's extraordinary life in some

8 The International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), which was founded in 1904 in Berlin, became known as the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship in 1926. It is usually abbreviated as IAW.

9 Bosch, with Kloosterman, *Politics and Friendship*, and Mineke Bosch, "Rosa Manus," in *Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Stichting Beheer IISG, 1990), vol. 6, <http://socialhistory.org/bwsa/biografie/manus>. More recently: Myriam Everard, "Manus, Rosa," in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, <http://resources.huysens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Manus> (both accessed 13 January 2014).

extraordinary turbulent times. For this, I made use of diverse secondary sources for Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb, some of which have only become available very recently.¹⁰ Indeed, it was many years after the rise of women's history as an academic field that Kardorff-Oheimb finally became the subject of serious study, despite the fact that she was a celebrity during her lifetime.¹¹ This delay is probably due to Germany's disruptive history but also because she was a woman who did not fit into the categories of the feminist historical fascinations that Mary Beard summed up in the catch phrase "equal rights credo."¹² Even when feminist historians learned to look beyond feminism (chronologically or otherwise) for women to be agents of history, they spent years creating a distinction between who was or was not to be included in the history of feminism, with perhaps a few "fellow travelers" somewhere in between. Over the course of time, the parameters of feminist history have been extended to encompass a more contextualized understanding of "political feminism" and its history, while simultaneously historicizing the meaning of "women and politics" so that more women could be made visible as active participants in the cultures of politics. This particularly applies to the ladies who took part in the political cultures that developed from the eighteenth century onwards

10 I am very grateful for the generosity of Cornelia Baddack, who shared not only the fifth chapter, "Engagement im Kontext deutscher Frauenbewegungen" (Engagement in the context of the German women's movements), but also the contents and a biographical chronology with me before defending her PhD thesis on Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb (*magna cum laude*) in November 2013. I subsequently received the complete manuscript of this excellent dissertation, in which Katharina's political "rise to prominence" in the mass media and her "Habitus" (as an entrepreneur, factory owner and aristocrat, etc.) are related to her political style: Cornelia Baddack, "'Kathinka' in der Weimarer Republik: prominente Frau der Politik. Biografie der Fabrikantin, Reichstagsabgeordneten, Vereinsgründerin, Salonnière und Publizistin Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb (1879–1962)" (PhD diss., University of Cologne, 2013). The book will appear in 2016 in the *L'Homme Schriften*, a series of publications connected to the journal *L'Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft*. This chapter has definitely benefitted from Cornelia Baddack's work.

11 For instance, she was not included in Daniela Weiland, *Geschichte der Frauenemanzipation in Deutschland und Österreich. Biographien – Programme – Organisationen* (Dusseldorf: ECON Taschenbuchverlag, 1983), or in Ute Gerhard assisted by Ulla Wischermann, *Unerhört. Die Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewegung* (Hamburg: Reinbeck, 1990).

12 Barbara K. Turoff, *Mary Beard as Force in History* (Dayton, OH: Wright State University, 1979), 64.

when women became quite influential in informal ways as political hostesses and *salonnières*.¹³

Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb only entered serious international historical research in 2010 at a conference called *Beyond Glitter and Doom: New Perspectives on the Weimar Republic*.¹⁴ In the published contribution by the Hamburg-based historian Silke Helling and her Cologne colleague Cornelia Baddack, Kardorff-Oheimb was compared to the journalist Else Frobenius, whose conservative outlook she shared when they embarked on their political activities after WWI. In November 2013, Baddack earned a doctorate with her outstanding biographical study of Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb.¹⁵

Even if attention for Kardorff-Oheimb came rather late, this newer research has a substantial basis in her autobiography *Politik und Lebensbeichte* (Politics and confession) that was published posthumously in 1962. It was co-authored by the well-known writer and journalist Ilse Reicke (1893–1989), who was involved in Berlin-based liberal feminist activism both before and after WWII.¹⁶ This text requires careful reading so as to be able to comprehend Kardorff-Oheimb's carefully created identities both in the past and in the representations of that past. In this chapter, however, I have mainly used it as an interesting source for her biography, together with the available secondary literature.

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- 13 Hanneke Hoekstra and Jantine Oldersma, eds., *Lady Macbeth's Sisters: Women's Power in Political Elites in the Transition from Monarchy to Democracy* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).
 - 14 Cornelia Baddack and Silke Helling, "Geschlecht, Staat, Partizipation – die Weimarer Republik in der Sicht der national-liberalen Politikerinnen Else Frobenius (1875–1952) und Kathinka von Kardorff-Oheimb (1879–1962)," *Jahrbuch für Liberalismus-Forschung* 23 (2011): 189–213.
 - 15 See note 10. Baddack made extensive use of the personal archives of both Kardorff-Oheimb and Siegfried von Kardorff that were donated in the 1950s to the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz: N1039 *Nachlass Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb* and N1040 *Nachlass Siegfried von Kardorff*.
 - 16 Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, Herausgegeben von Ilse Reicke. Mit 32 Bildtafeln (Tübingen: Hopfer Verlag, [1965?]). In this chapter, I refer to the publication as an auto/biography because it is a combination of Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's attempts at "self-narrative" and the active and indispensable intervention by the author Reicke who, three weeks before Kardorff-Oheimb's death, was fully recognized as co-author in the contract drawn up with the editor. For the origins of the manuscript, see: Baddack, "'Kathinka,'" 566–74. For Reicke, see Sabine Hering, "Reicke, Ilse," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 21 (2003): 324, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd116403209.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 17 August 2016). Interestingly, in 1937 Ilse Reicke, via her publisher Reclam, donated her book *Die Frauenbewegung* (1929) to the IAV that subsequently sent her a letter of thanks. See IAV Records, no. 23R.

Although women's names often cause difficulties, in this case the sheer multiplicity of surnames proved particularly challenging. To avoid the confusion of an ever-changing form of address, I was relieved to find that Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb was known in many circles as "Kathinka." This was how she was referred to in the press and was also the way in which she signed many of her letters to Rosa Manus, and how Rosa addressed her as well. Though there are strong feminist objections to the use of women's first names, in this case "Kathinka" could be legitimized not only by the various historical uses but also in terms of practicality. During the editorial process, however, I was persuaded to change my mind on this. That is why, throughout this chapter, I will mainly refer to her as either Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb or Katharina or Kardorff-Oheimb. In fact, the name Kardorff-Oheimb was also how she herself wanted to be remembered: after her two last husbands.¹⁷

Biographical Introduction of Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb

Katharina van Endert was born in 1879 into an economically stable, Catholic mercantile family in Neuss am Rhein. On the very first page of her preface, "Ihr gegenüber" (Face to face) to Kardorff-Oheimb's auto/biography, Reicke states that Katharina owed her oval face to her "von Holland her, malaisches Blut" (Malay blood that came from Holland).¹⁸ Her mother was widowed when Katharina was three; she was one of seven siblings. Her mother, whose strength Kardorff-Oheimb admired, continued to run the family business while also ruling the roost at home: "Das war Elisabeth van Endert geborene van Endert, die beste Steuerzahlerin der Stadt Neuss am Rhein" (That was Elisabeth van Endert, née van Endert, the best taxpayer of the city of Neuss am Rhein).¹⁹ After finishing her secondary education at the age of fifteen, she was sent to the *Pensionnat de Sainte-Ursule* for girls in Lyon, France. While there, she was already teaching her fellow pupils about the founding of Germany and her

17 In an enlightening passage, Baddack explains her decision to opt for the use of both "Kathinka" (with quotation marks in accordance with the contemporary Weimar Republic custom but avoiding the familiarity that comes with the use of just the first name) and Kardorff-Oheimb (without the "von" as the aristocratic title was acquired later). Katharina preferred to add the surname of her next-to-last husband to that of her last husband, as the Kardorff surname had become tainted by family members' Nazi sympathies.

18 Reicke, "Ihr gegenüber," in Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 7. All German quotes are copied literally from the original letters, and include spelling and other mistakes.

19 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 18.

admiration for Bismarck, despite the fact that he was also the architect of the *Kulturkampf* against Catholicism.

At the age of nineteen, Katharina fell in love with and married a good-looking young man, an engineer of modest means called Felix Daelen: "The marriage guests were sitting around us in the higher part of the church and heard how I spoke my first, then so easy, but for my whole life so consequential 'yes.'"²⁰ It is significant that Kardorff-Oheimb included the word "erstes" (first) in this description, for otherwise the fairytale about her first marriage, and especially her wedding dress, would suggest that it was a case of "all's well that ends well." The marriage did not end at all well because, three children and six years later, she fell in love with another good-looking young man, Ernst Albert. Perhaps even more important was that he was rich. She became pregnant with his child and, with little hesitation, decided that she wanted a divorce without realizing that in the eyes of the law she was "allein schuldig," the sole guilty party in the divorce case, and would therefore lose her children in the process.²¹ She then fled with two of her children and their nurse to Noordwijk in the Netherlands but to no avail. Her husband arrived with the police and took one of them, her daughter Maria, away. The other one, Paul-Felix, was still being breast fed, and was therefore too young to be taken from his mother. This taught her about the brutishness of the "männliche Gesetze" (male laws); it was something she would never forget.²²

After drifting between Holland and various places in Germany, she married the "England-Schwärmer" and sportsman Ernst Albert in 1906, one year after the divorce.²³ Albert was soon to become the owner of the extensive *Chemische Albertwerke* in Wiesbaden-Biebrich, Hesse, which turned Katharina into a woman of great affluence and also gave her access to the high and mighty. One favorite story is how in Wiesbaden, where the couple settled, she attended the *Präsidentenball* (President's Ball) and danced quadrilles with three of the Kaiser's sisters in an extraordinary, green damask dress that cost thirteen hundred Marks and had been ordered from Paris.²⁴ Katharina also had a portrait

20 "Die Hochzeitsgäste sassen im oberen Teil des Kirchenraumes um uns herum und hörten, wie ich mein erstes, damals so leichtes, für mein ganzes Leben so schwerwiegendes Ja sprach." Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 42.

21 Baddack, "Kathinka," 115. This is not mentioned in her auto/biography although she did include it in the previous manuscript.

22 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 47. On p. 51 she also speaks of "brutalen Männergesetze."

23 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 49.

24 Ibid., 54. The *Präsidentenball* was an annual ball that the Wiesbaden President (*Regierungspresident*) Carl Wilhelm von Meister organized between 1905 and 1919.

painted in this outfit.²⁵ But she did not live for pleasure alone as her divorce had confronted her with the injustices suffered by women. During these years, when she was still known as Kathinka Albert, she and Helene Stöcker co-founded the Frankfurt branch of the *Bund für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform* (League for the Protection of Mothers and Sexual Reform) in 1907.²⁶ Later, while living in Berlin, she claimed to have attended all the League's meetings and to have been great friends with both Stöcker and the leading feminist Minna Cauer. In her view, the only difference between them was their choice of clothing.²⁷

Ernst Albert was the father of her fourth child though she makes no mention of this in her auto/biography. He was born while she was still married to Felix Daelen. She had two more children with Albert before, while climbing in the Dolomites in 1911, he was left hanging by his fingers over an abyss for seven hours before falling to his death almost before her very eyes. Ernst Albert left all his worldly possessions, including the factories, to Katharina, an inheritance that was contested by her mother-in-law, who even accused her of having had a hand in her son's death. However, Katharina won the case, although the inheritance was later periodically disputed and would sometimes put her at odds with her own children.²⁸ Though she undertook her new task as factory owner in much the same way as her mother and grandmother had done when they were widowed, the historian Cornelia Baddack states that Kardorff-Oheimb's passion for politics would eclipse her sense of duty

Wiesbaden was a district (*Bezirk*) in the Province of Hesse-Nassau, which was created in 1866 when it came under the Prussian monarchy.

25 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, illustration 9.

26 Baddack, "Kathinka," 195 (immediate member) and *Anhang*, A18, 1907 (co-founder). Baddack bases her information on Christina Klausmann, *Politik und Kultur der Frauenbewegung im Kaiserreich. Das Beispiel Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1997). Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb financed an information center for pregnant women. For Stöcker, see Gudrun Hamelmann, *Helene Stöcker, der "Bund für Mutterschutz" und "Die Neue Generation"* (Frankfurt a.M.: Haag, 1998).

27 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 77. For Cauer, see Elisabeth Heimpel, "Cauer, Minna," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 3 (1957): 178, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gndu18668838.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 17 August 2016).

28 Apart from receiving a great deal of capital in the form of stocks and bonds, Kardorff-Oheimb also became the owner of two large companies: the *Keramische Werke Offstein & Worms* and the *Tonindustrie Klingenberg Albertswerke*. The companies' three factories employed approximately seven hundred laborers.

towards the factories, which ultimately languished due to the withdrawal of too much capital.²⁹

During the court case concerning the inheritance, Katharina was helped by *Rittmeister* Hans-Joachim von Oheimb, who had been a good friend of Ernst Albert. He was to become her third husband in 1913. But before that, she took up residence at a Berlin *Palais* at Bendlerstrasse 4 (which is now known as Stauffenbergstrasse) and launched a salon that was frequented by the political, military and industrial elite. Her new husband came from a “begüterte Familie,” a well-to-do family in possession of an estate in Westphalia, where he had learned the joys of hunting. In order to fulfill his needs (or so she claims) Katharina bought a country house in Goslar and rented shooting rights for 2,600 hectares of land.³⁰ During WWI, when Oheimb and most other men had been mobilized, she felt compelled to take up shooting herself, which she did from a lodge high up in the hills. To underline that she was serious about this—and in aristocratic circles she could definitely cut a dash with stories about hunting parties—she had herself photographed in a hunting outfit. This photograph, which was included amongst the many glamorous pictures of her in her auto/biography, is interesting from a gender perspective as her outfit is rather masculine.³¹ She was certainly not secretive about her hunting activities, even if she referred to them as a necessary evil and reminded her of the dreadful slaughter of WWI.³² Besides the hunting, she demonstrated her “nobility” in the generous financial and active support she gave to various war efforts including the founding of an *Unteroffiziers-Erholungsheim*

29 Baddack, “Kathinka,” 127–49. Baddack’s analysis is less judgmental and negative than an earlier company history by a long-time director, who described Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb’s initial time as factory owner as the “Beginn einer Epoche, die wohl als die schwärzeste in der Geschichte der Albertwerke Klingenberg bezeichnet werden muss” (the beginning of an era that should be characterized as one of the darkest in the history of the *Albertwerke Klingenberg*), 130. Baddack points out, moreover, that Kardorff-Oheimb’s “conspicuous consumption” was not only selfish but also served the aim of “kulturelle Ausdrucksformen” (cultural expression) that was part of her upper-middle-class lifestyle, 142.

30 Baddack, “Kathinka,” 152.

31 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, illustration 15.

32 Baddack also includes a photo and a painting (by Friedrich Klein-Chevalier) of Kardorff-Oheimb posing with a beamed deer that she had just shot (Baddack, “Kathinka,” *Anhang*, A4.).

(a convalescent home for officers) in Berlin, which she funded and for which she was awarded the Prussian Red Cross Medal, First Class.³³

Kardorff-Oheimb writes that it was during WWI that she received the “gestürzte” Chief of the General Staff Helmuth von Moltke, who fell from grace after the disastrous Battle of the Marne. They spent “erschütternde, unvergessliche Wochen” (overwhelming, unforgettable weeks) during which they had “ernste Gespräche” (serious conversations), for hours on end.³⁴ This story clearly indicates that, by now, she was already consorting with the most powerful people in the country, although Helmuth von Moltke does not appear on the pages of her auto/biography again. This impression of her status is further reinforced by the inclusion of a long quote from a book of biographical essays by the social democrat Kurt von Reibnitz, which includes an extensive dialogue between her and Gustav Stresemann in 1917. It shows that the author imagined Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb telling Gustav Stresemann, the future leader of the conservative *Deutsche Volkspartei* (German People's Party) that the Reichstag had to be more active politically instead of allowing itself to be ordered about by the generals, and especially by Ludendorff, who was perhaps the most famous German general of WWI. The episode ends with the statement that, just days after this (fictionalized) conversation, the Peace Resolution was passed by the Reichstag. It suggests that *post hoc* should be understood as *propter hoc* and that it was all due to “Kathinka,” which was also the name of the chapter about her in Reibnitz's book.³⁵

Following the Armistice in 1918, the November Revolution swept away the old German political institutions and transformed the country into a republic where women had the right to vote. These events drove Kardorff-Oheimb to Goslar where she immediately launched a scheme to educate women politically. She tried to turn the conservative and nationalist *Flottenbund deutscher Frauen* (German Women's Naval League) into a *Nationalverband deutscher Frauen* (German Women's National League) that could help her in her political aim to educate women (and men) about the

33 For her war efforts, see Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 70–73 and Baddack, “Kathinka,” 2013, 198–201. She also received a *Stern von Brabant* (Star of Brabant). This honored women in social work and was instigated by Prince Ernst Ludwig of Hesse in June 1914.

34 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 72–73.

35 Kurt von Reibnitz, “Kathinka,” in Idem, *Die grosse Dame. Von Rahel bis Kathinka* (Dresden: Carl Reissner Verlag, 1931), 201–14. The quotation in Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 74–76 is taken from *Die grosse Dame*, 206–8. Further information about Kurt von Reibnitz is available at Wikipedia, “Kurt von Reibnitz,” http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurt_von_Reibnitz (accessed 4 April 2014).

new political situation so that they would be responsible and informed citizens. Her attempt to transform the *Flottenbund* failed. So she single-handedly set up the *Nationalverband deutscher Frauen* and organized an initial course in Goslar that involved many lecturers including well-known politicians and journalists. The course was successful and helped her to secure a candidacy in the 1920 parliamentary elections where she stood for the new conservative-liberal *Deutsche Volkspartei* (DVP, German People's Party).³⁶ In her auto/biography, Kardorff-Oheimb claims that, during this course, she had outlined the DVP's first-ever party program. Because her candidacy was for the electoral borough of Magdeburg, she was asked to contribute a bi-weekly main article to the *Magdeburger Zeitung*. This she did from 1919 to 1933, an era that in her auto/biography she summed up as follows: "This was the time of my life. It lasted one and a half decade from 1918 until 1933."³⁷

Kardorff-Oheimb's liberal party shared the conservative and nationalist views of the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (DNVP, German National People's Party) although it rejected its strident anti-Semitism. In fact, this was one of the reasons why Siegfried von Kardorff, her future husband, defected from the DNVP to the DVP in 1920. And although the DVP was initially a party that opposed both the socialist revolution and the republican constitution, it was always part of the "broad coalition" that formed the cabinet and which gradually moved towards the center of the political spectrum. Now known as "Kathinka," Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb became famous for her turbulent membership of the DVP faction at the Reichstag (1920–1924), her increasingly powerful political salon and her career as a journalist. Although it would be difficult here to evaluate and repeat the many anecdotes in Kardorff-Oheimb's *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, they do suggest that, as a parliamentary representative, she adhered to a consistent program that accepted the Weimar Republic

36 There is an enormous amount of literature on Weimar politics. For an introduction, see: Eberhard Kolb, *Deutschland 1918–1933. Geschichte der Weimarer Republik* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010). Kolb also wrote a biography about Gustav Stresemann, a core figure of both the DVP and the Weimar Republic. For information about the DVP, see Eberhard Kolb and Ludwig Richter, *Nationalliberalismus in der Weimarer Republik. Die Führungsgremien der Deutschen Volkspartei 1918–1933* (Dusseldorf: Droste, 1999). For the wider political landscape, see Martin Ejnar Hansen and Marc Debus, "The Behavior of Political Parties and MPs in the Parliaments of the Weimar Republic," *Party Politics* 18, no. 5 (2012): 709–26. For additional helpful information about the Weimar Republic, see Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, Edward Dimendberg, eds., *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

37 "Die grosse Zeit meines Lebens setzte ein. Sie hat die anderthalb Jahrzehnte von 1918–1933 umfasst." Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 81.

as a matter of fact. First and foremost, this meant that she did not support a return to the monarchy and that she embraced the republic. She also encouraged the social democratic politics of reconciliation along with rational negotiations about the unjust measures being taken against Germany through the Versailles Treaty. Moreover, she championed the DVP's approaches to the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD, Social Democratic Party of Germany) and its increasing distancing from the nationalist-conservative DNVP while also fighting against political fragmentation and the radical factions on both the right and the Communist left.³⁸

However, together with nationalist women's groups, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb was also part of a transnational racist campaign that was partly directed by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs but had developed out of a broader colonialist discourse. These protests were against the French occupation of the Ruhr area and especially the presence of black, French soldiers. These soldiers were generally condemned as "die schwarze Schmach am Rhein" (the black disgrace on the Rhine) in a discourse that mixed the categories of race, gender and class.³⁹ According to the campaign, the black soldiers' presence threatened Germanness, German masculinity and German women. Despite the widespread aversion to Germany, this anxiety was also shared by many spokespersons in both Europe and the United States, who claimed that not only Germans but also the entire civilized white race was being jeopardized by the French decision to deploy colonial troops. The extent to which this campaign paved the way towards the racist construct of the Nazi state is a matter of discussion, but it did result in the sterilization of 385 "bastard children" in 1937.⁴⁰ Kardorff-Oheimb's involvement probably did not go beyond a one-off action entailing an appeal to the President of the United States in 1923. In a telegram, she protested the French policy of sending rebellious German laborers away from their families, which left their wives "unprotected" and

38 For a detailed overview of her political work, see Baddack, "Kathinka," chap. 4, "Politische Partizipation in Partei und Parlament."

39 See Gisela Lebzelter's classic study: "Die 'Schwarze Schmach': Vorurteile – Propaganda – Mythos," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 11 (1985): 37–58. For a more recent study that includes the transnational dimension, see Iris Wigger, *Die "Schwarze Schmach am Rhein." Rassistische Diskriminierung zwischen Geschlecht, Klasse, Nation und Rasse* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2007). Sandra Mass, *Weißer Helden, schwarze Krieger. Zur Geschichte kolonialer Männlichkeit in Deutschland, 1918–1964* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006) emphasizes the aspect of decolonization in this discourse.

40 Reiner Pommerin, "Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbastarde." *Das Schicksal einer farbigen deutschen Minderheit, 1918–1937* (Dusseldorf: Droste, 1979).

at the “beck and call” of black soldiers, who were quartered in their homes. This telegram was not only picked up by the Dutch press but also featured in the *New York Times* under the heading “German Women Appeal to President Coolidge: Threatened With Disgrace, They Say, Reporting Black Troops Billeted in Their Homes.”⁴¹

Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's parliamentary politics did not endear her to most of her party members. The exception was certainly Siegfried von Kardorff (1873–1945) along with two other men: Kurt *Freiherr* von Lersner, who for a time led the German delegation to Versailles, and Hans von Raumer, with whom she formed a group of left-wing rebels (“der allerlinksten Flügel”) in the party that contemporaries referred to as the “Adels-Clique” (nobles' clique) or the “Oheimb'schen Flügel” (Oheimb wing).⁴² Siegfried von Kardorff and Katharina fell in love while she was still married to Oheimb, whom she divorced in 1923. According to her memoirs, when Siegfried and Katharina met over a breakfast in 1919, he supposedly told her, “You will have to excuse me but I know a great many Jews such as [...]”, whereupon she answered him, “I know the Jews better than you do.”⁴³ Ultimately, this exchange attests to the all-pervasive presence of anti-Semitism that was also the greatest influence on Weimar politics, while at the same time it suggests that neither she nor Siegfried were anti-Semitic. She was involved in Zionist activities, endorsed the 1917 Balfour Declaration and became the Secretary of the second *Deutsches Komitee Pro Palästina, zur Förderung der jüdischen Palästina-Siedlung* (German Pro-Palestine Committee for the Promotion of Jewish Settlement in Palestine), which was reinstated in 1926 after Germany had been admitted to the League of Nations. Contrary to the first *Pro Palästina* Committee, the second Committee had an almost equal membership of Jews and non-Jews. Kurt Blumenfeld was the founder of the 1926 Committee; he was a central figure in the German Zionist movement and a mentor and long-time correspondent (and later critic) of Hannah Arendt. In her auto/biography, Kardorff-Oheimb also reveals her admiration for Walter Rathenau, the Jewish politician and German Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was assassinated in 1922. She referred to him as “the first

41 *New York Times*, 14 August 1923, as cited in Baddack, “‘Kathinka,’” 408–9.

42 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 121. Baddack does not mention these epithets. For Siegfried von Kardorff, see Konrad Reiser, “Kardorff, Siegfried von,” *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 11 (1977): 149, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd101265956.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 4 April 2014).

43 “Sie entschuldigen, aber ich verkehre mit sehr viel Juden, wie (. . .)”; “Die Juden kenne ich besser als sie.” Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 94.

clear victim of anti-Semitism and Nazism.”⁴⁴ Perhaps this was an exaggeration but certainly Rathenau’s high-profile presence and his assassination were a touchstone of Weimar politics. She succeeded Rathenau in the honorary position that became available at the *Lessing Hochschule*. In her 1926 article “Die Judenfrage” (The Jewish Question)—which was published in a special issue of the monthly journal *Der Jude* with the theme of *Judentum und Deutschtum* (Jewishness and Germanness)—Kardorff-Oheimb spoke out explicitly against anti-Semitism, where one of her arguments cited Walther Rathenau as an example of the importance of the Jewish contribution to Germany.⁴⁵

As she had proved she would not be constrained by the DVP’s program, and almost always voted in defiance and mostly to the left of the faction in the Reichstag, the party did not add her to the list of candidates for the 1924 elections. The more liberal *Deutsche Demokratische Partei* (German Democratic Party), which included some of the leading feminists, tried to enlist her but to no avail. Instead she joined the *Reichspartei des deutschen Mittelstandes* (Reich Party of the German Middle Class) only to leave again when she married Siegfried von Kardorff in 1927. Nonetheless, between 1924 and 1927, she became increasingly involved in politics although now mostly as a journalist and political hostess. Apart from her regular work for liberal newspapers such as the *Magdeburger Zeitung* and the *Vossische Zeitung*, for some time she also ran her own *Aktuelle Bilder-Zeitung*, in which she published pieces reflecting her political opinions. Gradually her agenda became republican, democratic, international and devoted to peace.

After Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb married for the fourth time in 1927, her days of independence and political freedom were over, a fact that she recorded in her auto/biography. However, through her influential husband—Siegfried von Kardorff was a long-time member of the Reichstag (1920–1932) and its vice-president from 1928 to 1932—she continued to be involved politically, and guided and stimulated him, as is attested to by many contemporaries.⁴⁶ The speech he gave shortly after their marriage at the annual celebrations of the 1919 German constitution, was viewed as being an initial attempt by a right-wing politician to acknowledge and value the new Germany and its founding fathers. When congratulated by the social-democratic *Reichspräsident* Paul

44 “[...] das erste weithin sichtbare Opfer des Antisemitismus und Nazismus,” Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 129.

45 Katharina von Oheimb, “Die Judenfrage,” *Der Jude. Sonderheft: Judentum und Deutschtum* 3 (1926): 18–25.

46 Baddack, “Kathinka,” 515.

Löbe, Siegfried pointed to his wife as being one of the authors of the speech.⁴⁷ According to Baddack, Kardorff-Oheimb served as “a driving spirit” for Siegfried von Kardorff.⁴⁸ She was always close at hand when he was writing biographies of his father and Bismarck. When the historian Friedrich Meinecke first met her, he allegedly said, “You are the very first woman to establish her husband’s political name.”⁴⁹

Ladies’ Clubs, Women’s Political Education and Feminist Politics

After her marriage to Siegfried von Kardorff in 1927, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb’s focus seems to have turned more to (neutral) ladies’ and women’s clubs and feminist organizations. Her connections with the more conservative women’s organizations had ended somewhat earlier, when the women in Goslar, who had worked with her on the first educational courses, left her and formed an ultra-right-wing women’s association, the *Königin Luise Verein* (Queen Louise Association) in 1925. Kardorff-Oheimb directed the *Hochschule der Frau* (Women’s College) between 1928 and 1930, which was affiliated to the famous *Lessing Hochschule*. This respectable educational institution (*das Berliner Volks-Harvard*, the Berlin People’s Harvard) offered a platform to many great thinkers, artists and scientists such as Albert Einstein, Max Liebermann, Thomas Mann, Lise Meitner, and Mary Wigman. In 1930, Kardorff-Oheimb held a lecture here entitled “Brauchen wir eine Frauenpartei?” (Do we need a women’s party?), which she would elaborate on during the years before the political breakdown in 1933 when Hitler came to power and abolished the democratic party system. In 1926, she became one of the founders of the *Deutscher Damen Automobil Club* (DDAC, German Ladies Automobile Club). Whereas this club consisted of members from the “Geburtsaristokratie und Geldaristokratie” (aristocracy by birth and money aristocracy), the *Deutsche Lyceum-Club* effectively represented the “intellectual aristocracy.”⁵⁰ Katharina

47 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 167. Baddack found no direct proof that Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb could be considered a co-author, although she was very much involved in the process and knew exactly what the speech was about. Baddack, “Kathinka,” 513–14.

48 Baddack, “Kathinka,” 515.

49 “Sie sind die erste Frau, die ihrem Mann einen politische Namen gegeben hat!” Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 213.

50 The *Hochschule der Frau* fell under the competence of the *Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft*. The 1930 concept program of its first course comprises a single theme: “Geburtsaristokratie und Geldaristokratie” (aristocracy by birth and money aristocracy). Letter from Katharina

von Kardorff-Oheimb joined the *Lyceum-Club* as an Honorary Member in 1918 and subsequently became a board member in 1930.

Contact with political feminism was forged directly through the IAW rather than through its German branch, the *Deutscher Staatsbürgerinnen-Verband* (German Association of Women Citizens). In 1926, Kardorff-Oheimb went to Paris to attend the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), which was renamed IAW in the course of that year. Here, she was fired with enthusiasm for their goals. A few years later, in 1928, she also attended a major women's congress that was part of *Pressa*, an international press exhibition in Cologne. The *Damen-Diner* (ladies' dinner) that Kardorff-Oheimb organized two months later for the spouses of the congress members of the Interparliamentary Union was accompanied by her passionate plea for peace and understanding for the German situation. Her speech inspired Léonie La Fontaine, the Belgian feminist and peace movement veteran, to address the crowd as a representative of all French-speaking women and to exhort those present to work for world peace.⁵¹ That same year, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb contributed an article on "Die Frau im modernen Staat" (Woman in the modern state) to a state-initiated publication that commemorated the Republic's tenth anniversary.⁵²

It is in this context that we can understand why, according to the auto/biography, Rosa Manus especially requested that Kardorff-Oheimb be asked to organize the social meetings of the twenty-fifth anniversary Congress of the IAW in Berlin, 17 to 23 June 1929, where the IWSA had also been founded in 1904. However, it may also have been at the request of the German branch of the IAW that she was invited to act as president of the "Empfangs- und Repräsentationsausschusses" (Welcome and reception committee). Anyhow, she carried out her duties with great zeal and with the help of many of her society friends. There were receptions, dinners and evening parties with the Mayor of Berlin, the *Reichskanzler*, the *Reichspräsident*, the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Foreign Affairs; they were held at private *Landhäuser*, the town hall and the State Opera House. The "Mitternachtsbowle" (midnight bowl), which she organized for the Opera House's audience, was held at 11 p.m.

von Kardorff-Oheimb to Rosa Manus, 19 September 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 95.

- 51 For Léonie La Fontaine (1857–1949), see her biographical entry in Eliane Gubin, et al., eds., *Dictionnaire des femmes belges. XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (Brussels: Editions Racine, 2006), 353–55.
- 52 Katharina von Kardorff, "Die Frau im modernen Staat," in *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Geschichte, 1918–1928* (Berlin: Otto Stollberg Verlag, 1928), 525–34.

at the famous Wertheim department store on Leipziger Platz. It took place on the fifth and sixth floors, which were beautifully illuminated for the occasion.⁵³ At this occasion she shared with the audience of 800 “the feeling of being and striving together with sisters as the core experience of the Congress.”⁵⁴ Besides organizational activities Kardorff-Oheimb made sure that the press took notice, for instance with a three column long “Gruß unseren Gästen” (Welcome to our guests) under her name on the front-page of the *Berliner Tageblatt*.⁵⁵ As an offshoot of this activity, in April 1930 Kardorff-Oheimb founded the *Damen-Club* (Ladies Club) in Berlin, which aimed at involving German women of leisure (and their money) in feminism on a more permanent basis; some of them had already shown support by opening up their homes to the conference’s international guests.⁵⁶

Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb founded the *Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (National Labor Association) in 1930 so as to accommodate the *Hochschule der Frau zur politischen Erziehung*, a women’s college for political education that until then was affiliated to the *Lessing Hochschule*. She hoped to turn this into a women’s party in the future.⁵⁷ The *Hochschule*’s 1930 program, a copy of which is now in the Rosa Manus Papers, reveals the extent of Kardorff-Oheimb’s personal involvement, which took the form of lectures and seminars.⁵⁸ In her speeches, she argued not only for the founding of a women’s political party but also for world peace. In 1931, she became a founding member of the *Weltfriedenbund der Mütter und Erzieherinnen* (International League of Mothers and Educators for Peace). One year later, she joined the *Ehrenausschuss der Deutschen Kundgebung zur Abrüstungskonferenz* (Honorary Committee of the German Campaign for the Disarmament Conference), which was organized by the

53 Baddack, “Kathinka,” 424–26.

54 “Das Gefühl, mit Schwestern zusammen zu sein und zusammen zu streben... als das eigentliche Erlebnis des Kongresses...,” see “Mitternachtsbowle bei Wertheim,” *Vossische Zeitung*, Nr. 289, 21 June 1929, as cited by Baddack, “Kathinka,” 427.

55 Baddack, “Kathinka,” 425–27, gives a detailed description of the congress, partly based on a series of articles in the *Vossische Zeitung*.

56 See the next paragraph.

57 For the *Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, see Baddack, “Kathinka,” 428–39, who, as based on Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb’s own statements, identifies it as being bourgeois and opposed to social democracy. Its name was changed into the *Deutsche Frauenpartei* (*Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) on 15 October 1932. She had first offered to organize the lectures for the *Lyceum-Club* and the *Deutsche Staatsbürgerinnen-Verband*, the German branch of the IAW.

58 Correspondence with Katharina von Kardorff 1931, Manus Papers, no. 54, scan nos. 11–13.

Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine (Federation of German Women's Associations).⁵⁹ Whether she took any action in this capacity is unknown. Rosa Manus was Secretary of the Women's International Organisations' Disarmament Committee, which was also known as the Dingman Committee. Here, she was a key figure in the collection of signatures for the women's petitions to the Disarmament Conference, an undertaking that was part of the global disarmament campaigns that preceded it (see Document 3 in Part 3 of this volume). The women's petitions were to culminate on February 6, 1932 with the spectacular presentation of boxes full of signatures (see fig. 4.1 to 4.6). These comprised more than eight million individual endorsements that had been collected by women's organizations and were subsequently given to Arthur Henderson, the president of the Disarmament Conference.⁶⁰

The Nazi revolution was pushed through after the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP, Nazi Party) received 37.7% of the votes in the Reichstag elections of July 1932. Siegfried von Kardorff, who had fought the NSDAP's political rise by trying to unite the more moderate parties, now resigned from politics. On January 30, 1933, Hitler was appointed *Reichskanzler* and the Reichstag was dissolved two days later. In the subsequent *Gleichschaltung* (i.e.: Nazification) and "purification" process that forced all civil and political organizations to adapt and be subservient to the NSDAP, either Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb was not re-elected at nazified organizations such as the *Deutsche Lyceum-Club* or the organizations opted to disband so as to prevent adaptation to the new regime's rules. This led to the demise of both the *Damen-Club* and the *Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft*.⁶¹ The *Deutscher Damen Automobil Club* partly resisted and partly adapted to Nazi regulation. It seems that in 1938—despite wanting to step down several times—Kardorff-Oheimb was still formally its president although, as of 1934, she was no longer involved in the DDAC's practical business.⁶² When it became obvious that a

59 Baddack, "Kathinka," *Anhang*, A52 (Biografische Zeittafel 1932).

60 For Manus's involvement, see Bosch, with Kloosterman, *Politics and Friendship*, 209–13; and Chapters 4 and 5 of this volume. Rosa Manus's own words and a glimpse of the spectacle are included in the "Internationaal verslag uitgebracht op de jaarvergadering der Ned. Vereniging voor Vrouwenbelangen, zaterdag 7 mei 1932," *Vrouw en Gemeenschap* 3, no. 2 (1932): 45–46; no. 3 (1932): 54–56 and no. 4 (1932): 60–62; also in "Disarmament," *International Women's News* 26, no. 7 (1931/1932): 70; and in Document 3 in Part 3 of this volume.

61 Baddack, "Kathinka," 468.

62 In the case of the *Deutsche Damen Automobil Club* (DDAC), *Gleichschaltung* took place during Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's leadership. In May 1933, two Jewish DDAC board members resigned before the general meeting assembled under Kardorff-Oheimb's

Nazi woman was about to be appointed president of the board in 1938, the Berlin branch collectively withdrew from the organization and Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb refused to receive a badge of honor.⁶³

After 1933, both she and her husband withdrew from public and political life. In 1939, they moved to a small house in Berlin-Grünwald, where they enjoyed a relatively peaceful existence. Kardorff-Oheimb had already lost much of her fortune during the early 1930s, so hosting social events was now out of the question. By 1943, when it was better to get out of Berlin, they moved to Ahrensdorf, which was to be occupied by the Red Army in the spring of 1945. Although Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb was appointed village mayor, this function only lasted six weeks. By September 1945, her husband was seriously ill. Nonetheless, Kardorff-Oheimb left him to seek medication for the syphilis she had contracted after being raped by a Red Army officer.⁶⁴ Siegfried von Kardorff died on October 5, 1945 while she was still away. She was too weak to attend the funeral and did not return to Ahrensdorf.

Once back in Berlin, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb embarked with renewed vigor on a number of political projects, the most important of which was her support for a "Lehrstuhl für Europafragen" (chair in European issues) at a private educational institution. She also championed a united Germany and was initially involved in various women's initiatives but once again these never lasted long. By the 1950s, she started preparing her auto/biography with

presidency that was to discuss the new situation. The meeting then decided not to dissolve the club and Katharina subsequently consulted some of the other clubs in Berlin. The result of these consultations was that the organization's sporting activities ceased at the end of 1933, and that the *Traditionsclub des ehemaligen DDAC* was formed as a branch of the D.D.A.C. (*Der Deutsche Automobil Club*), the *gleichgeschaltete* umbrella organization for automobile clubs. The condition for D.D.A.C. membership was that eighty percent of the members of the DDAC's *Traditionsclub* should be members of the D.D.A.C. while the D.D.A.C. allowed for twenty percent of its membership to be reserved for *Nichtarierinnen* (non-Aryans). According to several documents from 1934, Kardorff-Oheimb was no longer fulfilling the practical aspects of her presidency. These tasks had been taken over by Liliane Hoehrs, the deputy chair, following the organization's relocation to Hannover in 1934. Baddack, "Kathinka," 469–72 and biographical chronology (1879–1965), A52.

63 Baddack, "Kathinka," 472.

64 Kardorff-Oheimb writes about the rape in veiled terms under the paragraph title "Soll man zurückblicken?" (Do we have to look back?) Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 233–34. She wrote to one of her friends in December 1945: "Ich selbst bin ja noch durch den Besuch eines Russen auf Seehof [...] krank geworden" (I have become sick through a Russian's visit to Seehof). Baddack, "Kathinka," 545. According to Baddack, the rape took place in June 1945.

Ilse Reicke. The book was published in 1965, three years after von Kardorff-Oheimb's death.

Rosa Manus and Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb: Testimony of a Friendship

As based on Kardorff-Oheimb's numerous social and political lives, the question now is how to understand the two women's relationship. For that, we must return to 1929 and follow the thread of their correspondence. Katharina and Rosa may have already met in 1922 during an address by Carrie Chapman Catt at a public women's meeting at the Reichstag, or the day before, when Kardorff-Oheimb had a "Besprechung" with Catt. Manus had accompanied Catt to Berlin and was possibly involved in both meetings, which are recorded in Kardorff-Oheimb's auto/biography.⁶⁵ It is also possible that Rosa Manus and Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb met at the 1926 IAW conference in Paris. However, the first tangible traces of their acquaintance are to be found just after the IAW event in Berlin in June 1929 and comprise the beginning of their correspondence.⁶⁶

65 Kardorff-Oheimb does not describe the meeting with Catt in 1922 in *Politik und Lebensbeichte*. Their meeting can only be inferred by a list of activities that she mentions as an example of her busy diary at that time, which was also one of the very few documents that survived the war. Her entry for 11 November reads: "Besprechung mit der amerikanischen Frauenführerin Mrs. Carrie Chapman-Catt in Berlin" (Meeting with the American women's leader Mrs. Carrie Chapman-Catt in Berlin). Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 102. Kardorff-Oheimb does not appear in any of Catt's biographies. According to Catt's first biographer Mary Gray Peck, Catt was asked to address the Reichstag and, as such, was the first foreign speaker. Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Biography* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1944), 371. Jacqueline Van Voris has assessed this statement. According to her, Catt was seriously ill and Manus's brother-in-law, Dr. Felix Jacobi, gave her opium and "a dose of strychnine [!] so that she could get through a speech at the Reichstag." Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1987), 175, 285. As Catt never mentioned this speech I began to doubt whether it took place at all. Neither was there an entry about an address by Catt in the sessions reports of the Reichstag, http://www.reichstagsprotokolle.de/en_Blatt2_w1_bs00000041_00007.html (accessed 4 April 2014). The riddle was finally solved when I noticed the next activity on Kardorff-Oheimb's schedule for November 1922, an event that took place on 12 November: "Vortrag in Berlin in einer grossen Frauenversammlung im Reichstag" (Lecture in Berlin at an important women's meeting at the Reichstag). Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 102.

66 Neither Schreiber nor Whittick mention Kardorff-Oheimb in their histories of the 1929 Jubilee Congress of the IAW: Adele Schreiber and Margaret Mathieson, *Journey*

The first letter in the correspondence as preserved in the Rosa Manus Papers, Kardorff-Oheimb's letter of June 27, 1929, is clearly not their very first, as it consists of Kardorff-Oheimb's reply to "Ihre liebenswürdigen Worte" (your kind words). She says that she is about to become a personal member of the IAW and will be paying membership fees of one hundred Marks a year. However, her next letter to Manus contains copies of a rather bitter exchange with Dorothee von Velsen, president of the *Deutscher Staatsbürgerinnen-Verband* (the German branch of the IAW), and in that capacity main organizer of the 1929 conference.⁶⁷ This concerns a bill that Kardorff-Oheimb had submitted for some of the expenses that she had incurred while organizing the IAW Berlin Congress in June 1929. While questioning the high cost of transportation, office assistance and various other expenses, Dorothee von Velsen had also reproached her in a more serious way. Her complaint was that there had not been a central reception committee at both the Kaiserhof Hotel and the Kroll Opera House in Tiergarten (where the congress was held), which could have helped out the foreign women visiting Berlin while also organizing the various receptions. If it was Rosa Manus who had asked Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb to be involved, she had probably been thinking of a similar kind of reception committee as Manus herself had staffed at the *Concertgebouw* during the IWSA's 1908 Congress in Amsterdam. That had obviously been wasted on Kardorff-Oheimb. She had not only been absent for most of the six months preceding the Berlin Congress, being on a trip to Egypt, she also had an entirely different conception of her task, which she viewed as involving the top echelons of the political world in Berlin in the conference rather than organizing social events for the members, or helping them out with their queries.

After being placated by Else Wex, a fellow board member of the German branch, and receiving a kind letter from Rosa Manus, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb wrote a long, explanatory letter in which she tried to exonerate herself:

Towards Freedom: Written for the Golden Jubilee of the International Alliance of Women (Copenhagen: IAW, 1955); Arnold Whittick, *Woman into Citizen* (London: Athenaeum with Frederick Muller, 1974). Corbett Ashby does mention Kardorff-Oheimb in her "Foreword to the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship," *Report of the Eleventh Congress, Berlin, June 17th to 22nd, 1929* (Keighley, UK, Wadsworth & Co: [1929]), 3. The fact that Kardorff-Oheimb does not feature in the IAW historiography makes the Manus-Kardorff letters analyzed here all the more relevant.

67 Dorothee von Velsen (1873–1970) when writing about the 1929 congress does not mention Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb (nor Rosa Manus) in her autobiography: *Im Alter die Fülle. Erinnerungen* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag Hermann Leins, 1956).

The main mistake I made was that I did not take sole responsibility for all the invitations—for the town hall, the city day, the opera and the private reception—and had to relinquish two-thirds of Frau Manus and Frau von Velsen's invitations at their request. However, I was in charge of all the invitations for our midnight bowl, where only ten out of 850 people failed to respond. On my own, I was able to control things much better.⁶⁸

This does not sound like admitting a mistake that she could have prevented, but she does agree it would have been wiser if, “after five months absence, I'd left it at the donation that I collected for the conference, because in three weeks I simply couldn't cope with the chaos.”⁶⁹ That also doesn't sound like an admission of failure but, on the whole, the letter is conciliatory rather than contentious so that the relationship between Kardorff-Oheimb and the IAW was to continue. In fact, Rosa Manus actively tried to strengthen this bond and her efforts met with an equally enthusiastic response.

Money was at the heart of the post-1929 conference disagreements. It was mentioned in Kardorff-Oheimb's first letter to Manus and would be a recurring theme throughout their correspondence. Perhaps Rosa Manus had shared her worries about the IAW's financial situation with Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb and had hoped that her new German friend would come to the IAW's rescue financially. In 1931, Rosa Manus was the driving force behind two spectacular fundraising events in the Netherlands, where the proceeds were donated to the IAW and its Dutch branch. However in the same year, because of a lack of funds the Alliance board decided to call off its next congress, which was due to be held in Athens in 1932. This situation was discussed further at an IAW international board meeting in London in 1932.⁷⁰ In her second letter to Manus, dated July 5, 1929, Kardorff-Oheimb expressed an interest in attending

68 “Der Grundfehler, den ich gemacht habe, ist derjenige gewesen, dass ich alle Einladungen, ob Rathaus, Städtetag, Oper oder Privat nicht in meiner Hand allein behalten habe, sondern zwei Drittel aller Einladungen von Frau Manus und Frau von Velsen auf deren Wunsch [abgeben] musste. Bei unserer Mitternachtsbowle dagegen, bei der ich über alle Einladungen zu verfügen hatte, haben von 850 Personen nur 10 nicht geantwortet, weil ich aus einer Hand heraus alles besser kontrollieren konnte.” Kardorff-Oheimb to Dr. Else Wex, 5 July 1929, enclosed in a letter from Kardorff-Oheimb to Rosa Manus, 5 July 1929, Manus Papers, no. 52, scan nos. 12–18.

69 Ibid., “Wenn ich nach meine 5 monatelangen Abwesenheit es bei der Geldspende belassen hätte, die ich für den Kongress zusammengebracht habe, denn ich konnte es natürlich in drei Wochen nicht mehr bewältigen, was hier an Unordnung vorher geschehen war.”

70 Whittick, *Woman into Citizen*, 118.

a future IAW meeting and informed her that the “international stall” at the IAW Congress in Berlin had yielded four thousand Marks. She also invited Rosa to stay with her at her country house in Goslar.⁷¹

On July 16, 1929, Rosa Manus answered: “You are really a wonderful person! [...] I sensed from the very first day that we would easily understand each other.”⁷² She pressed Kathinka to send her a book she had promised and also asked her to visit Parkwijk, the Manus family’s estate “auf dem Lande” (in the country) in Baarn.⁷³ Such invitations suggest that they recognized their common background in a *grossbürgertümliche* (upper-middle-class) world that allowed for a country home alongside a house in the city. When, three months later, Kardorff-Oheimb announced that she would arrive in the Netherlands between November 18 and 25 before travelling on to the United Kingdom, Rosa Manus immediately tried to enlist her for some meetings and promised her a stay in Baarn. Within ten days there was a flurry of letters. Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb’s arrival was first called off and then announced again; the theme and title of her lecture “Die Armee der Frauen” (The women’s army) was decided upon and a precise date was agreed when, on October 26, 1929, it was all canceled by Kardorff-Oheimb: She was unable to come and her visit was postponed until the end of January 1930.

Rosa Manus was disappointed, especially since the announcements had already been printed. Nonetheless, she immediately launched into organizing a meeting in Amsterdam on January 28, and another one in The Hague on January 29, 1930. She urged Katharina to send press materials, to which Kardorff-Oheimb finally responded on December 23, 1930. Shortly afterwards,

71 Correspondence with Katharina von Kardorff 1929, Manus Papers, no. 52, scan nos. 5–6.

72 “Sie sind wirklich ein Prachtmensch! [...] Ich fühlte vom ersten Tag an, dass wir einander sofort verstanden.” Manus to Kardorff-Oheimb, 16 July 1929, Manus Papers, no. 52, scan no. 19.

73 The promised book is Katharina von Kardorff and Ada Beil, *Gardinenpredigten* (Curtain lectures) (Berlin: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1929), a very interesting dialogue between the two women on a multitude of current issues from a gender perspective. Ada (Schmidt-) Beil was a prominent feminist author, about whom I have not been able to find much information. That she was greatly appreciated by contemporary feminists can be deduced from the fact that Aletta Jacobs recommended Beil’s 1926 book *Schöpfung der Frau* (Woman’s Creativity), which her friends Lida Gustava Heymann and Anita Augspurg had given her during the Dutch *Sinterklaas* celebrations. Mineke Bosch, *Een onwrikbaar geloof in rechtvaardigheid: Aletta Jacobs 1854–1929* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2005), 620 and 655. Jacobs reviewed it in the *Maandblad van de Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Staatsburgeressen* (Monthly Journal of the Dutch Association of Women Citizens), 15 March 1927 and 15 April 1927.

it was decided that she would also speak at a meeting of The Hague branch of the Dutch IAW, the Dutch Association of Women Citizens. This was at the request of its president, Mathilde Cohen Tervaert-Israels.

To judge by the press reports, Kardorff-Oheimb made quite an impression with her speech, “Die Armee der Mütter” (The mothers’ army), which was held in Amsterdam at the Industrial Club, a national center of industry and commerce that was founded in 1913.⁷⁴ A reception was held for her afterwards at the *Nederlandsche Vrouwenclub* (Dutch Women’s Club) in Amsterdam. This club may have been another point of mutual interest for Rosa Manus and Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb. Rosa Manus had an early interest in women’s clubs that became popular in many countries as a cross between a nineteenth-century women’s reading room, a gentlemen’s club and a women’s restaurant/hotel. The initial plans for the Amsterdam-based club were an offshoot of the “Woman 1813–1913” exhibition. But they only came to fruition in 1923 with the purchase of a building at Keizersgracht 580–582, which had ample space for meetings, a restaurant and rooms that could be rented or where one could stay overnight.⁷⁵ Rosa Manus was on the first board, and rented office space there for several years from 1929 onwards. Although the Amsterdam-based Women’s Club would only officially be known as a Lyceum Club as of 1935, the “Lyceum ideal,” which developed in Great Britain at the turn of the twentieth century, was to bring together professional women: from journalists, writers and artists to scientists, doctors and politicians. The club was neutral territory and a meeting place where bonds could be forged between different parts of society. In a way, although women’s clubs were often organized by women from elite backgrounds, they could be seen as a democratization of the salon because they provided a semi-public space for women to meet. The London club was launched in 1902; in Germany, the first *Lyceum-Club* opened in Berlin in 1905. As previously mentioned, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb became an Honorary Member in 1918. However, she seems to have become particularly active once her financial situation forced her to move some of the activities that she previously held at home, to public and semi-public spaces

74 The Dutch digital newspaper archive Delpher, <http://www.delpher.nl/> provides many hits when searching in the database for “Kardorff.” These articles relate to the period between January and February 1930. Her speeches were reported in all the major newspapers: *De Telegraaf*, *Het Vaderland*, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, *De Tijd* (Catholic) and *Het Volk* (socialist) along with a variety of local papers.

75 Elisabeth van Zutphen, “De Nederlandsche Vrouwenclub, 1924–1940” (MA thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1998).

such as the *Lyceum-Club*.⁷⁶ Kardorff-Oheimb became a board member in 1930. She resigned in 1933 when the *Deutsche Lyceum-Club* was nazified. The *Damen-Club* that she founded in 1930 was presented as the direct counterpart to the venerable institution of the gentlemen's club, as is made obvious by a newspaper clipping in the Rosa Manus Papers, although it did not have rooms of its own.⁷⁷ Rosa Manus, who always deplored her own lack of higher education, must have admired Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's passion for teaching women, and was also keen on the association with professional women.

A day later, on 30 January, a tea party was organized by the main feminist organizations in The Hague. On 31 January, Kardorff-Oheimb was back in Amsterdam for a speech for young women at the American Hotel on "Das Recht der Jugend zur Erotik" (Young people's right to erotics), which was once again widely covered in the press. It is striking how many of the small announcements in the Dutch media were accompanied by photographs of either Kardorff-Oheimb on her own or with her hostesses.⁷⁸ This certainly attests to her international renown and celebrity status. In the liberal paper *Haagsche Post*, she and Rosa Manus were even the subject of Ton van Tast's weekly cartoon (see fig. 3.2).⁷⁹

According to an elaborate report in the socialist daily *Het Volk*, Kardorff-Oheimb's arguments were an eclectic mixture of rights and duties, women's economic value as paid workers and consumers, and mothers' innate right to protect the children they bear.⁸⁰ In her view, peace politics were part of women's duty to educate, which started in the nursery and ended in parliament. It all culminated in a call for the founding of a mothers' league for peace. Though these arguments were not particularly new or striking, the demand for a peace league could hardly have been a message that Rosa Manus wanted to have communicated. Wasn't she at the heart of the existing "inter-international" women's organizations that were associated with the League of Nations and which, through the League's formal machinery, strove to influence peace on a

76 Kardorff-Oheimb moved to a smaller house in Berlin in 1930.

77 Manus Papers, no. 58, scan no. 17.

78 There are quite a few clippings in the Manus Papers, but the many newspaper accounts of her visit and other news items can be found through the Dutch digital newspaper archive Delpher, <http://www.delpher.nl/>.

79 Ton van Tast (which, when pronounced, sounds like Ton Fantast) was the pseudonym of Anton van der Valk (1884–1975). Between 1923 and 1948, he produced a weekly cartoon that commented on the news and was called "De daverende dingen dezer dagen" (The tumultuous things of these days). This particular cartoon is part of a larger one, and was published in the *Haagsche Post* on 8 February 1930. Manus Papers, no. 58, scan no. 13.

80 *Het Volk*, 29 January 1930.

FIGURE 3.2 “Baronesse Von Kardorff aan ‘t hoofd van ‘Die Armee der Mütter,’” as published in *Haagsche Post*, 8 February 1930.

The cartoon subtitle reads: “Baronesse Von Kardorff in command of ‘Die Armee der Mütter’ (non-mothers are allowed to come along) is going to kill off the Dragon of War; bravo! bravissimo! (‘we should not value the outcome, only the goal’) . . .” From left to right: Baronesse Von Kardorff, Rosa Manus, [Weldoet] Wynaendts Franken-Dyserinck in Girl Scouting uniform, [Jo] v[an] Ammers-Küller, followed by an army of Anonymi and a burly belle-mère (mother-in-law), shouting “Let me handle this.” CARTOON, © TON VAN TAST [ANTON VAN DER VALK]; ROSA MANUS PAPERS, COLLECTION IAV IN ATRIA, AMSTERDAM, NO. 58.

global scale? One can imagine that Manus had hoped that Kardorff-Oheimb would align herself with the IAW and that her future plans would be shaped with its assistance.

But whether she had disappointed Rosa Manus is something that we simply don’t know. What we do know, however, is that especially after Kardorff-Oheimb’s visit to Holland the letters were full of hope for a fruitful working relationship. As Rosa wrote on February 4, 1930: “You are now indispensable to the Alliance and I accept your cooperation with a thousand hands. I definitely feel that we two can still achieve a great deal.”⁸¹ But it didn’t take long before there was a sense of disenchantment. When Manus had encouraged Kardorff-Oheimb to attend an IAW meeting in the Netherlands on March 17 so that she could meet members of its international board, the German branch refused to send her as a delegate. Instead it appointed someone else to represent the German women on the IAW’s Financial Committee. It is clear that Rosa’s advice to Katharina that she should contact the German branch’s president, Dorothee von Velsen, was long overdue as there had already been ample opportunity to

81 “Für den Weltbund bist du von jetzt an unentbehrlich und ich greife deine Mitarbeit mit tausend Händen an. Ich fühle bestimmt dass wir beiden noch vieles leisten können.” Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 21.

discuss this at, for instance, a *Kulturpolitische* (cultural political) meeting organized by the German IAW branch at the former Prussian *Herrenhaus* (House of Lords) on March 2, 1930, where both Kardorff-Oheimb and Velsen were on the speakers' list. Kardorff-Oheimb even received a somewhat haughty letter from the IAW's treasurer, Frances Sterling, who lectured her on the Alliance's democratic rules. Kardorff-Oheimb promptly called off her visit to the IAW meeting in the Netherlands, to which Manus responded with "furchtbar Leid" (great regret) that she had "again" failed to turn up and had thereby missed the chance of meeting the interesting international friends with whom she would have shared the podium with a speech on "Die Frau im Parlament" (Woman in Parliament).⁸² As had happened before, Kardorff-Oheimb's presence had already been officially announced.⁸³ Rosa Manus's secretary wrote to her afterwards that, at the *Jugendabend* (Youth Evening) she had been asked at least twenty times about why Katharina wasn't there: "Die Jugend hat Sie noch gar nicht vergessen" (The young people have definitely not forgotten you).⁸⁴ Rosa Manus then tried to arrange a meeting with her in Berlin, where Rosa stayed for a long and sorrowful week during which not only one of her nieces died but also an old Dutch friend, who was living there. Kardorff-Oheimb, however, was out of town and could not make it back in time for a meeting.⁸⁵ In the following letter, she told Rosa Manus that her doctor had confined her to bed, and that she planned to take the waters in Karlsbad. She would be happy if Rosa could join her there.⁸⁶

That Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb hoped that her money would secure her a position on the IAW board becomes clear when we read several references to her ability to attract wealthy women to the IAW. She, and other women around her, expected that this would result in her nomination. The most explicit example of this expectation is contained in the letter that was obviously written on her orders, and which her close friend Hannah Ackermann sent to Rosa Manus while staying with Katharina in Goslar during Easter 1930:

In terms of the Ladies Club, I have to tell you that Kathinka wants to fight for every single member paying twenty Marks to the Alliance, and so far

82 Manus to Kardorff-Oheimb, 11 March 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 51.

83 Announcement of the public evening to be held at the Carlton Hotel in Amsterdam, Nederlandsche Unie voor Vrouwenbelangen Records, Collection IAV in Atria, no. 70 (with thanks to Annette Mevis).

84 Manus (secr.) to Kardorff-Oheimb, 24 March 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 60.

85 See Manus to Kardorff-Oheimb, 31 March 1930 and Kardorff-Oheimb to Manus, 3 April 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan nos. 61–63.

86 Kardorff-Oheimb to Manus, 9 April 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 64.

we have sixty-seven members. Of course, Kathinka has to be very careful with the recruiting, particularly because the women, who so lovingly opened their doors to the Alliance conference participants last June, simply do not understand why the Alliance women are treating her in such an unfriendly way. They also fail to understand why she has still not been made a member of the Alliance Board. Perhaps, in a personal capacity, you could ask about the position the Board would take if Kathinka were to bring in one hundred members at twenty Marks each. In fact, would it be possible for the *Damen-Club* to merge with the Alliance so as to form a corporate collective and what would the membership fee be if there were one hundred members?⁸⁷

Rosa's response was made directly to "Meine liebe Kathinka." She hoped that the president of the IAW board would answer the latter's membership request promptly, and that the issue of why Kardorff-Oheimb had not been nominated would then be explained to her in detail. But was she not aware that members of the international board were elected exclusively during international congresses? Moreover, the national branches were responsible for nominating their representatives, so she should speak to them.⁸⁸ This must have been a discouraging answer for Kardorff-Oheimb, as her relationship with the German branch had failed to improve since 1929. But she did not give up.

87 "Ueber den Damenklub soll ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass Kathinka dafür kämpfen will, dass von jedem Mitglied—es sind bis jetzt 67—20.- Mk für den Weltbund gezahlt werden sollen. Kathinka muss natürlich sehr vorsichtig bei der Werbung sein, gerade diese Damen sind es, die im vergangenen Juni voll grosser Liebe den Teilnehmerinnen am Weltbundkongress ihre Häuser öffneten und die es nun gar nicht verstehen können, dass Kathinka von den Weltbundfrauen verhältnismässig wenig freundlich behandelt wird. Sie verstehen es auch nicht, dass sie noch nicht im Vorstand des Weltbundes ist, vielleicht fragen sie von sich aus in Ihrem Vorstand einmal an, welche Stellungnahme derselbe einnehmen würde, falls Kathinka Ihnen 100 Mitglieder zu 20.- Mk. zuführen würde. Ist es eigentlich möglich diesen Damenklub als korporativen Zusammenschluss dem Weltbund anzuschliessen und wie würde dann bei 100 Mitgliedern der Mitgliedsbeitrag sich stellen?" Hannah Ackermann to Manus, 22 April 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 68. Hannah Ackermann was more than a colleague. From 1922 Kardorff-Oheimb's youngest children, Elisabeth and Heinz, lived with her "Duzfreundin" (intimate friend) Hannah Ackermann and her husband and their two children in Magdeburg, in what Baddack has characterized as a harmonious shared and delegated education. Baddack, "Kathinka," 167. See also the 'biography' based on a long interview, of her youngest child and daughter Elisabeth Furtwängler whose first husband was Ackermann's son, Hans. See Klaus Lang, *Elisabeth Furtwängler. Mädchen mit 95 Jahren?* (Neckenmark etc.: Novum, 2007).

88 Manus to Kardorff-Oheimb, 25 April 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 70.

In her answer to Rosa, she emphasized that she had now succeeded in attracting seventy women to the *Damen-Club*, all of whom would contribute at least one hundred Marks in membership fees along with a one-off entrance fee of another hundred Marks. If only the IAW board would send them a message of welcome, she was sure that she would be able to secure twenty Marks per member for the Alliance, “which I would find very nice for our common work.”⁸⁹

Obviously, the hope of further international cooperation was still there. After Kardorff-Oheimb’s husband told Rosa Manus that the *Damen-Club* had been set up, her immediate advice was that they should attract members from all parts of the country, “so that you [KvK] and your club can become part of the IAW.”⁹⁰ In her next letter, dated June 1, 1930, Katharina informed Rosa that she had written to “Elly von Schwabach, from Kerzendorf near Ludwigsfelde, one of the most important women of Berlin. Maybe too fashionable for your work. But anyhow, she really wants to help me organize the *Damen-Club* so that it can work as a worthy representative of the Alliance, both socially and financially.”⁹¹

Shortly after this letter, when Rosa Manus and IAW president Margery Corbett Ashby had met Elly von Schwabach in Vienna for an Alliance board meeting, Katharina wrote to “Liebe Rosa!”:

The whole world is enchanted by you and Corbett-Ashby. Frau von Schwabach has written in raptures to me, and the ladies that I offered you for breakfast are all lovely and good protagonists of our ideas, perhaps even *because* they are ladies and mothers, and are, after all, used to dealing with money.⁹²

89 “So fände ich das sehr fein für unsere gemeinsame Arbeit.” Kardorff-Oheimb to Manus, 30 April 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 70.

90 “Damit du deinen Klub dem Weltbund anschliessen kannst.” Manus to Kardorff-Oheimb, 12 May 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 72.

91 “Frau Elly von Schwabach, Kerzendorf bei Ludwigsfelde, eine der ersten Frauen Berlins, vielleicht für Eure Arbeit zu mondain, aber auf alle Fälle hat sie den innigsten Wunsch, mit mir zusammen den Damen-Club auch so zu gestalten, dass er als würdige Vertretung für den Weltbund gesellschaftlich und auch finanziell arbeiten kann.” Kardorff-Oheimb to Manus, 1 June 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 73. Elly von Schwabach was the daughter of one of the most influential bankers in Germany, Paul von Schwabach. Kerzendorf was the name of the family’s country house. Elly von Schwabach was also known for her political salon.

92 “Alle Welt ist von Dir und Corbett-Ashby entzückt. Frau von Schwabach hat mir reizend geschrieben und die Damen, die ich Euch zum Frühstück vorsetzte, sind alles liebe und gute Anhänger unserer Idee, vielleicht deshalb weil sie eben Damen sind, Mütter und

Manus's next letter again reveals that the reason for their mutual bond was the importance that they both attached to money as a weapon in the feminist struggle:

What's important for us now at the Alliance is to obtain money. We have to have money so as to be able to do this work, and I'm sure that if only you can find the right people, the money will also be found. Although money is not the main thing of course, it is a necessary evil. Kathinka, you know this as well as I do, and it is for this reason that I'm so happy that you're bringing women together, who would not have otherwise been involved. I'm convinced that they will be satisfied with our Alliance and that you must therefore invite international women to speak at the *Damen-Club* some time next winter. Now that you have to take a rest, you could work away on your English so that you can also express yourself in this language, for your oratory power can reach infinitely far. Each of us can only do what we can, and few people have your capacity to convince people!⁹³

Be this as it may, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's response reveals that she was mainly focusing on her educational work at the *Hochschule der Frau*. For the next course period, from October 1930 to March 1931, six thousand people had already registered as auditors and there was no doubt that her top priority was organizing that event. The letters continued back and forth at regular intervals. Yet they gradually became more repetitive and a matter of politeness and daily concerns. There were invitations on both sides to visit the

auch schliesslich immerhin gewohnt, mit Geld umzugehen." Kardorff-Oheimb to Manus, 9 June 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 76.

- 93 "Hauptsache ist nun für uns in dem Weltbund: Geld zu bekommen. Wir müssen Geld haben um die Arbeit zu tun und ich bin überzeugt, dass wenn man nur die richtigen Menschen findet, auch das Geld kommen wird. Obwohl natürlich Geld keine Hauptsache ist, ist es ein notwendiges Übel. Du, Kathinka, weisst das genauso wie ich, und daher bin ich auch so froh, dass du die Frauen, die sonst nichts mitmachen würden, zusammenbringst. Ich bin überzeugt, dass Sie in unserem Weltbund genugtuund [Genugtuung] finden werden und daher ist es notwendig, dass du im nächsten Winter mal internationale Frauen einlädst in dem Damenklub zu sprechen. Du selbst kannst jetzt wo du liegen musst, tüchtig Englisch arbeiten, damit du dich auch in dieser Sprache verständigen kannst, denn deine Rednergaben können so unendlich viel err[e]ichen und jede kann nur geben, dass was er hat, und wie wenigen ist es gegeben die Ueberredungskraft zu haben wie du!" Manus to Kardorff-Oheimb, 13 June 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 79.

Netherlands or Berlin, but all of them failed. This was because either Kardorff-Oheimb was too busy with her courses or Manus was completely consumed by her work for the IAW and several of its committees. Hence, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb was unable to speak in Eindhoven in November 1930. Similarly in June 1931, after attending a meeting of IAW officers in Belgrade, Rosa Manus did not include Berlin on her way back, where Kardorff-Oheimb was giving a lecture on peace and the League of Nations on June 16. Both they and their families suffered from ill health. Amongst the correspondence is a reminder of a bill from Amsterdam's Boerhaave Clinic that was sent to Manus one year after Kardorff-Oheimb had consulted a doctor there in January 1930. Rosa Manus had also considered visiting a spa and taking the waters for her gall bladder problems in the summer of 1931 but breathlessly reported:

I am now really busy sending petitions to every corner of the globe and collecting signatures for the Disarmament Conference, and I do hope we also get lots and lots in Germany. We have to reach all women, whatever their politics, parties or movements. So Kathinka, we will definitely need you as well!⁹⁴

After Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb's suggestion that Rosa Manus should speak at the next *Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft* course in 1931, Manus answered that—looking at the list of lecturers—she didn't feel that she was important enough. She did, however, promise to hold a speech whenever she happened to be in Berlin. Kardorff-Oheimb took this to mean a yes, and sent her an *Ehrenhörerkarte* (an honorary auditor's card), which gave her free entrance to all the lectures, and a *Stundenplan* (schedule) so as to inform her about the speaking opportunities. But this was thwarted by the death of Manus's father and her work for the women's organizations' petition to the League of Nations' World Disarmament Conference in February 1932. The correspondence ceased shortly afterwards, only to flutter to life once more in 1935 with a half-hearted attempt by Kardorff-Oheimb to re-establish contact with Rosa Manus.

94 "Ich bin jetzt fest bei der Arbeit um eine Petition in die Welt zu schicken um Unterschriften zu sammeln für die Entwaffnungskonferenz, und hoffe dass wir auch in Deutschland eine Menge, Menge bekommen werden. Alle Frauen, von allen Seiten, Partien und von allen verschiedenen Strömungen müssen wir erreichen. Also, Kathinka, auch Dich brauchen wir bestimmt." Manus to Kardorff-Oheimb, 2 July 1931, Manus Papers, no. 54, scan no. 8.

Rosa Manus, Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb and the Different Uses of Money

After 1933, Rosa Manus remained active in international feminism and also became deeply involved in relief efforts for German refugees. Through her many international contacts and her sister in Berlin, she had first-hand knowledge of the Nazification of all the German civil organizations and the expulsion of Jews from public office. Increasingly worried about the ever-deteriorating fate of the German Jews, she was one of the founders and the president of the *Neutraal Vrouwencomité voor de Vluchtelingen* (Neutral Women's Committee for Refugees) and also shared information with Jewish organizations in the United States.⁹⁵

It is well known that the response of feminist and women's organizations to the Nazis' *Gleichschaltung* policies was not beyond reproach,⁹⁶ but Baddack's research reveals that Kardorff-Oheimb cannot be suspected of harboring Nazi or anti-Semitic sympathies. Both she and her husband remained true to their political beliefs that were, in fact, more liberal than their official political affiliations suggest. Anyway, the correspondence between Rosa Manus and Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb ended long before the Nazis came to power. So, given that there were no ideological divisions in this regard, the question remains as to what made this short-lived relationship tick, and why was that not enough to keep it going? Within the context of this book, an especially relevant question concerns the meaning of this relationship for Rosa Manus, both personally and as an international feminist, who was always seeking new ways of advancing the cause. Was there an intrinsic sympathy between the two women or the recognition that they were kindred spirits? Or did Rosa Manus enter into this friendship primarily as a representative of the IAW? But the opposite question is equally relevant: Did von Kardorff-Oheimb embrace the friendship with Rosa Manus, a prominent IAW representative, in order to bypass the German IAW branch and become part of international feminism?

95 Bosch, with Kloosterman, *Politics and Friendship*, 229. See also Chapter 8 in this volume.

96 Gertrud Bäumer was a leading feminist and a long-time parliamentarian for the German liberal party. She was dismissed from her teaching position but continued to edit the journal *Die Frau*, see Angelika Schaser, *Helene Lange und Gertrud Bäumer. Eine politische Lebensgemeinschaft* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), 267–85. For the *Deutsche Akademikerinnenbund*, see Christine von Oertzen, *Strategie Verständigung. Zur transnationalen Vernetzung von Akademikerinnen, 1917–1955* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2012).

The answers to these questions entail two perspectives: one concerns the wider context of changing relations between women and politics during the transition from an aristocratic political system to a people's democracy with universal suffrage; the other explores a more personal, historical context so as to explain Kardorff-Oheimb and Manus's mutual admiration and desire for cooperation.

In terms of the wider context, it is interesting to note that the British press referred to Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb as "Germany's Lady Astor." Through her marriages, she became as conspicuously wealthy as Nancy Astor who, in 1919, was the first woman to take her seat in the British parliament.⁹⁷ Kardorff-Oheimb's gradually-acquired economic and social capital likewise enabled her to secure a prominent position as a hostess of important men. This position also benefitted her political ambitions, and she later combined entertaining Reichstag politicians with a role in the public, political debate. Although it's too easy to claim that Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb bought her political career, her rapid rise in the DVP was not unrelated to her financial status. Moreover, it is important to realize that public offices were still mainly reserved for men, who were preferably aristocratic and had private means of their own. Kardorff-Oheimb was clever and ambitious, and she knew how to play the game of belonging to both the "aristocracy by birth" and the "money aristocracy."

As combined with her exceptional role as one of the few female members of the Reichstag, she was an outstanding example of a woman from the Weimar Republic era. The almost hilarious description of the "Unterlocks-Politik" (petticoat politics) in her *Politik und Lebensbeichte* conceals the difficulties she and other women were confronted with as pioneering politicians, though the accompanying public upheaval definitely helped Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb acquire an international "celebrity status" that was similar to Astor's.⁹⁸ The immediate cause of these polemics was that she had supposedly endorsed her political ally (and husband-to-be) Siegfried von Kardorff, when he was asked to form a cabinet that would make him *Reichskanzler* in 1922. In reaction to a

97 For Astor, see Martin Pugh, "Astor, Nancy Witcher, Viscountess Astor (1879–1964)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Henry Colin Gray Matthew and Brian Howard Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30489> (accessed 4 April 2014).

98 Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 139; Baddack, "'Kathinka,'" 50–51. For Nancy Astor as exponent of the "political hostess," who paradoxically was the first female member of the British parliament, see Hanneke Hoekstra, *De dictatuur van de petticoat. Vrouwen en macht in de Britse politiek, 1900–1940* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2011).

suggestion in the extreme right-wing newspaper *Ostpreussische Zeitung* that “Unterlocks-Politik” was pursued in his entourage, Kardorff-Oheimb wrote to the editor that “Unterröcke” were no longer fashionable and that she most definitely did not wear them. There was a lot of press coverage of this letter, which also resulted in a satirical song, Georg Grüber’s *Hosenmatz-Shimmy*, with the chorus: “Kathinka hat ein Höschen an” (Kathinka wears the trousers). Although this was all meant in good humor, in her auto/biography Kardorff-Oheimb quoted a more unpleasant personal comment, which was made during a political meeting in March 1924: “If there’s ever a war with France, Frau von Oheimb will be leading the troops, naked in a swimming costume with a dirty Jew on her back.”⁹⁹ She included this as one of a number of examples of what the press could get away with as early as nine years before Hitler’s rise to power. But she concluded this episode with: “Indeed, it wasn’t easy to be a member of the German Reichstag at that time—as everyone would admit—and for a woman it was not at all easy! Just like today!”¹⁰⁰

Kardorff-Oheimb and Astor’s cases show not only how difficult it was for women to be members of parliament—Astor even called her first period in parliament a frightening experience—but also how the influence of the older politics of patronage still applied during the era of democratic, representative politics. They both tried to combine the repertoires required by the cultures of the old and the new political regimes. Hence, they learned how to handle parliamentary and party politics while also organizing tea and dinner parties for statesmen and politicians. At the same time, they were often called upon “as women” and also started to act as political hostesses for women’s and feminist meetings, and therefore became part of these networks. Unlike what is sometimes suggested about Nancy Astor, both she and Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb actively nurtured contact with feminist and women’s organizations right from the start of their parliamentary careers.¹⁰¹ Astor found allies among

99 “Wenn es zu einem Kriege gegen Frankreich käme, dann würde Frau von Oheimb dem Heer voranziehen, nackt in der Badehose, einen Dreckjuden auf dem Rücken.” Kardorff-Oheimb, *Politik und Lebensbeichte*, 141.

100 Ibid., “Jawohl: es war damals nicht leicht, Mitglied des deutschen Reichstages zu sein—und für eine Frau war es, wie man mir gestehen wird, erst recht nicht einfach! Genauso wie heute!”

101 Hoekstra, for instance, observes hostility between Nancy Astor and the women’s movement. But although the observation that Astor had no background in suffrage feminism can be conceded, there is considerable evidence that she was in contact with feminists as of the point that she took up her seat in parliament. In 1931, she even hired a political secretary, Ray Strachey, who was well acquainted with the suffrage movement. Apart from her political work, Strachey edited *Time and Tide*, the main feminist journal of the

the feminists in her own country—Margery Corbett Ashby being one of the most prominent—who immediately tried to win her over to their cause. By contrast, German feminists did not actively solicit Kardorff-Oheimb's support, even though she was genuinely moved by women's issues such as the double standards for men and women that legitimized unjust marital laws, which left women dependent on the whims of men. Her political awakening happened during her first divorce and also after the end of WWI; it led to her efforts to educate women politically where she hoped to cooperate with a number of women's organizations. But she was ideologically out of line vis-à-vis the extreme right-wing, conservative, evangelical and nationalist women's groups. Moreover, she was apparently also out of line with the more liberal German women's movement; this was possibly due to her strategies as an independent, political hostess, who used her wealth to gain recognition. Although she joined the German branch of the IAW in the early 1920s, its members were generally professional women, who believed in meritocracy rather than moneyed aristocracy. It seems that Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb never really spoke their language or was fully accepted by them.¹⁰²

The competitiveness of Kardorff-Oheimb's relationship with the regular women's movement can be seen in the letter that she wrote to Rosa Manus on April 30, 1930:

I feel like a revolutionary. For, on the one hand, the German branch of the IAW believes that my *Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft* has thrust it against the wall, while, on the other hand, the *Lyceum-Club* thinks the Ladies Club is damaging it. Meanwhile, both organizations forget that they could have secured me for their Boards twelve years ago. In fact, recently I've shopped myself around like sour beer, although in my own eyes—and I do hope you'll agree—I'm more like sweet wine.¹⁰³

1920s, and wrote several books about suffrage and feminist history. Astor also proved to be a staunch supporter of women's issues in parliament. Margery Corbett Ashby, and two other contemporaries, criticized Robert Sykes, Nancy Astor's first biographer, in 1964 for completely ignoring her services to the women's movement. Political hostesses and feminists certainly had their differences, but they also had common interests that were based on an awareness of gender and political strategies as well as shared backgrounds.

102 Baddack stresses that members of the German IAW shared similar, long-term professional histories and had forged friendships that excluded women like Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb, who were political newcomers and had been thrust into the political limelight. Baddack, "Kathinka," 463.

103 "Ich komme mir wie ein Revolutionär vor, einesteils fühlt sich der Staatsbürgerinnen-Verband durch meine 'Nationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft' an die Wand gedrückt, anderenteils

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that she jumped at the opportunity of Rosa Manus's invitation to connect with international feminism and therefore bypass the German IAW. Manus, for her part, seems to have seized the chance to win over this 'aristocratic' and politically powerful woman to the international feminist cause.

Apart from the wider political context as an explanation for their friendship, the more personal context should also be examined, as both women seem to have acted on what could be described as the 'bonds of high-financial womanhood.' Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb was born into a solid middle-class environment and acquired enormous social and economic capital during the course of her life. In this respect, when they met in 1929, Rosa Manus was of the same class as Kardorff-Oheimb and her high society female friends; they had also both been raised with similar ideals of femininity. Manus had been brought in to help at the 1908 IWSA Congress in Amsterdam by the feminist Emma Gompertz-Josephus Jitta, who came from the same elite background as Manus herself.¹⁰⁴ Rosa Manus's feminism was perhaps too forthright for the "dignified civility" that was expected of her; yet it was also permeated by upper-class cultural forms of behavior. Never having lived on her own until her mother died in 1939, she had learned to combine the roles of "dutiful daughter" and "prominent feminist." Rosa Manus infused the strategies of the Dutch feminist movement with a keen awareness of the need for financial clout and social power.¹⁰⁵ While working for feminism, she used family networks when fundraising for her feminist projects; initially, she worked together with Mia Boissevain, with whom she shared the education of a daughter of the Amsterdam financial elite.¹⁰⁶ It was definitely due to these two women's plans that women from the upper classes were gradually enlisted for the Dutch

meint der Lyceum-Club, dass ihm der neue Damen-Club Abbruch tut, dabei vergessen beide Organisationen, dass sie mich seit 12 Jahren in ihrem Vorstand hätten festbinden können. Schliesslich habe ich mich im letzten Jahre angeboten wie sauer Bier, trotzdem ich mir selbst—was Du mir hoffentlich bestätigst—wie süsser Most vorkomme." Kardorff-Oheimb to Manus, 30 April 1930, Manus Papers, no. 53, scan no. 71.

104 For further information, see Chapter 1 of this volume, Everard, "Rosa Manus: The Genealogy of a Jewish Dutch Feminist."

105 Mineke Bosch, "Politieke propaganda in een spectaculair vrouwelijk decor. De Tentoonstelling De Vrouw 1813–1913 en het vrouwenkiesrecht" (paper presented at the *De vrouw 1813–1913–2013* Congress, organized by the Royal Netherlands Historical Society (KNNHG), The Hague, 8 November 2013).

106 Maria Klever, "Boissevain, Maria," in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, <http://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Boissevain> (accessed 7 March 2013).

suffrage cause.¹⁰⁷ The references in the letters to this common background may explain why Kardorff-Oheimb and Manus seem to have warmed to each other so instantly and why, right after they made contact, they invited each other to their family homes in the country.

However, there were also important differences between their backgrounds and their use of money. The Manus family did not hunt whereas Kardorff-Oheimb suggested that hers did. Nonetheless, Rosa's father had other "aristocratic" pursuits such as stamp collecting at a top international level and cultivating orchids in a large greenhouse.¹⁰⁸ It is no coincidence that Katharina wrote an extensive description of taking a number of orchid cuttings back with her on the rail journey from the Netherlands to Berlin, where she ridiculed German bureaucracy while at the same time honoring the giver.¹⁰⁹ Compared to Katharina, Rosa was never conspicuously rich, although she dressed fashionably and wore classical jewelry such as pearl necklaces that testified of wealth. Rosa was also certainly not parsimonious in her dealings with money. For instance, when returning home from the United States, she took a plane from Paris so as to save herself a day.¹¹⁰ Moreover, she definitely helped her friends to share privately in her wealth, as is demonstrated by the many presents that she bestowed on them. In the letter where Kardorff-Oheimb compared herself with a revolutionary, she elaborately thanked Rosa Manus for her "rosa Schal," a scarf where "rosa" could refer to Rosa herself, a rose or the color pink. Rosa Manus often ensured that her political friends also became family friends and were therefore able to enjoy the good life. In a commemorative text, Carrie Chapman Catt writes that, after the 1908 IWSA Congress in Amsterdam, she stayed on for a few days, during which she enjoyed "a fine drive about the City with Mrs. Manus and her daughters" and also had dinner with the family at home.¹¹¹ In 1923, Rosa's parents travelled to Paris to meet their daughter and

107 For this, see Mia Boissevain, *Een Amsterdamsche familie* (n.p.: privately published, n.d.) and the manuscript typed by Mia Boissevain in memory of Rosa Manus, Manus Papers, no. 131.

108 After his death in 1931, the H.P. Manus stamp collection was catalogued and sold between October 1932 and June 1933 by Plumridge & Co. Stamp Auctioneers. *Catalogue of the H.P. Manus Collection* (London: Plumridge & Co. Stamp Auctioneers, 1932). Its value was estimated at £ 100,000: "Veiling der Collectie Manus. Indrukwekkende stelselmatigheid," *De Telegraaf*, 28 October 1932.

109 Untitled typescript (copy), Manus Papers, no. 130, scan nos. 85–89.

110 Manus to Carrie Chapman Catt, 31 August 1935, quoted in Bosch, with Kloosterman, *Politics and Friendship*, 231.

111 Manuscript typed by Carrie Chapman Catt in memory of Rosa Manus, Manus Papers, no. 130, scan no. 2.

Mrs. Catt, who had just returned from an eight-month trip through South America and was now travelling with Rosa to the Alliance Congress in Rome. Note the extent to which Rosa Manus appreciated her parents' hospitality towards her friends:

My mother and father, who couldn't wait any longer, came to spend a week with us in Paris. They came in the Pierce Arrow [the Manus's chauffeured limousine, MB], and that was a great delight. Father took us to the finest restaurants for lunch and dinner, and CCC loved it and enjoyed the delicious food so much, especially as she had a cavalier to pay the bills.¹¹²

Perhaps the best explanation for why Manus and Kardorff-Oheimb's relationship cooled after three years was that they really had very different ways of relating to and using their financial resources, which may have been due to the ways in which they acquired their wealth. Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb, though certainly not born into poverty, had taken active measures to ensure her personal wealth. Like her mother, when widowed she had taken over her husband's companies but, unlike her mother, she let her enterprises deteriorate by squandering capital on personal use. Additionally, on several occasions, she became embroiled in litigation with not only her second husband's family but also her own children. By contrast, Rosa Manus was born into great affluence but, as a woman, she was not expected to engage in business. Her father would not allow her to open a fashion shop, even when she was legally of age and had inherited money of her own. She always deplored not having a profession where she could earn her own income; however, she doubly made up for this by fulfilling public offices connected with her extended family's estate and by renting office space at the semi-public Women's Club in Amsterdam. Therefore, Rosa Manus may have regarded money as being something that one did not own personally, even though she had money of "her own"; instead one should administer it well and put it at the service of something else. Indeed, Rosa Manus never used her money in the self-serving way that Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb seems to have done so as to realize her social and political goals. Certainly, the somewhat blunt way in which Kardorff-Oheimb asked in 1931 for an IAW board membership in exchange for enlisting the rich ladies of Berlin must have seemed strange to Rosa Manus, and may have also ultimately estranged them. Such behavior ran counter to how Rosa Manus always tried to

112 Manus to Clara Hyde, 28 April 1923, quoted in Bosch, with Kloosterman, *Politics and Friendship*, 190. Catt also refers to this episode in the previously mentioned commemorative text, see note 111. For the Pierce-Arrow, see fig. 9.8 in Part 2 of this volume.

further her feminist goals. She, too, made her money work for her, but she did so without asking for anything for herself in return. That's why Rosa Manus was gratefully remembered by her contemporaries for "her organizational talent and her insight into human character, her energy and *her fortune* that promoted women," words that were carved in stone at the Manus family grave in 1949.¹¹³ Katharina von Kardorff-Oheimb also used many of her talents for promoting women, but her fortune seems to have been mostly used for promoting herself. Gradually Manus and Kardorff-Oheimb must have realized that, behind their different uses of money, were two completely divergent worlds. Friendship alone was not enough to bridge that gap.

113 Family and friends placed this memorial stone on the Manus family grave at Amsterdam's Zorgvlied Cemetery during the 1949 IAW Congress in Amsterdam to commemorate the life and work of Rosa Manus (my italics, MB).