

The Life and Works of Clementine Krämer (1873-1942)

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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## Abstract

Although a prolific writer and leader in the women's movement, Clementine Krämer (1873-1942) is relatively unknown today. Despite recent research interest into women's history, much of the research centred on the German Jewish community focusses on the experiences of men. Clementine Krämer's life and works offer a fascinating insight into a challenging period for this community. She was a prolific writer of fiction, non-fiction and reportage from about 1893 until about 1933 and, as this thesis will show, she wrote on many topics to chronicle her time, but she also played a significant role in shaping the response of her community to the difficulties they encountered. The analysis in this thesis will expand the current knowledge about the German Jewish community at the end of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth, and offer an insight into the complexity and range of German Jewish responses to the changes they experienced.

This thesis uses close reading of the wealth of Krämer's work, both published and unpublished, and including her private correspondence, to create a "thick description" of who she was and how she interacted with the world. Her writings reveal her sustained concerns about her identities and this thesis will explore the ways in which she tried to reconcile her identities as a woman, as a German and as a Jew during a life in which she experienced social and political upheaval on a dramatic scale. She struggled to balance her identities and her engagement with the women's movement, and to retain a coherent sense of self in the face of changes which threatened to fragment the integral parts of her identity.

This reading, which is the first to engage with the full range of her work, reaches conclusions about Krämer that challenge statements made by her contemporaries, revealing her as a complex, intelligent and insightful individual, deeply rooted in both German and Jewish culture, who was both representative and atypical of her community. A comprehensive study of Krämer's life and work, her influences and motivations, will therefore nuance and complicate the current scholarly understanding about the German Jewish community during a key period in German history.

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## List of Abbreviations

ADF	<i>Allgemeiner deutscher Frauenverein</i>
BIG	<i>Bayrische israelitische Gemeindezeitung</i>
BJFB	<i>Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes</i>
BDF	<i>Bund deutscher Frauenvereine</i>
CV	<i>Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischer Glaubens</i>
JFB	<i>Jüdischer Frauenbund</i>
NSDAP	<i>Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei</i>

## Introduction

This thesis will examine the works of Clementine Krämer in order to address the following question: how did she, as a German Jewish woman, reconcile and balance these potentially conflicting aspects of her identity at a time of great social and political change? In exploring this question, this thesis will illuminate the life and works of a writer who has been all but forgotten today but who during her lifetime was a well-known community leader and activist in the women's movement. In so doing, this research will not only give an insight into the life of a fascinating individual, but also deepen our understanding of how the Jewish community responded to the dramatic changes around them. As will be demonstrated and discussed, Krämer was a prolific chronicler of her time and used a variety of genres. Through her work, we can see events unfold and how she was shaped by those around her. We can also catch a glimpse of who she was and how she struggled with her roles and identities as these were brought into conflict by social and political changes. In order to explore the significance of Krämer and her work, I will begin this chapter with an overview of her life and then explain the methods, sources and approaches used in this thesis. Then I will position her work into the current field of academic research. Identity, Orientalism, and Bildung are key concepts which recur throughout this thesis and so will be introduced here. After this, the historical context will outline some of the events that Krämer both experienced and reflected upon. Finally, the structure of this thesis will be provided.

Through this examination of Krämer and her works, it is apparent that her identity as a women's campaigner was central to how she saw herself because she wrote such a large number of articles on issues relating to the women's movement, and these themes are woven into the texture of so many of her creative pieces. We can also see the tension between her Jewish identity and her identity as a bourgeois German and, as this thesis will reflect, these tensions deepened over time as her identity was questioned through increasing and state-sanctioned anti-Semitism. Krämer's work gives us a unique opportunity to understand how she reacted to the turmoil around her but also her personal reflections, how she publicly agitated for change, and how she tried to reconcile her identities.

## Krämer's Biography

Clementine Krämer, née Cahnmann, (1873-1942) lived through times of great change and social upheaval. Some of the key details of her life were captured in a biographical essay,

written by her nephew Werner Cahnman,<sup>1</sup> who was a sociologist, in 1963. This essay forms the basis of the biography provided here, which is further expanded through scholarly research about this period. Jews had been legally emancipated across the German states in the ten years prior to her birth, leading to many Jews leaving the rural villages where they had once lived for the expanding cities, often in pursuit of the increased opportunities cities offered (Rose, 2001, p.274). Throughout the early years of Krämer's life, Germany was undergoing rapid industrialisation and her family were affected by these changes. Her parents and grandparents had been traders in small villages in Rheinbischofsheim, Baden, and Mühringen, in the Kingdom of Württemberg. By the time Krämer was eight, her family had moved to the larger conurbation of Karlsruhe, where her father opened a shop; yet she still spent all of her holidays in either Rheinbischofsheim or Mühringen (Cahnman, 1989, pp.175-6).

In 1891, Krämer married Max Krämer, a wealthy banker from Munich, and they settled in that city (Cahnman, 1989, p.177). This is an indication that Krämer was gradually moving up the social ladder. As her financial situation improved and her home environment became more urbanised, we can imagine that her social circle changed and also became more cosmopolitan and elite. The couple were childless, which may have provided her with more disposable income and a larger quantity of leisure time. This may be an explanation as to why Krämer was able to become so greatly involved in the burgeoning Jewish women's movement after 1900. After 1905 (the exact date is unclear) with financial help from her husband, Krämer and other wealthy local Jewish women ran a "girls' club" to help Jewish women and girls from Eastern Europe who had been forced to emigrate to Germany due to pogroms, poverty and anti-Semitism (Cahnman, 1989, p.181). Krämer was also involved in the founding of the Munich branch of the Verein für Frauenstimmrecht in 1909 or 1910 and it was through these activities that Krämer joined the Jüdische Frauenbund (JFB) (Cahnman, 1989, p.185). Through this work, Krämer met and became friends with the leader of the JFB, Bertha Pappenheim. Pappenheim's influence and role within Krämer's life will be introduced in the Historical Context section of this Introduction and analysed in more detail in Chapter One. During the First World War, Krämer was involved with women's institutions of different confessions to support needy women in Munich, most likely as part of the Nationaler Frauendienst.

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<sup>1</sup> The name change from Cahnmann to Cahnman appears to be related to Werner Cahnman's emigration to the US. Further details about his emigration can be found in his archive in the Leo Baeck Institute.

Beginning in about 1900 and continuing until at least 1933, Krämer's literary output was extensive; she published almost one hundred short stories in local and national magazines, and in 1927 her novella *Die Rauferei* was published. She also became more prominent within the JFB, rising to the position of chairwoman of the Munich branch, a group of over 800 women, by 1927 (BIG, 1925, p.44; 1927, p.374). In the inter-war period, the Krämer family was unable to avoid economic turmoil; Max Krämer's bank had been disturbed by hyperinflation in 1923/24 and in 1929, after the Wall Street Crash, the company collapsed (Cahnman, p.196). Cahnman describes her as bitterly disappointed in her husband at his failures: "She had admired her husband's keen intellect and had never suspected that his generosity towards his wife and friends was based on a stupendous inability to face facts" (p.196). Clementine Krämer went to a large textile company, S. Eichengruen & Co., and secured herself a job as a "saleslady" (Cahnman, p.196). This could explain the reduction in her literary output after this point.

After Hitler's seizure of power in 1933, Jewish life in Munich became increasingly precarious. There are no published stories by Krämer in this period but she continued to write to her nephew after he emigrated to the USA via England. She also continued to work within the Jewish women's movement, attempting to provide support and comfort for her beleaguered community. Her nephew and other friends and relatives attempted various ways to secure safe passage for Krämer out of Germany but without success. According to the letters in her archive, Krämer had wanted to secure a place at her Danish friend and fellow writer Karin Michaelis' home, which was also where Brecht spent time during his exile (Letter to Werner Cahnman, 04/12/41). However, before she could leave, Michaelis emigrated to America (Institut Für Frauen-Biographieforschung, 2014). Within Cahnman's archive is a multitude of letters to various American government agencies as he tried to organise emigration for his family. This includes letters raising the necessary funds for US visas, entry visas for Cuba and confirmation that the US visas were ready in the summer of 1941 (Werner and Gisella Cahnman Collection; Box 3 folder 50). However, the US ended its consular services in Germany soon after this, trapping Krämer, her brother and sister-in-law in Germany. Cahnman attempted to find them another route (through Switzerland or through Spain) but without success. He wrote to US embassies across Europe and there is even a letter addressed to Eleanor Roosevelt asking for help. All these emigration letters and additional documentation can be found in Cahnman's archive at the Leo Baeck Institute (Box 3 Folders 49-51).

Krämer's husband died in 1939 and her brother in January 1942, both from natural causes. Her sister-in-law was deported to Camp Piaski in Poland soon after, and was most likely murdered upon arrival. In the spring of 1942, Krämer was taken to Theresienstadt where she remained until she died of dysentery in November 1942. A cousin of hers was also sent to Theresienstadt around the same time and wrote how Krämer's pride and will to live had abandoned her and she waited quietly until "death redeemed her" (Cahnman, p.197). Krämer shared many similarities with the Jews who were trapped within Nazi Germany awaiting their fate; more men than women emigrated and more younger people emigrated than middle aged or elderly (Kaplan, 1998, p.143). Krämer is at the intersection of these intersecting characteristics and her experience of the Third Reich can therefore be seen as somewhat representative of her community at this time. Despite Krämer being widely forgotten today, as will be shown in the Methods, Sources and Approaches section of this Introduction, Krämer has left such a wealth of material covering an incredibly diverse range of topics and genres, that a new exploration of her work will uncover how she both reflected and shaped her community's response to the world around them. This thesis will reclaim her and her work and in order to do so, I will now examine the existing research on Krämer to highlight the gaps that this thesis will fill.

## Methods, Sources and Approaches

Krämer has left a vast quantity of work which was donated by her nephew to the Leo Baeck Institute in New York and is available online. It is unclear how he came to possess so much of her work; in his essay he notes that some of her belongings were sent to the US via Basle with the belief that she and his parents would soon follow (p.196). This section of the Introduction will explain what this material is and how it will be examined in this thesis. Amongst her papers are a wealth of articles and essays on the women's movement, personal letters, poems and short stories (both published and unpublished). The archive has been organised into three series: Personal and General, Writings 1894-1940, and Werner Cahnman 1959-63. All this material has been digitised and can be found through the Leo Baeck website: [lbi.org](http://lbi.org). Within each series are subfolders containing different materials. Series one, Personal and General, contains a private prayer book produced in 1939 after the death of Max Krämer. There are also some articles by Krämer on topics relating to the Jewish women's movement and these will be analysed in Chapter One. In addition to this, there are three folders of correspondence, both personal to family members and also correspondence with publishers and reviewers. This correspondence will be explored in Chapter One and the reviews will supplement Chapter Five. There are also a series of

pictures by Krämer's youngest niece titled "Ein Tag aus dem Leben Tante Clem", dated 1931. These drawings support Krämer's nephew's claim that she was an important figure in the family, and this understanding will contribute to the analysis in Chapter One.

Series Two, Writings 1894-1942, contains over one hundred short stories, which are mostly listed in alphabetical order with dates provided where possible. Some of these stories are longer pieces, perhaps drafts of novellas, and others are simple sketches or vignettes, consisting of a sentence or two. There is also a folder of reviews by Krämer and another folder of reviews about *Die Rauferei*. There are a further six folders containing miscellaneous shorter stories listed mostly alphabetically and containing many multiple copies, some missing pages or sections of the stories. The multiple copies and the random nature of these folders have meant that counting the total number of stories is exceptionally difficult. Therefore, I have estimated that there are over one hundred but there may be more. There may, of course, be more stories that have not been preserved in the archive. Chapters Two to Four explore many of these stories. These stories are mainly typed but Krämer does not seem to have dated any of her drafts. Additionally, some of the published versions are missing the date or name of the publication. Where possible, I have endeavoured to analyse the advertising or other articles on the page to ascertain a likely location of publication or date for her stories in order to contextualise them. I discuss where I have made an assumption and detailed the evidence which has brought me to that conclusion. This thesis is therefore contributing to the information currently available in the archive.

Series Two also contains the subset titled Poetry, 1902-1942, within which there are four folders. One folder is Krämer's notebook, which is unfortunately a poor reproduction and practically illegible. From what I have been able to ascertain, it contains draft poems, many of which are from 1904 and 1905. Although the text is hard to read, it is possible to see Krämer has rearranged stanzas and tested the rhythm and word stress of different lines. In general, the poems have very few corrections, possibly indicating that these were either final versions and the original drafts have been lost, or that she wrote them down and did not work on them further. The other three folders contain examples of her poetry including one which has grouped together about twenty war poems. These war poems will be explored in detail Chapter Four. Much of her poetry is unpublished and of much smaller quantity than her stories, which suggests that she saw herself as more of a prose writer than a poet. I have woven her poetry into the analysis of the stories, where possible, to illuminate

how she reflected upon themes in multiple forms but an in-depth analysis of the entirety of her poetry remains an area for future research.

Series Three, Werner Cahnman 1959-1963, contains material written about Krämer and there are three folders within this set. The first series contains a draft of the biographical essay that he wrote about her, which was later published. The essay is about 25 pages and one of the published versions exists in a collection of several of Cahnman's essays. This collection of essays contains both personal accounts, like the Krämer article and Cahnman's account of his experiences in Dachau, but also his sociological research into the Jewish community in Munich throughout the twentieth century. The positioning of the Krämer essay within this collection of sociological research into the Jewish community indicates that she is both important to him on a personal level but also that he sees her as an exemplar for the experiences of the Munich Jewish community. This series also contains three telegrams from 1941, typed by Werner Cahnman, concerning the fate of his father, mother and aunt. The second folder contains some postcards to Cahnman, possibly from Krämer's friends, the Feuchtwangers. It also contains a letter from the Leo Baeck Institute, dated 1960, stating that the Institute is unable to accept Krämer's archive at that time. I have not been able to ascertain what changed their mind but, as Cahnman's essay about his aunt was first published in 1963, perhaps there is a connection here. The final folder contains a handwritten inventory of the collection. It is the material contained within this archive that forms the majority of the materials analysed within this thesis.

However, I have not relied solely on the material within Krämer's archive to develop this thesis. Werner Cahnman also has his own digitised archive at the Leo Baeck Institute. This is combined with his wife's archive, the biophysicist Giselle Levi Cahnman, and is listed chronologically and subdivided into personal correspondence, family members' papers, immigration documents (both belonging to the Cahnmans but also extended family members), professional (including drafts of academic papers), and photographs. The correspondence contained within this archive has contributed to the analysis in Chapter One. Various Jewish publications have been digitised by the Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main including the *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes* (the official magazine of the JFB), *Ost und West* (a very popular bourgeois magazine), *Bayrische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* (Krämer's regional paper), and many more. These have been carefully examined to uncover material by or about Krämer that is not in the archive and will be analysed in this thesis. Furthermore, Krämer also published in *Jugend* (a popular weekly non-Jewish arts magazine) and the deeply satirical, anti-Nazi *Der Gerade Weg*, published between 1931 and 1933,

initially as a weekly publication but with increased frequency throughout 1933 until it was often thrice weekly. The publication ended with the imprisonment of the editor, Fritz Gerlich. By exploring these additional publications, this thesis goes beyond the limits of Krämer's archive.

I have also attempted to locate correspondence by Krämer held in other archives by writing to institutions connected with people who Krämer knew. This task was mostly fruitless, both due to a fundamental lack of material but also because some archives were unable to provide detailed inventory lists or further information (possibly due to financial constraints). Therefore this task is incomplete; as more material is digitised, more details about Krämer may also come to light. Finding this material and uniting it remains a task for future research.

The material that I have uncovered through my research is of a wide variety of styles and genres as Krämer explored and made sense of the world around her and her place in it. This thesis will examine the changes and historical events through the experiences of one individual, as shown through the extant material. I will use close textual analysis and Clifford Geertz's "thick description" to gain an understanding of Krämer and the world in which she lived. "Thick description" offers a way of examining and interpreting the web of Krämer's representations of her world and her contemporaries "in search of meaning" rather than an "experimental science in search of law" (Geertz, 1973, p.2). Life is constructed of symbols which can be interpreted to enable the researcher to understand what different institutions, actions, and so on meant to those to whom they belonged to create "systematic unpackings" of the world in which subjects live (Geertz, 1983, pp.21-22). This "thick description" will not provide a definitive answer to who Krämer was and how she interacted with the world; the goal is to gain "access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them." (Geertz, 1973, p.24). Through this, I will examine and seek to reconstruct how Krämer saw the world and her place within it.

Geertz uses a number of analogies to explore the relationship between individuals and governing forces. One is that of "games"; this is because society has different rules and procedures depending on the circumstances (the example that Geertz uses is that one cannot mutiny inside a bank) (1983, pp.25-26). Players move within the rules of the given game and are restricted by these rules. For Krämer, the rules of each societal group in which she operated (passing as a non-Jewish writer or writing for the Jewish press for example),

affect her mode of self expression. Another analogy used by Geertz is that of the theatre: a context in which individuals play roles (p.26). This analogy corresponds to Krämer's passing and blurs the distinction between "passing" as playing a role and "passing" as in becoming or inhabiting a label. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. Geertz recognises that the distinction between these two analogies is often blurred because the notion of the individual's free will is hard to differentiate from societal pressures (p.30). Much of the analysis of Krämer's identity and self expression exists on the boundary between when she chooses to inhabit a particular role and when she is forced to by the rules of a societal group. This and its impact on Krämer's identity will be discussed throughout this thesis.

There are, unfortunately, gaps in the material she has left us and therefore gaps in this account of her life. We can never completely grasp her in her entirety but I will speculate on who she was and how she saw herself, offer different suppositions about different facets of her identity, and endeavour to reach a balanced conclusion. As Geertz reminds us, cultural analysis is never complete and "the more deeply it goes, the less complete it is" (1973, pp.14-15). This thesis will explore how Krämer reconciled her identity as a bourgeois, German, Jewish woman at a time when society and events were trying to pull these roles and identities apart. Born into the turmoil of unification and Jewish emancipation, growing up through rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, becoming entangled in the First World War, reaching middle age through the Weimar years and finally ending in a concentration camp, Krämer's life intersects with key moments in German history. She is therefore an illuminating study for the responses of the Jewish community in Germany to the social, political and economic changes during this period. A detailed analysis of her as yet overlooked work can provide an original contribution to the fields of history, Jewish studies, women's studies, cultural studies, gender studies, and literature, among others, as her life and the themes she explored in her work transect these fields.

## Existing Research

To date, Krämer has attracted little scholarly interest but the wealth of material contained both within her archive and elsewhere shows that there is so much to examine. I will now explore the existing research to both reflect on what the current research indicates about Krämer and highlight some of the gaps that this thesis will address. As previously mentioned, Werner Cahnman has provided the most detailed biography about Krämer, and much of this has been used to understand the framework of her life. However, the biography is little more than an essay and is more akin to a loving tribute to his aunt than an

academic exploration of her life and works. His writing is tempered by his experiences and lacks a more analytical eye. For example, when describing her circle of friends he writes that they discuss Kant, Nietzsche, Plato and Hegel but of Krämer he writes: “Tante Clem enjoyed the situation although she understood little of these abstract topics” (p.188). The analysis of Krämer’s letters in Chapter One, and all of her stories explored in Chapters Two to Five, will uncover another side to Krämer to challenge some of the assumptions Cahnman makes. Throughout the essay he refers to her as “Tante Clem” and his recollections of his aunt, while useful, leave much space for academic research.

Krämer’s colleague in the Munich branch of the JFB, Rahel Straus, wrote an autobiography about her life in Munich and later in Palestine. Despite Krämer’s prominence in the local JFB chapter, she barely features in this book. Straus describes the founding of the JFB Munich branch and the election of Krämer to a leadership position:

Man wählte meine Freundin, Clem Krämer, die als Jüdin ein unbeschriebenes Blatt war, sich aber gerade dadurch empfahl. Die Wahl war trotzdem gut, denn Clem Krämer, eine reiche Frau ohne Kinder und ohne irgendeine soziale Beschäftigung, fand ein Arbeitsfeld, das sie anregte, sie förderte und ihre schlummernden Kräfte weckte. Sie hatte zur Zufriedenheit aller viele Jahre im Hauptvorstand gewirkt. (1961, p.153).

This is the only mention of Krämer in the autobiography, which seems unjustly brief considering Krämer’s extensive engagement with the Jewish women’s movement, but it was written almost twenty years after Krämer’s death and most likely without access to her archive. Describing Krämer as “ein unbeschriebenes Blatt” also seems unduly harsh but, in comparison with Straus who had been raised Neo Orthodox and was a committed Zionist, Krämer’s cautious and considered responses to the world may have made her seem to others to be without opinions. This thesis, in particular Chapter One, will examine Krämer’s responses and reflect that she was not, nor had she ever been, a blank page but a woman of depth who created nuanced responses to the world.

Dr Elizabeth Loentz from the University of Illinois at Chicago has written two articles about Krämer’s life and works: “‘The most famous Jewish pacifist was Jesus of Nazareth...’: German-Jewish Pacifist Clementine Krämer’s Stories of War and Visions for Peace”(2007) and “The Literary Double Life of Clementine Krämer: German-Jewish Activist and Bavarian ‘Heimat’ and Dialect Writer” (2011). Due to the limitations of space in these articles, much

of Krämer's life and output is unexplored. I will now examine each article in turn to identify the gaps that remain. In "The most famous Jewish pacifist was Jesus of Nazareth...': German-Jewish Pacifist Clementine Krämer's Stories of War and Visions for Peace", Loentz explores Krämer's creative pieces produced between 1915 and 1927, finishing with *Die Rauferei*. At a glance, this time frame shows that there is much to be explored as so much of her life and work falls outside this limited frame. During the First World War, Krämer published mainly in the non-Jewish press and was careful to avoid any overtly Jewish themes in her work. In the post-war period, with the exception of *Die Rauferei*, Krämer's work was "overtly and uncompromisingly pacifist, positing an inherent affinity between pacifism, feminism, and Judaism" (Loentz, 2007, p.126). This article explores the complex nature of Krämer's identities and aims to reintroduce her "undeservedly forgotten literary oeuvre, focusing in particular on her pacifist writings" (p.126). As an introduction (or reintroduction) this article serves its purpose. However, as my analysis will show, there is much that remains unexamined.

Loentz rightly links Krämer to other notable female pacifists of her era, such as Bertha von Suttner, who were also interested in addressing other social issues, including anti-Semitism and the campaign for women's suffrage. Krämer was greatly involved with war work and worked with both national and regional women's groups, but Loentz does not explore the issues surrounding a pacifist engaging in war work: many pacifists, such as Anita Augspurg (who Krämer knew) and Helene Stöcker, did not engage in any work, even humanitarian relief work that was in any way supportive of the war, and were highly critical of those who did (Braker, 2001, p.77). Loentz also explores Krämer's focus on honouring soldiers, the tragedy of a soldier's death, the war bringing different classes together, and the suffering of women and the poor (p.130). This article uses Krämer's stories such as *Totentanz* and *Anno 15* to briefly highlight how she contrasts patriotic fantasies of war with the grim reality of life and death on a battlefield. Loentz uses stories such as *Muckl und die Franzosenfrau*, *Der Barbar* and *Vor dem Weltkrieg* to examine Krämer's stories about love between German soldiers and French women. Although Loentz discusses how Krämer uses these love stories in an attempt to humanise "the enemy" (in actuality, for Krämer, only the French), she does not link this to Krämer's Kantian position as stated in her 1917 letter to her nephew (p.130). Indeed, she does not analyse this letter at all. How Krämer's pacifism links to Kantian and Enlightenment philosophy will be explored in Chapter One of this thesis with a detailed analysis of this letter.

Loentz then describes how Krämer's post-war writings became "overtly and uncompromisingly pacifist and self-confidently Jewish" and she uses Krämer's 1924 article *Pfadfinder*, in which she calls for pacifist responses to anti-Semitism in schools, as a clear example of this (p.134). However, Loentz does not explore the publication where this article was published: *Jüdisch-Liberale Zeitung*. It was published as part of an edition dedicated to "Das jüdische Kind". By 1924, Krämer had been a member of the Jüdische Frauenbund for almost fourteen years and had written many articles on education and Jewish women. Krämer's contribution must therefore be seen in light of her other articles for the Jewish women's movement, something that Loentz does not do, but which will be discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. Loentz links pacifism for children to Pappenheim and the JFB's belief in spiritual motherhood: "Krämer, herself childless, subscribed to the notion that motherhood and the 'motherly' professions (teaching, nursing, social work, etc.) were women's natural and true calling. Because violence and killing were anathema to women's true purpose as the giver and nurturer of life, women were also considered natural allies for pacifism" (p.136). Krämer's novella *Die Rauferei* also examines spiritual motherhood and Loentz examines the character of the Baroness to look at the intersection between class and gender (p.141). Chapter Three will explore Krämer's relationship with spiritual motherhood in her short stories in more detail and Chapter Five will examine *Die Rauferei* to highlight that Krämer's belief in spiritual motherhood is far more complex than simply restating its principles. Furthermore, her pacifism is more closely linked to Kantian cosmopolitanism than the belief that women are natural pacifists and this argument will be developed in both Chapter Four, which explores the theme of pacifism in her short stories, and Chapter Five, which analyses *Die Rauferei*.

Loentz connects Krämer's pacifism to Mendelssohn and the Enlightenment through Krämer's unpublished story *Scholom Alechem*. In this story, a Jewish girl is confronted by anti-Semites and retorts that (in Loentz's translation) "one of the most famous pacifists was Jesus of Nazareth" (p.137). This is then connected in the article to Mendelssohn's idea of the universality of Judaism. The universality of Judaism and Jewish experience, however, is not just to be found in Krämer's work connected with pacifism. All of the chapters in this thesis will indicate links between Krämer's work and the ideals of the Enlightenment, perhaps reflecting a preoccupation with these ideals in Krämer's identity and self-presentation. Furthermore, this thesis will expand Krämer's connection to Mendelssohn, reflecting that Krämer attempts to answer similar societal questions to those he was facing with regards to Jewish identity. Loentz then explains that *Scholom Alechem* is unpublished, most likely, in her opinion, due to reluctance in wider German society to accept pacifism as a Christian

ideal. She provides examples of the protestant clergy being some of the most vocal anti-pacifists during both the First World War and beyond. She explains that German Catholics were also reluctant to demonstrate pacifist sympathies to avoid having their patriotism questioned (p.139). *Scholom Alechem* indicates this lack of sympathy for pacifism as not a single non-Jewish character speaks out against anti-Semitism (p.140). The inability of the Catholic clergy to condemn violence will be explored in more detail in Chapter Five and Krämer's struggle to reconcile her German and Jewish identities in the face of anti-Semitism will be examined throughout this thesis.

The last four pages of Loentz's article are dedicated to analysing Krämer's novella, *Die Rauferei*, and Loentz regards it as "Krämer's most important pacifist text" (p.140). As will be discussed in Chapter Five, *Die Rauferei* deals with pacifist themes and, as it is Krämer's only published novella, it therefore seems that these themes were very important to her. Krämer has adapted her pacifism for a Bavarian Catholic context, one which is appropriate for the setting of *Die Rauferei*: "Whereas her Jewish texts reference the sixth commandment as the foundation of Judaism, here it is portrayed as the bedrock of Christianity" (p.140). Loentz reminds us of Krämer's deep connection to the Enlightenment values of Reform Judaism by mentioning that Moses Mendelssohn and Abraham Geiger emphasised Jesus' Jewishness, both through his adherence to Jewish religious and cultural practices and his embodiment of what they saw as Jewish spiritual values (p.138). This thesis will reflect the importance of Mendelssohn in all of Krämer's work. Moreover, Loentz notes the turbulent background to *Die Rauferei*, specific to its post-war setting: "There is only a single reference to the social upheavals of the 1918-19 revolution and the Weimar Republic. The monarchist prosecutor of Baptist's trial attributes his act of violence to the disintegration of social order put in motion by the revolution" (p.141). As will be discussed in Chapter Five, my analysis will show how the events of the end of the war and the troubled birth of the Weimar Republic are interwoven into the texture of the novella. Furthermore, Loentz sees the Baroness' discrimination towards the gypsy character, Porti, and her inability to see it as such, as an "indictment of progressive movements- such as the German women's movement- that fail to acknowledge how antisemitism resembles other types of inequality and prejudice and that it is tolerated or propagated within their ranks" (p.143). This is one interpretation but, as with so much of Krämer's work, a closer analysis complicates this reading and reveals a deeper ambivalence in Krämer's attitude. The analysis in this thesis will draw out some of this ambivalence to provide a more nuanced understanding of Krämer's novella and, to an extent, Krämer herself.

Loentz's second article is titled: "The Literary Double Life of Clementine Krämer: German-Jewish Activist and Bavarian 'Heimat' and Dialect Writer" (2011). This article examines Krämer's use of dialect to "pass" as a non-Jewish writer when she was writing for non-Jewish publications and her role as a "folk" writer. The importance of Heimat within Krämer's work will be defined in the Key Concepts section of this chapter and explored in greater detail throughout the thesis. Loentz examines what she describes as "authorial passing", that is, the author omitting markers from the text to pass as something that they are not. In Krämer's case, this is the omission of Jewish linguistic, cultural and religious markers to access a wider literary market (p.110). After a brief introduction to the inhospitable nature of the Bavarian literary landscape (the majority Catholic writers and readers and the speed with which Bavaria and Munich became a site of anti-Semitic agitation in the 1920s strongly support this claim), Loentz connects Krämer's work to the literary renaissance of dialect writing (pp.112-3). Loentz then uses Krämer's story *Der Weg des jungen Hermann Kahn* (1918) to illustrate Krämer's idea that German Jews "had a legitimate claim to their German homeland and identity, based on their rootedness in the German landscape, and not least their German culture and mother tongue- albeit with the acknowledgement that a reciprocal German-Jewish symbiosis remained incomplete" (p.116). In the story, the Jewish Hermann Kahn uses his German language as a marker of his German identity, even though, at the time this was published, anti-Semitic portrayals of Jews "betraying" their Jewishness through slipping into Yiddish or through adhering too closely to standard German were popular in literature and on the stage (p.117).

Loentz then shows the complex nature of Krämer's identity through her biography. While Krämer may have been attempting to demonstrate a Bavarian identity, she was actually an outsider, who would not have spoken a Bavarian dialect. As her mimicry of Bavarian was so successful, Loentz acknowledges that Krämer is actually inadvertently reflecting the anti-Semitic ideas that Jews were like magpies and able to co-opt any identity they needed to. Loentz refers to Wagner's *Das Judenthum in der Musik* in which he puts forward the idea that, while Jews may adopt the language of the area in which they are living, they will always be able to be identified as outsiders. As Krämer was not identified as Jewish in her non-Jewish texts, Loentz sees this as undermining Wagner's ideas (p.117). However, despite this, Loentz notes that none of Krämer's Jewish characters in stories aimed at a non-Jewish audience use dialect and that Jewish characters are usually absent from these texts. Krämer uses class differences or nationality differences as proxies for the Jewish experience of difference (p.118). However, due to the nature of the unpublished texts, it is impossible to know which unpublished stories were aimed at a Jewish audience and which were not.

Additionally, while some of the stories exploring class or national differences may use this as a proxy, Loentz does not expand this with any examples. As Krämer was a recent entrant into the bourgeoisie, she may have felt insecure about her class identity and so is exploring her use of passing as a member of a higher class through these stories. This idea of class and passing, which has been overlooked by Loentz, will be explored in depth in Chapter Two of this thesis.

Loentz argues that Krämer becomes a cultural mediator through her use of dialect and gives examples from Krämer's short stories where the narrator performs a similar function (*Tändler* and *Bruder Mensch*) (p.122). When such stories were published in the liberal Jewish press, it could be argued that Krämer was merely telling her audience what they wanted to hear: that Germanness was an inextricable part of German Jews' identities. However, anti-Semitism was causing frictions within the Jewish community as many, especially younger Jews, began to embrace Zionism and a non-German Jewish identity (p.126). Loentz ultimately views the result of Krämer's passing as limited; Krämer's Jewish readers who read her work, regardless of whether it was published in Jewish or non-Jewish publications, would have identified the subversive message behind her work. They would have recognised that she was demonstrating her Germanness and even her "Bavarianness" through her successful use of dialect. However, as she passed so successfully, her non-Jewish readers would not have been able to grasp this message (p.130). It is hard to decipher what, in Loentz's eyes, Krämer could have done differently to overcome this limitation. "Outing" herself as Jewish would, most likely, have restricted her market and opened her to attacks. Additionally, her Jewish identity was not all she was; her Germanness is also important and therefore, restricting her writing to Jewish subjects for Jewish papers would have been another form of passing. Loentz's article, while a fascinating and detailed look at Krämer's work, becomes oversimplified in its conclusion. This thesis, due to its greater length, will be able to examine the nuances in Krämer's passing and also be able to explore forms of passing beyond the Jewish/non-Jewish.

Elizabeth Loentz's two articles and the essay by Cahnman provide a useful starting point for this thesis. However, due to the vast wealth of material in her archive and the limited space in these articles, there remains much more to be explored. This thesis will use the ideas of passing and pacifism but will expand on these topics through analysing more than the stories or articles chosen by Loentz. Additionally, this thesis will take a more academic approach than Cahnman's biographical essay.

## Key Concepts

Krämer can be seen as having a “multi-faceted identity”, a statement which indeed captures the nature of Krämer’s self-presentation, and so I will now examine the nature of identity in relation to Krämer and how this concept will be used within this thesis (Loentz, 2007, p.126). I will then proceed to present other essential concepts which are central to this exploration of Krämer’s work and recur throughout this thesis, which includes Orientalism, Bildung, Heimat, and spiritual motherhood. These are used as lenses through which different layers of meaning within Krämer’s work can be identified and understood. They will be examined here but I will return to these concepts throughout this thesis.

Identity and how it is constructed is always difficult to define succinctly because we are all playing different roles and performing different functions depending on our circumstances, however for many there is an awareness “of a more stable, core identity, around which minor satellites revolve. What is generally referred to as the ‘Self’ is both the composite of all these identities and roles, as well as perhaps that which holds the package together and prevents fragmentation.” (Brockmeier et al, 2001, p.201). The question becomes what are the satellites that revolved about Krämer and how did she prevent fragmentation? This thesis is not an attempt to define all of Krämer’s identities; it is an exploration of these. This thesis is therefore starting a dialogue about who she was but this dialogue remains open for further research to continue.

Identity is not just constructed by the individual; it is “as much a co-construction, a social, cultural creation, shaped and supported by relationships with others, as it is an internal ‘thing’ that evolves from within” (Brockmeier et al, 2001, p.202). For someone like Krämer, the balancing act becomes more and more perilous as parts of her identity are declared invalid due to social and political changes. As discussed above, Krämer had a wide and varied social group and fulfilled many different roles, and yet was trying to keep hold of her sense of herself. In social identity formation, an individual categorises their attributes and compare these attributes to other individuals. Those with comparable attributes become part of the “in-group” and those without remain the “out-group”. This self-categorisation can lead an individual to emphasise attributes they share with their in-group and highlight their differences with the out-group (Burke et al, 2000, p.225). How Krämer was similar to, or different from, her contemporaries contributes to an understanding of how she saw the world and herself. Trying to keep this sense of self together and prevent fragmentation can often result in the attempt to adopt a unitary identity, at the expense of other identities (Cutter, 1996, p.75). Additionally, when one takes on a role in a group, the expectations,

meanings and resources of this role, as well as interactions with others in counterroles, affect one's identity and self expression as the individual attempts to perform this role (Burke et al, 2000, p.227). Krämer's identity was therefore not only formed and influenced as a member of the Jewish community, but also through her role as a community leader. By reflecting on the different constraints on her identity (both through this tension between member and leader, but also through the changing historical tensions such as anti-Semitism), this thesis will be able to examine how an individual such as Krämer reconciled, or tried to reconcile, the different aspects to her identity.

The variety of different sources that will be used in this thesis become increasingly relevant when trying to unpick Krämer's identity and her balancing methods because "The stories we tell ourselves about ourselves and others organize our sense of who we are, who others are, and how we are to be related" (Brockmeier et al, 2001, p.10). Through analysing her stories, this thesis will explore the stories that Krämer told about herself. Furthermore, the types of texts that are now analysed by scholars for narrative content and form has expanded beyond traditional stories to include non-fiction items such as newspapers or speeches (Loseke, 2007, p.662). This enables this thesis to go beyond Krämer's stories and explore her articles and letters to examine her narrative identity within different genres. As Stuart Hall (1994) explains "constructing biographies which knit together the different parts of ourselves into a unit" is part of the search for identity (p.122). Therefore Krämer's creative output, her letters and her articles are all part of the story she told about herself as she tried to "organize her sense of self".

One way of trying to "knit" these different identities together is through passing. Passing is when a member of a minority group attempts to disassociate, in this case, herself from her in-group to fit in with a majority out-group. If the member of the minority group passes successfully, then the benefits of being part of the majority group become available to her (Howard, 2000, p.369). Krämer often chose to publish her works in non-Jewish publications and such pieces are noticeably devoid of any obvious Jewish characters. This could be an attempt by her to both achieve greater publishing success by giving her work wider appeal, but also to simplify her identity. Passing can also give the subject the chance to try out different identities to see which one fits, and this could also be possibly as an imaginative exercise for the author's entertainment (Cutter, 1996, p.75). Many of Krämer's characters use passing as a way to escape the confines and limitations of their identities. Similarly, Krämer's characters pass as wealthy to escape those who prey on the economically downtrodden. This idea will be explored in Chapter Two as the female protagonists use

passing to access the privileges of a “better” class status, often for their own protection, which reflects that Krämer was engaging with early twentieth century debates about identity and passing.

It is not just Krämer’s characters who engage in passing; through her letters and articles it will be uncovered how Krämer herself was at different times passing as different identities. Passing leads to the presumption that “one cannot pass for something one *is not* unless there is some other, prepassing, identity that one *is*” (Ginsberg, 1996, p.4). By trying to pass, Krämer is highlighting the multifaceted nature of her identity. Inextricably tied to the idea of passing is the idea of “trespassing”; by attempting to access the privileges and rights of one group, an unmarked boundary has been crossed. Passing into a more privileged group can be a way to escape the enclosures of, in Krämer’s case, a society heavily structured by class, religious and cultural divides and seek liberation. Krämer was not simply avoiding attracting attention to her Jewish identity in order to pass as primarily German; her passing is further complicated by concerns about her class identity and this will be explored in Chapter One when Krämer’s bourgeois identity is challenged through her social work with poor, eastern European migrants and their Jewish identities. Additionally, as this chapter will examine, the Jewish migrants also legitimise Krämer’s passing as a bourgeois German; her articles allow her to highlight the differences between herself and the migrants, a manoeuvre common in texts about passing (Stein, 1996, p.112).

Another way to define oneself is by defining what one is not. Krämer, through her voluntary social work, worked closely with Jewish women and girls from Eastern Europe. As will be discussed in Chapter One, while she was being “othered” by anti-Semites and an increasingly anti-Semitic state, she also “othered” these new migrants to Germany. Jews have historically been classified in Western Europe as “Other”, that is, outside of societal structures. Using negatives to define one’s identity, that is, relying on what one is not to define what one is, causes issues when the identity of the Other changes (Minh-Ha, 1991, p.73). Furthermore, for someone like Krämer, whose passing meant that she crossed the boundaries of in-group and out-group, the definitions of Same and Other become blurred and Krämer becomes the “inappropriate Other”: “Undercutting the inside/outside opposition, her intervention is necessarily that of both a deceptive insider and a deceptive outsider... while unsettling every definition of otherness arrived at” (p.74). Krämer is undermining both societal notions of the Other and, as will be discussed, unsettling her own identity in the process. This will be explored in depth in Chapter One, but throughout this thesis as Krämer struggles with who she is and how society views her.

As well as passing, Krämer also uses Moses Mendelssohn's (1729-1786) ideas on how the Enlightenment relates to Judaism in her work in order to explore who she is as an individual and as a member of society, something with which Mendelssohn also grappled. Although she never quotes Mendelssohn directly, as will be highlighted throughout this thesis, she utilises his ideas to unify her identity as a German Jew. Like Krämer, Mendelssohn wrote about many topics including metaphysics, politics, theology and aesthetics in order to explore his philosophical viewpoint (Leonard, 2010, p.186). Mendelssohn was a defender of plural identities; attempting to remove religious differences would, in his opinion, undermine the diversity of humanity and restrict freedom of conscience (Gottlieb, 2006, pp.208-209). Throughout this thesis, Krämer's attempts to embrace a plural identity will be discussed. Mendelssohn linked this to the lack of dogma within Judaism because Judaism calls individuals to consider "metaphysical truths" rather than adhere to dogma (p.210). As will be discussed throughout this thesis, Krämer reveals herself to be ambivalent about many debates about Judaism (in particular, her ambivalence about conversion will be discussed in Chapter Three). Additionally, Mendelssohn's approach and that of the wider Enlightenment was about moving beyond simple labels and dichotomies and bringing opposing concepts together into a new world of philosophical thought (Goetschel, 2007, p.474). She is therefore pursuing Mendelssohn's call to investigate metaphysical truths and uncover religion for herself. Throughout her work, like Mendelssohn, she draws together opposing ideas to examine existing prejudices and create a new philosophy.

That there are so many different religions in the world is linked by Mendelssohn to the multitude of different languages. Language is considered to be inadequate to encapsulate divine truths and, as there are so many different languages in the world, so must there be many different religions as humans attempt to understand and express religious concepts through language (p.207). As will be discussed, Krämer resisted labels throughout her life and I will argue that this is because she felt that labels, and therefore language, were inadequate to express who she was. This thesis will also identify how Krämer's stories reflect her concerns about the inadequacy of language to encapsulate the ideas she wanted to share. Mendelssohn's ideas came under attack during his lifetime and after as he was seen as both "too Jewish" to be a great German philosopher and as not "Jewish enough" as some of his ideas were taken to mean an abandonment of his faith (Breuer, 1996, pp.303-304). Throughout Mendelssohn's work, he attempts to rationalise how he can be a Jew and argue for Jewish rights in a state that saw Jews as entrenched outsiders (p.299). Krämer's articles for the women's movement, discussed in Chapter One, indicate that she is

constantly positioning and re-positioning herself in relation to Judaism and Germanness. Even though she never makes reference to Mendelssohn, as a Liberal German Jew, Krämer would have inhabited a world that was built on the foundations of Mendelssohn and the Enlightenment. Like Mendelssohn, Krämer is attempting to understand herself as an individual and as a member of society. Throughout this thesis, I will identify how Krämer uses Mendelssohn's theories, among others, to unite her identities. Ultimately, it will be discussed how Krämer becomes a successor to Mendelssohn by utilising and adapting his philosophy to grapple with contemporary society.

In addition to Mendelssohn's ideas, another key concept used in this thesis is Orientalism. Edward Said (1978) discusses in *Orientalism* the othering of Semitic peoples; for Said: "Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (p.43). The Europeans watched and observed "the Orient", "never involved, always detached" (p.103). Furthermore, the "orientals" themselves were never allowed to represent themselves or given a voice in European literature; Europeans spoke for and represented them (p.6). As will be discussed in Chapter One, both Pappenheim and Krämer follow this tradition as they observed, and wrote about, Eastern European Jews. According to Said, Europeans, and he includes Germans within this, saw themselves as having an "intellectual *authority* over the Orient within Western culture" and Krämer's adherence to this indicates the deeply intertwined nature of her German identity (p.19). Furthermore "[t]here is a rather complex dialectic of reinforcement by which the experiences of readers in reality are determined by what they have read and this in turn influences writers to take up subjects defined in advance by readers' experiences" so, as Krämer had read Pappenheim's work, this undoubtedly influenced her experiences with, and her depictions of, Jews from Eastern Europe (p.94). What is somewhat ironic is that in the cases of Pappenheim and Krämer, Jews are orientalising and othering Jews. How Krämer's article reflects Orientalism and Pappenheim's work will be discussed in Chapter One.

Orientalism is a useful way of examining the attitudes of those in "The West" towards those in "The East", but it is not perfect. Firstly, Said's study is limited to English-speaking countries, meaning his theory has been less rigorously applied to non-English speaking countries (Ning, 1997, p.61). Secondly, the construction of "the Orient" is, at its heart, fundamentally empty. "The Orient" exists as a series of connotations (for example a Freudian Orient, a Darwinian Orient) and there is no single "Orient", meaning that descriptions of "the Orient" in Orientalism are descriptions of nothing (Ning, p.61). Within

Said's work it has been noted that because these multiple connotations are difficult to grasp and express and "the Orient" itself lacks clear geographic definition, Said reciprocates the binary of "West" versus "Rest" of which he has accused Orientalists (Huggan, 2005, p.126). Thirdly, Said has been criticised for positioning "the West" and its colonial desires as masculine and "the Orient" as feminine. This masculine/feminine divide overlooks the expression of Orientalism within western women's works, which at times are Orientalist and at others undermine this discourse (Yegenoglu, 1998, pp.69-73). Krämer's approach can both be used to supplement existing knowledge about Orientalism in Germany but also to add complexity through her experiences as a Jewish woman. Despite these limitations, Orientalism is one lens through which the experiences of Europeans (such as Krämer) with those from "the Orient" can be examined. As with the other key concepts used in this thesis, and the difficulties of examining a life from the sources which remain, Orientalism cannot provide a comprehensive understanding of Krämer but it is one way of interpreting her life and her representations thereof.

Although Said included Germany in his definition of "Europeans", Germany's relationship with "The Orient" was remarkably different from that of Britain or France. Germany developed colonial interests much later than other European nations and the period of colonial power is generally agreed to have been comparatively short-lived (1884-1919) (Dickenson, 2008, p.130). However, this does not mean that Said's theories about Orientalism cannot be applied to Germans' depictions of "the Orient". Historically, Germany had been more focussed on its Eastern borders than the Middle East. In the twelfth century, the pope authorised a German crusade to convert the peoples of Eastern Europe as part of the crusade to recapture Jerusalem, thereby linking activities in Eastern Europe with "the Orient", a practice which continues into Krämer's time (Kontje, 2004, p.182). Furthermore, Orientalism is not concerned with the actual, geographic borders of "the Orient"; it is a discourse about Western attitudes towards it (p.12). Moreover, Cahnman describes the Eastern European Jews with whom Krämer worked, as from "little out-of-the-way places in 'Half-Asia'" (Cahnman, 1989, p.181). His use of inverted commas suggests that this is not his description but perhaps Krämer's, although a direct quotation using this expression has not been located. Pappenheim's travels in Eastern Europe were referred to as "Orientreise" (Mitteilungen aus der Bundes- und Vereinsarbeit, 1913). As will be discussed in Chapter One, it is possible to apply Said's theory to Krämer's approach to Eastern European Jews.

Another concern of Pappenheim and the JFB was Bildung, which was also a key concept in German bourgeois self-understanding. Jews had been trying to demonstrate their

respectability and their integration into conventional German notions of class and state, and their efforts had increased since Jewish legal emancipation in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Bildung was the blending of character and education because it denoted a cultured person with an awareness of aesthetic appreciation which could be achieved through interacting with revered texts and developing theoretical knowledge (Kaplan, 1991, p.8). Mendelssohn was also involved in forming proto-Bildung ideas: humans must cultivate the self in order to improve society and to advance (Erlin, 2002, p.89). Throughout his life and into Krämer's lifetime, Mendelssohn was celebrated as being able to synthesise Judaism with German Bildung and so once again we can see similarities between Mendelssohn's and Krämer's approaches (Sorkin, 1994, p.123). Bildung is also part of what Bourdieu calls "cultural capital" which "is defined as the accumulated stock of knowledge about the products of artistic and intellectual traditions, which is learned through educational training- and crucially for Bourdieu- also through social upbringing" (Trigg, 2001, p.104). Bildung and acquiring cultural capital became seen as the ticket into German, non-Jewish society but, through potentially over-reliance on Bildung, it became also to be seen paradoxically as a mark of Jewishness (Kaplan, 1991, p.10). Throughout the nineteenth century, Bildung had been a contradiction for Jews; it was the promise of emancipation that was either not delivered or delivered but without ending prejudice and discrimination (Grossmann, 2002, p.260). As many of Mendelssohn's friends and family members converted to Christianity, it can be argued that even in his lifetime, Bildung was not compatible with Jewishness or a ticket into the bourgeoisie (Sorkin, 1994, p.123). Many of Krämer's ideas reflect Bildung, and this and her class identity will be discussed throughout this thesis.

As discussed previously, during her lifetime, Krämer was recognised as a Bavarian Heimatdichterin (folklore writer), and so Heimat is a key concept within this thesis (Loentz, 2007, p.128). Works of Heimat art were focussed on celebrating the provincial German, in whom resided the unchanging German soul (Boa and Palfreyman, 2000, pp.30-31). Heimat was an anti-urban movement but its artists often resided in metropolises like Munich or Berlin and their work was characterised by a yearning for a rural existence (p.33). Krämer was not born or raised in Bavaria so the use of dialect and penchant for heroes who were Bavarian farmers (see Chapter Five: *Die Rauferei*, for examples) could seem affected. However, we can see this as Krämer exploring her identity as a German and using the idea of Heimat to show that she is truly German, even though she is also a Jew, through her use of dialect: "Mundart became the leading medium for the celebration of folk identity. To speak it, read it or write it was to signal one's regional consciousness" (Applegate, 1991,

p.237). Heimat associations had flourished in the nineteenth century as a way for bourgeois Germans to both formulate a national identity and make sense of an increasingly urbanised world (Applegate, 1991, pp.230-231). Krämer's engagement with Heimat is complex and required careful negotiation of her identities as a bourgeois German Jew. Prior to the First World War, Heimat associations had proposed a national German identity that was based on a celebration of regional diversity within Germany instead of defining "Germanness" by the nations outside. This led to interest and enthusiasm in folklore, dialect and nature (p.237). Heimat was also a way for bourgeois Germans to find a positive expression of their identity; it no longer required a preoccupation with envy for the class above, or fear of the class below, or even suspicions of "Otherness" within their own class. It allowed for national identity to be an expression of "commonality and inclusion" (p.244). However, many celebrants of Heimat were anti-Semitic, and became more so over time. Jewishness was seen to undermine the "ethnic superiority" of Germany and spreading the moral decline, which had already infiltrated cities, to the pure countryside (Boa and Palfreyman, 2000, p.35). Others celebrated diversity and individuality as cornerstones of German identity and did not exclude Jews from their visions of German culture, although many held a strong aversion to "blood mixing" (Boa and Palfreyman, 2000, p.37). By the Weimar Republic, Heimat was seen as providing answers to questions of masculinity and military honour that had been generated by the horrors of the First World War, and the subsequent social and political changes (p.61). Krämer's use of Heimat themes within her work is therefore grounded in a complicated context. It can be suggested that it is an example of her "cherry-picking" aspects of an ideology (in this case the celebration of regional diversity and German countryside) and avoiding others (anti-Semitism) to create a response to the trials of modernity and urban life. As will be discussed in this thesis, this is representative of the cracks within her own identity; Krämer is not sure how she fits into German society so she adapts philosophies from those around her. Krämer's expressions of Heimat within her work will be explored later in this thesis.

As will become clear from the analysis of Krämer's articles, she was an advocate for what is referred to as "spiritual motherhood", and so I will provide an explanation of this concept and how it relates to Krämer and the women's movement. Spiritual motherhood developed at the start of the organised women's movement in the 1840s and it was the belief that women, because they were seen as biologically driven to be nurturing, were best placed to understand social morality and improve the world. The bond between a mother and a child was seen as the bond that linked the "self to the other and the individual community" (Allen, 1991, p.3). Women, who were childless, like Krämer or Pappenheim, were not

excluded from this idea; as women they were presumed to have the biological drive for nurturing and, as they did not have children of their own, they were more able to invest this drive in the good of the community. This thesis will therefore use Krämer's stories to explore how she presented women as nurturing, as educators, as a powerful force for justice and morality, and how women sought social cohesion, but I will also identify how she struggled to balance her duty to the Jewish community with that to the wider non-Jewish society.

The German Women's Association (Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein, a forerunner to the BDF) saw social service as a way for women to demonstrate their citizenship, similar to military service for men, and through this they could demand greater rights (Allen, 1991, p.102). In the 1870s, Henriette Goldschmidt (1825-1920) created opportunities for women in her city of Leipzig by founding Kindergartens and training programmes for female teachers (Fassmann, 2009). Goldschmidt and her work had a huge impact on social campaigners like Bertha Pappenheim and the JFB. The January 1926 edition of the *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes* contains a tribute to Goldschmidt's hard work and achievements as a Jewish woman in the women's movement: "Wir jüdischen Frauen der Gegenwart blicken mit Stolz und anerkennender Bewunderung darauf zurück, daß eine Jüdin zu den ersten Vorkämpferinnen der Frauenbewegung gerechnet werden konnte" (Cohn, 1926, p.5). It is unclear if Goldschmidt and Krämer ever met but it is clear that Goldschmidt remained a central figure in the work of the JFB even after her death and so Krämer most likely would have been aware of Goldschmidt's work and goals. For Jewish women, demonstrating their citizenship through charitable works for the public good would have been an important goal because society questioned their status as Jews and as women. Krämer's responses to spiritual motherhood as seen through her stories will be explored in Chapter Three.

These key concepts will be used throughout this thesis to deepen my analysis of Krämer's work to give us an insight into how she saw the world around her and how she saw herself within that world. As will be explored, Krämer uses passing to accentuate the German side of her identity and de-emphasise the Jewish side. She embraces the concepts of *Bildung* and *Heimat* to demonstrate her credentials as a German writer but, by using ideas which were often utilised by other Jews, her Jewish identity and her connections to the Jewish community are highlighted. She uses an Orientalist approach to Jews from Eastern Europe to emphasise the difference between herself and them, and to indicate that she is German and they are Other. It can never be concretely proven whether Krämer did this intentionally

to achieve market success, to escape anti-Semitism, or whether it was an unconscious representation of her German identity. Her engagement with the Jewish community indicates that she felt a strong tie to this side of her identity and a desire to express this tie somewhat openly, but that at different times and in different ways she chose, or was forced, to place greater weight on her German identity. As so much of her work is undated and it is likely that there are pieces missing, we can never expect to gain a complete picture of her identities. Furthermore, this thesis would be endless if it attempted to analyse all the themes in all of the extant work. Therefore, this is not a definitive account of how Krämer reconciled her identities. Rather, it is opening a dialogue about Krämer as an individual, about how the wider Jewish community coped with the social and political upheavals of this time and, furthermore, about how she is attempting to understand her world.

## Historical Context

Krämer's identities and the ways that she attempted to reconcile them are both rooted in and affected by the historical context in which she lived. It therefore is logical to use some of the space in this Introduction to present some of the trends and changes that she experienced in her life. This context will also introduce information about her social connections; as discussed previously, through understanding Krämer's in-group and out-group, we can learn about how she saw herself and her world, which is a core part of identity theory. Greater depth will be provided later in the thesis, where necessary, but this section will serve as an introduction, bringing together the most important details and indicating the connections between events and their impact on Krämer.

As discussed above, Krämer was born in Rheinbischofsheim but the family moved to Karlsruhe. This urban migration was typical of the Jewish community at this time; in 1852, 10% of the Jewish community in Baden lived in either Karlsruhe or Mannheim, but by 1900, this figure had risen to 33% (Koch, 1990, p.98). Baden was also a confessionally mixed region; it was majority Catholic with a large, and growing, Protestant minority and a smaller, scattered Jewish population (Smith, 1994, p.286). These different groups did mix, and there were many interfaith marriages to attest to that, but there was also widespread segregation which was, at times, far from peaceful (p.293). Whereas the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants were usually limited to the courtroom or the pulpit, attacks on Jews were more likely to be violent and based on denying Jews' Germanness on account of their blood (p.298). It is unclear to what extent Krämer experienced this anti-Semitism directly, as there are no first-hand accounts of her childhood, but we can make an educated guess that

growing up in such an environment of hatred and denial of the Germanness of German Jews would have had a profound impact on her. It is more than likely that these early experiences shaped her sense of a German identity and led her, to some extent, to defend and expound this identity through her writing.

It is also significant that Krämer was from a Liberal Jewish background. Liberal Judaism had grown out of Reform Judaism in the mid-nineteenth century. One of the founding fathers of Reform Judaism was Abraham Geiger, who was particularly concerned with modernising Judaism and showing it as a progressive religion. He was also a proponent of the idea that, as Jews were and had always been a minority within Germany, Jews were more used to adapting and modifying their religion to accommodate their social environs and this meant that they were prepared for reform. He also promoted the belief that Judaism was an historically egalitarian religion and that it was on this tradition that Jesus had built (Hill, 2007, p.300). Geiger developed the earlier philosophical works of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), who even today is recognised as the “founder of modern Jewish philosophy” (Arkush, 1999, p.29). Mendelssohn proposed that Judaism was in line with the ideas of the Enlightenment, that is, that the religion was founded upon rational legislation and therefore that Judaism was a modern religion and not of the “dark ages” (p.30). As this foundation was not based on spiritual revelation but universal truths, the core “truths” of Judaism were therefore not unique to Judaism but rather part of a set of shared values belonging to humanity wrapped in different cultural practices. This meant that it was unjust for society to exclude others on the basis of religion (Breuer, 1996, p.307). In Mendelssohn’s own time his works were hotly debated, not least by Immanuel Kant, and Krämer also engages with these debates (Arkush, 1999, p.43). Mendelssohn’s exploration of the universal truths behind Judaism was contested by Johann Caspar Lavater, a Swiss deacon, who publicly challenged Mendelssohn to acknowledge or disprove the truths within Christianity, leading Mendelssohn to publish a series of responses (Breuer, 1995, pp.34-36). These debates have echoed through the ages, into Krämer’s time and beyond. Her relationship to these philosophers and others is woven into the texture of this thesis and will be explicitly discussed in Chapters One, Four and Five.

In 1891, Krämer moved to Munich with her husband and they lived in the Schwabing area. Munich at the end of the nineteenth century was a hothouse for artistic production (Lenman, 1982, p.3). Furthermore, the Academy of Arts was located there, attracting a variety of artists to the locale (Cahnman, 1989, p.187). Industrialisation had also left fewer visual markers on the city compared with other cities at this time; industries often used

existing buildings rather than creating large, unsightly factories, which led some to refer to Munich as a Gesamtkunstwerk (Klahr, 2011, p.184). Due to the Glaspalast, an exhibition hall similar to the Crystal Palace in London, art exhibitions were heavily marketed and promoted in Munich but it was also a destination for art buyers, and such naked commercialism was seen to be in direct conflict with the artistic soul (p.186). Krämer's concerns about the conflict between the artist and the market can be seen in some of her short stories and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. Cahnman's biography attests to the creative, and somewhat bohemian, circle in which the Krämers operated: in his biography, Cahnman provides a wide ranging list of people with whom the Krämers socialised, stretching from bankers to painters and a mixture of Jewish, Christian and secular individuals (p.187). Indeed, the political climate of pre-war Munich was one of somewhat fluid social boundaries, allowing for greater "milieu-crossing" than in other parts of Germany (Hastings, 2003, p.388). Clementine Krämer was also acquainted with Margarethe Quidde, wife of leading German Peace Society member and future Nobel peace prize winner Ludwig Quidde, as they established a women's suffrage group together (Cahnmann, p.185). We can speculate that, as Margarethe Quidde and Krämer established a politically active group together, they must have been rather well-acquainted in order to have recognised that they shared political ambitions and interests. Cahnman also notes that after the First World War, most of the non-Jewish members left this group and the number of Jewish intellectuals (including the local rabbi Leo Baerwald and local publisher Ludwig Feuchtwanger) grew (pp.188-189). Max Krämer and Clementine's brother were both active in the München Loge (a Jewish social welfare group, involved in fundraising for Jews fleeing pogroms in Eastern Europe) (p.180). This diverse social group is reflected in Krämer's welfare work, activism, creative production and pacifism, and therefore in the formation of her identity.

Krämer's activism indicates that she was deeply engaged with gender issues and the role of women in society. According to her nephew, Krämer had been involved in Jewish women's social work from about 1905 onwards but it was in 1911 that the Jüdische Frauenbund Ortsgruppe München was officially founded and created an employment advisory office for Jewish women and girls (Oppenheimer, Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung, 1925, p.44). The Jüdische Frauenbund (JFB), to which the Munich branch belonged, was established in 1904 by Bertha Pappenheim and she was its leader for twenty years, remaining on the board of directors until her death in 1936 (Kaplan, 1991, p.211). The main aims of the JFB were to bring together middle class women for a shared purpose but also to re-energise Judaism through education and campaigning for increased rights for women (Kaplan, 1979, pp.44-46). Women's organisations in Germany, including denominational

groups, had increased rapidly during the 1890s in Germany and in 1894, the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine (BDF) was established as an umbrella organisation to unite the movement (Evans, 1976, p.37). The JFB joined the BDF in 1908 and remained a member until 1933 when the JFB resigned shortly before the BDF collapsed in the face of Gleichschaltung (a process by which Jews had to be removed from positions in non-Jewish organisations) (Kaplan, 1998, p.47). Krämer's work within the women's movement is a reflection of her concerns regarding gender issues; her engagement with these issues is an acknowledgement of her gender identity and also a recognition of the boundaries to the role of women. This analysis frames this thesis within the field of gender studies.

For many in the JFB, including Krämer, Bertha Pappenheim was more than a figurehead: "When Tante Clem spoke about Bertha Pappenheim, one had the impression she referred to a saint" (Cahnman, 1989, p.182). Like Krämer, Pappenheim had a wide range of interests and something of a creative drive. She published a play titled "Women's Rights" and a translation of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. She was also committed to promoting Jewish cultural history; she translated *Tsenerene* (a Yiddish language book explaining religious Hebrew texts) and published a collection of Jewish folklore and fairy tales (Kaplan, 1991, p.212). However, unknown to her contemporaries, Bertha Pappenheim had struggled with mental ill health in her youth, and she was the woman behind Freud's famous case study "Anna O" (p.211). It is not hard to imagine that for Pappenheim, social work was more than an entertaining diversion for a wealthy woman; it was a lifesaver. She later travelled widely in Eastern Europe, investigating the causes and consequences of the white slave trade and wrote extensively on the plight of young Jewish women and girls (p.213). Krämer's early social work was focussed on education for new immigrants from Eastern Europe, which suggests that she was heavily influenced by Pappenheim. A closer examination of Pappenheim's and Krämer's work will be provided in Chapter One.

During the First World War, the JFB in Munich worked with the Katholische Frauenbund and the Evangelische Frauenbund to organise welfare for the city. As will be explained later, welfare work was seen by many who were anti-war to be engaging with the war, and therefore prolonging the suffering caused by the conflict. Cahnman describes how Krämer worked in an office in the Kohleninsel (where the Deutsches Museum is today), which was surrounded by large pockets of poverty and almost slum areas (p.186). Krämer and other members of the JFB ran a soup kitchen and assessed the needs of the local population through home visits. Cahnman also describes how Krämer was responsible for

supplementing the official rations by persuading local Jewish businessmen to donate money and items to the cause (p.186). Marion Kaplan (1991) in *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class* describes the JFB in Munich setting up centralised and organised sewing institutions which employed over 500 women to produce shirts, jackets and mittens for soldiers, and items to sell in local stores to raise funds, although it is unclear whether Krämer herself was specifically involved directly with this (p.222). Krämer's friend and colleague, Rahel Straus, also refers to the clothing manufacture as "fabrikartig" in her autobiography, which does suggest that the leadership of the JFB Munich branch, which included Krämer, were playing an administrative role and overseeing this work at the very least (Straus, 1961, p.211). According to Kaplan, many Jewish women embraced the opportunities the First World War presented as a chance to have a sense of belonging because they shared hardship and suffering with non-Jewish Germans and they worked with other women's groups to alleviate this (1991, p.220).

Another aim of the JFB was to encourage Jewish women to actively engage with Judaism as there was a sense that many Jews were simply "men and women on the streets and Jews at home", possibly indicating that they only engaged with Jewish religious practice in private and avoided publicly identifiable markers of faith (Kaplan, 1991, p.11). During the Weimar Republic, a liberal synagogue in Berlin (dedicated in 1930) was the only synagogue to be completed (Meyer, 1998, p.23). The lack of rabbis and spaces for worship weakened the link between rabbi and congregation causing some to find the experience of Judaism to be somewhat alienating (Meyer, 1998, p.17). In order to combat this, Krämer and the Munich branch of the JFB opened a school for girls in 1926. Moreover, the school reflected the ideals of spiritual motherhood, enabled the JFB to pass on Judaism to the next generation and impart Bildung. This school, in the small village of Wolfratshausen, aimed to provide girls with the skills they needed to run a Jewish home. The curriculum covered everything from maintaining a kitchen garden and looking after chickens, to managing the family finances and keeping Kosher. Krämer wrote about the school in articles for the JFB which will be explored in Chapter One.

The Wall Street Crash in 1929 caused a global depression which was felt acutely in Germany. The economic depression was a contributing factor to rising anti-Semitism and led to even tougher economic difficulties for Jews because Jewish businesses were boycotted, Jewish workers were more likely to be fired, and it became more and more difficult for Jews to find employment (Maurer, 2005, p.308). During the Third Reich, the JFB continued to work to support the struggling Jewish community and to alleviate suffering in increasingly difficult

circumstances. The JFB members ran practical courses in cooking, sewing and household maintenance as the Nuremberg laws (1935) prohibited Jews from hiring “Aryans” (p.54). This suggests that the JFB wanted to support previously wealthy housewives who had lost their servants and they needed to learn about home maintenance because tradespeople were unable to enter Jewish homes. As conditions worsened, the JFB ran classes to teach girls skills that would make them attractive to emigration countries, skills which included agriculture or domestic service (p.49). They also provided an important social circle for Jews who were becoming increasingly isolated as their community shrank and they were abandoned by “Aryan” former friends. Krämer’s involvement in the JFB and how she responded to the destruction of her community will be discussed in Chapter One.

By exploring Krämer’s work in relation to historical changes, this thesis is able to unpick how she was influenced by the turmoil surrounding her and how she shaped her community’s response to it. As her work spans almost four decades, this thesis enables us to understand how events unfolded and the effect that they had on individuals’ lives. The changes she experienced and the effect on her identity will be explored on the micro level of her work and life but will also be extrapolated to explore the connections to the impact these events had on her community. I will now provide an overview of how this thesis is structured and how this thesis will illuminate Krämer’s identities.

## Thesis structure

Chapter One will examine Krämer’s articles for the women’s movement. These articles cover much of her adult life and allow us an understanding of what topics she felt were important and how she responded. The responses she provides are an indication of what she believed the role of women in society to be and therefore how she saw herself. Many of the topics she explored in her articles can also be found in her short stories and connections will be made throughout this thesis. These links indicate that these topics must have been of great importance to her in order for her to return to them across different genres. The second part of Chapter One will examine her correspondence with her nephew. Although there are only six extant letters, they are long and detailed enough to provide an indication of how Krämer presented herself when she was not writing for publication. These letters give an insight into Krämer’s identity as a bourgeois Jewish woman, who was very widely read. This chapter will also include a detailed analysis of how she presented her pacifism in a letter in 1917. This analysis informs our understanding of her stories; the philosophical texts she mentions and her approach to important topics like pacifism can be traced in her creative

pieces. As the last letter is dated 1942, we can also gain an understanding of how she coped with life during the Third Reich and how this affected her presentation of her identity. Without an analysis of these letters, the analysis of Krämer's life would end with Hitler's seizure of power.

Chapters Two to Four will consist of a detailed analysis of Krämer's short stories. Her short stories form the vast majority of the material in her archive, which suggests that she dedicated the majority of her time and energies to this activity. Therefore, it is logical that the largest part of this thesis is devoted to an analysis of her work. When examining the vast quantity of Krämer's work, three themes seem to be prominent throughout her work due to the frequency of their recurrence. These themes are: women in the public sphere, spiritual motherhood, and responses to war. Chapters Two to Four will look at these themes in this order using examples from more than a third of the stories she wrote. This order has been chosen because the themes flow into one another and each chapter builds on the previous one. Chapter Two "Women in the public sphere" examines the threats women face when alone and in public and the stories have an individual female protagonist who is uncertain of her role and responsibilities. Chapter Three continues to explore concerns about the role of women and the stories demonstrate the benefits to women who use the concept of spiritual motherhood to educate others. Chapter Four explores pacifism and how women can use spiritual motherhood to ease the suffering caused by war and find non-violent solutions. While there are other themes, including concerns about the encroachment of the urban environment on the rural, artists' struggles against the market and somewhat disparate political concerns, these three themes are the most consistent and the best developed. Further research can be conducted into Krämer's other themes and work not explored here, but due to limitations of space, this thesis will focus on the three themes that Krämer returned to repeatedly over the course of her life and that must therefore have been important to her and her identity.

Chapter Two starts with an exploration of stories with female protagonists who encounter gender-based threats while moving in the public sphere. This chapter is focused on published stories in order to chart how these threats are affected by the time in which they were written, but there are many unpublished pieces on this theme, indicating its importance to her. This chapter begins with stories written and most likely set in the pre-war period where the threats are located in a rural backwater, before analysing a story set in the urban environment and the threat of revolution during the First World War. The chapter concludes with a story from 1933 in which the threat to the female protagonist

becomes highly specific and personal, possibly in response to the threats Krämer faced as a result of Hitler's seizure of power. Chapter Three broadens this analysis by exploring the experiences of women through spiritual motherhood and therefore builds on Krämer's articles analysed in Chapter One. This chapter explores the different expressions of spiritual motherhood, from an individual mother to a female teacher to a young woman, reflecting the important roles Krämer saw women playing within the community. Chapter Four moves this towards Krämer's expression of pacifism, which did involve spiritual motherhood, but was also an expression of the tragedy of war and violence. All of these stories, while initially appearing to offer a resolution, are lacking a satisfactory conclusion upon closer inspection. All three of these chapters will indicate that while Krämer was willing to grapple with difficult social issues, she was unwilling to provide simple solutions. This will be compared with Mendelssohn's theories about the inadequacies of language to encapsulate complex ideas. The stories provide Krämer with a way to explore her world and imagine different possibilities. However the deficiencies within these stories, which will be illuminated through my analysis, indicate that Krämer is ultimately unsure of her world and her place within it.

These themes are brought together in Krämer's only published book: her 1927 novella, *Die Rauferei*, and an analysis of this work forms Chapter Five. This novella seems to be the culmination of all the aspects of Krämer's life and her multiple identities are brought together. This novella is a demonstration of Krämer's literary credentials as she artfully exploits this popular German literary form. She brings together the gender-based threats, the role of women as community leaders, and pacifism, along with many other themes, to explore the difficulties of trying to uphold moral codes in a world that has been inverted through the violence of the First World War and the ensuing revolution. Yet even here, Krämer does not provide a concrete resolution and her protagonist is left, metaphorically, groping in the dark to make sense of his experience and to find a way to continue. My analysis will indicate that this is a reflection of Krämer's identity and her struggles to deal with the chaos of the world around her.

Finally, this thesis will conclude that Krämer was unable or unwilling to reconcile the divisions in her identity, and that these divisions multiplied over the course of her life. She borrowed parts of different philosophies to attempt to find a coherent response to the problems she perceived but was ultimately unable find a solution. Through this analysis, the thesis will indicate that throughout her work, there is a deep seated ambivalence and inability to have a coherent response to the changes around her. However, this ambivalence

was not due to ignorance, apathy or an unwillingness to engage with the important issues of her age, but rather it was a deliberate stance, reflecting Krämer's insight that there was no solution to these internal and external conflicts. Ambivalence was, therefore, Krämer's moral philosophy. Many of Krämer's contemporaries that we recognise as prominent today are identified as taking a philosophical stance (for example: Zionism, socialism, pacifism). As will be discussed, her ambivalence is a recognition of the complex nature of the world and a refusal to compromise in order to find a simple solution. Krämer's nephew labelled her response as a concern for individuals over collectivities stating that the "fate of collectivities, such as nations and peoples, seemed to be beyond Tante Clem's comprehension" (p.190). Although her social work indicates a concern for wider society, and that this was not "beyond her comprehension", her stories are focussed on the experiences of individuals and their struggles with their world and it is through these stories that Krämer's ambivalence is most apparent. Her concerns with the fate of individuals may have rendered her unable to recognise the impending catastrophe of the Third Reich and delayed a timely exit from Germany, although as a late middle-aged bourgeois woman with little formal education and few marketable skills she would never have been a popular candidate for a visa from many countries. However, like many in the Jewish women's movement, she was well-connected and had friends and family overseas who were willing to provide her with assistance, but this help could not be realised in time. As fewer women of her age and class background emigrated than other groups, her ideological approach may have been shared by others and can provide a unique insight to current understanding of the causes behind emigration patterns.

## Chapter One: Articles & Letters

As discussed in the Introduction, Krämer was a prolific chronicler of her time; she wrote on many key issues of her day such as the role of women in Judaism, education for women, the war, anti-Semitism, the economic troubles of the Weimar Republic, and so on. Through her work we can watch events unfold and see how she reacted and helped to shape her community's response. She was also connected to many key figures and great thinkers of her time and we can see how she interacted with their ideas and the ways in which she was different. The close readings in this chapter and the chapters which follow will provide an insight into how she draws on works of philosophy, literature, and those around her, in an attempt to create a cohesive world view and therefore a cohesive identity. As discussed in the previous chapter, identity is formed through internal evolution and shaped and supported by external interactions and relationships (Brockmeier et al, 2001, p.202). As external forces declared parts of Krämer's identity invalid and incompatible over the course of her life, so Krämer's representations of herself altered as she tried to balance her identities. As my analysis will show, she is never able to unite satisfactorily the different ideologies and the different factions within her and is therefore never quite sure of who she is and how she fits into the world. This chapter will illuminate this argument through close readings of her articles and her letters.

I will analyse a representative sample of Krämer's articles on topics relating to the women's movement to uncover what she saw as the key issues and how she approached them. In these articles, Krämer is usually promoting a campaign or advocating for change but, as will be identified, contradictions and uncertainties remain within her work, reflecting the divisions within her own identity. This chapter will take a thematic approach, looking at Krämer's attitude towards education, the younger generation and the role of women in Judaism, and through this analysis I will examine what her approach says about the construction of her identities and how, to use Stuart Hall's word, she attempts to "knit" these identities together (1994, p.122). Even as Krämer engages with activism in the German Jewish women's movement, she is concerned about what it means to be Jewish and what kind of Judaism she is promoting. She struggles to balance contemporary debates about Orthodox and Liberal Judaism, and about the extent to which one should uphold Jewish practices. She also expresses doubts about the coherence of her identity as a bourgeois German; as a Jew at this time, is this even feasible for her? This chapter will then expand this through an analysis of her correspondence to explore how she engaged with the topics when she was not writing for a large audience. Although there are only six letters within the archive (and efforts to uncover more have been fruitless), these letters are all

more than a page long and densely packed with Krämer's opinions, ideas and experiences, which are often more openly stated than in her stories. To date, these letters have not been the subject of academic scrutiny. Therefore, while not wanting to overstate the importance of these letters, they provide an opportunity to explore Krämer's world view when she is not writing for publication. This chapter will examine these letters and how Krämer responded to three themes: pacifism, economic instability, which led to the destabilising of Krämer's bourgeois identity, and anti-Semitism. The analysis of these themes will indicate Krämer's ambivalence towards proposed solutions to the troubles in the world around her.

## Articles

### ***Unknown Title (c.1926)***

Mancher macht sich viele Pein  
Mit dem lieben Töchterlein;  
Schickt sie uns nach Wolfratshausen

Lern Chemie und Bücher führen,  
Säuglingspflege, Saucenrühren,  
Bürgerkunde, Volkswirtschaft,  
Und was sonst die Jüdin alles schafft.

Within Krämer's archive are some of the articles she wrote, lectures she gave, and notes she or others made at meetings, and all of these are on topics relating to the Jewish women's movement. From this we can ascertain that Krämer dedicated a great deal of her time and energy to this movement, which lends credence to the idea that she viewed the activist side of her identity as important. The articles I have chosen for this chapter have been drawn from a number of different sources. Some are from her archive, others are from *Die Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes*, and others are from publications that have been made available online. As with all of Krämer's work, the amount of articles available has meant that not all can be examined in this thesis, and there may be other articles that have not come to light. The articles that have been selected for detailed analysis in this chapter are ones which reflect the main themes within her work (these themes are outlined below) and also cover as much of the duration of Krämer's time with the Jewish women's movement as possible. This chapter will look at articles pertaining to three themes: education, the

younger generation, and the role of women in Judaism. These three themes have been selected because many of the articles Krämer wrote relate to these themes, which suggests that they must have been of importance to her and, as they were published, to the wider Jewish women's movement. Through the analysis of her work, I will uncover how she saw herself in relation to the world and her attempts to reconcile her identities.

As outlined in the Introduction, the history of the Jewish women's movement, and Krämer's personal involvement, is closely connected with the women's movement in Germany as a whole. Krämer had been involved in Jewish women's social work from about 1909 onwards but it was in 1911 that the Jüdische Frauenbund Ortsgruppe München was officially founded and created an employment advisory office for Jewish women and girls (Oppenheimer, *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1925, p.44). During the First World War, the Munich branch of the JFB came together with other women's groups across Munich and worked to alleviate suffering caused by the war. The JFB created a sewing and knitting group to provide employment for displaced Jewish women (mainly from Poland) and to provide garments for the war effort. Clara Oppenheimer, the first chairwomen of the JFB Ortsgruppe München, wrote in the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* (BIG) in 1925, that the garment production grew so rapidly so they had to open additional branches (p.44). In the post-war years of hyperinflation and economic turmoil, this Munich group set up soup kitchens for impoverished families and distributed emergency parcels to the needy. They also held lecture evenings on topics ranging from Judaism to practical homemaking skills. By 1925 the group consisted of 800 women (p.44). In the October 1926 edition of the BIG, Krämer is listed as the "2. Vorsitzende" (p.269). In 1927, Krämer was promoted to "1. Vorsitzende" during the Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Munich group, held in the saloon of a hotel in Munich (BIG, 1927, p.374). In the report of the AGM in the BIG, Krämer is reported as stating that she sees herself as a "Platzhalterin" and she hopes "die Führung bald einer jüngeren Frau anvertrauen zu können" (p.374). The future of the women's movement was a concern throughout the 1920s due to an inability to attract younger members, and Krämer's reflections on this will be discussed later in this chapter. The BIG reported regularly on the work and activities of the JFB and Krämer became a frequent contributor, mainly writing news items about the JFB and contributing to the recommended books section. Her contributions to the BIG and the reports on her activities will be used in this chapter to provide greater context to her articles on the women's movement.

From its infancy, the JFB published a newsletter, the *Mitteilungen*, to inform members of its activities and Krämer was one of the contributors. From the content and style of the

newsletter, the JFB appears to be heavily influenced by Bertha Pappenheim. It is Pappenheim's name that is emblazoned on the top of the *Mitteilungen*, above the word "Vorsitzende", and the newsletter also makes it clear that this is the work of Pappenheim's group, the Ortsgruppe Frankfurt am Main. In 1924, the JFB began publishing a far longer journal, *Die Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes* (BJFB) on a monthly basis. At the top on the front page in the 1924 editions was a list of the "engere Vorstand" and Krämer's name is there, suggesting that by this time she had established her place in the movement. She also contributed longer pieces to the journal on a variety of topics, from reporting on the activities of the Ortsgruppe München to calling for unity within the Jewish women's movement.

The prominent nature of Pappenheim's involvement with the JFB suggests that in order to be a respected member of the women's movement and to have any kind of major role within the JFB, Krämer needed Pappenheim's approval. The production of the *Mitteilungen*, and the later BJFB, could have been an attempt to promote the JFB, present it as a credible part of the German women's movement, and ensure it had a strong voice within the BDF. The JFB were also establishing a specific Jewish voice for women who wanted to be involved in the women's movement but did not want to hide or reject the Jewish side to their identities. In order to appear credible, the contributors to the *Mitteilungen* needed to establish their credentials and speak with authority on their chosen subject, something which Krämer attempts throughout her articles. The wider audience of this publication was other Jewish women who were JFB members. Like Krämer herself, JFB members were overwhelmingly middle class, married women (Kaplan, 1984, p.176). It is this audience that must be kept in mind when analysing Krämer's work.

The first extant article we have by Krämer is from early 1914 and titled *Unterricht*. It was published in the "Mitteilungen aus der Bundes- und Vereinsarbeit" in January and February 1914 and explores approaches to teaching young women and girls from Eastern Europe to speak German. Krämer's contribution seems unusual in that she is writing from Munich rather than Frankfurt or Berlin, which was where the editorial director, Henriette May, was located. However, apart from the reference to the Toynbee Halle, Krämer does not identify herself as a Munich resident. Krämer was also nearly fifteen years younger than Pappenheim and, although Krämer had been working with women's groups in Munich for at least the previous five years, she was not nearly as well established in the women's movement as Pappenheim. Krämer's nephew tells us that she had been involved in the creation of a "Mädchenklub" for working class girls, giving them the opportunity to socialise

in the evenings and learn new skills. This was supported by donations from the München Loge, one of whose members was Krämer's husband, Max (Cahnman, 1989, p.181). In her article, Krämer refers to this club but she has chosen not to write about her involvement here. Perhaps this was because she had previously written about it or perhaps, as the Mädchenklub was a joint enterprise, Krämer wanted to write about a project for which she was solely responsible. By focussing on her individual work and not referring to other women who were also active in the Jewish women's movement in Munich, Krämer is creating an image of herself as a champion of the women's movement. Krämer's contribution to the "Mitteilungen" and her choice of topic suggest that she was trying to establish herself as a key player in the women's movement on the national stage by appealing to Pappenheim's interests. As will be discussed, this indicates the concerns within Krämer's identity about how she fits in to the women's movement but also her concerns about integration and what it means to be German.

It is possible to identify Pappenheim's influence throughout this article and therefore on Krämer and so I will explore this here. By 1914, Pappenheim had travelled widely investigating the conditions of Jewish women in Eastern Europe, publishing books and pamphlets on the topic, and was part of national and international organisations fighting the trafficking of women and girls (Kaplan, 1991, p.213). In the February edition, a list of past speeches by members of the JFB are advertised as available for purchase and the speakers themselves have announced they are prepared to travel to present the speeches in person. Krämer is listed among these speakers with her "Referat über Mädchenklubs". Other notable women, such as Paula Ollendorff and Dr Rahel Straus also are listed. Pappenheim is the only person to have two speeches, one titled "Die jüd. Frau im kirchlichen und religiösen Leben. (Frauenkongreß Berlin 1912)" and the other "Reiseindrücke (Orientreise)". This use of the word "Orient" will be explored through the lens of Orientalism in this chapter. From these examples, one is left with the impression that this publication is very much Pappenheim's enterprise which suggests that in order to be featured in this newsletter, Krämer had to engage with Pappenheim's ideas and beliefs.

In order to understand who these Eastern European Jewish migrants were, why they were in Germany, and what their needs were perceived as, I will provide some historical context. Due to pogroms in the east at the start of the twentieth century, the numbers of Eastern European Jews had been increasing in Germany's larger cities (Estraikh and Krutikov, 2010, p.1). They were far more likely than German Jews to be Orthodox and formed a highly visible group, especially in large cities. This increased tensions within the German Jewish

community as they grappled with how to cope with the new migrants. Some feared that these migrants would confirm the belief of anti-Semites that the Jews were a foreign race who did not belong in Germany (Kauders, 2009, p.247). As the new immigrants gained in wealth and status, there were also concerns that Jews of “Eastern lineage could never be acculturated, enlightened or gebildet enough, despite all pretenses to the contrary” (Brenner, 1993, p.181). The desire of new immigrants to fit in was seen by some as coveting the property and lifestyles of non-Jews, and was one of the critiques levelled at these Jews from Eastern Europe by German Jews. In essence, they were caught in a double bind of not fitting in and trying too hard to fit in. They were seen as the antithesis of what modern German Jews stood for (Brenner, 1993, p.181).

Other German Jews saw Jewish migrants more positively, believing that they embodied a purer, more authentic form of Judaism than the western Jews who had buried their religious roots in pursuit of assimilation (Kauders, 2009 p.242). *Ost und West* was a magazine published between 1901 and 1923. It published art, short stories and folklore in both German and Yiddish and soon became one of the largest publishers of Eastern Jewish cultural production. It was “the first place in the West where Russian, Polish, and Galician Jews, such as Ahad Ha'am, Yitzhak Leyb Peretz, Nathan Birnbaum, Martin Buber, and others published their latest works” (Brenner, 1993, p.178). The culture and language of Ostjuden were celebrated as being the authentic roots of the “confused” Jewish national identity (Estraikh, 2010, p. 2). Additionally, *Ost und West* discussed the needs of impoverished Eastern European Jews and the relief work, which was mainly undertaken by women (Brenner, 1993, p.179). As will be discussed in this chapter, Krämer’s approach to dealing with Eastern European Jews reflects both these contemporary debates about assimilation but also how she reconciled the tensions in her own identity as a German Jewish woman.

The JFB became far more actively involved with the day to day problems of Jews from Eastern Europe by confronting prostitution amongst the destitute women (Niewyk, 1980, p.117). Many liberal Jews were concerned that the JFB’s work would highlight the frequency of prostitution and “give credence to racist assertions that Jews managed all aspects of prostitution and the white slave trade” (Niewyk, 1980, pp.117-8). Bertha Pappenheim was very prominent in raising awareness of the plight facing Eastern European Jews and so, in order to understand Krämer’s portrayal of her pupils, I will briefly explore Pappenheim’s. In 1900 Pappenheim published a pamphlet titled *Zur Judenfrage in Galizien* about the problems facing Jewish women in Eastern Europe and how to tackle them. She labelled their problems as “Massenelend” and felt that it should serve as a wake-up call for all German

Jews to help Eastern European Jews (Pappenheim, 1900, p.23). She did not see giving money directly to impoverished Jews as a solution to their suffering, although she recognised the need to donate money to charities to support them (Pappenheim, 1900, pp. 16 & 23). She was also very critical of current charitable projects, such as the Baron Hirsch-Stiftung, which she saw as concentrating too much on men and not providing the kind of help and training that women needed: “Was nützt es, wenn die Baron Hirsch-Stiftung 300 Paar Strümpfe verteilt, die nach zwei Monaten ekelerregende Lumpen sein müssen, wenn die Frauen und Mädchen nicht verstehen, sie brauchbar zu erhalten?” (p.19). As in other Orientalist texts, the voices of Eastern European Jews are noticeably absent from Pappenheim’s work; she does not even quote them indirectly because she speaks for them and represents them.

Pappenheim’s solution to the miserable situation she saw in Eastern Europe was education but she was critical of how many charitable institutions only invested in education for men and boys: “Richtig ist, dass, wenn man der Gesamtmasse der galizischen Juden helfen will, man sich in erster Linie erzieherisch der Jugend des Volkes annehmen muss. Aber besteht denn ein Volk, ein Stamm eine Familie nur aus Mitgliedern männlichen Geschlechts?” (p.5). By refusing to educate women, the charities were replicating the inequality created by Eastern European states: “begeht sie genau dieselbe Unrechtigkeit, die der galizische oder russische Staat den Juden gegenüber begeht, indem er sie nicht der gleichen menschlichen und staatsbürgerlichen Rechte teilhaftig werden lässt, wie sie die christlichen Bewohner des Landes geniessen.” (p.6). However, the needs of women were, in her eyes, fundamentally different from men. The education she wanted for women was domestic, and she writes about washing babies and children, the correct way to do the laundry and repair clothes, and how to sweep correctly (p.19). Through educating women, it was Pappenheim’s belief that the trafficking of women would be prevented and the sinking of the “moralischen und sittlichen Niveaus” of Jewish girls of Eastern European origin in German cities would be ended (p.12). By providing training for girls, they would have better employment opportunities and would be better able to resist traffickers. By improving their educational standards, these Jewish girls may be more likely to stay in Eastern Europe or, if they did emigrate, be able to have morally “better” jobs, and would not be corrupting German society through prostitution. She therefore saw this as the duty of all Germans, not just Jewish Germans: “Männer und Frauen aller Confessionen und aller Nationen sollen sich vereinen, um in Galizien ihre Pflicht zu thun, ihre Pflicht im Dienste der Menschheit” (p.23). How Krämer interacted with Pappenheim’s ideas and how she saw her pupils from Eastern Europe will be explored below.

Krämer's article, *Unterricht*, is informative, containing descriptions of how Krämer teaches her pupils. She might have wanted to use this as a "how to" guide for other Jewish women wanting to start their own classes. Although she is writing in a Jewish publication, she does not explicitly identify herself as Jewish, nor does she use her Jewish identity as a reason why she is teaching them. This has the result that she appears to be motivated from a humanitarian perspective to improve the lives of recent immigrants in Munich which gives her article a greater degree of universality. This can be connected to the wider aim of Liberal Jewish groups to view Jews from Eastern Europe as an immigration concern rather than a Jewish problem (Niewyk, 1980, pp.117-8). Finally, the article fits into German Jewish middle class ideas about Bildung, outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, and through this we can catch a glimpse of Krämer's class identity. She also does not mention her identity as a creative writer. Instead, Krämer uses a variety of techniques to establish her credentials as an essayist and as a voice of authority on educational matters. However, as a housewife who was married at eighteen and who did not pursue higher education, her knowledge of pedagogy is certainly built on uncertain foundations. She is passing as an educated, bourgeois German and thereby simplifying her identity and, furthermore, simplifying her experiences with her pupils to fit with this portrayal of herself. This will be explored throughout this chapter.

Krämer describes that she has taught "Männer" as well as "Mädchen", a distinction that suggests the difference she sees between her pupils. She indicates that male pupils have already been exposed to schooling and education: "Und darum kommt man mit ihnen meist viel rascher vorwärts als mit den Mädchen" (February 1914, p.1). She sees the male pupils as fully formed adults who do not need her protection and support as much as the girls. By suggesting that girls are harder to teach, Krämer is indicating she has chosen the more challenging pupils and she is showing her level of commitment to the women's movement. She also states "Ein Mädchen braucht nichts zu lernen. Aber ein Junge" as an example of the different views and traditions common amongst Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe. On the other hand, this could also be an indication of the prevailing attitudes within Germany towards women's education, which indicates the difficulties she needed to overcome for her pupils but also perhaps indicates the root of some of her own insecurities about her own capabilities. She is, once again, referencing Pappenheim's views that progress must include both men and women to be true progress. Similar to the arguments set out in Pappenheim's pamphlet, Krämer is fighting for gender equality through education. By using Pappenheim's arguments, Krämer could be flattering her in order to secure her position as a

key player in the women's movement. Furthermore, Krämer may have been trying to fight for change in the practices of educating German Jewish women. Judaism has traditionally been founded on the principles of education (i.e. Torah study) and public worship, both of which excluded women (Kaplan, 1991, p.21). In Krämer's article, she takes the radical position that not only do women need to be educated, but women are also educators.

Krämer also makes several references to how far the pupils are from their origins in the East and therefore how alien they are. She asks her pupils where they come from and how far it is from Vienna or Warsaw and they always answer with "Weit, sehr weit" (January 1914, p.2). From Munich, Vienna or Warsaw must have already seemed far away and these pupils came from even further away. When she indirectly quotes them as describing distances using "Mark" her comment is "Und ich schließe, daß sich dort unten bei unseren östlichen Brüdern auch die Entfernungen in Mark und Pfennig ausdrücken" (January 1914, p.2). Everything about her pupils is strange and different to Krämer as she exoticises and orientalises them. Orientalism had always been motivated by an interest in the "alien and unusual" yet Krämer attempts to explain their differences and to see them as "östliche Brüder" rather than as objects to be studied possibly because she recognises that on some level, as Jews, they share kinship (Said, 1978, p.40). This indicates an ambivalence within Krämer's approach and therefore perhaps an ambivalence between her own identities as a German and as a Jew. On the one hand, she wants to view them as foreign because they do not share her German identity but on the other hand, she cannot deny a shared cultural community through her Jewish identity.

However, Krämer also uses non-German words to describe the Jewish educational practices in the East; she tells us that boys are usually sent to "Chederschule" and she provides us with the translation that "„Cheder' heißt ‚Zimmer'" (February 1914, p.1). This serves to emphasise how foreign her pupils are and the struggle that she is facing in teaching German. Despite this translation, she also reminds us that she does not speak Yiddish: "Und nun habe ich schon oft bedauert, daß ich den Jargon- die Sprache meiner Schüler- nicht beherrsche" (January 1914, p.2). Here, she does seem to recognise Yiddish as a "Sprache" but not one that she considers learning despite her recognition that it would be useful if they had a common language: "es ist manchmal schwer, einen Begriff zu erklären, wenn da gar keine einzige Sprache ist, auf die man exemplifizieren kann" She uses the phrase "die Sprache meiner Schüler" to draw a very distinctive line between herself and her pupils. She refers to Yiddish as "Jargon" throughout the article and even indicates that it should not be considered a language: "Wenn man nur nicht gerade den Jargon, den sie sprechen und lesen

und schreiben können, als Sprache gelten lassen will, muß man diese Leute als Analphabeten bezeichnen" (February 1914 p.2). By emphasising the foreignness of her pupils, Krämer is establishing them as Other and therefore as outside German society and structures. If her pupils are outsiders, it indicates that by contrast, Krämer must be within German society. She provides the translation for her readers, which indicates that she includes them in her circle of being "German". This is very different from Krämer's contemporary Kafka, who in his 1912 *Einleitungsvortrag über Jargon* saw westernised German-speaking Jews' encounters with Yiddish as enabling a sense of community (Fortmann, 2009, p.1040).

One part of Krämer's lessons seems to be taken up by teaching her pupils "proper" German manners. She describes how at the start of her lessons, her pupils did not attend. The next time she sees them, they explain that they did not have enough time, or they could not find the room. She explains to them that she will think twice about teaching them if they stay away "ohne Entschuldigung. Und zwar ohne genügende Entschuldigung" (January 1914, p.2). Krämer has judged that their excuses are not good enough and they have offended her. Once again, she has indirectly quoted her pupils rather than allowing them to speak directly to the readers. Her voice and her feelings about teaching are more important and her assumptions about standards of "proper" behaviour are unquestioned. The "nexus of knowledge and power" Krämer has created has turned her pupils into "the Oriental", which obliterates them as individual people (Said, 1978, p.27). Their perceived lack of manners features through the article. Krämer offers an explanation for this: "Meine Schüler haben nicht nur keine Schulstube, sie haben auch- und wer will entscheiden, was schlimmer ist- sie haben auch keine Kinderstube" (February 1914, p.2). Their lack of educational opportunities and lack of a bourgeois family upbringing has contributed to their perceived lack of manners that Krämer intends to address. She describes how she attempts to educate them: "der Unterricht beginnt fast immer damit, daß ich meinen Schülern ein Privatissimum lese über Disziplin und Worthalten" (January 1914, p.2). She is the model of German manners and she can impart this knowledge to her pupils. She also uses the word "Privatissimum" to establish her credentials. Privatissimum is more commonly associated with University lectures and, as it is a Latin word, Krämer is showing the pedagogical theory underpinning her lessons to indicate that she has had a classical education, even though from what we know of her life, this is likely to be untrue. It is indicative of a hierarchy of language with Yiddish at the bottom and German and Latin at the top. Only Krämer, through her bourgeois identity, has access to this hierarchy and she can share it and her understanding of Germanness with her pupils.

Krämer gives us another example of her pupils lacking in manners. She describes holding a question and answer session as part of her lessons and once again she indirectly quotes the questions she is asked: “Ob man den Chef zuerst zu grüßen hat?” and “Ob man bei der Arbeit eine ,nicht mehr so saubere‘ Bluse tragen darf, weil die Direktrice nämlich darüber gesprochen hat” (February 1914, p.2). For anyone who knows Krämer’s background, her authority seems questionable on these topics. Krämer worked in her father’s shop until she was eighteen and then she did not work again until after 1929 (Cahnman, 1989, p.196). However, she does not acknowledge that her pupils probably have more work experience than her. She also does not describe the answers she gives to these questions. Perhaps this is because the answers would be obvious to her “proper German” readers. She and her readers can share in the knowledge that they know how to behave in the workplace and that her pupils, as foreigners, do not. She is also suggesting, in a similar way to Pappenheim’s pamphlet, that Eastern European Jews need basic domestic training because otherwise they would know not to wear unclean clothes or how to keep their clothes in good condition. Krämer describes her pupils as being very eager to ask her questions: “Da kommen wir auf alles und vom hundertsten ins tausendste” (February 1914, p.2). Once again this serves to reinforce the importance of the service that Krämer is performing for the Jewish women’s movement and therefore her importance within the movement. Her lessons appear to be the only opportunity that her pupils have to ask these questions. Without Krämer, they would have nothing.

Krämer’s lessons seem to begin with eradicating Yiddish words and Yiddish sounds from their German. She describes a girl approaching her and asking for “daitsch” lessons. Immediately Krämer responds with “,Deutsch‘ verbessere ich, ,deutsch‘ mein Kind und sie muß das Wort nachsprechen, drei- viermal” (January 1914, p.2). Clearly “daitsch” is just as easy to understand as “deutsch” yet before her lessons have even properly begun, Krämer insists on the “correct” pronunciation and she sees this as improving rather than correcting. Krämer is using herself and her pronunciation as an example of how to be “German”. Her pupils are learning her pronunciation, texts she deems worthy, and as much Politics, Geography and History as she decides is necessary. By insisting that they learn her way of speaking, she is “improving” her pupils and showing them how to pass as “German”. There is also no indication as to whether, after repeating the word three or four times, the pupil pronounces it “correctly”. Once again, Krämer is showing the challenges she has faced in order to help Jews from Eastern Europe. The pains she takes with pronunciation and vocabulary may well have been beneficial to her pupils. As such negative stereotypes about

Eastern European Jews persisted, speaking Yiddish or even German with a “Yiddish accent” could have prejudiced other Germans against Jews of Eastern European descent in the workplace. By enabling her pupils to blend in, Krämer is potentially improving their employment opportunities, but she is also acknowledging that negative stereotypes about Eastern European Jews exist and she is not challenging them. By failing to challenge stereotypes, she is, most likely inadvertently, perpetuating them. Despite the challenges of teaching foreign pupils from deprived backgrounds, Krämer sees her lessons as successful; that her lessons appear to be continuing and her pupils are returning, can be seen as testament to their worth.

Krämer also reiterates Pappenheim’s belief that, through educating women and girls, they could bring an end to “Mädchenhandel”. Her lessons touch on subjects beyond grammar and vocabulary: her students are learning Geography, History and Politics. It is through these subjects that Krämer identifies her purpose in her lessons: “Interesse in die besseren Dinge wachzurufen- ein wirksames Mittel im Kampf gegen Mädchenhandel” (February 1914, p.2). How this interest in different subjects will protect women and girls from trafficking and what the other “wirksames Mittel” in this fight are, are not mentioned. Krämer’s claim, therefore, is unsubstantiated and seems weak. Perhaps she has only included this argument in order to appeal to Pappenheim and, in so doing, she is surely trying to cement her position in the JFB. Furthermore, by describing it as a “wirksames Mittel”, she could be indicating that there are other methods being pursued by other charitable groups that are ineffective. Krämer is aligning herself with the JFB rather than other Jewish groups (such as the much maligned, by Pappenheim, Baron Hirsch-Stiftung). She may also have been criticising the idea among many Liberal Jews that Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe should be ignored, for fear of attracting the attention of anti-Semites, or dealt with as part of wider German, non-Jewish immigration policy (Niewyk, 1980, p. 116). During the Enlightenment, secular education for Jews had been seen as an important step in preparing the Jews for citizenship, and demonstrating to wider society the compatibility of Jewishness with Germanness (Hyman, 2005, p.349). Mendelssohn had also recognised the need for education as a part of the fight for civic equality (Breuer, 1992, p.374). Krämer’s statement also indicates hope; there is a latent interest in “die besseren Dinge” and it is possible to awaken this. However, this also suggests that, without Krämer, the girls would be powerless to save themselves. Krämer has chosen to engage with the “problem” of Jewish migrants and is demonstrating how to do this to other German Jewish women and thereby indicating that she considers this to be women’s role in society.

Throughout *Unterricht*, Krämer indicates how she sees her pupils and therefore adds to Pappenheim's description of "Massenelend" with her own brutal description of their lives prior to arriving in Germany as "Ausplündern und Totschlagen und so" (January 1914, p.2). Through the brutality of this description, she is indicating the need for her lessons but she does not give specific details or examples of the problems in Eastern Europe. If she went further than vague descriptions, then perhaps the limitations of her knowledge would be revealed, which would undermine her authority. Krämer concludes: "Und im eigentlichen Sinne des Worts- ,Lebens'fragen für meine Schützlinge: es reicht nicht. Das ist ihr ewig Weh und Ach" (February 1914, p.2). She refers to her pupils under the rather patronising "meine Schützlinge". Built within this word are both the concept of protection and a sense of responsibility. She has also moved from using words depicting, how she imagines, the brutal life of Jews in the East, to a sentimental, romantic description. If by using brutal nouns, she is establishing the need for her lessons, then by becoming sentimental, she is weakening her own argument. By undermining herself at the end of the article, she is perhaps allowing other sides of her identity, that is, her identity as a creative writer, to come into her writing.

Furthermore, her literary style undermines her tone in other ways. She opens her article with the literary phrase "Irgendwie haben wir uns gefunden" (January 1914, p.2). Compared with the practical tone of the rest of the article, as it functions more as a "how to" guide, this sentence is striking. It is almost as if, even though she wants to pass as a respected essayist, she cannot hide the creative part of her identity. Krämer's article then begins in medias res: "Und jetzt erwarte ich meine Schülerin zur ersten Stunde". By beginning in this way, she is undermining herself as an authority on pedagogy. Her pupil does not arrive: "Es wird viertel, halb, dreiviertel- sie kommt nicht" (January, 1914, p.1). She is showing her failings as a teacher and her tone is incongruous with that of the rest of her academic prose. The glimpses of Krämer's creative side can then be seen again at the end of the article: "Und auf diese Weise werden wir gute Freunde. Und gehen ein Stück Lebensweg froh miteinander" (February 1914, p.2). Krämer's authoritative tone has once again been consumed by her more creative identity as she states without evidence that they have become good friends, a marked difference from assertions of distance elsewhere in the article. As her pupils have demonstrated that they do not quite fit with her depictions of them, she could be indicating that she is unsure of the purpose and value of her work. Perhaps her concerns about the success of her lessons and her insecurities about what it means to be German and Jewish prevent her from reaching a definitive conclusion.

Krämer also views her pupils as ill-educated and this goes beyond their lack of German: “eine Galizianerin z.B. wußte nicht, daß die Hauptstadt von Oesterreich- also ihres eignen Landes- Wien heißt.” (February 1914, p.2). Once again, the pupil is not directly quoted and so we only have Krämer’s word that this exchange happened as she describes it. The “z.B.” suggests that this is one example Krämer has of many. Their lack of education, as she sees it, contributes to the difficulties that she faces in her attempts to “educate” them: “man darf natürlich nicht mit der Grammatik kommen. Später mal kann man vielleicht ein paar ganz einfache Begriffe, wie “Geschlechtswort”, “Hauptwort”, “Zeitwort” oder dergl. erklären. Im Ganzen ist es schwer möglich. Denn wenn irgendwo, ist für diese Leute und für ihre Bedürfnisse die Theorie grau.” Encapsulated within this sentence is the idea that her pupils are incapable of learning all that Krämer wants to teach. She can try to introduce them to basic grammar concepts but they will never completely understand them, perhaps because Krämer believes that they will never be truly “German”. Krämer’s use of phrases such as “diese Leute” further indicate the distance she perceives between herself and her pupils. She is once again setting her pupils up as Other and trying to show herself to be German by contrast. Their ill-education goes deeper than a lack of schooling. Krämer sees a lack within her pupils: a lack of “Germanness”. Perhaps this indicates a deeper insecurity within Krämer: that somehow she is lacking. By educating Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe, she is trying to fill this lack but she does not entirely believe it is possible to fill and that somehow, she herself, will never be truly “German”.

Krämer teaches her pupils by pointing at objects, stating the name and encouraging her pupils to repeat it. This reduces her pupils to the position of children, pointing at objects and waiting for their “mother” to correct them. This idea is reinforced as Krämer refers to her pupils as “mein Kind”. This is connected to the tradition in the German women’s movement of “Spiritual motherhood”. Motherhood was seen as key to the role of educator but that did not have to be biological motherhood (Allen, 1991, p.17). One of the words they learn via Krämer’s pointing is “Vogelkäfig” which locates their vocabulary very firmly in the domestic, private, traditionally female sphere (Januar 1914, p.2). It also gives us the only insight into the space in which she is teaching, most likely her own home and not a purpose built or rented space, which would be unlikely to have a birdcage in it. She has brought her pupils into her world, perhaps to best show them how being German is “done”, rather than going out into their world. When she initially points at the birdcage the pupils suggest the word “Nest” instead and Krämer encourages them to define the difference between a cage and a nest on their own: “Dann nämlich, wenn man das Prinzip hat, möglichst wenig selbst zu reden, sondern lieber den Schüler die Erklärung allein finden zu lassen.” (Januar 1914, p.2).

Once again she is giving the readers tips on how to teach through what she refers to as established principles. The pupils need a little prompting before they can reach a definition about the difference between birdcages and nests: „Beides’- helfe ich vielleicht- ‘ist die Wohnung des Vogels aber-?’ ,Nest ist wo man nicht kaufen kann’- und man ist froh, ein Richtiges gefunden zu haben“. Throughout this exchange there is no mention about whether the birdcage is occupied or not. If indeed the cage is empty, then it could be that Krämer is offering her pupils a choice between the free but unsafe natural world of the nest or the protected but confined cage. It is reminiscent of the phrase “goldener Käfig” and perhaps Krämer is portraying her world as the safe but constricting gilded cage, and the world of her pupils as the liberating but dangerous nest. It indicates that there is a level of doubt in Krämer’s mind about whether her lessons are really helping her pupils or if she is just trapping them. This is perhaps another example of Krämer’s philosophical ambivalence and uncertainty in her own identity as a bourgeois Jewish German; is she also trapped?

She also uses German authors such as Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) as teaching aids and encourages her pupils to learn poetry off by heart. She quotes a line from Heine as an example of the kinds of texts she is using: “*Leise zieht durch mein Gemüt, liebliches Geläute*”. She does not identify this as from Heine, perhaps she is assuming that her audience, as true bourgeois Germans, will recognise this. Her reason for choosing this text is stated thusly: “Was sind da eine Menge schöner Wörter”, which contains no indication of whether the pupils find this useful. Heine converted from Judaism to Protestantism but prior to this he had been involved in the *Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden*, a group interested in bringing Judaism into the structure of contemporary European thought and demonstrating its compatibility with Germany (Holub, 2002, p.232). Perhaps to Krämer, he was an example of the struggle of being both German and Jewish and, as a writer celebrated by both Jews and non-Jews alike, he was an example of one way of negotiating these conflicting spheres of identity. She describes one of her pupils quoting some Schiller that Krämer had taught her and stunning her boss into near silence: “Und da habe die Frau nur so geschaut und gesagt, sie hatte gar nicht gewußt, daß man in Galizien so fein gebildet sei” (February 1914, p.2). She also uses a picture of Goethe to stimulate discussion. She is showing them her world through the objects, knowledge and cultural capital she has acquired. As a middle class, German Jewish woman she apparently believes that she is in the best position to impart *Bildung* to her pupils and elevate their lives. Through her lessons and through her use of *Bildung*, Krämer is improving their lives and challenging negative stereotypes about Jews from Eastern Europe but she is also showing that without her, stereotypes about Galicia would be correct. Her

pupils need her lessons, and also her knowledge, experience and cultural capital, in order to have a veneer of culture to attempt to assimilate into Germany.

Krämer portrays her pupils as outsiders, as ill-educated, as culturally different and even somewhat lacking in culture yet there are signs that her pupils will not be contained by the labels she has ascribed to them. In a discussion about Goethe, she asks her pupils about other writers they know: “Sie sprechen von Puschkin, von Lermantoff und Gogol. Ja, sie haben sogar schon mal irgendwo in der Schweiz den ‚Tell‘ gesehen, oder gar den ‚Faust‘” (February 1914, p.1). The writers they mention are all from Eastern Europe and none of them is Jewish. Krämer’s use of phrases such as “sogar schon mal” indicate surprise that her pupils have seen German language classics such as *Tell* or *Faust*. Krämer does not reflect that because her pupils are aware of Eastern European writers they are not as culturally lacking as she perceives them. That they do not recognise Goethe from her picture she brings to the lesson and that they use the word “Poet” instead of “‚Dichter‘ wie wir sagen”, receive greater attention than their own knowledge. There appears to be a hierarchy of culture that Krämer has absorbed and is perpetuating. German cultural products such as *Faust* are positioned above Eastern European writers like Alexander Puschkin (1799-1837). Jewish writers are not even mentioned by either the pupils or Krämer. She does use Heine in her classes, but, as a converted Jew who was widely celebrated by non-Jewish Germans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, his work is given higher status than that of an openly Jewish writer. Krämer has chosen her hierarchy about what it means to her to be “German” and all her cultural references reflect that. That she continues to view her pupils as ill-educated and culturally lacking, despite indications to the contrary, suggest that they can never truly be “German”. Even if they learn works by Goethe by heart and can mimic her accent perfectly, they will always be outsiders. This small reference to the intellectual, cultural background of her pupils is the only insight she gives us. By not giving us any more details, she is broadening and flattening her experiences with her pupils in order to fit them into the labels she has given them.

However, Krämer claims that she does want to find some common ground with her pupils despite all these differences that she has identified between them. She explains that if someone asks her a question to which she does not know the answer, it is fine to be honest and explain that she does not know. She explains it in this way: “ich habe stets ein gelindes Gruseln gehabt vor Menschen, die alles wissen und doch nicht der liebe Gott sind” (January 1914, p.2). This is the only part of the article where she mentions her own beliefs but has still not identified herself as Jewish. This could be the remains of an ingrained attitude that

in Germany, due to anti-Semitism, it was not always wise to disclose one's Jewishness openly. This idea is reflected in large Jewish organisations such as the Central Verein Deutscher Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens encouraging mothers to raise their children to be more genteel and self-controlled than non-Jewish German families to counter negative stereotypes (Kaplan, 1991, p.55). This would have been of particular relevance to Krämer as her name is not one that was easily identifiable as Jewish. She is also defending her lack of formal training in teaching. If she had been formally trained, perhaps she would be the kind of know-it-all she professes to dislike. Through openly acknowledging the limits of her own knowledge, Krämer explains that she and her pupils become closer: "Und ich meine, dieses gelegentliche Nichtwissen gibt dem Schüler und dem Lehrer ein Gemeinsames. Etwas Kollegiales sozusagen" (January 1914, p.2). Despite finding shared ground through the limitations of their own knowledge, it is only "etwas Kollegiales", which is closer to Krämer but still far below the level of friendship, as she reinforces the notion that they are not on close terms and in doing so, she is attempting to avoid the readers gaining the impression that she is like her pupils. The use of "collegial" could be a reference to "collegial theory", a doctrine that Mendelssohn developed showing that Judaism was compatible with the German state. He stated that Judaism should be a free association of like-minded thinkers and that the religion should have no ability to coerce its members (Sorkin, 1994, p.133). Krämer could be drawing a parallel here to show that she and her pupils are working together towards the goal of assimilation; a goal which Mendelssohn had developed before her.

*Unterricht* was one of many articles about education that Krämer produced and she continued to write on topics relating to education into the 1920s, and some examples will now be explored. During the Weimar years, the JFB were concerned that too many young, middle class women were turning to careers outside the home rather than becoming housewives. Economic independence was seen as a priority to many within the JFB but, as Jews were disproportionately represented in commerce, there were concerns that encouraging more women to work in this field would lead anti-Semites to claim that the Jews ran this industry, and so the JFB encouraged young women and girls to train in home economics (Kaplan, 1984, p.178). Furthermore, many office and sales jobs were only available to younger women, women lost their positions as they grew older, and there was also a lack of career progression, as well as societal pressure to marry and not return to the workplace, leading to widespread instability for women in these fields (Bridenthal & Koontz, 1984, p.52). The rapid growth of German cities during the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century without consistent planning regulations, led to many viewing

them as dangerous and corrupting, and newcomers like Krämer from rural areas would have felt this keenly (Allen, 1991, p.111). The women's movement was concerned about the effects of the unnatural urban environment, especially on children and young people. Kindergartens and schools were set up with specific lessons aimed at reconnecting city dwellers with a romanticised rural life, which included gardening and caring for farm animals (Allen, 1991, p.117). By the 1920s, many conservatives and right wing elements of the press were concerned with urban women and girls' supposed obsession with individual pleasure and neglect of wholesome family life (Stibbe, 2010, p.145). To counter the perceived negative effects of the urban environment on girls, Krämer and the Munich branch of the JFB opened a girls' school in the Bavarian village of Wolfratshausen in 1926. During the Weimar years, Krämer established herself as a key player in the Munich branch of the JFB and in 1926, she wrote an article for the *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes* about the opening of this school for Jewish girls, which specialised in home economics. This article is titled *Zur Eröffnung der Haushaltungsschule des J.F.B. in Wolfratshausen*. The article is aimed at persuading the readers of the BJFB to send their daughters to the School. Krämer begins by explaining why Jewish girls would benefit from the School, then she describes the importance of housework and home economics, and she concludes with a detailed list of the types of courses offered by the School.

Her article opens with "An die Mütter!", a direct plea to the readers of the journal. In a similar way to Krämer's article from 1914, she then continues with a literary description:

Einem in den dürftigsten Verhältnissen lebenden jüdischen Mann, Vater vieler Kinder, wurde für seine älteste Tochter in einem guten Heim ein Platz angeboten- kostenlos mit vollständiger Verpflegung- zur Erlernung des Haushalts. Aber der Mann schüttelte zweifelnd den Kopf: er wäre, wenn auch jetzt verarmt, aus einer feinen Familie, und dann- seine Tochter: sie werde rote Hände bekommen...

Behind this vivid depiction of the head of a Jewish household lies a very practical argument as to why Jewish girls should be sent to the Haushaltungsschule Wolfratshausen: by enabling his daughter to have a free education, he would provide her with the skills to earn a living, she would no longer be a drain on his meagre resources and eventually she could raise her own Jewish family. Krämer depicts his excuses as to why he would not take advantage of this offer as pitiful and half formed as shown through the fragmented sentences: "er wäre, wenn auch jetzt verarmt, aus einer feinen Familie, und dann- seine

Tochter: sie werde rote Hände bekommen...". Krämer has also listed him as primarily concerned about his own (former) status before he is concerned about his daughter, possibly indicating to the readers that he is selfish. Although this literary opening is very similar to *Unterricht*, it is far more ironic in tone with its ellipses and stumbling sentences, which could indicate an increase in Krämer's confidence in her identity as a women's activist and a willingness to blend and integrate her identities.

Krämer then reflects on how the skills learnt at the Haushaltungsschule could be useful for the JFB and the women's movement as a whole:

Und so ist es den in der sozialen Arbeit stehenden Frauen eine Freude zu beobachten, daß sich überall die Erkenntnis Bahn bricht von der Unentbehrlichkeit der guten, durchgebildeten Hausfrau, von der Unentbehrlichkeit des hauswirtschaftlich durch- und vorgebildeten Personals- daran es besonders in allen Anstaltsbetrieben mangelt- und der Unentbehrlichkeit der hauswirtschaftlich ausgebildeten Lehrkräfte; und daß man ihrer aller bedarf aus privatwirtschaftlichen wie aus volkswirtschaftlichen Gründen

It seems from this that Krämer is claiming she has found a way to promote the idea of the school to as broad a group of members as possible, in an attempt to unite a diverse community which was split by religious and political differences. The professionalization of charity work had been important to Pappenheim and the founders of the JFB right from its conception, so it is not hard to imagine that the professional nature of the school would have appealed to many of the JFB leadership (Kaplan, 1991, p.210). Furthermore, the school also appealed to Zionist members, although Krämer does not specifically mention that here. Krämer's colleague in the Munich group was noted Zionist and Doctor, Rahel Straus, who later emigrated to Palestine. In Straus' autobiography, she notes that the Munich group was anti-Zionist but that the school appealed to her aims: "Ich als Zionistin war besonders an solcher hausfraulicher Ausbildung interessiert, wußte ich doch, wie notwendig gut ausgebildete Frauen beim Aufbauwerk waren" (1961, p.254). Through the creation of the school and its careful marketing, Krämer found a way to appease as many JFB members as possible. She is balancing her identity with that of those around her to create unity within the Jewish women's movement.

Krämer concludes the article with a comprehensive list of subjects covered by the school and she has divided this list into “practical lessons”, including cooking, baking, laundry, caring for chickens, gardening, and dairy production; and “theoretical lessons”, including nutrition, biology, botany, health, and religious instruction. It is notable that Krämer has listed “Religiöse Unterweisung” in last place, perhaps in recognition that religious education would always be contentious in a community that wanted to represent Liberal, Reform and Orthodox groups, and so she wants to minimise its role in the school or at the very least, assuage fears that this is a Zionist endeavour. However it was still necessary to note that there would be religious instruction otherwise this school would be no different from a secular institution. The theoretical lessons are also heavily focused on “Grundzüge” (the fundamentals) and limiting knowledge to “soweit sie den Haushalt betrifft”, perhaps addressing concerns about whether education outside the home was appropriate for women and indicating that this education would not harm their marriage prospects or respectability. The fact that the list is so exhaustive and takes up a great deal of space within the article could suggest that perhaps Krämer is trying to convince herself that the school is necessary and appropriate. She may have been deeply aware of the divisions in both the Jewish community and the women’s movement and these have affected Krämer’s confidence in her own identity. However, as Krämer has provided such a detailed list, almost to the point of excess, this could be an indication of insecurity; perhaps Krämer does not entirely believe that this school will be the answer to recruitment problems or she has concerns about the strength of her own Jewish convictions.

The final sentence also speaks to the role of women within the Jewish community: “Und somit wenden wir uns an die Mütter im ganzen Reich: Schickt uns Eure Töchter zu deren eigenem Besten, zum Besten der jüdischen Gemeinschaft”. Women, as the bearers of culture and tradition within Judaism, are the key to passing on Judaism to the next generation. The JFB and Krämer are attempting to pass on their ideas to the next generation with the hope that their pupils will in turn pass the torch to the generations that follow. Working for the good of the community rather than the good of an individual was also part of the ideology of the women’s movement. The focus on younger women was important as the women’s movement as a whole struggled to recruit younger members throughout the 1920s. Each generation had come of age facing different crises (the outbreak of war, Germany’s defeat, hyperinflation, etcetera) leading many to view the rifts between the generations as insurmountable (Harvey, 1995, p.3). Krämer is using her identity as a Jewish woman to appeal to other women to send their daughters to the school in order for them to be educated in the ways of the JFB. Both of these articles have

expressed concern about what the role of the JFB in women's education should be and how women and girls should be educated and included in society, especially in regards to Jews from Eastern Europe. Krämer, like Mendelssohn, is using education to instil *Bildung* in others to indicate how Jewishness is compatible with German society. However, like Mendelssohn, the contradictions within Krämer's work can be criticised and are perhaps indicative of Krämer's concerns about her own role in society and confusion about how she as a German Jewish woman fits into wider society.

The concerns about recruiting new members to the JFB seem to continue during the 1920s and Krämer addresses these concerns in her article *Zusammenschluss*, which featured in the June 1929 edition. The 1929 editions had a front cover celebrating 25 years of the JFB and many featured articles looking back over the successes of the organisation and looking forward to further hard work in the service of the Jewish community. Krämer's article is one example of this trend. Her article also has the secondary purposes of reminding readers about the upcoming conferences in Hamburg and Berlin. This celebration of the success of the JFB coupled with economic stability in Germany and Krämer's success as an author have given a notable air of confidence to the tone of the article. Unlike the previous articles examined in this chapter, *Zusammenschluss* does not have a literary opening. Instead Krämer opens with a bold statement: "Im Verhältnis zur Zahl der jüdischen Frauen sind unsere Ideen noch immer zu wenig gekannt [sic]. Ebenso unsere praktische Arbeit, die auf diesen Ideen beruht. Noch immer gibt es jüdische Frauen, denen eine ganze Welt, eine ganze jüdische Welt verschlossen ist". It is interesting that Krämer is concerned about the JFB lacking impact amongst Jewish women rather than amongst women in general or amongst Jewish men. Perhaps, as a Liberal Jew, she felt that women's representation within Judaism was at an acceptable level, and perhaps she felt that the JFB was well-represented in the women's movement as the JFB regularly sent delegates to BDF conferences and held lectures for the whole of the women's movement (Kaplan, 1984, p.182). It was only after the Wall Street Crash that cracks became more evident, especially when the BDF members began to invite far right political parties who were often anti-Semitic to speak at events and the leadership began to shift to the right (Kaplan, 1984, p.188). On the other hand, Krämer may have felt these undercurrents and considered it best to leave fighting anti-Semitism to more established members or even that it was pointless to fight anti-Semitism in the wider world without first uniting Jewish women. Perhaps Krämer also felt that Jewish women should be primarily involved in the Jewish women's movement and that she felt that she was able, to some degree, to unite her identities as a German Jewish bourgeois woman.

Krämer also discusses the importance of discovering a sense of pride in Jewish identity: “Noch gibt es jüdische Frauen, die mit ‚echt jüdisch‘ etwas Minderwertiges, etwas Gerings bezeichnen. Sie betrachten sich selbst mit den Augen einer uns unfreundlich gesinnten Majorität, indem sie ‚echt jüdisch‘ nennen, was nur das Resultat eines langen Gedrücktseins ist.” This approach appears wholly different from *Unterricht* in which she celebrated non-Jewish German culture over Jewish and this shift could have been as a result of the anti-Semitism she alludes to with the expression “unfreundlich gesinnten Majorität”, which suggests that she sees herself as surrounded by hostility towards her Jewish identity. Perhaps her awareness of the pervasiveness of anti-Semitism has led her to embrace this side of her identity and use it as a source of strength. She does not label this hostility as anti-Semitism, maybe because she knows her audience will understand her meaning without the use of overt labels. Krämer then gives examples that she considers to be “echt jüdisch”: “Statt daß sie sich klar machten, daß ‚echt jüdisch‘ z.B. das Heldentum der Makkabäer ist. ‚Echt jüdisch‘ die 10 Gebote, durch die das Reich Gottes der Sittlichkeit erst aufgerichtet war unter den Menschen. ‚Echt jüdisch‘ die Erfülltheit der Propheten von der Idee des ewigen Friedens zu einer Zeit da noch [unreadable] die Gewalt herrschte”. Here it seems that Krämer has chosen religious rather than cultural examples of what it means to be Jewish. She is also avoiding Yiddish examples of Jewishness. Perhaps she is trying to simplify and distil her Jewish identity to make the benefits of being Jewish clear, as perhaps she felt that the benefits of being German were already known to her audience.

Krämer then discusses the importance of spreading the JFB and their ideas and work amongst younger people: “Da sehen wir älteren Frauen die Jugend oftmals abseits stehen, wir Aelteren, die wir für den Fortbestand unserer Arbeit fürchten”. Krämer’s hyperbolic use of “fürchten” suggests also a fear for the future as well as concern about the movement. By using hyperbole, she is satirising the inability of other members to engage with younger women and girls and perhaps using this as a call to action. She reminds her readers that the next generation will keep the movement alive with the following unattributed quotation: “Ewig ist die Arbeit, das Werk des Menschen. Es wechselt nur die Hände” which appears to be a reference to Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital*. Writers, philosophers and politicians during the 1920s had constantly sought legitimacy for the Weimar Republic through exploring and exploiting great thinkers of the past. In 1927, a series exploring the forerunners of democracy had been published in the popular magazine *Literarische Welt* and Karl Marx had been one of those featured (Gerwarth, 2006, p.16). It seems that Krämer’s use of Marx has been influenced by wider society as she similarly attempts to legitimise her writing

through Marx. It is another example of her appropriating works by a philosopher and adapting them to her circumstances. Later in the article she discusses how once women become involved in the JFB, they understand the value of the work: “nach dem Talmudwort: ‚Tut, damit Ihr begreiftet!’”. That she has attributed this quotation suggests that she and her readers are less familiar with its provenance than with quotations from Marx. Despite her focus on the religious importance of Judaism and the JFB, she is still heavily influenced by cultural aspects of Germanness, which suggests that these identities are inextricably linked.

The article concludes with a reminder about members of the JFB who had recently died: Henriette May and Martha Frankl. May had been involved with the JFB since the beginning and had sat on the board of directors. She had also founded several institutions to support Jewish women including a home for retired teachers, a fund for children, and programmes to help the homeless, among many others (Kratz-Ritter, 2009). Martha Frankl’s role in the JFB has not yet been the subject of scholarly research. The deaths of prominent members could have caused Krämer’s concerns about the future of the movement. She concludes with a description of the women that also includes a directive for the other members when she describes these two members as: “Mahnerinnen in diesem von unserem eigenen Ich befreien und ebenso von der Meinung der Menschen unabhängigen Sinne: Zusammenzuhalten und uns zusammenzuschließen”. Perhaps Krämer was concerned that even though she had found a sense of self within the JFB, she felt uncertain about the future and that Jewish women needed to work together as political threats increased. These concerns about the deaths of key figures could be a sign of insecurity within Krämer about whether she is able to replace them and how the women’s movement can continue.

In February 1933, the honorary chairwoman of the Munich branch of the JFB, Clara Oppenheimer, died and Krämer wrote a short piece in memory of her in the BJFB in the April edition. Oppenheimer was only about two years older than Krämer and the two of them had worked closely since the inception of the Munich branch of the JFB. Krämer’s circle was already beginning to shrink, the previous year another core member of the Munich group and close friend, Rahel Straus, had emigrated to Palestine after the death of her husband. By the time Krämer published this article, the Weimar Republic was over, the partnership with the BDF had dissolved and the JFB, along with all German Jewish women, was facing a future of uncertainty. Krämer’s article reflects this and illustrates the impact of these changes on her identity. Krämer’s article, simply titled *Clara Oppenheimer*, begins with the statement of fact that Oppenheimer has died. She then continues with a religious

perspective on death: "Diese gläubige Seele, die nicht ,Gott in ferne Himmel einsargte' sondern ihn erlebte und ihn in sich zu verwirklichen trachtete, freute sich darauf, heimzugehen, sie ersehnte und wartete auf die Wiedervereinigung mit dem über alles geliebten Gatten, dem genialen Kinderarzt Karl Oppenheimer". Krämer has chosen to remember her friend and colleague with an unattributed Jewish biblical quotation rather than a quotation from a non-Jewish philosopher or writer that populated her earlier articles. Perhaps this is reflecting the beginning of her identity fracturing as German society and culture became more openly hostile to Jews. She is also attempting to view death positively, as a reunification with lost loved ones, rather than as a terrible parting and so she is perhaps seeking solace in a religious identity. This attitude continues in her article: "Und dennoch trauern wir nicht nur aus selbstischen Gründen um Clara Oppenheimer. Wenn wir auch wissen, daß, seitdem ihr Lebensgefährte von ihr gerissen wurde, ein ganzes Glück für sie auf Erden nicht mehr war, so brachte ihr dennoch jeder Tag noch reine Freude." Does her insistence on finding positivity in the death of her friend seem to be covering up an underlying sadness and misery caused and perpetuated by the tensions in German society? Krämer also lists what she saw as Oppenheimer's strengths which perhaps reflect the characteristics which Krämer aspired to and felt were lacking in the wider women's movement, both Jewish and non-Jewish: "Eine Frohnatur, dankbar und leicht zu beglücken, von höchster Reinheit und Selbstlosigkeit, und allen, die ihrer bedürften, war sie, ohne Ansehen der Person, ohne Ansehen der Konfession, Freundin, Schwester, Mutter". The earlier concerns about the future of movement seem to be continuing in this article as Krämer promotes unity without discriminating on the basis of confession. She is also promoting positive thinking, perhaps seeking more of this in her life and trying to find comfort in the Jewish community and the Jewish side of her identity.

Krämer's concern about women's role in education (both as educators and as pupils), continues in an article she wrote for the Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung in April 1930 about the role of women in Jewish traditions. The Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung was the publication of the Vereinigung für das liberale Judentum and had been in publication since 1921. Although the Wall Street Crash had happened towards the end of 1929, the full effects and the lasting depression would most likely have only begun to be identified in Germany by spring 1930. By 1930, the Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung was a weekly publication and claimed to have 10,000 members (Compact Memory, 2007). In April 1930, it published an article from a Rabbi about the role of women at funerals which argued that women were not allowed to give speeches at funerals because of longstanding Jewish traditions. The Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung then published a response which they had requested from "unsere Mitarbeiterin

Clementine Krämer, München, der wir die Ausführungen des Herrn Rabbiner Dr. Beermann mit der Bitte um Stellungnahme vorgelegt haben” on the front page of the edition (Die Redaktion, 1930, p.1). The editor has not provided any additional details about Krämer, suggesting that this is enough to identify her, and so perhaps she was well known to this audience, and this sentence establishes her credentials. Throughout the late 1920s, Krämer had been a regular contributor to the BIG and, by 1930, she often recommended and reviewed books for the “Bücherschau” section. Her short stories were also featured in a wide variety of magazines so perhaps her name would have been easily recognisable to this audience. In this article, as well as a noticeably confident tone, Krämer does not use any quotations from Enlightenment philosophers or from the Bible. This suggests that by April 1930, Krämer must have been respected within the wider liberal Jewish community so that her views on the role of women would have been deemed worthy of inclusion. It also suggests that she must have felt very confident in her identity as a German Jewish woman to provide this response in this manner.

The Rabbi’s argument that women should not give speeches is supported through the careful selection of examples from the Bible and a dependence on tradition. He mentions that there are a few examples of women speaking in the Bible but the role of women is protected within Judaism “und so hat man ihr die Welt des Hauses und der Familie als ihre Sphäre zugewiesen”. He states that he wishes to avoid “die jüdische Frauenfrage in ihrem ganzen Ausmaße aufrollen”. Krämer opens her response by referring to different Jewish traditions; according to her, it was commonplace in Württemberg for women to speak at funerals. She also questions his acceptance of what a tradition is: “Was ist das Wesen von Bräuchen? Sie tauchen irgendwann einmal auf, und ein Minhag [Jewish tradition], der heute aufkommt, ist in tausend Jahren geheiligt, so wie die Bräuche, die sich anno Neunhundertdreißig leise vorwagten, es heute sind”. She then discusses the Jewish women’s movement and how traditions can spread from one part of Germany to another: “Freilich könnte es passieren, daß eine Frau aus Königsberg oder eine aus Hamburg eine Trauerfeierlichkeit im Württembergischen beiwohnt und fände, daß auch in ihrer Stadt einmal eine Frau ein paar Worte sagen sollte zu Ehren einer heimgegangenen Schwester, freilich könnte vorkommen”. Although Krämer has softened her statement through the repeated use of the subjunctive, she has shown how easily traditions can spread. Her definition of traditions is closely linked to Mendelssohn’s ideas about traditions and history; for Mendelssohn, the past could only be understood as a series of traditions passed on through communities. The reliability of these traditions was, to Mendelssohn, questionable and could therefore not be considered to be a higher truth (Breuer, 1995,

p.33). Furthermore, she has shown these traditions, and perhaps therefore her identity, as firmly rooted in Germany by referring to German cities. This is not some foreign custom that is imposing itself on German Jews but a home-grown, natural occurrence. Krämer also refers to other Jewish women as “Schwester”, perhaps reflecting the strength of her identity and belief in the women’s movement. This term is certainly stronger than the “etwas Kollegiales” that she expressed towards impoverished Eastern European Jews in 1914.

She then attacks Dr Beermann’s arguments directly: “Was alles in der Welt, was alles bei uns Juden, im Allgemeinen, ja was alles selbst bei der Orthodoxie hat sich schon geändert im Laufe der Jahrhunderte! Soll ich aufzählen? das Gitter in der ‚Weierschul‘ [possibly spelling mistake or use of dialect- Weiberschul?], der lange Rock des Rabbiners, die Schläfenlocken... doch die Beispiele sind Ihnen geläufiger als mir, Herr Dr. Beermann”. Here she identifies herself through “bei uns Juden”, which she separates from the Orthodox community. Her tone is one of great confidence as shown through her use of rhetoric “soll ich aufzählen?” before proceeding to do so and she addresses the Rabbi directly. This reflects a marked change from her literary, romanticised style and avoidance of identifying herself as Jewish from her 1914 article. Finally, Krämer turns to the Rabbi’s use of the phrase “jüdische Frauenrechtlerinnen”: “Die fortschrittliche Frauen der allgemeinen Frauenbewegung hat dies Wort längst aus ihrem Sprachschatz gestrichen, weil ihm etwas von Unduldsamkeit anhaftete, von Rechthaberei, von anderswollen und Andersseinwollen um jeden Preis.” Krämer wants to avoid using terms that contain prejudices, perhaps reflecting prejudices of her own. Perhaps she is still aware that her identity is more complicated and a label like “Frauenrechtlerin” is not going to be able to encapsulate all that she was. Her avoidance here can be linked to Mendelssohn’s concerns about the importance of religious plurality; as humans have many different and opposing ways of thinking, so it is impossible to unite humanity under one religion and to do so would be to deny the plurality of the human mind (Gottlieb, 2006, p.209). For Krämer, it is impossible to unite her identities and the wider women’s movement under one label as it denies the plurality of human thought. Additionally Krämer had to play the right role for the right audience; identifying herself as a German Jew in this paper would not have been contentious but being a “Frauenrechtlerin” had such negative connotations that it would have detracted from her argument. This is perhaps a culmination of all of her articles about the role of women, both in education and more broadly because, from her perspective, women have been speaking publicly on Jewish topics throughout the existence of the JFB, even if this has escaped the Rabbi’s notice.

Krämer's opportunities to speak publicly about the role of women in Judaism were drastically altered by the Third Reich. Due to censorship and external hostility, it is difficult to unpick Krämer's identity conflicts during the Third Reich but a speech, which Krämer gave in 1935, provides us with some insight and shows how she continued to be involved with the women's movement and supporting Jewish women. The JFB encouraged members to organise neighbourhood events, referred to in the BIG as "Hausfrauennachmittage". These provided a chance for women to come together, share their experiences, and boost each other's morale (Kaplan, 1998, p.48). At one of these was a "Modeplauderei" by Krämer held at her home (BIG, 1935, p.201). Previously, the JFB had been used to conducting their meetings in grand public places as the AGM from 1927 in a hotel drawing room shows. Organising meetings and social events was a form of escapism for Jewish women as the effort and time required to plan and arrange something provided distraction from the problems of daily life in the Third Reich (Kaplan, 1998, p.58). Krämer's typed draft of her speech is available within her archive but it is impossible to know how closely this typed document reflected her final speech. As the Gestapo were known to be watching Jewish gatherings, she would have needed to be careful about the content she advertised and even conducting the meeting could have been seen as an act of resistance (Kaplan, 1998, p.52). If the meeting had been conducted unobserved, then perhaps she may have deviated from her manuscript. The scope of the article has shrunk from her great thought experiments from the late 1920s and early 1930s and is merely a description of fashions throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Yet within this article, as this analysis will show, Krämer is still debating the role of Jewish women in society.

Within Krämer's archive we have both the copy of the speech and a draft plan so we can see a little of Krämer's ideas when she constructed the speech. The speech, on the surface, appears to be mundane; Krämer discusses the merits of different fabrics, colours and styles, and the capricious nature of fashion. Krämer opens with an unsupported claim about the role fashion plays in women's lives: "Immer hat sich d. Frau f.d. Kleidermode interessiert, immer und ewig wird sie sich dafür interessieren" (p.1). It is noteworthy that Krämer has not specified Jewish women here and her speech does not mention Jewish women or Judaism at all. In her notes, Krämer indicated what she would not be talking about: "Worüber ich nicht rede: a. über das ethische (d. jüd. Frau soll in dieser Zeit...) b. nur über Kleidermode" but she has crossed these out on her plan and they do not feature in the speech. Perhaps Krämer decided not to make her speech specific to Jewish women as she wanted to indicate that there was no fundamental difference between Jewish women

and “German” women which could indicate that she still saw herself as both. This may have been a reminder to herself that she wanted her speech to be as broad and as all-encompassing as possible to overcome the divisions between Reform, Liberal and Orthodox Jews by avoiding focusing on differences in religious practice. She may have felt that Jewish women’s behaviour was being policed enough (by both anti-Semites and Jews wanting to avoid attracting attention) and that she felt her community needed to be positive and united rather than critical of women.

However, we can see from the plan that she used, or at least intended to use, fashion magazines from 1900 to compare with 1935. This could be an indication that Krämer was feeling a sense of nostalgia for a pre-war life that may have appeared much simpler than the complicated world of her present. Krämer also sets up a dichotomy between fashion and “die Tracht” (traditional costume): “Die Tracht ist das Stetige, das Bleibende. Darum erhält sich die Tracht auch bei den bäuerlichen Menschen, sie sind konservativ, sie halten in ihrer ganzen Lebensform am alten, am Herzgebrachten fest, so auch in der Kleidung. Die Tracht bleibt, überdauert die Jahrhunderte, die Mode wechselt, sie wechselt immerzu” (p.1). This is not the case, of course, since traditional clothing is still subject to change, but Krämer’s insistence on the unchanging nature of traditional garb and her link to the conservative farmers, could be Krämer reflecting on her rural upbringing which she portrayed as idyllic in some of her short stories. She could be suggesting that the true “German” nature, represented here by the Tracht, is still alive in Germany. This could be an evocation of the ideas from the Heimat movement and an expression of Krämer’s desire to believe that within the provincial Germans lay the true German spirit, and that the anti-Semitic persecution that Krämer witnessed in her city was not a reflection of this. By reminding her listeners that fashion is ever-changing but that some things are permanent, perhaps Krämer is attempting to provide hope for the future that life and society will one day return to its former values.

The kinds of fashions Krämer discusses in her speech give the impression of a very bourgeois lifestyle when she writes that: “Nicht mehr das Sonntagskleid wird beschrieben und das Werktagskleid, sondern das Vormittagskleid, das Cocktaillkleid, das Bridgekleid, das Nachmittagskleid, das Theekleid, das Souperkleid, das kleine Abendkleid, das großer Abendkleid” (p.1). This list of dresses for bourgeois activities seems at odds with the realities facing the JFB in 1935 yet perhaps, as seems to be so often the case with Krämer, she is using hyperbole in this list to satirise the overcomplicated fashions in magazines and the consumerist lifestyle they represent. This can therefore be linked to her article

advertising the school at Wolfratshausen and the poem at the start of this chapter. If one were to change dresses for each activity, there would not be enough time to play bridge, for example, before changing into the Afternoon dress and then the Tea dress. Perhaps she was indicating to the women who came to the social afternoon in her home that they were spiritually better off, even though they were materially poorer, because they were free from the consumerist race to acquire needless possessions. She is speaking from the position of the bourgeois housewife to generate strength and solidarity with other women.

She also discusses the difficulties in modernising clothes to suit new fashions: “Man sollte beinahe prinzipiell Kleider nicht umändern, beinahe immer sind diese- totgeborene Kinder. Man kann nicht auf einen Renaissancebau ein oberes Stockwerk in Rokokostil setzen. Ein Kleid, das gut und in sich einheitlich gearbeitet war, kann höchstens- seiner ursprünglichen Form möglichst ähnlich- sagen wir mal ‘renoviert’ werden”. (p.2). While this seems to be good advice, again Krämer’s description seems hyperbolic with “totgeborene Kinder”. Is she perhaps reflecting on the unchanging nature of German society? The façade of society may change but the people and the prevailing ideas of anti-Semitism underneath are still the same. Krämer’s speech ends with a metaphor about death, which she uses again to the point where it becomes ironic: “Allen Moden ist eines gemeinsam: sie sterben rasch. Keine Mode bleibt. Es gibt für alle Moden zweierlei Todesarten: entweder siechen sie dahin an ihrem eigenen Extrem, an ihrer Uebertreibung- die Kleider werden kurz, kürzer, noch kürzer, am kürzesten und dann kommt die Umkehr. Oder sie gehn zu Grunde an ihrer eigenen Banalität”. Perhaps Krämer is reminding her listeners of the ephemeral nature of life and that all things will eventually pass. She may have also been referring to her Jewish identity and how that is impossible to hide or change. This could be a veiled call for Jewish women to embrace their Jewish identities as wider society grew increasingly hostile and a veiled belief that the extremes of National Socialism will also pass. It is remarkable that throughout this speech Krämer has not quoted anyone, else even indirectly. Perhaps she felt so rejected by German culture that she no longer felt that quotations from German philosophers or writers reflected her identity and experiences. She has also not used any religious quotations; perhaps she was aware that her community was beginning to fracture around her.

As Krämer began her writing career with an article about education and was actively involved in founding and promoting a girls’ school in 1926, we can see that education was a cause of great importance. She, like many members of the JFB, was concerned about passing the torch to the next generation, especially as older members began to die or

emigrate, and that education was the key to this. She identified with other bourgeois Jews, such as Pappenheim, and, over the course of her life, promoted Liberal Judaism to other Jews. The Third Reich upset any balance she had found as we see Krämer's intellectual world shrink and the cracks in her identity widen. The woman who confidently argued with a Rabbi on the front page of a national paper about the role of women in Judaism in 1930 is describing fashion trends in her living room by 1935. However we can still see that Krämer is doing what she feels needs to be done. By inviting the local JFB members to her house for a "Hausfrauennachmittag" she is providing hope, a social life, and respite from an increasingly hostile world for women; she is still expressing her identity as a women's activist in the Jewish women's movement in Germany even though her mode of expression has been irrevocably altered. She is seemingly always aiming for consensus; in 1914 she attempts to appease Pappenheim, who was so dominant in the women's movement at that time. In the 1920s she creates a School for German Jewish girls of all backgrounds and markets it to Liberal, Orthodox and Zionist Jews. In 1935, she attempts to bring the remains of the Jewish community into her home for an afternoon of solidarity and companionship. Like Mendelssohn, she attempted to embrace a plural identity and demonstrate to others how she believed this was possible. By remaining ambivalent on political issues and avoiding labelling herself too starkly, Krämer is more able to appease the dominant personalities in her community and attempt to create unity. However, external factors drive her to politics. When the rabbi questioned the role of women, Krämer countered him. The analysis of her letters which follows identify moments in her life, such as the war and economic turmoil, when Krämer chose to clearly express a position rather than pursue appeasement for the sake of unity.

## Letters

The articles examined in this chapter have provided an insight into Krämer's interests as a campaigner but also how she used her identity to argue for her cause despite the divisions within it. Krämer's expression of her identity in the six letters addressed to her nephew Werner Cahnman will be explored to pursue her self-representation when she was ostensibly writing for one person. Although two of these letters are undated, it is possible to assert with some certainty as to the year of these letters based on their content. These letters cover the period 1917 to 1941, from when Cahnman was fifteen until he was thirty-nine, a timeframe which encompasses two world wars, hyperinflation, increasing economic stability before the Wall Street Crash, the Third Reich, and reaches almost until Krämer's death in November 1942. All of these letters have been typed, possibly indicating that

Krämer wanted to practise her typing, a skill which would have been useful for typing her manuscripts, or possibly indicating that these letters were important enough to warrant the additional time and effort.

I will provide a brief summary of the letters and the information contained within to aid understanding. Letter One is from 17<sup>th</sup> February 1917 (Werner and Giselle Cahnman collection Box 2 Folder 18) and in it, Krämer sets out her anti-war beliefs. Letter Two is from 15<sup>th</sup> December 1923 (Box 1 Folder 4) and Krämer is writing to her nephew in Berlin. She apologises for not having written to him sooner and enquires whether her package of condensed milk and other items arrived safely. She then responds to a previous letter from Cahnman and engages in a discussion about economics. She seems concerned that she is “too old” (“ihr Cahnmans Kinder habt mich schon längst zum alten Eisen geworfen”). The last part of the letter returns to discussing family matters; she is pleased that Cahnman had a pleasant evening with Leo Baeck but writes that her experience was somewhat different: “mir scheint, daß er an reiner Menschlichkeit unübertroffen bleiben muß, wir haben schon schöpferischere Menschen bei uns zu Hause gehabt oder feuerigere Geister, aber er ist in seiner Art vollkommen”. She is concerned about Cahnman forgetting his roots in Munich and writes about his youngest sister staying the night at her house. She reminds him to tell her if he needs anything that she can send and apologises that she will not be able to visit him in Berlin.

Letter Three is from 17<sup>th</sup> April 1928. In this letter, Krämer is pleased to hear about Cahnman’s successful receipt of a stipend. She mentions various friends in Berlin and suggests that Cahnman should avoid Wolf Horneffer because she is concerned that he is becoming “antijüdisch”. She then discusses her work for the JFB and the various plays on the Berlin stage that she wants to see the next time she visits her nephew.

Letters Four, Five and Six were written during the Second World War (Letter Four is undated but most likely from 1939, the others are from 4<sup>th</sup> December 1940 and 19<sup>th</sup> April 1941), and are held in the Werner and Giselle Cahnman collection in a box containing emigration documents relating to Krämer, her brother and his wife (Box 3 Folders 49 and 50). These three letters are much shorter and filled with pleas for information about family and friends living overseas and pleas to Cahnman to secure visas for Krämer and family members who remained in Germany. Within these letters, Krämer discusses welfare work within the community, the struggles of daily life under the Nazis and her hopes for the future. Although these letters are much shorter, a close reading of them allows an insight into how Krämer

attempted to reconcile her identity as a German Jew as this identity was declared invalid by the state.

As all these letters are addressed to Cahnman, this allows a degree of consistency in Krämer's representation of herself: all of these letters are supposedly from the private sphere and have the same audience. As Cahnman and Krämer were related and spent time in each other's company, it is possible that certain words and phrases took on slightly different meanings based on their shared family experience. As an outsider, it is therefore difficult to access this deeper, more private level of meaning in the letters, which must be kept in mind while analysing them. Even though Krämer is writing to her nephew and only intending for her letters to be read by him, there is still the idea that she is playing a part (that is, she is playing the role of his aunt) and examples of this will be identified throughout this chapter. Additionally, as a writer, Krämer may have found writing for an imaginary audience irresistible, and examples will be analysed throughout this chapter. As these letters were private and to a single person, the ways in which Krämer expresses her identity will be different from the published stories and articles which were intended to be read by a wider audience. A close reading and an analysis of these letters is therefore another way to explore how Krämer saw herself and how she attempted to reconcile her multifaceted identity.

According to Clementine Krämer's nephew, Werner Cahnman, Krämer remained a pacifist throughout her life, and he notes that this caused some disagreement between the two of them during the First World War. The disagreement to which he refers relates to a letter held in his collection in the Leo Baeck archive in which Krämer is trying to express her views to her nephew after a disagreement. Cahnman describes this incident in the biographical essay about Krämer's life: "I was then a teenage patriot, and I objected to some aspects of Tante Clem's attitude more than once, for instance, when she said, right in the middle of the war, that she thought Alsace should be returned to France" (1989, p.191). He then goes on to explain that "I objected to this as a testimony of moral weakness and a disregard for the collective dream of centuries. Today I have swung around to Tante Clem's position" and we can speculate that the turmoil of the war and events since have led him to reach the same conclusions as his aunt (p.191). The letter that Krämer wrote is dated 7<sup>th</sup> February 1917 and has been typed on two pages with Krämer's handwritten signature of "Sahne" at the end. Cahnman makes no reference to his aunt's pet name. It is also possible to see the points where Krämer has corrected spelling mistakes and reviewed the letter, making stylistic alterations. In the opening paragraph she has added the "Du" to the sentence "Und daß

willst Du ja, wie man aus Deinem Brief gut sehen kann" and she has also added "daß sie meinen" to the sentence "Es ist das Kennzeichen all derer, die so wie Du, oder ungefähr so denken, daß sie meinen nur auf diese Weise, auf diese Art ganz allein könne man dem Vaterland nützen". By adding "daß sie meinen", Krämer is emphasising the distance between Cahnman's opinions, which are aligned with the majority opinion in Germany, and her own. These alterations indicate that this letter was not a hastily scrawled note but something that she invested time and effort into in order to ensure that she expressed herself precisely. That a teenage Cahnman kept this letter for several decades also speaks to its importance. Through a close reading of this letter, we can gain an insight into how Krämer presented her pacifism to her nephew and how this relates to contemporary debates.

As discussed in the Introduction, Krämer worked with many other women's groups during the First World War to alleviate suffering in Munich. Despite Jewish women working with women from other faiths, Kaplan describes the wartime experience as a "flawed symbiosis" (1991, p.225). The war encouraged Jews to work more intensively with non-Jews and, at the start of the war, the brief flurry of patriotic feeling and camaraderie seemed to overwhelm anti-Semitism (p.225). Women's traditional duties in the private sphere, such as cooking, caring for the sick or nurturing children took on national significance as they worked publicly for the war effort (p.226). However, as the war progressed, anti-Semitism re-emerged as Jews were blamed for "internationalism, shirking and war profiteering" (p.225). Jewish women faced the additional accusations that were levelled at women in general, namely that they were overspending on luxury goods and contributing to the downfall of the German family (Breckman, 1991, p.492). Kaplan notes how even at the start of the war, Jewish women were quick to warn others about discretion in behaviour and dress to attempt to escape the notice of anti-Semites (Kaplan, 1991, p.225). The pacifist movement was also strongly linked to Jews in the minds of many anti-Semites because the movement was seen as "In league with international socialism and Jewry, the haven for irreligious Masons and free-thinkers" (Chickering, 1975, p.398). There were concerns among nationalists that pacifists were working to bring Germany down from the inside (Chickering, 1975, p. 397). Some anti-Semites even accused Jewish women of preaching pacifism to the youth of Germany in order to destroy the nation (Kaplan, 1991, p.226). Cahnman notes that Krämer and other women in the Jewish women's movement became targets for anti-Semitism during the First World War: "her office was occupied by representatives of the Hausbesitzerverein, who declared that they intended to take over. Offensive language was used, and it is possible that anti-Semitic sentiments were not absent" (1989, p.187).

Unfortunately, there are no documents from Krämer to support this statement from Cahnman, possibly because Krämer did not want to draw attention to herself or possibly because the documents have not survived. It is in this climate of anger and mistrust that Krämer wrote her letter to Cahnman.

By choosing to involve herself with the war effort, Krämer is at odds with many other female pacifists of this era. In the pre-war period, Krämer had been involved in founding the Munich branch of the Verein für Frauenstimmrecht whose national leadership included the notable pacifists Helene Stöcker and Anita Augspurg (Cahnman, 1989, p.185). During the First World War both Augspurg and Stöcker were part of Germany's delegation to the International Women's Congress at The Hague (Braker, 2001, p.72). Unlike Krämer, Stöcker and Augspurg worked on public educational programmes during the war, attempting to educate the public about democracy and ideas of international law (p.72). Stöcker was highly critical of the women's movement that had chosen to engage with the war through welfare work; she resisted any work that supported the war effort (p.77). Stöcker had initially been more involved with her group the *Bund für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform*, founded in 1905, which worked on sexual and marriage reform but that soon changed with the outbreak of war. She and other pacifists banded together to form the *Bund neues Vaterland* in 1914 which was quickly forced underground due to censorship. When they re-emerged in 1918, they held strongly anti-capitalist views discussing the ideas of "socializing the means of production, democratizing the state and its constitution, and overcoming militarism—particularly through an end to class privilege—and educating the population on the causes of the war" (Braker, 2001, p.72). As will be explored later, Krämer's pacifism was vastly different to that of Stöcker, most likely reflecting Krämer's belief in her plural identity, the conviction that she could be a pacifist and yet engage in war work, and her desire to deal with the needs of her community instead of becoming embroiled in political debates. By comparing Krämer's pacifism to that of her contemporaries, we can understand how Krämer's identity was influenced by those around her but also the ways in which she differed.

Another founding member of the Munich branch of the Verein für Frauenstimmrecht was Margarethe Quidde, wife of the winner of the 1927 Nobel Peace Prize, Ludwig Quidde. Cahnman noted in his essay about Krämer that she and her husband were connected to many leading intellectuals in Munich (p.187). Although he does not specifically mention the Quiddes by name, it is not hard to imagine that, as Krämer was involved in setting up a group with Margarethe Quidde, she would have been aware of the Quiddes' political

leanings, especially as Ludwig Quidde was a well-known figure in Munich. In 1907, Ludwig Quidde organised a peace congress in Munich which was attended by more than 300 people including many Bavarian officials (Chickering, 1975, p.70). As well as the congress, the participants were invited to other social gatherings and banquets, although it is not known if Krämer or her husband participated in any of these events. However, as the Krämers were well connected, if they did not participate directly in the congress, it is likely that they knew people who did. Furthermore, the congress was widely reported in the Munich press and detailed reports about the congress featured in many publications (p.70). Therefore, even if Krämer did not become directly involved in the congress, she would have known about it and been exposed to Quidde's and other pacifists' ideas. In 1914, Ludwig Quidde was elected president of the German Peace Society and he wrote many articles on pacifist topics. Ludwig Quidde was also a proponent of Kantian philosophy: "in his speech to the congress that had elected him president, Quidde sought to balance science and ethics but, he made it clear that he, like Kant, believed in the primacy of the latter" (Chickering, 1975, p.107). The extent of the influence of the Quiddes on Krämer can only be inferred yet, as will be discussed later, Krämer's pacifist ideas share much with Ludwig Quidde.

From the above quotation, it is clear that Kant's ideas had shaped the German debates surrounding Quidde and his pacifism. In order to understand Quidde's pacifism, and thereby gain an insight into Krämer, Kant's approaches must be explored. Kant's philosophy, which he set out in his 1795 work *Zum ewigen Frieden*, was based on the notion that humans across the world are connected through their "common rationality" rather than being divided by differing political or religious beliefs. This connection results in membership in a single moral community; an idea first proposed by the Stoics in Ancient Greece (Kleingeld, 2012, p.2). However, Kant did not propose the dissolution of states but rather that states could and should work together to form an international league (p.43). According to Kant, the community (*Gemeinschaft*) of the world had reached the point whereby if human rights were violated in one place, the consequences would be felt all over (p.76). This was particularly true of Kant's ideas about "Weltbürgerrecht" (cosmopolitanism), which assert that individuals and states have the right to request interaction with, and the obligation to offer hospitality to, other individuals and states in need, but there is no right to enter another state without permission (p.73). Kant also believed that one did not need any form of superior intellect to understand this moral duty (Kleingeld, 1999, p.509). Kant's philosophy did not make provision for the settlement of other countries. One has the right to ask for hospitality, and to enter in an emergency, but no right to remain. This both respects the rights of non-Europeans to form their own states and undermines any concept

of a moral right to colonisation (Kleingeld, 1999, p.514). There is a fundamental sense of equality and belief in making these ideals accessible to all at the heart of Kant's cosmopolitanism. For Krämer, as a member of a discriminated against group, the fight for equality and the assertion of universal human rights would have been important.

One of the criticisms of Kant's philosophy was that it was incompatible with notions of patriotism, which grew stronger throughout the nineteenth century (Kleingeld, 2012, p.3). This is because it does not enable one state to declare superiority over another; all states and all citizens are equal. Without a belief in the superiority of one's state, the duty of the citizens to be loyal and not to work against the state becomes questionable. For Jews, who were seen by anti-Semites as stateless and linked to the "wandering Jew" (the eternal representation of Jews as outsiders), "cosmopolitan" could be used as an anti-Semitic slur (Evelein, 2014, p.143). However, Kant argued that "cosmopolitans have a duty to be patriotic" (p.15). This may seem to be incongruous but if one accepts Kant's definition of patriotism to be "identification with and civic activity on behalf of the political commonwealth. This can take many different forms and may range from governing it or defending it to promoting the well-being of its citizens" then it is quite possible to see how one could be both a cosmopolitan and a patriot under Kant's terminology (p.28). How Krämer applied Quidde's and Kant's ideas about cosmopolitanism, rationality, and ethical pacifism will be discussed later.

Krämer's letter opens with "zuerst laß Dir sagen, Kleiner, daß mich Dein sachliches Interesse außerordentlich erfreut". Although she is enthused by Cahnman's objective interest in the war, she instantly undermines his knowledge by referring to him as "Kleiner". Throughout the letter she refers to him in ways that highlight his youth and inexperience by using phrases such as "mein lieber Bub" and reminding him "daß Du noch ganz, ganz jung bist und noch keine Anschauung von Welt und Menschen haben kannst". The repetition of "ganz" seems to be bordering on the absurd; as a teenager, Cahnman is not so far away from adulthood. She also identifies that, as he was still at school, many of his opinions would have been influenced by his peers and teachers and not through the wealth of experience that she has: "weiß jeder Gymnasiast in Deinem Alter". Belittling Cahnman is an easy way to dismiss his opinions about the war and indicates that perhaps she is not confident in her opinions to let them stand on their own; she is undermining Cahnman to strengthen her own position. However, it is also possible that Krämer is concerned that the educational opportunities available to Cahnman as a man will mean that he will eventually, at least on paper, surpass her. Although little is known about Krämer's personal schooling, education

for girls at the time of her birth and early years was limited. Campaigners in the women's movement condemned girls' schools as a pale imitation of what was available for boys (Allen, 1991, p.87). Many states were also reluctant to provide support for girls' schools, which in turn limited the educational opportunities available to girls (Kaplan, 1991, p.181). We can therefore make an educated guess that Cahnman's education as a "Gymnasiast" was more comprehensive than Krämer's, which may have led to the insecurity expressed in this letter. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Krämer was acutely aware of the difficulties and limitations of women's education as shown through her article *Unterricht*. Perhaps this insecurity explains why she has chosen to state that he has "noch keine Anschauung" as this will change in the future. Her insecurity is further highlighted when she states towards the end of the letter that "da ist Dir der Onkel Mäxle noch immer lieber, gelt". Perhaps this lack of confidence was fed by her social circumstances in the public sphere; as a woman and as a Jew, finding an audience that would perceive her opinions as valid would have been difficult and this has led to the divisions within her identity expressed in this letter.

The crux of Krämer's argument is explained in the following paragraph:

Im Jahre 1681 kam des letzte Stück des Elsaß zu Frankreich. Rund 200 Jahre gehörte es also dorthin, viele Generationen lang. Als wir es zurücknahmen lebte nicht Einer mehr, der sich auch nur noch eines deutschen Ahnherrn erinnert hätte, geschweige denn, daß er selbst noch Deutschland zum Vaterland gehabt hätte. In diesem Sinn meinte ich die Zugehörigkeit zu uns hätte sich ‚verjährt‘. Gerade darum- da ist kein Zweifel- schrieen die Franzosen so laut und stark ‚Revanche‘ um nicht zu viele neue Geschlechter heraufziehen zu lassen.

In this paragraph, there are no terms of endearment aimed at Cahnman nor are there any south German colloquialisms. Furthermore, her sentences are short and to the point. Perhaps it is in this section with its historical context that Krämer feels most confident in letting her words speak for themselves. Krämer's argument here is based on the fact that Alsace has been French for so long that not a single person living there can remember German ancestors. This therefore is a wider debate about what it means to be German and Krämer is placing more emphasis on current lived experience, and potentially on language, than the weight of history. As Krämer writes, "die Zugehörigkeit zu uns hätte sich ‚verjährt‘", she is possibly arguing that the French are seeking revenge to prevent further generations being drawn into a conflict that had been solved by the passage of time and

only reignited by the German occupation. As a Jewish woman, Krämer would have been well-versed in the nature of traditions being passed down through families (Kaplan, 1991, p.65). Furthermore, she is following in the footsteps of Mendelssohn, who saw history as the cumulation of individuals' experiences but believed that this experience was limited and not able to provide any kind of truth or higher cumulative knowledge (Breuer, 1995, p.33). Cahnman's understanding about the history of this region does not constitute a "higher truth" and does not conclusively prove that Alsace should be German.

By arguing that history and blood do not make the people of Alsace German, Krämer is, by extension, refuting similar contemporary debates about what it meant to be Jewish. In the late nineteenth century, there had been many debates in the Jewish community about what it meant to be a Jew and what Jewish identity was. As religious observance declined, there were some who feared that the only difference between Jews and Christians was "that the former no longer attended synagogue on Saturdays and the latter no longer attended church on Sundays" leading others to posit the idea that Jews were part of a "community of suffering" connected through shared historical experience. There were still others who argued that Jews constituted a "Volksstamm" and so were connected through ethnicity rather than religion (van Rahden, 2006 pp.31-2). Connections of blood and history seemed to be more important to some than religious observance. From Krämer's statement in this letter, it is possible to conclude that she saw the Jewish community as primarily a cultural one because one's contemporary community was, in her opinion, a greater influence on one's identity than one's forebears. Just as the people of Alsace are French because of the French community into which they were born and in which they lived, so Krämer is a Jewish German because that is the community into which she was born and now lives.

However, the fact that she attributes the French calling for "Revanche" rather than "Rache" is striking. "Revanche" has a less gory meaning than "Rache" and can also be used to describe a return match or game. Perhaps Krämer is using Revanche to indicate the absurdity of becoming entangled in a perpetual game of "one-upmanship" with the French over Alsace. This lexical choice illuminates another aspect of Krämer's identity; perhaps this is Krämer's identity as a creative writer breaking through. By using an originally French term, she is painting a more dramatic picture of the circumstances than her previous more logical statements. It could be that her passion for this topic, as it touched on so many aspects of her own experience, is driving her to be more creative in her expression. She also describes the cries of the French as "laut und stark" which, once again, provides more

detail and “colour” than an argument of reason would require. Krämer could be trying to pass as an authority on matters of history and debate but, once again she has allowed her creative identity to bleed onto the page and this could be seen to undermine her authoritative tone. Perhaps she is still unwilling to allow herself to become trapped in one identity, even in a letter to her nephew. This paragraph is different from the more emotional tone of the rest of the letter which could be an indication that she is not attempting to pass but is instead using all the sides of her identity to compel Cahnman to see her side of the argument. We must, of course, not forget the fact that this is a private letter, written from Krämer’s home and home has traditionally been a “mythical place of coherent identity” which allows Krämer to feel that she can interweave her identities more easily than she can in the public sphere (Ginsberg, 1996, p.11).

Krämer’s argument that the people of Alsace should be entitled to decide their nationality for themselves, shares much with Kantian notions of rationality. Elsewhere in the letter, Krämer uses the word “Weltbürger” to describe pacifists; a statement which could have made her a target for anti-Semites had she stated it publicly. Throughout the nineteenth century, with the rise of nation states, Jews had been regarded as a dangerous and subversive element within society: an ethnic minority dispersed across national borders and a non-national nation (Baumann, 1998, p.153). Many anti-Semites, therefore, doubted the allegiance of Jews to Germany and saw them as “cosmopolitans”. Anti-patriotism was also an accusation levelled at Kant’s theories. Krämer defends the notion that it is possible to be both a Weltbürger and a Vaterlandsfreund: “die Pacifisten gelten nicht recht als Vaterlandsfreunde, man sagt ihnen nach sie wollten lieber ‚Weltbürger‘ sein. Als ob das eine das andere ausschliesse!”. Krämer’s exclamation mark here speaks for how she perceived the ridiculousness of the idea that it is not possible to be both a patriot and a cosmopolitan. She is most likely viewing her war work as civic activity that she has undertaken on behalf of the German state and is therefore a patriot. She is upholding the Kantian idea that being a patriot can take many forms and “promoting the well-being of... citizens” is the form in which she is participating (Kleingeld, 2012, p.28). This idea that one can be a pacifist and a patriot could be a reflection of Krämer’s multifaceted identity; her identity was covered by many, often contradictory, labels so this could be a reflection of her belief, and Mendelssohn’s, that one person can have multiple identities. Once again, it is important to note that this is a private letter to her nephew and, from her extant articles, we can see she did not state her opinion so openly in public, which could have made her a target for anti-Semites.

Krämer then goes on to state that “Sokrates nannte sich mit Stolz einen ‚civis mundanus‘, daß er ein glühender, tätiger Patriot war, weiß jeder Gymnasiast in Deinem Alter”. Here, Krämer is defending her political beliefs by connecting them to classical Greek civilisation, through Socrates, and Roman, through her use of Latin. Additionally, Moses Mendelssohn had been often referred to as possessing a “Socratic soul” and she is again drawing on Mendelssohn’s work to solidify her own philosophies (Leonard, 2010, p.188). Once again she uses two adjectives “glühend, tätig” where perhaps one (or none) would suffice, could this be another example of her identity as a creative writer or is she overstating her case to make it harder for Cahnman to disagree? She is also using her identity as a bourgeois German Jew to argue her case. As discussed in the Introduction, after Jewish emancipation, wealthy Jews sought to join the ranks of the bourgeoisie through Bildung (Kaplan, 1991, p.8). Bildung encouraged the self-cultivation of the individual through education and appreciation of high culture and it was the role of women to perpetuate these values in the home (p.9). By using Latin words and referring to Socrates, Krämer is demonstrating Bildung and therefore her class identity. She is using classical civilisation to educate Cahnman but she is also showing him how to be a bourgeois German Jew, which is a continuation of her belief in Bildung.

Krämer also discusses her feelings about the word pacifist: “laß mich zwischenhinein dies sagen: ich wähle das Schlagwort ‚Pacifist‘ der Einfachheit halber, obgleich ich Schlagworten sonst gerne aus dem Wege gehe, weil man sich nach kurzer Zeit nichts Rechtes mehr bei ihnen denkt”. Here Krämer not only dislikes the simple label “pacifist” but also the idea of using words to cover a wide range of ideas. In all of her work, she never describes herself in simple terms of “Jew”, “woman”, “bourgeois” or “creative writer” as to do so could be limiting herself to one identity, indicating that this was characteristic of her over much of her life. She also recognises the negative connotations about being labelled a pacifist but by refusing to adopt the term and adapt its meaning to be positive, she has rejected it, thereby perpetuating the negative associations of the word. Krämer could have demonstrated to her nephew that being a pacifist can be positive but instead she has chosen to reject the term. This idea of avoiding simplistic labels can be seen elsewhere in Krämer’s letter: “Nur fürchte ich, daß Du glaubst, nur auf diese Weise, nur mit dieser Anschauung könne man ein guter Deutscher sein.” She is trying to persuade her nephew about the multiplicity of identities that “ein guter Deutscher” covers; he can be pro war and she can be against it but they can both still be good Germans. As Jews, they would have been aware of the anti-Semitic arguments that Jews could never be Germans, even though their experiences as Jewish Germans countered this. She could be highlighting this

to Cahnman to remind him that he already knows that “German” is a label that covers many identities. By avoiding labels and attempting to show the plurality of identities behind words, Krämer is perhaps reflecting on and trying to demonstrate how she reconciles the multifaceted nature of her identity. It is another indication of her ambivalence as a philosophical stance; she has explored and analysed the different philosophical arguments for pacifism and the war and has reached the conclusion that it is far too complicated to have one single answer.

Krämer’s letter appears to contain a warning about the close ties between pro-war supporters and anti-Semites. Close to the beginning of the letter, Krämer writes: “Wenn es wahr ist, wie gesagt wurde, daß ,deutsch sein heißt, eine Sache um ihrer selbst willen tun‘ dann bist Du ein guter Deutscher”. This phrase seems innocuous in itself but is actually a slight variation on a quotation from Wagner’s 1867 essay *Deutsche Kunst und deutsche Politik*: “Hier kam es zum Bewußtsein und erhielt seinen bestimmten Ausdruck, was deutsch sei, nämlich: die Sache, die man treibt, um ihrer selbst und der Freude an ihr willen treiben” (p.82). As Krämer has used inverted commas around her phrase, this suggests that she is knowingly referring to Wagner’s essay and her choice of words is not mere coincidence. As Wagner was a noted anti-Semite in Krämer’s time, perhaps she is reminding her nephew of who and what she feels is actually lurking within Cahnman’s specific brand of “patriotism”. Other pacifists, such as Bertha von Suttner, also spoke out about close connection between pro-war attitudes and anti-Semitism (Davy, 2001, p.38). Without explicitly identifying herself or her nephew as Jews or directly quoting Wagner, Krämer has recognised the anti-Semitism that would have been surrounding her and her family at this time. She has also identified an argument to which Cahnman would most likely find difficult to answer. This suggests that Krämer has considered the arguments surrounding patriotism and has found them to be lacking and even dangerous. Krämer’s concerns about anti-Semitism can be seen throughout all her letters to her nephew and are closely tied to the economic fortunes of Germany.

The next surviving letter from Krämer is undated but according to the longer, unpublished version of his biographical essay, it is from 15<sup>th</sup> December 1923 (p.41). During the early 1920s, Cahnman was studying in Berlin and his doctoral thesis on the works of the economist, Dr Ricardo, was published in 1927 (Leo Baeck Institute, 2007). Although the letter itself is undated, Krämer makes reference to Cahnman being in Berlin: “Vermutlich erst wieder in München, denn nach Berlin zu fahren besteht jetzt gar keine Aussicht”, which suggests that it is from this period in Cahnman’s life. The letter also makes

references to economic and social difficulties, which Krämer refers to as “eine grausliche Zeit”, which could be a reference to the hyperinflation of 1923. Additionally, her inability to travel to Berlin could be due to her being too busy in Munich (as discussed in the analysis of her articles, her involvement with the JFB increased during the 1920s which may have been occupying much of her time), or it could be that the economic instability caused by hyperinflation meant that she was unable to incur the additional costs of a trip to Berlin. There are no references to the season or religious holidays so it is not possible to determine that this letter was sent in December beyond Cahnman’s assertion. However, if we use Cahnman’s assertion and the additional circumstantial evidence that this article is from 1923, then this letter gives us an opportunity to examine Krämer’s bourgeois identity as it was put under pressure by economic turmoil. Furthermore, we can compare Krämer’s representations and expressions within this letter with another, shorter letter from 17<sup>th</sup> April 1928. As the second letter is so much shorter, it is not possible to conduct an in depth analysis of this letter, but it can be used to illuminate the changes in Krämer’s bourgeois identity.

In order to examine what this letter reveals about Krämer’s identity, I will now provide some context to the time in which she was writing. In January 1923, French troops occupied the Ruhrgebiet over non-payment of reparations and, in response, the German workers adopted passive resistance to protest. This paralysed one of the key areas of German industry and the government printed more money. Throughout 1923, as confidence in the German economy fell so did the value of the German Mark (Widdig, 2001, pp.44-5). The hyperinflation had a profound psychological effect on members of the bourgeoisie like Krämer; pre-war cultural ideals offered them no protection from economic troubles. Salaried professionals, like professors and teachers, who received a monthly income were disproportionately affected by the hyperinflation because their salary could not keep pace. Freelance workers such as artists, and professionals such as doctors and lawyers, often received delayed payment for their work which allowed it to devalue (p.179). Members of many of these professions were represented in Krämer’s social circle. Cahnman does not make any specific reference to the Krämers suffering financially in the hyperinflation of 1923, but she would have witnessed the effects all around her. The values of Bildung, to which the bourgeoisie had clung throughout the late nineteenth century, offered them no protection from the economic upheavals. These upheavals led to what Cahnman saw as “A concoction of clerical, separatist, nationalist, and racist sentiments combined in the years 1918-24 to make Munich more anti-Semitic than ever before- and

after- in the city's history" (p.191). As will be discussed, Krämer's letter is rife with insecurity which was possibly a reflection of these difficult times.

The letter opens with an apology from Krämer that she has not responded to his letter sooner: "es ist ja in der Tat nicht recht von einem jüdisch-familienhaften Onkel- und Tantenpaar, daß man geschlagene 4 Wochen mit der Beantwortg. eines Briefes warten läßt". In this letter, Krämer has identified herself and her husband as Jewish in her opening sentence, a remarkable contrast from the letter of 1917 where she has made no mention of this. Perhaps constitutional and democratic changes in Germany in the immediate post-war period had led Krämer to find more confidence in her Jewish identity, or at least to be less fearful of openly stating it (albeit only in a private letter). Alternatively social upheavals may have made her more acutely aware of her Jewishness. Cahnman in the published essay, writes that the First World War formed a divide in the Krämers' social circle; in the pre-war period, many non-Jewish philosophers and writers were noted to have been part of their circle but after the war they "were replaced by Jewish intellectuals" (1989, p.188). Cahnman does not offer any reasons why the Krämers' social circle shifted in this time but perhaps the pressure of the war and the upheavals afterwards led the Krämers to seek support from the Jewish community, rather than in non-Jewish society which had expressed so much anti-Semitism during the war years, and could be a reflection of the fragmentation of wider society at this time (Kaplan, 1991, p.225). Certainly Krämer's focus on her identity as a Jewish aunt suggests that she is feeling a greater connection to her family ties rather than wider society.

The majority of this letter appears to be dedicated to Krämer answering some kind of question posed by Cahnman as she writes: "Ueber das geltliche volkswirtschaftliche habe ich leider keine Meinung" which suggests that Cahnman has asked for her opinion on something and therefore that he still respects her opinions. Although she purports not to have an opinion, Krämer then goes on to state it:

ich merke bloß, daß alle Menschen seit Jahren behaupten, es könne so nicht weitergehen, aber- es geht von einem Tag zum andern, es wird weitergewurstelt, ist indessen sicher sub spezie aeternitatis eine grausliche Zeit, und wenn man eine graphische Darstellg. machen würde derer, die unter die Räder kommen werden, und derjenigen, die schon zermalmt sind, dann würde uns die Haut schaudern.

Her descriptions here are very vivid: “eine grausliche Zeit” and “derer, die unter die Räder kommen werden, und derjenigen, die schon zermalmt sind, dann würde uns die Haut schaudern” indicating that her identity as a creative writer is still a key part of her identity. Krämer also uses the Latin expression “sub spezie aeternis” which can be roughly translated as “from the perspective of the eternal”. At a glance, it seems as if Krämer is using Latin to elevate her own writing, similar to her use in the 1917 letter, however this is also a reference to Spinoza’s *Ethics* which refers to the eternal in Part Five. Spinoza was a sixteenth century Dutch philosopher who had been born into a Jewish family and who had a tremendous influence on many of the German philosophers of the Enlightenment (Garrett, 1996, p.10). In his *Ethics*, Spinoza calls for the improvement of his own intellect and the intellect of others “as a remedy against three *ethical* hindrances- the overvaluings of wealth, fame and sensual pleasure- and as an instrument for distinguishing, appreciating and achieving the one true and eternal practical good” (emphasis in original, Garrett, 1996, p.269). Perhaps Spinoza resonated with Krämer at this time because of the sudden change to the bourgeois way of life and the inability for their cultural values to protect them from the effects of the end of the war and hyperinflation, resulting in alterations to Krämer’s class identity. It may also be that Krämer is once again demonstrating Mendelssohn’s influence on her work as Mendelssohn also studied Spinoza and used his writings (Goetschel, 2007, p.475). Spinoza also describes how humans are limited by their desires and external forces which can lead them to focus their attempts for self-preservation, which Spinoza describes as “good”, on to the pursuit of objects (Garrett, 1996, p.274). However, through the pursuit of knowledge, “which has always been and always will be eternal in God, and one thus achieves for oneself the *perspective* of the eternal while one is alive” (p.282). By using Spinoza’s theories in this way, Krämer is thus attempting to step outside of her time to view objectively the suffering caused by the hyperinflation and the pursuit of money as wrong. From this three word Latin phrase, we can see how widely read Krämer was and the ease with which she can manipulate philosophical theory to fit her perspective. Like her usage of Kant in the 1917 letter and her usage of Marx in her article *Zusammenschluss* from 1929, her philosophical views are built on the foundations of notable thinkers, which are underpinned with her sense of ambivalence and the idea that they are never quite enough to solve the issues of her day.

In contrast, in her 1928 letter, Krämer makes many more references to culture and cultural pursuits, possibly indicating that she had more time and money to engage in them. She comments on Cahnman’s improved handwriting and demands an explanation: “da auch Deine Schrift sich ganz merkwürdig zum Vorteil veränderte, so gibt mir das zu denken; das

ist auf einmal alles schwungvoller als bisher; ist es Dir selbst nicht bewußt, oder? -dann erkläre mir, Graf Oerindur, Diesen Zwiespalt der Natur???"; this reference to the play "Die Schuld" by Adolf Müllner from 1813 indicates how well read she was and how easily German cultural works were woven into her identity. She also explains that she is preparing a review of one of the Jewish writer Arnold Zweig's books for the BJFB: "Ein sehr lesenwertes Buch tief und aufschlußreich, viell. gebe ich Dir m. Kritik mal zu lesen". Zweig had fought in the First World War but had become a committed pacifist partially due to anti-Semitism. He wrote about the experiences of Jews from Eastern Europe, attempting to personalise their lives, and he became a Zionist. He also lived close to Munich during the years of the Weimar Republic (Wiznitzer, 1983, p.29). Krämer's interest in Zweig and his blending of German and Jewish German culture through literature suggests that Bildung remained an important part of Krämer's bourgeois Jewish identity even after the troubles of hyperinflation, but that perhaps in the calmer economic waters of 1928 she had more time and money to invest in cultural pursuits.

We can see concerns about money and the pursuit of wealth continuing into Krämer's 1928 letter as she enquires about Cahnman's job prospects. She states: "weil Geld blos Nebensache ist wenn man genug davon hat", which is possibly reflecting on the hardship she witnessed during the early twenties. She also asks Cahnman "Wie groß wird der Mammon sein?". "Mammon" is used in German as a colloquial term for money, especially money used to buy luxury goods and was characterised in Medieval times as a vice (Jelavich, 1979, p.220). This belief that money is only a "Nebensache" as long as one has enough could be as a result of the hyperinflation; hyperinflation and economic hardship could have shown Krämer that her bourgeois ideals of Bildung and culture were not enough to sustain other members of her class. This could explain her shift from her belief that the pursuit of money is harmful to her statement that money is important when one has too little. Her reference to Mammon, or greed, could still indicate that she is cautious about the overvaluing of the concept of wealth.

The 1928 letter also brings together themes from Spinoza and Krämer's pacifism when she mentions several plays she would like to see in Berlin with Cahnman including "Hoppla, wir leben" and "Schweiz". *Hoppla wir leben!* was a proletarian drama by Ernst Toller (1893-1939) which explores peaceful methods for achieving a new world order. The play voices disillusionment with the materialism of the 1920s, an idea which Krämer possibly supported as shown through her use of Spinoza in her 1923 letter (Willibrand, 1946, p.184). Toller has been described as an unorthodox Marxist in that he believed in

revolution but wanted to achieve change through non-violent methods (Willibrand, p.182). Although there is no evidence at all to suggest that Krämer was a Marxist, achieving change through peaceful measures would have tallied with her pacifist ideals. Additionally, Toller was also Jewish and had enlisted during the First World War. During the course of his military service, he became disillusioned and disheartened by German propaganda which dehumanised the enemy and in 1916 he had a nervous breakdown (Dove, 1990, pp.21-26). "Hoppla wir leben" is set in the Weimar Republic and concerns the author's attempts to navigate his position in the world, balancing his political desires with his precarious reality, something which Kramer's 1927 novella shares (Dove, p.164). Krämer then discusses other plays:

Auch auf das jiddische Theater, das mich mehr reizt wie die Habima (aber niemand sagen, ich glaube das geht nicht) weil ich nichts anfangen kann, mit einem Spiel, wenn ich kein Wort verstehe; ich habe nun mal den Fimmel für die Sprache und halte sie für die Seele eines Dramas.

Habima was a Hebrew theatre company that had been founded in Poland in 1917 and toured Europe from 1926 for several years, mainly performing adaptations of traditional Jewish stories (Seligsohn, 2011). In Berlin, Yiddish and traditional Jewish folk stories were experiencing a renaissance, but it seems that Krämer has not fully embraced this. She does not name any individual plays that she would like to see, choosing to group them all under the heading "jiddische Theater". She says she would rather see a Yiddish play than one in Hebrew, but the strength of her reaction towards Hebrew plays does not indicate that she has a strong desire to see any performed in Yiddish either. As was discussed earlier in the analysis of *Unterricht*, by celebrating the highly visible culture and language of eastern European Jews, German Jews would become more visible themselves. The slight change here could indicate that she is being more open about the Jewish side to her identity. The fact that Krämer also dislikes Hebrew theatre because she cannot understand it, also supports the intellectual curiosity that is displayed through her references to Kant and Spinoza. She has read, understood and integrated these ideas into her writing; something that would be much harder to do with texts in a language which is not her own. By preferring German (or, in the case of Spinoza, Latin, which was the language of classical civilisation) texts, she is elevating them over Hebrew or Yiddish texts which highlights the integral nature of the bourgeois German side of her identity. Unlike contemporary German-speaking Jews like Kafka, Krämer is resistant towards embracing a Jewish identity

and forming “communal bonds” that relied on exposure to a language which was often given negative connotations in non-Jewish society (Fortmann, 2009, p.1041).

Similar to parts of the 1917 letter, the 1923 letter also seems to indicate a lack of confidence: “Offengestanden, ich habe immer das Gefühl, Ihr Cahnmanns Kinder habt mich schon längst zum alten Eisen geworfen”. At the time of writing this letter, Krämer would have recently turned fifty so it is possible that reaching this milestone birthday may have exacerbated the belief in her mind that she was old. However, many leading members of the women’s movement, like Bertha Pappenheim and Paula Ollendorff, were more than a decade older than Krämer so while Krämer possibly felt rejected by her nieces and nephews, or was seeking reassurance that this was not the case, her age was not a hindrance to her role in the Jewish women’s movement. Perhaps her fear that she is being left behind as Cahnman explores educational opportunities in Berlin is behind her insecurity. Krämer also expresses the idea that being seen as old and worthless is affected by gender: “daß ich zugebe, beim Onkel Max habt Ihr eine andere Einstellg.” but she tries to argue against being dismissed through her correspondence with an eighteen-year-old Stuttgarter called Rudi Bach. Rudi Bach left what appears to be an unpublished memoir with the Leo Baeck Institute, dated 1976. This memoir discusses his childhood in Stuttgart, his apprenticeship with a “Kaufhaus”, and his emigration to Palestine. He also discusses how, as a teenager, he visited Munich and was invited to dinner at a distant relative’s house: “Clementine Kraemer, a lady of practically my parents’ generation... Her husband was a successful banker. Later, however, his business faltered, so she became a hostess in a department store, proving her courage and stamina” (Bach, 1976, p.24). This singular mention of Krämer in a biography that was written so long after her death indicates that Bach must have considered her influence on his life to be noteworthy. He also named Krämer in full but not Max, possibly indicating that he saw her as more important. In this letter, she describes her correspondence with Bach as “Gedankenaustausch”. Through her correspondence, perhaps Krämer was continuing her role from her 1917 letter of educating younger Jews, and the founding of the school at Wolfratshausen, but her concerns about her age could be an indication that she is uncertain if she is the right person to undertake this task.

This fear of being left behind is also present elsewhere in the letter:

Du wirst übrigens sehen, wie erstaunlich klein Dir München  
vorkommen wird, an Berlin gemessen; aber- wie unser Mutterchen

sagte- auf die Größe kommst nicht an, sonst könnte eine Kuh einen Hase fangen...

Cahnman noted in his essay that his family frequently referred to the JFB as the "Reisebund" rather than the "Frauenbund" due to the frequency with which Krämer was summoned to meetings all over Germany (1989, p.182). She had undoubtedly been to Berlin and other large cities many times. She may have even travelled with the JFB to large cities in other countries such as Paris or London to meet with other members of the women's movement. However, here she seems almost concerned that Munich will not be enough for her nephew after he has enjoyed "big city living", but at the same time she is trying to defend her hometown as having some intangible quality that Berlin is lacking. Seeing Berlin as negative was one of the core features of many works of Heimat literature (Boa and Palfreyman, 200, p.33). Krämer maintains the rural theme by using a somewhat "folksy" phrase that also mentions animals: "auf die Größe kommst nicht an, sonst könnte eine Kuh einen Hase fangen". The phrase "wie unser Mutterchen sagte" is also reminding Cahnman of where his roots lie. It seems likely that the "unser Mutterchen" is Krämer's own mother rather than Cahnman's, whom she refers to as "deine Mama" in later letters. Through this evocation of her mother, that is Cahnman's grandmother, she is indicating to her nephew how deep his roots, and, by extension, her roots, in south Germany are and that he cannot lose them in Berlin.

In 1928, Krämer reintroduces the theme of anti-Semitism and states it more openly than the unattributed Wagner quotation from her 1917 letter; she warns her nephew about associating with anti-Semites:

Ich weiß die Adresse von Wolf Horneffer nicht, wenn Du aber meinem Rat folgst, dann gehst Du nicht zu ihm; Onkel Max und ich kamen bei seinem letzten Besuch auf die Vermutung, daß er im Grunde seines Herzens irgendwie unfrei, antijüdisch eingestellt ist und überhaupt von keinerlei Tiefe

Wolf Horneffer was the son of Ernst Horneffer, a freemason and philosopher who, according to Cahnman's essay, was a friend of Max Krämer. Ernst Horneffer remained in correspondence with Max Krämer even during the Third Reich and visited him when he was dying in 1938 (1989, p.188). During the First World War, Ernst Horneffer had written about

the mystical religious experience of freemasonry and was greatly influenced by Nietzsche (Hoffmann, 2007, p.230). It is unclear what has led Krämer to be suspicious of the son of her husband's friend, and Cahnman added in a footnote in his essay: "Possibly they were right- I never felt that way about him" (p.199 n.16). From what Krämer has written, it seems as if he had visited the Krämers in Munich and so maybe she was reacting to having been insulted or attacked in her own home. One would not accuse her of being overly sensitive but perhaps, due to anti-Semitism in the public sphere, she felt anti-Semitism in her own home more keenly. She does not suggest that Cahnman should speak to Horneffer about his anti-Semitism directly; through avoiding confronting anti-Semitism directly, she may have been attempting to avoid attracting attention to her Jewish identity.

The final three surviving letters are from the Second World War and I will now provide some context to both Krämer's personal and familial experiences and the wider state of her community at this time. In November and December 1938, Cahnman was held in Dachau but was released, and he emigrated to England in June 1939 before leaving for Chicago by the end of the year. Violence and the threat of violence towards the Jewish community had increased throughout 1938; the Munich synagogue was destroyed by fire in the summer (Kaplan, 1998, p.120). On the 9<sup>th</sup> November, Jewish businesses and homes were attacked and Jews were dragged into the streets to face humiliation and violence before many Jewish men were rounded up and taken away to concentration camps (p.122). Cahnman details his experiences in Dachau in *In the Dachau Concentration Camp: An Autobiographical Essay* dated 1964 but published in a volume with his essay about Krämer in 1989. Cahnman states that Nazi officials initially came for his father but Werner Cahnman took his place although, due to Cahnman's prominence in the Centralverein and the many articles he had published about the Jewish community, it seems unlikely that he would have escaped attention (1989, p.151). Cahnman does not mention if either of his brothers or Max Krämer were arrested, suggesting that perhaps he was the only one taken from his family. Cahnman was released on 16<sup>th</sup> December 1938 after his mother had managed to procure emigration documents (p.158). He then left for England before travelling on to the US in 1939. One of the letters is undated but the reference to Cahnman's journey to the US strongly indicates that it is from this period.

Furthermore, according to the *Andachtsbuch für Trauer und Jahrzeit* in Krämer's archive, on the 16<sup>th</sup> August 1939, Max Krämer died aged 75, apparently from natural causes. The JFB had also shrunk by this time; Bertha Pappeneheim died in 1936 and Paula Ollendorff had died in 1938. Krämer's Munich associate, Rahel Straus, had emigrated to Palestine in 1932.

Krämer was one of the few remaining members of the “old guard” in Munich and so it is not hard to imagine that she must have felt a great deal of responsibility to the community. As more Jews emigrated, the Jewish community in Germany dwindled; Marion Kaplan writes that in September 1939 there were about 185,000 Jews in Germany which decreased to 164,000 by October 1941 (1998, p.132). The Jews who remained were disproportionately female, many of whom had sacrificed their savings to save their male relatives from camps, and disproportionately elderly: “By 1939, the proportion of people over sixty had increased to 32 percent of the Jewish population; by 1941, two-thirds of the Jewish population was past middle age” (p.143). The JFB worked to provide a sense of community for those who remained and to help with their day-to-day needs (p.139).

In her letter from 4<sup>th</sup> December 1940, Krämer’s address changed from Trautenwolfstraße to Konradstraße. Krämer does not mention her change of address which could have been due to the “aryanisation” of property (Kaplan, 1998, p.145). After 1939, Jews were prevented from accessing welfare, had their savings put into government controlled accounts, and were forced into poverty (Kaplan, 1998, p.146). All Germans were subjected to food rationing but the rations for Jews were far smaller and decreased as the war progressed and, by 1940, Jews could no longer buy clothing or shoes (pp.151-3). Once again, women played a central role in supporting the Jewish community. They repaired clothing for themselves and others, shared food when they had it, and used their pre-war contacts to acquire supplies on the black market (p.147). In 1940, forced labour was introduced. Krämer, at the age of 67, would have been exempt, but as a Jew she was not entitled to welfare support either (Kaplan, 1998, p.174). The Allied bombing campaign intensified during the early 1940s, and Jews were required to use segregated bomb shelters, which were overcrowded. If the public shelter was for “Aryans” as well as Jews, the Jews had to endure anti-Semitism as well (p.160). Many Jewish houses were also destroyed during bombing raids, leaving the impoverished occupants with nothing (p.161). Krämer would most likely have been overtired, malnourished and suffering from constant stress as she wrote to her nephew, trying to arrange her exit from Nazi Germany.

Most of the letters are filled with emotional pleas to Cahnman to do everything he can to unite the family outside Germany: “Mein lieber Werner, m.l. Fritz u. (viell.?) mein lieber Hans, wäre das herrlich wenn ich Euch beisammen denken dürfte! Du, l. Werner, denkst ja stark an diese Möglichkeit. Das ware wohl eine große, reine Freude; u. wenn d. Hans erst dort ist, der schafft’s auch” (4<sup>th</sup> December 1940). Fritz and Hans are Werner Cahnman’s brothers and Werner Cahnman’s archive attests to his support in their visa applications to the

US and his involvement with some of his sisters' (Box 3 Folders 39-41). Krämer also includes pleas for information about friends and extended family members with whom she had lost contact:

Und von Erna u. Mann u. Kind weiß ich seit Monaten gar nichts. Gott, Werner, wenn Du mir da nur helfen könntest; doch will ich Dich nicht belästigen, ich weiß, Du hast allerhand auf dem Buckel. Hört Ihr was v. Mix u.d. anderen? u.v. Sophie H.? ich sehne mich sehr nach Nachr.; auch v. Joh. Gunz möchte gerne wissen, wie es Trudi geht; bitte sagt es ihr mit herzlichen Grüßen; ich denke sie hat m. Karte erhalten. Ich grüße auch d. anderen Bekannten u. Verwandeten, bes. natürl. Hellers. (4th December 1940)

This section of run-on sentences and abbreviated words is a list of lost people, many of whom are unidentifiable, and Krämer's desperation is even more apparent through this than in the letter from 1939. Yet despite this desperation and the need to save space through the abbreviations, we can still see that Krämer is driven to express herself creatively through the striking expression: "auf dem Buckel". "Erna u. Mann u. Kind" could be Erna Feuchtwanger whose husband Ludwig had published the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*; the couple had emigrated with their son to England in 1939. According to the Leo Baeck Institute, the Feuchtwangers were interned on the Isle of Man, which could explain why they had lost contact with Krämer. Cahnman wrote that Krämer and Erna Feuchtwanger were very close friends and had worked together in the women's movement in Munich since before the First World War (1989, p.181). The loss of this friendship must have exacerbated Krämer's feelings of isolation and her sense that without her former networks, part of her identity was missing. Cahnman supports this idea in his essay when he writes that as he departed for England, his aunt said "of course, you will forget your old aunt as soon as you'll step out of the country" (p.194). The insecurity that is present in all of her letters is increasing as her world is collapsing.

Krämer also gives us a few insights into daily life in Germany: "Heute Nm. war ich mit Hugo u. Else M. zusammen bei Euren Eltern zum Thee. Gusti war natürl. auch da, die schaut jetzt so nett aus, wird immer hübscher" (4<sup>th</sup> December 1940). Gusti is one of Werner Cahnman's three sisters who also later successfully emigrated to the US with help from her brothers. Hugo and Else M. are most likely Hugo and Else Marx. Hugo Marx was a banker and is mentioned in Cahnman's essay as a frequent visitor to the Krämers in the inter-war period

(1989, p.187). This attempt at a bourgeois tea party that Krämer attended is a sign that perhaps she and her social circle were attempting to find solidarity and comfort through activities that had been customary before the Third Reich. It is also noteworthy that Krämer does not mention if there was any food, which suggests that perhaps rationing had prevented a more luxurious afternoon. Krämer then goes on to write that the following afternoon, Cahnman's parents will eat "bei mir in d. Pension, das ist für mich immer eine Freude". It is unclear if the Cahnmans had visited the Krämers this often before the Third Reich; it seems unlikely as both husbands would have been working and Clementine Krämer was often too busy with her writing and social work to allow for daily visits. The increasing time that they are spending together again could have been as a result of their decreasing social lives and an attempt to find solace in their family. It is also telling that Krämer writes they will be "in d. Pension" and not "zu Hause", supporting the idea that she has been forced from her home into temporary accommodation and she does not feel at home there. Krämer concludes this section by writing: "Besser schmeckt es aber, wenn Eure Mutter kocht". If Krämer did not feel at home where she was living, perhaps she found it more enjoyable in the home of her brother. It is also clear from this snapshot of daily life that Krämer is not eating out at cafes and she does not talk about theatre trips as she did in the 1928 letter. Her public life has become restricted to the point of non-existence and thereby her bourgeois identity has also been affected.

Krämer also refers to some of the problems she is experiencing in her daily life but she provides very little detail: "Die Probleme sind mannigfaltig, auch bei uns. Arthur kann jetzt gar nicht verdienen, das ist schlimm mit einer fünfköpfigen Familie". It is not clear who Arthur is, most likely a family friend, but it shows that Krämer was still concerned about the welfare of others in her community and was also aware how the laws of the Third Reich were affecting those around her. Krämer then discusses her own work: "Ich mache seit Monaten meine Arbeit ganz allein, das macht mir aber Spass und sonst habe ich auch noch allerhand Verpflichtungen". Again, it is unclear to what work she is referring and Cahnman does not enlighten us in his essay. The department store where she had worked since 1929 had been forced to close; it had initially profited from anti-Nazi sentiments when many Germans shopped in Jewish owned stores as an act of defiance, especially during the first boycotts, but at some point, Cahnman does not tell us when, the official restrictions were too tight for the business to continue (p.196). Many Jewish women found work within the Jewish community working in Jewish schools or as nurses or helping teach new skills to those wanting to emigrate or helping them with the emigration procedure (Kaplan, 1998, p.138). It seems likely from Krämer's background in the JFB that she could have found similar

employment and we know that she was involved in the “Hausfrauennachmittag” at her home. The fact that she describes that she is now working alone further highlights how the community was shrinking around her. That she describes her work as “Verpflichtungen” is also noteworthy; perhaps this sense of duty was what sustained her through these times and provided her with distraction from the problems around her. The work in the Jewish community could have also been supporting her sense of Jewish identity.

Krämer concludes her 1940 letter with: “Und jetzt noch: schon heute a merry Christmas and a happy New Year für uns alle” (underlined in original). She has chosen to write this in English, possibly as she holds on to the idea of emigration and uniting with her family in America. Perhaps this is an indication that she is still maintaining the belief from her 1917 letter that she is a “Weltbürger”. Additionally she has not chosen to write any Hebrew phrases or celebrate any Jewish festivals. This could be an indication that, even though the German side to her identity has been rejected, she has not embraced a Jewish or Zionist identity. She underlined “alle” for emphasis, perhaps to emphasise she meant all of the friends and family she had mentioned above. She also prefixes this sentence with “Und jetzt noch: heute schon” indicating that she is aware that it is very early to be thinking about Christmas but perhaps she is concerned about delays in the postal service meaning any letters sent later might not arrive in time. She may have been concerned that she is running out of time: the possibility of ill health and the difficulty of emigration are testament to that. Krämer is also seeking to form a unified identity outside Germany as her Mendelssohnian dream of maintaining a German Jewish identity has been systematically destroyed.

Throughout all of these letters we get an understanding of a woman who was very well-read and articulate. She is able to construct a coherent argument and manipulate philosophical ideas to fit her purposes. In her letters she refers to Kant and Spinoza and in her articles we see references to Marx, woven together with her own ideas with relative ease. Additionally she is deeply tied to her community, as indicated through her concerns about anti-Semitism and her efforts to help other Jews during the Third Reich. Despite her willingness to engage with contentious issues and her connections to political figures, she resists labelling herself. In her letters she does not want to be called a “pacifist”, and in her articles she resists the term “Frauenrechtlerin”, both because the labels distract her readers from what she wants to argue and perhaps because her identity was too complicated to be pigeonholed simply. Throughout this Chapter, I have also identified the ways in which she struggled to express her ideas, especially with regards to her nephew and her fears of inadequacy. This could be

a reflection of a society that valued the achievements of non-Jewish men and women more highly, leaving her to feel inadequate. It could also be that the tensions in her identity have led to her feeling that labels cannot adequately express all that she is and that she is genuinely ambivalent about whether one philosophical standpoint is enough when facing her contemporary challenges. As Krämer sought a plural identity, the ways in which she can be seen as a successor to Mendelssohn have been highlighted, including her approach to history and traditions, and her exploration of the inadequacy of language. However, despite the challenges she faced, we can see that she is driven to express herself and respond to problems in the world around her. As discussed in this Chapter, Krämer is never able to provide a concrete solution to these problems and she never conforms to one philosophy because she is not able to unify herself or fully justify her role within society.

As Krämer was a creative writer, her struggles to express herself and her identities are counterbalanced by her drive to write. This tension can be found throughout her creative output and this thesis will now examine some of her works, drawing on some of the themes identified in this chapter, to identify how she tried to reconcile different aspects of her identities and respond to the challenges of her world. As Krämer's role in the founding and promotion of the school in Wolfratshausen and her work with girls from Eastern Europe indicate, she was concerned with the role of women in society. The next chapter will examine Krämer's responses to the problems faced by women in the public sphere, which are a reflection of Krämer's perception of the role women should play and how she saw her identity as a German Jewish woman.

## Chapter Two Women in the Public Sphere

*Sechs Ellen schneebblühweiße Seid'...* (unpublished, undated)

Sechs Ellen schneebblühweiße Seid'

Die kauft' mir zum Hochzeitskleid

“Beim Näh'n gibe s acht, den rotes Blut

Am Hochzeitskleide tut kein gut”.

The previous chapter examined how Krämer attempted to deal with contemporary social issues by attempting to assemble a coherent philosophy from multiple sources, while never being able to unite the divisions within her. This then limited her ability to create a coherent response to the problems she perceived. The following three chapters will continue this analysis by examining her short stories because, as her short stories are longer and of such a great quantity, they enable us to see how Krämer used this genre to explore her world and, by extension, herself. The stories also allowed Krämer to imagine alternate realities and create different solutions to the problems she faced. These chapters will analyse her stories thematically, which gives us an understanding of how she responded to key issues of her day. In addition, as with the letters and articles, a close reading will explore how she saw herself and tried to reconcile the fractures in her identity. This chapter will look at her stories pertaining to the theme of women in the public sphere. The sheer volume of work on this theme suggests that it was of great importance to Krämer and possibly that she felt confident enough in her identity as a woman to have the authority to write on this topic. However, as will be discussed, she is unable to provide any kind of satisfactory conclusions, suggesting that she is unable to find a solution to the problems women faced in the public sphere. When we look beneath the surface, it seems that she is unsure of what her rights as a woman should be and what the rights of other women should be and that therefore she is unsure of herself.

As will be examined in the following chapters, many of Krämer's stories share elements with the Grimms' Märchen. The Grimms collected folktales with the aim of creating a sense of national unity and were one of the most widely read and owned works of German literature by Krämer's time (Zipes, 1979, p.26; Bottigheimer, 1993, p.88). By appropriating themes and symbols from these tales, Krämer is connecting her work to popular German culture. It also suggests that motifs from the tales were woven so tightly into her life and environment that she was unable, or unwilling, to extricate herself from them. Furthermore, there was a

tradition of women rewriting and reworking the fairy tales, which dated from the first half of the nineteenth century (Jarvis, 1993, p.102). Wealthy women would meet in a continuation of the salon tradition and write fairy tales anonymously, which they attempted to publish as part of the Maikäferbund. Unfortunately very few examples of their work remain but, according to Shawn Jarvis, these female writers subverted the traditional gender roles in the Grimms' Märchen and created in their place sactive, educated heroines (p. 106). Krämer can therefore be seen as the next step in this tradition as she created her own Märchen style. Moreover, some of the Grimms stories had anti-Semitic themes that would not have been compatible with Krämer's worldview so her subversion of the tales is equally a subversion of this anti-Semitism (Bottigheimer, 1992, p.477). In the stories that will be analysed in this chapter, and many of the stories in the following chapters, the storyteller is nameless and, where the protagonist is not the narrator, she is nameless too. This is a trope common to the Märchen as this enables the story to transcend time and space (Haase, 1993, p.12). Furthermore, the Märchen have often been seen to reflect contemporary anxieties and, even though the solutions posited in the tales seem impossible, "by relating our problems and concerns to the possible solutions in fairy tales, we tend to be able to cope with our sometimes desperate conditions" (Mieder, 1993, p.150). Krämer is therefore using this German tradition to explore social conditions in her world and examine solutions through a Märchen structure. Many of her stories also subvert expectations set up by the Märchen style, perhaps indicating Krämer's dissatisfaction with the limitations of this style or perhaps indicating a deep-seated ambivalence about the solutions to the social problems she was describing.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the public role of bourgeois women changed dramatically as single, middle class women began to enter the workforce in larger numbers and play a greater role in public life. As will be discussed, Jewish women experienced these changes more acutely. Furthermore, during the Third Reich, they felt the pernicious invasion of anti-Semitism into their public and private lives. This chapter will examine how Krämer explored her experiences of these changes through her short stories. I will use three of Krämer's short stories to analyse the types of threats faced by women, the solutions that she suggests, and whether these change over time. The three stories are *Wenn man eine Frau ist* (*Münchner illus. Zeitung*, 1913) *Die Groteske* (*Jugend*, 1916), and *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten* (*Der Gerade Weg*, 1933), which cover much of Krämer's literary career. *Wenn man eine Frau ist* and *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten* both have a bourgeois female protagonist whereas the class identity of the protagonist in *Die Groteske* is more complex. Unfortunately, due to the restrictions of space, it is not possible to conduct a

detailed investigation into the influence of class on the threats and fears on Krämer's clearly working class protagonists from other stories. That remains a viable topic for future research.

In order to understand the context in which Krämer was writing, I will provide an overview of the historical period and the changes that she experienced over the course of her life. Single women experienced a raised public profile, which was most likely brought about as a result of men and women marrying later and a perceived "surplus" of women who would never be able to marry, which created a dichotomy with the bourgeois ideal of the cultured, and married, housewife (Kaplan, 1991, p.17). Within the Jewish community, demographic change brought about by higher rates of male conversion and intermarriage meant that there were more Jewish women looking for husbands than there were men to marry (Kaplan, 1991, p.5). Furthermore, German culture placed great emphasis on the family as the shelter from the storms of modernity and rapid industrialisation. Bourgeois women who could not or would not fulfil this role faced criticism and were confronted by political and social restrictions (Kaplan, 1991, p.16). The German Women's Movement focussed much of its energies on the plight of single women, campaigning for political, social and educational reforms to offer better protection and opportunities for women in the public sphere (Dollard, 2006, p.215). Once the Jüdische Frauenbund (JFB) was formed in 1904, women were encouraged to expand on the philanthropic traditions within Judaism and forge a new community for Jewish women based on charitable work (often targeting new Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe), dealing with anti-Semitism and campaigning for change in the Jewish community and beyond (Kaplan, 1991, p.192).

The other aspect of women in the public sphere that experienced a raised profile during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was prostitution. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was a proliferation in academic articles and scientific papers published on the subject of prostitution (Schönfeld, 2000, p.9). Women who were determined to be of "no fixed abode", and who had attracted the attention of the police, were usually registered as prostitutes (p.8). As will be discussed in the examples provided in this chapter, none of the women are explicitly described as prostitutes but for the protagonist of *Wenn man eine Frau ist*, she is seemingly lacking a permanent address, which could place her in this category. Furthermore, prostitutes have often been described as symbols of modernity; both belonging to the metropolis and at the same time apart from it and nomadic (p.23). All three of the protagonists that will be analysed in this chapter are depicted as wandering through their landscape, both trying to fit in and remaining apart. By

describing her protagonists with imagery and language associated with debates about prostitution, Krämer could be attempting to engender sympathy for prostituted women and women in the public sphere in general, who were at risk of prostitution and exposed to the unwelcome attentions of men. She could have been attempting to show how easy it was for women to “fall” into prostitution or for women to be wrongly labelled and thereby stigmatised.

As discussed in Chapter One, tackling prostitution was a central concern for the JFB. Bertha Pappenheim wrote extensively on the plight of Jewish women in Eastern Europe and their vulnerability to traffickers in the white slave trade (her best known work on this is her 1924 book *Sisyphusarbeit*, based on her experiences in 1911). She campaigned for better employment and educational opportunities for lower class women and joined international women’s groups fighting for change (Kaplan, 1991, p. 213). Krämer, as a highly engaged member of the JFB whose archive contains her copies of some of Pappenheim’s work, would have been well-versed in the campaigns of the JFB and the women’s movement and, as previously discussed, Krämer worked on improving the educational opportunities for women and girls from Eastern Europe. Furthermore, as women entered the world of work and took on more public roles, women on the streets and in the public sphere, who were not prostitutes, became more visible. Krämer’s work with Eastern European women and her engagement with Pappenheim’s work may have given her more sympathy for women who found themselves prostituted or even simply alone in the public sphere. This sympathy can be seen in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* as the narrator seems to call for sympathy for the challenges faced by single women alone in public rather than condemnation. The story also indicates that not all single women in public are prostitutes and that, as it is so easy to be mistaken for one, the public should be more helpful to women who are alone, perhaps as a way of reducing prostitution. The overlapping and intersecting concerns about single women and prostitution would have been a large part of Krämer’s environment in the pre-war period.

Due to industrialisation and changes to the economy, middle class women became consumers rather than producers but this could lead to further criticism (Kaplan 1991, p.16). In late nineteenth and early twentieth century Germany, luxury and lavish spending by wealthy women had come under heavy criticism even as large department stores began to appear in Germany for the first time. Department stores moved the experience of shopping away from a space to haggle and negotiate to a space to marvel at the aesthetics of the shops. It became possible, even acceptable, to enter a shop with no intention of purchasing

but rather to simply enjoy the spectacle (Hamlin, 2005, p.254). Luxury was seen as the spending beyond one's means and, between the turn of the century and the First World War, began to feature in a wide variety of articles including the *Münchner Allgemeine Zeitung* and the art magazine *Kunstwart*. That these publications were broadly aimed at a bourgeois readership indicates that there was a preoccupation with controlling luxury amongst members of this class (Breckmann, 1991, p.486). The publication of Krämer's *Die Groteske* in 1916 can be seen as a continuation of this trend. Luxury was seen to be in direct opposition to the middle class notion of *Bildung*. *Bildung* was the elevation of the individual through *Kultur* and, as luxury was the superficial display of wealth, these two terms could not be reconciled. There were concerns that luxury was infectious and would corrupt the middle class (Breckman, 1991, p.489). Furthermore, women spending money on luxury items gave rise to fears that women were mismanaging household budgets, leading to the breakdown of the family (Breckman, 1991, p.492). In wartime, mismanaging the budget had drastic consequences of national importance and the war itself was even seen as a blessing in disguise as it was "ridding them of their nasty habits of overconsumption, which threatened national culture." (Davis, 2000, p.27). How Krämer balanced the conflicts between the thrifty housewife and the profligate single woman will be explored later in this chapter.

Krämer's concerns in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* are related to the breakdown of the social contract so I will provide an introduction to Rousseau's (1712-1788) theory here and a detailed analysis of the use of this theory in the story later in this chapter. Rousseau set out the idea that, in order for society to function, individuals have to set aside their own desires for the good of the community (Froese, 2001, p.587). This is based on the idea of mutual reciprocity; if everyone participates then everyone is protected. However, if this contract breaks down (for example, through theft or for the protagonist of *Wenn man eine Frau ist*, sexual violence), then society as a whole is dissolved (p.588). This idea of individuals agreeing to set aside their egoistic desires for the benefit of the whole becomes problematic with regards to women and minority groups. When the social contract was first theorised, and indeed in the centuries that followed, "individual" was taken to mean white, Christian, bourgeois male and all other inhabitants were subordinate, as can be seen through inequalities established in German law (Shapiro, 2009, p.374). For someone like Krämer, who was both a woman and a member of a minority group, one could argue that the social contract would never be able to offer suitable protection. However, Moses Mendelssohn theorised that the state should make allowances for differences of religion and gender and not use Christian males as the default against which otherness is judged and legislated

(p.383). Krämer's exploration of the social contract could be another example of her selecting parts of a philosophy and examining it and its consequences for her protagonist and herself.

During the First World War, the concerns about women in the public sphere shifted. Being overly concerned about unmarried bourgeois women seemed unpatriotic as it privileged the problems faced by one group of Germans over the others (Dollard, 2006, p.221).

Furthermore, with so many men away fighting, married women found themselves in a similar position to single women (p.224). Jewish women's organisations joined the national war effort, running soup kitchens, providing spaces for administrative offices, fundraising and setting up industrial-scale sewing and knitting groups (Kaplan, 1991, p.221). After a poor harvest and a harsh winter, German food production in 1916 was struggling to meet the needs of the population. On the Home Front, this was exacerbated by the ever-growing demand from the army, imports from allies and neutral countries made unreliable through the Allied blockade of shipping, and a shortage of farm labourers (Allen, 1998, p.374). By 1916, the consumer goods market had collapsed and government rationing controlled the allocation of food which functioned as a ban against obtaining more than limited amounts of food (Daniel, 1997, pp.189-90). Break-ins at rationing centres became frequent and raised tensions between bureaucrats, unions and consumers (Allen, 1998, p.371). By 1917, there were food riots (Daniel, 1997, pp.183-84). The German women's movement attempted to alleviate suffering through establishing public kitchens (Davis, 2000, p.138). Many Jewish women also saw this as an opportunity to demonstrate that Jews were German citizens and equal to their non-Jewish counterparts with the hope that this would counter anti-Semitism (p.219). As the war dragged on and war enthusiasm waned, anti-Semitic feeling grew stronger and in 1916 the Prussian Ministry of War ordered a census of Jewish soldiers, ostensibly with the aim of proving that Jews were serving in numbers equal to non-Jews, but the results were never published, giving credence to anti-Semitic ideas that Jews were shirkers (Kaplan, 1991, p. 226). In response, members of the JFB encouraged Jewish women to avoid obvious displays of wealth as they did not want to foster the belief that the Jews were "doing too well" (Kaplan, 1991, p.225). It was also a continuation of the Jewish response to fit in or "pass" with wider German society. Furthermore, attempts by women to sustain the war effort on the Home Front did not always ease tensions. The difficulties of rationing were simultaneously blamed on women lacking the education to store and cook provisions properly, something which the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* and other groups tried to change, and "selfishly" hoarding food to provide only for their own families to the detriment of wider society (Daniel, 1997, pp.193-94). As discussed previously, Krämer

expressed anti-war sentiments to her nephew despite her involvement with war work. Therefore, her private doubts about the war and the public enmity towards both Jews and women would have contributed to a sense of threat and danger surrounding her.

Krämer's private response to the war has been discussed in the previous chapter and her more public response will be discussed in Chapter Four. The war and war work had a profound impact on the role of women and the wider women's movement and this impact can be seen in the stories analysed in this chapter. Gender roles seemed to have become blurred and generational divides began to open up between women who had come of age before and during the war and those who came after (Dollard, 2006. p.228). Furthermore, white collar jobs expanded rapidly, providing jobs for middle class young women in highly visible positions as typists and saleswomen (Bridenthal and Koontz, 1984, p.51). The division between the genders had also seemed to widen as the war had not had an equal effect on men and women. Men returned from the front physically and or mentally scarred by the events they had lived through whereas women appeared to have continued as they had before or even profited in the world of work from the absence of men. In the world of art this resulted in images of acts of horrific violence committed on women's bodies (Tatar, 1995, p.12). However, it must also be noted that the nineteenth century had seen fierce debates about the role of women and the notion of a "crisis of masculinity". Whether, on an individual level, the war represented a continuation of these debates, a polarisation, or was seen as a positive opportunity for women is undecided (Kundrus, 2002, p.172). From a wider cultural and political perspective, greater freedom for women was seen as an attack on masculinity, especially towards the latter years as representations of male wartime suffering at the front became almost mythologised and women's experiences were marginalised (pp.169-170). As will be discussed later in this chapter, because women's acceptance into the public sphere was more precarious, Jewish women felt the increased anti-Semitism of the Third Reich more acutely. As women moved in the public sphere, they were faced with threats and a sense of danger and constant questions about whether it was right for them to be there at all.

With the increasingly public role of women and Krämer's increasingly public role, it is easy to see how threats facing women would have found their way into her creative output. Indeed, threats towards women are woven into the fabric of many of Krämer's short stories written between 1900 and 1933 and it is a topic to which she repeatedly returns, which indicates that it was of great importance to her. This is the only theme that I have identified which she returns to with such frequency. Furthermore, none of the stories that are linked

to this theme are explicitly about Jewish women which possibly indicates that Krämer considers this theme to be universal, an idea that is reinforced as Krämer does not typically give her stories a named location in time and place (the exception to this rule, *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten*, will be discussed later in this chapter). Through making her stories universal, perhaps she is trying to raise awareness of the difficulties women face in all public places at any time and to provoke the reader into considering how he or she can bring about change.

The stories connected to this theme share many stylistic qualities. The protagonist is always a woman who is experiencing threats directly; it is never a man witnessing or making threats to women. However, within this theme, the class background of the protagonist is different and the type of threat she is facing is consequently different. *Marianne* (*Bühne und Welt*, 1900) and *Komödie* (published but provenance unknown) both have actresses as their protagonists who face difficulties in maintaining economically viable careers. *Marianne* is an epistolary story told through the letters of an actress (Marianne) to her lover Hellmuth in which she discusses critics' reviews of her performances: "Der Kritiker neulich in den ‚Neuesten‘ hatte Recht mir vorzuwerfen, ich gäbe die Magda zu kalt" and the struggles of her childhood "meine Mutter war ‚eine vom Ballett‘ und mein Vater ein höherer Offizier, den ich nie gesehen [habe]", a childhood she describes as "Ekelhaft" (pp.763-4). Hellmuth, as the son of a baroness, represents economic security and the promise of a stable life Marianne has never had. Through marriage, Marianne can escape the economic threats surrounding her. Similarly, *Komödie* focusses on the competition between two actresses, the very popular Bertha Finkbohner and the less well-known Thea Saßnick. Finkbohner receives the greatest applause and is showered with gifts for her performance as Lady Macbeth but it is Saßnick who catches the eye of the theatre director "aus dem Norden" (p.12). By securing the attention of the theatre director, Saßnick can advance her career and seek greater economic stability whereas Finkbohner is left clutching her present of a musical clothes brush which plays "‚Deutschland, Deutschland über alles‘ und ‚Lang, lang ist's her‘ abwechslungsweise" (p.13). The female protagonists use men to increase their status and improve their prospects. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the bourgeois protagonists of *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten* (*Der Gerade Weg*, 1933) and *Wenn man eine Frau ist* (*Münchner illus. Zeitung*, 1913) are faced with threats of sexual violence, and, while men are sometimes the solution to this problem (especially the social contract between bourgeois women and men, which insisted on men offering their protection to women), men are also the cause.

Some of the stories exploring this theme are light-hearted and comical in tone whereas others are far darker. *Frauenwille* (*Deutsche Presse Korrespondenz*, 1920) and *Er flog in ein warmes Nest* (from an unknown magazine but dated 1922) are both farcical pieces about love mix ups but both protagonists still fear men. The female protagonist in *Frauenwille* is dancing with an unnamed man at a carnival ball and the reader is treated to witty dialogue between the two as he tries to establish who she is and persuade her to remove her mask. We can assume from the setting and the fact that they drink Sekt that they are middle class. They kiss and the narrator explains the struggle in the protagonist's mind: "Frauenwille geht über Männerwille- dachte sie. In dieser Minute geschieht das Umgekehrte: Manneswille zwingt Frauenwille!" and then she tries to get away from him: "Ich, ich will fort- ich fürchte mich!" she says and then later "laß mich gehen, ich fürchte mich!" (p.4). The threat that he poses is unspecified but the protagonist's panic is palpable through the repetition of "fürchte". *Er flog in ein warmes Nest* is a tale of mistaken identity as the female protagonist is mistaken for a countess by another man at a ball. Her husband is jealous and demands to know how she knows this interloper. As payback for her husband's mistrust, she dances with this unnamed man. Once again, within this comical story, the bourgeois woman is fearful: "Mein Mann ist toll vor Eifersucht" but what her husband will do to her is not stated. This could be simply an anthropological concern; because men are usually larger and stronger than women, women can be fearful that this strength could be used against them. However, as this chapter will show, this concern is not timeless because the nature of the threat and Krämer's attempts at solutions change over time to reflect the changing nature of the threats she as a Jewish woman would have faced.

These stories can be linked with others that are on the theme of romance but, where the protagonist is not in the public sphere, she is not threatened. *Das Brautgedicht* (unknown publication, 1926) is about one young woman's quest for a husband but, as the story unfolds in her own home, she is not threatened by men. The poem used as the introduction to this story is in a similar vein. The protagonist is partaking in a traditionally female activity, making a wedding dress, and she relies on her fiancé for comfort and help. Therefore, she is protected from any threats lurking in the wider world. Furthermore, although married women do still experience fear, women playing the traditional role of housewife or mother (as will be discussed in the next chapter) do not. It is women in the public sphere, often alone, who seem to be at risk and surrounded by a threatening environment. This chapter will explore the stories chronologically to uncover the changing nature of threats and Krämer's response and, through a close reading, I will uncover the deep insecurities and tensions in her identity that these stories express.

### *Wenn man eine Frau ist (Münchner illus. Zeitung, 1913)*

In the Krämer archive, this story is listed as undated as only the pages with the story from the *Münchner illus. Zeitung* have been preserved and the cover pages where the date would have been has not. However, there is a photograph of Friedrich Hebbels' grave and the caption explains that the public will be able to visit it to mark the one hundredth anniversary of his birth (1813) (p.168). Furthermore, below this is a photograph of the "gebohrte Torpedoboot S178" which records show sank in March 1913 (Wreckside, 2001). This gives us reasonable confidence in the date of this paper as spring 1913.

This story is narrated by the protagonist and is one of very few stories to employ this technique. This technique allows Krämer to give us an in-depth exploration of the protagonist's thoughts and experiences but it also introduces subjectivity to the story; the protagonist's thoughts are not universal but are limited in time and space to this one woman. However, we can assume that the events narrated are of great personal significance and so while we may question why the narrator is relating this tale, we are less likely to question whether the tale should be told (Strong, 1979, p.474). The unnamed protagonist is undertaking a long train journey but has miscalculated and, as the train is not going any further, is forced to spend the night in a small town. She goes to the station to ask for assistance and learns that a Gymnastics Festival is taking place. She asks what the best hotel is and is told that it is "Die Krone" which is half an hour away. She inquires if they have a vehicle but it is being used to transport the gymnasts for the festival so she sets off on foot for the hotel, dragging her heavy suitcase with her. The route takes her through what in daylight looked like a park but at night seems to be a dark forest. She states that she encounters singing and jeering lads walking past her continuously, some with a girl and some without. Those walking without a girl in particular shout things at her. Some simply shout "guten Abend, schönes Fräulein" but "Mitunter aber sind es auch Worte, die mir das Blut ins Gesicht treiben. Und ich schwöre mir geschwind, nie wieder als Frau auf die Welt zu kommen". Sometimes she asks one of the lads, especially when they have a girl with them, if she is walking in the right direction and how much further it is. She hopes they will help her with her suitcase but no one does. Instead they all assure her that there will not be any rooms in any guesthouse due to the Gymnastics Festival and she should go back to the train station.

She finally arrives at the hotel and there are some men sitting outside drinking. They jeeringly ask where “das Fräulein” has come from. She ignores their jeers and answers their questions politely. She says that usually silences intrusive people. She enters the hotel. A very tall head waiter asks her what her desire is and accompanies the question with a long and suggestive look that makes her very uncomfortable. He then says “pah” in a derisory fashion and pulls out his pocket watch. He says “1/2 10 is- um die Zeit- unn für solchene Gäst--”. She feels herself getting angry and demands to speak to the proprietor “dann werde ich ihm mal erzählen, wer er sei und wer ich wäre- und ich betone das so, als wäre ich- mindestens die Deutsche Kaiserin.” He runs off to fetch the proprietor and she waits, beginning to panic about what she will do if he turns her away and she has to walk back through the dark forest “und ich schwöre mir geschwind zum zweiten Mal, eher komme ich gar nicht mehr auf die Welt, als wie nochmals als Frau”.

The proprietor arrives and the narrator thinks he has a nice face despite his martial style red-blond moustache. She explains her terrible journey, why she has arrived so late and says he must give her a room. He gives her a fatherly pat on the shoulder and says: “Für so Leut- is bei mir allweil no Platz”. He orders the serving girl to prepare “S’ Großmutter-Zimmer für die gnä’ Frau”. The protagonist does not know what happened to the old woman, whether she is dead or lives somewhere else, but the room is pleasant. It is decorated with pokerwork pictures and proverbs such as “ein Weilchen nach Tisch, macht munter und Frisch”, “nur ein Viertelstündchen”, and “Morgenstund’ hat Gold im Mund”. Later, she sits downstairs to eat a roast loin of veal and the proprietor joins her at her table. She asks him if he can think why the head waiter tried to turn her away. He replies: “daß könne er sich sehr gut denken, weil halt der Oberkellner ein Rindvieh sei, ein königlich bayerisches, mit Eichenlaub und Schweren und durchaus keine Menschenkenntnis gar nicht besitze”. The protagonist then concludes: “Und da hab ich mir gedacht, am Ende überleg ich mir’s und komme doch nochmal als Frau auf die Welt”.

The analysis of this story can be separated into two thematic groups: the ways the protagonist is threatened and the methods employed by her and others to ensure her safety but we can begin by examining the setting of the story. The story begins at the train station of a “Städtchen” but we never receive a description of the town as, in order to reach the hotel she must walk through a forest. The choice of a train station is worthy of note as it functions as a liminal space; a transitional space the protagonist must pass through and which, as a consequence, will change her in some way. We also are given a somewhat uncanny depiction of the small town: “ich höre von einem großen Turnerfest” which causes

the reader to think about contorted bodies and the protagonist imagines the town is overrun with them: "Tausend fremde Turner, das wolle was heißen für so ein kleines Städtchen". The town has been subjected to an influx of strange young men and it is into this world that the protagonist must journey. She asks the porter if there is any transportation available and is told "nein heute nicht, heute habe keiner Zeit wegen der vielen Turner". The porter is functioning as a guardian of the threshold, protecting the space of the station from the dangerous world beyond its boundaries and encouraging the protagonist not to begin the adventure (Campbell, 1968, p.78). Through using imagery found in many folktales and myths, the protagonist is put into the position of a classical hero but there is danger lurking in the world outside which will challenge the hero.

The class identity of the protagonist has an effect on the way she experiences the threats in the world around her and how she attempts to deal with them. When she first arrives at the train station, she asks "nach dem besten Hotel" instead of any hotel; she does not seem concerned about the cost of the hotel as it is the quality that matters to her. This suggests that money is no obstacle to her and she must be from a wealthy, and therefore bourgeois, class background. Furthermore, the reputation of the hotel is important to her, which indicates that she is concerned about appearing respectable and perhaps also that she hopes she will be treated with the respect she is entitled to in the best hotel in town. She also carries her "Reisetasche" with her, indicating that she has a bag which she has acquired solely for the purpose of travelling, again giving us some indication of her wealth and status. The bag becomes a hindrance to her journey through the forest: "Denn bin ich schon ganz erschöpft von der schweren Tasche und der Angst". The protagonist's bag can be seen as a representation of her status because contained within it are her possessions and therefore she must carry it with her. However, it is also impeding her progress and would hinder her if she needed to make a hasty exit. It is a symbol of her identity and so it is both cumbersome and necessary. However, despite these indications of class, we do not know where the protagonist is going or why she is travelling alone. If she were so concerned with respectability, perhaps she would have found a male relative with whom she could travel or perhaps she is so secure in her class identity she did not feel she needed a companion, especially as she was not expecting to stay overnight. These indications of her bourgeois background affect the way she copes with the threats she experiences on her way to the hotel and once she arrives at her destination.

The protagonist sets off towards the hotel and encounters her first threat, the forest: "Auch ist es inzwischen ganz dunkel geworden. Und zudem geht es durch einen finstern Wald. Ich

habe den andern Morgen gesehen, daß es bloß eine Anlage war. Aber diesen Abend in der fremden Dunkelheit war es ein Wald". The repetition of words associated with darkness "dunkel", "Dunkelheit" and "finster" reflect the protagonist's fear. The name of the hotel, "Krone", is also reminiscent of a fairy tale hero on a quest but Krämer has inverted the model as we have a female protagonist seeking the crown, rather than a male. In the Grimms' Märchen, the hero nearly always ventures into a forest while on their quest and, as it is a place outside normal social constraints, it is a place of danger. When the protagonist of a Märchen enters the forest, it is always vast and mysterious; they might journey through it and be changed by their experiences within but they never conquer it (Zipes, 1988, p.43). However, in many of the Grimms' tales, the forest protects the protagonists and aids them on their quest, but for the protagonist in Krämer's story the forest is a physical manifestation of the unspecified threats surrounding the protagonist (Zipes, 1988, p.60). Krämer is inexactly mirroring the Grimms' Märchen; possibly because she found the style to be limiting and unable to capture the story she wanted to tell and the self-image she wanted to project.

Through the imagery in the settings, Krämer has established a threatening environment for her protagonist to journey through and we can now examine the different ways in which the protagonist is threatened. Once the protagonist sets off, impeded by her suitcase, she encounters "singende und johlende Bursche. Mit oder ohne Mädchen. Und besonders wenn sie ,ohne' sind, rufen sie mir irgend etwas zu". It is when the lads are lacking a female companion that they lack the decency to leave the protagonist alone, indicating that women provide restraint and help to shape male behaviour in public. The threat that these young men pose is never specified but the protagonist's fear increases as it grows darker: "Denn es ist sehr dunkel. Mitunter aber sind es auch Worte, die mir das Blut ins Gesicht treiben". The darkness here is most likely both the darkness of the night and the darkness of the situation that she is facing. We can assume that she is afraid of these young men sexually assaulting her but she never iterates this fear. She attempts to ask for help from these men: "besonders wenn ein weibliches Wesen dabei ist" by asking how much further she must travel but they are not able or willing to help her. Therefore, the social contract has been broken.

The next threat the protagonist faces is outside the hotel. We sense her relief as she leaves the forest: "Endlich geht auch dieser Weg zu Ende" through the repetition of "Ende" and "Endlich" but her ordeal is not yet over. "Ein paar Menschen, die vor dem Hotel um einen runden Tisch beim Glase sitzen, begrüßen mich gleich wieder mit spöttischem ,Guten

Abend' und woher ,das Fräulein' so spät noch komme". By referring to her as "das Fräulein" they are emphasising that she is single and therefore alone and unprotected; they could be assuming that she is a prostitute. The "gleich wieder" suggests that this is a continuation of the threat in the forest but the protagonist seems to have a greater degree of control over this situation: "Da habe ich aber meine eigene Methode: ich tue, als merke ich den Spott gar nicht und erwidere den Gruß gemessen und freundlich. Dann verstummen zudringliche Leute meistens". Perhaps now the protagonist is out of the forest, and here the table and glasses can be seen as emblems of civilised life, social rules and regulations have returned meaning that the threat is not as great. She is also reminding them of her class status by taking the time to be polite and measured and thereby reminding them of the social contract. That the protagonist describes this process as a "Methode" indicates that this is something which she has dealt with before and, unlike when she encountered the young men in the forest, she feels more in control. However, her last sentence: "Dann verstummen zudringliche Leute meistens" introduces an element of doubt; this method is not one hundred per cent effective and so she is still ultimately at their mercy.

The protagonist crosses into the hotel and the setting change is marked with the short sentence: "Ich trete ins Haus" but this does not indicate safety. The word "Haus" suggests she has left the public sphere but we are sharply reminded that this is not the case as the Oberkellner becomes her next threat: "Ein baumlanger Oberkellner fragt nach meinem Begehr. Er begleitet die Frage mit einem Blick- ich kann wohl sagen dieser Blick ist mir das Unangenehmste an dem ganzen Erlebnis". The Oberkellner functions as another gatekeeper, separating the protagonist from a return to the civilised world and therefore safety. He is described as "baumlange", possibly both as a reminder that she is vulnerable compared with him but also that the dangers of the forest have not left the protagonist. It is only once the protagonist has defeated the threshold guardian through her strength of character that she is able to reach safety in the grandmother's room. We are also reminded of the sexual nature of the threat she is facing is indicated through his lexical choice ("Begehr" rather than "Wunsch"). He is sneering of her request for a room: "Pah' macht er dann höhnisch und zieht langsam die Uhr heraus, 1/2 10 is- um die Zeit- unn für solchene Gäst'". He patronises her by telling her the time, as perhaps a teacher would to an unpunctual child, and then suggests that there is something unseemly about her: "für solchene Gäst'". He is not respectful of her status and beneath everything he says is a sexual threat. The protagonist describes the look he gives her in greater detail: "Von oben bis unten betrachtet er mich, die ich höchst einfach in tiefe Trauer gekleidet bin". The protagonist feels the necessity to tell us that she is dressed more than respectably, to

possibly indicate that she feels she has done nothing to warrant this attention. However, to view these events from the Oberkellner's perspective, she has not behaved as a respectable bourgeois woman should do. She is alone, at night and has arrived on foot bearing her own luggage. As she is dressed for a funeral, perhaps she has been recently widowed, which would indicate that she is alone and perhaps turning to prostitution to provide for herself. He is unaware of the circumstances that have forced her into this situation and so is perhaps unaware of her status (not that being a lower class woman would warrant this sexual attention, but perhaps a lower class woman would have been more used to, and therefore better prepared for, this situation). The sympathy that Krämer has generated for this protagonist could be a call for greater understanding of prostitutes and their plight.

The protagonist seems helpless in the face of these different threats. Twice in the story she states that she would prefer not to be a woman: "Und ich schwöre mir geschwind, nie wieder als Frau auf die Welt zu kommen" and "ich schwöre mir geschwind zum zweiten Mal, eher komme ich gar nicht mehr auf die Welt, als nochmals als Frau", which can be seen as her questioning the benefits of her gender identity. The story ends with her finally concluding that being a woman is not so bad: "Und da hab ich mir gedacht, am Ende überleg ich mir's und komme doch nochmal als Frau auf die Welt". This repetition of phrases three times is reminiscent of the style of the Grimms' stories where phrases are often repeated three times or protagonists attempt something three times with minor differences (see, for example, Hänsel and Gretel returning home from the forest twice before having to escape from the witch's house on the third time). The events proceeding each time she states her wish are worthy of investigation. The first time she is in the forest and the young lads that she asks for help either make comments that make her blush (and therefore are most likely of a sexual nature) or refuse to help and instead tell her that she is not going to be able to find a room at any hotel, let alone at the Krone. Her hopeless wish not to be a woman again is possibly predicated on the fact that these lads are refusing to recognise her need; she is unable to convince them that they should carry her suitcase and escort her to her destination as they are impervious to both her charms and propriety. The second time she makes this wish is after she has sent the Oberkellner to fetch the Wirt and is waiting. Both of these instances are when she is waiting for the men around her to behave in a particular way and they have failed to do so. What she considers to be appropriate and respectable behaviour is not happening and she has no other solution other than to wish hopelessly that she could not be a woman.

The protagonist demonstrates another way to deal with men posing this kind of threat; she attempts to pass as an even higher class woman: “Da bekomme ich’s mit der Wut und erkläre ich ihm, wenn er nicht augenblicklich macht, daß er fortkommt und den Wirt holt, dann werde ich ihm mal erzählen, wer er sei und wer ich wäre- und ich betöne das so, als wäre ich- mindestens die Deutsche Kaiserin”. This is the protagonist’s version of the classic middle class response to inappropriate staff: demand to speak to the manager. This is presented to the reader through reported speech, without the use of dialect, perhaps demonstrating the protagonist’s education and breeding. The protagonist is attempting to pass as at least the most respectable and worthy of all women “die Deutsche Kaiserin”. This works and the Oberkellner sets off “wie eine Katze, die Prügel bekommen hat”. He may have tried to patronise her but he has now been reduced to an animal. The idea that the protagonist is using passing as a defensive mechanism is supported by the fact that even though the Oberkellner has left, the guests who are drinking outside can still see her: “Draußen vor der Tür sind die Gäste aufmerksam geworden, stoßen sich an und spitzen neugierig herein”. Walking back past these guests would be just the first stage of her journey if she is not able to demonstrate enough respectability to be allowed to stay. We can also see the division between her own insecurities about passing and her external appearance: “Ich gestehe, daß mein Herz- wie ich so wartend dastehe- ganz laut klopft.- Wenn mich nun der Wirt wegschickt!- Nochmal eine halbe Stunde allein durch den finstern Wald bis zum Bahnhof mit dem schweren Täschchen! Nochmal all diese Anrempeleien... Aber äußerlich spiele ich die große Dame”. The hyphens in this sentence function as an ellipsis which reflects the disjointed and distressed thoughts of the protagonist and yet externally she appears to remain calm in order to play or pass as “die große Dame”.

The protagonist uses passing one final time as she explains her situation to the Wirt: “Ich erzähle ihm in fliegender Eile, wie es gekommen, daß ich zu so Später Stunde- - und ich schließe: „Sie müssen mir halt ein Zimmer geben, Herr Kronenwirt“”. That she phrases the last in direct speech and as a statement rather than a question is perhaps a sign of her attempting to pass: a wealthy lady does not ask for a room, she expects one. Her passing is successful: “Für so Leut’- is bei mir allweil no Platz” the Wirt says which suggests that for a different class of guest, perhaps there would not be a space. With the Wirt, the implicit suggestion of sexual violence appears to have dissipated. The protagonist states: “Und daß ich ihm da keinen Kuß gegeben habe- hab’ ich mir hoch angerechnet” which suggests that she is controlling her instinct to repay him for his kindness and still wants to avoid any indication of impropriety. To make it clear that the Wirt is not expecting any favours for offering her a room he says: “S’ Großmutter-Zimmer für die gnä’ Frau”. She has gone from

being “das Fräulein” to “gnä’ Frau” which indicates a marked increase in status. By offering her the grandmother’s room he is indicating that there is nothing sexual in his offer; grandmothers are traditionally figures of wisdom and deserving of respect not sexual desire. The protagonist has passed, the social contract has been restored, and she is safe once more.

The grandmother’s bedroom is the only part of the hotel that is described in any detail: “Es war jedenfalls ein schönes, großes Zimmer mit einer blitzblauen Tapete und einer Unmenge Nippessachen, Brandmalereien und ,ein Weilchen nach Tisch, macht munter und frisch’ und ‘Nur ein Viertelstündchen’ und ,Morgenstund’ hat Gold im Mund’ und so”. The combination of ornaments, poker artwork and proverbs create an image of an old fashioned or traditional room. The protagonist has found security in German domestic traditions. This idea of the security of traditions is continued when she returns downstairs for dinner. We are told that she has “Kalbsnierenbraten”, which is a traditional German dish. The Wirt explains that “halt der Oberkellner ein Rindvieh sei, ein königlich, bayerisches, mit Eichenland und Schwertern und durchaus keine Menschenkenntnis gar nicht besitze”. The Wirt seems to be minimising the threat that the Oberkellner posed and the protagonist seems to accept this explanation; she takes comfort in the Wirt’s recognition that the Oberkellner has behaved poorly but that he is just one individual and she reaches her conclusion to the story in the very next sentence. The Wirt’s validation of the protagonist’s fears about the Oberkellner suggest that this behaviour towards women is not a wider societal problem; the Oberkellner happens to be a “Rindvieh” but the Wirt is not. However, as the readers know the protagonist has encountered many threatening men which indicates that this is a problem beyond just one individual man.

The protagonist of *Wenn man eine Frau ist* must journey through the strange and threatening world of the forest, filled with young men making suggestive comments and threats, to reach the hotel. When the social contract appears to be broken, she wishes that she would not return to earth as a woman, and when she has more confidence in the social contract, she uses passing to access the benefits of being a member of a higher class and is mostly successful. She faces threats of a sexual rather than an economic nature and it is her class status and the demonstration of that status that affords her protection. She is dependent on the social contract between men and bourgeois women that they offer their services to her and do not take advantage of her. When this social contract appears to be broken, particularly in the forest and with the Oberkellner, she wishes that she could be someone other than a woman and therefore be free from threats. This is not a plausible

solution to her situation and the rapid nature of the conclusion could be an indication that Krämer also acknowledges this. The problems the protagonist faced have been temporarily resolved by a man but men remain a threat. As this chapter will show, the challenges confronting women are affected by contemporary societal changes and Krämer continues to struggle to find a solution.

### *Die Groteske (Jugend, 1916)*

The next story that will be analysed is *Die Groteske*, which uses an urban setting to examine an array of threats facing women in that environment. *Die Groteske* was published in September 1916 in *Jugend*, a weekly Art Nouveau magazine which was published in Munich between 1896 and 1940. The magazine included large illustrations and satirical short texts and poems. Within its first seven years of publication, the magazine had featured work by over 250 artists (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 2015). As mentioned in the Introduction, Munich was one of the most important cities in Germany for art in the late nineteenth century with hundreds of painters and sculptors resident there (Lenman, 1982, p.4). After its launch in 1896, the magazine rapidly spread across major cities in Germany, reaching a circulation of two hundred thousand (Meggs, 1998, p.203). Publication in *Jugend* became a key stepping stone in any artist's career and by the First World War, *Jugend* was a "national institution", indicating that Krämer's career must have been well-established by this time (Lenman, 1982, p.24). Assumptions about the age, class and background of the readership can be drawn from the advertisements from the September 1916 edition. Among the adverts one can find Leibniz Keks (p.770) and Benz cars (p.770b) both of which are luxury products. Other products advertised include Steinway pianos (p.774), which indicates that the readers not only must have had enough money to buy a piano but the space in their homes in which to display it. The advertising also suggests that the readers were mature in age as Rodenstock's Perpha Brillengläser (p.770) and Kaiser Friedrich Quelle water "gegen Gicht, Rheumatismus, Blasen- Nieren- u. Gallenleiden" (p.774) are both products aimed at health problems often incurred with advancing age. The September 1916 edition of *Jugend* contains numerous references to the war: There is a full page illustration by Otto Flechtner called *Schwere Minenwerfer-Abteilung auf dem Marsche* (p. 763). The illustration shows German soldiers marching through a muddy, wintry field. There are also depictions of the home front such as a photograph of workers in the Rappmotorwerken in Munich (p.778). The stories and cartoons in the magazine are often political in nature such as the satirical cartoon (p. 776) mocking the then British Prime Minister Asquith and the cartoon, just three pages later, about the British response to American foreign policy. Further cartoons about

politics can be seen about the British exploiting neutral foreign countries (p. 781) and a selection of ironic short texts about the failings of British and French soldiers (p. 780) suggesting a great interest in international affairs. This audience must be kept in mind when considering the style and content of *Die Groteske* as it may have influenced Krämer's style.

*Die Groteske* begins with a female writer, the protagonist of the story, and a male editor talking in his office. He asks her if she is a "Spezialistin in Ehebruch". As she is recently divorced, this causes her some embarrassment. He, rather flustered, tries to explain that what he means is that her stories about adultery and babies are not really appropriate for his magazine. She states she is hungry and he gives her 10 marks. He explains that she is writing "Psychologie und Vertiefung" and that is not what his readers want; her work is more appropriate for a novel, when the reader has time to explore the story from cover to cover and not a magazine that readers peruse sporadically. He tasks her with writing "was Wildes, Tollwütiges, Verrücktes. Eine Groteske". With apprehension, the writer leaves the office and goes to a restaurant. She orders Makronen for dessert. While she is eating dessert, she sees a hungry boy staring in through the window. She beckons him in and gives him a few Makronen and an apple. He leaves and she, in her imagination, follows him. She imagines that, as a proletarian child, he must be almost envious of her, the "wealthy" woman. She stops herself as she has begun to tell a story rather than creating the Groteske the editor has requested. She re-imagines the scene. Rather than a hungry boy she imagines a starving proletarian who smashes the glass window and falls upon the food. He snakes his way over to the protagonist and consumes her food. In her imagination, she watches passively as he eats the meal that she only bought with borrowed money because she was "halbtot vor Hunger". She imagines the proletarian shouting communist slogans. She stops imagining and wonders if she has created a grotesque piece. Then she remembers that the editor said the piece must be "ganz verrückt" and that one can read backwards, forwards or even start in the middle. She orders a mocha coffee, lights a cigarette and opens her notebook. She writes about her thoughts swimming in an immense cauldron. They fight and bite one another until one old and giant thought with eyes like an owl screams "ich bin das Gewordene". Another thought stabs this old thought and the whole cauldron fills with blood. A little girl walks up to the cauldron, dips her finger in the blood and licks it. She says it tastes like her grandfather's "Himbeersaft". The protagonist sits for a while, contemplating her work but does not have any more ideas; she pays and leaves the restaurant. As she is leaving, she sees the daughter of the restaurant owner with her only child, a little girl. The little girl sees a blackbird on a balcony and says, in Bavarian dialect, the blackbird is a baby who cannot fly properly yet and is calling for his mother. The protagonist

says that it is a male bird calling for a female. The little girl says “Na soll’s der Teufel hol’n” and chases the bird away. When the protagonist reaches home, she writes a letter to the editor. She writes “Das Leben hat einen Sinn allüberall. Ich kann es nicht verrückt sehen und nicht wild und nicht tollütig. Und es tut mir aufrichtig Leid, daß Sie mir darauf zehn Mark gepumpt haben.”

*Die Groteske* continues to build on concerns about adult women in the public sphere but it was not just adult women who were seen as a cause for concern and this is reflected in the story. Girls entering puberty were also studied and viewed with caution. One of the most famous depictions of sexual awakening in German literature is that of Gretchen in Goethe’s *Faust*. Her loss of innocence is a central part of the narrative and depictions of her sitting at her spinning wheel, innocently and humbly waiting for Faust, were popular throughout the late nineteenth century (Ehrenpreis, 2004, p.486). Unlike Gretchen, trapped in her sphere of domesticity, other young girls were shown as depraved and corrupted by their urban environments. Girls in the city were seen as being able to use their sexual wiles for male attention and even to achieve upward social mobility (Ehrenpreis, 2004, p.495). The naiveté of a young girl about the process of puberty is key to the character of Wendla in Wedekind’s *Frühlings Erwachen* (1906), a work of expressionist literature by another writer who, like Krämer, lived in Munich. Wendla’s ignorance, imposed by her mother and wider societal norms, result in her being sexually assaulted by a boy in her school, becoming pregnant, and dying after an abortion without ever fully understanding what has happened (Ehrenpreis, 2004, p.496). Ignorance is fatal in Wedekind’s work and victimizes Wendla. *Die Groteske* also explores sexual awakening and puberty but the very different way in which it is handled will be discussed later.

*Die Groteske* is written in free indirect speech; articles analysing this literary style were popular in pre-First World War Germany, indicating that Krämer was using a popular, contemporary style (Pascal, 1977, p.22). Free indirect speech is a combination of the direct thoughts and actions of the protagonist expressed through indirect speech by the narrator. It can be best seen through the use of indirect speech to tell the reader, supposedly, what the character is thinking: “daß sie nichts weniger zu machen im Stande sei, als gerade das, was da von ihr verlangt wurde”. The narrator places him or herself directly in to the experiential field of the protagonist (Pascal, 1977, p.9). The narrator has a dual voice; he or she is expressing their own opinions but also the thoughts of the protagonist (Oltean, 1993, p.706). It allows loaded comments and irony in to the piece, something that *Die Groteske* is rich with (Pascal, 1977, p.136). The indirect speech may make the narrator appear to be an

authority on the events that they are narrating but they are actually providing a condensed interpretation of the protagonist's thoughts (Pascal, 1977, p.26). Furthermore, in free indirect speech, the narrator is able to represent the internal speech of the protagonist and external speech of the protagonist and other characters, and represent the protagonist's "spontaneous, non-reflective consciousness"; however, this is a representation and the difference between internal speech and "non-reflective consciousness" is not always clear (Oltean, 1993, p.710). This causes ambiguity and means the narrator cannot be fully trusted as they could be withholding information or presenting it with heavy bias.

*Die Groteske* is one of Krämer's most ambitious pieces and contains many different themes and threads. On one level it is about the conflict between artists and the market; the editor, representing the market forces, is dictating to the writer what kind of story she should write. The protagonist explores the process of trying to write what she has been told. As the editor is male and the protagonist female, this story could also be seen as an exploration of gender roles and power. The communist slogans shouted by the imaginary proletariat could also introduce the themes of wealth, power and politics. It is also a story about the creative process. Both the title of the story and the protagonist's attempts to create a grotesque piece connect this story to other works of grotesque literature but Krämer undermines this. The role of the protagonist in grotesque literature is important; he or she is often depicted as naïve and setting out on a quest but, rather than winning a fortune and growing as a person, the character is "systematically 'dismantled'" (Clark, 1991, p.14). The female writer in *Die Groteske* does not appear to fit this description at the outset. The initial depiction of her does indicate naiveté- she blushes easily and has a "leise" manner- but she quickly demonstrates that she is far more than simply naïve. The narrator tells us that she recognises her own limitations: "daß sie nichts weniger zu machen im Stande sei, als gerade das, was da von ihr verlangt wurde". Although she does not verbalise this until the end of the story, this could be an indication of self-awareness. She is not the typical hero who conquers evil; at the very worst, her letter to the editor could be labelled as cowardly. Furthermore her world view is not "systematically 'dismantled'" as she writes that she can find sense and meaning in her environment; however, as the incident with the starving boy suggests, poverty and hunger are pressing up against the edges of her world. She is potentially facing unemployment and her bourgeois world may be quickly dismantled. The mixture of themes within the story create tensions that are never fully resolved. The ways this reflects Krämer's own identity will be explored in this section of this chapter.

However, this entire story is also an extended metaphor for “passing”. The protagonist in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* uses passing to gain the protection of a higher class woman but *Die Groteske* explores the theme in more depth. In the case of *Die Groteske*, the protagonist uses borrowed money to pass as a bourgeois woman and attempts to create a grotesque piece. She is trying to pass as a respectable, bourgeois woman and as the kind of writer the editor wants her to be. Through an analysis of this story I will firstly explore the ways in which she tries to pass as a respectable bourgeois woman through her behaviour; from borrowing the money, to ordering the Makronen, even down to her re-imagining of events, she is trying to fit in with the world and is experiencing different emotions. Next the ways in which she is trying to pass as a “better” writer, that is, the kind of writer the editor wants, will be examined. The ending of this story will also be explored; by refusing to submit a grotesque piece to the editor, is she refusing to pass? What impact does this have on her statement that “Das Leben hat einen Sinn allüberall”? How this ending reflects Krämer’s identity struggles will then be examined.

Throughout *Die Groteske*, the protagonist seems to be hiding parts of who she is, as close to the beginning of the story, the reader learns that the protagonist is recently divorced. Before she even speaks, we are told by the narrator that she is a “junge, eben geschiedene Frau”. We have not yet been told that she is a writer and we are never given a description of her physical appearance or her name. We also learn nothing of her ex-husband; in neither her words nor her imagination, as narrated, is he mentioned. This suggests that perhaps she is hiding this part of herself, in an attempt to pass as a respectable, bourgeois woman. Similar to the protagonist in *Wenn man eine Frau ist*, she is a woman alone in the public sphere without a man to rely on for financial support. It is also suggested that she is uncomfortable about her marital status as she “wurde ein wenig rot” at the editor’s accidental suggestion she is a specialist in adultery. This suggestion gives a sense of underlying sexual tension in the opening exchange between the writer and the editor; he says she is a “Spezialistin in Ehebruch” followed by his clumsy and flustered attempt to explain what he means: “Pardon- natürlich- Sie verstehen- schriftstellerisch natürlich- das ist nicht mißzuverstehen, nicht wahr?” indicates that perhaps there is a latent sexual desire. Unlike the protagonist in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* who is threatened with unspecified sexual violence, the sexual tension in *Die Groteske* is comically awkward. The protagonist’s ability to persuade the editor to give her the money and her decision to use it give her a degree of control over her situation that the protagonist in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* did not have.

However, she seems to be experiencing shame when she takes the money from the editor: “Die Frau nickte hastig und nahm- wenn auch, wie man ihr ansehen konnte- nicht ohne Beschämung, das Geld”. Craftsmen are usually paid after they have completed their task in recognition of the value of the creation. Here, the protagonist seems more like a prostitute because the money is on the table before she has performed any “services”. This connects *Die Groteske* to *Wenn man eine Frau ist* as both use language associated with prostitution to explore women’s experiences in public space. However, the reader is simply being told she is ashamed so the possibility remains that she could be using the money to try out a different identity. By taking the money, and not talking about her divorce, she can play out the role of the respectable bourgeois woman. It is suggested that this idea of playing the part of a bourgeois woman is something she does often. She does not explicitly ask the editor for money; she merely states “Herr Redakteur, ich habe Hunger” and, in what is possibly an automatic response, he offers her the money. There is also no suggestion that she will pay this back and he does not state explicitly that it is an advance payment for her next story. She is using passing to access privileges rather than escape threats as the protagonist of *Wenn man eine Frau ist* did.

Passing is a metaphysical movement, as the subject wanting to pass moves from one identified group to another, but it also requires geographical movement; the subject wanting to pass must move away from everyone who knows “the truth” or the “real identity” of the subject (Ginsberg, 1996, p.3). The protagonist therefore must leave the office and the editor and venture out into the world in order to pass and so she goes to the restaurant. As discussed in the Introduction, “trespassing” is linked to passing because as the protagonist attempts to access the privileges and rights of one group she crosses a boundary. Throughout *Die Groteske*, the protagonist experiences discomfort and feels threatened by her environment once she has crossed into the bourgeois world. After she has ordered her food she “trommelte vor Ungeduld auf das Tischtuch, bis aufgetragen wurde”. The narrator tells us that she is only drumming her fingers due to impatience but this could be a misinterpretation and the protagonist is actually drumming out of nervousness. Even if she is drumming because she is impatient, she could be impatient because she wants to leave the restaurant quickly, before anyone notices that she does not truly belong. When she is waiting for her food to arrive her thoughts are occupied by “essen, essen”, which could simply be an indication of how hungry she was but it could also be another sign of her desire to leave quickly, thereby reflecting her unease at passing and at the threat of discovery.

Throughout *Die Groteske*, the protagonist uses her imagination to escape from, and to make sense of, her reality by creating a world that she can control. She imagines following the boy down the street, she imagines a starving proletarian, and she imagines the grotesque piece in the centre of the story. Yet even within her own imagination, she experiences unease. She describes thoughts, potentially her thoughts, swimming in a cauldron, tumbling and surging in chaos. This world might be under her control but it is far from calm; perhaps this is a reflection of her turmoil as she tries to pass. The imagined world actually mirrors her external world but inexactly: the hungry boy she feeds in the restaurant is re-imagined as a starving proletarian, and the imagined little girl who dips her finger into the cauldron is mirrored by the little girl who the protagonist encounters with the blackbird. The mirroring performs two functions within the story. Firstly, it is possibly an attempt by the protagonist to control her reality; she has no control over what the boy does so she recreates him. In a way, her recreation is an improvement for her; the proletarian might be more dangerous but he openly calls her bourgeois whereas the boy does not speak. She is therefore trying to bend reality to be compatible with her philosophy that “Das Leben hat einen Sinn allüberall”. Just as she is changing herself to fit in with the bourgeois world, so is she changing elements of that world in her imagination. The inexact mirroring also shows the splits in her own identity at the dangers she feels she is facing. The starving proletarian represents who the hungry boy could become; they are two sides of the same coin. The split nature of the boy/man reflects the split nature within her as she tries to be bourgeois, while simultaneously knowing she is not. It indicates her desire to use passing as a way to have a unitary identity even though she fears that she cannot.

In the restaurant, the protagonist uses the money to purchase items that will enable her to pass as bourgeois. We do not learn what food she has ordered until dessert when we are told that she orders Makronen. This suggests that her hunger has been sated and that ordering dessert is not a necessary expense; therefore, she is using this as a way to pass. If she were overly concerned with her finances, it would surely be better to forgo dessert and keep the remainder of the editor's money for another meal. For dessert, however, we are explicitly told that she has Makronen and at least one apple. Leaving the apple aside, the Makronen are seemingly a poor choice for dessert. If the protagonist really were “halb tot vor Hunger” or at least cannot afford food with her own money, it would surely be better to choose a dessert with more nutritional value than Makronen. However, Makronen are the “right” choice for a bourgeois woman because they are sugary, yet delicate, and are time-consuming to make. They are certainly a luxury dessert, perhaps providing a counterpoint to the debates about women's frivolous and dangerous wartime spending by indicating that

there are other reasons women might choose to buy luxury items. The protagonist has chosen to put her desire to pass ahead of the need to save money.

It is also during dessert that she sees the hungry boy at the window; the narrator tells us that the boy “stierte mit gierigen Augen durch die Fensterscheiben”. Firstly, he could be a representation of the world to which the protagonist really belongs or where she could end up. Like the protagonist, he is looking in at a world to which he does not belong but unlike her he does not have the resources to pass. After she has given him the apple and the Makronen he leaves because he has no right or reason to stay in the restaurant. If the protagonist continues to borrow money from the editor and to spend it so freely, then she may end up like the boy, forced to stare in at restaurants. When the boy leaves the restaurant, the protagonist’s imagination leaves with him and follows him down the street “das nun wohl die „reiche” Frau beneiden mochte. Die „reiche” Frau, sie, die von erborgtem Geld...”. The repetition of “reiche” in inverted commas each time emphasises her awareness she is not really rich. Furthermore the “nun wohl” reflects insecurity about whether the boy is really envious of her status; perhaps he is not envious as he has seen through her performance. In her imagination, as told by the narrator, there are indications that she has not passed. The boy also plays another role; he shows the reader the value of passing as wealthy. The benefits of being wealthy would not be clear if the protagonist were to be compared with other wealthy diners, but by the boy entering the restaurant, he shows that, despite the difficulties of passing, it is better to be within this privileged class rather than on the outside looking in. As is common in stories about passing, he serves as a reminder of how far she has come (Cutter, 1996, p.91). He also legitimises her performance as he provides her with the opportunity to play the role of “Lady Bountiful”. This is found in other stories about passing, including Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, where a mixed race slave attempts to pass for white and uses another slave to legitimise his performance (Stein, 1996, p.112). In order to pass, the protagonist needs a member of the former in-group to highlight the differences between Self and Other.

The protagonist then re-imagines the events with the boy as an angry proletarian smashing the window and consuming her food. In this scene, she is verbally attacked by the proletarian for being bourgeois: “Nieder mit diesen Bourgeoisdämchen, die sich mästen von unserer Hände Arbeit...”. In this version, she has successfully passed but she is being attacked for doing so; her passing is denounced as being at the expense of the less fortunate. This could be her acknowledging that she has not earned the money she is using to pass; it is a recurrence of the guilt or shame the narrator implied she was experiencing in

the office. The editor has worked to earn the money and she is using it to eat Makronen and grow fat. Furthermore, she is the only diner being attacked, possibly because she is the only diner who does not really belong. No diner intervenes and she does not appeal to them for help as maybe she fears that they recognise that she does not belong. Even under threat, she does not expose herself; when she imagines the proletarian eating the food she bought, she does not imagine herself protesting: “Und während er die Mahlzeit, die sie sich halbtot vor Hunger von gepumpten Geld hatte auftragen lassen, verzehrte”. She also describes herself as “halbtot vor Hunger”; in her imagination, the only reason why she took the money was to prevent herself from starving to death, not because she wanted the money. The conflict between wanting to pass and needing to pass is indicated to be present even in her imagination with the added emphasis that she would rather die than be exposed or reveal her “true” identity.

Finally, when she leaves the restaurant, the narrator ends the section somewhat abruptly: “Sie zahlte und ging Heim.” The length of this sentence is striking in comparison with the other, longer sentences surrounding it. It suggests that her leaving the restaurant is abrupt and quicker than her more languid mealtime. Perhaps she is leaving quickly before she can be exposed as she is only trying to pass as bourgeois. As this abrupt exit of the restaurant occurs directly after her most imaginative moments, she could have discovered that the adoption of a bourgeois identity cannot really contain all that she is; she is in danger of becoming trapped in one identity rather than being the complicated, multi-faceted being that she is. The little girl she encounters as she is leaving the restaurant supports her passing as bourgeois. The little girl calls out to the protagonist: “Sie gnä’ Frau, da schaun’s her”. The little girl identifies the protagonist as “gnädig”, a sign of respect and the appropriate address for a bourgeois woman and she also refers to her as Frau rather than the diminutive form of “Fräulein”. She asks the protagonist about the blackbird and accepts the explanation the protagonist gives for why the bird is crying. Unlike the editor and unlike the protagonist’s own fears, she sees the protagonist as a source of authority. Furthermore, the interaction also shows the dangers of what can happen when one’s true identity is discovered. The little girl is happy with the blackbird when she thinks it is a baby but as soon as it is revealed to be otherwise she chases it away. Likewise, the little girl is happy talking to a “gnädige Frau” but might react differently if she knew who the protagonist really was. As the protagonist writes to the editor immediately after this “Das Leben hat einen Sinn allüberall”, there seems to be a connection between these two events. Furthermore, no one has denounced the protagonist as being neither bourgeois nor the kind of writer she is trying to be; her

successful passing could be evidence to her that she can choose who she wants to be and therefore that the world does make sense.

The protagonist is not only passing as bourgeois but she is also trying to pass as a more commercially successful writer. In the opening interaction between the editor and the protagonist, the editor sets out both what kind of stories he believes the protagonist has created but he also sets out what kind of story he is looking for. By attempting to create the Groteske he has requested, the protagonist is attempting to pass as the kind of writer the editor is looking for. His description of her work is: "Dreimal Ehebruchsgeschichten" and "Babies"; the fact that he can group her recent creative output under these broad titles suggests that, at least in his mind, the stories are repetitive and indistinguishable from one another. As a female writer, the suggestion is that she is unable to produce anything other than pieces about relationships. The sense that the protagonist needs to pass as a "better" writer, the kind of writer the editor wants, is established when the editor says "Ich kann aber meine Leser nicht alle Tage damit füttern, nicht wahr?". His readers need greater sustenance and so, by implication, he cannot feed (or pay) the protagonist for producing the same stories. He compounds this sense when he says "Ihre Sachen sind nicht das was ich eigentlich suche, Psychologie und Vertiefung, ich bitte Sie!". This is deeply ironic as one would normally expect psychological depth to be the hallmark of great writing but the readers of this magazine and the editor will not be satisfied by this. The assumption is, in order to keep her job and pay, the protagonist needs to pass and write what the editor demands.

Despite the editor's demands, there is a great sense of resignation at the opening of *Die Groteske*. The opening sentence is "Der Redakteur zuckte bedauernd mit den Schultern". Before he even speaks to make his request to the protagonist, there is the impression that he has already given up and resigned himself to the fact that she will not produce what he wants. There is also a suggestion that he is infantilising her as he calls her "meine Liebe"; if he respected her work, it seems unlikely he would refer to her in this way. The narrator seemingly also expresses doubts about the protagonist's talent and ability with the statement "Die Frau hütete sich wohl zu sagen, was sie dachte, nämlich, daß sie nichts weniger zu machen im Stande sei, als gerade das, was da von ihr verlangt wurde". The narrator is reporting the protagonist's thoughts rather than quoting them directly but it is suggested that the protagonist is trapped; she is not in a position to refuse the editor's demands. However, this statement, coupled with the editor's patronising comments, leave the reader with the sense that the protagonist must produce a grotesque piece in order to

keep her job but also with the sense that she will be unable to do so; she will attempt to pass but she will fail.

Despite her attempts to pass and her concerns that she cannot, the protagonist attempts to subvert the reader's expectations: both the expectations that have been set up by the editor in the opening and the traditional prejudice that women's writing is always about relationships. By attempting to subvert these expectations, the protagonist is trying to pass as a "better" writer and she does this with the grotesque piece she creates, which shares many stylistic similarities with grotesque literature. The term grotesque originally described the wall paintings in Nero's Golden House which blended and fused "human, animal, vegetable, and mineral in eerie and nightmarish fashion" (Clark, 1991, p.18). The writer's imagining of Gedanken as swimming in a giant cauldron, with human-like speech and yet animal-like violence, mimics this grotesque fusion. The graphic description of gore also plays in to the role of satire in grotesque literature as the goal is to shock readers with attention-seeking devices (Clark, 1991, p.133). The little girl who dips her finger into the bloody cauldron seems to be performing an almost cannibalistic act, which is breaking one of human society's most ancient taboos (Clark, 1991, p.132). Despite her dissatisfaction with the piece, the writer has managed to create something which shares many stylistic elements with grotesque literature; she is passing as the kind of writer the editor is looking for.

The grotesque piece she creates also shares elements with the Grimms' fairy tales. Most notably, the cauldron is reminiscent of the witch's cauldron in Hänsel and Grethel. However, in this story, there is no witch trying to kill Grethel, or in this case the unnamed girl who appears at the end of the grotesque piece. "Grethel" instead is shown to be in charge and chooses to dip her finger in to the cauldron; she does not appear to be in danger.

Furthermore, elements of Grimms' fairy tales appear in other parts of *Die Groteske*. When the protagonist offers the Makronen, the reader is reminded of the witch's confectionary house in Hänsel and Grethel. However, as we do not know what happens to the boy once he leaves the restaurant, the Makronen do not seem to be directly luring the boy into harm and so the protagonist is mirroring these styles inexactly. This creates a sense of unease in the reader as our expectations of the story are subverted. This unease could be seen as a product of the protagonist having created a successful grotesque piece. On the other hand, it could be the unease of the protagonist blending with the mood of her creation. She is uneasy at passing, she knows she is not really this kind of writer, and that sense of unease feeds into her work.

Even as the protagonist attempts to pass as a “better” writer, there are moments when she fails to do this and fails to subvert our expectations. As she begins writing the grotesque piece she “zündete eine Zigarette an und schrieb in ihr Notizbuch”. Both cigarettes and pens or pencils are phallic objects. The protagonist could have perhaps waited until she returned home to use a typewriter or it may be that she needed to use what was to hand as inspiration struck. However, the cigarette is not essential to the physical act of writing. By lighting a cigarette, is she attempting to appropriate male power in order to pass as a commercially successful writer? Just as she ordered an unhealthy dessert to pass as bourgeois, is she using cigarettes to play the role of a writer? By playing this part, she could be trying out another identity; she has also decided to write in the restaurant, a public space, rather than in her home, the private, domestic sphere usually associated with women. This gives further credence to the idea that she is performing these identities as, at home, no one would know who she is pretending to be. At home she would also be safe from the threats of being discovered to be less than what she is passing as. These props are therefore her defensive weapons in a world that threatens to expose her.

Despite her appropriation of male power through phallic objects, the protagonist continues to write about relationships. The grotesque piece may use many of the stylistic elements of grotesque literature but it is still, fundamentally, about relationships; at the end of her grotesque writing, the protagonist writes about a little girl dipping her finger into the cauldron. The writing ends with: “Heute gibt’s Himbeersaft bei Großpapa, autsch, der schmeckt fein...” The grotesque piece has concluded with a girl talking about her grandfather which connects her both to the world of the domestic and reminds the reader about families. The cauldron can of course be interpreted as a representation of the womb; the cauldron is shown as seething with life and blood. When the girl dips her finger into the cauldron, this could be a metaphor for her sexual awakening. When she calls it “Himbeersaft”, a red, blood-like liquid, this could represent her ignorance at what is happening to her body as she reaches maturity. The protagonist might not be writing about babies but she is still writing about growing up. That she stops writing at this point suggests that she is also aware of this and that she has realised she is unable to fulfil the editor’s demands. By not being able to pass as the writer the editor is looking for, she is exposing herself to financial insecurity.

Finally, at the end of *Die Groteske*, the protagonist returns home and decides not to send the piece to the editor. “Home” in many stories about passing, is a “mythical place of coherent identity” which turns out to be “a phantasm” (Ginsberg, 1996, p.11). She returns

to her original class identity as she writes to the editor about the money he has lent her and states that she cannot and will not write what he wants. The consequences of her actions are ambiguous; she might have returned to a coherent identity but she cannot remain there. One of the key features of satiric form is the anticlimactic ending (Clark, 1991, p.51). The ending of *Die Groteske* appears abrupt and unfulfilling; the writer may have written to her editor but we do not discover if he will accept what he could deem as a refusal to write what he wants. He has already stated that her work is inappropriate for a weekly magazine so he could choose not to publish her work or pay her. As she has previously borrowed money from him in order to eat and she is recently divorced, it suggests she is dependent on this income to survive. She may have stood her ground by refusing to bow to his creative demands but the ending is far from a happy, satisfying resolution. The protagonist may be answering the editor's question from the beginning of the story, "Können Sie denn gar nichts anderes machen?", in the affirmative. However, her letter to the editor may have been a conscious rejection of the editor's demands. She could be refusing to pass; by this refusal, she is refusing to become trapped in the identity that he has demanded of her. This could be seen as recognition that there is no essential self behind all the guises and roles that the protagonist plays. This also further supports the unfulfilling ending of the story; by refusing to play by the rules, the protagonist calls the social structure into question. She might assert that "Das Leben hat einen Sinn allüberall" but her actions do not support this. She has not offered any solution to the dangers of her world which perhaps is a deliberate attempt to encourage the readers to question their own lives and what they would do in the protagonist's place.

Similar to the protagonist of *Wenn man eine Frau ist*, the protagonist in *Die Groteske* uses passing to escape the dangers in the world around her. For the protagonist of *Die Groteske*, the threats she faces are mainly economic but there is the sense of violence of a sexual nature, possibly because she is from a lower class background than the bourgeois woman of *Wenn man eine Frau ist*. In *Die Groteske*, the protagonist seems unsettled by her choice to use passing; she is both uneasy at passing successfully and concerned about whether passing forces her into one identity, thereby reducing who she is. We can also see that the historical context of the time in which the stories were written has affected the narrative. No one in the restaurant thinks the protagonist is a prostitute for dining alone and she is "gnä' Frau" rather than "das Fräulein" as the protagonist of *Wenn man eine Frau ist* was called. This could be an indication of the greater freedoms afforded to middle class women during the First World War; as men were away, so women had to appear in public alone and their profile was raised through their welfare work. *Die Groteske* also functions as a wider

satire; with its shocking and disgusting high point in the restaurant and anti-climactic ending, the story as a whole is actually a grotesque. This is Krämer demonstrating her skill as a creative writer and proving that she can produce marketable pieces. However, the tensions and conflicts surrounding the protagonist's passing could be a reflection of the tensions within Krämer herself as she tried to pass as a creative writer and a bourgeois woman. The economic worries expressed throughout the story could equally have been influenced by Krämer's war work with impoverished women and an increased awareness about how easy it was for women to fall into poverty.

### *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten (Der Gerade Weg, 1933)*

As discussed in the Introduction, Krämer's sense of self was tied to events and stability within Germany. The final analysis of a short story in this chapter will enable a chance to explore how Krämer responded to the Third Reich in her stories. *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten* is also listed as undated in the Leo Baeck Institute archive as all that remains is a clipping of part of the page where it was published. However, in the bottom left hand corner, there is an advertisement encouraging readers to tell their friends to subscribe to "Der Gerade Weg". *Der Gerade Weg* was published between 1931 and 1933 and copies are available at [www.gerlich.com](http://www.gerlich.com). By examining every edition of this publication, it was possible to establish that *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten* was published on page 14 of the 8<sup>th</sup> March 1933 edition. *Der Gerade Weg* was founded by Catholic journalist and political activist Fritz Gerlich, who lived in Munich, with the aim of fighting against both left wing and right wing extremism. By 1932, the weekly paper had a circulation of over 100,000 (Hoeft, c2015). It is unclear if Krämer knew Gerlich personally but they moved in similar circles, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis she was familiar with many in the publishing world in Munich, so it certainly seems possible. Even a cursory glance at *Der Gerade Weg* reveals the deeply satirical nature of this publication because the front pages are covered in cartoons and headlines such as "Hat Hitler Mongolenblut?" from 17<sup>th</sup> July 1932. Publishing in *Der Gerade Weg* was an openly political act and one that came with severe consequences; Fritz Gerlich was arrested and murdered in Dachau in 1934. This is also the last dated and published short story by Krämer I have discovered. For Krämer, who as discussed earlier was cautious about becoming involved with radical groups, to involve herself with something as radical as *Der Gerade Weg* can only be seen as a reflection of her unease at the political climate in Germany. Her contribution to this publication must therefore be viewed in this light.

The first few months of 1933 were marked by violence and arrests; in February the Reichstag was burned, 10,000 communists were arrested, and political parties and trades unions were banned. Jews were not immediately singled out but if a suspected communist or trade unionist were Jewish, their punishment was more severe (Kaplan, 1998, p.18). Werner Cahnman writes that more than 600 Jews emigrated from Munich in the first part of 1933, signalling the beginning of the decline of the Munich Jewish community (1989, p.88). Jews began to be forced out of their professions, which disproportionately affected women who could not claim protected status on the grounds of being veterans as some Jewish men could (Kaplan, 1998, p.27). Women were also more affected by the increasing hostilities and threats from neighbours with whom they had formerly been on good terms. Kaplan explains that women were more likely to have close ties with their neighbourhood and community, having been involved in local volunteer work. Furthermore, as women usually carried out daily household chores, they were more likely to interact with local bureaucrats such as post office workers, ticket inspectors and teachers, which exposed them to the injustices of increasingly state sanctioned anti-Semitism (1998, p.39). Krämer, who was still working in the department store, would have most likely witnessed these changes in her daily life even though her “non-Jewish sounding name” could have initially afforded her some protection. It is in this atmosphere that Krämer produced *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten*.

This is another story that is narrated by the protagonist but unlike *Wenn man eine Frau ist* or *Die Groteske*, it is possible to locate the setting of the story as Munich. The *Englische Garten* of the title is the name of a park in Munich, and the protagonist mentions several different streets and areas in Munich, including Bogenhausen and Hiltensbergerstraße which are located about five kilometres north of Trautenwolfstraße (located on what is the Museuminsel today) where the Krämers lived. Krämer has chosen to place the threats and danger close to her own world instead of a far away village or an unnamed town. The protagonist is a woman who is walking home in the early evening. She tells us that it is still light as she enters the English Garden but by the time she reaches the Chinese tower it is dark. She hears footsteps behind her and a man approaches her. He asks her if she knows the way to Hiltensbergerstraße. She does and realises that this is in the same direction as she is heading. She is presented with three options: he can walk ahead of her or behind her and she will have the risk of not knowing where he is and running into him or him into her, or they can walk together. She decides that it is for the best if they walk together through the park. He immediately asks her whether she is afraid that, for example, he will shove her in the bushes and steal her handbag. Privately she acknowledges that she is afraid and quietly removes the twenty mark note from her bag and puts it in her coat pocket but she

only says "Ach was!" to the man. She tries to convince him that a storage building for the park is a police station but he seems occupied by other thoughts. He wants to persuade her to admit that she is afraid: "Er habe- erklärt er- nämlich noch niemals einen Menschen so rasche, kleine Schritte machen sehen, wie mich". She attempts to distract him by asking if he is a medical student "Er ist zwar- so vermute ich- ein ungelernter Arbeiter, aber mit Speck fängt man Mäuse". He eventually admits "er wäre im ,kaufmännischen Beruf". It grows darker and "Alle Augenblicke stößt er an mich hin" which she says could be because of the dark. She tries to keep him walking to the left so that he does not push her onto the metal fence which would "break her leg and neck". He tells her that he loves the darkness and she replies "vielleicht mögen junge Leute die Dunkelheit im Englischen Garten ,was mir betrifft..." but then she sees the streetlight by the insurance building and knows she has come through the park safely. The man sets off to Hiltensbergerstraße and she finally allows the fear she was suppressing to come out "und laut schlägen meine Zähne aufeinander". A few days later she reads in the paper about a robbery and murder and cannot relax until she has been to the police station to see if it was the man she encountered in the park. She examines the wanted posters and sees that it was not him. She concludes: "Die Geschichte ist aus. Wäre vielleicht noch anzufügen, daß es am Ende nichts schaden könnte, wenn der Magistrat für bessere Beleuchtung sorgte im ,Englischen Garten' "

The setting of this story is significant as not only is it identifiable but the danger the protagonist faces has moved into the city albeit in the wilder park. Unlike the forest of *Wenn man eine Frau ist*, this park is the ordered nature of the country house garden and yet within this order, the protagonist encounters danger. The story also takes place at sunset: "Als ich von Bogenhausen kam und in den Englischen Garten einbog, war es noch leidlich hell, aber bis ich den Chinesischen Turm erreicht hatte, war die Dunkelheit rasch eingefallen". The rising darkness matches the increasing danger she faces in the park and references to "Dunkelheit" and "Finsternis" increase as the story progresses and she journeys deeper into the park. The reference to the Chinese tower is also significant, as it is both a genuine landmark in the park but also a reference to exotic danger. The use of "Eastern" styles in architecture in Europe can be seen through the lens of Orientalism; as westerners fetishize that which is Other, the East. According to Orientalism, the East is set up in direct opposition to the West with directly opposing values. Whereas sex and sexuality in the West was traditionally socially regulated and controlled, the East was seen as a place of sensuality and sexual possibility (Bozdogan, 1986, p.50). The East therefore becomes seen as Other and consequently dangerous because the sexual norms and institutions of the West are not in place. The Chinese tower in the park can be seen as a representation of this

exotic, sexual Other place, which means that the protagonist is under threat. Once she reaches the city, light returns: “da fällt der helle Strahl der Bogenlampe” and the poetic use of “Strahl” indicates radiance and almost holy light. The threatening man leaves her but, just as the darkness surrounds the light, she is not really free of him as he has just disappeared into the city; he is still out there.

Furthermore, unlike in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* and *Die Groteske*, the protagonist is threatened by one man rather than the scores of men the protagonist in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* faces or the nameless individuals surrounding the protagonist in *Die Groteske*. This, when coupled with the named location, makes the threat seem very specific. The story is not universal, unlike the other works discussed in this chapter, and yet, as the protagonist is undescribed and nameless, the story still retains a degree of universality. The battle the protagonist faces is longer as she has one foe, whom she tries to outwit and out-charm, and the dialogue between her and the unnamed man forms the majority of the story. The title of this story is ironic; a “Spaziergang” suggests a pleasurable activity and perhaps even a bourgeois promenade but the terrifying ordeal the protagonist faces is the opposite. The analysis of this story will focus on the different ways he threatens her during the course of this dialogue and how she attempts to defend herself.

From the moment the man approaches the protagonist she is unsettled by him: “Ich hörte hinter mir Schritte auf dem Kies knirschen und schon stand ein Mensche neben mir und fragte ganz nah an meinem Gesicht, ob ich ihm sagen könne, wo die Hiltensbergerstraße sei”. In the manner of classic horror, the protagonist has heard the threat before she has seen it, highlighting her helplessness and heightening the sense of danger. The man has also materialised into her personal space without warning and the protagonist does not seem able to respond. The man’s words are presented in reported speech which can be seen to give the narrator (our protagonist) a degree of control as she filters his words through her narration. Her words are presented in direct speech: “„Ja,’ antworte ich, ,ich weiß schon wo die Hiltensbergerstraße ist’”. However, this control seems to be slipping as his words slide in and out of reported speech: “„So in Schwabing?’- ob es hier nach der Schwabinger Richtung gehe?”. Regardless of her intent, she cannot control her presentation of his words and therefore she cannot control him. The incidences of his speech as direct speech increase as the story progresses and as he is perceived as more dangerous.

The protagonist's uncertainty is also indicated through her interior monologue which is full of long sentences that discuss her various options, perhaps showing she is unsettled and unsure about how she should proceed:

„Jaa'- dehne ich meine Antwort und erwäge einen Augenblick, daß es mir unerträglich sein werde, wenn der Fremde nun in der tiefen Dunkelheit neben mir hergehe, oder hinter mir, und daß ich vielleicht an ihn hinrenne oder er an mich, und ich finde, daß es dann schon am besten ist, er geht gleich mit mir, und ich sage darum: ja gewiß, ich ginge nach Schwabing und er könne mitkommen

As soon as they start, he begins to make statements that lead the reader and the protagonist to explore the specific nature of the threat he poses: "Er meint: wenn er nun aber einer schlimme Absichten habe, mich hier zum Beispiel ins Gebüsch stoße, um mir etwa das Handtäschchen zu entreißen?- so etwas lese man immerfort". The repetition of "etwa" and "etwas" indicates that stealing her bag is only one example of the terrible things he could do to her. Furthermore, the fact that he mentions pushing her into the bushes suggests an underlying sexual threat as he could surely take her bag without pushing her off the path. Moreover, he comments on her style of walking: "Er habe- erklärt er- nämlich noch niemals einen Menschen so rasche, kleine Schritte Machen sehen wie mich". He uses this as evidence that she is afraid but, by commenting on her walking speed, he is also commenting implicitly on her body which underlines the unspoken sexual threat that he poses. Finally, towards the end of the story, he knocks against her while walking: "Alle Augenblicke stoßt er an mich hin. Es kann aber daher kommen, daß man wirklich nicht die Hand vor den Augen sieht, und es muß einer wohl schwanken, der den Weg nicht so genau kennt wie ich". She gives him the benefit of the doubt but when he states that "er liebe die Dunkelheit" which indicates that he is comfortable in the dark and perhaps he spends much of his time in the dark, we must assume that he is purposefully knocking into her. This also highlights that the protagonist is weaker; he is a predator adapted to the dark and she is merely trying to pass through.

Now that the threat has become specified, the protagonist has a range of responses to the man. She firstly protects her money: "Ich habe einen Zwanzigmarkschein und etwas Kleingeld in der Handtasche; greife ganz sachte hinein, entnehme ihr den Schein und stecke ihn in die Manteltasche". Carrying a handbag is a symbol of her bourgeois status but her emptying it suggests that she is willing to sacrifice it in order to escape. This is therefore

noticeably different from the protagonist in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* who kept her bag even though it impeded her. This suggests that the protagonist of *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten* is willing to abandon class markers as she is not depending on the social contract to protect her because it has already been broken. She then begins to lie to the man in order to make him feel less safe: “Uebrigens da- da links von uns, gleich hier in nächster Nähe, das kleine Haus, das wäre eine Polizeistation, ob er das wisse? (Es ist im Leben keine Polizeistation, sondern Aufbewahrungsort für allerlei Gerätschaften, die sie im Englischen Garten benötigen)”. The protagonist shows her bourgeois status again; as a respectable woman she can expect the police to protect her. Her lie does not work as he does not appear deterred by the idea that the police are nearby. She changes tack: “Darauf überrasche ich ihn mit der Bemerkung: ob er vielleicht Student der Medizin sei? Er ist zwar- so vermute ich- ein ungelernter Arbeiter, aber mit Speck fängt man Mäuse”. She is both unsettling him with the rapid change of topic and attempting to distract him with flattery and charm. She continues this charm offensive with: “ich vermute darum, daß er Mediziner wäre, weil er so gute Beobachtungsgabe an den Tag lege”. This distraction appears to work as he repeats “So, so, Student” several times before finally responding: “er wäre im ,kaufmännischen Beruf’”. The use of quotation marks around his job suggests that perhaps the protagonist does not believe him and that perhaps only a lower class man could behave in this manner towards a respectable woman like her. She is not trying to pass as a woman of higher status but she is using her class and upbringing to distract him and dissuade him from attacking her. By distracting him, she has bought herself more time to reach the other side of the park.

Once she is through the park, the man leaves her: “Da bleibt der Mann auf einmal stehen und sagt: ,Wissen’s wo d’Hiltensbergerstraße is. Bei der Josefskirch’n is die’ und geht davon”. Now they are out of the park and under the streetlights, he does not ask her any more questions and has begun to speak in dialect. He has changed from the unidentifiable man to a local man who is trying to be on his way. In this way, he has ceased to be a threat. However, the abrupt manner of his exit is not reassuring to the reader; he might not have attacked the protagonist this time but he is still out there. We are reminded of this in the concluding paragraph to this story: “ein Mann werde gesucht, ein vielfacher Raubmörder, er habe in der gestrigen Nacht hier in der Stadt ein Verbrechen verübt”. When the protagonist goes to the police station, she learns that it is not the man she encountered in the park but this just adds to the reader’s unease; how many threatening men are there waiting in the dark in Munich? Unlike the protagonist of *Wenn man eine Frau ist*, the protagonist here has not been saved by a man; she has had to rely on her own wits and, for now, she is safe.

The protagonist then reaches her conclusion: “Die Geschichte ist aus. Wäre vielleicht noch anzufügen, daß es am Ende nichts schaden könnte, wenn der Magistrat für bessere Beleuchtung sorgte im ‚Englischen Garten‘”. The suggestion to improve the lighting seems like an afterthought thrown in due to the lack of a better solution to the problem of sexual violence and predatory men. By concluding this unnerving story in such a careless fashion, the reader is prompted to explore other solutions to the problem, for example, better transportation or a police presence in the park. This analysis has, of course, explored the story as a self-contained work but, as it was published in 1933, it is impossible not to view the work as an allegory for the Nazi threat that women like Krämer faced. The man in the story is lower class, as many in the SA were, and initially seems not to be from Munich (for example he asks for directions and does not seem to know his way through the park), which possibly represents the successes of the NSDAP in rural areas. The inability of the police to protect the protagonist from strange men and to protect the city from murderers could also be a commentary on the police in late Weimar Germany who did not step in to protect Jewish Germans from anti-Semites. The protagonist’s suggestion that better lighting could solve this problem could be a quest to shine a light on the activities of the NSDAP and demonstrate to Germany and the world what was happening to German citizens. The threats that the protagonist faces in this story have become specific in nature, possibly reflecting the specific nature of the threats that Krämer was facing.

The difficulties experienced by women in the public sphere was a theme that Krämer returned to again and again over the course of her career. This suggests that it was of great importance to her and, as a woman and as a Jew, she would have been vulnerable to a greater number of threats than non-Jewish men. In *Wenn man eine Frau ist* the threats are located in an unnamed rural area and the protagonist has to rely on the protection of men through the unspoken agreement that respectable men will protect bourgeois women. By the time of *Die Groteske*, it was possible for women to move alone in the public sphere without being mistaken for a prostitute but women still struggled to have economic independence from men. Additionally the threat of revolution and the dangers of failing to earn a living are present. By the time of the Third Reich, the threats facing Jewish women have crystallised and we can see the beginning of that in *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten*. Her protagonists attempt to use their class status or to appropriate a higher class status to protect themselves but even though this seems to work, the protagonists struggle with the fear of exposure or that a man will not respect the boundaries of class. The threats also lead the protagonists to question their identities; the protagonist in *Wenn man eine*

*Frau ist* questions the dangers posed by her gender identity and in *Die Groteske* the protagonist questions her identity as a writer and her class. Krämer never poses a single solution to these threats; she uses her Märchen style to give an unsatisfactory conclusion to the story and to prompt the reader to create their own alternatives and, in so doing, she is starting a debate that is still relevant today. Furthermore, through appropriating the Märchen, she is demonstrating her credentials as a German writer by connecting her work to the work of the Grimms. Similar to her appropriations of Marx, Spinoza, Heine, et al discussed in Chapter One, Krämer has appropriated the Grimms in her stories in an attempt to find a cohesive outlook and therefore a cohesive identity. While it is possible to argue that her lack of a satisfactory conclusion is a reflection of the tensions within her German Jewish identity, it can also be seen that she is using these tensions to explore her world and search for solutions.

As discussed in Chapter One, Krämer was very involved with the Jewish women's movement, which propagated the idea of spiritual motherhood. The next chapter will develop the exploration of the role of women examined in this chapter by analysing stories related to the theme of spiritual motherhood. The female characters related to this theme are sometimes alone and in the public sphere but they do not face the threats described in this chapter because they are able to use spiritual motherhood to guide and educate those around them to create a better society. However, similar to Krämer's concerns discussed in Chapter One, she struggles with defining what kind of education she is advocating, how to balance Germanness and Jewishness, and she is insecure about the limits of education.

## Chapter Three: Spiritual Motherhood

### ***Allerlei Kinder: Die unvorsichtige Barbara* (unpublished, undated)**

Wenn Barbara zur Schule geht

Dann spricht die Mutter immer:

Bleib' Du hübsch auf dem Bürgersteig

Geh' auf die Straße nimmer;

Chapter Two explored the experiences of women alone in the public sphere who were subjected to threats and whose status was often unclear. This chapter explores the experiences of women who have a clear function in Krämer's fiction as wives, mothers or teachers and the importance that Krämer placed on these roles. As discussed in Chapter One, Krämer's role as an activist within the women's movement was a cornerstone of her identity, but she also struggled to unite it with her identity as a creative writer. She also found it difficult to find her place within the movement, feeling the fractures of age and politics acutely. This chapter will explore her identity as a Jewish women's activist through her short stories and argue that she was unable to fully embrace this identity due to the tensions within herself. It is another example of Krämer adopting parts of an ideology to piece together with other fragments in order to have a cohesive philosophy and a cohesive self. As with so much of her work, many of the pieces that will be analysed in this chapter are unpublished and or undated so it is hard to explore if her responses to women's issues changed over time. However, we can examine how the stories use the idea of spiritual motherhood and, when this is viewed in light of her articles from the JFB, we can gain an insight into the roles that Krämer ascribed to women and therefore how she saw her own role in society. This chapter will explore three of her short stories: *Getauft*, which was published in *Ost und West* in 1913, *Märchen*, which is from an unknown publication and undated, and *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr*, from *Welt und Leben* but undated. These three stories have been selected because they cover three main approaches towards motherhood: *Getauft* is about an actual mother, *Märchen* steps into the realm of spiritual motherhood with a female teacher educating a class of young children, and *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr* broadens this theme further with the power of invoking the name of the mother. By examining the stories in this order, it is possible to draw a picture of the pervasive power of motherhood in Krämer's works.

As discussed in Chapter One, Krämer was involved in educating Jewish women and girls. Her dedication to education can also be seen in her short stories: *Erziehung* (unpublished and

undated) is about a grandmother helping her granddaughter with her homework and criticising the child for not paying enough attention and having poor posture. In nineteenth-century Germany, Jewish women were expected to instil *Bildung* into their children and to deter them from practices that were attributed to Jews by anti-Semites (Kaplan, 1991, p.55). Anti-Semites often described Jews as being sickly and deformed so the grandmother's concern could be an attempt to prevent this (Kaplan, 1991, p.56). Additionally, Krämer's *Die Purimgeschichte* (also undated and unpublished), which is the story of Purim as narrated by children, can be seen as an attempt to educate children in Jewish customs and traditions. *Die neue Puppe* (unpublished and undated) is a story of a young girl, Yolantha, who wants a talking doll for Christmas. Her wealthy parents buy the most expensive doll but Yolantha is unhappy because it is not the one she actually wanted, which is cheaper. Although the doll is a Christmas present, which suggests that Yolantha comes from a Christian family, many German Jews also celebrated Christmas as a German cultural festival and Krämer has picked such an unusual, and "foreign" sounding, name in Yolantha that perhaps she is indicating that Jewish mothers could apply the lessons of this story to their own children and not spoil them with expensive gifts when, by listening to their child's requests, a cheaper one is desired. The representations of women as educators and enforcing cultural norms will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter.

Krämer explored women's roles as more than merely educational in her stories. *Märchen* (published but undated) is about a female teacher explaining the difference between lies and fairy tales and she tries to clarify the situation without removing all the magic from the stories. This story will be analysed later. *Aufklärung* (1913, published in the *Sonntagsbeilage zum Hannoverschen Courier*) is a fictionalised account of her nieces and nephews discussing where babies come from. Werner, as the eldest, is asked by the other children and firmly states that the stork brings them. He whispers to the narrator that he knows that is not true but he lied because "das ist nichts für so kleine Kinder". We can assume that he wanted to protect his siblings from harsh realities and let them have some magic for a little longer. The narrator does not intervene and correct his lie, leading us to reach the conclusion that, while education is important, it should not come at the expense of disillusionment and the loss of magic. This will be explored later in this chapter.

Before the outbreak of the First World War, many women advocated for non-violent solutions to political problems on the basis that women were instinctively nurturing and that the continued exclusion of women, and their supposedly innate moral impulse for peace, from political power could result in war (Sharp, 2013, p.2). As discussed previously,

Krämer's stated approach to pacifism was influenced by Kantian notions of cosmopolitanism, but we can see the influence of other female pacifists in her writing. In the aforementioned *Erziehung*, the grandmother loses patience with her cheeky grandchild and boxes her ears. The child's mother enters the story and gently admonishes her daughter: "So garstig soll man nicht reden, das muß ja der Großmama ja weh tun". Instead of perpetuating the violent actions of the grandmother with either violent words or deeds, the mother has explained correct behaviour. The grandmother concludes: "ich beabsichtige meine Enkelkinder niemals zu züchtigen, weil sich das erstens von einer Großmutter nicht gehört, zweitens überhaupt nicht". The calming power of the mother has resolved this situation and educated both child and grandmother. This indicates that pacifism starts at home and familial relationships are a microcosm for war (Loentz, 2007, p.137). This is an idea which will be continued in Chapter Five in the analysis of *Die Rauferei*. The reader is left with a sense that justice has been restored all the more effectively because it is a non-violent restorative justice rather than a biblical "eye for an eye" justice. Krämer was concerned about justice but also empathy for wrongdoers in stories such as *Der arme Balthasar* (which is about a man who murders his brother and is unpublished) and *Die Mutter* (from 1924, which is about thieves). Women are purveyors of justice in other stories such as *Getauft* and *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr* (both of which will be analysed in this chapter). Even in Krämer's lighter pieces, mothers are powerful forces that restore balance. In her farcical piece *Lilienmilch und Rosenwasser* (from *Jugend*, 1922), it is the mother that comes to the little girl's aid and explains to the pharmacist what the child is asking for. In Krämer's creations, mothers or mother figures are the fulcrum around which the story moves.

Many of the stories that approach the theme of motherhood can be seen in a similar light to Hoffmann's 1845 book *Struwwelpeter*. These verses were about children not obeying adults' warnings and the horrible consequences the child experienced as a result. Krämer's poem "Allerlei Kinder", quoted at the start of this chapter, can be seen as a similar series of cautionary tales: Barbara learns not to run into the road, Hansel learns to brush his hair, Fred learns to get up when he is told, and so on. *Struwwelpeter* was created to teach bourgeois children what would happen to them if they did not conform to bourgeois social norms (Zipes, 2001, p.152). We can see how this might appeal to Krämer as a Jewish woman who was concerned about instilling bourgeois values in her household (and specifically to her nieces and nephews). It is both a chance to demonstrate the values of *Bildung* and to deter behaviour that might attract the attention of anti-Semites. *Struwwelpeter* was also read by adults to children and therefore had to appeal to their values (p.153). Therefore, the

short stories that Krämer produced that were published for an adult audience can still be seen to be a part of the cautionary tale tradition. Zipes has argued that the consequences that children received as a punishment for not doing as they were told are logical but extreme in *Struwwelpeter* (p.153). As will be discussed in this chapter, Krämer's stories do not always fit this pattern. Like her appropriation of the Grimms' Märchen discussed in the previous chapter, Krämer can be seen to be subverting the traditions of the cautionary tale, either because she feels that it is too constricting or as a deliberate rebellion against convention. Hoffmann created *Struwwelpeter* to pass on the lessons he learnt from his overbearing father to his son (p.153). Krämer, as both a woman without children and as a woman well-versed in the ideas of spiritual motherhood, may well be breaking the conventions to create a cautionary tale that reflected her values and experiences but still using the style that would have been familiar to so many of her readers. Examples of how and where Krämer subverts cautionary tales will be discussed in this chapter.

### *Getauft (Ost und West, 1913)*

*Getauft* was published in the monthly magazine *Ost und West* in 1913, which was, according to David Brenner, the second most widely read Jewish periodical in the pre-War period (1993, p.176). As discussed in Chapter One, *Ost und West* was published between 1901 and 1923 as a celebration of Jewish art and culture. It regularly featured essays, short stories, photographs, illustrations and folklore and it is estimated that German Jewish women, like Krämer, formed a large portion of its readership (Brenner, 1993, p.178). Supportive articles about the Jewish women's movement and their charitable works can also be found in this magazine (p.179). In the January 1913 edition, where we find *Getauft*, there is also an article by Stephanie Forchheimer (another contributor to *Die Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes*) titled "Jüdisch-soziale Frauenarbeit in Frankfurt a.M." (Forchheimer, 1913, pp.67-68). *Ost und West* often published satirical pieces about assimilationist Berlin Jews, viewing them as nouveaux riches abandoning their culture in their desire to fit in, so Krämer's story about the conflicting messages surrounding conversion seems to fit this agenda (Brenner, 1993, p.184). However, as we will see from a detailed analysis of Krämer's story, there remains a deep-seated ambivalence towards conversion and open declarations of Judaism possibly because Krämer herself struggled to position her ideas into mainstream Jewish discourse. Furthermore, this story remains Krämer's only known contribution to *Ost und West*, which could be a reflection of her uncertainty towards the politics of the publication. It could be argued that Krämer wanted to devote her time to the women's movement but, as shown in Chapter One, she continued to publish in Jewish publications that were not solely focussed

on the women's movement. The articles published outside the BJFB lend credence to the idea that it was a matter of political and ideological differences that led to her not publishing in *Ost und West* again. Yet despite Krämer's ambivalence towards Judaism, we can see a confidence in her ideas about motherhood.

*Getauft* starts with a nine-year-old boy, Viktor Cron, returning from school and telling his mother about how he and another boy, Bendiner, beat up two other boys for shouting "Jud" at them. His mother states that "Buben müssen sich nichts gefallen lassen" but rapidly changes the subject to his Latin classwork. Then Viktor asks his mother about why Jews are accosted: "Du Mutti, es ist doch gewiss keine Schande, wenn einer ein Jude ist und überhaupt, er kann doch nichts dafür. Und warum eigentlich schimpft man sie?" His mother explains that it is because Jews are the minority and "die Minoritäten haben immer von den Majoritäten, von der Mehrzahl, zu leiden". She gives the example that if they had a Prussian in the class then calling someone "Preuss" would become an insult. "Ja oder, Saupreuss" her son agrees. Later that evening, Viktor tells his mother that his friend Bendiner's grandfather knew his grandparents and said that they were Jews but that Viktor's parents were raised "ohne Religion" and Viktor was raised a Protestant. His mother agrees that this is true, prompting Viktor to ask why, if it is not shameful to be Jewish, he was raised Protestant. His mother replies: "gewiss ist es keine Schande, aber sieh mal, man hat's doch leichter im Leben, wenn man eben nicht Minorität ist". Her son reminds her of the fun he had fighting earlier in the day and she states: "aber es gibt so viel zu kämpfen und es gibt eben Kämpfe die weniger aussichtslos sind". Two days after this discussion, Viktor falls from a ladder during gym class and dies. His Jewish friend Bendiner visits Viktor's mother and tells her "mein Grossvater hat noch gestern abend gesagt, wenn der Cron stirbt, dann ist es Sündenschuld, weil Sie ihn haben taufen lassen". Frau Cron attempts to reassure him that no one knows that for sure and "Man tut so, wie man es für am besten hält". He then asks her to confirm that Viktor will be buried in the protestant graveyard, which she does, and then she says "Ach mein Junge, das ist ja jetzt alles gleich". Bendiner attends Viktor's funeral but is distracted by thoughts about baptism and sin. He asks his father about it and his father says that it is a sin but it is also "die allergrösste Dummheit, weil man nämlich gar nicht, wenn man Jude ist, Christ werden kann" and he uses the following example to illustrate his point: "es ist, wie wenn ein Neger auf einmal sagen wollte: So jetzt werde ich durch irgend eine Zeremonie ein Weisser". Bendiner grasps this idea easily: "Die Juden gehören der semitischen Rasse an" and accepts, therefore, that Viktor could not have been a true Christian but is still confused: "warum hat ihn dann der liebe Gott doch von der Leiter

herunterfallen lassen?”. The story ends with: “Darauf nun wusste auch der Vater keine Antwort”.

Similar to *Die Groteske*, *Getauft* is written in free indirect speech but unlike *Die Groteske*, the narrator is not limited to the thoughts of one character; instead the narrator relates the thoughts of Viktor Cron, his mother, and his friend Fritz Bendiner. This unsettles the reader slightly as, when the story opens the narrator is following Viktor Cron and so we assume that he is the protagonist. This makes his death unexpected and shocking (additionally, with a name connected to the word “victory” we do not expect him to die). It is therefore not a traditional cautionary tale, which usually focused on a clear message which provides a warning of direct consequences for undesirable behaviour; in *Getauft* several adults debate subjects with children. The setting is also primarily a domestic one; we spend most of the story in either Frau Cron’s house or Fritz Bendiner’s home. The home has traditionally been seen as the domain of women which could explain why, in this story, the role of women is so powerful and this will be explored in this chapter.

We can firstly analyse the story through the role of the mother, Frau Cron, and explore what kind of knowledge she imparts and how. When Viktor comes home from school and tells her of the fight he has just had, her response is “Buben müssen sich nichts gefallen lassen”. Viktor’s subsequent fall from the ladder is questioned by his friend Fritz with the phrase “warum hat ihn dann der liebe Gott doch von der Leiter herunterfallen lassen”. The repetition of “fallen lassen” connects these two moments in the story. If we were reading this as a cautionary tale, the mother has provided the caution and her son has not heeded it so, in the manner of one of Hoffmann’s stories, he has come to a “sticky end”. However, the fall from the ladder is not obviously connected to the fight and, furthermore, even though the mother initially seems pleased with her son’s actions (she calls him “Brav”), she quickly changes the subject: “fragt mit einer gewissen Hast nach der lateinischen Schulaufgabe”. Even though the narrator is informing us of her haste, which could be a misrepresentation of the events, we can assume from this that the mother is not satisfied with her response or her son’s fighting. Therefore, Krämer has subverted the cautionary tale and is forcing the reader to question the true meaning of the story. In order to understand her message, we must analyse the role of the mother more closely.

Frau Cron’s role as educator is also combined with providing comfort to her son; just as he is going to bed he asks her if it is true that his grandparents are Jewish but he was baptised a Protestant. She states that it is and he asks her why and her response is as follows: “gewiss

ist es keine Schande, aber sieh mal, man hat's doch leichter im Leben, wenn man eben nicht Minorität ist". Her son attempts to argue with her that fighting is fun and he enjoyed his earlier fight. She replies: "Gewiss ist Kämpfen schön [...] aber es gibt so viel zu kämpfen und es gibt Kämpfe die weniger aussichtslos sind". Here she seems to be comforting him by answering his questions so that he can go to sleep untroubled. She is perhaps protecting him from engaging in fights that he will lose and could result in physical harm. She also creates a nurturing atmosphere by not criticising him harshly and guiding him to make his own realisations. Throughout the course of this evening, Viktor's father does not appear. The educational role is an experience between mother and child that takes place within the home.

The mother's role in *Getauft* appears to be primarily an educational one. Her son asks her about the causes of anti-Semitism: "Du Mutti, es is doch gewiss keine Schande, wenn einer ein Jude ist und überhaupt, er kann doch nichts dafür. Und warum eigentlich schimpft man sie?" The mother struggles a little with her response:

„Ach' sagt die Mutter, sichtlich nicht eben angenehm berührt, „weiss du, sie sind halt die wenigeren, die Minoritäten nennt man das!“ „Ja' macht Viktor, „weiss schon, minor minoris, nach der dritten' . „Ja und' erwidert Frau Cron „die Minoritäten haben immer von den Majoritäten, von der Mehrzahl, zu leiden. Nicht wahr, wenn in der Klasse ein Preusse ist, bloss einer, dann rufen sie „Preuss' und das ist dann auch ein Schimpfwort.“ „Ja oder Saupreuss'.

Her explanation is not entirely satisfactory to the reader. Unlike Jews, this fictional Prussian schoolboy can return to Prussia where he will be in the majority and will no longer be insulted for his background. Furthermore, throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth, Prussia had been a dominant political force in Germany. Even if a Prussian child were insulted at being called a "Saupreuss", his experience would be vastly different from a Jewish child. The mother seems to find it hard to explain negative attitudes towards Jews in a way that her nine-year-old will understand and we can see that he falls back on his schoolboy learning and Latin homework with "minor minoris, nach der dritten". Whether we find the mother's explanation correct is irrelevant, she has managed to explain it in a way that her son can understand as shown through his "Ja, oder Saupreuss", which is particularly fitting as his friend was called "Saujud" earlier. Her role is therefore to enlighten her child.

The mother's role as an educator seems to reach beyond simply educating her own child, even if she does not leave her home. After her son's death, Fritz Bendiner comes to visit her and is immediately placed into the role of her own son: "Als es kurz nach 12 läutete, fuhr Frau Cron auf. Gerade um diese Zeit war sonst ihr Viktor heimgekommen. Gerade so lange und heftig hatte auch er auf die Klingel gedrückt. Sie sprang auf und eilte mechanisch zur Tür". It is not her son who has come home but it is another boy who is seeking her wisdom. It could be coincidental that Fritz Bendiner has decided to visit her during the day when her husband, if he is still alive and involved in this family, would be at work or it could be Fritz Bendiner's design as he knows that Frau Cron is the only one who can answer his questions. Frau Cron is thereby tied to the theme of spiritual motherhood; her son is no longer with her but she can still be a mother to the nation and educate children. She could order Fritz Bendiner away, and the reader would understand if she wanted to be alone in her grief, but she is driven to answer his questions. This therefore connects the story to the women's movement's ideas about spiritual motherhood. However, this interaction between Frau Cron and Fritz is not simply one way where he learns from her; she also finds this interaction beneficial. At the start of the conversation the narrator tells us: "Die Mutter, die keine Tränen finden konnte" which suggests that she has not been able to express her grief. At the end of the conversation with Fritz the narrator says: "Da konnte die Mutter mit einem Male weinen". This conversation has allowed her to begin the difficult course of first experiencing her grief and then beginning to process it. She has been an educator and, in turn, has benefitted.

We can also explore the role of the mother by contrasting it with that of Fritz Bendiner's male parental figures. Fritz Bendiner has been greatly upset by the death of his friend and is looking to understand why Viktor has died. He speaks to both Frau Cron and his own father. He tells Frau Cron: "Mein Grossvater hat noch gestern abend gesagt, wenn der Cron stirbt, dann ist es die Sündenschuld, weil Sie ihn haben taufen lassen". She responds with "dass weiss kein Mensch, auch der Grossvater nicht. Man tut so, wie man es für am besten hält". Her statement here can be seen as a valuable life lesson for Fritz that everyone is only trying to do their best, even if it seems contradictory and confusing to Fritz. He then asks her if Viktor is going to be buried in the protestant graveyard. When she nods, he begs her: "Ach bitte, lassen Sie ihn doch auf dem jüdischen begraben, da ist auch meine Grossmama. Auf den protestantischen darf ich nie". The narrator's depiction of Frau Cron's response is noteworthy: "Frau Cron lächelt schmerzlich. „Ach, mein Junge, das ist ja jetzt alles gleich"". Her comment that it does not matter seems to reach far beyond the simple matter of the burial. To her, as she has suffered one of the worst tragedies imaginable, it does not matter

whether her son was baptised or where he is buried, he is dead either way. His absence has a greater influence on her than quibbling over theological matters. Her role as a mother and community educator have made her more sympathetic to Fritz's situation than his own family. It seems that this wisdom has an impact on Fritz too as, even though he said he was not allowed, he attends his friend's Christian burial. Perhaps he too, through his illuminating discussion with Frau Cron, has realised that his grandfather's pedantry over religion is not as important as the loss of his friend and will bring him no comfort.

While Fritz is at the funeral, he is consumed with thoughts about Viktor's death and the meaning behind it: "Ob er, wenn sie ihn nicht hätten taufen lassen, auch von der Leiter gefallen wäre? Er hat doch nichts dafür gekonnt, dass er getauft worden ist, dann hätte doch sein Vater oder seine Mutter irgendwo herunterfallen können, die haben ihn doch taufen lassen". These questions that are bothering him most likely stem from the words of his grandfather, and serve as a reminder that his grandfather has not been a nurturing force for education like Frau Cron but has caused him psychological distress. Once Fritz has returned home from the funeral, he speaks to his father about whether conversion is really such a sin. His father says that "ist es die allergrösste Dummheit, weil man nämlich gar nicht, wenn man Jude ist, Christ werden kann [... ]es ist, wie wenn ein Neger auf einmal sagen wollte: So jetzt werde ich durch irgend eine Zeremonie ein Weisser". His father has picked a hyperbolic example to illustrate his point which his son seems to grasp easily and says "Die Juden gehören der semitische Rasse an". His father appears to be fulfilling an educational role here but unlike Frau Cron's statement earlier, this does not end the conversation: "dann ist also der Cron auch gar kein wirklicher Christ gewesen. Das versteh' ich schon, aber warum hat ihn dann der liebe Gott doch von der Leiter herunterfallen lassen?" Unlike Frau Cron, who was able to answer Fritz's questions, his father cannot: "Darauf nun wusste auch der Vater keine Antwort". As this is the last sentence to the story, this statement is given a great deal of prominence. The reader is left wondering what the answer to the question is and therefore the father's authority as a source of knowledge is permanently undermined. The reader is therefore also perhaps unconsciously wondering how Frau Cron might have tackled this question. This highlights the educational role of women and indicates the difference between the nurturing skills of men and women.

The description of Fritz as provided by the narrator also changes depending on who he is speaking to. While he is talking to Frau Cron he is described with the phrase "Der Kleine blickt aus grossen braunen Kinderaugen auf " but when he is talking to his father, this description changes: "Der Junge lacht aus seinen schönen braunen Judenaugen den Vater

an". When he is talking to Frau Cron he is identified only as a child and his Jewishness is not important. When he is talking to his father, his Jewishness becomes his distinguishing feature. This is possibly highlighting his father's belief that Jews and Christians are separate races. It is also deeply ironic as anyone can have brown eyes whether they are Christian or Jewish and this could be undermining the father's ideas about racial differences. It also leads the reader to reflect on Frau Cron's earlier statement; if brown eyes are the only feature that make one Jewish then surely "das ist ja jetzt alles gleich"? What matters is that a young boy has died and his family and friends must find a way to process this tragedy. As this idea comes from a mother, who seems to be in the process of becoming a mother to the community, it suggests that women's role is a nurturing and educational one.

The religious and cultural background of the mother in *Getauft* is complex. We are told that she was raised "ohne Religion" but that her parents were Jewish. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that her parents were not able to raise her in a cultural and religious vacuum and so aspects of Jewishness have permeated her consciousness. We can therefore examine her as a representation of Jewish motherhood. Furthermore, within *Getauft*, we can find symbols of Judaism. The most obvious of these symbols is the ladder from which Viktor falls, which is a possible reference to Jacob's ladder. Jacob's ladder is based on a dream that Jacob had after he had been sent away by his parents to avoid conflict with his brother. While Jacob is on his journey, he stops to sleep and dreams of a ladder with angels going up and down it. God then appears and promises Jacob and his descendants the land of Israel (Steinmetz, 1986, p.181). This story features in both Judaism and Christianity but as it is another affirmation of the covenant between the Jews and God, it can be seen to be a key moment within Judaism. It is notable that the angels in the dream are described as firstly going up and then down the ladder which is the same as Viktor's progress in *Getauft*. This could then suggest that Viktor's death is a message from God, which is how Fritz Bendiner, with prompting from his grandfather, interprets it. That Frau Cron rejects this message "dass weiss kein Mensch, auch dein Grossvater nicht" and "das ist ja jetzt alles gleich" could be a rejection of Judaism or, at least, the rejection of a God that would punish parents so harshly. However, she has not rejected Fritz's idea that there is a God, Jewish or otherwise, or a meaning to Viktor's death. Her rejection can be seen as a rejection of the theological posturing of Jewish men. Furthermore, as Jacob's dream is a reaffirmation of the covenant, it is a reminder that God is on your side and has not abandoned you. Even though Viktor is now dead, and his best friend is questioning the purpose of his death, he has not been abandoned. Frau Cron fulfils the traditional role of a Jewish mother by comforting Fritz and discouraging him from losing his faith; just because they do not know God's plan does not

mean there is no plan and this plan can be far more positive than his grandfather's and father's interpretation.

This story is therefore questioning what it means to be Jewish and whether conversion affects this. Frau Cron's decision to bury her son in the protestant graveyard and the description of Fritz Bendiner's "Kinderaugen" suggests that Jewishness is a cultural construct and that there is a universal humanity beneath. This is related to Mendelssohn's beliefs discussed in the previous chapter that the state should make allowances for minority groups; the decision about where Viktor is buried is a private choice for the mother to make without the interference of others. Mendelssohn also argued for religious leaders not to coerce their community, either through excommunication or other means (Breuer, 1992, p.360). The Bendiner family's discussions about Viktor's death could be seen as a representation of coercion, ensuring that they remain faithful to the community through the fear of divine punishment, and this is shown to be negative through the distress it causes Fritz. Krämer could be furthering Mendelssohn's arguments by indicating that it is up to individual members of the Jewish community to decide how to practise Judaism and the rest of the community should respect those choices. Mendelssohn was accused by some of abandoning his faith due to perceived inconsistencies in his arguments and this argument could also be applied to Krämer; if the individual members of a community are allowed to define their religious duties for themselves, how can they ever be considered a cohesive community (Breuer 1992, p.360)? Furthermore, the questions of why God, or indeed why Krämer, allowed Viktor to fall from the ladder and whether this was a punishment for conversion remain unanswered.

We can also see representations of some of the debates around motherhood and pacifism in this story. *Getauft* opens with Viktor winning a fight and revelling in it: "Autsch, Muttel, das war aber fein" is his introduction to the fight. His mother is less convinced and less convincing in her praise. She refers to him as "Brav" but she changes the subject. When he refers to the fight again at bedtime, she says "aber es gibt so viel zu kämpfen und es gibt eben Kämpfe die weniger aussichtslos sind". This could be an acknowledgement that anti-Semitism is pervasive and pernicious and fighting it physically is not the solution (physical fights against anti-Semitism are "aussichtslos"). This does not seem to fit with the idea of mothers, through their nurturing nature, as being natural pacifists; the mother has not expressly forbidden her son from fighting. She could be concerned that starting a physical fight against anti-Semites is just drawing attention to her son's Jewish heritage and is not actually changing anti-Semites' minds. One fight could just lead to another, rapidly becoming

“aussichtslos”, which one could connect to Krämer’s 1917 letter to her nephew in which she warns against petty one-upmanship or “Revanche”. We can see here a more ambivalent approach to the idea that women are natural pacifists, as Frau Cron’s response seems to be more pragmatic.

In *Getauft*, we can see a strong representation of motherhood, much of which conforms to the ideas surrounding spiritual motherhood in the women’s movement. Frau Cron becomes a mother to children other than her own. Male parental figures are shown to be lacking in innate nurturing qualities and this highlights the role of women. Women are also educators, particularly in a domestic setting, and seem more focused on the humanitarian needs of others than on theological debate. Furthermore, Krämer has used and subverted the classic cautionary tale, created by a man for a son, to tell a story about the role of women. She is also ambivalent on the innate pacifist instincts of women. Krämer seems less sure about theological matters: can children who have been baptised still be Jewish and does that question matter? Her lack of clarity on important theological questions and what Jewish identity was could explain why she did not publish again in *Ost und West*. *Getauft* has explored the role of women in a domestic setting but Krämer was also concerned about the role of women outside the home. An analysis of *Märchen* will allow us an insight into how Krämer saw the theme of spiritual motherhood outside the home with women who were not biological mothers.

### ***Märchen* (published, undated)**

*Märchen* exists in the archive as both a draft and a clipping from a publication. It is not possible to say with certainty when it was written or published. In the bottom right hand corner of the published version is an advertisement for a Faschingsball taking place at the Apollo-Theater in Munich on Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> January. During Krämer’s most active period of writing, 22<sup>nd</sup> January was a Saturday in the following years: 1910, 1916 and 1927. The Apollo-Theater was built in 1896 and was initially very popular but began to struggle in the inter-war period (Muller, 2013). This advertisement for a Faschingsball could be an attempt to attract new visitors, which could suggest that this story is from 1927. The advertisement for the Faschingsball does give us an insight into the readership of this publication, even if we cannot identify the publication itself. The local nature of the advertisement suggests that this is a regional publication, specific to Munich. The readership must have had enough disposable income and the leisure time to be able to attend a ball. We can also infer that this is aimed at female readers, who are traditionally seen as more interested in social

engagements. This also suggests that this is not a specifically Jewish publication, as Fasching is a Catholic tradition, but Jews may still have attended the ball. This seems to be in keeping with the other places where Krämer published. Her stories were often featured in supplements to newspapers, both regional and national. It is this audience that we can keep in mind when reading *Märchen*.

In *Märchen*, a teacher is just finishing telling her class the fairy tale *Vom Fischer und seine Fru* as a reward for their good behaviour. The story ends with the pupils chorusing together: "Mine Fru die Ilsebill, will nich so, as ick woll will". The teacher then says "gelt, ihr wollt auch manchmal nicht so, 'as ick woll will'" and asks if anyone knows any other fairy tales. One child mentions the stork: "'Jaa' – bestätigte das Fräulein ein wenig gedehnt. 'Sonst noch ein Märchen?'" Another child suggests the Easter bunny which is a fairy tale because hens lay eggs. "Alle Märchen sind Lügen" another child concludes. The teacher then asks "Also soll es keine Märchen geben?" and the pupils are confused and unsure. One pupil raises the question about whether it is all right to trick someone on April Fools' Day as that involves lying. "es ist ein Spaß, eine uralte Volkssitte, das ist schon erlaubt; man muß eben aufpassen am ersten April", the teacher explains before asking them what the meaning of the Osterhase is. She explains "ich meine es bedeutet Frühling, Erwachen der Natur, Wunder so zu sagen. Es ist doch ein Wunder, wie da alles immer wieder grünt und blüht und wächst; und der Hase, der ist nun so eine Art Verkörperung des Erwachens der Natur und ihrer Wunder. Vielleicht- ich sage vielleicht ist es so, ich weiß es nicht gewiß, aber ich kann es mir so vorstellen". She says that all fairy tales are a way of explaining nature and making it comprehensible. She gives the example of how we say the sun goes up and down "obgleich wir wissen, daß die Sonne sich nicht bewegt, sondern wir drehen uns, das heißt die Erde, aber weil es so aussieht, sagen wir so". A child raises a hand and agrees with the teacher about the sun but "beim Osterhasen da heißt es so bei den Großen 'gerade ist er davongehüpft, hast ihn nicht mehr laufen sehen' und so". The teacher explains that it is just a joke and not meant to be cruel. The children agree "es ist so nett wenn er kommt". The lesson comes to an end and all the children pack away their things while talking about the Easter bunny and what they are expecting him to bring "obgleich nun alle einig waren, daß es ein Spaß sei, glaubten sie dennoch an ihn, indem sie von ihm sprachen".

Similar to Krämer's stories discussed in the previous chapter, we can see her continuing to use fairy tale motifs and styles in her work. *Märchen* makes explicit reference to the Grimms' tale *Vom Fischer und seine Fru* which the female teacher uses as her starting point for a pedagogical discussion about truth and fiction. As she reads the story aloud, she is

participating in the oral tradition of folk and fairy tales. This then becomes the initiation for a discussion about the Easter rabbit, meaning that she is continuing the convention of using fairy tales to express the way she and the children perceive nature and the world around them (Zipes, 1979, p.5). The symbols in fairy tales are intended to be well-known and easily accessible to a wide audience as they draw from, and are shaped by, the audience (Tatar, 1987, p.81). The children, as the audience, suggest symbols like the stork and the Easter rabbit that are part of their cultural traditions. The storyteller, in this case the teacher, then reformulates the story for her audience, creating something of relevance to them (Haase, 1993, p.18). We can see this repurposing when the teacher says: “gelt, ihr wollt auch manchmal nicht so, ‘as ick woll will’”, repeating the refrain from the story to make her point. The choice of *Märchen* as the title is also significant. In English, the term fairy tale is applied to all of the Grimms’ *Märchen* whereas the term “*Märchen*” originally meant news or gossip and seemingly had very little to do with magic at all (Zipes, 1979, p.23). Therefore, even though there is no direct magic within *Märchen*, because it has a pedagogical function it can still be seen as a fairy tale.

What is noteworthy is when the teacher asks if anyone knows any other fairy tales and one child mentions the stork, she is not entirely supportive. Her answer is: “‘Jaa’ – bestätigte das Fräulein ein wenig gedehnt. ‘Sonst noch ein Märchen?’”. On the surface, the stork could be an adequate example of a fairy tale, as it seems to be similar to the Easter rabbit and the fish in *Vom Fischer und seine Frau*. All are animals with magical properties, which perform services for humans. However, in recognising that the stork is not real, the teacher could be opening a discussion about where babies actually come from and she might consider her pupils too young to be disillusioned. As she is a “Fräulein” she may also consider it improper to speak about sexual matters. The teacher is therefore imparting knowledge to her pupils but she is deciding, and thereby controlling, what is appropriate for them to know. Her long “Jaa” in response indicates perhaps uncertainty about telling the truth and keeping the discussion what she perceives to be age appropriate. This could be seen to be similar to Krämer’s story *Aufklärung* in which the fictionalised version of her nephew Werner is seen as the gatekeeper of adult knowledge. However, in *Aufklärung* the narrator expresses surprise that he has decided not to disillusion his siblings; in *Märchen* there is no surprise. Perhaps it is expected that the teacher will not impart this knowledge to her students; as a woman and as an educator, she understands what they should know about the topic of where babies come from. However, Krämer does not answer the question of when children should learn about sex or what sex education should encompass. As discussed in Chapter Two, this lack of

knowledge in *Frühlings Erwachen* is used to victimise Wendla. Krämer does not acknowledge this here.

The description of the Easter rabbit in the story is also significant. The children readily accept that “Es gibt gar keinen Osterhase, die Hühner legen die Eier” but this does not lead directly to questions about the meaning of Easter. The teacher asks her pupils what the “Erfindung” of the Easter rabbit means and then explains: “es bedeutet Frühling, Erwachen der Natur, Wunder sozusagen. Es ist doch ein Wunder, wie da alles immer wieder grünt und blüht und wächst; und der Hase, der ist nun so eine Art der Verkörperung des Erwachens der Natur und ihrer Wunder”. This reawakening of nature, compared to a miracle, is not connected to the miraculous resurrection of Christ. The teacher is not identified as Jewish, nor are her pupils, and, as I have drawn the conclusion that this was published in a non-Jewish paper, we are left to assume that this is therefore a Christian classroom. Her absence of Christian teaching seems somewhat unexpected. By focusing on the Easter rabbit, however, the teacher is concentrating on German traditions. This is also reflected through the use of the Grimms’ fairy tale. The teacher also does not discourage them from participating in April Fools’ Day, calling it an “uralte Volkssitte”. We could see this as Krämer trying to pass as a non-Jewish writer or simply as a continuation of the belief that women are best placed to impart culture to children and in this case it is German culture that the teacher is providing.

The choice of the Easter rabbit and the start of spring are also significant. The reference to spring and to new life could be a veiled reference to the pupils’ nascent adolescence and sexuality. It is not mentioned exactly how old the pupils are. We are told that they are class “2a” and most, if not all, of the pupils seem to be girls (they are referred to as “Fragerin” and “die Kleine”). As discussed in Chapter One, providing sex education for girls was a contentious issue for much of Krämer’s life. Many were also concerned about the effect of living in the city on impressionable young girls, fearing that they would be led into prostitution. Campaigners like Krämer advocated for a simple education, away from the vices of the city and surrounded by nature as shown through her 1926 article promoting the Haushaltsschule in the rural idyll of Wolfratshausen. As discussed in Chapter One, apart from the rudiments of plant biology and animal husbandry, there was no provision for sex education in the curriculum. We can therefore assume that the role of the teacher is to identify and impart as much knowledge as she deems appropriate to ensure that the children develop into healthy, well-adjusted adults. This idea of looking to the future of these girls is further reflected in when the teacher uses the sun as an example: “wir sagen alle, die Sonne geht auf, die Sonne geht unter, obgleich wir wissen, daß sich die Sonne nicht

bewegt, sondern wir drehen uns, das heißt, die Erde, aber weil es so aussieht, sagen wir so". The invocation of the rising sun points to the future but, in German, the sun is also feminine and can therefore be connected to both the teacher (nurturing her pupils with her rays) and the schoolgirls themselves (as women of the future). This imbues the pupils with power and makes the reader feel confident the pupils can weather the troubles ahead.

The discussion about what is a fairy tale, for the children at least, seems to continually come back to the idea that "Alle Märchen sind Lügen". The teacher, through a Socratic method of questioning her pupils, attempts to unpick this idea. What is the difference between *Vom Fischer und seine Frau* and the Easter rabbit? The children claim that with the fairy tale "Wenn das Fräulein z.B. von 'Ilsebill' erzähle, dann sage sie gleich, das sei ein Märchen; aber beim Storch oder beim Osterhasen, da tun die daheim so, also ob es kein Märchen sei; ,und das' schloß die Kleine ,das kann einem ärgern". The child appears to be expressing the desire to know when something is true or not; as long as this is clear then she is happy to play along. This desire for knowledge is aimed at the teacher; she is the one who is supposed to fulfil this need and her questions and answers drive the story. Furthermore, throughout the story, the teacher is responsible for creating a nurturing atmosphere for her class. When one child asks "darf man einen in den April schicken" which causes all the other students to laugh, the teacher steps in with clarification, thereby regaining control of the class but also protecting her student from unkind mockery: "„Da wäre gar nichts zu lachen' schützte die Lehrerin die Fragerin; ,diese komme darauf, weil das schließlich ebenfalls eine Unwahrheit sei, gelt?'". The teacher is protective of those who are wishing to take a chance in their desire to know as she nurtures them. Furthermore, as we know that the teacher is "das Fräulein", we know that she is unmarried and therefore, most likely, childless. Her desire to educate and to be a mother to the nation can be seen to be part of the idea of spiritual motherhood.

Within the Grimms' stories, benevolent nature has often been connected with a (supernatural) mother figure. Female protagonists in stories, such as the *Goose Girl* or *Cinderella*, have been protected by or helped by nature through their, usually dead, mother's influence. The references to a benevolent nature in *Märchen* could be a continuation of this theme. Whereas the forests in *Wenn man eine Frau ist* or *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten*, were dark and hiding places for danger, the references to nature in *Märchen* are positive (the stork brings new life) or fun (the game of hunting for eggs laid by the Easter rabbit). The mother figure of the teacher has invoked nature and, like Cinderella's mother (who provides gifts via a tree at her graveside), this can only be positive for the children. Furthermore, she has not destroyed the magic for the children; when they leave her

classroom they still believe in the magic: “und obgleich nun alle einig waren, daß es ein Spaß war, glaubten sie dennoch an beide, indem sie von ihnen sprachen”. They carry the teacher’s words, and the magic of the fairy tales, with them into the adult world outside. We can see Krämer appropriating themes from the Grimms’ fairy tales to highlight her message of spiritual motherhood in a way that would have been instinctively recognisable to her audience.

*Märchen* is a continuation of Krämer’s use of Grimms’ themes and styles to discuss ideas about spiritual motherhood. Even though the teacher is not biologically related to any of her pupils, we can see that she has a desire to educate them, to instil German culture and values in them, and to create a nurturing environment for them. Unlike *Getauft* and unlike the stories discussed in Chapter Two, the conclusion to *Märchen* seems to be a logical consequence to the story; it does not feel abrupt or incomplete. This perhaps indicates a confidence within Krämer, who was a teacher herself, when discussing the role of teachers. Perhaps here she has been able to integrate her identity as an activist in the women’s movement (especially her experiences discussed in *Unterricht* about teaching the Ostjuden) with her identity as a creative writer. When *Märchen* and *Getauft* are paired together, it gives the impression that spiritual motherhood is a characteristic of many women for the benefit of all children. As I have indicated that *Märchen* was most likely published in a non-Jewish publication, this suggests that Krämer felt her belief in spiritual motherhood transcended religious divisions and, also, that there was a wider reception for this belief across German society. *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr*, discussed next in this chapter, examines this idea of spiritual motherhood in an even broader sense; spiritual motherhood stretches out from the acts of individual women to attaching almost magical properties to the invocation of the mother’s name. Through an analysis of this story, we will identify how broad Krämer saw the idea of spiritual motherhood to be.

### *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr (Welt und Leben, undated)*

There are two published versions of *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr* in Krämer’s archive. One is just the story clipped from the page without any other identifying features. The other is a few pages pulled out of a publication. At the bottom of the second page it states: “wesentliche redaktionelle Verbesserungen bringt ‚Welt und Leben‘ ab nächste Nummer!”. The pages appear to have been typed rather than printed, and does not contain advertising or extravagant fonts, suggesting that perhaps this was a trial copy of a publication. It has not been possible to discover any further information about *Welt und Leben*, perhaps indicating

that after this edition, the publication rapidly ceased. Furthermore, there are no contact details for the editor or indication of where it was produced. There are two other writers featured in this extract: Fritz Kaiser-Ilmenau with *Die versäumte Stunde* and Paul Schettler with a poem titled *Frieden*. Neither piece is dated or contains any contemporary references. Paul Schettler does not appear to have been the subject of any research or wider publishing success. Fritz Kaiser-Ilmenau appears to have published a collection of poems titled *Pulsschläge* in 1919 and a second edition in 1921 by the Aurora Verlag and a novel called *Und der liebe Wellen EA- Roman der Erfüllung* in 1934 by a Berlin publishing company Frigga. Perhaps he published in *Welt und Leben* early in his career, before he experienced greater success? It is impossible to date definitively this extract or to draw any conclusions about the readership of this publication. Therefore, it is not possible to place this story into the continuum of Krämer's output. However, what this story does offer is a new insight into Krämer's views on spiritual motherhood as it reaches beyond a mother figure educating a child or children.

A man and his young wife are travelling on a busy train. He notices that his coat is undone. As he stows their baggage, she hangs their coats up on the hooks. As is his habit, he wants to check the train is departing on time so he reaches into his vest pocket for his watch and realises his pocket watch with the golden chain is missing. His wife suggests he may have forgotten it in the hotel room in their hurry but he says this is impossible as he has never forgotten it. His wife and another passenger suggest he should telegram the hotel and another passenger volunteers to do this at the next station. They begin to share stories of pickpockets and bandits. The young wife says she feels sorry for the thieves and everyone laughs. The man who will send the telegram is astonished and asks her why. She explains it is because she feels that these people will never be happy, not for a moment and definitely not for a longer time. Another passenger explains that they are a band of thieves who will share the loot and they will be happier tonight than her. She shares a look with her husband and secretly presses his hand: "nein- sie werden darum nicht traurig sein diesen Abend...". Someone else says that breaking your leg is worse and she answers that the worst thing in the world would be to be the mother of a thief: "Sie habe unlängst gelesen, eine Frau sei vernommen, deren Sohn schließlich zum Tode verurteilt worden wäre. Dies sei die schwerste Schuld: Unschuldige mit leiden zu machen". The man with the telegram gets up and asks her husband if he has a light. Her husband laughs and says yes "seine Streichhölzer habe ihm der gottverfluchte Kerl wenigstens gelassen" and the two of them go into the corridor. Just as the husband is about to strike the match, the stranger leans in and asks to speak to him for a moment. He seems nervous and he begins his sentence several times

“Ich...”. It seems that he does not want the other travellers to overhear. He reaches into his pocket and says: “bitte, mein Herr, hier ist Ihre Uhr und Kette.- Daß Sie sie wiederbekommen, danken Sie Ihrer Frau und- meiner alten Mutter daheim”. He then asks if he can kiss the wife’s hand before he leaves the train but without the husband telling her anything before he leaves. The husband summons his wife and the thief says: “Gnädige Frau, Ihr Herr Gemahl hat durch mich etwas verloren Geglaubtes wiedergefunden. Es war eine unwichtige Sache, ein Nichts im Verhältnis zu dem, was Sie mir wiedergegeben haben, gestatten Sie, daß ich Ihnen in Dank dafür die Händ küsse”. He then bends over her hand and “ist schon- noch steht der Zug nicht gänzlich still- draußen”.

This story can be linked to the fairy tale *Die Bremer Stadtmusiker* as it involves a journey and the protagonists being the victims of thieves. Like the animals in the Grimms’ story, the protagonists outwit the criminals and escape unharmed. Furthermore, both sets of protagonists are on a journey and do not reach their destination within the story. However, unlike the animals in *Die Bremer Stadtmusiker*, the young couple in *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr* do not employ violence against the thief; instead the wife invokes the name of the mother. The stories shared by the other passengers, “Man erzählt Geschichten von Taschendieben und Straßenräubern”, seem reminiscent of the travellers sharing stories in *The Canterbury Tales*. Once again, Krämer is appropriating popular styles and subverting them, perhaps because she found these styles to be too restrictive for the type of story she wanted to tell. *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr* also could be read as a cautionary tale for adults; the wife states the consequences for theft: “solche Menschen könnten nie und nimmer glücklich sein, nicht für den Augenblick und ganz gewiß nicht auf die Dauer”. As the thief has caused her husband misery by stealing his watch, the promise of misery for the thief seems logical, as is typical in a cautionary tale, but disproportionate. Her husband can buy another watch but the thief is condemned to eternal misery. Once again, we can see Krämer appropriating well-known folk styles to create her story.

In *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr*, there appears to be only one female character: the wife. There may be other female passengers but Krämer has not specified their gender. Therefore this analysis will focus on the presentation of the wife and the extent to which she embodies the values of spiritual motherhood. The wife is first introduced to the reader as helping her husband as he stows their baggage: “Er verstaute das Gepäck, ist der Frau behilflich, hängt den Paletot hinter sich an den Haken, und schon fährt der Zug”. She is shown to be a near equal partner in their relationship. Even though the husband and wife are not coded as Jewish, this could be a veiled reference to their Jewishness as traditionally, women were

helpmates to their husbands rather than seen as weaker and sheltered in nineteenth century traditions (Kaplan, 1991, p.119). He does not need to ask her for help; she seems to be acting out of some kind of desire to help. We can also assume that this couple are somewhat wealthy as they have enough money for train tickets, and for staying in a hotel, and his "Paletot" sounds rather more expensive than a simple overcoat. Furthermore we know he has a gold watch (albeit a missing watch at this point in the story). This indicates that perhaps her desire to help is influenced by her class background.

Once he realises the pocket watch is missing, we are provided with another response by his wife: "Vielleicht habe er sie im Hotel liegen lassen in der Eile, mutmaßt die Frau". The wife's statements are provided through reported speech. In fact, in the entire story there is no direct speech from her. Her husband, the thief and the other passengers speak directly but her words are always reported by the narrator. This means that we are left to imagine how she constructed her sentence as the narrator is merely summarising her words. It also means that we could not describe her voice as strident or dominant; she is an image of passivity but her words and deeds, as they shape the outcome of the story, are actually strong and guiding. We can see that she, like the teacher in *Märchen* or Frau Cron in *Getauft*, leads others, not by ordering them or making demands, but through simple statements and educating others. Furthermore, she never directly chastises the thief and none of the women in these stories make ultimatums or demands. Instead, they lead others to make their own realisations and Krämer leaves the final conclusion to the reader. This could be an example of what Krämer saw as good pedagogical method or it could be that the situations described are too complex for a simple solution.

However this passivity could lead one to assume that she is at the whim of the men around her throughout the story. The male thief has instigated the events and returns the watch to the husband to resolve them. Furthermore, the husband appears to be in charge when he summons her into the corridor with the words: "Komm' mal her, Frau". He speaks in short, sentences both direct and indirect ("Ausgeschlossen" is reportedly how he dismisses her idea that perhaps he forgot his watch). When he calls her into the corridor, she looks to the male characters for answers: "Diese steht vor den Männern mit großen, reinen, fragenden Augen". However, Krämer has subverted this expectation; the wife is actually the fulcrum of this tale. Even though everyone in the carriage laughs at her suggestion, they are all still listening. Her words persuade the thief to return the watch and he departs with a kiss of her hand thus showing that spiritual motherhood has imbued her with more power than the men around her. Her invocation of the thief's mother and, therefore, of all mothers is what

inspires the thief to return the watch and thereby resolve the story. The wife here is playing the role of the wise crone or the fairy godmother. She, like Ariadne in the myth of Theseus and the minotaur, is guiding those around her to safety. Mothers and spiritual mothers have often played this role in folklore, and serve as a promise that the protection we have in the womb is not lost (Campbell, 1968, p.71). The wife in this story is the thief's protector, her husband does not react with anger towards the thief once he reveals himself, and the protector of her husband's property. Furthermore, the invocation of the thief's mother is similar to a magical spell as the thief himself states as he returns the items: "hier ist Ihre Uhr und Kette. – Daß Sie sie wiederbekommen, danken Sie Ihrer Frau und- meiner alten Mutter daheim". She creates a solution to the crime through restorative justice; rather than seeking punitive punishment of the thief, she wants to find a solution to benefit all parties and so, without her, there can be no resolution.

She also attempts to comfort her husband by holding his hand: "Die junge Frau wirft daraufhin ihrem Mann einen Blick zu und drückt verstohlen seine Hand". Furthermore, her reaction to her husband's loss is to attempt to reassure him, her suggestion that he left it in the hotel is perhaps a way to prevent him from jumping to conclusions and accusations, but also to think the best of those around her. By seeking to avoid accusations, she is perhaps concerned with creating social harmony (similar to the teacher in *Märchen* who wanted to maintain a pleasant atmosphere for her pupils). The wife then demonstrates another aspect of spiritual motherhood: compassion. She states that she has "Mitleid mit derlei Menschen". She can empathise with thieves and robbers and understand their suffering. The rest of the carriage laughs at her "Mitleid? -Alle lachen" but she refuses to be shaken from her belief. In the face of her husband's anger at the theft and the ridicule from the other passengers, she holds fast to her conviction. She understands not just the suffering of this thief but the suffering of all thieves. Just like the activists of the women's movement and in their rhetoric, she can advocate for fair treatment for those less fortunate because, as a woman, she can empathise. One of the passengers attempts to argue with her: "Ein Beinbruch ist schlimmer" but she refuses to be deterred and advances her argument further: "Das Allerschlimmste auf der ganzen Welt- meint wieder die Frau- sei es, die Mutter eines solchen Verbrechers zu sein. Sie habe unlängst gelesen, eine Frau sei vernommen, deren Sohn schließlich zum Tode verurteilt worden wäre. Dies sei die schwerste Schuld: Unschuldige mit leiden zu machen". She speaks here in reported speech, perhaps Krämer wanted to avoid seeming to be moralising. She expresses sympathy primarily for the thief's mother, not his wife, children, father or any other party who is close to the thief. Even though she broadens her definition to include any innocent person who is made to suffer, it is the mother who she identifies

first. Mothers, and women like this wife in general, are seen to be the guiding force in men's lives and should always be considered. Furthermore, she is not advocating against justice, but it is a justice that must be tempered with compassion for the criminal and the criminal's mother and we must assume that, as a woman, she is the only one who can see and understand that.

The connection between the wife and the thief's own mother is strengthened by the end of the story. The thief wants to kiss the wife's hand and thank her but he does not want her to know that he is the thief: "Gnädige Frau, Ihr Herr Gemahl hat durch mich etwas verloren Geglaubtes wiedergefunden. Es war eine unwichtige Sache, ein Nichts im Verhältnis zu dem, was Sie mir wiedergegeben haben, gestatten Sie, daß ich Ihnen zum Dank dafür die Hände küsse". Just as we can imagine that he would not want his own mother to know that he is a thief, he does not want the wife to know either. The thief kisses her hand and then leaps from the still-moving train. Unlike the women in the stories from the previous chapter, she is not subjected to sexual remarks or unwanted attention. This could be because she is with her male protector, her husband, or because she is behaving as a woman should, as a mother. Even though we assume that she is not a mother, she is connected with the thief's mother and so with the theme of spiritual motherhood. Furthermore, as we never learn her name, where she is from or travelling to, this story becomes a universal tale. Women from all places are seen to share in the qualities of spiritual motherhood. Similar to *Märchen*, the ending of this story feels satisfying; the watch has been returned, the mystery of who took it has been solved and the thief departs from the scene. Unlike *Getauft* and the stories from Chapter Two, there are no loose ends. This could be a reflection of Krämer's confidence in the themes of these stories; spiritual motherhood can resolve anything except when it is faced with the conflicts of German Jewish motherhood.

In all three of these stories, we see the power that women can wield through spiritual motherhood. Unlike the female protagonists of the previous chapter, these women are not facing threats of violence even though they, the teacher in *Märchen* and the wife in *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr* in particular, are operating in the public sphere. This could be because they are behaving "appropriately", the wife is with her husband and the teacher is in the classroom, but it could also be because they have accessed the power of spiritual motherhood. *Getauft* is a far more complex story, possibly because Krämer is also grappling with the idea of what it means to be Jewish, but even here we can see the confidence with which Frau Cron is able to educate Fritz Bendiner. That section of the story is far simpler than the open ending. Both *Märchen* and *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr* are less complex, and

all three stories seem more straightforward than *Die Groteske* or *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten*. This apparent simplicity could reflect that this is a topic in which Krämer feels a great deal of confidence. She is not advocating for change in the same way the stories in the previous chapter seemed to; instead she is sharing her experiences in a positive light. This idea is supported by the fact that she devoted so much of her life and time to the JFB and the cause of spiritual motherhood and her articles are a testament to this. These stories can be seen as an attempt to integrate the different aspects of her identity: that of a creative writer and of a campaigner. While these identities do not always fit together easily, which could explain some of the tensions in *Getauft*, Krämer mostly seems to integrate them well. Through the women's movement and spiritual motherhood, Krämer seems to have found a philosophy that can unite some of her identities. However, as reflected in the complex nature of *Getauft*, Krämer appears to struggle with the notion of being a spiritual mother to the Jewish community and the German non-Jewish community and even the German Jewish community.

Spiritual motherhood was also used to advocate for pacifism as mothers were seen to be natural pacifists. All of her stories seem to support non-violent solutions and the next chapter will develop this with an examination of Krämer's responses to war. However, as *Getauft* indicates, Krämer did not just adhere to the idea that spiritual motherhood could prevent violent conflicts and her approach is indicative of a deeper ambivalence about whether there are situations where violence is justified. Chapter Four will examine Krämer's responses to war and Chapter Five will explore how she discusses violence in her novella. As a Jew and as a woman, her ability to respond to the war and find a receptive audience was restricted. This was then further complicated during the war by censorship. Krämer's personal insecurities about herself and her role within society are highlighted in the analysis which follows as she struggles to form a cohesive response to the violence she perceived in the world around her.

## Chapter Four: Responses to War

### ***Da draußen einer tot im Sand* (unpublished and undated)**

Ein Mutterherze bebt vor Freud'

Und ahnt nicht der Stunde bitteres Leid,

Daß draußen ihr Kind liegt tot im Sand...

As Krämer was such a prolific chronicler of her times, it is no wonder that her responses to the First World War form a large part of her work. This thesis has already identified examples of anti-war sentiments from her letters, articles and short stories, even those which are ostensibly focussed on another theme. This chapter will explore her stories related to the theme of war, and the analysis will uncover how she used aspects of ideology from the pacifist and women's movements in an attempt to formulate a response to the war and conflict. However, as will be discussed in this chapter, her response is often discordant, which indicates the conflicts within the different sides of her identity. As this analysis broadens her reflections from women to humanity as a whole, this chapter develops and expands on the previous chapters. It also adds to her stories about spiritual motherhood, looking at this theme in the midst of war. Much of Krämer's work exploring this topic is unpublished, most likely due to censorship, and therefore difficult to date precisely, however there is such a great deal of work on this subject that it is worth exploring. Elizabeth Loentz's 2007 article "'The most famous Jewish pacifist was Jesus of Nazareth': German-Jewish Pacifist Clementine Krämer's Stories of War and Visions for Peace" explores the difference between Krämer's war responses published during the First World War, which Loentz describes as subtle in their subversion of pro-war rhetoric and lacking in easily identifiable Jewish characters, and her post-war work, identified as presenting a unification between pacifism, feminism and Judaism. This chapter will use Loentz's work as a starting point but will move beyond a comparison of Krämer's published work from different periods, particularly as such a study overlooks her unpublished pieces and pieces which are difficult to date, which form the majority of her work. Instead, this chapter will examine Krämer's stories in detail to unpick her specific responses to war. What were the ways in which Krämer responded to war and what does this say about how she reconciled her different identities?

Defining which of Krämer's pieces are responses to war is difficult. There are pieces which deal with easily identifiable signifiers of war (soldiers, weapons, etc.) but others deal with violence and conflict resolution. I have chosen to include conflict resolution in this chapter as a response to war because conflict resolution gives us a chance to see how Krämer would ideally resolve, and thereby avoid, war. If we only looked at her works dealing specifically with soldiers, we would only gain an understanding of her opinions about the tragic nature of war and not at the ways in which she believed war and conflict could be prevented. This chapter will therefore focus on three stories: *Königin-Mutter*, *Jugend*, and *Das Wunder*. All three are published but I have been unable to identify conclusively the date of publication. *Königin-Mutter* tells the story of a Countess who is worried about her soldier son, *Jugend* uses the death of an unnamed soldier to discuss the meaning of heroism in the face of death on a wider scale, and *Das Wunder* is the story of a woman using pacifist methods to resolve a conflict. Both *Jugend* and *Königin-Mutter* are mentioned in passing in Loentz's article and *Das Wunder* is not mentioned at all. By examining the stories in this order, we can trace Krämer's responses to war from the personal (a mother worried about her son in particular), to the broader societal implication (what does heroism mean?) to how conflicts can be resolved.

In her 2007 article, Loentz argues that Krämer's wartime stories were not "overtly pacifist or "anti-war". Krämer is careful to depict the sacrifices made by soldiers as heroic and avoids criticising Germany's involvement in the war; she does not put forward any political solutions to the war (p.130). Loentz sees this as Krämer undermining the dominant narrative through her heartfelt depictions of suffering while avoiding censorship and unwanted attention that she may have garnered had her texts been overtly political (pp.130-131). This chapter will support Loentz's claims to an extent. As will be discussed, some of Krämer's poetry and short stories are concerned with detailed depictions of suffering caused as a direct result of the war, in particular the suffering of women. Krämer is also not overtly critical of soldiers and if she does not depict them as engaged in heroic acts, at the very least she shows them as stoic in the face of death. Krämer does not suggest alternative political ideologies but I will indicate that, as discussed throughout this thesis, this is a reflection of her wider inability to produce a comprehensive solution for many of the societal problems she chronicled because she was uncertain about how she should reconcile her own roles and identities.

Loentz also explores some of Krämer's stories which humanise the French through romantic stories and farces of German soldiers falling for French civilians. This refusal to see French

soldiers as a dehumanised “enemy” was shared with Krämer’s contemporary writer Ernst Toller. As discussed in Chapter One, Krämer was interested in Toller’s work and even though he was a soldier, he began to write vivid accounts and poems of the tragedy of human lives lost, regardless of whether that life was German or French (Dove, 1990, p.25). Loentz makes a reference to this humanisation as part of “long-standing European cosmopolitanism” (Loentz, 2007, p.133). As discussed in Chapter One, Krämer had an active and deep knowledge of Kant, as seen through her contact with Ludwig Quidde and her 1917 letter. As will be developed further in this chapter, Krämer’s adoption of cosmopolitanism is not merely as a result of her being surrounded by “long-standing European cosmopolitanism” and passively expressing this through her stories, it is her piecing together different philosophies to attempt to unite the different roles she fulfilled in society. It is an expression of her identity. Furthermore, Loentz indicates that cosmopolitanism was associated with Jews because Jews were considered to be part of an international community due to the lack of a Jewish homeland (p.134). However, Loentz does not note that at the time Krämer was writing, anti-Semites used this argument to attack Jews as corrupting the fatherland from within (Chickering, 1975, p. 397). Therefore, for Krämer to even begin to approach this idea of cosmopolitanism was a radical and high risk strategy. It indicates that she felt strongly about this subject and was willing to risk condemnation. Examples of Krämer’s expression of cosmopolitanism will be identified in this chapter.

That so much of Krämer’s work on this topic is unpublished could be for a number of reasons. Firstly, after the outbreak of war in 1914, the military took control of censorship of publications. By the end of 1915, this had become a smooth operation (Halliday, 1988, p.622). Not only were censors concerned about preventing undesirable material, as they saw it, from appearing in the press, but they were also aware that the government and the military could and should control the narrative about the war (p.624). The state declared a “Burgfrieden”, a domestic truce, in which political parties and interest groups were encouraged to cease their activities and end strife until the danger to the German nation had passed (Thorpe, 2000, p.195). All non-scientific publications came under the censors’ jurisdiction and any material that was deemed to affect the Burgfrieden could be banned (Stark, 2009, p.8). Krämer may have been influenced by this in two ways. Firstly, she may have limited her public writing to material which would have been deemed uncontroversial and therefore “safe” in the eyes of the censors. Secondly she may have unconsciously adopted some of the official narrative within her work, both published and unpublished. According to Foucault, the state institutions that surround an individual constrain and determine that individual’s behaviour, and this can also be applied to the structures of

censorship (Stark, 2009, p.xxi). Whether knowingly or not, the infrastructure of censorship would have influenced Krämer's style and choice of subject matter.

As well as dealing with censorship, Krämer would have been surrounded by pro-war propaganda. Imperial Germany utilised propaganda from the early days of the war and had a "sophisticated notion of propaganda and its reception by different publics" (Welch, 2014, p.1). Through this, the State was able to promote the image of Burgfrieden, effectively silence dissenting voices and give the impression of uniting Germans across class boundaries, at least in the early days of the war (pp.18-20). Germany began to produce newsreels from 1914 to show the efforts of the soldiers initially and later also the hard work of civilians on the home front (p.52). Throughout the war the number of cinemas grew and the number of distributors doubled (p.59). Furthermore, publications which attempted to criticise the State or the effects of the war on the population were initially criticised and could be banned (p.35). The public's appetite for brutal depictions of war was also limited; as the war dragged on, the majority of feature films pandered to the public's desire for escapism and avoided referencing either the war or its social consequences (Hake, 2008, p.25). The changing whims of the market would have had an effect on what Krämer was able to publish. The language of propaganda and its imagery can be identified in Krämer's work and will be discussed later. This chapter will therefore explore the connections between censorship, propaganda and her opinions about the war in order to examine Krämer's identities.

We can see the effect of this censorship in her poetry; in her archive in the Leo Baeck institute, there are thirteen poems in a folder labelled "War Poetry" which is dated "1914?-1918". Some of these are published with the date and publication visible whereas others are not and so it is unclear how the dates on the folder have been agreed upon. However, we can compare the published poems with the unpublished to gain an understanding of some of the war-related topics in which Krämer was interested and how she approached them. A full analysis of Krämer's poetry will not be provided in this thesis due to the constraints of space but I will analyse a representative sample from this war poetry folder to provide an insight into the ways in which she approached war through this genre.

The published poems, which have clear dates, are all from 1916 onwards and were published in weekend supplements to regional newspapers. 1916 is when the tide of public opinion about the war had begun to turn and become more negative. This is also the date after which the army had conducted the census of Jewish soldiers, which was seen to give

credence to anti-Semitic ideas that Jews were not shouldering an equal share of the burdens of war (Kaplan, 1991, p. 226). Krämer's published poems share a preponderance of nature imagery expressing the beauty of the natural world, such as: "Du Röslein bleich in Feindesland/ Sollst hier nicht einsam sterben" from *Lied* (1916) and "Kommt er [der Friede] gezogen/ Durch Korneswagen/ Im Aehrenfeld," from *Der Friede* (1917). They are also filled with a sense of longing for peace: "Wann blaut die Stunde, wann blaut das Fest/ Da uns dies lichtlos Leid verläßt" (*Wann nahst Du Auferstehungszeit?* 1917). The published pieces are neither openly condemning the war, or the actions of soldiers, nor depicting any violent imagery. Instead, the pity of war is reflected through words such as "lichtlos Leid" in the above quotation and the line at the end of the first stanza of *Lied* "Und ich muß weitergehen." with its brutal caesura.

The unpublished pieces seem somewhat crueller in their depictions. *Da draußen einer tot im Sand* reflects the impersonal nature of death in battle. Whereas in *Lied*, there is a grave dedicated to a single "Kamarad", in *Da draußen einer tot im Sand*, there is no grave. The brutal implications of this (has the soldier been buried in a mass grave, did he drown in the trenches, was he blown up by a mine?) might have meant that this poem was unpublishable whereas the apparent natural beauty and sense of peace in *Lied* could have seemed more palatable to the censors. The mother in *Da draußen einer tot im Sand* does not appear to have a grave to visit; she cannot bring any flowers and there is a sense of pathos in the penultimate stanza:

Ein Mutterherze bebt vor Freud'  
Und ahnt nicht der Stunde bitteres Leid,  
Daß draußen ihr Kind liegt tot im Sand...

The dramatic irony of the contradiction between the mother's joy at her son's heroics and impending despair when she eventually learns of his death leave the reader with an overwhelming sense of sympathy for the mother. His heroic actions earlier could be seen as a justification for the war and his death but the tragic tone at the end of the poem seems to engulf this.

The tragedy that mothers experienced is also present in the unpublished *Wenn ich an mein Mädel denk'*. The soldier in this poem is convinced firstly that he will return home to his girl "Ich denke mir/ Ich komm' schon wieder Heim zu ihr" and "Ich denke mir,/ Daß ich sie wiederseh'". When he entertains the possibility that he might not return, he claims not to

be worried for her: “Ich weiß gewiß/ Sie trauert nicht zu lang”. This is then contrasted in the next stanza with:

Wenn ich an meine Mutter denk’  
 Dann wird mir furchtbar weh.  
 ...  
 Denn dies steht fest,  
 Daß sie ihr Herz bei meinem läßt  
 ...  
 Wenn ich zu sterben geh’.

Here the death of the soldiers is not connected to any heroic actions and is indicated to be inevitable “Wenn ich zu sterben geh’”. The girlfriend’s affection seems to be more fleeting than the eternal love of the mother. Krämer’s concerns and sympathetic depictions of soldiers’ mothers will be discussed in this chapter. That it featured so prominently in some of her poetry indicates that this was a topic in which she was interested and felt was significant.

Although Krämer refers to heroic acts, she is never specific about them. In the unpublished *Ein kleines Lied*, the second and final stanza contains a reference to heroism:

Sie klingt vom Sterben und Vergehn  
 Vom Wiedersehn und Auferstehn,  
 Verschwebt dann leise, leise...

The funereal song is connected to unspecified heroics but dissipates at the end, leaving little comfort despite the possibility of “Wiedersehn und Auferstehn”. From these poems it is hard to declare Krämer as definitively pro- or anti-war. Instead, we see that she was concerned about the tragedy of loss, especially for mothers, and that she questions the purpose of war but is careful not to denigrate the soldiers’ efforts because she still recognises it as heroic even if she cannot articulate why. These themes will be continued and expanded through the analysis of her stories. Ultimately, I will provide an insight into how conflicted Krämer was and how she struggled to reconcile her identities at a time when she and her community were under scrutiny both as Jewish Germans and as women.

In the previous chapter, we saw how important motherhood and spiritual motherhood were to Krämer and we can see how this continues in her writing about war and conflict. In *Der mutige Schneider* (1916, *Jung-Merkuria*), a tailor returns from the front to visit his mother. Baroness Yvorg spies him and takes the opportunity to ask about her son with whom she believes the tailor is serving. The tailor refuses to admit that he knows the baroness' son and the narrator tells us: "Gestern um Sonnennuntergang haben sie den jungen Leutnant Yvorg im Schatten der alten Ahornbäume des französischen Schloßparks begraben". The narrator concludes with: "Dies aber der Baronin zu sagen, dazu hatte er nicht den Mut gefunden- der mutige Schneider". We can also presume that, as he does not tell his own mother about the death of the Baroness' son during the story, he does not have the courage to tell her and burden her with the worry that he might also die. We are informed at the beginning of the story that he has the "Tapferkeitsmedaille und das Eiserne" but not which acts earned him these medals. At the end of the story, his bravery fails him in the face of a mother. The potential power of her grief, possibly representative of the grief of all mothers, is more powerful than the enemy. Mothers are also shown in *Heimsuchung* (unpublished and undated) when Barbara (a worker and a single mother) meets the bourgeois Maria at the graves of their sons who have died in the war. The tragedy they have experienced brings them together for a moment, despite their class differences. We can explore this idea of grief cutting through class divisions and the power of grieving mothers in *Königin-Mutter*.

### *Königin-Mutter* (1915?)

Although it is not possible to identify the publication of *Königin-Mutter*, there are still clues worthy of exploration. The story appears to have been published twice. On the second page of the second publication, there is a section titled: "Hauswirtschaftliches Wochenplauderei". This suggests that this publication is aimed at women, who would be assumed to be interested in domestic matters. Under this title is an article about the new pricing regulations for butter and the effect this will have on the upcoming Christmas celebrations. This indicates that this is a piece from a non-Jewish publication (Christmas is usually only mentioned in passing, if at all, in many Jewish publications), that it is from the war when prices were regulated to control demand, and that it is from the winter. It also contains recipes with suggestions for substitutions to save money and to ensure that the reader and their family can still have a happy Christmas. Furthermore, the article discusses that the situation before the new regulations was untenable as police had to be stationed outside shops selling butter: "um den durch Massendandrang der Käufer gestörten Verkehr zu ordnen, anderseits waren ganzen Stadtbezirke, in denen keine größeren Geschäfte lagen,

tagelang ohne jede Butter". In October 1915, riots over the cost and unavailability of butter broke out in Berlin (Davis, 2000, p.87). This suggests that this article could be from the winter of 1915, after the butter riots even though, due to censorship, the publication could not directly discuss the riots (p.104). We can therefore assume that the readers of this publication and Krämer's story are women who are beleaguered by the effects of the war and food shortages. The reassurances about Christmas suggest a worry about the future. This female readership could be looking to Krämer's work either for inspiration or looking for accurate representations of their lives and struggles in works of fiction as, due to censorship they could not find this in the press.

*Königin-Mutter* is set in a dressmaker's where Fräulein Elisabeth is helping Gräfin von und zu Zupott und Planstädt navigate the latest fashions. Fräulein Elisabeth explains the "Mantelkleid" to the elegant lady but the Gräfin is struggling to even appear interested and her thoughts are focussed on how the seamstress looks familiar but she cannot place her. The Gräfin then breaks social convention: "sie spricht zu der Verkäuferin von den Angelegenheiten ihres Hauses. Nämlich sie habe von ihrem Sohn aus dem Felde schon seit mehr denn einer Woche keine Nachricht. Dies sei der Grund, weshalb sie ihre Gedanken heute nicht zusammenhalten könne". Fräulein Elisabeth attempts to respond as the Gräfin is leaving but is unable to express herself: "Verzeihung Frau Gräfin... ich- ich glaube Frau Gräfin hätten den Muff vergessen..."

Frau Gräfin sleeps badly that night, worrying about her son, Wolf-Christian, and whether he is in the middle of a battle, or bleeding to death, or lying dead in a trench. She cannot sleep anymore and so begins thinking about Fräulein Elisabeth at the dressmaker's: "Jedoch nicht wirklich, sondern als ein Bild. Mitten in einer Winterlandschaft und auf Stiern. Richtig als Amateurbildchen, und zwar in – Wolf-Christians Photographiealbum". At first light she goes to her son's room and opens his desk, which she has the key for as he left it with her in case he should not return. She remembers how he had not cried when he had said this, merely swallowed a few times, as is proper for a young lieutenant. He had called her "Königin-Mutter": "so streng und vornehm und feudal, meint er". They had disagreed about the value of being nobility. He said: "Ob ich ein Graf von und zu heiße, oder Herr Müller oder Meier, sieh mal Mütterchen, das ist doch alles gleich". He goes even further: "in der französischen Revolution zum Beispiel haben sie dergleichen Vorurteil". "Und danach?" The Gräfin countered. "Danach haben sie langsam all die schönen Dinge wieder vorgeholt aus der Rumpelkammer, hm?" She finds his photo album while thinking about this and holds it as if it contains her son's fate.

At the breakfast table she peruses her post. There is nothing from her son but a letter from her cousin's son serving at the front. There is also a letter written in handwriting she does not recognise:

"Hochverehrte gnädige Frau, da ich Ihre Beunruhigung, sehr verehrte Frau Gräfin, wegen Ihres Herrn Sohnes wohl ermessen kann, erlaube ich mir hierdurch mitzuteilen, daß sich Graf Zupott wohl und augenblicklich in Ruhestellung befindet, wie ich in einer gestern an mich eingetroffenen Feldpostkarte entnehmen kann. Mit ausgezeichnete Hochachtung Elisabeth Winter." The Gräfin is happy to know that her son is alive "woher auch immer die Nachricht [ihr] kommt".

The Gräfin considers this situation carefully and then takes white roses with her to the dressmaker's for Fräulein Elisabeth. Fräulein Elisabeth curtsies but is unsure if she should kiss the hand of "seiner Mutter" but before she has a chance, the Gräfin moves the conversation on: "Und nun zeigen Sie mir bitte noch mal das Mantelkleid, dafür interessiere ich mich sehr".

Within this story we can see that Krämer's response to the war is complex and seemingly concerned with the personal nature of suffering and loss. It is indicated that loss is uniting women across class boundaries because war is ultimately a human tragedy. This could be due to censorship affecting the ways in which she could express herself, or it could be a reflection that she was conflicted about the war (as discussed in Chapter One, this is an idea which is supported by the fact that she chose to involve herself with war work, something which many pacifists saw as prolonging the war). It is possible that these conflicts are reflecting more than her concerns about the nature of wartime suffering, but are also reflecting the conflicts between her identity as a Jew and being confronted by anti-Semitic accusations that Jews were undermining the war effort, and between her sense of duty to the women's movement and her private doubts expressed in the 1917 letter to her nephew. From the analysis of her 1917 letter in Chapter One and the analyses in this chapter, we can gain an insight into how Krämer's identities were pulled apart due to the stress and suffering of wartime Germany. The protagonist is under a great deal of strain due to the war: she is described as "Hoch, schlank, elegant, vornehm". Outwardly, she seems to exude confidence as the narrator describes her actions in short, simple sentences: "Die Gräfin erhebt sich" but internally we can see that she is experiencing tremendous stress which we can see through her elliptical sentences as she wonders where she has seen Fräulein Elisabeth before: "Uebrigens- da war kein Zweifel- diesen Kopf mußte sie schon einmal

irgendwo gesehen haben. Wo doch nur?- Wo konnte die Gräfin von und zu Zupott und Planstädt der Verkäuferin schon einmal begegnet sein?- wo doch nur?" The iteration of the Gräfin's full title could be the noble lady reassuring herself of her status in a world that is beginning to seem disordered and her identity begins to fracture.

We quickly learn the reason for the Gräfin's psychological distress as she shares with Fräulein Elisabeth: "sie habe von ihrem Sohn aus dem Felde schon seit mehr denn einer Woche keine Nachricht. Dies sei der Grund, weshalb sie ihre Gedanken heute nicht zusammenhalten könne". Krämer compounds this description of the Gräfin's distress when the narrator depicts the Gräfin's thoughts as she tries to sleep: "Gottgott der Junge! Immer steht er ihr vor Augen- immer Wolf-Christian! Bald sieht sie ihn mitten in der Schlacht oder aus vielen Wunden bluten, oder tot im Schützengraben liegen. Sie will lieber schon gar nicht mehr einschlafen, nur um diese Bilder des Grauens nimmer sehen zu müssen". The exclamation marks punctuate her pain as she cannot stop imagining her son's fate. This is a similar, albeit more graphic, representation of death to *Da draußen einer tot im Sand*; rather than the anonymous "one" who is dead although we do not know how, Krämer has given a name, Wolf-Christian, and a few options for the method of his death. The outcome is the same in both the poem and the Gräfin's imagination: "Daß draußen ihr Kind liegt tot im Sand..." This worry would have been one that was very familiar to Krämer's readers, many of whom were most likely living with the knowledge that their son or husband could be killed at any moment and that, like the mother in *Da draußen einer tot im Sand*, they would not know until long after the event. Even while reading a letter from their relative, their son could already be dead. There is only one cause for this distress: the war. Without the war, these men would have been safe at home and not risking their lives. Although Krämer does not depict the Gräfin wishing that the war had never happened, possibly because such a story would not have been published, the war is definitely the root of the suffering in this story.

However, despite the Gräfin's internal suffering, outwardly she is leading her life as she would have done before the war; she is shopping. This seems to indicate that, from her perspective on the home front, the war is external to her and her life. If perhaps she had been shopping for butter, then we might have seen the impact the war was having on daily life but this is an activity that would have been unlikely for a Gräfin to participate in and, most likely, would not have been approved by the censors. However, we could possibly see her shopping as Krämer providing a counter-narrative to the beliefs that women's consumerist habits were detrimental to the war effort. In the "Wochenplauderei", women

and their egos are blamed for contributing to the food shortages as their mentality is described as “erst komme ich, dann kommen die anderen noch lange nicht”. For the Gräfin, shopping is a form of self-preservation; it is a way, perhaps the only way, she can keep her mind together. The story begins and ends in a shop and the resolution is brought about by the shop’s employee, highlighting the importance of consumerism. After the Gräfin has thanked Fräulein Elisabeth she concludes the story with “Und nun zeigen Sie mir bitte noch mal das Mantelkleid, dafür interessiere ich mich sehr”. Order has been restored and the Gräfin can continue shopping with her new knowledge. Furthermore, on a wider scale, by purchasing items she is putting money into the economy and supporting both Fräulein Elisabeth and her business and the domestic market in Germany. Krämer is undermining the narrative that was critical of women and their spending habits by allowing the Gräfin to indulge in bourgeois activities to give her a sense of normalcy.

Even with the overwhelming sense of tragedy within this story, there are indications that perhaps the war is something of a blessing in disguise, complicating the narrative and indicating that this is not simply an anti-war story. Despite the psychological distress brought about by her missing son, it is possible to argue that his absence has brought him and his mother closer. When she is looking for the photo album and recalling their past conversations, we are given a sense of the difficulties and miscommunication they have experienced: “Sie konnten sich nicht einigen, sie und ihr junger Sohn”, the narrator tells us. However, by the end of her recollections she is unable to put the photo album back in the drawer: “als wäre hier die Antwort auf die Frage nach des Sohnes Geschick”. She is holding a physical representation of her son, as her real son is far away, and attempting to learn about him and his life. This is something that may not have happened if her son had not gone to war. We know that she had seen the photograph before but she would not have had the key to his desk to look at it again. His absence due to the war, has given her, literally, the key to learning about her son.

Additionally, war is shown as not only bringing a mother and a son closer together, but also people of different classes. The Gräfin is described throughout by lists of adjectives: “Hoch, schlank, elegant, vornehm” and “streng und vornehm und feudal”. The repetition of “vornehm” places emphasis on this word; the Gräfin is, at least outwardly, a lady of breeding. However, she is driven to behave outside of the norms of her background by her anxiety about her son: “Nämlich- und nun tut die stolze Gräfin Zupott und Planstädt etwas, was keiner für möglich gehalten haben würde: sie spricht zu der Verkäuferin von den Angelegenheiten ihres Hauses”. Her anxiety leads her to break the traditions of class and

speak frankly to Fräulein Elisabeth, which in turn, prompts Fräulein Elisabeth to write to the Gräfin and bring about the resolution to this story. At the end, the Gräfin does not prohibit or condemn the relationship between Fräulein Elisabeth and her son, something which she might have done if he had been present to argue with and she did not fear for his safety. These two women have managed to find common ground because of the war heightening their emotions and their shared love of the missing soldier. This is perhaps the alternate face of the Burgfrieden; the women are united due to the war, but it is suffering that has brought them together, rather than a sense of duty to their country.

As with so much of Krämer's work, it is impossible to place her definitively on one side of a debate or the other. This can be seen in *Königin-Mutter* as the Gräfin recalls the argument she had with her son about the importance of class: "in der französischen Revolution zum Beispiel haben sie dergleichen Vorurteil glatt zum Speicherkrum geworfen, derlei antiquiertes, petrefaltes Gerümpel" is his argument. Perhaps he is arguing that the Germans are similar to the French and should follow their example by removing the aristocracy. Possibly he is taking a cosmopolitan view that we are all citizens of this world and should be bound by universal law and morality. The mother's response to her son's argument complicates the story here: "Danach haben sie langsam all die schönen Dinge wieder vorgeholt aus der Rumpelkammer, hm?". The Gräfin's argument is that the revolution has not changed anything and perhaps that violent revolution is not justified as any change it brings will only be short-lived. For her, as we see in the story, change is brought about through personal interactions: she shares her situation with Fräulein Elisabeth, who shares her knowledge in return, and both women learn something about the other. However, it is not clear from the end of the story if anything has changed; both women continue their conversation about clothes. This lack of clarity could have been due to censorship or it could be Krämer's own ambivalence about whether war is ever justified or the function of the class system. This could reflect the divisions within herself as she struggled to reconcile the different sides of her identity that were highlighted due to the war.

*Königin-Mutter* explores the responses to war from the perspective of a mother who is consumed with worry for the safety of her son. This worry has caused great turmoil in the Gräfin's life, leading to her acting outside the boundaries of normal behaviour. She participates in consumerism to try to find a sense of normalcy and to reassert her class identity but, as she discloses her concerns to the shop worker, this activity of is of limited effectiveness. She does not question the reasons behind the war or why her son had to leave, and she seems to find comfort in becoming closer to a woman of a lower class

background. This story could be indicative of Krämer's war work which brought her into some of the poorest areas of the city. Krämer vividly depicts mental anguish caused by the war, which may have been inspired by events she witnessed and women she worked with. The harmony at the end of the story is precarious; the Gräfin reaches out to Fräulein Elisabeth but it is only for a moment. The Gräfin's son could still be killed and her class identity seems to be a thin veneer that brings little comfort. This could be a reflection of Krämer's own experiences, leaving her with a sense that her bourgeois identity is fragile and the stresses of the war threatened to break it, an idea which can also be seen in the revolutionary undertones of *Die Groteske*. Krämer is providing a voice for those suffering on the home front but without openly criticising the war. The next story that will be analysed, *Jugend*, widens this to a debate about the nature of heroism in war.

### *Jugend* (1917?)

There is only one published version of *Jugend* in the archive, but with no publication title or date. At the top of the first page is an illustration of a cannon with what appears to be a dead soldier slumped beneath it. In the distance are two more soldiers, one lying on his back and the other seemingly crawling towards him. It is not possible to say for certain if they are alive or what nationality they are. The illustration is signed "H.Reich", whom I have been unable to identify. At the end of the story is a poem "Durchhauen oder sterben" by Wilhelm Kleffner-Oestinghausen who does not seem to have been the subject of any academic research and therefore I have no further information about him. The illustration and the high page number (464) suggest that this story is from a magazine rather than a newspaper (magazines sometimes numbered their pages beginning with one at the start of the year and running contiguously until the end of the year). The illustration is good quality but not in colour and there are no advertisements on either page. This indicates that the publication was perhaps not as popular as the arts and culture magazine, *Jugend*, which had colour illustrations, but still of high quality. The mixture of prose, poetry and images indicates a similar readership to *Jugend*; bourgeois with enough money and leisure time to devote to such a magazine. In the story, reference is made to a burial in Messines. This could be a reference to the Battle of Messines in June 1917 which began with British troops detonating mines under the German forces and heavy shelling, resulting in the complete destruction of the German trenches (Doyle and Bennett, 1997, p.19). However, due to the location of Messines in Flanders, there were many battles in this area including the first and second Battles of Ypres (1914 and 1915) which included fighting for the Messines Ridge (Doyle and Bennett, 1997, p.15). If this story is from 1917, and the mass grave referenced in

the story could be the after-effects of mine detonations, then this story could be reflecting the emotions of a war-weary public and Krämer's personal disappointment with increasing anti-Semitism after the 1916 Judenzählung.

*Jugend* opens with the narrator explaining that for some people their lives are like poplar avenues (long and straight and just as boring) but for the narrator's "liebe Bub", life was like a rocket which exploded in the starry heavens. The narrator then describes three young boys, their jackets too large for them, sitting on the grass on a sunny July day discussing their planned trip to Switzerland. The third boy from Schwaben is quieter as his plans have been put on hold; he has enlisted in the army. He is looking forward to "seine ganze Kraft mal wieder brauchen zu dürfen und am Abend rechtschaffen totmüde zu sein". The narrator reminds us of the conclusion to the boy's life: they buried him in Flanders, in Messines. The narrator takes a fatalistic approach to the boy's life and sees his death as a sentence which was pronounced in Sarajevo where it all "kicked off" on a July day. To celebrate midsummer, the narrator recalls how the young man danced through the flames with all the others on "death row" including, for example, Herr von L. who sang and played guitar on the way home and sang "Und da liegt er nun und schreit so sehr weil er erschossen ist". In a letter sent from the front, the young man stated that a comrade had been shot in the forehead and the blood spurted out. He wrote that to die in such a way is something beautiful, especially when compared with the mutilations others suffered. However the narrator tells us "Ach Du Lieber, und gerade dies ‚Schöne‘ haben sie nun auch Dir angetan. Dort in dem Schützengraben vor Messines!" Additionally, he said "Es komme wie es kommen mag, ich habe überall Kameraden und bin nicht allein". That also came to pass, the narrator realises; he has many comrades in the mass grave at Messines. These words echoed for the narrator like a refrain "oder der Kehrreim wie man ja jetzt auf deutsch sagen muß". The narrator concludes by explaining that everyone who knew and loved this man shed bitter tears. But, the narrator asks, why are they crying? Is it because his life was not like a poplar avenue but a shooting rocket?

Whereas all the characters in *Königin-Mutter* had names, in *Jugend*, they do not. This could be Krämer attempting to broaden the message in her story to make it applicable for the widest audience possible. The only identifying features of this story are the fact that one of the boys comes from Schwaben and that he is buried at Messines. The narrator depicts a highly romanticised portrait of three boys on the cusp of adulthood: "der Lange, dem der blaue Janker viel zu weit um die eckigen Schultern flattert, und der andere, der kleine machen Pläne. Pläne für eine Schweizerreise". Even though they must have been about the

age of military service, the description of the cardigan, which is too big for the boy, marks them as younger. The language used to describe their travel plans also paints them as children, dreaming big for the future: “Die ganze Schweiz muß es sein. Das Engadin und die Jungfrau und Gorner Grat und Montblanc und was weiß ich noch alles”. The childish sentence construction with the repeated use of “und” and their desire to see the whole of Switzerland rather than a few highlights that a more seasoned traveller might choose, further encourage the reader to view these boys as younger. Even the setting of this scene is idyllic: “Da schreiten drei Jünglinge die grüne Wiese hinan, hinein in den goldenen Julimorgen”. This gives the impression that the narrator is looking back on a distant past, far removed from the present. It also has the feel of a typical adventure story; this is the safe world of home from which the adventurer must travel in order to achieve their goal.

Krämer contrasts the childish depiction of soldiering with the realities of war. The soldier is not shown to be suffering because his death is quick and is shown to be fated: “Und ward sein Todesurteil gesprochen an jenem Sonnwendtag, da es in Sarajewo auf so furchtbare Weise geknallt hat”. This sense of predestination puts the young soldier into the role of a knight in a story; he rides into battle knowing that the end of the story has already been written. It also removes any sense of blame from the actions of the soldier or the enemy; if his death is destined, there is no one to blame. This idea of the soldier as a heroic knight is echoed by the narrator who describes the boy’s feelings after having signed up: “Und er freut sich, seine ganze Kraft mal wieder brauchen zu dürfen und am Abend rechtschaffen totmüde zu sein, sagt er. Und man ‚verliege‘ ordentlich daheim, wie es in alten Heldenbüchern heiße”. The young soldier is seemingly unable to distinguish reality from books. Moreover, we are not told what activities will be leading him to feel “totmüde”; the realities of soldiering and killing are absent from his imagination. Additionally, the soldier’s death almost seems to be compared to that of a medieval knight, lying in state: “am Ende zöge er das ‚Röckle‘, wie sie in seiner Heimat scherzhaft die Uniform nennen, gar nimmer aus”. Like a knight, he has his uniform on for eternity. This could be seen to be influenced by pro-war ideology; in David Welch’s book, there are several images of popular propaganda posters depicting German soldiers as knights fighting against monsters from the *Nibelungen* myths (Welch, 2014 pp.223-5). However, unlike the statues on the tombs of knights, ironically, the reason why this soldier’s uniform cannot be removed is because he has been left unceremoniously in a mass grave. The young man’s childish expectations are contrasted with the brutal reality of his death, emphasising the tragedy of war.

Furthermore, in life and in death, the soldier is never alone. The soldier himself writes: “Ich freue mich, dieser großen Sache dienen zu können, ob mit dem Leben oder mit dem Tod, das gilt mir gleich! ... Es komme wie es kommen mag, ich habe überall Kameraden und bin nicht allein”. As sorry as we might feel about the death of this young man, as he went so cheerfully into battle and was seemingly happy with his friends, it is hard to view his death as part of an epic tragedy. Images of soldiers working together were popular in German newsreels (Welch, 2014, pp.53-5). However, the narrator subverts these images and narrative by reminding us: “Und du hast viele Kamaraden. In dem Massengrab dort vor Messines”. As these two sentences are so short, they seem brutal and the second loaded with irony that undermines the assertion of the first. As we know the young soldier is from Schwaben, we know that he has been buried far from home and, while he may have been buried with his comrades, that does not change the fact that he is dead. It seems within this narrative of a young man doing his duty and dying for his country, there are ironic undercurrents.

Additionally, *Jugend* seems to take an ironic stance on the causes of the First World War; we are only told that it started in Sarajevo, not the causes or what happened. Interestingly, in the draft of *Jugend*, Krämer misspelled it as “Serajewo”, indicating perhaps that the events that happened are far away and not relevant to Germany. Her misspelling could have been intentional and was inadvertently corrected when the story was printed. Krämer also depicts the outbreak of the war:

Und ward sein Todesurteil gesprochen an jenem Sommwendtag, da es in Sarajewo auf so furchtbare Weise geknallt hat. An dem nämlichen Sommwendtag, da er das Feuer umtanzt und fröhlich durch die Flammen gesprungen ist. Seines und all der anderen Todesurteil. Zum Beispiel das des großen Herrn von L., der noch auf dem Heimweg so drollig zur Gitarre gesungen hat

The references to fires could be a reference to “Johannisfeuer”, which are traditional bonfires lit in predominantly Catholic areas of south Germany to celebrate midsummer (Becker-Huberti, 2014). The narrator is contrasting the innocence of the young men who participated in a rural tradition with the war that was about to erupt all around them. This evocation of the German countryside is a reference to Heimat, perhaps indicating that the death of young men from a rural background is the death of the German spirit. The young man is going off to fight and die in a war which has begun for reasons no one explains (and

the misspelling suggests it does not matter anyway) and which will claim the lives of so many others.

*Jugend* appears to be focussed on the idea that life can either be a “Pappelallee.

Gleichmäßig und kerzengerade. Und so langweilig. Und wenn sie dann, alt geworden, sterben, dann ist es ganz gleich, ob es 60 Jahre gewesen sind oder 70, 80 oder 90, den es war immer dasselbe” or life can be “wie eine Rakete, die kerzengerade aufsteigt in den nächtlichen Sternenhimmel und dann erlischt”. Presented with these two choices, the boring poplar avenue or the dramatic rocket exploding in the brilliant night sky, the rocket seems to be the preferable choice, which makes this appear to be a pro-war statement. However, rationally, the poplar avenue is the more useful object (it enables people to journey from one place to another whereas a rocket is merely there for a moment’s entertainment). Furthermore, the narrator has repeated the word “kerzengerade” linking the two ideas of the avenue and the rocket together. This prompts the reader to reconsider what the difference between these two is. Therefore, if both options lead straight and in one direction, surely it is better to die after a long and useful life (even if it is dull), than to disappear quickly? Additionally, because the avenue will remain, there is a sense of permanence about this way of life that the rocket does not have. The young soldier has disappeared into nothingness, like the rocket. As he is in a mass grave in a war zone, it is impossible for those who love him to visit his grave to mourn. This would have been the experience of many families during the First World War. We can see that there are questions raised about the purpose of dying in battle and the nature of heroism without outright condemnation of the war.

*Jugend* also seems to have a degree of cosmopolitanism within its message. The soldier writes “ich habe überall Kameraden” which could be taken as meaning comrades beyond Germany. As the First World War was a war that involved so many different nationalities, the soldier quite literally would have had comrades from all over the world. It is also possible to take this argument further and suggest that his comrades could even be the enemy. The narrator refers to his words as a “refrain” but then corrects this with: “oder der Kehrreim, wie man ja jetzt auf deutsch sagen muß”. This correction seems irrelevant; refrain is just as easy to understand as “Kehrreim”. This worrying about such an irrelevance as sorting words in to German and non-German could be a reference to anti-French sentiments and feelings of German patriotism but it could also be an indication of the irrelevance of sorting young men into German and “the enemy”. A word is just a word and a young man is just another young man. The tragedy is that he is being forced to fight and eventually die

while fighting and killing other young men. Through these subtle language choices, we can see a connection to the ideas of cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, by keeping her characters nameless, Krämer is able to make this story apply to every young man killed in battle.

In *Jugend*, unlike in some of Krämer's other stories such as *Der Muckl und die Franzosenfrau* or *Der Schulmeister*, there are no depictions of heroic actions. Instead violent depictions of death are presented: "Ein Kamerad wurde in die Stirn getroffen. Das Blut spritzte. Aber man muß nicht vergessen, daß so ein Schuß eigentlich was Schönes ist im Vergleich zu all den Verstümmelungen". In a choice between a bullet between the eyes or physical disabilities resulting from mutilation, perhaps the quick death would seem the preferable option to a previously active young man. However, surely it would be even more preferable if he were not faced with either of these options? Without any depictions of heroic actions, it is hard to see the justification for death or mutilation in *Jugend* and the end of the story seems to indicate this: "Alle die Vielen, die ihn so sehr geliebt, weinen nun bitterlich. Worüber weinen sie? Daß sein Leben nicht einer Pappelallee gleicht, sondern einer aufsteigenden Rakete?" As there are no depictions of his actions, we have not seen how he has lit up the night sky in a burst of brilliance. Instead, all we have is the sense of wasted potential. That so many are described as crying over his death suggests that they do not believe in this rhetoric either. The reader is left with the overwhelming sense of the tragedy of war.

As with so much of Krämer's work, *Jugend* is not quite what it seems. Krämer uses pro-war rhetoric to create a story that subtly undermines this. For a war weary public, many of whom would have known the tragedy of young men disappearing in the trenches first hand, the rocket exploding into nothingness could have spoken volumes. Furthermore, as the brutal depictions of death are not matched with soldiers' deeds, the reader is left questioning whether a death can ever be heroic. Krämer avoids outright condemnation of the war or its supporters, something which may have been refused by the censors and placed an unwanted spotlight on Krämer, but we can see that this story is concerned with the pity of war. By keeping the soldiers and the narrator nameless, the story becomes more universal than *Königin-Mutter*, which is in keeping with the title of the story; this story might be about a specific youth but the themes are applicable to all young men. Krämer has moved the discourse from the individual notion of suffering, to the questioning of the collective nature of heroism and death in battle. It is now possible to broaden this even further by looking at how Krämer dealt with conflict resolution in order to understand what she posed as an alternative to war.

### *Das Wunder* (1920s?)

*Das Wunder* was published as there is a version printed in Fraktur in the archive as well as two draft versions. However, the Fraktur version is not in good condition and is nothing more than a clipping without a title or date. It is therefore impossible to know when or where this was published. *Das Wunder* is also not directly about the war and, as will be shown, is a difficult story to distil into its themes. However, the incident which creates the turning point for the narrative is a fight and it is the protagonist's response to this fight that causes the resolution. Therefore, this story can be seen to suggest how to end conflict without escalating violence. *Das Wunder*, even though it is undated, can be seen to be a connection between many parts of Krämer's work; it has a rural setting like her 1924 series *Erinnerungen* or the unpublished *Menschen*. However, unlike these stories, it does not contain any overtly Jewish characters and, in fact, contains references to Christianity. *Das Wunder* also contains references to a "Zuckerbirnbaum", which was a prominent feature of her 1927 novella *Die Rauferei* (discussed in the next chapter). This is by no means conclusive but suggests that this story is from the 1920s, perhaps before she wrote her novella as she experiments with some of the themes that she later expands in *Die Rauferei*. Furthermore, this story unites the two previous chapters as it is about a woman making a journey by herself, who experiences threats but is able to use aspects of spiritual motherhood to find a peaceful resolution.

The story begins with the town councillor, who was also a poet, spending a few weeks in the countryside in order to compose a story. He is looking at a pear tree which is heavy with blossom. Up above, where the trunk splits into branches, someone has nailed a picture of the Virgin Mary. It reminds him of a story he read in the paper about a Hungarian village church where the Virgin Mary and baby Jesus stepped out of their painting, laughed at the watching congregation before eventually returning to their place over the altar. He tells this to a nearby countrywoman and she says that she has often wished to see such a miracle with her own eyes. He asks her if the pear tree with all its blossom is a miracle. She says no because it is something natural that happens every year. She gives the example of her husband who was crushed to death when logging. If he had not been killed, that would have been a miracle. She then changes the topic to her journey into town. He asks if she will go on foot or by carriage along the main road. It does not occur to him that she will cut through the forest. She explains that of course she will go through the forest as it takes forty-five minutes more to go via the road. He says to her that it is a miracle that nothing has happened to her, in the dark forest, when she is so alone. She laughs.

One time after this, as she is walking through the forest, she is approached by three lads who demand she hand over her purse. She screams but they are not deterred. She suddenly realises that she needs to be stricter with her own fatherless sons so that they do not turn out like these lads. One of them produces a knife. She pulls her bag out from under her petticoats and holds it aloft. One of the lads tries to get closer to her body and she gives him such a clip round the ear that his entire head shakes. Another tries to grab the bag from her hand and she shouts that they must listen to her. She explains that she only has fifteen Marks in her bag and split three ways they will not be able to feed themselves for long. She explains that she lives nearby and they should come home with her and she will feed them for a week. She has to promise several times that she is not going to report them to the police. She returns with the lads and shows them to the storyteller as they go past. She is a little sad that she still has not experienced a miracle.

This story, at a glance, might appear to be more closely connected with the stories of single women making journeys alone discussed in Chapter Two but there are key differences that set *Das Wunder* apart. Unlike *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten* or even *Königin-Mutter*, which seem far more rooted in the humdrum experiences of the everyday, *Das Wunder* is a far more magical story. From the miracle described by the storyteller at the start to the countrywoman caring for three boys, the story seems removed from reality. Therefore, even though the young countrywoman must journey through the forest, it is not the dark, unfamiliar forest of *Wenn man eine Frau ist*, it is a place of beauty: “sie [war] gerade an der großen Buche vorbeigekommen, die so viele Blätter um sich hergestreut hat daß weithin der Boden rot ist”. The use of the definite article when describing the beech tree suggests that this is a familiar location for the woman and therefore, even though this is where the thieves appear with the aim of robbing her, it is her territory and ultimately she is in control. Moreover, in *Wenn man einer Frau ist* or *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten* the dangerous men appear out of the darkness and do not specify what they want from the protagonist, whereas in *Das Wunder*, the thieves instantly state what they want: “Doch die drei brüllen immerzu dagegen: ‘Geld her, Geld her!’”. They are attacking her specifically for her money and not necessarily because she is female. However, the countrywoman is not entirely free from underlying sexual threats. The red leaves of the beech tree, incongruous with the heavy blossom of the pear tree mentioned in the story’s opening, are possibly symbolic of hymen blood. Furthermore, the thieves’ attack could be seen as sexual: “einer versucht es, sich nahe an ihren Leib zu drängen” as “Leib” can be translated as body or womb. It is also growing darker in the forest: “indem Halbdunkel des hereinbrechenden Abends”. Despite this danger, the countrywoman is not afraid: “So

dachte die Frau selbst in diesem Augenblick in die Zukunft hinein, aber keineswegs ans Sterben". This also marks *Das Wunder* as different from the terrified protagonists in Chapter Two. Finally, as will be discussed in this chapter, the protagonist of *Das Wunder* creates a dialogue with the thieves, deescalating the situation and avoiding violence, sexual or otherwise. Therefore, this story has been chosen to explore Krämer's approach to conflict resolution.

This story could seem oversimplified and trite; the thieves in the forest trust the humble peasant woman and no one is hurt. However, in this story, Krämer has created such a tone of magic and wonder that somehow, at least in the world of the story, this outcome seems possible. The townsman at the start who is looking for a story to tell seems to indicate that this story is not supposed to be realistic. The confusion about the time of year (the pear blossom and the fallen beech leaves) creates an unreal landscape. The story of the miracle that the townsman tells and the title both indicate to the reader that something wondrous is going to happen. We are also never told where this story takes place or the names of any of the characters. This surreal setting is in stark contrast to the brutal reality of *Spaziergang durch den Englischen Garten*. While this means that the peaceful conflict resolution seems possible in this setting, it also seems impossible in the real world. Perhaps Krämer was creating a vision for how the world could be or perhaps she was recognising that it was impossible.

*Das Wunder* hinges on the countrywoman's ability to persuade the three thieves not to attack her or steal her money and this is the moment that brings the resolution to the tale. The woman seems almost overwhelmed by the threat she is facing; the boys are described as "wie aus der Hölle herausgewachsen" and "sie sieht wie einer dabei das Messer aus dem Stiefelschaft zieht". She tries to match their violence with her own: "Da gibt ihm die Frau eine Ohrfeige, daß ihm der Kopf wackelt". Then the narrator indicates the intellectual weapons she has at her disposal to defeat them to us as she shows the lads that she understands their situation: "Doch sie hebt ihn [den Beutel] ganz hoch in die Luft und schreit, daß sie sie zuerst einmal anhören müßten: also- sie habe fünfzehn Mark da drin und ein paar Pfennige, komme also auf jeden von ihnen fünf Mark; davon könnten sie kaum eine Woche leben, sich höchstens ein paar Räusche kaufen und danach hätten sie wieder nichts". She then invites them back to stay with her: "sie sollten mit ihr heimkommen, bekämen eine Woche lang das Essen bei ihr und könnten auch im Heu schlafen". She has been able to put herself in their shoes and understand their needs (a warm bed and food). Her logic, that the money will not go very far, is tempered by her empathy, as they can only be thieves because

they have no other way to support themselves. Through this understanding, she is able to posit a solution and resolve the conflict.

Through using this logic and empathy, the woman is able to gain the trust of the thieves; trust is another key step in this model of conflict resolution. The thieves think they see through her plan: “kaum würde sie in diese Mausefalle gegangen sein, so wäre auch schon der Polizeidiener zur Stelle”. Both sides need to trust one another in order for this conflict to be resolved: “Auf Ehr’ und Seeligkeit” the woman swears and repeats this over and over again as the lads “immerzu mordsmörderlich an sie hingeschrieen hat”. Eventually one turns to her and asks “eine ganze Woche?”. It is not clear what convinces the lads to trust her but it could be because she has to trust them. She is relying on them not to attack her, either in the forest or in her own home, and they must trust that she will not give them to the authorities. The thieves have three options: they could attack her now and steal the fifteen Marks, they could go home with her and attack her then, enabling them to steal fifteen Marks and whatever meagre belongings she has, or they can take her up on her offer and have somewhere warm to sleep and good food for a week, which is worth more than fifteen Marks. She can trust them to choose the sensible option and they can trust her to keep them safe.

In this setting, the only character who does not fit is the countrywoman herself. She seems very practical minded, willing to believe the miracle of the Virgin Mary but unwilling to see any magic around her. Her example of a miracle is “wie damals vor einem Jahr ihr Mann beim Holzfällen zu Tode gedrückt wurde von einem stürzenden Baum, wenn er damals, wie sie ihn auf einmal so angebrachten- doch nicht tot gewesen wäre, das, so etwas, das zum Beispiel wäre ein Wunder gewesen”. Without her husband, like the Gräfin in *Königin-Mutter* who is missing her son, the world can hold no distraction for her. Even after she has shared this tragedy, she returns to thinking about practicalities: “machte eine Handbewegung, als schiebe sie damit alle Ueberlegungen und alle traurigen Erfahrungen weit von sich und sprach von anderen Dingen”. It is no wonder that she cannot see the miracles around her, as she is so caught up in the minutiae of daily life, and yet, perhaps because of this, because she is so aware of the world, she is able to empathise with the thieves. Therefore, because the resolution comes from her and because she refuses to see it as a miracle, the reader is guided to see it not as a miracle but a possible response. If we could only be more like her, we could resolve conflicts in our own lives and on a wider scale.

We also learn that the widowed countrywoman is a mother because when she is being threatened by the thieves, she thinks about her own family: “Da muß die Frau denken, den der Gedanken ist ja bekanntlich geschwinder wie der Blitz- daß sie gar nicht streng genug sein könne mit ihren drei vaterlosen Buben daheim, damit nicht einst solche Nichtsnutze aus ihnen würden, wie diese da”. We could therefore see her ability to empathise as part of spiritual motherhood; because she is a mother, she implicitly understands the plight of others. However, she still sees the thieves as “Nichtsnutze”, a term which does not convey any maternal fondness, and she is concerned about her own boys who she describes as “vaterlos”; if spiritual motherhood were all-encompassing then they would be protected by her power as a mother. She is concerned that the lack of a male role model could result in her sons turning to crime and she needs to be stricter, seen as a typically male quality, to protect them. Her desire to help the thieves is not driven by nurturing instincts but by logic and reason, perhaps indicating that conflict resolution can only exist when empathy is combined with reason.

This idea of conflict resolution through empathy can be seen in much of Krämer’s work. In her 1917 letter to her nephew, she demonstrates empathy with the French and, furthermore, we could see her letter as an attempt to explain her situation in order to resolve the conflict with her nephew. In *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr*, the wife empathises with the thief’s mother. It suggests that Krämer felt much conflict could be avoided if all parties took the time to understand one another and attempted to find ways to alleviate the needs of others. Her approach fits into the framework of what today has become known as “restorative justice”, which highlights the differences between it and retributive justice (Feather et al, 2007, p.376). In restorative justice, the victim has been deprived of something (this could be something physical as in cases of theft or something metaphysical like respect) but also the community has been damaged by the violation of a social norm and, therefore, merely returning the object, if this is indeed possible, will not restore the balance (p.375). Therefore, when the thief returns the watch in *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr*, this is not enough to reset the scales; he needs to explain his actions and apologise to repair his violation to the social norm. In *Das Wunder*, the countrywoman has not suffered a loss of a material object, she manages to keep her money, but the respect that is owed to her has been violated. Letting the thieves go on their way would not repair the violation to the social code and it would not repair the damage the community will suffer as a result of this violation to the shared social norms. Retributive justice moves the offenders and the victims into the roles of bit players; the state is the main part and everyone else has only a limited opportunity to present their actions and wishes (p.377). This could explain why the

countrywoman does not want to call the authorities to take the thieves away; she has been disempowered through the thieves' actions and attitudes towards her and therefore does not want to become disempowered through the legal system. She can also present the thieves with an opportunity to learn and grow into productive members of the community that they would not have if they were taken away to be punished by the law. This is moving beyond Kantian theories of justice because, for Kant, it was the role of the state to guarantee and enforce the equal rights of individuals (Dudley and Engelhard, 2011, p.145). As restorative justice is not widely practised today, the countrywoman's actions are deeply radical (p.377). The usage of restorative justice requires a delicate balancing act from the countrywoman; she has to balance empathy and reason but also her needs as an individual with the needs of the collective. As Krämer was perpetually involved in balancing her identities and her role as a leader for the benefit of wider society, it is not hard to imagine how this story expresses Krämer's own struggles and shows how this can be resolved.

This chapter has explored Krämer's response to war from personal stories of distress, to collective suffering to the ideal of peaceful conflict resolution. Throughout all of the stories explored in this chapter, there is an undercurrent of pacifism. The variety of different characters experiencing suffering as a result of the war (in this chapter alone we have seen a Gräfin, a sales assistant and a peasant woman, but in her other stories we see representatives from the working class and the bourgeoisie too) indicate that suffering as a result of war is a universal human experience. Krämer's depictions of war are centred on the psychological distress caused by the fear of losing loved ones. She also avoids depicting acts of heroism, leading to the deaths of soldiers appearing to be futile, but without dishonouring the soldiers as she suggests they are stoic in the face of death. Additionally, her pacifist responses seem to indicate that war is something that can be avoided and, as it is the cause of so much suffering, should be avoided.

As a Jewish woman, Krämer was deeply conflicted about the nature of war and this may have been what inspired her writing. This tentative exploration is a stark contrast to the 1917 letter to her nephew in which she sets out her pacifist ideology clearly (although she resisted the pacifist label). She may have used her poetry and stories as an outlet for her conflicting emotions about participating in war work. She perhaps needed to create the imagined utopia of *Das Wunder* to show how small-scale conflicts can be resolved and therefore that life, and her life, did not have to contain the horrors of war. Her use of restorative justice could also be an extension of her Jewish identity; as a Jew, she may have been distrustful of the state and its agents that could not be relied upon to guarantee the

rights of minority groups. By empowering victims to restore justice to communities damaged by offenders, Krämer is empowering women like herself. Krämer is both ahead of her time, as restorative justice is still contentious today, and deeply radical. She is attempting to carve out a place for herself in a world that put her identities under so much tension. These themes are explored in more detail and at greater length in her novella, *Die Rauferei*, which will be analysed next.

## Chapter Five: *Die Rauferei* (1927)

The previous three chapters have explored Krämer's short stories and examined the experiences of women in the public sphere, spiritual motherhood and responses to war. Through the analysis of Krämer's work, this thesis has reflected how she was attempting to record key events in the world around her and her responses to them. The medium of creative writing gave her an outlet to explore problems that she identified and imagine possible solutions. However, as has been discussed, these solutions are not always plausible, particularly with regards to women in the public sphere and her responses to war. She selected parts from different philosophies and ideologies, including Heimat, cosmopolitanism, spiritual motherhood, among others, but the endings of her stories are often unsatisfactory. This indicates the tensions within herself; just as she resisted labels because they restricted who she was, so she resists embracing one philosophy. Like Mendelssohn, she attempts to have a plural identity but is consumed by concerns about whether this is possible. In 1927, Krämer's only novella, *Die Rauferei*, was published. All of the themes from the previous three chapters are continued and expanded within this novella. This chapter will analyse the novella in order to uncover the themes and problems she explores and to see how her reflections indicate her fundamental inability to reconcile the divisions in her own identity.

As discussed in the Introduction, the latter part of the 1920s marked both a period of stability for the Weimar Republic but also for Krämer herself. By 1927, she had risen to prominence within the JFB, had published many short stories and her personal letters are indicative of a woman who travelled and was often at cultural events. The publication of her novella can be seen as the culmination of these public and private successes. However, as discussed throughout this thesis, Krämer was heavily affected by the events around her. Throughout the 1920s, Weimar society had struggled with the legacy of the war and how to respond to the total defeat of Germany. The Republic also grappled with a sense of historical illegitimacy as it had been born from social turmoil rather than out of perceived organic growth (Gerwarth, 2006, p.2). This manifested itself in both modernism and, contrarily, nostalgia for the symbols and structures of the pre-war era (Winter, 2014, p.178). Germany was also a nation grieving for the dead; both on a private, individual level and collectively. This bereavement cut through class divides, uniting all those who had lost someone (Winter, p.227). As will be discussed in this chapter, Krämer struggles with the legacy of the war, and her characters do likewise. She has chosen the setting of a Bavarian village for her novella, which again refers to Heimat and gives Krämer a chance to explore what was seen as the "true German spirit". The characters seem to be trapped in a world

scarred by distant violence, both distant in the sense of time and, as it is set in a Bavarian village physically untouched by war, space.

Germany was also concerned with the state of its youth. As discussed in Chapter One, Krämer was acutely aware of the difficulties in engaging younger women in the women's movement due to ever increasing generational divides. However, there were wider concerns that young people were becoming more dangerous: as social work became formalised and the field of psychology expanded, young people and their behaviour began to be pathologised (Prestel, 1998, p.201). Moreover, newspapers increasingly reported on youth suicide, which can be viewed as violence against the self, as a response to social upheavals (Föllmer, 2009, p.195). The Weimar Republic was also pulled between opposing political forces and movements throughout its existence and young people often used these movements as a way to rebel against their bourgeois parents' ideals (Brenner, 1998, p.56). Additionally, many political movements used "either or" language to attempt to demonstrate that either people could join their movement or watch the total annihilation of their way of life (Graf, 2010, p.605). This culminated in an atmosphere of danger and unrest, even when, as was the case in 1927, this threat was no longer directly on the streets. For someone like Krämer who had lived through the war, who had felt the economic turmoil of hyperinflation (as discussed in Chapter One) and, as her nephew tells us, was in the Bavarian Diet when the politician Kurt Eisner was shot in 1919, would have felt the turmoil acutely (Cahnman, 1989, p.191). While *Die Rauferei* is set in a Bavarian village and is seemingly far removed from the chaos of the cities, as this chapter will show, fears about the current state and future of the nation are inextricably woven into the texture of the novella, similar to the ways in which they are woven into Krämer's identity.

Although previous drafts are not available through the archive, there are many collected reviews. These reviews give us an insight into the contemporary reception of the novella and so I will explore some of these here. There is also an advertisement which informs us that the book cost 2.50 Marks and was on sale in a Stuttgart bookshop ("Schwäbische Bücherstube: Schneider und Truckenmüller" who recommended it as "Reiselektüre") (Box 2 Folder 19). There are twelve reviews and although it is difficult to locate where they were published, I have identified one review in the September 1927 edition of the *Bayrische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*. This was a local Jewish publication and Krämer knew the editor Ludwig Feuchtwanger personally. She also contributed reviews of other books to the paper. Another appears to be in a 1928 edition of *B'nai B'rith Magazine*, an American Jewish publication, which could indicate an international interest in her work. This review, by Ethel

Kerman and titled “An Allegorical Appeal for World Peace”, identifies an anti-war stance in the novella: “One feels that the author, speaking through the medium of the baroness, is appealing for the strong nations of the earth to covenant not to engage in war henceforth and thus to insure the peace of the world” (2:19). Other reviews also comment on the pacifism within the novel: “Die Krämer weiß, daß der Pazifismus nicht nur eine Frage des friedlichen Zusammenlebens der Staaten ist. Wichtiger noch ist der Wille des Einzelnen zum friedlichen Zusammenleben mit seinen Nebenmenschen” writes Bruno Woyda and “Hier wird der Unsinn der Gewalt dargestellt” from the *B/G* review (19.9.27 p.287). All of the reviews are complimentary about Krämer’s style: “vivacious” writes Kerman: “The dialogue is very natural, and the narrative is enlivened by occasional touches of humor”. Woyda goes further and describes it as “Ein prächtiges Erziehungswerk für unsere Generation!”. Woyda was the editor of the *Jüdisch-Liberale Zeitung* and a member of the Reform community in Berlin (Barkai, 1998, p.84). These reviews give us an idea of the marketing of the book as a pacifist allegory and its positive reception, particularly in the Jewish community.

*Die Rauferei* was published by Kiepenheuer which Loentz refers to as “one of the most prestigious publishing houses of the Weimar era” (p.127). The Kiepenheuer Verlag (trading today as Kiepenheuer & Witsch), was founded in 1910 by Gustav Kiepenheuer (Verlag Kiepenheuer & Witsch GmbH & Co KG, [no date]). 1927 was also the year that the Kiepenheuer Verlag published Stefan Zweig’s anti-war novel *Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grischa* (Loentz, p.140). Kiepenheuer published works by many other authors with anti-war tendencies including Bertold Brecht, Lion Feuchtwanger and Ernst Toller (p.143). The publishing history of Kiepenheuer and their interests in the 1920s could be an indication as to why Krämer’s novella was published by them since her pacifist themes and her ruminations on the troubles of youths appear to be in keeping with other works. No correspondence with Kiepenheuer has been found to illuminate how they came to publish her work.

Before I explore the themes within the novella, I will provide a detailed plot summary. *Die Rauferei* begins with a love triangle; Mechthild is in love with the protagonist Baptist but Baptist is in love with the Baroness, while recognising that class boundaries have rendered her out of his reach. Possibly in an attempt to make Baptist jealous, Mechthild goes out with Fritz, the student son of the sheriff. Mechthild picks a fight with Baptist and spits at him so Fritz separates them but draws a knife. Baptist draws his own knife and a fight ensues and Fritz is stabbed and dies from his wounds. Baptist is arrested but is acquitted at trial- as Mechthild testifies, Fritz drew first and had been trying to goad Baptist earlier in the

evening. However the court seems more interested in establishing the effects of the 1918/19 revolution and the war on Baptist's psyche than uncovering the specifics in this case. Baptist thanks Mechthild for speaking up for him.

Baptist seeks out the Baroness and she shares her opinion on the fight; she believes in the commandment "thou shalt not kill". Baptist attempts to defend his actions but she says that one should rather die than kill another. Baptist and the other villagers should try to emulate the Messiah and turn the other cheek. Baptist worries about Fritz's mother who has lost her only son and so he visits the sheriff to apologise. The sheriff understands Baptist's actions but he cries. Fritz's mother refuses to be in the same room as Baptist and as Baptist is leaving, she shrieks "murderer" out of the window at him.

A man from the city comes to the village and holds a meeting in the dance hall where the fight between Fritz and Baptist started. The city man wants everyone to imagine a world without war and to debate the causes of violence. The villagers debate this until the Baroness gives her pronouncement. She says it is no wonder that a man believes that men are responsible for stopping war but the destiny of the world is in the hands of women. She believes that women do not really want thugs and as soon as men realise that, they will stop fighting. Her fiancé, Prince Hubertus, however argues that war is inevitable and as long as there are nations, there will be wars. Baptist takes the floor and echoes the Baroness' words from earlier "you should not kill". On his way home, Baptist sees the sheriff's house is on fire and realises that their little girl is inside. He rescues her by carrying her out through the flames and Fritz's mother forgives Baptist for the death of her son.

Baptist's father dies and he moves in with his mother to help her with the farm. They go to church together but Baptist is unhappy with the sermon; he thinks the priest should focus on peace on earth rather than glory and, as a result, Baptist decides he is not going to go to church any more. His cousin, who is a butcher, comes to visit and they talk about the difference between killing humans and killing animals. Baptist agrees that his cousin can be a butcher without breaking the commandment but his mother remains upset that he will not go to church.

On his way through the forest, Baptist meets Porti, a gypsy girl he has known for many years but who has been away. He starts to fall in love with her but he is worried what people will think of her if he decides to marry her. Baptist goes to ask the Baroness (who has since married). She is very concerned that Porti's gypsy blood will come out and she will abandon

Baptist with any offspring they produce. A married farmer, Toni, attempts to sexually assault Porti in a barn. She fights him off but his wife hears and he blames Porti. When Toni discovers Baptist is in love with Porti, he calls Baptist out for a fight in front of the whole village. Baptist refuses to fight but Porti steps between the two men and Toni stabs her by mistake. She dies looking “like an angel”. Baptist is left in deep mourning, wondering how to follow the commandments and protect others. He concludes that it is better to die than to let another die in your place but questions how to live by this in such a mixed up world. The narrator tells us that from this day forward, there were fewer fights in this village and in the surrounding villages.

Elizabeth Loentz’s 2007 article “‘The most famous Jewish pacifist was Jesus of Nazareth’: German-Jewish Pacifist Clementine Krämer’s Stories of War and Visions for Peace” dedicates three pages to exploring *Die Rauferei*, regarding it as “Krämer’s most important pacifist text” (p.140). As will be discussed in this chapter, *Die Rauferei* certainly deals with pacifist themes and, as Krämer took the time to expand and develop these themes into a novella that was deemed worthy of publication, it certainly seems that these themes were important to her. This novella can be seen as upholding traditional class and gender values; the Baroness is the mother to the village because of her class status, but also because of her expression of spiritual motherhood (Loentz, pp.141-2). It is therefore possible, and seemingly straightforward, to connect this novella to stories such as *Getauft* (1913) and *Königin-Mutter* because both show the role of spiritual motherhood and, in the case of *Königin-Mutter*, uphold the class system. In *Die Rauferei*, Loentz sees the Baroness as the spiritual mother to the village who attempts to educate her “children” with pacifist values (p.141). The validity of this claim will be assessed in this chapter.

Loentz also discusses how Krämer has adapted her pacifism for a Bavarian Catholic context: “Whereas her Jewish texts reference the sixth commandment as the foundation of Judaism, here it is portrayed as the bedrock of Christianity” (p.140). Loentz mentions that Moses Mendelssohn and Abraham Geiger emphasised Jesus’ Jewishness, as he followed Jewish religious and cultural practices and pursued what they defined as Jewish spiritual values (p.138). This adaptation of Jewish cultural values for a Christian context could be seen as Krämer passing in order to make her work more commercially successful. Moreover, by writing in a Christian context, she is attempting to make her work appeal to the mainstream and avoid being seen as “niche”. However, it could also be seen as evidence for Krämer’s belief in the universality of human nature and experience; it is unimportant whether her characters are Jews or Christians because their experiences and the lessons they learn are

relevant for all. It must be noted, however, that this idea of universality is a philosophy from figures of the Enlightenment such as Mendelssohn and Kant and, as was discussed in Chapter One and the analysis of her 1917 letter, Krämer was well versed in Kantian philosophy. Additionally, the universality of human experience is also relevant for the pacifist messages within the novella and will be explored in this chapter.

Further, Loentz notes the turbulent background to *Die Rauferei*, specific to its post-war setting: “There is only a single reference to the social upheavals of the 1918-19 revolution and the Weimar Republic. The monarchist prosecutor of Baptist’s trial attributes his act of violence to the disintegration of social order put in motion by the revolution” (p.141). While this may be the most explicit reference to the revolution and social change, it is by no means the only one. As will be discussed in this chapter, the events of the end of the war and the troubled birth of the Weimar Republic are interwoven into the texture of the novella, making Loentz’s comment something of an oversimplification. Moreover, Loentz sees the Baroness’ discrimination towards Porti, and her inability to see it as such, as an “indictment of progressive movements- such as the German women’s movement- that fail to acknowledge how antisemitism resembles other types of inequality and prejudice and that it is tolerated or propagated within their ranks” (p.143). This is one interpretation of Porti’s death and the end of the novella but, as with so much of Krämer’s work, a closer analysis complicates this reading and reveals a deeper ambivalence in Krämer’s attitude. The analysis in this chapter will draw out some of this ambivalence to provide a more nuanced understanding of Krämer’s novella and, to an extent, Krämer herself.

Loentz also refers to *Die Rauferei* as a novella and, while that definition is apt, she does not explain why she sees it as a novella or what a novella is. A novella is a term for a shorter novel but there are other defining features. Swales (1977) explains that a novella is the answer to the question “what’s new?” and novellas are concerned with uncommon events, which despite their unfamiliarity seem to be entirely plausible (pp.21-22). The event must also be in some way remarkable (Locicero, 1967, p.435). Baptist’s first fight in *Die Rauferei* can be described as such an event: fighting is established as commonplace in small Bavarian villages but the specific details of this fight and the consequences thereof are new to the reader, and additionally these consequences are unexpected and remarkable. By the end of the nineteenth century, the novella was not supposed to explore any event, but rather an event that pertained to the most important issue of the day (Locicero, 1967, p.435). As *Die Rauferei* is about violence in the shadow of the war and concerns about wayward youth, it can be said that it fulfils this requirement. Due to the preoccupation with an event, or series

of connected events, and the novella's length, there is little space for detailed descriptions of the world of the novella (p.24). We can see this in *Die Rauferei* which opens with Mechthild explaining Baptist's devotion to the Baroness and Mechthild's own jealousy that Baptist overlooks her (Krämer, p.5). This opening sets out the value that Baptist places on the Baroness (one that will lead him to follow her words closely) and Mechthild's insecurity that will lead to the fatal fight with Fritz. The main issues of the novella are thereby immediately introduced without detailed descriptions or explanations.

Moreover, the idea of chance is often present in novellas as the characters struggle to find order in a disordered universe (Swales, 1977, p.28). This is easy to identify in *Die Rauferei* as Baptist struggles with his conscience after his role in the death of Fritz and tries to find meaning in Porti's death at the end of the novella. This ordering of chaos can be seen in many of Krämer's short stories (the death of Viktor in *Getauft* and the protagonist's creative struggles in *Die Groteske* are some examples) but it is a theme that lends itself readily to a novella. Swales continues his exploration of the theme of chance by stating that the protagonist is usually depicted as the type of person who adheres rigidly to a moral code: "(most usually one that is founded in some kind of absolute value scale), who always demands more from life than random experience, then the chanciness of the world will contradict him at every turn, and will, ultimately, break his cherished value structure" (p.29). Baptist is given his moral code of "Du sollst nicht töten" from God by way of the Baroness but the chaos of his world conspires against him, culminating in the death of a woman he loves. Whether his moral code is completely demolished is open to interpretation but it seems likely that he will not be able to follow this code as blindly as before.

Furthermore, novellas are often defined by their use of a recurring object, such as an animal or plant, which comes to represent symbolically wider themes in the novella. This is often referred to as Heyse's Falkentheorie and, even though caution is advised when readers seek out this symbol "with net in hand", it is possible to identify such a symbol in *Die Rauferei* (Locicero, 1967, p.437). Much of the setting in *Die Rauferei* is sparsely described: we know there is a forest where Baptist encounters Porti, we know that the Baroness lives in a castle, and we know that this is a farming community but greater detail is not provided. However, Baptist often sits outside the Baroness' window beneath a "Zuckerbirnenbaum". This specificity is striking and leads us to consider the importance of the pear and the blooms upon the tree's branches. The pear, most likely due to its shape, has long been connected to female sexuality and, in the Classical world, it was the symbol of Aphrodite (Impelluso, 2006,

p.154). In the novella, the pear tree belongs to the Baroness and it is also where she tells Baptist about her pacifist ideas. The blossom-heavy pear tree is therefore a symbol of Baptist's love for the Baroness but it is also a place that reflects her specifically feminine power. Aphrodite is also a goddess of love, not war or violence, so her connection to the Baroness is an extension of the Baroness' pacifism. Furthermore, Aphrodite is the goddess of unions, both of love, but also political harmony (Rosenzweig, 2004, p.13). She is also associated with powerful persuasive talents (p.19). This foreshadows the Baroness' skill in persuading Baptist of her pacifism and represents her specifically feminine powers with regards to uniting the village against violence. The recurring symbol of the pear tree in bloom lends credence to the statement that this is a novella and not a short novel. However, as this symbol is not merely a representation of pacifism, this reading suggests that the message of the novella is more than pacifism and this is an idea which will be discussed in greater detail in this chapter.

Although the novella had its heyday in the nineteenth century, it remained a present force in the twentieth; from Thomas Mann to Kafka, and beyond Krämer's time to Günter Grass, the novella was very much still part of the German literary landscape. The novella, through its struggle to present a message and explore a series of plausible events (events which have been created and manipulated for the purpose of the narrative and may not be plausible at all upon closer inspection), can eventually be a representation of the "uninterpretability of the segment of experience with which it concerns itself" (Swales, p.58). It is not hard to see how this style would have appealed to Krämer who was constantly attempting to reconcile the divisions in her identity both privately and in a world that was often in great turmoil and was faced with the "uninterpretability" of her experience. This must be kept in mind when analysing *Die Rauferei* as the narrative struggles with the tension of pacifist values in a world that conspires against them. The novella style gives Krämer an opportunity to demonstrate her credentials as a creative writer; it allows her to show how she can explore the consequences of a village brawl and use this as a microcosm of contemporary social issues. As it was, and still is, a popular German style, Krämer is establishing her right to belong to the German educated bourgeoisie; she is demonstrating that she can appropriate this German style and, therefore, that she is German.

Although, as the reviewers identified above, the crux of *Die Rauferei* is a discussion about the difficulties of living out pacifist values, there are many more themes in the novella and these can be connected thematically to Krämer's oeuvre. The rural setting is similar to her 1924 series *Erinnerung*, which was a collection of short stories, many telling stories from her

grandparents' youth and their lives in rural south Germany. It is also possible to identify concerns about the urban encroaching on the rural through the students who come to the village to fight, drink and find girls. Similar concerns can be found in *Berliner Eindrücke einer Münchnerin* (dated 1920 in the archive) when the narrator wails "Ein Ungeheuer dies Berlin! Du fährst schon lange mit dem Schnellzug darin umeinander, bist aber immer noch nicht angekommen." We can see her continued use of dialect, which she also employed in stories such as *Die Mutter* (dated 1924 in the archive), *Wenn man eine Frau ist* (1913) and *Die Rosenwirtin* (1922). Furthermore, *Die Rauferei* includes a "Zuckerbirnenbaum" as does *Das Wunder* (p.9, 14). *Die Rauferei* can also be linked thematically to the stories in Chapter Three about spiritual motherhood as the Baroness educates the villagers and Chapter Two as the role of women such as Mechthild, Porti, and the Baroness will be discussed. The analysis in this chapter will therefore continue to uncover how Krämer saw the role of women in society and also how she saw her own role.

This chapter will explore two aspects of Krämer's novella: firstly that the main argument of the novella is not the importance of pacifism but rather the difficulty of living up to pacifist ideas. This takes a more nuanced approach to the novella than that in Loentz's article; Krämer's novella is exploring far more than the simple idea that pacifism is correct and important. Then this chapter will examine the role of women in the novella. Loentz sees the baroness as an allegory for the German women's movement and Porti's death as a representation of the consequences of ignoring the Jewish women's movement and their needs. While this is a valid and potentially very interesting interpretation, it overlooks the role of other women within the story and potentially oversimplifies Porti's death. In order to examine pacifist ideas within *Die Rauferei*, this chapter will analyse the novel from two angles. Firstly the ways in which pacifist (or anti-pacifist) ideas are presented and how the protagonist, Baptist, responds will be examined. Then the difficulties Baptist faces in pursuing a pacifist agenda will be presented. Krämer's decision to explore these difficulties through the longer form of the novella enables an analysis of the difficulties Krämer may have felt as she tried to pursue a pacifist agenda.

I will now analyse the presentation of pacifist ideas in *Die Rauferei*, beginning with the role of women in the construction and dissemination of these ideas. Baptist visits Fritz's parents, the Schultheiß (mayor or sheriff) and his wife, to apologise for the death of their son. When Baptist arrives: "Leise wie ein Schatten schwindet die Schultheißin aus dem Zimmer" (p.36). Baptist explains Fritz's death to Fritz's father: "I hab' net a'g'fangt, Schultheiß" he says "Auf Ehr' und Seeligkeit, Schultheiß, i net" (p.36). The man does not respond, he merely cries

silently. Baptist continues to talk but Fritz's mother does not reappear: "Wie der Baptist aber in der Dunkelheit aus dem Haus stolpert, hört er aus dem oberen Stockwerk des Schultheißenhauses ein Wort, das er erst gar nicht gleich aufgefaßt, erst im Weitergehen wird ihm klar, was ihm die Schultheißen da hinterdrein gerufen hat. ‚Mörder!‘ hat sie gellend geschrien in die Stille des geheiligten Nachtfriedens hinein" (p.37). This resonates with Baptist far more than the sheriff's tears and the narrator tells us that "er hat sich auf einen Stein niedergesetzt und geheult wie ein Schloßhund" (p.38). This is the only outpouring of emotion that we see from Baptist. He was worried during his trial, and he has questioned his guilt and his actions since Fritz's death, but he has not demonstrated such an emotional outpouring until Fritz's mother called him a murderer. The expression "die Stille des geheiligten Nachtfriedens" seems to reflect the constant reiteration of the commandment "thou shalt not kill" as Baptist's breaking of this commandment has shattered the peace within the village and is against religious law. Fritz's father's effect on Baptist appears to have been minimised or forgotten.

On his way home from the debate at the dance hall Baptist sees that Fritz's family home is on fire with his little sister still inside: "Schon ist er am brennenden Haus angekommen, wirbelnd zucken im Winde die Flammen oben aus dem Dachstuhl. Schon ist die Holzstiege, die schmal und knarrend in das obere Stockwerk führt, voller Rauch. Woher vermutet, ja, weiß der Mann, daß das kleine Töchterchen des Dorfoberhauptes da droben schläft?" (p.49). This description shows that this is no small fire that he will have to overcome; this is a raging inferno. As the villagers gather "Da kommt ihr schon der Baptist entgegen und legt ihr das Kind in den Arm, das aus seinem Bettchen genommen, ruhig weiter schlief an des Mannes Brust, und erst jetzt- am Herzen der Mutter- die Augen hell aufschlägt" (p.50). Like a true hero, Baptist has even received a wound for his work: "Von seiner Stirn herab tropft es warm". Baptist is no longer being controlled by fate- Fritz called him out for a fight and Baptist merely reacted, the judge decided to release him without Baptist needing to say anything- but has become an active character. His response to the fire is one step on his journey to becoming a leader. Once Baptist rescues their only daughter from the house fire, the Schultheißen forgives Baptist: "‚i hab’ dir zuvor net gelts Gott sag’n könnna, weil i- no ja, halt so im Aug’nblick- awer jetzt,‘ sie schluckt und kann nicht gleich weiter, ‚i dank’ dir halt schön, Baptist" (p.51). Once again, her husband and his opinion are not counted in this conversation. Similar to the Baroness and her fiancé, the Schultheißen overshadows her husband in the story. This overshadowing therefore indicates that women play a central role in guiding men and community life and, especially on emotional matters, their opinions are given more prominence.

Another woman who plays a central role in the narrative is Mechthild. She embarrasses Baptist when he is hanging about the castle, mooning after the Baroness: "er wäre wohl der Hund vor ihrem Haus? -,Der Hund'- wiederholt sie und spuckt ihm ins Gesicht" (p.21). Baptist is enraged, which causes Fritz to step in on Mechthild's behalf, leading to the fatal fight. Baptist had the choice to rise above Mechthild's comments but it is her provocation that causes the fight which leads Baptist to learn about pacifism. It is also her testimony that releases him from prison. Mechthild later becomes a peripheral character, pushed to the side by the Baroness and Porti in both Baptist's affection and thoughts, but she is a driving force in the story. Without her actions, Baptist would not have been set on this path. She is therefore another example of a woman playing a leading role within the story. Similar to *Wenn man eine Frau ist* and *Die gestohlene Taschenuhr*, in *Die Rauferei* women are expected to guide the behaviour of men.

Baptist is of course most concerned with the Baroness' opinions and seeks her out once he has been found not guilty. Unlike the judge's pronouncement, which was mainly reported speech, the Baroness offers her pronouncement through direct speech: "Eine traurige Geschichte war das, Baptist" and "Jeden Tag dachte ich darüber nach: Sie hätten es nicht tun sollen" (p.27). Baptist attempts to defend his actions: "er hat z'erst 'zog'n, desweg'n bin i frei worn" but the Baroness is unrelenting: "was sagt das, Sie sind frei; Sie haben doch einen Mensch getötet" (p.28). Baptist again tries to protest that it was self-defence and the Baroness considers this for a moment:

Sie muß sich einen Augenblick vorstellen, wie dieser starke, schöne, gesunde Mensch nun tot wäre seit Wochen und sieht ihn verwest vor sich in einem Sarge liegen. Ein tiefer Schatten hat sich über ihr Gesicht gelegt, und die großen, glanzgrauen Augen gänzlich verdunkelt, dennoch sagt sie fest: „Ja- besser getötet werden als töten. (p.28)

Unlike the judge whose verdict is merely reported without any presentation of his deliberations, we are given a deep insight into the Baroness' mind. Moreover, the judge, the prosecution and the defence are more concerned about quibbling over the relevance of the end of the war, and the revolution, on this case and wider society rather than the specific circumstances of Fritz's death. The Baroness tells us that she has thought about this case every day, which is apparently longer than the judge, giving us the impression that she is speaking after careful consideration rather than off-the-cuff. Her vivid imagining of the

corpse decaying in the coffin indicates that she has a greater understanding of the impact of Fritz's death on his family and her community than the judge has because the judge does not discuss this. Therefore, her words seem to have more weight than the judge's and her condemnation of Baptist's actions is all the stronger.

The Baroness' words are also given greater importance as she is shown to be a community leader. Unlike the nameless judge who makes only one appearance in the novella, the Baroness is shown to be a key part of village life and steeped in the rural traditions. Early in the story, Baptist sits beneath the blooming pear tree outside the Baroness' window and watches the sun rise. The Baroness joins him and they talk about the pear tree and the Baroness' grandfather: "also da sei der Großvater noch selbst die an den Baum gelehnte Leiter hinaufgestiegen, einem großen Beutel aus Sackleinwand vorgebunden, und habe Stück für Stück gebrochen von den Zuckerbirnen" (p.19). Through this simple story she is showing how her lineage is connected to the village and, despite the differences in class, she and her family are still connected to the land in a similar way to Baptist. As mentioned previously, the pears, through their connection to Aphrodite are a symbol of unity. We are also shown that other villagers respect the Baroness and her opinions. When the villagers hold a discussion about war and pacifism, the Baroness decides to speak up, and she is the only woman to do so. When she is interrupted by a heckler, the narrator tells us "Unruhe entstand, weil die meisten sich ärgerten, das Fräulein beschimpft zu sehen" (p.44). The disruption after the heckler could be a result of the community not wanting to see any woman treated poorly or it could be a sign of the respect the community has for her. Either way, she is not interrupted again. She is also referred to as "das Fräulein", which could be seen as patronising but it also removes the distance between her and the other women of the village. Despite being a baroness, she is also a woman and deserving of respect. Her connection to her community and their respect for her arguably give greater importance to her position as a supporter of pacifism.

The Baroness' greatest contribution to the construction of pacifist ideas within *Die Rauferei* is through the speech that she gives at the dance hall. However, there are, of course other characters who contribute to the construction of the pacifist message within the novella. The man from the town who conducts the meeting at the dance hall is one example. He asks the villagers: "ob sie nicht alle miteinander genug hätten an dem Krieg, der da hinter ihnen liegen, und wenn sie diese Frage bejahen müßten, dann- ja, dann hätte ein jedes von ihnen die heilige Pflicht, mitzuarbeiten an der Heraufführung einer besseren Zeit, einer Zeit, wo Kämpfe nur noch ausgefochten würden mit den Waffen des Geistes". Who this man is and

why he is addressing the villagers is unclear. What is clear is that the Baroness has ensured their attendance: "denn das Fräulein hat es herumsagen lassen, sie sollte kommen und zuhören, Männer und Frauen, und Knechte und Mägde" and they have obeyed (p.40). He continues with the idea that fighting "nichts anders sei als wie die Fortsetzung des Krieges im kleinen, und damit müßte denn zu allererst aufgeräumt werden. Und alle Männer müßten dahin wirken und in diesem Sinn zusammenstehen" (p.40-41). Here, one can assume that the "alle Männer" does not just refer to the men of the village. If "Raufereien" are just a continuation of the war, then men from all backgrounds must work together and stand together to end war. This could therefore be seen as a call for men from all nations to work together against war. The Baroness takes this further to call upon humanity to undertake this work; her response is woven together with his to create a near seamless pacifist ideology. The Baroness begins by explaining that war and village brawls are essentially the same thing: "denn das Raufen sei der Krieg im kleinen, und es müßte so weit kommen, daß das Raufen als eine Schande gelte und nicht als eine Großtat" (p.43.) Here she is attacking the idea that a brawl is something noble and there is the indication that, just as the brawl is a microcosm of war, so is the novella a microcosm for the turmoil of the 1920s. She then challenges the belief that fighting is a courageous act: "wenn gerade die stärksten und kuragiertesten, wenn gerade die die Waffen wegwürfen und erklärten, auf keinem Fall mehr mittun zu wollen" (p.44). She is undermining traditional notions of the value of masculinity and bravery and is calling for men, who are currently respected for their fighting, to lead the way into a new pacifist era. She is also modelling this behaviour as she is engaging with the community on an intellectual level in a public manner. After she has spoken, she is heckled with "Alte Weiberspruch!", suggesting that she has chosen an unpopular position and that therefore, she is, to an extent, a radical and believes that her morals are more important than accepting prevailing trends.

The Baroness concludes her speech with the statement that everyone needs to work together: "alle Männer zusammenstehen müßten gegen Krieg und Rauferein" but that women are the key: "in deren Händen läge das Schicksal der zukünftigen Welt" (p.45). This is based not on women raising pacifist sons, but on the idea that men fight because they believe that women love men who fight: "Sobald aber die Männer merkten, daß die Frauen die Raufbolde verachteten, da sollten sie einmal zusehen, wie geschwind es dann eine Ende hätte mit den Händeln und den Messerstechereien"(p.45). For her this seems to be a more immediate reaction to fighting and war; waiting for mothers to raise pacifist sons would take more than a decade. For women to demonstrate that they have no interest in a "Raufbold" could only take a few weeks or months. This could be a reference to the ancient

Greek play *Lysistrata* where the women of Athens withhold sex from their husbands until they agree not to fight any more. Moreover, in ancient Greece, peace was associated with abundance (including abundance of fertility, both human and vegetable) (Dillon, 1987, p.97). This links the Baroness again to Aphrodite and the creation of peace through unions. It also indicates that peace will bring times of plenty to the village. Krämer's views are also similar to contemporary writers and artists such as Andreas Latzko (1876-1943) and Otto Dix (1891-1969) who believed that men only participated in war because they believed that women wanted soldiers. If women openly sought men in peaceful roles then war would soon be an anathema (Sharp, 2007, p.80). For Krämer, both the Baroness and Baptist must participate in ending violence and therefore both men and women have important roles, but these roles are fundamentally different.

Baptist concludes the proceedings at the dance hall and initially blames the war for first putting a weapon in his hands: "sowohl mit dem Krieg, wie mit dem Raufen ebenfalls, und ohne diesen Unfug wäre er nie in ein solches Schlamassel hineingeraten" (p.48). This reference to the war, in addition to the courtroom discussions, contradicts Loentz's suggestion that there is only one reference to the war and instead reflects how the chaos of the war is woven into the fabric of the novella. Baptist's words indicate the long shadow of the war and how violence leads to more violence. He then reiterates the Baroness' words from previously: "so habe unser Herrgott gesagt: ,Du sollst nicht töten!'". This repetition of the biblical phrase that the Baroness reminded him of once he was freed, indicates that he has been most influenced by her anti-violence arguments both in the dance hall and previously. This repetition also reminds the reader of their heaven sent duty to obey the commandment and therefore places an emphasis on this as the message of the novella.

One of the other speakers at this event is the Baroness' fiancé, Prince Hubertus, who takes to the stage immediately after her. Baptist notes how different the two are: "Erst die Hand abküssen, als ob man ein Herz und eine Seele sei, und dann ruft man mit lauter Stimme- als kommandiere man ein Regiment Soldaten- in Saal hinein, daß die Waffen des Geistes... keineswegs genügten gegen unsere Feinde" (p.46). The contrast between the loving interaction between the couple and his loud voice contradicts her views. Perhaps the suggestion is that Hubertus is unable to use "die Waffen des Geistes" because he is treating the audience like soldiers he needs to command rather than as comrades with whom he can work to create a better world. As he does not see the audience as anywhere near his equals, he will never be able to use the weapon of his mind and so he cannot understand its purpose. Even Hubertus' name gives the reader a clue that he will be unable to support

pacifism. In Germany, Hubertus is the patron saint of hunting and the patron of a chivalric order in Bavaria (Farmer, 1978, p.198). With these credentials, we know that Hubertus will be supportive of fighting and adhere to outdated notions of chivalry.

He continues with the reason for the First World War and war in general: “und wenn es die anderen zu bunt treiben und schließlich unsere Existenz und unsere Ehre bedrohen- bei dem Wort ‚Ehre‘ wird er dunkelrot über das ganze Gesicht-, dann bliebe uns nichts anderes übrig, als schließlich doch wieder denn Schießprügel auf dem Buckel zu nehmen und ‚Mit Gott, für-‘ er stockt einen Augenblick, läßt den ‚König‘ weg- ‚und für das Vaterland‘ fährt er fort, den rechtschaffenen Kampf aufnehmen” (p.46). There is no suggestion that Hubertus has ever been in battle and his over reliance on propaganda clichés, such as the gun slung over the back and the use of the phrase “bunt treiben”, suggest that perhaps he has not. He is also shown to be outdated through his pause and momentary confusion over the “for King and country” phrase. His pause also leads the reader to question the purpose of war; without a King, is “for the country” enough? If there is no King, is it important that he is a Prince? What is his role in society when the monarch can be so easily lost? Far more so than the Baroness, the city man or Baptist, we are lead to question Hubertus’ words. His frequent pauses and clumsy expression guide us in that direction. Krämer is undermining opposing arguments to pacifism and thereby strengthening the pacifist theme within the novella.

Hubertus then connects fighting to duels and Faustrecht, which he describes as “die mittelalterliche Art der Selbsthilfe” (p.46). Again, he is painting a highly romanticised idea of violence that is out of touch with the modern world, similar to the young man killed in *Jugend*, who believed he would live and die like a medieval knight. Hubertus then tackles the causes of war: “Und solange es Deutsche und Franzosen und Engländer gäbe, würden sie sich erhalten wollen und keines dem anderen untertan sein” (p.47). For him, war is an inevitability demonstrated by the violence of the ages and played out in microscopic form in village fights. It is possible to view his ideas as merely the cold voice of logic, and his references to historical facts contribute to this idea. However, without mentioning specific dates or figures, his speech becomes empty rhetoric. He is also outnumbered by speakers with pacifist views; his brief speech is wedged between the Baroness and Baptist’s conclusion. Therefore, although he is providing an alternative narrative, his style and content merely serve to highlight the pacifist theme. *Die Rauferei* is also about the role of women as community leaders. As discussed above, the Baroness is obviously a key figure in the community and often provides guidance to Baptist and to the community as a whole.

Her fiancé, Hubertus, only appears in person once in the novella. Even once she is married, the Baroness, or Princess as she becomes, continues to appear in public without him.

Another character whose pro-war rhetoric serves to highlight the pacifist message in the novella is the village priest. Some time after the debate in the dance hall, Baptist and his mother go to church like they do every Sunday. Baptist ponders the phrase “Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe und Frieden auf Erden” which is written in Latin over the altar and experiences mental anguish. The narrator then creates a vivid picture of the priest in his pulpit:

Der Pfarrer besteigt die Kanzel und sagt von dem bösen Feind, der in unseren Herzen wohne, und von den Feinden, die uns von außen her versuchten in tausenderlei Gestalt. Und ferner spricht er von all den Feinden draußen in der Welt, und daß- dabei glühten seine Augen eifernden Zornes voll- die Stunde kommen werde, wo wir sie, die uns knebelten und knechteten, von der Erde tilgen würden mit Feuer und Schwert zur höheren Ehre Gottes. (p.54)

The priest seems uninterested or unaware of the phrase over the altar, choosing to focus on smiting enemies instead. There is no attempt to understand these “enemies” or win them over; instead the priest is calling for their eradication to the glory of God. This repetition of “Ehre” is linked to Hubertus’ words before when he mentions those who threaten “unsere Existenz und unsere Ehre” (p.46). The phrase on the altar would suggest that glory is God’s due not man’s and that humanity should strive towards peace on earth; something which has escaped both Hubertus and the priest. The ironic contrast between the words on the altar and the priest’s sermon leads Baptist to abandon the church (Loentz, 2007, p.141). The creation of characters who espouse the pro-war message but who are undermined in the novella places emphasis on the pacifist message.

All of these different characters contributing to the pacifist message in the novella, whether through pro-pacifist or pro-violence arguments, lead Baptist to pacifist conclusions. As he is our protagonist, it is not hard to see that the reader is being led towards the same conclusion. Throughout the novella he repeats “du sollst nicht töten” and his belief in pacifism hinges on that singular idea. When he tries to think about Christ he is filled with doubt about Christ’s pacifism: “Hat er [Jesus] zum Beispiel einen Verteidigungskrieg überlebt?” Baptist wonders (p.39). It is notable that Baptist still refers to the war as a “Verteidigungskrieg” and does not explore the causes of the war. This seems to be a continuation from the stories discussed in Chapter Four, which discussed heroism without

condemning the war. This indicates that Krämer's reluctance to condemn the war openly is not merely based on the restrictions of censorship but a deeper ambivalence about whether war can ever be justified. He also wonders whether ordinary people are even supposed to be able to follow Jesus' ideas: "der Herr Heiland, das wäre doch ganz was anderes, der sei nun einmal der Erlöser" (p.32). In the end, the novella is based on the single commandment; in the denouement, Baptist refuses to fight and refuses to let his cousin fight on his behalf: "I rauf net" he states (p.85). After Porti's death he still repeats the same phrase "Du sollst nicht töten" (p.87). Regardless of the consequences, Baptist has chosen his moral standpoint and so perhaps the "du" now refers to the reader. Baptist's struggles to reconcile his faith, his actions and the views of his community are reminiscent of Mendelssohn's struggles to unite his faith with his societal group. Mendelssohn was one of the first Jewish philosophers to state that it was for the individual to decide how to follow religious duties, thereby introducing freedom of conscience (Arkush, 2009, pp.644-645). Although Baptist is a Christian, he has to decide for himself how to follow religious law and how his conscience will guide him.

Baptist faces many challenges when trying to live by pacifist rules. Although the judge agreeing to release Baptist without delay after the death of Fritz could be seen as a positive turn of events, in a wider sense, the actions of the judge are detrimental to society. Once Mechthild testifies that Fritz drew his knife first, and other witnesses confirm he was merely trying to go home: "Da lautete das Urteil auf Freispruch" (p.23). The judge does not question why Fritz and Baptist were carrying weapons or why they felt the need to be armed in rural Bavaria. He also does not suggest that Fritz's death could have been prevented by Baptist walking away or the other witnesses intervening. By releasing Baptist without charge, the judge is providing an excuse for fighting and enabling this type of behaviour to continue. The judge, the prosecution and the defence also provide another excuse in the form that the post-war world is chaotic:

[D]a hatte der Ankläger von dem Baptist gesagt, das wäre die Frucht dieser verrohten Zeit. Wo kein Staat und keine Obrigkeit mehr dem Menschen heilig sei, da müsse auch alsbald die Wertung des einzelnen Menschenlebens herabsinken. Und mir nichts, dir nichts zöge einer Messer und steche einen anderen nieder. Dies sei die Frucht der Revolution, der Revolution vom Jahre des Unheils neunzehnhundertundachtzehn. „An ihren Früchten sollt ihr sie erkennen“ (p.22)

Although the prosecution is attempting to argue that the chaotic times do not entitle one to kill another, he is actually providing an excuse for Baptist's behaviour. The absence of authority figures and the devaluation of humanity actually indicate that Baptist's behaviour is understandable rather than a horrific act of violence. The defence takes up this line of argument: "Der Verteidiger erwog dagegen, ob wirklich die Revolution oder nicht viel mehr der Krieg durch seine wohlorganisierte Einführung und Verherrlichung des Mordes schuldig wäre an einer Volksverrohrung" (pp.22-23). The court case is rapidly becoming farcical: it should not matter whether the war or the revolution was more traumatic for the Bavarian psyche, and this posturing is not exploring Baptist's culpability. This was mirrored in contemporary debates surrounding war commemoration in Germany, which sought national unity despite a lack of consensus about the causes, meaning and cost of war and without examining Germany's role (Former, 2002, p.514). The judge also seems to have no interest in furthering the case, or perhaps he has no control over the lawyers, as he does not interject to move the arguments on. Both the prosecution and the defence are ironically demonstrating the lack of proper authority that the prosecutor has blamed for Fritz's death. They could, however, be correct in that a lack of strong leadership is the cause of fights; without someone in authority to step in and tell two angry parties not to fight, arguments will almost inevitably turn violent. Baptist, through the course of the novella, has to become this authority and fight against the chaos of the times to live as a pacifist.

The pacifist message is further complicated by class conflicts. Loentz writes that "class and other origins are immutable, Although Baptist is infatuated with the Baroness and muses that individuals of all classes are all only human, he concludes that she could never reciprocate his love, let alone marry him" (p.142). The Baroness certainly seems to regard Baptist with a degree of affection but how strong this is remains unclear. She cleans his wound once he has rescued Fritz's little sister from the fire but she then tells Baptist she has agreed to marry Hubertus:

Hat der Baptist recht gehört? Heute dem Prinzen das Jawort gegeben, heute am Nachmittag, und dann geht der am Abend hin und redet solcherlei gegen sie? Fast wird die Frau verlegen: ja, aber darum habe sie ihn dennoch lieb. Dafür könnte man doch nichts, daß man einen lieb habe, der nicht genau so dächte wie man selber" (p.51).

The near hesitation in her answer could be the Baroness repressing her feelings for Baptist and encouraging him to do likewise or it could be that she can only find happiness with

someone who is her equal. This equality might be based on class or it could be based on the fact that the Prince is willing to challenge her on an intellectual level, rather than unquestioningly absorbing her words and ideas as Baptist seems to. These differing interpretations indicate perhaps a greater ambivalence towards class than is suggested by Loentz's analysis.

The discrimination towards Porti, and her death, could be as a result of the class conflicts within *Die Rauferei* that are interwoven but always unresolved. With Porti, love appears to be reciprocated across the class divide, even though Porti dies before any firm declaration of marriage can be made. Once he realises he is in love with Porti, Baptist is concerned about what his mother and the other villagers will think and so he consults the Baroness:

[E]s kommt darauf an, ob unruhvolle Vatersblut eines Tages in ihr durchschlagen wird; dann glaube ich Baptist, würden Sie mit Ihrer Bauerntreue, die von Jahrhunderten her in Ihrem Blut ist, eine traurige Erfahrung machen müssen. Der Bauer, der fest sitzt, und der Zigeuner, der herumstrolcht; strolcht wollen wir ja gerade nicht sagen, denn der Vater ist, wie Sie mir erzählen, in seiner Art ein honetter Kerl, hat bloß kein Sitzleder. Dies könnte sich- und das müssen Sie sich wohl überlegen- bei einer Frau in irgendeiner anderen Art von Untreue zeigen (p.80).

The Baroness has set up a dichotomy between farmers, like Baptist, and gypsies and thus has presented Baptist with his choice. The Baroness goes further: "Sie kann Ihnen zum Beispiel eines Tages in einem, zwei, fünf oder zehn Jahren mit irgendwem auf und davon gehen, einfach weil sie es in der Gleichmäßigkeit nimmer aushält" (p.80). Loentz is correct here in that the Baroness is, albeit knowledgeable and able to debate on pacifism, blind to her own prejudices. Loentz sees this ignorance as a warning to the German women's movement who were unable or unwilling to counter anti-Semitism within the movement (2007, p.143). This could also be read as a warning to women in general. In *Die Rauferei* and stories such as *Wenn man eine Frau ist*, it is the role of women to shape and guide the behaviours of men. Krämer could be using the Baroness as a reminder that all women should examine their own prejudices before leading others. As Baptist does not attempt to counter the Baroness' arguments, possibly because he also shares such prejudices, this could be a warning to men that they need to consider their own actions too. Indeed, on his way home, Baptist imagines Porti running off with all manner of men, from itinerant gypsies to Baptist's friends in the village (pp. 82-83). However, despite all of this, Baptist still chooses to go to Porti. He has

heard the Baroness' words, considered them and decided to do the opposite. He is no longer merely an agent of the Baroness, heeding her every word, instead, he is able to challenge her.

However, it is arguable that Baptist choosing Porti is not in defiance of the Baroness' discrimination. When Baptist decides to go to Porti, he thinks: "Sie ist ein anständiges Mensch, warum soll sie es nicht bleiben?- sie die knusprigbraune, wie ein Nußkern, wie ein Eichkatzel, wie---" (p.83). By commenting on her appearance, he contrasts her with "ein paar blondsträhnigen Kinder" that he was imagining he might have (p.82). His children will have a "German" appearance, but she will always look "Other". The rhetorical question that opens this quotation suggests that he is of the opinion that she could remain a respectable person but by comparing her to a wild animal, he is providing a reason why she will not. It is perhaps this wildness that draws him to her, rather than a reasoned belief that she will not abandon him. The ellipsis at the end of the sentence indicates that his reasoning has been overcome by passion, not that he has reached a resolution. As Porti dies so rapidly after this scene, this could be providing a resolution for Baptist; he is free from this concern and free to marry a "German" woman like Mechthild. Porti's death, therefore, is not necessarily simply a warning to the German women's movement that they are not doing enough to tackle anti-Semitism; it could also be the outcome to a wider culmination of discriminatory beliefs.

Moreover, a rigid adherence to a class system would undermine the pacifist message of the novella because the "Du" of the oft repeated "Du sollst nicht töten" is not defined by class; it refers to everyone. We can also see through the debate at the dance hall that "Faustrecht" is heavily criticised, possibly indicating that the old class systems of the past have become undesirable. We can see Baptist learning this through the course of the narrative as early in the story he compares Mechthild unfavourably with the Baroness: "Nun das ist selbstverständlich, daß einem ein adliges Fräulein besser gefällt wie eine Magd" (p.38). Even at this early stage he begins to realise it is ideas that he finds attractive rather than class when he remembers that the Schultheißen called him a murderer: "Dennoch gefällt ihm die Schultheißen nicht einmal schlecht, auf alle Fälle besser wie die Mechthild" (p.38). Even though this could be read as an attraction to the Schultheißen's status rather than her pacifism, by the time Baptist meets Porti, he is not interested in comparing her with women of other statuses. He is concerned with her lack of status "Ein Zigeunermensch!" he thinks (p.71). Her death could therefore be a punishment on her and Baptist for daring to cross the class divide and an attempt to re-establish the status quo. However, there is no suggestion that Baptist marries a villager of his own class, like Mechthild for example, and that the

status quo is reasserted. In fact, as we are told that fighting declined in the villages after Porti's death, there is a suggestion that the old order has come to an end (p.89). The few references to the Kaiser's absence could also be an indication that the class structures of the past are disappearing and paving the way for a new, more peaceful future. Therefore, *Die Rauferei* is also dealing with the loss of old class structures and the difficulty of finding one's way in this new world, rather than merely supporting a pacifist message.

Baptist's mother also presents a challenge to his pacifist beliefs and complicates the narration. She is horrified by his decision not to attend church on Sundays: "in die Kirche nicht mitgehen wolle er? Ob er denn ganz gottlos geworden sei auf einmal?" (p.55). Baptist attempts to describe his feelings about the priest's sermon: "Also das von den Feinden, und daß die Stunden kommen werde und so. Ein Pfarrer habe solche Sachen nicht zu sagen. Der habe zu predigen: Friede auf Erden und den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen" (p.57). His mother retorts: "Es wäre doch noch nicht Weihnacht" as if peace can only be sought at Christmas. Her counter argument is shown as weak compared with the strength of the Baroness' insistence that killing is always wrong. Furthermore, when Baptist's cousin, who is a butcher, enters the scene to persuade him to return to church, the discussion quickly becomes absurd. Baptist's cousin says: "Du sollst nicht töten!- Da dürft ja i heunt no mein' Lad'n zuasperr'n, ich ,töte' alle Tag, dös därf i jetzt nimma, meinst?" (p.59). Baptist struggles to find an answer to this. Eventually he imagines what the Baroness might say: "Sehen Sie mal, Baptist, ein Tier ist doch eine andere Art als wie der Mensch, bedenken Sie mal, ein Mensch tötet einen Menschen, es tötet einer Mutter Sohn einer anderen Mutter Sohn" (p.60). He explains this to his cousin who accepts his argument. Here, it could be possible to argue that a German soldier killing a French soldier are two different types of people fighting and that it is more complicated than "ein Mensch tötet einen Menschen". However, what the simplicity of this statement demonstrates is the universality of humanity. The different nationalities, languages, cultures and identities of soldiers do not matter; they are all humans and should not be killed. By introducing the cousin and the argument about the priest, the reader is presented with potential complications to the idea that one should not kill. However, the fact that Baptist is able to counter these arguments strengthens the pacifist message in the novella.

Baptist also has to learn that adhering to his pacifist ideas has consequences and these consequences indicate that this novella is about so much more than simply extolling the virtues of pacifism. The heaviest consequence is, of course, the death of Porti which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter but another consequence is the fracturing of

Baptist's relationship with his mother. Once Baptist has decided that he can no longer go to church with her, she is unhappy:

Die ganze Woche über haben der Baptist und seine Mutter kein überflüssiges Wort miteinander geredet. Auch nicht den darauffolgenden Sonntagmorgen. Bloß hatte die Oberhuberin vor dem Zusammenläuten ein paarmal zu ihm hingeschielt, ob er nicht doch schließlich den Sonntagsfrack aus dem Kasten nähme. Als er aber nicht dergleichen tat, ging sie in ihrem Herzen grollend allein ihre Wege (p.61).

It could be possible to dismiss this as simply a typical family disagreement but it can also be read as much more than that. As it states over the church door: "Dieses Haus ist Gottes Haus und die Pforte des Himmels" and so by refusing to attend church, Baptist is arguably turning his back on the kingdom of heaven and everlasting life with his mother (p.53). Furthermore, when Baptist and his mother are not on speaking terms, there is an indication of how much of an isolating experience this is for her: Baptist is her only son and she has recently and suddenly lost her husband (p.52). Baptist's mother is therefore a woman whose world has been irreversibly changed and is trying to find a way to continue her livelihood and existence alone. Baptist is faced with the choice of his morals, that is, not going to church, or family loyalty. Whichever he chooses will have consequences for the rest of his life.

However, this fracturing of their relationship is indicated to be temporary. Once his mother has returned from church without him, she considers her son and her lot in life: "es ist am Ende wahr, es gibt noch schlimmere Sachen auf der Welt als dies Nicht-in-die-Kirche-gehen" (p.62). She thinks about how Baptist is not a drunkard, nor a gambler, nor does he chase after women (p.63). However, what ultimately wins her over is remembering the deaths of other young men in the war: "in ihrem kleinem Dorf allein sind nahezu vierzig gefallen; sind alle in der Sakristei auf einer großen Tafel aufgeführt: 'Gefallen im Weltkrieg'. Es sollte gar nicht sein dürfen, daß die Menschen sich hinstellen und einander... Und auf einmal begriff die Mutter ihren Sohn in der halben Dunkelheit des hereinbrechenden Sonntagabends" (p.65). While her acceptance of his pacifism strengthens the pacifist message within the novella (she is yet another character won over by pacifism), the emphasis is on her to understand Baptist's point of view not the other way around. She is perhaps led to this conclusion through spiritual motherhood; as a mother she understands the suffering of her community at the loss of these young men, but she could have chosen not to understand and instead adhere to her faith and insist that Baptist do likewise. She also does not consider

the cause of these deaths and whether there were any heroic acts, which is similar to *Jugend*, explored in the previous chapter. The fracture in their relationship is an obstacle that Baptist faces and his mother is able to overcome it but, like the chaotic world described in the courtroom, this is an obstacle that is outside Baptist's control and is put in his path to highlight the difficulties of living by pacifist values.

The greatest consequence of Baptist's choice to live by pacifist values is the death of Porti. After all his trials have been resolved (he has made his public declaration in favour of pacifism in the dance hall, he saved Fritz's little sister from the fire, and his relationship with his mother has been restored) Baptist is reunited with Porti, a friend from his childhood. Before the end of their first meeting, he realises his attraction to her. He compliments her on being organised „Recht hast, daß d' deine Sacherln z'sammhaltst, Dirndl'. Er hat es nur so hingesagt, weil er gern mit ihr reden mag. Erst mittendrin fällt ihm ein, daß hinter diesen Worten noch ein zweiter Sinn sich verberge" (p.69). It could be seen that Porti is his reward for choosing to live as a pacifist and, indeed, the last few pages of the novella are filled with their encounters culminating in them spending the night together: "Es schläft der Bursch in Mädchens Armen wohl und weich. Auf einmal wieder der Gockel" (p.84). However, after this moment, tragedy strikes when Baptist is once again challenged to a fight. He refuses: "In diesem Augenblick scheint jedoch die Porti- flink wie ein Eichkatzel zwischen den Männern- in das Messer hineingestürzt zu sein" (p.87). Porti sacrifices herself to save Baptist. Loentz sees Porti's death as a hint about the result of failing to address discrimination and prejudice within the women's and pacifist movements. However, Porti is not stabbed deliberately and seeing her death as caused by the discrimination of others removes her agency. Porti chooses to step between the two men and thereby chooses to protect Baptist whatever the cost. She is living up to the Baroness' ideal that it is better to be killed than to kill (p.28).

After her death, Baptist struggles to deal with his emotions: "Die arme Porti, sein armes Mädel! – so ein armes Hascherl muß sein Leben lassen und weiß gar nicht einmal warum und für was. Und wenn er nun im Voraus gewußt hätte, daß es so käme? Was dann? Hätte er dann nicht dennoch zugestoßen? – natürlich hätte er zugestoßen, um sein Mädel zu retten" (p.88). Her death has undone his previous convictions and there is no question about it: "natürlich hätte er zugestoßen, um sein Mädel zu retten". The Baroness' beliefs about Jesus are also coming apart in Baptist's mind: "Das Heiligenleben des Herrn war ja nicht schwer; das war ganz einfach, sich ans Kreuz schlagen lassen, das war gar nichts Besonderes im Vergleich zu ihm- dachte er gotteslästerlich". Baptist is comparing his own pacifist struggles to Jesus, perhaps indicating that to be a pacifist is to be closer to God, but the narrator labels

this as blasphemous and a Christian reader would recognise that Jesus did far more than simply allow himself to be crucified. However, Jesus was never faced with the conundrum of someone else dying in his place as a result of his beliefs. The pacifist message, so clear when delivered by the Baroness, has become muddled by the chaos. Furthermore, Baptist's final thoughts on the events seem to undo the message of the novella: "Wie ist das nur auf dieser Welt? Man will das Beste, und auf einmal geht es so saudumm hinaus. Wie ist das nur? Wie ist das nur?- so sinnt und studiert der Baptist und kann sich nicht zurechtfinden" (p.88). If the novella is merely demonstrating the importance of pacifism, then Baptist's last words have irreparably damaged this. This lends credence to the idea that this novella is actually about the difficulties of living by pacifist values in a world that is chaotic.

After the tragedy of Porti's death and Baptist's struggles to find meaning, the novella ends very bluntly: "Dies ist doch wahr: das Raufen im Ort und in der ganzen Umgegend ist seltener geworden von dieser Zeit an" (p.89). This would appear to suggest that Porti's sacrifice was somehow worthwhile and that it is possible to create a pacifist world without violence if individuals can take the message of Porti's death and learn to get along. However, this final sentence is so blunt that it feels trite after the devastation Baptist experiences after Porti has been killed. Additionally, Baptist has already undermined this message as we know he would kill to protect those weaker than him from injury. This suggests that this is not simply a novella about the importance of pacifism, but it is a debate about the difficulties and limitations of pacifism.

*Die Rauferei* is fundamentally a novella about pacifism, as Loentz and Krämer's contemporary reviewers indicated. This pacifist message is created mainly through female characters and ultimately drawn together by Baptist. The Baroness is the key figure in explaining this message but Krämer presents anti-pacifist ideas through characters such as Hubertus and the priest before subtly undermining them. By presenting both sides of the argument and then dismantling the opposing side, Krämer's pacifist message shines all the brighter. However, to view this novella as only pro-pacifist is to do it a disservice. The trials Baptist experiences, his rift with his mother, and the death of Porti, all serve to show the difficulties of living out a pacifist life in a complicated world. The question of whether it is ever right to kill in defence of another is never answered. Furthermore, the novella also explores the difficulties of living in a world where the top of the class system has been irreparably altered. The aftermath of the war is woven into the background of the novella as an ever-present force. The novella questions whether young men like Baptist are driven to violence due to a lack of strong male leadership and explores the valuable role of women in

community leadership positions. As it is a novella, the plot explores the consequences of Baptist's fight, a seemingly ordinary event in the village but one with extraordinary consequences. The chaos of the world is conspiring against Baptist and his values that he has acquired from the Baroness, whose womanly power is shown through her pear tree. As with so much of Krämer's work, this novella is not her nailing her colours to the mast but rather her exploring her opinions and position and uncovering deep ambivalence. This chapter continues the analysis of the previous chapters as we can see how Krämer continues to explore her own identity as a bourgeois German Jew and to what extent she sees a pacifist identity as feasible in a chaotic world.

## Conclusion

This thesis has explored the forgotten oeuvre of writer and activist Clementine Krämer to uncover both how she saw the world and interacted with it, and how she attempted to reconcile her identities at a time of social upheaval. This thesis has given an insight into the life of a fascinating individual but, as she was both a community leader and shared many commonalities with her contemporaries, her experiences and reactions deepen our understanding of the German Jewish community at that time. It has developed the articles of Elizabeth Loentz through an analysis which encompasses far more of Krämer's work, much of which has not been examined until now, and the greater length of this thesis has enabled an exploration of Krämer's work in greater detail and depth. Through my analysis of her creative output, it has also contributed to literary studies and research into the literary scene in Germany over the decades of the early twentieth century. My efforts to find additional works by Krämer and ascertain the dates and locations of some of her published works have also contributed to the material currently held in the Leo Baeck Institute.

This thesis used "thick description" to build up an understanding of Krämer and her world and then close reading to analyse her works. This process involved examining the web of Krämer's representations of her world, her contemporaries and her social connections in order to understand how she saw her world, and her place within it. It is not about finding a definitive answer to who Krämer was, but rather it is opening a dialogue about her identity which can be developed by future research. Thick description uses the interpretation of symbols to gain access to the "conceptual world" in which Krämer lived (Geertz, 1973, p.13). Furthermore, as identity is created both internally (through an idea of the self) and externally (through interactions with others), by understanding Krämer's network, we can identify some of the forces acting on Krämer's identity (Brockmeier et al, 2001, p.202). Furthermore, this thesis has explored Krämer's role as a community leader because, as Krämer attempts to perform the functions of this role and meet the expectations of others, so her identity is shaped (Burke et al, 2000, p.277). The close reading of Krämer's extant work then developed this thick description to gain an insight into the complexities of Krämer's experiences as a German Jewish woman during a period of unprecedented challenges.

The analysis of Krämer's work was not restricted to one genre, which enabled this thesis to examine how Krämer explored her world in different genres; the analysis of her articles allowed an exploration of the problems she identified and what solutions she posed, and the analysis of her letters gave a more intimate and less mediated look at how she

expressed herself. Through her short stories we can see Krämer experimenting with different solutions and imagining alternative realities, and her novella explores this at length. By constructing narratives, Krämer is constructing her identity and attempting to, in Stuart Hall's terms, knit her different identities together to form a cohesive whole (Hall, 1994, p.122). By analysing these stories, it is possible to learn about Krämer's process and how she saw her identity. As Krämer was a leader in her community, and shared many representative characteristics with this community, this research has deepened our understanding of German society at this time.

This thesis has shown that Krämer was struggling to understand herself as an individual and her role as a member of society. Similar to great thinkers from the past, Krämer is struggling to understand and articulate who she is and her role in society. It is therefore no surprise that the works of philosophers such as Mendelssohn, Rousseau, Kant, Spinoza and Marx can be found throughout her writings, both through direct quotations, oblique references and her adaptations of their ideas. Indeed, Mendelssohn's works have recurred throughout this thesis as Krämer struggled with similar challenges about balancing her German and Jewish identities and adapted his ideas to suit her contemporary problems. Chapter One introduced some of Krämer's articles and letters to explore the different topics in which she was interested, including education, the role of women in Judaism, and the next generation of Jewish women, and also how she reacted to key moments in modern German history, such as the First World War, hyperinflation, and persecution. It was also discussed how she struggled to respond to contemporary issues; she involved herself in educating new Jewish arrivals from Eastern Europe and wanted to aid them with integration into Germany, but her writing reflects her internal conflicts about how to be "German" and what these arrivals said about her as a German and a Jew. She uses *Bildung* to impart Germanness but is consumed with doubts about whether it is possible for Jews from Eastern Europe to become German and whether her lessons are helping her pupils. Krämer also engaged with Pappenheim's ideas about Eastern Europe and it was discussed how both Krämer and Pappenheim orientalise Jews from Eastern Europe. Despite Krämer's concerns about her own shortcomings, she continued to work as an educator and to campaign for women's education in the Jewish community, a possible indication of her desire to solve problems she recognised while internally doubting her actions. Her role as an educator is closely connected to her concerns about the future of the Jewish women's movement; she tries to educate the next generation to bring them into the movement, while expressing concerns that too many young women are not engaged with Judaism and Jewish causes. This is

reflective of her doubts about her own ability to unite herself and thereby unite a fracturing movement.

Krämer's avoidance of labels was also explored; in 1917 she resisted the term "Pazifist" and in 1930 she resisted "Frauenrechtlerin", both because she felt these contentious labels were a distraction from her message but also because they restricted her identity. This was a theme throughout this thesis, also throughout her life, and can be compared with Mendelssohn's theories about the inadequacies of language because the language of labels is not able to express who she is (Gottlieb, 2006, p.207). Krämer also refused to accept that "pacifist" and "patriot" were contradictory terms; an idea supported by her use of Kantian philosophical ideas such as *Weltbürgertum* and her references to Socrates. Through using the works of philosophers such as Kant and Mendelssohn, Krämer expresses the belief that she can participate in war work and hold anti-war views because a plural identity is possible. Her letters after 1939 reflect the dismantling of her identity as a Jewish German and her attempts to find an identity in her family overseas. She remained involved with her community, providing company and aid for Jewish women who were becoming isolated. Her letters to her nephew were filled with pleas for information about her family and friends abroad as her community, and therefore her identity, was forced out of Germany. She also turns away from philosophical thought, which could be an indication of the pressing situation around her inhibiting her ability to reflect, or it could be that these philosophies were inadequate to the challenges of her life. Krämer continues to use creative expressions, indicating that she is still writing for an imagined audience and unable to deny the creative side of her identity. These creative expressions can be found throughout her letters and articles, indicating that her identity as a creative writer is always present.

This was then further developed through the short stories and I identified how Krämer struggled to respond in a concrete way to the problems women faced in the public sphere, a problem which was crystallised by the violence in the Third Reich. This chapter, and the chapters which followed, also examined how Krämer appropriated themes and motifs from the Grimms brothers in her work. This is arguably a demonstration of her credentials as a German writer. Fairy tales are a way for the writer to explore the problems of their world and imagine solutions, something which Krämer does in her stories. She is also participating in a long tradition of re-writing and re-working the tales to make them relevant to her. However, Krämer twists and subverts the fairy tale motifs, which could be an indication that her identity as a German Jewish female writer is more complicated than that of the Grimms, and that the stories and their motifs are inadequate for her purposes. Krämer's stories also

used many ideas from *Heimat*, lending credence to the idea that she is a *Heimat* writer. Many of the stories are set in a rural environment and the characters are often “country folk”. Krämer must have been aware of the growing anti-Semitic trends within the wider movement but she continued to use *Heimat* themes in her work. She may have embraced the plural identity aspect of *Heimat*, that is, that it is possible to be German while embracing the regional and religious diversity of Germany. For Krämer, she can embrace the diversity within herself while still expressing her German identity through a careful negotiation of the themes of *Heimat*. As with her philosophy, Krämer selects different styles to express the multiplicity of her identity as one style would be too restrictive, but these styles are not always compatible or able to be manipulated to the extent she needs and reveal the fractures within herself.

In her pre-war work, we can see the influence of *Heimat*, but also how in the German countryside there are dangers for women. It is suggested that women are only protected by the social contract and, once again, she uses ideas from Mendelssohn within her work and demands that the majority should offer protection to minorities. She also describes the importance of women in guiding and shaping male behaviour. During the First World War, Krämer seems concerned about the effects of the war on the urban environment and perhaps this was influenced by her war work. She also recognises the precarious nature of women’s employment and how a quest for economic independence was wrapped in compromises. This is presented in a setting that has the threat of revolution woven in to the background. In these stories, Krämer uses language associated with the debates surrounding prostitution as a way to engender sympathy for prostitutes and show how easily women can find themselves in “improper” situations. By the beginning of the Third Reich, the threat facing women has become focussed on dangerous individuals but this is compounded by the inability, and unwillingness, of the state and its representatives to help. Unlike in her earlier stories, there are no male rescuers, and no way for the protagonist to save herself as the dangers have become insurmountable. The individuals posing the threats are anonymous, and therefore multitudinous and omnipresent. In all of the stories examined in this chapter, Krämer is exploring the problems women face and suggesting solutions but the endings to the stories are unsatisfactory. This is an indication that she is unable to resolve the stories and the problems she has identified.

When women are fulfilling more traditional roles, as Chapter Three discussed, they are not facing these threats and Krämer demonstrated her adherence to spiritual motherhood in the stories explored in this chapter. Yet within these stories, we can see the conflicts

between being a (spiritual) mother, a Jew and a German simultaneously. She does not condemn mothers who have chosen to baptise their children in an attempt to avoid anti-Semitism. Instead she engages with the universal experiences of life and the tragedy of death; even though *Getauft* suggests she does not have any concrete answers, she demonstrates that women can help in moments of tragedy. Like Mendelssohn, she expresses ambivalence, even almost antipathy, towards dogma and religious coercion as it imposes upon freedom of conscience and harms individual members of the community. Throughout these stories, women provide comfort, guidance and education to the men and children around them. Her belief in the importance of women as educators develops the ideas and campaigns in which she was involved with the JFB, such as the lessons for Jews from Eastern Europe and the school in Wolfratshausen. In this way, we can see how her identity as an activist in the women's movement has informed her identity as a creative writer and vice versa. I also identified the conflicts about how to educate children without removing the magic from the world. This was especially clear in stories relating to sex education but also in those dealing with the harsh realities of death. How to educate and what kinds of education to provide were also themes which were explored in Krämer's articles. The importance of women as spiritual mothers led them to take on roles as community leaders, a topic discussed in her novella and in Chapter Five of this thesis.

As I have demonstrated, the First World War cast a long shadow on Krämer's life and her concerns about violence and responses to it are woven into this thesis and were explicitly discussed in Chapter Four. Although Krämer's work is consumed with the tragedy of war, she is cautious never to criticise soldiers or the structures that led to the war in work intended for publication, possibly due to censorship or concerns about attracting attentions from anti-Semites who accused Jews of undermining the war effort. She also never provides a solution to war. This could be an indication that she was more concerned with dealing with the problems before her (in this case, the suffering caused by the war) than engaging in hypotheticals, something to which her 1917 letter attests. Her concerns about suffering and tragedy both develop the ideas in Chapter Three, about the tragic nature of human experiences, and her Kantian cosmopolitanism discussed in Chapter One as she does not limit her depictions of suffering to German soldiers. She questions the meaning of soldiers' deaths by often avoiding representations of heroic acts (particularly in her unpublished poetry). Krämer uses restorative justice as a solution to violence between individuals and, potentially, as a microcosm for ending violence between states. This is an expansion of her usage of Mendelssohn and the social contract (discussed in Chapter Two) and a reflection of the ideas of prominent pacifists in the Munich peace movement and wider women's

movement. When violence occurs, the social contract has been broken and society has been damaged. Increasing the violence through retaliation (or “Revanche” as she referred to it in her 1917 letter) does not restore the balance. According to Krämer, communities and individuals need to work together to resolve problems peacefully and Krämer places this task into the hands of women. Therefore, Krämer is using Mendelssohn and Kant to develop her own philosophies adapted to the times in which she was living. She manipulates philosophies about men and by men to make them relevant to women and her own life. She is attempting to reconcile herself as an individual to the demands of society by setting out the role that women like her should play and discussing ways in which society can be improved. The stories in which she struggles to provide solutions, or where she becomes consumed with the tragic nature of war, provide indications that she was not able to satisfactorily resolve her identity as an individual with the limitations of being a member of society.

Krämer’s 1927 novella was the pinnacle of her writing career and brought together many of the themes explored within this thesis, which is why this thesis concluded with an analysis of *Die Rauferei*. Although ostensibly a novella about pacifism, it is also about spiritual motherhood and the role of women as community leaders, it incorporates many features common to Heimat works, and it is a representation of the chaotic world and times in which Krämer lived and the impossibility of holding fast to one belief system. While Krämer expounds the virtues of pacifism, she recognises that the world is too complex to live by one philosophy. She discusses the limitations of pacifism and asks whether, if violence can save the life of another, it can be justified, but she does not answer this question conclusively. She develops her message about the tragic nature of death as a result of violence discussed in both Chapter Three and Chapter Four. The novella also allowed Krämer to further demonstrate the ways in which women can be community leaders and shape the lives and actions of men through spiritual motherhood. She includes a warning to women to consider their own prejudices as their words can have such a great impact on the lives of men. In a similar way to the stories in Chapter Four, Krämer seems to call for non-violent conflict resolution and her reflections on the limitations of pacifism could be pursuing Mendelssohn’s beliefs that the majority has a moral duty to protect minority groups and it should not fall to one individual. Once again, Krämer seems unable to provide a satisfactory conclusion to her story as she struggles to unite the beliefs and identities of the individual with the chaos of society.

Ultimately, this thesis has explored how Krämer represented herself and her world, and has uncovered her insecurities, identified her inability to reconcile the fractures in her own identity in order to construct a coherent response. However, as shown by her campaigning and community engagement, it is clear that Krämer was very involved with improving the welfare of others, particularly impoverished Jewish women and girls. It seems that Krämer was more able to solve the immediate needs of those around her rather than create a single philosophy. This became particularly evident during the Third Reich as Krämer coordinated social gatherings for Jewish women with the aim of providing solace rather than philosophising on the source of this suffering. Yet despite that, as her stories show, she wanted both to chronicle her time and imagine alternatives to her reality. In so doing, Krämer has become a successor to Mendelssohn; she adapts his ideas about the plurality of individual identities to her contemporary world. She also advocated *Bildung* as the route for Jews from Eastern Europe to assimilate in to Germany and the way for the German Jewish community to unite and ensure the continued participation of younger women. She demonstrated a belief in freedom of conscience and concerns about religious coercion. She also relied on the social contract and the idea that the majority should protect minority groups. Krämer attempted to unite herself by accepting that her identities were diverse and that to limit them (for example, through labels) would be to limit who she was. She was also unable to reconcile her identities with a society that treated her with hostility. Just as Mendelssohn struggled to overcome contradictions within his philosophies, so Krämer struggled with the contradictions within her ideology and her stories with unsatisfying conclusions or articles indicating insecurities were used as examples. After Mendelssohn's death, all but two of his children had converted, suggesting that his ideas about *Bildung* and plural identities were not able to stand up to the realities of life for German Jews in his time (Shapiro, 2009, pp.391-392). The depiction of Krämer as an almost broken woman at the end of her life and the rejection of Germanness in her letters from after 1939, could also be seen as her accepting the failures of her ideology. In her time, it was not possible to unite her identities. However, both Krämer and Mendelssohn were trying to exist and keep their sense of self in the face of great adversity. That Krämer managed to prevent total fragmentation until the very end of her life, despite all the challenges she faced, could be denounced as her participating in the mass delusion that a German Jewish identity was possible, or it can be seen as a recognition that despite the whims of external forces, Krämer was a German Jew.

Additionally, this thesis has broadened our knowledge of Krämer as an individual. My analysis has indicated that she was very well read and had a detailed understanding of

philosophy, which undermines her nephew's assertion that she "understood little of these abstract topics" (p.188). Her ability to manipulate quotations and ideas from Mendelssohn, Marx, Spinoza and Kant, among others, suggests that she understood these topics well. Furthermore, this thesis has also gone beyond Straus' depiction of Krämer as "ein unbeschriebenes Blatt" and revealed a woman who had thoughtful and thought-provoking opinions, which she expressed publicly, but who was unsure of herself and the best way to solve the problems in the world around her (p.153). As Krämer was a community leader, through understanding her responses to contemporary problems, we are able to expand our knowledge of the Jewish community at this time. This thesis has therefore contributed to both Jewish studies and German studies but also women's studies by expanding on the current knowledge about the German Jewish women's movement.

Krämer, as her letters to her nephew suggest, was concerned about being forgotten, and the Third Reich almost accomplished this. This thesis has engaged with the ethical duty of remembering a victim of the Holocaust, reclaiming her work, and uncovering her contributions to the world. Until recently, women's history has often been overlooked, and there is still much research to be conducted into the responses of Jewish women in early twentieth century Germany. This thesis forms one part of this process by uncovering the experiences of someone who shared commonalities with her community (though her age and class) and was a representative of her community (as the leader of the Munich branch of the JFB). Throughout this thesis I have attempted to weave in and analyse as much of Krämer's work as possible but there remains much within her archive that was not able to be incorporated and there is most likely more material in other archives that has not yet been uncovered. Therefore, there is still much more research to be conducted into Krämer's life and works but also on the other women of the JFB in order to develop our understanding of the Jewish community at this time.

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