

Women in the German Revolution, 1918/1919

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In the early hours of Saturday, 9 November 1918, Cläre Casper-Derfert, a manual worker and member of Germany's Independent Social Democratic Party (*Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, USPD) who had been on the Action Committee during the January 1918 strike, woke up a fellow party member, Arthur Schöttler, with the words, 'Get up, Arthur, today is revolution!' They had been tasked with distributing leaflets to workers going into the first shift at the munitions factory on Kaiserin-Augusta-Allee in Charlottenburg, Berlin, asking them to down tools at 9 am, and join a demonstration into the city centre.¹ They were to join thousands of other workers, soldiers and sailors converging on the city in processions, which included, observers noted, large numbers of women and children.² The presence of large numbers of proletarian women among the marchers would have come as no surprise to the authorities, who would have become accustomed to women protesting publicly about the deficiencies in the food provisioning system from late October 1915, and participating in the waves of strikes that shook German industry in spring 1917 and January 1918.³ Benjamin Ziemann has, however, claimed that 'When the revolution came in 1918, its gender was male' and, indeed, the historiography of the German revolution is overwhelmingly male, with the notable exception of Rosa Luxemburg.⁴ And yet, it is now over forty years since Bill Pelz claimed that if it had not been for proletarian women, 'there might have been no revolution in Germany'.⁵ This paper seeks to explore women's role in the German revolution of 1918/1919.

The fact that women participated in the German revolution of 1918/1919 is evident from memoirs, eye-witness accounts and photographs, although it is also clear that few women obtained positions of power during the revolution and hence are absent from many political accounts. Some women were activists, while others were enthusiastic by-standers and, of course, there were many women from the middle and upper classes anxiously watching events unfold, fearful that their property might be attacked. Evelyn, Princess Blücher, from her house near the Brandenburg Gate 'with its iron blinds pulled down and doors locked' watched from the one open window on 9 November: 'when at about two o'clock a perfect avalanche of humanity began to stream by our windows, walking quietly enough, many of them carrying red flags. I noticed the pale gold of young girls' uncovered heads, as they passed by with only a shawl over their shoulders. It seemed so feminine and incongruous,

under the folds of those gruesome red banners flying over them. One can never imagine these pale northern women helping to build up barricades and screaming and raging for blood.¹⁶ The last sentence is, of course, how she envisaged a revolution, and the Germans had been expecting a revolution for months, and many expected it to be violent.⁷ The fact that the uprising started with a sailors' mutiny in Kiel came as a surprise, but very quickly the revolution spread across the coastal towns and cities of Northern Germany, often facilitated by the arrival of groups of revolutionary sailors and soldiers. The format seemed to be the same everywhere: strikes would be called, mass demonstrations held and workers' and soldiers' councils set up. Public buildings were occupied and political prisoners freed; policemen and loyal troops were disarmed and the councils took over the administration.⁸ There were reports from Kiel that common criminals, including sexually infected prostitutes and the mentally ill, had been freed, too.⁹

The revolution was not the work of a single, uniform movement sweeping all before it, though a social democratic delegate to the Soldiers' Council Congress of Württemberg on 17 November 1918 acknowledged that the Independent Socialists, aided in part by the Spartacists, had been the revolution's shock troops.¹⁰ The USPD had been formed in April 1917 by former members of the German Social Democratic Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, SPD), who had been expelled because of their failure to support the party's backing for the war and the war credits; the Spartacists were an independent, loose grouping of revolutionary socialists within the USPD who believed that the SPD had betrayed international socialism in August 1914.¹¹ Ernst Toller later wrote: 'The people "wanted peace but what they got was power which fell into their hands without a struggle . . . The people shouted for Socialism, yet they had no clear conception of what Socialism should be . . . They knew well enough what they did not want; but they had little idea of what they did want"'.¹² The revolution spread swiftly - Hamburg, Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, Rostock on 6 November, Hannover, Braunschweig, Cologne, Munich on 7 November, and Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Dresden, Leipzig and Magdeburg on 8 November and the early days of revolution witnessed little violence, after troops had misguidedly opened fire on protesters, including women and children, in Kiel on 3 November, killing 7 and injuring 29. A woman also died, having fallen under a tram.¹³ Mark Jones claims that five people died in Hamburg and none in Munich.¹⁴

In Berlin the authorities were doing their utmost to stave off the revolution. The SPD, part of Prince Max von Baden's government since early October, publicly emphasised the achievements of the October reforms which included the ending of Prussia's three-tier election system and making the Chancellor and government responsible to the Reichstag, the national parliament, while stressing to their cabinet colleagues that unless the Kaiser

abdicated there would be revolution, which Friedrich Ebert, their leader, claimed to 'hate like sin'.¹⁵ Military presence was strengthened, rail links between Berlin and Hamburg and Hannover were cut, and telephone and telegraph communications interrupted.¹⁶ But it was to be the mass of workers asked to strike on the morning of 9 November who were to bring the revolution to Berlin. On 8 November Revolutionary Shops Stewards from the metal industry met with representatives of the USPD, to finalise arrangements for the general strike and demonstration the next day. Lucie Gottschar-Heimburg, a youth leader, was present and allocated to one of the processions. After the meeting she went with others to a local pub on Alexanderplatz and was shown how to take apart and clean a revolver and then to load it. At first, they were reluctant to give girls guns, she said, but she was eventually given a revolver.¹⁷ The procession containing Cläre Casper-Derfert, who after handing out their leaflets went to a local pub and helped unpack guns and put cartridges into magazines, marched to the Reichstag, joined briefly en route from the Brandenburg Gate by the artist Käthe Kollwitz.¹⁸ Another group, with the Spartacist leader Karl Liebknecht at its head, walked to the Imperial Palace, while yet another, with the Independent Socialist Emil Eichhorn at its head, marched on police headquarters, where a woman, Helene Zirkel, raised the red flag.¹⁹ The processions had armed men at the front, furnished with guns and rifles, many bought with Russian funding, then unarmed men, then women and children.²⁰

While the demonstrators had taken over the streets, facing little or no opposition, changes were taking place at the heart of government. Prince Max von Baden handed over the Chancellorship to the SPD's Friedrich Ebert and that afternoon, at 2 pm, his colleague Philipp Scheidemann proclaimed the Kaiser's abdication and that Germany was now a Republic to the crowds amassed before the Reichstag. Two hours later Karl Liebknecht, the Spartacist leader, proclaimed the Free Socialist Republic of Germany from the Imperial Palace.²¹ Ebert set about forming a government, the Council of People's Representatives, composed of three members of the SPD and three of the USPD, 'men who enjoy the trust of the working people in the cities and in the countryside, of workers and soldiers'; the government would remain in power until a Constituent Assembly could be elected.²² Karl Liebknecht, invited to join the Council, refused when his demand that 'power should reside exclusively in the hands of elected representatives of the entire working population and soldiers' was rejected.²³ The next day, following elections held in the morning, representatives of workers' and soldiers' councils met at the Circus Busch in Berlin to elect an Executive Council, comprised of 14 soldiers', and 14 workers' representatives, the latter made up of seven from the SPD and seven from the USPD.²⁴ It, too, claimed political authority and oversight over the work of Ebert's Council. The two councils wanted fundamentally different things; while the SPD wanted a parliamentary democracy, the

Executive Council sought 'a transformation of Germany's political and economic institutions through a republic of councils'. The Executive Council could not, however, claim to represent the councils throughout Germany.²⁵ The relationship between the two councils was fraught, and Ebert, who had secured the support of the military on 10 November, came to dominate.

On Monday, 11 November 1918 Evelyn, Princess Blücher had written: 'one cannot help admiring the disciplined and orderly way in which a revolution of such dimensions has been organised with until now the least possible loss of life.'²⁶ On 15 November the very first edition of the USPD's newspaper *Die Freiheit* claimed that 63 people had died throughout Germany during the revolution, some of whom had been mere observers. Its 20 November edition claimed that 15 had died in Berlin on 9 and 10 November 1918.²⁷ Two of those killed in Berlin were women: 17-year-old Charlotte Nagel, a worker killed in fighting at the Alexanderplatz and 19-year-old Paula Plathe, a domestic servant.²⁸

On 12 November 1918 the Council of People's Delegates published its programme, lifting the state of siege, reintroducing freedom of expression, abolishing censorship, and introducing the eight-hour day and universal suffrage for men and women over the age of 20.²⁹ By that date, the revolution, or some might say the first stage, was over, with cities like Freiburg am Breisgau quietly following Berlin's example; here the setting up of a soldiers' council was quickly followed by a workers' council which together combined with four city councillors to administer the city.³⁰ Just as there was no uniform experience of the revolution, so, too, the composition, powers and aims of the workers' and soldiers' councils who took over local administration varied.³¹ The councils have been referred to as a man's movement, perhaps not surprisingly as the soldiers' councils were exclusively male.³² The tasks of the councils were fairly uniform; while the soldiers' councils tended to take responsibility for matters of security, law and order and troop demobilisation, the workers' councils oversaw the provisioning of food and accommodation, employment, welfare, transport and sanitation. In some areas, particularly where the USPD was strong, such as Stuttgart, Magdeburg, Leipzig, Halle and Braunschweig, the councils saw themselves as vehicles for the promotion of public ownership of industry, or for the dictatorship of the proletariat.³³ In several places economic interest groups also formed their own councils, or the middle classes set up *Bürgerräte* to stand up for their interests vis-à-vis the soldiers' and workers' councils.³⁴ Gertrud Bäumer, the head of the middle-class women's umbrella organisation, the Federation of Women's Associations, sat on the Teachers' Council in Hamburg where women held eight of the 28 seats, joining in order not to leave the discussions to unbridled radicalism.³⁵ In Jena a housewives' council was formed, while in Magdeburg the heads of 36 middle-class women's organisations formed a women's council on 20/21 November 1918.³⁶

The number of women on the councils was small and, indeed, the women's supplement of *Die Freiheit* on 8 December 1918 called for more women to be elected.³⁷ Of around 800 workers' councillors across Greater Berlin, 37 were women; no woman sat on the 28-strong Executive Council. In Greater Stuttgart, there were 19 women among 370 workers' councillors.³⁸ We know the names of very few of the women and those we do know of had generally been active in political life before 1914 and continued after 1919, particularly if they were later members of the Communist Party (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*, KPD) or they left written testimonies, some of which were elicited by the East German state after 1949.³⁹ Nor do we know in what capacity a woman had come to serve on a council, whether she had been elected as a worker, or nominated as the representative of a factory or a political grouping.⁴⁰ Erna Halbe, just released from prison where she had been sentenced to serve two-and-a-half years on 27 March 1918 for producing and distributing anti-war literature, was the only woman on the 30-strong Workers' and Soldiers' Council's Executive in Hamburg, one of three left-wing radical representatives, serving until March 1919; Frieda Düwell, a left-wing radical, arrested on 21 October 1918 for distributing Spartacus leaflets, was a member of the broader workers' council in Hamburg; Gertrud Morgner, a tailoress and head of the local USPD branch, was deputy chair of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in Jena; Auguste Lewinsohn, a member of the Spartacus League and Minna Naumann, a housewife who had attended the socialist women's conference in Bern in 1915, a member of the USPD sentenced to one-and-a-half years in prison on 5 May 1918 for distributing anti-war propaganda, sat on the workers' council in Dresden; Roberta Gropper, a cigarette factory worker and member of the USPD, was on the workers' council in Ulm, while Herta Geffke, a member of the USPD, sat on the workers' council in Stettin; Martha Schlag, a former domestic servant, a housewife and member of Spartacus, served in Chemnitz; Rosi Wolfstein, a former office worker and a friend of Rosa Luxemburg, sat on the council in Düsseldorf and Valeska Meinig, a textile worker so well-liked locally that the police would tip her off before they searched her property for Spartacus leaflets, served in Limbach.⁴¹ There were only two women among 496 delegates to the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils meeting in Berlin from 16 to 19 December: Käthe Leu, a housewife from Danzig and member of the USPD, and Klara Noack, a Social Democrat and housewife from Dresden. No woman was sent to the second National Congress in April 1919.⁴²

One of the best known women elected to serve on an executive of the soldiers' and workers' council was Toni Sender in Frankfurt, a member of the USPD who during the revolution chaired the meeting of the shop stewards organising the general strike, ordering the arrest of the chief of police, writing the proclamation of the Republic and taking it to all the newspapers.⁴³ She was one of several women, from across the political spectrum,

including Clara Zetkin, a leading member of the Spartacist group, Marie Juchacz, the head of the SPD's women's movement, the radical feminists, Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann, and Gertrud Bäumer to express concern not just about the paucity of women on the councils but also about the lack of women in the demobilisation committees set up by the councils and the fact that large numbers of women, such as housewives and domestic servants, could not participate in the council system.⁴⁴ By early spring, 1919, however, the power and influence of the councils had waned as elected representatives at national, state and local levels took over the government and national and local administration, while in left-wing, USPD strongholds, the councils had been forcibly repressed.

While few women had been elected to serve on the workers' councils, thousands had offered their services to them, and they were to be found primarily in clerical positions. Maria Saran, a student, offered her services to the workers' and soldiers' council in Göttingen, paying for a rubber stamp ('Workers' and Soldiers' Council, Göttingen) herself, and stamping the papers of returning soldiers to enable them to get food ration cards.⁴⁵ In Munich 18-year-old Hilde Kramer, a socialist who developed links to the left-wing radicals in Bremen and who had attended the mass demonstration on the Theresienwiese on 7 November, offered her services as a secretary to the soldiers' council. Within days she was working in the council's propaganda section, and on 30 November was one of four signatories (the writer and left-wing activist Erich Mühsam was another) to a proclamation from the Alliance of the Revolutionary Internationalists of Bavaria, expressing unhappiness with the way in which the revolution had developed and calling upon Bavarians and Germans to unite with people of all countries to smash international capitalism and imperialism.⁴⁶ In Munich the Independent Socialists' Kurt Eisner, a journalist, declared Bavaria a free state, with himself as Minister President, setting up a Soldiers', Workers' and Peasants' Council, and on 8 November the Provisional National Council of the People's State of Bavaria met in the state parliament building; it was made up of representatives of the councils, members of the parties in the existing state parliament and representatives from a range of organisations. Out of 256 members, eight were women, including Anita Augspurg representing the Association for Female Suffrage, Rosa Kempf from the organisation of Bavarian Women's Associations, and Marie Sturm of the Association of Catholic Bavarian Women Teachers.⁴⁷ On November 8 Eisner proclaimed female suffrage and the abolition of religious supervision of schools. At Eisner's instigation a Section for Women's Rights was established within the Ministry for Social Welfare, headed by Gertrud Baer who began work in February 1919.⁴⁸ At least eight women were delegates to the Congress of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils meeting in Munich between 25 February and 8 March, 1919, one of whom was a Fräulein Kleinhaas representing a Peasants' Council.⁴⁹ In the power vacuum created by Eisner's

assassination on 21 February and the wounding of the leader of the SPD, Erhard Auer, disorder reigned and in April two Soviet Republics were set up, overthrown by government troops in early May. Women also served in the Soviet Republics. One woman, Hedwig Kämpfer of the USPD, who sat on the Provisional National Council and was a delegate to the councils' Congress, sat as a judge on the revolutionary tribunal, created by the first Soviet to handle cases of counter-revolutionary activity and another two women served as assessors. Heymann believed that it was thanks to women's presence on the tribunal that no death sentences were passed.⁵⁰ Three women served on the Commission for Fighting the Counter-revolution, two on the Economics Commission. Even Augspurg and Heymann continued in public life, serving on the Commission examining Conditions in Prisons and Care Facilities.⁵¹ Hilde Kramer worked as secretary to the city's commander Rudolf Egelhofer and became known as 'the revolutionary girl with the Titus head', thanks to her short, blond hair. Arrested at the end of Soviets, she was charged with abetting high treason, but acquitted through lack of evidence.⁵² Other women were not quite so fortunate. An unknown number of women were arrested following the ending of the Soviet – Lessie Sachs, a secretary in the War Office, was sentenced to 15 months in jail, for example, and it is not known how many were killed.⁵³ Marie Kling, a 23-year-old office clerk, was one of two women killed by troops in Stadelheim prison on 4 May, having been captured working as a nurse with the Red Army. Arrested on 2 May she was acquitted on 3 May but when her father went to collect her she had already been taken to Stadelheim, where she was used as target practice, being shot first in the foot, then in the calf, then the thigh, then the head.⁵⁴ This was, apparently, not an isolated incident in Stadelheim. Mark Jones has noted that 'During the winter of 1918-1919, the idea that German women should be protected from military violence was partially reversed as supporters of the government accepted unprecedented levels of violence against proletarian German women and civilians.'⁵⁵ Not only proletarian women were killed: 33-year-old Countess Hella von Westarp, a member of the right-wing Thule Society, was one of ten 'hostages' killed by the Red Guards on 30 April 1919 in the Luitpold Grammar School in Munich.⁵⁶

In Braunschweig huge demonstrations on 7 and 8 November led to the creation of the Socialist Republic of Braunschweig under the leadership of the Independent Socialist August Merges and the Workers' and Soldiers' Council set up a government of eight people's commissioners, one of whom, Minna Fasshauer, a member of the Spartacus group, was elected to be the People's Commissioner for Education, thus becoming the first ever female government minister in Germany.⁵⁷ The American journalist, Miles Bouton referred to her as 'a charwoman who had been discharged by a woman's club for which she had worked for petty peculations'.⁵⁸ On 22 November she abolished religious oversight of schools and

championed comprehensive schooling and co-education of the sexes. She left her post on 22 February 1919 when a new coalition government was formed.⁵⁹

Maria Saran was not alone in feeling tremendous 'excitement at the news about the November revolution . . . We saw the dawn of a better era and were filled with great hopes', she wrote.⁶⁰ Bouton noted that, 'In their rejoicing at the revolution and the end of the war, the great mass of the people forgot for the moment that they were living in a conquered land.'⁶¹ Reality soon returned as the blockade continued. Soldiers began to return, and with them a change in the cityscape, as old imperial flags replaced the red flags of the revolution. Toni Sender had to deal with the disruption causing by soldiers streaming through Frankfurt – 60,000 in one day alone. 'What bothered us as much as board for the soldiers was their political tendencies', she wrote. She had already noted that 'In the first hours of the revolution we encountered what was to prove to be its main handicap, the Soldiers' Councils.' The soldiers, completely untrained politically, just wanted to go home and work.⁶² Freikorps units were set up, irregular paramilitaries who operated outside the normal military hierarchy, ostensibly to protect the fatherland but increasingly to prevent Germany falling prey to Bolshevism.⁶³ Across Germany, among left-wing activists, members of the USPD and the Spartacus Group, there was a belief, aired even as early as 10 November, that the revolution had stalled, and there were calls for a republic of councils, and a dictatorship of the proletariat rather than a parliamentary democracy for which the elections to the Constituent National Assembly were crucial.⁶⁴

Spartacists leaders had been imprisoned during the war and the best known, Karl Liebknecht, was released on 23 October 1918, arriving in the late afternoon at Anhalter station in Berlin to a tremendous reception.⁶⁵ Princess Blücher writes of seeing 'his triumphal procession passing by', going to the Russian Embassy where he gave a speech 'tainted with Bolshevism'. In the following days he was often seen going in and out of the Embassy when he was not giving speeches urging preparations for the revolution.⁶⁶ Mark Jones has written that in the months following his release 'even though he was peripheral to so much of what took place, he was the most important focal point for German fears of disorder and revolutionary violence.'⁶⁷ He might have added Rosa Luxemburg's name to Liebknecht's, for in the public imagination their names were always coupled, though unknown to the masses the two had fundamental disagreements.⁶⁸ Miles Bouton, who claimed that Liebknecht possessed 'the indifferent recklessness of fanaticism combined with great egotism and personal vanity', wrote of Luxemburg that she was 'a woman of unusual ability; perhaps the brainiest member of the revolutionary group in Germany, male or female; she possessed marked oratorical talent and great personal magnetism. Her contribution to the overthrow of the German Empire can hardly be overestimated.'⁶⁹ And yet Luxemburg

was not in Berlin on 9 November, arriving late in the evening of the 10th, having been released from prison in Breslau on 8 November. The following day, 11 November, the Spartacus League was formed with a Central Committee of thirteen; Liebknecht and Luxemburg were entrusted with the editorship of *Die Rote Fahne*, while Käthe Duncker was given the task of agitation among women and the young.⁷⁰ In essence, Luxemburg was editor-in-chief of *Die Rote Fahne*, an extraordinarily time-consuming job which restricted her time for public speaking, although her poor health may also have impeded her.⁷¹ On 14 December Luxemburg published 'What does the Spartacus League want?', stating that 'The Spartacus League will only ever seize power if it has a clear unambiguous mandate from the vast majority of Germany's proletarian masses'.⁷²

It is important to distinguish between Luxemburg's actions and the rumours and fears that surrounded her. Major Maercker, a Freikorps commander speaking to his troops in mid-December said, 'The Ebert government is threatened by the Spartacists, especially Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The threat is huge. This Rosa Luxemburg is a female devil . . . Rosa Luxemburg can today destroy the German Empire without punishment, since there is no powerful institution in the Empire which can oppose her'.⁷³ Leaflets claimed that a Spartacus government would bring the break-up of the Reich, civil war, terror, hunger and anarchy.⁷⁴ There were leaflets calling for Liebknecht to be killed and Mark Jones believes that 'since at least early December 1918 the idea that it was necessary to kill Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg circulated in Berlin'.⁷⁵

In Berlin 'demonstrations and counter-demonstrations were the order of the day', according to one of Princess Blücher's correspondents. On 6 December three small groups of Spartacus demonstrators were met by about 60 soldiers on the Invalidenstrasse, and some 16 people were killed. In the cross-fire, a tram was hit and 17-year-old Martha Komarowski, referred to in a letter to Princess Blücher, as 'the little pale milliner's girl', died.⁷⁶ The press blamed the Spartacists and their leader, Karl Liebknecht, for the deaths. The Spartacists were blamed, too, when government troops failed to force the Marine Division, formed in November to protect government buildings and housed in the royal palace and stables, to leave before Christmas. The sailors were now accused of being Spartacist sympathisers and of having looted the palace's treasures. On 24 December the generals in charge of government troops claimed that during a ceasefire, thousands of women and children, at the instigation of the Spartacists, had flooded the area, and their troops refused to fire on them.⁷⁷ This event, and the realisation of Ebert's agreement with the military, led to the Independent Socialists withdrawing from the Council of People's Representatives.

Things were to come to a head in early January 1919, when representatives of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards, the USPD and two men from the newly formed Communist Party, Karl Liebknecht and Wilhelm Pieck, called for a demonstration to protest against the dismissal of Emil Eichhorn, the Independent Socialist who was Chief of Police.⁷⁸ To their surprise several hundred thousand people protested on 5 January, with some spontaneously occupying the offices of several newspapers, including those of the SPD's *Vorwärts*. That evening a Revolutionary Committee decided to call for a general strike the next day with the aim of toppling the government, an aim recorded in a document declaring that the government had been deposed and that the Revolutionary Committee was now in charge which Liebknecht, without the knowledge of his party, signed. Rosa Luxemburg saw the need to remove the government, but only with the active participation of the masses and when it became clear that this was not going to materialise, withdrew her support for the action, and the KPD formally withdrew its support on 10 January. The following day, government troops swiftly retook the *Vorwärts* building and of some 2-300 people who surrendered, between 15 and 20 were women. Jones writes of one woman, Frau Steinbring, reportedly from Neukölln, who claimed to be a first aider, being attacked by soldiers who mistook her for 'the red Rosa'. The prisoners were taken to the Dragoon barracks where, according to witnesses, six or seven women prisoners, all first-aiders in the *Vorwärts* office 'had their clothes practically torn off their bodies'. Steinbring testified that she had been shown the bodies of the seven men who had tried to negotiate the surrender of the building who had been taken to the barracks and shot out of hand; she had been slapped and shoved against a wall with soldiers threatening to shoot her. The troops' commander, Major Franz von Stephani, stopped them. Jones tells us of soldiers' accounts, where they claim to have come under intense machine gun fire, and that the machine gun had been operated by Rosa Luxemburg.⁷⁹ Helga Grebing claims that Hilde Steinbrink, from Neukölln, had indeed fired the machine gun; one assumes that when the soldiers saw this small woman they did, indeed, believe that she was Rosa Luxemburg.⁸⁰ This story tells us of the hold Rosa Luxemburg had over the imagination, and how a fear of her had permeated the public consciousness; it also highlights some of the difficulties faced in trying accurately to track individual women during the revolution.

Arendt believes that ten women lost their lives in Berlin during the so-called Spartacist Uprising (out of a total of 156).⁸¹ The right-wing press was quick to claim 'victory over terror' and 'the end of Spartacist rule' and that 'order now rules in Berlin', titles mocked by Rosa Luxemburg in *Die Rote Fahne* where she also took issue with the atrocities committed in the Dragoon barracks.⁸² On the evening of 15 January 1919 Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who for months had been regularly changing their overnight accommodation,

were arrested at a flat in Wilmersdorf, taken to the Hotel Eden, the headquarters of the Guards Division, and from there to their deaths. Luxemburg was beaten with rifle butts and shot in the head. Her body was dumped in the Landwehr canal, not to be recovered until 1 June.⁸³ In a letter to his daughter, Gustav Landauer, a philosopher and left-wing writer, noted that the news of the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had been 'received with open happiness by the bourgeoisie and even by many workers.' *Vorwärts* proclaimed that 'they were the victims of the civil war which they themselves' had instigated.⁸⁴

In an obituary to Rosa Luxemburg Erich Mühsam called her 'the flame of the revolution'.⁸⁵ But what precisely did she contribute? She was not in Berlin on 9 November and thereafter was busily engaged with producing *Die Rote Fahne*, restricting her speaking engagements. Her petition to the Berlin USPD's conference on 15 December calling for the USPD to leave the Council of People's Representatives, to give complete power to the soldiers' and workers' councils, to reject the National Assembly and to call a full party conference before the year's end was rejected.⁸⁶ Luxemburg and Liebknecht were refused entry to the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils meeting in Berlin on the following day (16 December) as either delegates or guests, and the Communist Party rejected her call to stand in the National Assembly elections.⁸⁷ These events would not enable one to claim influence or power for her. How many people were reached by *Die Rote Fahne* or Spartacist propaganda leaflets? And were those who were reached able to engage fully and intellectually with her rhetoric and arguments? Detlev Peukert has claimed that 'the revolutionary workers turned 'Karl and Rosa' into a unifying symbol of martyrdom that was far more potent than the two leaders themselves had ever been while they were alive.'⁸⁸ It is perhaps ironic that her greatest contribution to the revolution may well have been for the social democrats, who, in portraying her and her fellow Spartacists as wanting to bring Bolshevism to Germany, and in its wake civil war, anarchy, hunger and ruin, were able to rally moderate socialists around calls for unity and to get the German people to accept the levels of violence perpetrated by government troops on German civilians in putting down any attempt to challenge the government.

Unrest in Berlin did not cease in January 1919 but government troops crushed opposition when and where they found it. Arendt details examples of women killed in incidents across Germany, such as the female by-stander killed during a strike in Königshütte on 4 January, or the three women among the five dead in fighting at Munich station on 10 January, or the 14-year-old girl shot dead during disturbances between workers and government troops in Bottrop on 14 January. Sixty-two women and girls, of whom seven were children, were killed during the unrest in Berlin in March (4-16) 1919 and four women were among the 34 people

killed between 16 and 23 April in Augsburg.⁸⁹ Little is known of these women, or whether they were active participants or unfortunate bystanders.

Women who actively participated in the events of 1918/1919 were in the minority. But the weeks and months following the revolutionary days of early November 1918 were to witness huge increases in both women's actual participation in public life and in propaganda targeted at women, as the political parties sought to win women's votes and women sought public office.⁹⁰ Middle-class women's organisations worked together to educate women about the importance of voting and the voting procedure, and to train women in public speaking, while Catholic and Protestant women's organisations co-operated in educating Christian women politically.⁹¹ Women prominent in the middle-class women's movement quickly joined the political party of their choosing and along with women from the SPD and USPD held meetings and gave speeches, though some found the physical demands of electioneering demanding.⁹² The streets were awash with colourful political posters targeting women voters, and women were inundated with leaflets addressed to them as wives, mothers, country women, and women in a large variety of jobs.⁹³ On 19 January 1919 82.3% of women eligible to vote in 34 of Germany's 37 electoral districts cast their vote, and 37 women were elected to serve in the National Assembly.⁹⁴ Women were keen to participate in the nation's political life at all levels and the mood was one of optimism and hope for a better future, full of possibilities. And that mood pervades many women's memories of the revolutionary period. Lida Gustava Heymann wrote, 'Now a new life began. Looking back the following months seemed like a beautiful dream, so improbably splendid were they. The heavy burden of the war years had gone; one stepped forward elated, looking forward to the future.'⁹⁵

During November and December 1919 there was a very febrile atmosphere across many places in Germany. It was a time of great dislocation, as soldiers returned, many women left their war-time occupations and returned to their homes and the occupation of part of the country made aspects of everyday life difficult for some. The elections to the National Assembly and its convening granted some stability to German political life though the Republic was to be subject to several years of localised unrest and insurgencies. It was women of the left, particularly of the USPD and the Spartacist Group, who were active in the revolutionary events of 1918 and 1919, while in areas where the revolution passed peacefully, women continued their daily struggles, to work, and to feed, clothe and care for themselves and their families. Women were keen to benefit from the gifts the revolution had brought them and went to the ballot box in large numbers in 1919. It was the revolution that gave them political equality and it was to be the Weimar Constitution that furnished further

opportunities and possibilities for them in the areas of education, employment and public life.⁹⁶

Notes

1. Dieter and Ruth Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben 1914-1918* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1983), pp. 434-5; Peter Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), p.85.
2. Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis*, p. 86; Evelyn, Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1920), p. 281.
3. For women's protests about the deficiencies in the food provisioning system see Belinda Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War 1 Berlin* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); for women's participation in strikes see Matthew Stibbe, *Germany 1914-1933: Politics, Society and Culture* (Harlow: Pearson, 2010), pp. 52-3.
4. Benjamin Ziemann, 'Germany 1914-1918: Total War as a Catalyst of Change', in Helmut W. Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 387. The few works on women in the revolution include: Helga Grebing, *Frauen in der deutschen Revolution 1918/19* (Heidelberg: Stiftung Reichspräsident-Friedrich-Ebert-Gedenkstätte, 1994); Christiane Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen: Frauen in der bayerischen Revolution und Räterepublik 1918/19* (Cologne: Neuer ISP Verlag, 2008); Claudie Weill, 'Women in the German Revolution. Rosa Luxemburg and the Workers' Councils', in Christine Fauré (ed.), *Political and Historical Encyclopedia of Women* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 412-23. There is a chapter on women in Joachim Käppner, *1918 - Aufstand für die Freiheit. Die Revolution der Besonnenen* (Munich: Piper Verlag, 2017), pp. 357-77.
5. Raya Dunayevskaya, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996), p. 85. In a letter to Bill Pelz date 10 May 1976, Dunayevskaya quotes from his talk on proletarian women in the revolution: 'Yet if it had not been for women like Erna Behnke, there might have been no revolution in Germany': <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15015.pdf>. I hope that Bill Pelz will explore women's role in the revolution in his forthcoming book *A People's History of the German Revolution: 1918-1919* (London: Pluto Press, 2018).
6. Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, p. 280. See also Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis*, pp. 93-5.

7. Davis, *Home Fires Burning*, pp. 97, 118-9, 229, 234; Mark Jones, *Founding Weimar: Violence and the German Revolution of 1918-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p.72.
8. S. Miles Bouton, *And the Kaiser abdicates. The German Revolution November 1918 – August 1919* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), pp. 142-3; Colin Storer, *A Short History of the Weimar Republic* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), p. 33.
9. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, p. 76.
10. Jörg Berlin (ed.), *Die deutsche Revolution 1918/19. Quellen und Dokumente* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, 1979), p. 170.
11. For the history of the USPD see David Morgan, *The Socialist Left and the German Revolution: A History of the German Independent Social Democratic Party, 1917-1922* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).
12. Ernst Toller, *I was a German* (London: Paragon House, 1934), pp. 133-5.
13. Rudolf Lindau, *Revolutionäre Kämpfe 1918-1919. Aufsätze und Chronik* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1960), pp. 228-30; cf. Chris Harman, *The Lost Revolution. Germany 1918 to 1923* (London: Bookmarks, rev. ed. 1997), p. 42. Jones claims that nine men were killed and 29 men injured: Jones, *Founding Weimar*, p. 40. Arendt has eight dead and 29 injured, including women: Hans-Jürgen Arendt, 'Weibliche Opfer militaristischen Terrors in Deutschland (1918-1920)', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, 26:2 (1984), p. 229. For the woman killed: <http://www.kurkuhl.de/de/novrev/zeitleiste.html>, (accessed 10 April 2018).
14. Mark Jones, 'The Crowd in the German November Revolution 1918', in Klaus Weinhauer, Anthony McElligott, Kirsten Heinsohn (eds), *Germany 1916-1923. A Revolution in Context* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015), p. 38.
15. Harman, *The Lost Revolution*, p. 42; William Smaldone, *Confronting Hitler. German Social Democrats in Defense of the Weimar Republic, 1929-1933* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), p. 3.
16. Bouton, *And the Kaiser abdicates*, p. 151; Ottokar Luban, 'Die Novemberrevolution 1918 in Berlin – Eine notwendige Revision des bisherigen Geschichtsbildes', *Jahrbuch für Forschungen zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, 8:1 (2009), pp. 55-78, accessible from <http://www.ottokar-luban--rosa-luxemburg-forschung.de/html/publikationen.html>. The army commander in the marches (Brandenburg) forbade the formation of workers' and soldiers' councils on 7 November 1918: Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben 1914-1918*, p. 424.
17. Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben 1914-1918*, p. 428.
18. Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben 1914-1918*, p. 434; Kathleen Canning 'Gender and the Imaginary of Revolution in Germany', in Weinhauer, McElligott, Heinsohn (eds), *Germany 1916-23*, p. 108; Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis*, pp. 42-3.

19. Luban, 'Die Novemberrevolution 1918 in Berlin'; Grebing, *Frauen in der deutschen Revolution*, p. 6.
20. Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben 1914-1918*, p. 434; for Russian funding Luban, 'Die Novemberrevolution 1918 in Berlin'.
21. Harman, *The Lost Revolution*, pp. 44-5.
22. *Vorwärts*, 19 November 1918, found at www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/image/socialist-newspapeGr-november-9-1918.
23. Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben 1914-1918*, pp. 458-9.
24. Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben 1914-1918*, p. 475; Bouton, *And the Kaiser abdicates*, p.170-3.
25. On the relationship between the two councils see Anthony McElligott, *Rethinking the Weimar Republic. Authority and Authoritarianism 1916-1936* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 28-30.
26. Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, p. 290. A day earlier, Ethel Cooper, an Australian musician living in Leipzig, had written: 'One can really only have every respect for the absolute order and system with which such enormous upheavals and changes have been carried out so far': Caroline Ethel Cooper, *Behind the Lines: One Woman's War 1914-1918*, ed. Decie Denholm (Sydney: Collins, 1982), p. 285.
27. Dieter Baudis and Hermann Roth, 'Berliner Opfer der Novemberrevolution 1918/19. Eine Analyse ihrer sozialen Struktur', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 9:3 (1968), pp. 75,78.
28. Report in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, 20 November, 1918 in Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben 1914-1918*, p. 575. Arendt claims that 42-year-old Ottilie Paul was also killed: Arendt, 'Weibliche Opfer', p. 229.
29. Roderick Stackelberg and Sally A. Winkle, *The Nazi Germany Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 49.
30. Roger Chickering, *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany. Freiburg, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 567-8.
31. In Cuxhaven, for example, the self-employed elected five representatives to sit on the workers' council: Berlin (ed.), *Die deutsche Revolution*, p. 183. In Hamburg, where the workers' council comprised some 600 delegates, the 30-strong executive was made up of eighteen delegates from the factories, and three representatives each from the SPD, USPD, the left-wing radicals and the trade unions: Karen Hagemann and Jan Kolossa, *Gleiche Rechte – Gleiche Pflichten?* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1990), p. 48.
32. Hagemann and Kolossa, *Gleiche Rechte – Gleiche Pflichten?*, p. 47.
33. Stibbe, *Germany 1914-1933*, p. 57.
34. Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis*, pp. 96, 99-100, 104.

35. Anja Weberling, *Zwischen Räten und Parteien. Frauenbewegung in Deutschland 1918/19* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994), pp. 14, 40.
36. Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, p. 50; Martin Gohlke, 'Die Räte in der Revolution von 1918/19 in Magdeburg' (PhD dissertation, University of Kiel, 1999), pp. 80. The Hamburg Workers' and Soldiers' Council rejected a request from the Association of Female Suffrage on 19 November 1918 to be allowed to form a women's council, with a representative on the Workers' and Soldiers' Council: Weberling, *Zwischen Räten und Parteien*, p. 58.
37. Sabine Roß, 'Politische Partizipation und nationaler Räteparlamentarismus: Determinanten des politischen Handelns der Delegierten zu den Reichsrätekongressen 1918/1919; eine Kollektivbiographie', *Historical Social Research*, Supplement, 10 (1999), p. 333, accessible at <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-285933>.
38. Weberling, *Zwischen Räten und Parteien*, p. 15. Grebing claims there were five women among 276 workers' councillors in Greater Berlin from traditional female occupations (textiles and department stores). She also claims that there were only 50 female workers' councillors in 28 towns: Grebing, *Frauen in der deutschen Revolution*, p. 11. For Stuttgart: Weill, 'Women in the German Revolution', p. 413.
39. E.g. Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus, *Vorwärts und nicht vergessen. Erlebnisberichte aktiver Teilnehmer der Novemberrevolution 1918/1919* (Berlin: Dietz, 1960).
40. There was a variety of ways in which workers' councillors were elected: in large cities, elections were held in factories where popular, long-standing and usually skilled workers were elected – women, who had joined the industrial work force in large numbers during the war, tended to be unskilled or semi-skilled and changed jobs frequently, and their position in employment was precarious at the war's end. In some areas, political parties or trades unions nominated individuals, who were then approved at meetings in the factories; in other areas, elections took place by district with an electorate restricted by income: Weill, 'Women in the German Revolution', p. 414.
41. For Erna Halbe see Hagemann and Kolossa, *Gleiche Rechte - Gleiche Pflichten?*, pp. 47-8 and Volker Ullrich, *Kriegsalltag. Hamburg im ersten Weltkrieg* (Cologne: Prometh Verlag, 1982), pp. 136, 149; Weill, 'Women in the German Revolution', p. 413; for some individuals' details see the *Biographische Datenbanken* (<https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/wer-war-wer-in-der-ddr>).
42. Roß, 'Politische Partizipation und nationaler Räteparlamentarismus', pp. 210-11. Leu's petition 'to seize every opportunity to advance the interests of women, which have been marginalized in all realms of life' was approved: Canning, 'Gender and the Imaginary of Revolution in Germany', pp. 120-1.

43. Toni Sender, *The Autobiography of a German Rebel* (London: Labour Book Service, 1940), pp.93-7, 103.
44. Sender called at the USPD women's conference in November 1919 for women to be represented on the proposed factory councils in accordance with their share of the workforce and for the creation of electoral colleges so housewives could participate in the council system. In early 1919 Clara Zetkin had championed the indisputable socially necessary and beneficial productive work of housewives and mothers, who were totally excluded from the council system but her idea of housewives participating in the factory councils of their husbands or sons ignored single women. While Sender and Zetkin sought ways to increase women's participation in existing councils, Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann sought to set up completely separate women's councils. They petitioned the Congress of Bavarian Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils on 7 March 1919 to create women's councils, in particular to counter reactionary forces, especially in the countryside. They saw women's councils as a vehicle for the political education of women. The petition was rejected. Writing in May 1919, Gertrud Bäumer believed the councils, as representatives of the productive sphere, could never represent the interests of housewives, the bearers of the reproductive sphere. She also believed that they posed a threat to female suffrage, seeing in them an overwhelmingly masculine, military conception of the state, and, in essence, she called for the end of the councils. Weberling, *Zwischen Räten und Parteien*, pp. 36-43, 59-63, 73-80; Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, pp. 50-1, 56-9.
45. Mary Saran, *Never Give Up* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1976), p. 38.
46. Hilde Kramer, *Rebellin in München, Moskau und Berlin 1900-1924* (Berlin: BasisDruck Verlag, 2011), p. 50. For the proclamation see Gabriel Kuhn (ed.), *All Power to the Councils! A Documentary History of the German Revolution of 1918-1919* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012), pp. 214-5.
47. Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, p. 47. The other women were Hedwig Kämpfer, a workers' councillor; Aloisia Eberle, secretary to the Christian Trade Unions in Munich; Helene Sumper representing the Bavarian Women's Teachers' Association; Luise Kießelbach, chair of the Association of Bavarian Women's Organisations; and Emilie Maurer of the Social Democratic Women's Association.
48. It was very short-lived: Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, pp. 24-5.
49. Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, pp. 47-8. Heymann, Augspurg and Kämpfer were among the eight.
50. Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, pp. 27-8.
51. The female commission members are named in Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, p. 26.

52. Eliza Johnson, 'The "Revolutionary Girl with the Titus-Head": Women's participation in the 1919 revolutions in Budapest and Munich in the eyes of their contemporaries', *Nationalities Papers*, 28:3 (2000), pp. 543-8; Kramer, *Rebellin in München*, pp. 62-76.
53. Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, p. 158. One of the assessors in the Revolutionary Tribunal, Mathilde Baumeister, was sentenced to fifteen months, while the seamstress Anna Bechter was sentenced to three years for shouting out to Red Guard troops the location of government troops from her apartment window on 2 May 1919: Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, pp. 29, 64-5.
54. Arendt, 'Weibliche Opfer', p. 232. Mühsam claimed that soldiers would shoot Spartacist women in their genitals, or first in their knees, then their genitals: Sternsdorf-Hauck, *Brotmarken und rote Fahnen*, p. 63. For Marie Kling see also <http://www.deutsche-revolution.de/scheibenschuessen-auf-gefangene-sanitaeterin-in-muenchen.html>.
55. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, p. 22.
56. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, pp. 298, 302. Kramer insists that no hostages were taken during the Soviet. She herself had seen the evidence of anti-revolutionary activities against them which included conducting food raids in the countryside with false documents to turn farmers against the government: Kramer, *Rebellin in München*, pp. 62-3.
57. Grebing, *Frauen in der deutschen Revolution*, p. 12. Fasshauer had worked as a domestic servant, washerwoman and manual worker in a jam factory. She learned to read and write as an adult: Heide Janicki, 'Minna Fasshauer – eine Frau in der Novemberrevolution 1918', *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei* (Bezirk Niedersachsen): www.DKP-Niedersachsen.de.
58. Bouton, *And the Kaiser abdicates*, p. 222.
59. Heide Janicki, 'Minna Fasshauer'.
60. Saran, *Never Give Up*, p. 37.
61. Bouton, *And the Kaiser abdicates*, p. 183.
62. Sender, *The Autobiography of a German Rebel*, p. 92.
63. Storer, *A Short History of the Weimar Republic*, p. 40.
64. McElligott, *Rethinking the Weimar Republic*, pp. 31-2; Berlin (ed.), *Die deutsche Revolution*, pp. 168-9.
65. Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben*, pp. 404-6.
66. Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, p. 256.
67. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, pp. 69-70.
68. Annelies Laschitzka, 'Rosa Luxemburg und Karl Liebknecht in den Wochen der Revolution', paper given at the Rosa Luxemburg Conference in Berlin, 16/17 January, 2009: www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/dokumentationen/090116_RL-Konferenz/beitraege/Annelies_Laschitzka.pdf.

69. Bouton, *And the Kaiser abdicates*, pp. 77, 79. Saran, who had heard her speak, was impressed by her integrity, courage and humanity: Saran, *Never Give Up*, p. 112. Kramer, when she met with Liebknecht in Berlin in late 1918, failed to recognise 'the greatest personality in the German workers' movement': Kramer, *Rebellin in München*, p. 52.
70. Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben*, pp. 486-7.
71. Laschitza, 'Rosa Luxemburg und Karl Liebknecht', p. 8. Grebing claims she weighed 100lbs on her release from prison and was physically unable to give a speech on the closing day of the Communist Party's founding conference on 31 December 1918: Grebing, *Frauen in der deutschen Revolution*, pp. 5, 14. Ottokar Luban believes that Luxemburg was heavily 'burdened as editor-in-chief', and this robbed the Spartacists of their 'most dynamic orator': Ottokar Luban, 'The Role of the Spartacist Group after 9 November 1918 and the Formation of the KPD' in Ralf Hoffrogge and Norman Laporte (eds), *Weimar Communism as Mass Movement 1918-1933* (London: Lawrence and Weishart, 2017), p. 51.
72. Kuhn (ed.), *All Power to the Councils!*, p. 106.
73. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, pp. 132-3.
74. Glatzer (eds), *Berliner Leben*, p. 564.
75. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, p. 233. See also Berlin (ed.), *Die deutsche Revolution*, p. 280 and Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, p. 306.
76. Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, p. 305. Princess Blücher's correspondent believed fourteen people had been killed. Arendt, 'Weibliche Opfer', p. 229; Jones, *Founding Weimar*, p. 106 says she was sixteen-years-old.
77. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, pp. 109-11, 138-57.
78. For a detailed account of the events of early January 1919 in Berlin, see Ottokar Luban, 'Rosa at a Loss. The KPD Leadership and the Berlin Uprising of January 1919: Legend and Reality', *Revolutionary History*, 8:4 (2004), pp. 19-45, on which the following is based. See also Luban, 'The Role of the Spartacist Group', pp. 53-61.
79. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, pp. 216-9.
80. Grebing, *Frauen in der deutschen Revolution*, p. 6. Hilde Steinbrink was not alone in being mistaken for Rosa Luxemburg. For Elsa Haßkarl's account of being arrested, see Berlin (ed.), *Die deutsche Revolution*, pp. 317-8.
81. Arendt, 'Weibliche Opfer', p. 230.
82. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, pp. 220-7.
83. Jones, *Founding Weimar*, p. 234 ff.
84. Kuhn (ed.), *All Power to the Councils!*, p. 186, letter of Gustav Landauer to his daughter Charlotte dated 16 January 1919; Victor Serge, *Witness to the German Revolution*, trans. Ian Birchall (Chicago: Haymarket books, 2011), p. 38. It is claimed that Landauer and Mühsam were two of the most significant anarchists in the German-speaking world:

www.rosalux.de/en/event/es_detail/25IQE/gustav-landauer-und-die-bayerische-revolution-191819/.

85. Kuhn (ed.), *All Power to the Councils!*, p. xiii.
86. Luban, 'The Role of the Spartacist Group', p. 52.
87. Laschitzka, 'Rosa Luxemburg und Karl Liebknecht', pp. 16-7.
88. Detlev J. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic. The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, trans. Richard Deveson (London: Allen Lane, 1991), p. 32.
89. Arendt, 'Weibliche Opfer', p. 230.
90. For propaganda campaigns aimed at women see Julia Sneeringer, *Winning Women's Votes: Propaganda and Politics in Weimar Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
91. Carol Woodfin, 'Reluctant Democrats: The Protestant Women's Auxiliary and the German National Assembly Election of 1919', *Journal of the Historical Society*, 4:1 (2004), pp. 71-112; Helen Boak, *Women in the Weimar Republic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 67.
92. Boak, *Women in the Weimar Republic*, p. 67; Helen Boak, 'Women in Weimar Politics', *European History Quarterly*, 20:3 (1990), pp. 369-99. Many prominent women, such as Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Käthe Duncker, and the Catholic women's leader Hedwig Dransfeld suffered ill health. During late 1918/1919 Toni Sender, too, was so ill that it was thought she would not survive: Sender, *The Autobiography of a German Rebel*, pp. 111-2.
93. Ida K. Rigby, 'German Expressionist Political Posters 1918-19 – Art and Politics: A Failed Alliance', *Art Journal*, 44:1 (1984), pp. 33-9.
94. The number rose to 41 as women replaced men: Boak, *Women in the Weimar Republic*, p. 89. 117 women were elected to state parliaments.
95. For these opportunities see Boak, *Women in the Weimar Republic*.