



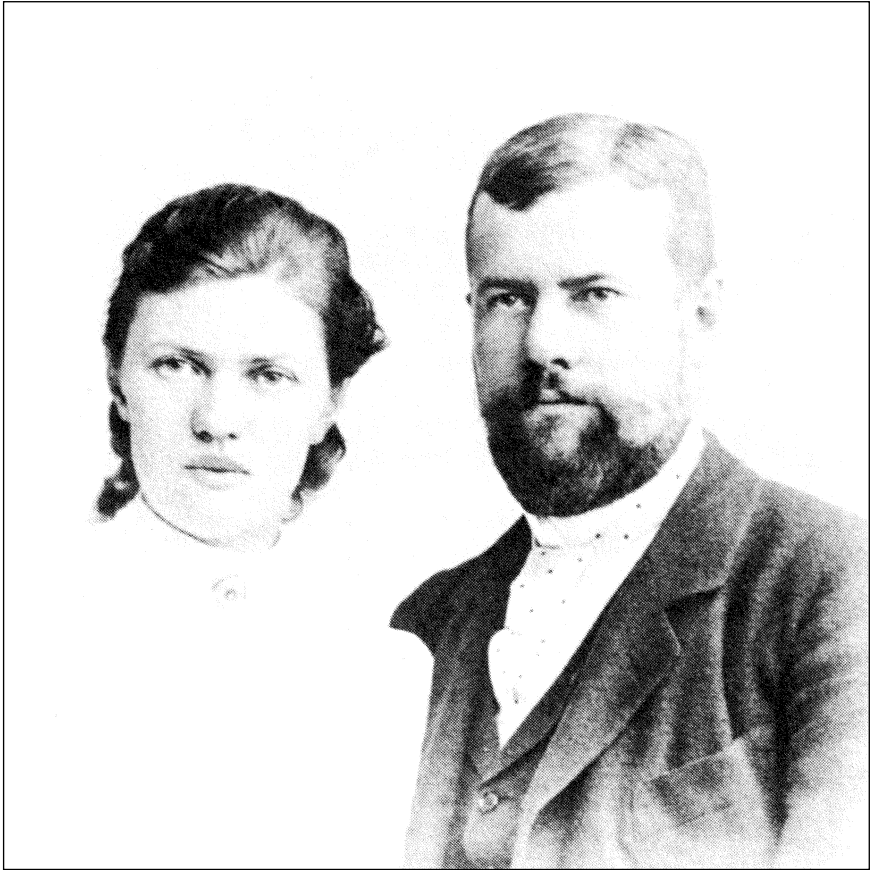
# Max Weber

## A Biography

Marianne Weber

With a new introduction by Guenther Roth  
Translated and Edited by Harry Zohn

# **Max Weber: A Biography**



*Max and Marianne Weber as newlyweds, 1893.*

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE \_\_\_\_\_

It is a privilege to be associated with the first publication in English of a book which Peter Gay has referred to as “an important biography,” Robert Nisbet has described as “a moving and deeply felt biographical memoir,” and Gerhard Masur has called “one of the most moving biographies ever written by a wife about her husband” and “the foundation for all further inquiries [concerning Weber].”

Marianne Schnitger Weber was born at Oerlinghausen on August 2, 1870, and died at Heidelberg on March 21, 1954. She wrote *Max Weber, ein Lebensbild* in the years following her husband's untimely death in 1920. Her book was first published in 1926 by the house of J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen. A second edition was issued in 1950 under the imprint of Lambert Schneider, Heidelberg; it was slightly abridged and combined Chapters 19 and 20 of the first edition. Both editions have long been out of print and are hard to find on the secondhand book market. My translation is based on the 1926 edition, but it also takes cognizance of the minor emendations and corrections of the 1950 edition. It is thus the most complete,

the most accurate, and perhaps even the clearest version of this work that has ever been published. Certainly there is no comparable "Life and Works" of Max Weber on the international book market.

Neither German edition is annotated. Presumably out of consideration for people then still alive, Marianne Weber chose not to identify many of the persons she wrote about, and occasionally her biography reads like a *roman à clef*. The 1950 edition does contain an index, the work of Pastor Bruno Goldschmit, but even this generally helpful list of persons and places is incomplete and sometimes faulty and misleading.

The present edition is copiously annotated, though it has not been possible to give information on every person mentioned or even to identify everyone to whom Marianne Weber refers as Herr X, Dr. Y, or Professor Z. Also, it is often difficult to tell whether sentences or phrases that Marianne or Max Weber put between quotation marks are more or less famous quotations or simply the kind of reminiscences, witticisms, or other allusions that lead a private life in every family. I hope that erudite readers with long memories will come forward with further identifications, notes, or corrections for a possible second edition of this book. With a few exceptions, notes on persons, places, and events may be found on the page where these are first mentioned. My notes are labeled as editor's notes, to distinguish them from those of the author. For purposes of reference, or if certain chapters are read out of turn or skipped, the index may be consulted for the first occurrence of someone or something glossed.

If certain mysterious references proved tantalizing and required some sleuthing on the part of the translator and his informants, Marianne Weber's style posed a problem of another sort. Frau Weber, a noted feminist, was an accomplished writer in her own right; in addition to several books about women's problems, she published an autobiography in 1948. Her biography of her husband is a great panorama of German and European life during more than a century and sheds much light on the social, political, intellectual, academic, and cultural life of Germany in that period. It is replete with detail and written in a leisurely fashion. The author's German is often colorful, evocative, ornate, metaphorical, soulful, highflown, and occasionally even overblown; her flavorful language frequently reflects her unabashed enjoyment of luxuriant imagery. It has been my aim to produce a faithful translation within the framework of reasonably clear and idiomatic English, but I have tried to resist the translator's itch to sacrifice an author's characteristic style on the altar of readability. If Count de Buffon's dictum "*Le style c'est l'homme même*" has any validity, at least some of Marianne

Weber's stylistic peculiarities must be allowed to shine through in the English translation, for certainly this author's style reflects her personality and her special way of looking at the world. An attempt has been made to tone down some of her more purple passages and modify some of her stylistic quirks. But apart from the fact that stylistic homogeneity is hard to achieve in a work of this type and length, to eliminate all of Marianne Weber's stylistic mannerisms, however antiquated or quaint some of them may sound today, would have been an act of denaturalization of the kind that theorists and practitioners of translation from Goethe to Walter Benjamin and Vladimir Nabokov have decried. I am not persuaded by the argument that it is desirable, or even permissible, to rewrite and thus "improve" a work in the process of translation. I find the following statement by Nabokov (from his *Congeries*) far more convincing: "We must dismiss once and for all the conventional notion that a translation 'should read smoothly' and 'should not sound like a translation.' In point of fact, any translation that does *not* sound like a translation is bound to be inexact upon inspection, while on the other hand, the only virtue of a good translation is faithfulness and completeness. Whether it reads smoothly or not, depends on the model, not the mimic." Thoughtful readers will, I hope, agree that in trying to be both faithful and complete I have served both them and the author well by producing a version that reflects most of the virtues, though of necessity also some of the deficiencies, of Marianne Weber's magnum opus and, above all, conveys its special flavor.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Johannes Winckelmann of the Max Weber Institute of the University of Munich, to Professor Wolfgang J. Mommsen of the University of Düsseldorf, to Dr. Michael Baumann of the University of Heidelberg, and to Georg Bangen of the Free University of Berlin for their willingness to answer my questions and help me with the difficult task of annotating this volume. I am indebted also to Professors Reinhard Bendix (University of California, Berkeley), Robert Lilienfeld (City University of New York), and Egon Bittner and Kurt H. Wolff (Brandeis University) for their helpful interest in this project. A special word of appreciation is due Eric Valentine of John Wiley & Sons and Christine Valentine for being such ideal editors.

HARRY ZOHN

*Brandeis University*  
*Waltham, Massachusetts*  
*December 1974*



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## AUTHOR'S PREFATORY NOTE \_\_\_\_\_

Friends and colleagues of Max Weber have made available his letters to them for use in this biography. Only by integrating numerous passages from letters into the narrative has it been possible to let Max Weber speak directly in this book and to illustrate his reactions to, and impact upon, everyday life as well as to the intellectual and political movements of his time. The author would like to thank them all, particularly the friends and colleagues who did not withhold even those letters Weber wrote them in cases of conflict and who permitted their partial publication. But she owes particular thanks to those friends who gave her inestimable help and encouragement by their personal interest and their counsel.

Das war der Mann, der immer wiederkehrt  
wenn eine Zeit noch einmal ihren Wert,  
da sie sich enden will, zusammenfasst.  
Da hebt noch einer ihre ganze Last  
und wirft sie in den Abgrund seiner Brust.

Die vor ihm hatten Leid und Lust;  
er aber fühlt nur noch des Lebens Masse  
und dass er alles wie *ein* Ding umfasse,—  
nur Gott bleibt über seinem Willen weit:  
da liebt er ihn mit seinem hohen Hasse  
für diese Unerreichbarkeit.

This is the man who always will emerge  
at moments when an era on the verge  
of termination will assess once more  
its value. He will lift its load before  
he hurls it down the caverns of his heart.

Before, men had of bliss and pain their part;  
but he feels nothing but life's total weight  
and that all things are joined in one estate—  
only the span to God he cannot breach:  
and yet he loves Him with heroic hate  
for being utterly beyond his reach.

From Rilke's *Das Stundenbuch* [*The Book of Hours*], Part I. The reference is to Michelangelo ["Das waren Tage Michelangelos"].—Ed.

—Rainer Maria Rilke, translated by Max Knight

# MARIANNE WEBER AND HER CIRCLE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSACTION EDITION

*Guenther Roth*

When Marianne Weber (1870–1954) began editing her husband’s voluminous literary remains in the early 1920’s, Othmar Spann (1878–1950), the once famous sociologist of an “organic” theory of society, remarked that Max Weber had been “a demonic, restless person, who was capable of affecting others through the strength of his personality, but to whom it was denied to leave behind a life’s work that could last. . . . His time is over, his is a dead science.”<sup>1</sup> Few judgments have been more mistaken. Max Weber has turned out to be the one German economist and sociologist who is still widely read today, the only one who became “influential” worldwide many years after his death.

In his lifetime, Weber was only one member of a galaxy of brilliant scholars, and it was far from obvious that his voice would penetrate the din of battle and be heard in the future. We like to believe that Marx, Durkheim, and Weber survived their times because of the intrinsic quality of their

achievement, but their vaunted “influence” has been very much dependent on our own receptivity and our own orientations. Yet it is also fair to say that without Marianne Weber her husband’s oeuvre might not have gained its later importance for the course of social science. Ultimately, she was not interested in his contribution to sociology; only a few pages of the biography deal with it. But she never wavered in her faith in his greatness as a human being and a scholar. After completing the editions and biography, she wrote to Paul Honigsheim (1885–1967) in 1926: “In my judgment Weber’s fame is only at its very beginning. People will be stupefied when they put their hands on his work (ten to twelve volumes). I live for his immortality on earth.”<sup>2</sup> In fact, before and after Weber’s death she lived for much more, although her “companionship” with him, lived and remembered, remained the bedrock of her life.

### Biographical Genres: Dutiful Wives and Pious Daughters

Marianne Weber is today recognized as the wife of a famous man and as a feminist of sorts. In her biography of Weber she casts herself very much as the heroine at her husband’s side. But even though she reveals much—shockingly much for many of her first readers—about their troubled lives and the doomed world in which they lived, we can understand her story better if we ask beforehand what kind of wife and feminist sat down at her husband’s desk to produce such an extraordinary biography (*Lebensbild*).

For a long time, women had written diaries to monitor their spiritual growth and had composed family chronicles for private circulation. Now they published what they wrote. Many of the women and men in Marianne Weber’s circle and academic milieu left us biographies or autobiographies. Theirs was the high point of this literary mode of expression. Some of these biographies, which often rely heavily on letters, may appear to us stilted and sentimental. Yet they treat vexing moral issues that remain pertinent to the present intellectual and political situation, when liberalism is on the defensive and a counterrevolution has been mounted against the counterculture. Marianne Weber and most of her liberal political friends were spokeswomen for an ethical rigorism that is echoed in some of the neoconservative literature today. But several of her close friends also followed, in theory and practice, the “new ethic,” as the morality of sexual liberation was called. The counterculture before World War I played through many themes that were resurrected in the 1960’s and 1970’s.

The Webers tried hard to grapple with the moral antinomies and personal

cross-pressures and at crucial moments found intellectual and personal consistency elusive. Marianne's overriding concern was how men and women could live moral lives, responsible to their "companions"—her favorite phrase for herself and her husband—and especially to the next generation. Living in an unconsummated and childless marriage, she nevertheless shouldered the whole burden of promoting marriage and sexual reform, becoming a virgin mother for others in ways that sometimes offend our sensibilities. But there can be no doubt about her high moral seriousness in intellectual and personal matters. If Marianne's world view appears outright reactionary in the eyes of radical women's liberation, some of the issues with which she tried to deal may be taken more seriously again today when the women's movement faces serious challenges.

When Max Weber died in 1920, Marianne Weber was president of the German Women's Federation (*Bund deutscher Frauenvereine*, BDF), holding the most prestigious position in the large network of women's organizations that it encompassed. But unlike some of her friends, she was never politically powerful inside or outside the women's movement. She held office by virtue of her reputation as a scholarly writer, demonstrating intellectual respectability and moral high-mindedness before the male world. Marianne belonged to the first generation of women who succeeded in studying at the university. Most of them had to go to Switzerland before first the state of Baden and finally the dominant state of Prussia admitted women to degree programs.

The formal barriers to regular study and also to any sort of political activity did not fall until 1908, but many obstacles remained. There were no women professors in Imperial Germany; women never gained the active or passive suffrage on the federal or state level until after the Empire's collapse. Marianne Weber played a historically significant role in the academic circles that first brought women and male professors together for genuine intellectual intercourse. There are no such circles left today, but her battle for equal intellectual and political participation is far from won. The percentage of women in the German professoriate and in German parliaments is still very small, certainly smaller than in the United States, where Marianne Weber would today be a professor of moral philosophy—a Hannah Arendt or a Gertrude Himmelfarb—too busy for "academic sociability" (*akademische Geselligkeit*), the name of her circle in Heidelberg from the 1920's on.

In the large body of biographical literature left behind by Weber's generation, her book and a few others belong to a cluster composed by dutiful wives and pious daughters. Like Marianne Weber, Agnes von Zahn-Harnack (1884–1950), a dutiful daughter, was also president of the German Women's

Federation (BDF) and a major literary representative of the women's movement—a combination of roles inconceivable today. In part because several of these women were the daughters or wives of powerful males, the German women's movement mostly followed a line of cautious reform, rather than outright challenge, in order to retain the males' strategically important support.

Writing out of filial piety, Maria von Bunsen (1862–1941) sketched, as early as 1900, a “character portrait from the camp of the defeated,” the subtitle of her work on Georg von Bunsen, one of the liberals vanquished by Bismarck. In 1922 Margaret Münsterberg (1889–1958) strove to rehabilitate Weber's erstwhile Freiburg colleague and friend Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916), who had become Harvard's most unpopular professor during World War I, a forlorn champion of Imperial Germany's tainted cause. By contrast, Grete Ostwald celebrated one of Weber's intellectual adversaries, the Nobel-prize-winning chemist and quirky “energetic” and “monist” philosopher Wilhelm Ostwald (1853–1932). In dignified tones, Agnes von Zahn–Harnack told the success story of Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), world-famous scholar of early Christianity but also Germany's first “science czar” as director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft (now the Max Planck Society). All these daughters were discreet about their fathers' private lives and kept themselves in the background. As far as I can see, Marianne Weber herself began the line of dutiful wives and in part influenced later efforts. Her friend Marie Luise Gothein (1863–1931) copied her in the *Lebensbild* of Eberhard Gothein (1853–1923) “told after his letters,” but kept herself out of the limelight. Writing with political intent, Julie Braun–Vogelstein (1883–1971) published in 1932 a guarded biography of the socialist writer Heinrich Braun (1854–1927), Weber's predecessor as editor of the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*; both her book and the journal went under when the Nazis came to power a few weeks later.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike Agnes von Zahn–Harnack and Grete Ostwald, Marianne Weber could not tell a triumphant academic success story; she was closer to Bunsen and Münsterberg in trying to evoke sympathy for a political and academic outsider. Her solution was to combine the hero's tortured struggle to keep his sanity and intellectual creativity with a family saga of generational conflicts, tensions between husbands and wives, illnesses and incidents of death. As the drama unfolds, we see a proud man rise and fall and regain his creative strength and political zest with the heroine's unstinting help. But a cruel fate cuts him down just as he can “work again the way he did thirty years ago” (as Weber said shortly before his death). The very attention directed to familial and generational conflicts indicates that Marianne Weber

wrote not only as the dutiful wife of a “great man,” but also as a feminist committed to the emancipation of her sex.<sup>4</sup>

This also explains why the book has three central figures, the wronged mother Helene (1844–1919), the recalcitrant but protective son, and an elective daughter who is also the son’s virginal wife. Indeed, much of the book is constructed around Marianne’s letters to Helene, a true mother superior and virtuoso of charity. But the story is incomplete. Next to this powerful and intellectual triangle, there were two more. Marianne barely reveals what she may never have fully understood: the triangle between herself, Max, and Else Jaffé–von Richthofen (1874–1973), who was her beloved “sisterly friend” but also Max’s lover at the very end of his life. Marianne also gives no hint of the third triangle, between Max and Alfred Weber (1868–1958), the perpetual rival siblings, and Else, for whose attention and affection they competed. In the end, it is the solidarity of the women with one another, Helene and Marianne, Marianne and Else, branching out to several other women over a lifetime of loyal friendship, that triumphs over ethical quandary and human frailty.

In the following sections, I will place the biography in the context of Marianne Weber’s other writings over half a century and situate the author and her circle in the cultural and political settings of her time. This includes the thirty–four years by which she survived her husband.

## Cross Currents of German Feminism Before 1914

### *The Progressive Struggle for Equality of the Sexes*

The Weber marriage began with a self–conscious effort at equality, an implied rebuke to the father’s paternalism. If the young Weber felt ambivalent about the mannish mannerisms of some of the earliest women students, he unambiguously viewed, as Marianne puts it forcefully, “the inner freedom and independence of women, even married women, as an ‘inalienable human right’ fully equal to that of man” (111). Such good intentions, however, encountered social and psychological disparities. The law firmly subordinated women and children to the husband. Weber himself was awkward in groping for a novel stance. Shortly before the wedding in the fall of 1893, the twenty–nine–year–old assured the twenty–three–year–old: “My child, we will stand by each other free and equal” (186). At almost fifty, in one of Max’s last letters, Marianne is still, by habit and endearment, “mein liebes Kind.”<sup>5</sup>

Talking about men in general, Marianne once pointed out, in an ironic

aside, how often at moments of marital tension an irritated undertone tends to creep into that phrase (L 91). When Marianne was forty-two, Stefan George (1868–1933) addressed her from Olympian heights as “my child” (463). By that time she had established herself as one of the best-known women scholars in the country. Taking advantage of her social position as a faculty wife, she had ventured into the lectures and seminars of her husband’s Freiburg colleagues (especially Alois Riehl and Heinrich Rickert). By the age of thirty, she published her first study, quite an accomplishment for a woman who had not even received a regular secondary education and had only attended a two-year boarding school in her late teens before she was considered “finished.” In contrast to her friends, however, she did not formally acquire a degree and thus did not become a “Frau Doktor” in her own right rather than by derived status; not until 1924 did she receive an honorary doctorate in law from the University of Heidelberg.

*Fichte’s Socialism in Relation to Marx’s Doctrine*, Marianne’s first book, appeared in 1900. Addressed to economists with philosophical interests and probing into the ultimate ethical assumptions of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) and Karl Marx, it anticipated more the general ethical rather than the specifically feminist interests of her career. As co-editor of the economics series in which the treatise came out, Max Weber felt obliged to remark that “apart from the points identified, and very few literary and terminological hints, the author had to find her own way in every respect and received from me, as from her other teachers, merely the usual kind of academic suggestions.”<sup>6</sup>

We should keep in mind that this may have been the first time a German professorial husband published a study by his wife. If Max was outspoken, Marianne was discreet. In the foreword, she mentioned that her work “could only proceed slowly in my free hours and with many interruptions,” a cautious hint at her husband’s paralyzing illness, which she describes so vividly in the biography. If Weber’s illness was for him a “descent into hell” (237), so it was for her, but she was not wholly unarmed. Growing up as a waif had toughened her. Losing her mother very early to death in childbed and her father (and an uncle) to mental illness, she had grown up with death and illness as facts of life, a story told at greater length in her autobiography. She worried about her own hereditary liabilities but kept her sanity in the face of her husband’s protracted illness by going out into the world rather than retreating from it. Most of all, however, she was fortified by her convictions about the ethical obligations of marriage and by a notion of self-fulfillment that contrasts sharply with any hedonistic search for “finding oneself” and “actualizing one’s potential.”

Looking back as a septuagenarian, Marianne recounted the balance of benefits and burdens in her life at the time: "Life offered me rich opportunities for fulfilling myself (*Selbstverwirklichung*), my hunger for learning was undiminished and could be combined with public activities. . . . Max Weber also took a very warm interest in my work in the women's movement and offered gallant help, whenever difficulties arose. . . . My life was so rich in the personal and public realm that there remained no room for unattainable wishes in the reproductive sphere. This very richness gave me the strength to help Max Weber, my life's lodestar, endure and overcome the fate of a severe neurosis of many years' duration" (L 56).

In retrospect, too, the biographical significance of the book that established Marianne Weber's scholarly reputation, *Wife and Mother in Legal Development*, is easy to see.<sup>7</sup> Written "during [my] husband's severe illness but under his supervision, I managed to finish it after a seven-year effort" (L 124). Thus, the work was begun only two to three years after the fateful showdown over Helene between Max Weber senior and junior in Heidelberg in 1897, the confrontation that was followed by the father's death and the son's breakdown (see ch. 8 below). Marianne openly acknowledged that this time her husband not only suggested the project but also advised her closely and took a strong hand in the final editing (L VI f.). This certainly makes it a joint Weberian enterprise.

The lengthy historical survey was meant to be an introduction for women and men interested not in the logical structure but in the practical significance of legal norms for the condition of women, a sociological approach Weber later also adopted for his chapter on law in *Economy and Society*. But unlike the latter work, Marianne's was not a dispassionate handbook. Dedicated to "Helene Weber née Falkenstein in grateful love," her book contains a strong attack on patriarchy and a vigorous plea for equality in marriage. In addition to the familial motivation, however, it should also be recalled that Marianne began writing her book just when the new civil code was introduced in 1900. This new code was opposed by the women's movement because it preserved the husband's privileges almost completely, although it conceded to women limited legal agency.

Before Marianne launched her attack on patriarchy, she criticized matriarchal theories from Bachofen to Engels and tried to sketch a historically adequate "developmental history" (*Entwicklungsgeschichte*) of modern marriage. She agreed that familial patriarchy was not a natural given, but declared completely untenable the socialist assertion that the development of private property brought forth the forms of patriarchal marriage. Legitimate marriage appeared to her the product of a long development: "Women

were interested in having their children recognized as the man's 'legitimate' heirs and becoming themselves 'legitimate,' that means, protected against absolute arbitrariness. This interest finally became strong enough to force patriarchalism into making concessions."<sup>8</sup> In the Weberian vein, she also argued that the interests of advanced capitalism in exploiting cheap female labor do not determine any particular social or legal form of marriage but instead are relatively indifferent to them.

Marianne Weber waxed most eloquent in passages that can be read as a general indictment of German law and German husbands, as well as a thinly disguised account of what went wrong between Max senior and Helene. She detailed the many ways in which husbands are motivated to crush any attempt at external and internal independence on the part of their wives. Against this prevalent state of affairs she set her own ideal of ethical individualism and mutual responsibility on an equalitarian basis: "Let us state once more our case against the ideal of patriarchalism, which gave birth to our marriage laws, by summarizing the general ethical and psychological consequences that must result for the woman and conjugal life if the husband indeed exercises his legal authority over her person and property and thus makes dominance his duty, yet often without the magnanimity demanded by Fichte. . . . [Subordination] diminishes not only the woman's happiness but also the ethical value of the conjugal relationship. . . . If, according to the authority principle, the husband's subjective wishes become orders, the wife has not much left to offer him out of 'free love.' The mutual education in selflessness is falling away, all those inner tasks that married life renews daily and that makes it so wonderfully satisfying if meeting the challenges can be taken more and more for granted."<sup>9</sup>

Two pillars of the French and German educational establishment, Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) and Friedrich Paulsen (1846–1908), responded critically to Marianne's book and illustrate the resistance she met despite her relative moderation. Complimenting the "good judgment and critical acumen" with which she handled the secondary literature, Durkheim yet found that she gave Engels more attention than the scientific value of his theory warranted. He criticized her view that the patriarchal family had completely subordinated the woman, arguing that, on the contrary, it had enhanced her place in the home and brought her closer to the man. Although he commended Marianne's "conservative prudence" in opposing marriage as a completely free contract, he was dismayed by her advocacy of divorce by mutual consent; this threatened "the organic unity of the conjugal union and of the family." Durkheim's strongest objection had to be directed against Marianne's ethical individualism, which made her demand complete legal equality be-

tween wife and husband. In his eyes, this undermined “the religious respect the hearth inspires.”<sup>10</sup>

Durkheim’s review proves not only that he was willing to take note of a woman scholar, but also that he could have answered a question often asked by later scholars puzzled by his almost total disregard of his German adversary: “Who is that Max Weber anyway?” “Oh, he’s Marianne’s guy.” As Marianne recounts anecdotally, that was an exchange, in Baden dialect, between two craftsmen in Heidelberg at the time when she was publicly much more visible than her husband (407).

Friedrich Paulsen, whose *Introduction to Philosophy* Max had given his bride to read, reviewed her book in seventeen pages of the prestigious *Preussische Jahrbücher*.<sup>11</sup> Writing in the year of his death, Paulsen took the patronizing approach of an older generation that liked to appeal to “the nature of things” against the demands of the women’s movement. Like Durkheim, Paulsen applauded Marianne’s critique of the socialist theories of an original state of matriarchy. Lauding her rejection of the sexual liberation movement, he gave her credit for highminded ethical idealism in the tradition of Kant and Fichte, but at this point also started his critique. Law should follow custom, not ethical ideals, which easily blind their adherents to the wisdom of slow historical progress. Just as Durkheim viewed her as something of a “terrible simplifcatrice,” Paulsen considered her impractical. He conceded that he could not prevail over her in matters of conscience, but he appealed to the status quo, the willingness of most women to subordinate themselves. Marianne’s proposal to give marriage partners equal rights of decision-making appeared to him totally infeasible: “That was the constitutional principle of the kingdom of Poland, and we all know what happened to it!” He also considered impractical Marianne’s plea for separate property management and for improving the conditions of illegitimate children by forcing fathers to accept financial and educational responsibility. In his view, legalizing “concubinage,” thus tolerating unmarried couples, was only going to increase the number of illegitimate children and general sexual license.

Whereas Durkheim and Paulsen admitted that women’s dignity could be enhanced under a cautiously reformed patriarchal law, Georg Simmel (1858–1918) pursued a philosophical argument about the inherent value, if not the superiority, of “female culture,” an argument that alternatively attracted and repelled support within the women’s movement.<sup>12</sup> From the beginning of his career in the 1890’s, he wrote more seriously than any other male of his generation about women’s psychology (from anti-militarism to coquetry), female culture, prostitution, and the women’s movement. These topics were discussed in his Berlin salon no less than in the Webers’ Heidelberg salon,

which he visited several times with his wife Gertrud (1864–1938), who wrote on sexual ethics under the pen name Marie Luise Enckendorf.

Marianne Weber responded as early as 1904 to Simmel's 1902 essay on female culture, but without yet naming him. In her first feminist essay "The Participation of Women in Science," which paralleled her husband's 1904 essay on "The 'Objectivity' of Knowledge in Social Science and Social Policy," she stressed, in good Weberian fashion, the novel evaluative viewpoints that women could bring to bear on scientific issues, rather than the absolute gender differences that Simmel emphasized.<sup>13</sup> In 1911, Simmel published a quite different version of his essay "Female Culture" in Weber's *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft* and included it in the same year, with "The Relative and the Absolute in the Problem of the Sexes," in his collection *Philosophical Culture*.<sup>14</sup> Two years later, Marianne Weber responded to these essays with "Women and Objective Culture" in *Logos*, the philosophical house journal of Heinrich Rickert and Max Weber.<sup>15</sup> As is well known, Simmel considered the "tragedy of culture" to lie in the fact that the general accumulation of knowledge and of artifacts outpaced the individual's capacity to catch up with this expansion: "objective culture" outraced "subjective culture." Man's creativity was inherently self-defeating. Simmel welcomed the efforts of modern women to advance their subjective culture. But objective culture was mainly a product of male externalization, whereas female nature was self-contained. The objectification of female nature was therefore a contradiction in terms.

Marianne Weber acknowledged that Simmel meant to create a "progressive" gender ontology of female culture in order to elevate women onto a higher pedestal. Thereby women would constitute a value sphere in their own right. But she bluntly declared this metaphysical rescue attempt another discrimination against women and insisted on women's ability to contribute to objective culture. She admitted only historical and psychological, not ontological differences. Thus, she rejected Simmel's assertion of an "ultimately self-contained completeness of being which constitutes the meaning of life for the female type."<sup>16</sup> She also denied the "typical tragedy" of each of the two sexes, distinguishing instead between jobs and vocations. Most men and women hold jobs only for the sake of making a living, but a minority of both sexes lives for a vocation. Women, too, Marianne told Simmel, can experience that deep satisfaction that comes from "complete objectification of the subject." Hence, the very advance of objective culture appeared to her truly progressive: it enabled women to transcend their "special female mission" (of female reproduction) and to contribute to cultural production.<sup>17</sup>

If Marianne Weber followed Simmel to heights of philosophical abstraction, she also engaged for a number of years in down-to-earth organizational activities. Shortly after moving to Heidelberg in 1897 she reestablished and directed a branch of a national association dedicated to the promotion of women's education, "Frauenbildung-Frauenstudium."<sup>18</sup> The local organization presented lectures on women's issues, sometimes given by prominent members of the movement, and courses on academic subjects given by faculty members. The audience consisted of men and women.

Following the example of women like Marie Stritt in Dresden, in 1901 Marianne also was instrumental in setting up a legal aid office for the "socially disprivileged," especially waitresses and servant girls. (There was no industrial proletariat in Heidelberg, a small university town of 25,000 inhabitants.) She managed to persuade Georg Jellinek, the renowned constitutional theorist of the state, to allow his wife Camilla (1860-1940) to run the advisory service. Camilla quickly underwent a radicalization and ended up as a champion of abortion rights. Marianne Weber also started and lost a campaign to win voting rights for women in the Protestant state church of Baden. But she could exult at the appointment of Else von Richthofen as the first female factory inspector of the state of Baden in 1900, an event that served "to strengthen the faith of the women's movement" (230). She had established her intimate friendship with Else, which was to last almost sixty years, in Freiburg. Max engineered the appointment of Else, his first female doctoral student, just as he later took up cudgels for her successor, Dr. Marie Baum, when she found her chances of advancement blocked in her office, which she held from 1902 until 1907. Marie Baum (1874-1964)—affectionately called "Bäumchen" (Little Tree) in Marianne's letters—also became a lifelong friend during her long career as welfare official, officer in the Women's Federation, Reichstag deputy (1919-1921), and university teacher.<sup>19</sup>

The last progressive role Marianne Weber played in the Heidelberg of the prewar years was her involvement in a new kind of "academic sociability," in which women and men shared intellectual and artistic interests at private gatherings, outside the authority structure of the university and outside the status hierarchy of the old professoriate. Actually, the first step toward private intellectual exchange, in opposition to the formal dinner parties of the older generation, was not propitious. In 1904, the theologian Gustav Adolf Deissmann founded the Eranos circle for the study of religious history by inviting Max Weber and his friends Gothein, Jellinek, and Troeltsch. Weber soon took a commanding part in a setting congenial for testing his ideas about the Protestant ethic and the comparative study of the economic ethics of world religions. Today, such a group most likely would meet as a faculty

seminar on campus; then it met in turn at the home of each participant. Marianne Weber and Marie Luise Gothein resented their exclusion. Marianne allowed herself a rare sarcasm in observing that “Max is taking care of ‘Protestant asceticism,’ I am in charge of ‘ham in burgundy’” (356). Gothein complained: “Especially when the Eranos group met, I often felt painful regret that I was not a man, and this all the more so because at the time I too was very much occupied by issues in religious history.”<sup>20</sup> At a different occasion, her husband had explained to her the exclusion of women: “It is shameful that one must say it, but the absence of women raises the intellectual level of the conversation. When women are present, most men become either glib and bored or, what is worse, charming and lively in a phony way, in short, insufferable. Is it the women’s fault or the men’s? I prefer to think the latter. The men could, after all, behave differently toward women.”<sup>21</sup>

In time, such a change seems to have become possible in a conducive setting. The situation was not changed at first by the still-ailing Max Weber, but by the arrival of his brother Alfred, who joined the faculty in 1908. In the following year, he organized the Janus circle, in which men and women discussed philosophical and scientific issues (cf. 413 below). Marianne and Max attended, but after 1910 their own Sunday teas (called “jours”) became the major attraction (see ch. 13). Although the now-recuperating Max was the dominant figure, Marianne could play the role of a hostess who was nationally known in her own right.

Marianne’s national visibility was enhanced by the fact that the 1910 convention of the German Women’s Federation took place in Heidelberg (Oct. 6–11). In its aftermath, a faculty member attacked Marianne and her collaborators as a bunch of “unmarried women, widows, Jewesses, sterile women” (430). This led to one of Weber’s famous feuds that involved points of honor and complicated legal maneuvers. While Marianne reports on the matter at great length to demonstrate Weber’s chivalry, the convention itself is mentioned in only a few uplifting sentences. She kept silent about the bitter infighting within the women’s movement. In fact, the 1910 convention marked the ascendancy of the more conservative over the more progressive wing in the BDF under the new presidency of Dr. Gertrud Bäumer (1873–1954), whose close political ally Marianne was.

The factional struggles were paralleled, in Marianne’s immediate social circle, by the explosive personal effects of the “new ethic” of sexual liberation. Marianne Weber responded by fusing her progressive role with a conservative stance in her public pronouncements, while mitigating her ethical rigorism in judging her friends.

### *The Conservative Battle Against Sexual Liberation*

From the very beginning of her career in the women's movement, Marianne Weber fought not only patriarchy but also feminist ideas that appeared to threaten the institution of legitimate marriage, either directly by advocating "open" forms or indirectly by advocating women's full economic independence. As she recalls in her autobiography, "it was truly aggravating for conscientious leaders of their sex that the changes in women's social position also produced side-effects that made it necessary to do battle in their own ranks" (L 236). From the outset, she was in disagreement with Marie Stritt (1855–1928), second president of the BDF from 1899 to 1910 and editor of its official journal *Centralblatt*, in which they took issue with one another. As early as 1901, Stritt had translated Charlotte Perkins Stetson's *Women and Economics* as a programmatic statement of her own position. Without identifying any names, Marianne Weber attacked the Stetson–Stritt position in her 1905 essay "Vocation and Marriage," which Friedrich Naumann (1860–1919) published as a pamphlet in 1906, together with her essay "The Participation of Women in Science."<sup>22</sup>

Charlotte Perkins Stetson (1860–1935), better known today as C. P. Gilman, advocated the complete economic independence of women in the face of irresistible social and technological developments that separated women from the household. Predictably, this appeared to Marianne a kind of economic determinism and materialism. Arguing against her opponents in the name of "ethical values and general *Kulturwerte*," she declared that "it cannot be the goal of our movement to replace the mother at home by the working wife, especially one whose working time would be approximately as long as the husband's." She reasoned that the majority of women forced to join the labor force earn relatively little, and certainly not enough to pay for services that would relieve them of the double role of wage earner and homemaker. Fresh from her visit to the United States, where she had met Jane Addams and Florence Kelley, Marianne Weber related how much more women were esteemed there, even though the percentage of married women in the work force was much lower than in Germany. The explanation seemed to lie "not in the quantity but the quality of female professional work." Crucial, then, was not economic independence as such, but having a vocation "as an objectively valuable task."

Marianne Weber pursued a double strategy. Since most women could not be emancipated by entering the labor market, marriage law had to guarantee legal equality and economic rights vis-à-vis the husband. While rejecting

the working wife as a general ideal, she insisted, however, that all young women prepare themselves for employment: "Our elevated view of marriage makes us treat training for employment as an unconditional moral duty."<sup>23</sup> Young women should not regard marriage as an institution that takes care of them and should not accept personal subordination in turn. Especially women from the propertied strata should be willing to develop their ethical personality through "methodical, premeditated conduct" (*methodische planvolle Lebensführung*). The argument, then, culminates in a Weberian promotion of inner-worldly asceticism. Marianne's appeal appeared very shortly after her husband's "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," a "best-selling" essay that made him once more familiar to a broad audience. But where Weber had concluded his historical study with only a few cryptic—if by now world-famous—remarks on the spiritual state of the present, Marianne presented a normative program.

This program made Marianne Weber attractive as a candidate to those groups that wanted to replace Marie Stritt. Gertrud Bäumer reported to Marianne in 1906 that "the Hamburgers, together with many other associations, would like to elect you president. Please don't keel over in the face of this request. . . . This would be an ideal solution in a matter that weighs very much on the associations. They don't want Stritt anymore. I have been asked to urge the proposal on you as a matter of salvaging the Federation."<sup>24</sup> As it turned out, it was Bäumer, not Weber, who became the next president, from 1910 to 1919, when the former handpicked the latter as her successor (1919–1923).

Before Bäumer established her reign, libertarian forces almost prevailed in the BDF. The challenge came from the League for the Protection of Motherhood and Sexual Reform (*Bund für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform*), which was founded in Leipzig in 1904. Since it proposed to alleviate the fate of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, it was at first joined even by Friedrich Naumann, Werner Sombart, and Max Weber—and hence presumably also supported by Marianne. But the league was soon captured by Dr. Helene Stöcker (1869–1943), another follower of Charlotte Perkins Stetson. She came out of the Abolitionist movement, but developed her own idiosyncratic Nietzschean "transvaluation of all values." Prostitution, she had come to believe, could not be overcome by moral repression but only by moral libertarianism.<sup>25</sup> That was part of the "new ethic," which was also heavily influenced by the Swedish writer Ellen Key (1849–1926). The Webers quickly turned against the messengers of "free love." Marianne quotes one of Max's more brutal outbursts, utterly devoid of the chivalry she so often attributes to him: "This specific *Mutterschutz* gang is an utterly confused

rabble. After the babble of [Helene Stöcker] I dropped out. For women to aim at crass hedonism and an ethics that would benefit only men . . . that is simply rubbish" (373).<sup>26</sup>

Marianne Weber first took up arms against the "new ethic" before a male audience, largely composed of Protestant ministers. Adolf Harnack, president of the Evangelical-Social Congress, invited her to deliver a speech on "Basic Questions of Sexual Ethics" at the Strasbourg meetings on Pentecost 1907. This was one of the first occasions when a woman could address a public assembly; previously men had to read papers written by women, who had to sit in a segregated corner and keep silent, if they did not want the police to dissolve the meeting.<sup>27</sup> In her biography Marianne merely mentioned, somewhat disingenuously, that "Max stood by her" (373), but in her autobiography she admitted to a conflict: "The invitation to speak before a circle familiar to me through Max Weber's membership made me proud and anxious. The difficult speech was written in the beautiful springtime setting of Lake Como. Max Weber insisted on conceptual clarity and rejected any kind of pathos. I rebelled against his corrections, but finally submitted to his superiority. I travelled alone to Strasbourg. . . . I felt protected by Adolf von Harnack's chivalry. He exuded benevolence and indicated agreement. For me it was an important and encouraging event" (L 239). One can easily imagine that Max Weber was worried what Harnack would think of him if he had not properly coached Marianne to articulate just the right kind of progressive and conservative mixture.

Marianne Weber echoed her husband's general clamor against naturalism and materialism, reiterating that "our humanity" (*Menschentum*) depended on ethical integrity. She conceded to modern relativism that the violation of sexual morality through grand passion no longer ethically disqualified a person, but only if he or she retained a sense of guilt. By contrast, notions of healthy sex promoted by medical doctors imbued with a naturalist ideology were indications of spiritual decay (*seelische Unkultur*). Marianne interpreted the present "period of strong sexual tension" and "sexual libertinism" as part and parcel of the "social question," caused not only by the urban masses' distress but also by the spread of late marriage in the educated strata. She objected most strongly to what we call today serial monogamy. At the same time, she demanded not only the possibility of divorce by mutual consent but also an end to the criminal prosecution of "wild marriages," the German phrasing for unmarried couples. She even favored sex education for the young, of course, in ethical no less than physiological respects. Finally, she insisted that women defend not only their moral self-respect but also force the males to improve themselves by forsaking the double standard.

In 1908, the polarization in the women's movement was discussed at great length by one of Marianne's friends, Alice Salomon (1872–1948), in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*.<sup>28</sup> Under the patronage of Gustav Schmoller and Max Sering, Alice Salomon had received a doctorate from the university of Berlin in 1906, when this was not yet generally possible for women, and for a dissertation that may well have been the first German study of "The Causes of Unequal Wages for Male and Female Work." Also in 1908, Salomon founded the *Soziale Frauenschule* in Berlin, a private welfare academy for women, which was to make her internationally famous and help her become secretary of the International Council of Women in 1909.

Like Gertrud Bäumer, Marie Baum, Agnes Harnack and Marianne Weber, Salomon considered herself "liberal with regard to individual rights, progressive with regard to social justice, and conservative in ethical matters."<sup>29</sup> Salomon, a member of the BDF's national board since 1902, contrasted the two wings of the women's movement in terms of a generational difference. While women of different ages and different persuasions often managed to work together on the practical level, two broad ideological clusters could be distinguished. One postulated the natural equality of the sexes, the other probed their natural difference; the old program of the women's movement concerned unmarried women, the new one focused on the family; the older idealism tended to weaken the family, the new moralism tried to strengthen it. Salomon asserted that the very influx of women into the universities, especially the new social sciences, undermined the old Enlightenment radicalism and replaced it with a reformism that was instructed by the findings of empirical social research. In her survey, Gertrud Bäumer and Marianne Weber stood united against Charlotte Perkins Stetson and Heinrich Braun's wife Lily Braun, whose massive 1901 study, *The Women's Question, Its Historical Development and Economic Aspect*, had provided spur and foil to Marianne's own big study. An exponent of the "new ethic" of sexual liberation in word and deed, Lily Braun was an ally of Stöcker and Stritt, whom Salomon also criticized extensively.<sup>30</sup>

Within the BDF these political conflicts came to a head when the abortion issue was discussed at the 1908 general assembly. Under the leadership of Camilla Jellinek and Marie Stritt, a commission came out in favor of abolishing Section 218 of the German Criminal Code, which then outlawed abortion outright and which in spite of its attenuation is still bitterly divisive today. But on the executive committee, Marie Baum prevailed over Stritt, the president, and had the committee's recommendation rejected in favor of a rather limited modification of Section 218. Whereas Stöcker's *Mutterschutz* League had been denied admission to the BDF, which accepted only corpo-

rate, not individual membership, the conservative German Evangelical Women's League had been permitted to join against Stritt's opposition and helped reverse several years of progressive advance. Although the vote on the abortion issue was close, the setback was permanent and Stritt's downfall became inevitable. Thus, Gertrud Bäumer came to replace her at the Heidelberg convention in 1910.<sup>31</sup>

Beneath this political level, the new ethic created great turmoil in the Weber circle. In a delicate balance of frankness and discretion, Marianne Weber describes the invasion of Heidelberg. To restore a passage somewhat truncated below: "Young people placed a different life-style, one that was beyond convention, alongside the firmly established structures of the older generation. Freedom from convention began to emerge in a manner previously limited to artistic circles in Munich. New types of persons, akin to the Romantics in their intellectual impulses, once again called into question bourgeois modes of thinking and living. In the name of personal freedom they fought for old as well as new ideals of conduct." The "old" ideal apparently refers to the individualist romanticism of the circle around Caroline Schlegel-Schelling (1763-1809), whom Helene Stöcker extolled in her writings.<sup>32</sup>

As Marianne tells the reader, her Strasbourg speech already reflected the profound impact made on friends by the Freudian psychiatrist Otto Gross (1877-1920), who was soon to be repudiated by his master for his sexual and political anarchism. She reprinted most of a blistering letter (dated Sept. 13, 1907), in which Weber rejected an essay by Gross for publication in the *Archiv*: "His entire essay fairly bursts with value judgments. . . . in a scholarly journal there is no place for an essay that wants to be a sermon" (380). Yet, as we have seen, Weber was soon to accept, if he had not in fact commissioned it, Alice Salomon's value-laden and partisan defense of the ethical position taken by Marianne and her allies in the women's movement. Marianne did not identify the actual recipient of the letter: Else von Richthofen.<sup>33</sup> Else, whose career plans had developed under "the dominating influence of Marianne Weber" (as she wrote in an unpublished autobiographical statement), had resigned her position as factory inspector after a short time, since she did not feel up to the task—to the great disappointment of Alice Salomon.<sup>34</sup> In 1902, she married Edgar Jaffé (1866-1921) in a loveless match, following the not infrequent pattern of gentile aristocracy marrying Jewish money. Jaffé not only built a beautiful villa for her at a choice spot in Heidelberg, but also bought the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft* for Max, "the happy idea of creating a new form of activity for Weber," as Marianne put it (277).

When Weber rejected Gross's essay in 1907, he knew the psychiatrist was not only the father of Else's new son Peter, but had subsequently even converted Jaffé to his message of sexual liberation. This did not, however, prevent Weber from becoming Peter's godfather. In spite of the principled position he shared with Marianne, his very commitment to "responsibility in all human relationships" (388) made it possible for him to come to the aid of women friends who had opted for the new ethic. But he also seems to have felt a certain fascination.

In 1910, Otto Gross returned to the rural mecca of the new counter-culture, the Swiss village Ascona, which competed for popularity with the old headquarters of the German bohemia, the Munich suburb of Schwabing.<sup>35</sup> Three years later, the peripatetic Gross abandoned Ascona and left his wife Frieda with the anarchist Ernst Frick. As the niece of the philosopher Alois Riehl, Frieda Schloffer was an old friend of the Webers and of Else from their Freiburg years. When, in the same year, Otto's father, the influential criminologist Hanns Gross, had his son arrested and started legal action to take Frieda's children away, Max Weber went into action. In the spring of 1913 and 1914, he spent several weeks in Ascona and expended much effort on helping Frieda, the "Dora" of Marianne's account (488-494). Thus, instead of finishing *Economy and Society*, long past several deadlines, he found himself dictating legal briefs to the legendary Franziska zu Reventlow (1871-1918), while assuring Marianne that "the countess is utterly uninteresting to me. Regards to Mother, my darling child; wonder what she would say!" (491). For the sake of his distressed women friends he even missed his mother's seventieth birthday in April 1914.

Otto Gross converted not only Else to his message, but also, somewhat later, her sister Frieda, who had married the English scholar Ernest Weekley after meeting him in Freiburg in 1896. After her experience with Gross, Frieda in turn converted D. H. Lawrence, for whose sake she abandoned her husband and three children in 1912. The lovers were given refuge by the Jaffés, who to Marianne's and Max's great regret had moved to Munich in the preceding year. Marianne did not reveal, of course, that before leaving Heidelberg, Else had yielded to Alfred Weber's entreaties and become his lover. It was not until 1984 that D. H. Lawrence's barely disguised autobiographical novel *Mr. Noon* (Part II) appeared, which celebrated the attractiveness of the two sisters while satirizing Edgar Jaffé and Alfred Weber as ridiculous German professors.<sup>36</sup>

In the chapter of the biography called "Travel Pictures," Marianne also does not mention explicitly a joint trip with the Jaffés to Italy in the spring of 1910, from which she had to return early, perhaps because of the impending

Heidelberg women's congress. It was in Venice that Max supposedly declared himself to Else. Whatever the significance of this obscure episode, Alfred clearly resented his brother's "meddling," and Max's eagerness to provide legal and other advice to Else finally backfired and led to a break between him and her that seems to have lasted until 1917.

In the deliberate jumble of fragments from the correspondence out of which Marianne pieces together the mosaic of her biography, she admits that Max felt attracted by "that world full of enchantresses, charm, trickery, and hunger for happiness" (491), although he seemed to draw a firm line: "I could under certain circumstances be quite fond of specifically 'erotic' women," he reported having told Frieda Gross, "but I would never form any inner attachment to one or count on her friendship. For it had turned out that I was not a suitable friend for such women, for in truth only an erotic man was of value to them" (492). Marianne approved of Max's general "human" interest in women and quoted a seemingly harmless, if somewhat condescending remark: "How boring life would be without you little women (*Frauchen*); something always happens to you" (369). She did not relate a somewhat less trivial and franker remark from a letter to Frieda: "How much beautiful women complicate life's problems! And yet, what would life be without them!"<sup>37</sup> But Marianne came to understand the power of "enchantments" (*Verzauberungen*), as she liked to call them, and revealed with relative openness the importance to Max of the Swiss pianist Mina Tobler (1880–1967), whom he contrasted with the Ascona enchantresses as "this child who is different but seems so 'noble' in her reserved and delicately rapturous way" (491). For her sake Weber wrote the unfinished study on "The Rational and Social Foundations of Music" and planned a sociology of arts.

If, in the political realm, the "new ethic" was held at bay by the conservative majority of the women's movement, not to mention the vilification and persecution from the male establishment, the new currents were very much a reality in the Weber circle. Although the Weber receptions were sometimes called "tea with morality," to others it appeared that Marianne Weber was keeping a strange menagerie. Many years later, Marianne was able to concede in her autobiography that "at the time my generation's principled rigorism was still in my blood, although attenuated by empathy with individual fates. It was so much simpler . . . to stick to the universal validity of high ideals than to risk complicated dialectical discussions about the possible autonomous value (*Eigenwert*) of 'free love'. . . . Later I was not spared the experience of having to come to terms, in a more differentiated fashion, with the hot issues of eroticism. I felt forced to suspend judgment

not only in individual cases but also to listen more closely to the defenders of a new, freer sexual ethic" (L 239 f.).

## World War I: Women and Nationalism

The outbreak of the World War I put an end to "the good life" (the title of ch. 13). Suddenly, the human entanglements among the friends as well as the lonely scholarly work of which Weber was intermittently capable paled into insignificance. Never again would nationalism be so intensely felt in Europe. Ultimately, the Webers compromised themselves less than hundreds of other professors and their wives, but their stand is hard to accept today. For that matter, nothing separates the majority of the old German women's movement so much from today's feminism as the nationalism affirmed in 1914, when the labor movement too was submerged in the all-embracing national community. Very few men and women could resist the charismatic excitation: "The hour had come, and it was of undreamed-of sublimity" (518). A Weber intimate, the young Georg von Lukacs, who was to make his political mistakes at a later time, remembered after half a century: "My own deeply personal attitude was one of vehement, global, and especially at the beginning, scarcely articulate rejection of the war, and particularly of enthusiasm for the war. I recall a conversation with Frau Marianne Weber in the late autumn of 1914. She wanted to challenge my attitude by telling me of individual, concrete acts of heroism. My only reply was: 'The better, the worse.'"<sup>38</sup>

At first, the emotional exaltation could help people get over the beginning of the slaughter. The Webers quickly lost Max's brother Karl, brother-in-law Herman Schäfer, and their close friend Emil Lask, who went to his death "inwardly without illusions" but only out of ethical conviction (530).<sup>39</sup> But the political excitement could also easily damage or ruin old personal relationships, sometimes irrespective of the political spectrum. Marianne Weber does not mention Weber's quarrel with his left-wing friend Robert Michels, who made critical remarks about Germany from abroad and finally agreed to resign as co-editor of the *Archiv*. With a disapproving undertone toward both, she recounts how Weber and Troeltsch (unnamed in the text), though living in the same house, did not talk with one another for several years in the wake of a disagreement over visiting policy for wounded French prisoners (524). The severity of this break may indicate that long-standing tensions erupted at this occasion. When the National Liberal Eberhard Gothein came out for the annexation of the French iron-ore region of Briey-Longwy,

Marianne recalls in her autobiography, Max also broke with him, until Gothein reformed himself into a democrat at the war's end (L 89).

Within the women's movement the nationalist fervor exacerbated differences of opinion, even in the BDF. Bäumer's relations with her deputy Alice Salomon deteriorated from the very beginning. In August 1914, Salomon found herself marooned in Ireland at the home of Lady Aberdeen (1857–1939), president of the International Council of Women and wife of the viceroy. There she converted to Christianity under the shock of events; she had been born into a secularized Jewish family. Meanwhile, Bäumer began to suspect that Salomon did not try hard enough to return as quickly as possible.<sup>40</sup> Although Salomon joined her political friends in the newly established "National Women's Service," which combined welfare relief for hundreds of thousands of women with mobilizing them for the war economy, her difficulties were only beginning.

Marianne Weber is silent about her husband's war-time contribution to the leading women's journal *Die Frau*, which was edited by Bäumer together with her mentor and life companion Helene Lange (1848–1930). Coming to Bäumer's aid in a dispute with the Swiss pacifist Gesine Nordbeck in February 1916, Weber struck a tough macho stance and affirmed "our responsibility before history" as a great power. In his letter to the editor, he adumbrated his incipient distinction between the ethic of responsibility and the ethic of conviction and fended off the pacifist viewpoint with the argument that "there is only Tolstoy's consistency, nothing else." Whoever does not absolutely follow the Sermon on the Mount "should be reminded that he is tied to the rules of this world, and that includes for an unforeseeably long time the possibility and the inevitability of war."<sup>41</sup>

From the beginning of his career in Freiburg, Weber had publicly condemned the Ethical Culture Society, then a new undertaking, and the various efforts at organizing an international peace movement. His intransigence was aggravated by the considerable overlap of personnel between these groups and the promoters of the "new ethic," such as Helene Stöcker.<sup>42</sup> Also, from the 1890's, Weber had been the intellectually superior adviser to Pastor Friedrich Naumann, whose National Social journal *Die Hilfe* advocated economic expansionism, "world politics," and social reform. Now Bäumer echoed his line in her double role as staff member of both Naumann's and Helene Lange's journals.<sup>43</sup>

In 1915, Bäumer forbade official BDF participation in a pacifist women's congress that met in The Hague in April under the aegis of Jane Addams. Stöcker went, as did the suffragists Dr. Anita Augspurg (1857–1943) and her companion Lida Gustava Heymann (1868–1943), Bäumer's strongest oppo-

nents on the left wing of the bourgeois women's movement.<sup>44</sup> "I am certain," Alice Salomon remarked later, self-critically, "that the women who subjected themselves to the BDF's order, as I did, acted wrongly."<sup>45</sup> Salomon was, however, able to arrange an audience for Addams with Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg. Although the Webers had visited Jane Addams in Chicago, they obviously did not want to have anything to do with her at this moment. It is unclear to what extent Weber had such pacifist initiatives in mind when he wrote ungallantly in his letter to Bäumer: "The pacifism of American 'ladies' (of both sexes) is truly the most deadly cant that was ever professed, in all subjective sincerity, on the intellectual level of tea talk, propounded as it is with the pharisaical attitude of the parasite, who pockets the high war profits, toward the [German] barbarians in the trenches."<sup>46</sup>

In her war chapters, Marianne Weber chose to dramatize her husband's increasingly vociferous Cassandra role, which gave him a national audience by 1917, the high point of his political influence, before the rush of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary events pushed him to the sidelines again. In time, she herself sobered up. A limited transformation can be seen in the change of tone from her essay "War as an Ethical Problem," which appeared in *Die Frau* in September 1916, to the 1918 essay on "The Special Cultural Tasks of Women." In the former, Marianne hews very closely to Weber's argument in "Between Two Laws," if he himself did not "edit" the text again. Harking back to the subject of her earliest book, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and emphasizing his notion of the nation's ethical "autonomy," she glorified war as the supreme opportunity for a modern ethical heroism that transcends the ethos of the ancient Germanic warriors. The new military technology required a new type of ascetic heroism. Marianne concluded that "one can feel the duty and the ardent desire to do everything in one's power so that such global catastrophes can be prevented in the future, and can yet feel even as a woman that mankind would be emptied without the opportunity for, and challenges inherent in, such tests of ethical greatness."<sup>47</sup>

After two years of war, Marianne Weber was, however, already very worried about the loss of sexual self-discipline among many soldiers and also women at home, with the army promoting prostitution while trying to contain the epidemic spread of venereal disease. Toward the end of the war, Marianne could no longer play the role of the female cheerleader: "All our experience has thoroughly destroyed the illusion that such catastrophes, which tear apart the customary fabric of everyday life, can permanently exalt the essence of humanity and bring clear moral gains." Following Weber's distinction between the charismatic qualifications of the few and the ordinariness of the masses, she came to recognize that the average person is

likely to be morally diminished by the deprivations of war. Although she declared herself surprised by the “massive decay of morals (*innere Kultur*) at home,” she was even more concerned about the war’s brutalizing impact on countless male *Volksgenossen*, who might be hard to integrate into civilian life. Here she glimpsed, if indistinctly, the origins of the “trench swine” (*Frontschweine*), who in the Weimar years were to carry violence into the streets and beerhalls until it engulfed all of political life. In view of these dangers, Marianne assigned to the “cultured” woman the special task of “rebuilding morality and shaping the immediacy of existence through love and beauty, balance and harmony, dignity and gentility.”<sup>48</sup>

Apart from genuine nationalist fervor, the BDF’s active support of the war effort had been calculated to gain the suffrage for women at the hour of victory, just as the Social Democrats had hoped that the returning workers would be rewarded by the abolition of the three-class suffrage in Prussia. Imperial Germany’s collapse suddenly threw the suffrage into women’s laps and confronted them with many practical political tasks. When Stefan George, ever the misogynist and esthete, heard that Marianne Weber had triumphantly welcomed the right of women to run for office, he supposedly had Friedrich Gundolf convey to her his sentiment: “God be thanked. Now men can turn to better things.”<sup>49</sup> In fact, vast numbers of women voted and many stood for office. Most prominent BDF leaders joined forces with the Weber brothers, Friedrich Naumann, Theodor Heuss (1884–1963), Gustav Radbruch (1878–1949) and other men to organize a new party, the German Democratic Party (DDP), as the left wing of liberalism. Bäumer and Baum went to the Weimar Constituent Assembly and on to the Reichstag, the former until 1932, the latter until 1921. Marianne and Max Weber threw themselves into the rough and tumble of electoral politics, but only Marianne managed to get herself elected as a member of the constituent assembly in the state of Baden, where she was her party’s single female deputy, in contrast to several women from the Social Democrats and Catholic Center Party.

Curiously, in her biographical account, Marianne Weber mentions neither her political activities nor her election to the BDF presidency in 1919. We only find a sudden reference to “getting rid of her office in the women’s movement” (696). After all, it would have been appropriate for her to call attention to it, since it was the culmination of a career that Max had supported from early on. Instead, she focused on his futile efforts to oppose the extreme Right and Left and to find a viable position on the Versailles treaty negotiations. Weber accompanied the German delegation to Versailles as an adviser, but he too ran out of advice on how to come to terms with a treaty

that more than any other factor doomed the Weimar Republic from the very beginning. Struggling hard against complete discouragement, he withdrew to his last scholarly labors. Marianne wants the reader to share her own deep disappointment that the country failed to call her husband to a charismatic role in its hour of greatest need, albeit she is not completely blind to Max's self-defeating propensities.

In the aftermath of Imperial Germany's self-destruction, nationalism and anti-Semitism began to race out of control. While the Webers' own patriotic feelings reached a high point, they vigorously opposed anti-Semitism, but in a manner that was not completely free of awkwardness. Max Weber pushed through the appointment of Franz Eulenburg (1867-1943), who later became a Nazi victim, at the University of Munich, although "the academic mood has become extremely reactionary and radically anti-Semitic," as he reported to Georg von Lukacs' father. At the same time, he seems to have counselled against electing or appointing Jews to highly visible positions, since anti-Semitism had intensified so much in the wake of their prominence among revolutionary leaders (cf. 648).<sup>50</sup>

Paradoxically, one practical reason for Marianne Weber's elevation to the BDF's presidency seems to have been the anti-Semitism of the federation's right-wing corporate members, such as the German Evangelical Women's League. In her autobiography published in 1933 Gertrud Bäumer provides a highfalutin rationale that glossed over the underlying realities. The very granting of women's suffrage had blurred the purposes of the women's movement and therefore "Marianne Weber's election as president of the BDF expressed the feeling that . . . the personal embodiment of the female mode of action should be emphasized prominently. Now that the external barriers had fallen, we wanted to demonstrate concretely the spirit with which we intended to transfuse the newly opened realm through the spiritual (*geistig-seelische*) transformation of man."<sup>51</sup> In turn, Marianne only recalled her anxiety about the challenge and said nothing about the political context in the very brief mention of her election in her own autobiography: "Again I faced a task that appeared to me too difficult in that phase of my life. But the leader (*Führerin*) and friend Gertrud Bäumer commanded me. Once again it turned out that a person can do more than she thinks possible, if she wills what she ought to do" (L 112).

Whatever other factors went into Marianne Weber's election, we now know that as early as Jan. 30, 1914, Bäumer wrote in a confidential letter to the BDF's Jewish executive secretary Alice Bensheimer that, because of the Protestant conservatives, she had come to settle on Marianne Weber as her successor instead of Alice Salomon, with whom she would have preferred to

work.<sup>52</sup> This must have been before the personal difficulties between the two women. In old age, Alice Salomon remembered the story somewhat differently: “Up until the end of the war I had never encountered anti-Semitic statements. . . . Gertrud Bäumer told me early in the war that I should become her successor. She told me that I had the duty to take over the office, since I held a prominent position longer than any other woman. . . . But the election was postponed until after the war. Now, however, I was told that members hesitated to elect somebody president who had a Jewish name or Jewish ancestors, since popular attitudes had become so unreliable.”<sup>53</sup>

Salomon’s international connections continued to give her troubles. Upon her return from a first postwar meeting with Lady Aberdeen in Switzerland, Marie Baum criticized her friend: “You know, Alice, that I don’t approve of Germans cheapening themselves that way.”<sup>54</sup> Salomon earned outrage from other women she considered good friends when she dared to welcome Jane Addams in English upon her first postwar visit in Berlin. Ironically, Jane Addams, sent by Hoover on a mercy mission, had by that time fallen from her American pedestal as a saint of charity and had been declared the country’s most dangerous woman by a U. S. government agency.

In the meantime, Marianne Weber, paralleling her husband’s line, had criticized the “Pan-German” and anti-Semitic excesses of right-wing women’s groups and had herself been sharply attacked by them. Under the impact of these attacks, but also because of her own wounded patriotic feelings, she came to disagree with Alice Salomon on the advisability of attending the first postwar congress of the International Council of Women in Norway. Defensively, she argued against participating, “since, without being able to promote the German cause, we would give the German-National and conservative agitation, which is based on our alleged internationalism and pacifism, the best ammunition.”<sup>55</sup> In the ensuing struggle, recalls Alice Salomon, the BDF—Marianne?—“sent a liberal woman [Marie Baum] instead of a power politician [Gertrud Bäumer] to me to demand that I not go to Norway.”<sup>56</sup> Salomon went ahead anyway and on June 30, 1920, tendered her resignation to Marianne Weber as the BDF’s deputy chairperson and as member of the executive board (*Engere Vorstand*). By that time, however, Marianne Weber had collapsed in grief over Max’s death on June 14.

### **Weimar: Guarding Max Weber’s Legacy and Coming Into Her Own**

According to Marie Baum, Marianne Weber suffered a serious breakdown

in reaction to Max's death.<sup>57</sup> For many years, Marianne had coped with her husband's isolating illness in part by taking an active role in the women's movement. Now she withdrew from public life for several years and continued to act merely as BDF figurehead, while Bäumer remained dominant and Emma Ender did much of the executive work before formally taking over as president from 1923 to 1931. Pointedly, Bäumer calls Ender the "energetic and organizationally gifted successor to Marianne Weber."<sup>58</sup>

Although some of Marianne's friends were clearly disappointed about her withdrawal, her own way of coming to terms with her life's ultimate disaster was to concentrate completely on editing Weber's fugitive literary remains and on writing the biography. One of her feminist friends tried to call her back from her relentless widowhood: "Return to yourself. Every human being is supposed to be whole. You have propagated the autonomy of your sex, you have demanded of women to rest in themselves. Now show that you can do it" (L 114). Marianne conceded that this was wisely spoken, but insisted on bringing Weber back to life for herself and posterity: "After I had saved the works of the departed, I was allowed to begin my own work, my husband's *Lebensbild*. I was passionately devoted to depicting his human greatness and richness. The first seeds of the task grew in me when I immersed myself in his letters immediately after his death. The intellectual creation was his, but now I had to give birth to him out of my own powers. Can a person of modest gifts portray a great human being? Well, that happens often. . . . Insofar as possible, not I but he should speak out of my pages through the most characteristic passages of his letters. I also wanted the shadows of the dead who belonged to him, especially of his mother Helene Weber, to come to new life" (L 125).

Worshipful communion with the dead—"Max Weber's desk is my altar, a place consecrated by him" (L 115)—was not Marianne's only motive in her dedicated labors. Because she was convinced of his greatness, she had smarted for many years under what she considered slights to Weber from the Heidelberg faculty and other universities in the wake of his illness. Her bitterness was not assuaged until, with a mixture of pride and regret, she accepted the honorary law doctorate from Heidelberg in 1924 in recognition of her own legal study and her editorial work. Marianne's portrayal of Max as a figure of "unimpaired genius" (L 124) despite serious illness was meant to impress not only doubtful academic colleagues, but even more a reading public that adulated gurus such as Oswald Spengler (1880–1936), Count Keyserling (1880–1946) and his Darmstadt "School of Wisdom," and especially Stefan George.

The George cult was the toughest competition for Weber's reputation as

“the myth of Heidelberg.” Before the war three circles had flourished in Heidelberg, the Wagnerians, the Weberians and the Georgians.<sup>59</sup> While there was no overlap between the Weberians and the group around the Wagnerian art historian Henry Thode and his wife Daniela—a natural daughter of Richard Wagner and Cosima von Bülow—what Simmel called the “crossing of social circles” (*die Kreuzung sozialer Kreise*) led to close, if often rather tense relations with the Georgians. In spite of George’s increasing misogyny, which began with the requirement that women publish only under male pseudonyms and ended with their banishment from the cult, Else Jaffé and Marie Luise Gothein played key roles in the Heidelberg circle around Friedrich Gundolf (1880–1931),<sup>60</sup> just as did Gertrud Simmel and Gertrud Kantorowicz (1876–1945), Georg Simmel’s secret lover, in Berlin. In the two intersecting circles, George embodied art, Weber scholarship. Whereas the two “giants” treated one another with great circumspection at their two well-staged personal meetings (in 1910 and 1912), followers either took ardent sides or felt pulled hither and thither. Just after Weber’s death Erich von Kahler (1885–1970) launched a frontal attack from the Georgian camp on Weber’s “Science as a Vocation.” Soon Arthur Salz (1881–1963) countered with a pamphlet “For Science. Against the Educated Who D disdain It.”<sup>61</sup> Edgar Salin (1892–1974), a major Georgian figure in Heidelberg, who combined economic history with esthetic interests, conceded in his memoirs that “apart from George, nobody among the Germans surpassed Max Weber in the powerful impression he made on people,” but added that “compared to his brother, Weber was profoundly insensitive to the arts (*amüsisch*). His spirit was awake enough to feel the greatness of music, architecture, and poetry, but he had no direct access to art. Instead, he created his ‘sociology’ in order to approach through conceptual means phenomena that he could not reach by way of experience (*Erlebnis*).”<sup>62</sup> It was against this diminution on the part of apolitical literati, whom Weber could so cordially detest, that Marianne went out of her way to describe Weber’s involvement with the arts and artists.

Given the dramatic climax of the biography—the defeated country losing one of its greatest political minds, the university losing a scholar who was just at the point of bringing long labors to fruition—Marianne could not be expected to undermine her construction by confessing a private crisis. Quite apart from any other reasons for her reticence, she would have spoiled her hero’s appeal to the anticipated audience by revealing that her ethically sanctified marriage was in trouble at the end, an all-too-human occurrence. The fact is that in his fifties Weber was overwhelmed by his old affection for Else Jaffé, his and Marianne’s closest friend. For Else’s sake he turned down

several enticing academic opportunities and took Lujo Brentano's prestigious chair in Munich: "The wonderful, familiar city and the friends living nearby beckoned" (646), a clear reference, if in plural disguise, to Else's residence outside the city. Weber fell in love as never before, with a woman in her forties whom he had known for twenty years. Thus, he finally experienced a passionate relationship with one of the "erotic women" and "enchantresses" against whom he had warned himself, but one who was reassuring through long familiarity and could be trusted to do right by his wife and his brother in spite of it. In a passage in "Politics as a Vocation," on which he worked in 1919, Weber inserted an ill-fitting generalization that may have disguised a very personal confession: "Rarely will you find that a man whose love turns from one woman to another feels no need to legitimate this before himself by saying: she was not worthy of my love, or she has disappointed me, or whatever other like 'reasons' exist. This is an attitude that, with a profound lack of chivalry, adds a fancied 'legitimacy' to the plain fact that he no longer loves her and that the woman has to bear it."<sup>63</sup> While Weber did not blame Marianne, he admitted neither the strength of his feelings for Else to her nor the fact of their sexual consummation.

There is a parallel here to Georg Simmel, who hid before his wife and the world the fact that he had a daughter with Gertrud Kantorowicz. Here, too, reality and appearance differed. Gertrud Simmel and Gertrud Kantorowicz continued to grace by their presence the weekly "jours" in Simmel's salon, "the purpose of which was to cultivate that which is most singular. Conversation took a form that forbade all participants to refer to their own person, their problems and anxieties. Freed from all human burdens, discourse was elevated to an atmosphere of intellectuality, charm, and tact . . . Only select, highly intellectual persons were admitted. At the 'jours' there was, of course, always Gertrud Kantorowicz, a name intimately tied to Simmel's life and my own." Thus Margarete Susman (1872-1966) introduced her description of Simmel's salon. But when Gertrud Kantorowicz told her secret to Margarete immediately after Simmel's death, the latter recoiled: "I should have embraced her lovingly and rejoiced about the love child. But the lie she had lived so long with me proved too painful."<sup>64</sup> In contrast to Marianne, Gertrud Simmel had always maintained a greater critical distance from her husband, sharing Marianne's critique of "Female Culture" and exclaiming to her: "I am very impatient with all men say about us, and that includes Georg" (L 383). And again unlike Marianne, Gertrud Simmel later turned with unrestrained fury on Simmel in a *roman à clef* unpublished to this day.

In the last months of Weber's life, Marianne had to cope with plenty of

family troubles in addition to her political and organizational responsibilities. In the fall of 1919, Helene Weber, whom she considered her true mother, died. At Easter 1920, the widowed Lily Schäfer, Max's favorite sister, committed suicide, feeling betrayed by one of the charismatic males prominent in the educational reform movement. Lily left behind four young children, and Marianne suddenly found herself on the road to adoptive motherhood. Weber welcomed the idea of this role for her much more than any paternal role for himself. Quite realistically, Else seems to have reinforced his own doubts about dealing with children. While away on a speaking tour for the BDF, Marianne wrote a letter (on April 30, 1920) in which she revealed her comprehension of the marital dangers facing her. She worried about her qualifications for motherhood and conceded that she did not have "the productivity of the moment that Else possesses in such incomparable manner," a phrase ostensibly referring to children but possibly also to Else's greater power vis-à-vis Weber. For, she continued, objecting to Weber's proposal that she should spend several months of every year apart with the children: "Only you can separate me from you—and only if I feel that the power has left me to assure your happiness."<sup>65</sup> A few days later, Else shared with Marianne the wait at Max's deathbed, as thirty-four years later she would hold the dying Marianne's hands.

Just before the end, Weber seems to have dedicated *Economy and Society* to his mother and the first volume of *Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion* to Marianne. She in turn dedicated "Hinduism and Buddhism" to Mina Tobler and "Ancient Judaism" to Else. Thus, for all the world to see, Weber's major works were linked to the four women most significant in his life.

After several years of unflagging concentration on the editions and the biography, Marianne freed herself from her preoccupation and returned to a public role. Having moved back to Heidelberg in 1921 and a year later into the ancestral Fallenstein mansion, she reestablished her salon in the mid-1920's. Her circle differed, however, significantly from the prewar years. With thousands of women studying at the universities, the salon no longer had a "progressive" function. Now women constituted two thirds of the thirty to forty participants at each meeting. The challenge, as Marianne saw it, lay in maintaining a precarious gender balance to retain enough males to avoid the drift toward a mere women's club.

Else Jaffé and Marie Baum were faithful regulars, but Marianne deliberately excluded "the women in the women's movement who were close to me, for such a female inundation could have swept away the male element. . . . How satisfying it was that the men were not the exclusive carriers of the

intellectual substance. Thanks to our intellectual emancipation, Heidelberg was enriched by a new type of woman who combined intellectual activity with the special female mission" (L 206). Letting Alfred Weber take his brother's place as the first discussant, Marianne managed to attract some of the best-known scholars from Heidelberg and elsewhere to talk about a wide range of ancient, medieval, and modern topics. The number of women speakers remained, however, very small: Marianne herself; Marie Luise Gothein, whose two-volume *History of Garden Art* was reprinted in English as late as 1979;<sup>66</sup> Marie Baum, since 1928 a lecturer on welfare policy at the University of Heidelberg; Luise Klebs, holder of an honorary doctorate for her work on hieroglyphics; and two or three others. (Lists were kept only from 1930 on, and then only incompletely.) Camilla Jellinek, holder of an honorary doctorate in law since 1930, also took part, but did not speak formally. With the exception of the unmarried Marie Baum, the four well-known women were widows. At her Sunday teas, which took place every three or four weeks, Marianne participated "passionately and not always fairly, as her own memoirs show, but she always tried to be just," reminisced Baum, who continued: "At her sixtieth birthday party, we spoofed the little authoritarian (*herrscherliche*) proclivities that we knew well and liked about her."<sup>67</sup> Else play-acted Marianne as mother superior in a nunnery who to her horror is proposed for the papacy by her faithful daughters.

When the biography appeared in 1926, Otto Gradenwitz (1860–1935), a Heidelberg law professor, declared it historically valuable because it helped modern people better understand the justification for the legal institution of *suttee*! But no less a historian than Friedrich Meinecke (1862–1954) defended Marianne against the charge of indiscretion and read her family drama in the light of Greek tragedy.<sup>68</sup> Gertrud Bäumer lamented again the loss of a potential national leader and answered the often-asked question "Why did the people not call him as their political leader?" by suggesting that such an election was possible only in a rare "great moment when pettiness and hesitation fall away and fate fires up the will to pursue the essential. It was hardly possible under the conditions of everyday life."<sup>69</sup>

From the Left, Käthe Leichter, the leading woman of her generation in the Austrian Social Democratic Party, wrote much more skeptically. As the founder of a revolutionary, pacifist student group in Heidelberg during the war, she had seen Weber reject her group's appeal for political support and found him unwilling to help even when she was ordered out of the country, although he later came to the rescue of Ernst Toller (1893–1939), the group's go-between. Leichter recalled that Weber had never conceded that, for socialists, the ethic of responsibility and the ethic of conviction must coin-

cide. She judged that, “despite his great gift for leadership, it was not given him to affect the course of events in such a way that his death made a difference in the shape of German history. Alas, the earth has not changed. What probably has changed is the world of scholarship, the German university. Through Weber’s death it lost perhaps the last great bourgeois fighter for the integrity and objectivity of scholarship and teaching.”<sup>70</sup>

The most renowned woman among novelists and historians at the time, Ricarda Huch (1864–1947) had still another reaction from the corner of romantic idealism. In 1919, she had listened to Weber’s “Politics as a Vocation,” and the young Max Rehm, carried away by his appeal, had presumed that she, “knowledgeable about the psyche and steeped in history, understood the significance of the historical moment of which we other witnesses had only an inkling.”<sup>71</sup> After reading the biography, however, Huch wrote to Marie Baum: “It would be better to talk rather than to write about it, but I could not help feeling again that Max Weber was an actor. I had that feeling quite spontaneously the only time I ever heard him give a speech, and I expected something quite different. The wellspring of his instincts did not flow, I think, and he substituted for them his rational awareness, something against which I react. . . . I always notice immediately if something comes from conscious awareness when it should be rooted in the depth of the unconscious.”<sup>72</sup>

There had indeed been a histrionic element in Weber’s two famous speeches: he had taken a deliberate stance of toughmindedness in the face of youthful idealism and exaltation, appealing to cool heads and not to fast heartbeats. But Huch’s challenge was more basic. As a romanticist historian with anarchist leanings, she wanted her heroes to be in touch with their feelings and not be tortured rationalists. On this score, however, Baum remained closer to Marianne’s perception than to that of her old intimate, Ricarda.

Finally, seventy-six-year-old Helene Lange recognized that the biography was as much about women as about Weber. In a letter to her protégée Emmy Beckmann, her successor as president of the General German Association of Women Teachers, she observed somewhat caustically: “I have just read Max Weber’s biography by his wife. . . . Max is less important to me than Marianne. Of course, this is a terrible heresy, but it is the truth. There is so much for women in this book—quite unintentionally and unconsciously, but all the more insistently. His mother was one of the most extraordinary human beings I ever met. I say human beings advisedly, for she also towered over most men. Her daughter-in-law has brought this out clearly. . . . Of course, Weber’s sociology and the rest of his scholarly work are very important, but

every movement that furthers humanity directly appears to me more important. This too is a great heresy.”<sup>73</sup>

In the waning years of the Weimar Republic, Marianne Weber reached the height of her popularity as a public speaker on social and sexual ethics, appearing before youth groups, students, theologians, and adult education audiences. She still campaigned against “free love,” but to the dismay of the theologian Otto Baumgarten (1858–1934), a cousin of Max, she refused to advocate its legal suppression (L 176). She called for tolerance toward the lifestyles of individuals, but rejected demands for the legal recognition of relationships that were not meant to endure and be ethically binding. She therefore opposed (L 174) the much debated proposal for a “companionate marriage” on a trial basis, as advocated by Judge Benjamin Lindsay (1869–1943).<sup>74</sup> For her, this was typically American utilitarianism and hedonism deficient in ethical challenge, just as the world of the flapper girls appeared to her utterly vacuous and decadent.

These activities ended in 1933, but substantively they paralleled Marianne’s most popular book, *Women and Love*, begun before the Nazi seizure of power but published only in 1935.<sup>75</sup> It appeared in the famous series “The Blue Books,” cheap volumes of high culture for a mass market; 30,000 copies were printed by 1936. The publisher had persuaded a reluctant Marianne Weber to come once more to the rescue of sexual morality. Reversing the title and thrust of Helene Stöcker’s book of 1905, Marianne set out to compose a normative work that used exemplary lives to make its general points. Yet the mixture of exemplification and evaluation created a certain tension, since Marianne tended to allow extraordinary individuals the freedom to transcend rules that ordinary mortals should obey.<sup>76</sup>

Relying on the writings of Charlotte Bühler (1883–1974) and Eduard Spranger (1882–1963), she dealt derivatively with child psychology and adolescent development, but her heart was set on the biographical cases, which made up two thirds of the book. Indeed, in significant respects the volume can be read as a companion piece to Max’s biography. It compensates for the male-centeredness of the latter by moving further in the direction of a feminine perspective. Thus, after writing a biography that seemingly centered on one man, but actually gave much space to two women, Helene and herself, Marianne elaborated the theme of women and love, treating not only relations with men but also of women with one another and exploring the varieties of mothering. The book contrasts the “free” aristocratic marriage of Karoline and Wilhelm von Humboldt with the closed bourgeois marriage of their daughter Gabriele to Heinrich von Bülow, compares the failure of Richard Wagner’s marriage to Wilhelmine Planer with his extramarital rela-

tion to Mathilde Wesendonck, and scrutinizes Cosima Wagner's powerful roles as mistress, wife, and widow. A chapter on free love as adventure pronounces judgment on the countess Franziska zu Reventlow, whom Weber, in violation of his own military ideals, had helped in her effort to keep her son out of the draft. At several places, the experience of having lived with Max comes through clearly. When she compares, for example, women's luxurious capacity for friendship with the much more restricted and instrumental male mode, she seems to think of Max, who never had close male friends. It appears to me that Marianne's own marital history and that of her friends provide an unspoken rationale for the parade of historical figures.

By the time she wrote the book, Marianne was, however, not only Max's widow—an experience clearly reflected in the chapter on widowhood—but also had adopted Lily's four children and taken into her home various younger members of the Baumgarten and Mommsen families, as well as a number of unrelated younger women. (The functioning of the household depended, of course, on the stalwart maids to whom Marianne devoted a whole chapter in her autobiography.) In an episode about which she showed some embarrassment later on, she even became a kind of “protective madonna” to the temporarily lapsed Catholic philosopher Peter Wust (1884–1940), one of Max Scheler's followers.<sup>77</sup>

Marianne's closest relationships, however, were with women. After Max's death, Marianne was comforted by the intense presence of Marie Kaiser and Anna Neumeyer, friendships that lasted until death. Speaking through their letters, these two women and Gertrud Simmel appeared later prominently in the autobiography.

In *Women and Love* Marianne fashioned a typology based on such personal experiences and on her literary knowledge: the personal friendship of women, the personal mothering of younger women and men, the impersonal social mothering of official welfare work, and impersonal religious charity. Parallel to Weber's notion of elective affinity (*Wahlverwandtschaft*), she employed the terms *Wahlmutterschaft* and *Wahltochterschaft*, which denote the taking of a mother or daughter role on the basis of mutual attraction. Her primary contemporary example was the bond between Gertrud Bäumer and Helene Lange, the two most influential leaders of the German women's movement. Around the turn of the century, Lange chose Bäumer, who was twenty-five years younger, and lived with her until her own death in 1930. Marianne Weber, herself for fifty years a close friend of Gertrud, described how the younger woman gradually became not only more successful and powerful than the older in the world outside but eventually also took over

the mothering role. At the same time that Marianne approved of older women mothering younger men and women, she had a sharp eye for sexual harassment and denounced “the reckless hedonism of married men, especially of professors, who try to drag their women students into ‘free’ relationships” (L 174).

Marianne’s last type, impersonal religious charity—that is, help given irrespective of the recipient’s personal qualities—was familiar to her through Helene Weber’s inclinations. She chose as her example Eva von Tiele-Winckler (1866–1930), a figure straight out of the universe of medieval saints. Born into a wealthy aristocratic family in Silesia, her mother a Catholic, her father a Protestant Prussian officer, Eva grew up reading Thomas à Kempis and Tauler. At the age of eighteen, she decided never to marry but to dedicate her life to the poor, whether German or Polish. Turning more and more to asceticism and mysticism, while afflicted with debilitating illness, she spent her large fortune on the care of the poor and sick, especially children, and at the age of twenty-seven founded a house for Protestant deaconesses.<sup>78</sup>

Eva von Tiele-Winckler and Helene Lange, inner-worldly ascetics of contrasting kinds, died at the beginning of the Great Depression. The country plunged into an abyss of despair and poverty and became ripe for the triumph of Nazism, which swept away Christian charity as well as secular women’s emancipation. The liberal German Democratic Party shrank to insignificance, and an ill-advised effort by Bäumer and others to fuse it with a nationalist youth order failed. The BDF was torn apart by political conflict and became much weaker than other women’s organizations. Ardent patriot that she was, Helene Lange proved herself in dying a child of the revolutionary year 1848, her birthyear, and a committed republican, for she ordered her coffin draped with the old democratic colors Black-Red-Gold, in protest against the Right’s Black-White-Red. Alice Salomon suffered the next step in her persecution and was denied the presidency of the International Council of Women when Emma Ender declared to Lady Aberdeen that the BDF could not support her candidacy because of the anti-Semitic groundswell. But the BDF’s last president, Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, closed ranks with Bertha Pappenheim of the League of Jewish Women and in 1932 campaigned against anti-Semitism. A year later, she succeeded, against Bäumer’s advice, in dissolving the organization before it could be taken over by the Nazis.

Meanwhile, in 1929, Marianne Weber had joined one of the many life-reforming groups that searched for the moral rebirth of self and nation. The nonpartisan *Gemeinschaft (die Königener)*, as usual for such groups named

after a castle) had a majority of women members but was directed by troubled or lapsed theologians, who tried to create the role of secular “life counselors,” for which Marianne felt herself highly qualified. Nothing became of these plans when the group’s leader, an Indologist, turned into a prominent religious Nazi collaborator in 1933 and the young members were inducted into the Hitler youth. After the leader’s defection, the group was permitted to linger on and to meet once a year for a discussion of strictly ethical and religious, not political issues. Whereas Marianne Weber had been a major speaker at the annual workshops in 1929 and 1931, she does not seem to have lectured after 1933. Instead, Gertrud Bäumer spoke in 1938 and 1939 about “The Meeting of the German Soul with Christianity” and “German Lay Piety” in a rarefied spiritual atmosphere that Marianne considered inherently oppositional to the Nazi regime.

### The Nazi Years and Their Aftermath: Opposition and Survivor’s Guilt

In 1933, Marianne Weber’s salon changed its function once more. Her first had sometimes looked like a *salon des refusés* (as Max quipped). The second salon, resumed after an interruption of about seven years, no longer attracted political outsiders and the literary and philosophical avantgarde. After a short suspension, Marianne’s circle was able to meet throughout the Nazi period, but now more than ever as a dwindling and aging band of banished, oppositional academics. In a postwar memoir about the salon, Marie Baum claimed that during the Nazi regime “this social circle was perhaps the only one in our city in which full trust and silent agreement were taken for granted in spite of the large number of participants. There were no political discussions. Those who did not like the aura of liberty or considered it too dangerous excluded themselves.”<sup>79</sup> As the university was “switched to the same current” (*gleichgeschaltet*), there were fewer and fewer possibilities for intellectual exchanges. That made the Weber circle all the more important: “Thus it happened,” Marianne remembered, “that our Sunday meetings became precious as a remnant of an earlier, richer intellectual community. Basically, the circle was now reduced to members of the same cohort, who had very different inclinations but were united in their attitude to the new state and could trust one another” (L 214).

Before they fled, the sociologist Karl Mannheim and the economist Jakob Marschak appeared as speakers as late as the summer of 1933. They were followed into exile by other speakers: Otto Meyerhof, the Nobel-prize-winning biochemist; E. Täubler, the classicist; Arnold Bergsträsser, the polit-

ical scientist; Kurt Hahn, the educator; Heinrich Zimmer, the Indologist. Emil Lederer, editor of the now defunct *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft* and an old friend of the Webers, had also had to leave. Whereas Alfred Weber immediately retired in 1933,<sup>80</sup> other speakers were fired or forced into early retirement: Gustav Radbruch, jurist and minister of justice in two Weimar governments; Otto Regenbogen, the classicist; Hans von Eckart, Else Jaffé's son-in-law; Gustav Hartlaub, the art historian; Willy Hellpach, the social psychologist; and also Marie Baum and Karl Jaspers (1883–1969). Thus, about half of all speakers—from a list beginning in 1930—were exiled or dismissed, and the proportion is higher if only the immediate circle is considered. Ricarda Huch joined the inner circle from 1932 to 1934, when she came to live with Marie Baum, for whom she was for over fifty years “the dearest person in whose love I rested.”<sup>81</sup> When the Prussian Academy of the Arts ousted Heinrich Mann, Käthe Kollwitz, and Alfred Döblin in 1933, Huch declared her own resignation in an outraged letter: “What the present government prescribes as the proper national attitude is not my *Deutschtum*. The centralization, the compulsion, the brutal methods, the defaming of those who hold other views, the bragging self-praise I consider *undeutsch* and unsavory.”<sup>82</sup>

Whereas political debate was impossible at the Sunday meetings, Huch, Baum, and Weber often talked politics behind closed doors. Talk was, however, different from action. Sooner or later, personal tests of strength and courage became unavoidable for most of the women. Huch had spoken up early and in 1936 was threatened with criminal prosecution when her son-in-law lost his academic position. Marie Baum became very active in helping Jewish families emigrate. The Nazis had dismissed her from the University of Heidelberg upon discovering that her Christian grandmother was no less than a Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. After several subpoenas, the Gestapo raided her house in 1941 but did not find incriminating documents she carried on her body. She suffered great anguish over her ultimate unwillingness to join the deportations voluntarily: “That is an example of our failure in the light of an absolute divine imperative.”<sup>83</sup>

When Alice Salomon had to follow the other Jewish BDF leaders Alice Bensheimer and Bertha Pappenheim into exile in 1937—their old gentile antagonists, Augspurg, Heymann, and Stöcker, had left in 1933—Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, an active helper, cried out: “I was so grateful to hear your voice over the telephone. Your soul is sound, but we run around like dumb dogs. I want to write to you, but how can I express myself? My pain, my tears, my shame, my gratitude, my veneration, my admiration, my powerlessness, my weakness, my deep sorrow, my heartfelt wishes. God be with you, God

protect us.”<sup>84</sup> Toward the end of the war, her brother Ernst von Harnack (1888–1945), her cousin Arvid Harnack, and his American wife Mildred Fisher were executed for their participation in the resistance movement, as was Elisabeth von Thadden (1890–1944), a close friend of hers, Baum, and Huch.

Marianne Weber apparently was not involved in any active rescue effort. She maintained her intimate friendship with Anna Neumeyer, the wife of a well-known scholar of international law, both of whom were Jewish. By 1938, Anna tried to assuage Marianne’s guilt feelings. In August 1940, Marianne celebrated her seventieth birthday with the Neumeysers and Else Jaffé at the country house of the former BDF leader Dorothee von Velsen (1883–1970), by that time an illegal gathering. Karl Neumeyer, like his wife an admirer of Max Weber, made a speech about him. When the deportation order came a year later, the Neumeysers took their lives after careful deliberation. Marianne went into a depression “the like of which I had never experienced before. It was my soul’s answer, my penitence. This death was a severe reproach—to survive it meant being guilty” (L 443).<sup>85</sup> At the time, two of Marianne’s adoptive children faced grave danger. The husband of her daughter Klara, a minister in the Confessing Church (the Lutheran opposition to Nazi cooptation), was jailed for refusing an oath. The wife of her son Albert was Jewish, but in the end she turned out to be one of the few Jewish survivors in Berlin, giving birth to a child just as the Red Army forced its way into the capital.<sup>86</sup>

In contrast to those who left or went into “internal exile” (*innere Emigration*), Gertrud Bäumer chose a highly ambiguous and ultimately self-defeating strategy. As one of the highest female officials in the Weimar Republic (in the Ministry of the Interior), she was fired immediately in 1933. By cultivating contacts with high-ranking men and women in the Nazi hierarchy, however, she survived ouster from the writers’ union, an injunction against public speaking, and an arrest warrant. In this manner, she managed to continue her journal *Die Frau* until 1943 and to publish weighty novels on medieval female rulers. She glorified the Christian idea of the *Reich* as the fulfillment of occidental history, compared to which the Nazi *Reich* had to appear as an inferior emanation. In a 1936 letter, she criticized Marianne Weber: “In my opinion, you totally overlook what is essential in Christianity, the idea of the *Reich*, so long as you consider its meaning to be the individual soul.”<sup>87</sup> When, after the outbreak of World War II, Marianne cautiously signaled that her circle had now “completely distanced itself from what is going on,” Gertrud, recalling Max Weber’s “Between Two Laws,” invoked his memory against her and insisted that the political and the moral

can never coincide: “Nobody has seen this clearer than Max Weber. I cannot find persons who say that they are not going to sacrifice themselves for this government any more moral than those who say: we sacrifice ourselves for Germany. Here it is really true: ‘Right or wrong, my country.’ I don’t want to excuse the wrongs, but I cannot escape from my country’s fate by draping myself in the mantle of virtue. Since my country’s guilt is my own, I must shoulder it, if the nation’s existence is at stake.”<sup>88</sup>

This dialogue, from which Marianne Weber’s letters are missing, is the only indirect evidence we have of her actual thinking at the time, in contrast to her postwar recollections.<sup>89</sup> Overall, Marianne’s mode of opposing the Nazi regime was more a matter of persistence than of resistance. She continued what she could do best. Apart from keeping her salon going, she tried to go on publishing and to uphold her ethical worldview.<sup>90</sup>

In the wake of Marianne’s success with *Women and Love*, the publisher asked her for a work of philosophical life guidance (*Lebenslehre*). Composed as a series of letters to a young man, it dealt with the ethical structure of existence (good and evil, duty and happiness, rules and exceptions, freedom and restraint, personality and community, vocation and marriage); cultural fulfillment (culture and nature, beauty and art); and religion and religiosity (Christianity and non-Christian religiosity). In her autobiography, Marianne confessed that the philosophical demands of the topics taxed her capacities severely. Written with declining powers, it was the weakest of her works. But it is also true that by its remoteness from the reigning ideology it simply did not fit the Nazi agenda in the later years. The first publisher’s rejection was followed by half a dozen others, until the manuscript was finally typeset illegally and rescued from destruction in 1944.<sup>91</sup> It was published as early as 1946 with a postscript on the meaning of the German catastrophe and a confession of collective and personal guilt. Gertrud Bäumer also rushed into print with a pamphlet on “The New Road for the German Woman,” in which she blamed the demonic Hitler and the susceptible German people, men, women, and youth, for the evils of the Third Reich—everybody but herself.<sup>92</sup>

A few weeks after the occupation of Heidelberg in 1945, two GI’s, students of Talcott Parsons at Harvard, sought out and queried Marianne Weber. Asked whether she considered herself guilty, she replied: “I did not sacrifice my life, but survived through silence, when masses of innocent people were destroyed. That I recognize as my personal transcendental guilt, a failure before my own highest values” (L 486). In a review of her last book, Paul Honigsheim, recipient of her 1926 letter and a voluntary exile after 1933, gallantly acquitted her of any guilt.<sup>93</sup>

After the war, Marianne continued her meetings until about 1952. Indeed, honoring her memory with a picture surrounded by flowers, the circle carried on at least until the end of the 1950's. When Alfred Weber died in 1958, Alexander Rüstow (1895–1963), who had returned from Turkish exile, took over the role of the Weber brothers. By then, members of the circle had done their part in the democratic renewal of the university of Heidelberg, foremost Gustav Radbruch, Alfred Weber, Hans von Eckardt, Otto Regenbogen, Karl Jaspers, and Marie Baum, who also supervised the restoration of Elisabeth von Thadden's private secondary school, which is today named after its founder. In 1949, Theodor Heuss, to the last an admirer of Max Weber and a longtime collaborator of the old Heidelberg liberals, became the first president of the Federal Republic of Germany, supported by Elly Heuss-Knapp (1881–1952), another highly accomplished member of the first generation of academic women. Marianne Weber took great satisfaction from these new beginnings.

Four years before her death in 1954, Marianne republished her biography in a slightly abridged version. But in the quarter century since its first appearance, she had moved a long way from the spirit and content of Max Weber's work to that of his brother, becoming more Alfred's echo than Max's mouthpiece. Ever since the end of World War I and Max's death, ethical and philosophical interests had become increasingly more important to them than the empirical tasks of social science. Alfred Weber hit the table with his fist when the political scientist Arnold Brecht, another famed emigré, told him in 1950 that he taught American students his brother's "relativist" philosophy of science (*Wissenschaftslehre*): "What! You tell this old nonsense to the Americans? The first thing I tell my students is what the highest values are." He meant the spiritual values. Under the impact of Nazi nihilism, men like Alfred Weber and Gustav Radbruch turned even more resolutely from scholarship back to speculative philosophy or theology in search of unchanging values.<sup>94</sup> Max had taught Marianne to be a scholar, but she had preferred to see him first of all as a great man. On this score, she had the avid support of Karl Jaspers, for whom Weber was the greatest living philosopher of the century because he lived truthfulness. An idol crashed for Jaspers when he finally learned after Marianne's death that Max had not solved his own ethical quandaries and had apparently felt moved to protect his wife from hurtful revelation.<sup>95</sup> Whatever the truth may have been, however, Marianne Weber made a good choice when she had Max Weber's grave stela inscribed. In phrases that speak of human greatness as well as human limitation, she chose to place on opposite sides the words:

*"We shall never see his like"*

“Everything temporal is only a likeness”

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## Notes

Numbers in parenthesis refer to pages in the biography. I have sometimes changed the wording in the translation. Capital L with number in parenthesis refers to Marianne Weber’s autobiography, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Bremen: Storm, 1948).

1. Othmar Spann, “Bemerkungen über Max Weber,” *Tote und lebendige Wissenschaft* (Jena: Fischer, 1925), sec. ed., p. 140; reprinted in *Gesamtausgabe*, W. Heinrich et al., eds. (Graz: Akademische Druckanstalt, 1969), vol. 7, p. 200.
2. Quoted in Eduard Baumgarten, ed., *Max Weber. Werk und Person* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964), p. 605.
3. Marie von Bunsen, *Georg von Bunsen. Ein Charakterbild aus dem Lager der Besiegten gezeichnet von seiner Tochter* (Berlin: Hertz, 1900); Margaret Münsterberg, *Hugo Münsterberg* (New York: Appleton, 1922); Grete Ostwald, *Wilhelm Ostwald. Mein Vater* (Stuttgart: Berliner Union, 1952); Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, *Adolf von Harnack* (Berlin: Bott, 1936), repr. 1951; see also id., *Die Frauenbewegung. Geschichte, Probleme, Ziele* (Berlin: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, 1928); Marie Luise Gothein, *Eberhard Gothein. Ein Lebensbild, seinen Briefen nacherzählt* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1931); Julie Braun-Vogelstein, *Ein Menschenleben. Heinrich Braun und sein Schicksal* (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1932); repr. as *Heinrich Braun. Ein Leben für den Sozialismus* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1967); see also id., *Was niemals stirbt. Gestalten und Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1966).
4. Marianne Weber’s relative frankness contrasts, however, with the determination of unmarried feminist leaders, such as Jane Addams and Helene Lange, not to reveal anything about other women in their lives. Focusing on the cause and the movement, they wanted to render a strictly impersonal account of their struggles. See Helene Lange, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin: Herbig, 1927).
5. See Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, p. 635.
6. See Marianne Weber, *Fichtes Sozialismus und sein Verhältnis zur Marxschen Doktrin* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1900) p. VI.
7. Marianne Weber, *Ehefrau und Mutter in der Rechtsentwicklung. Eine Einführung* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1907), repr. Allen: Scientia Verlag, 1971.
8. *op. cit.*, p. 79.
9. *op. cit.*, p. 495f.
10. Emile Durkheim, review in *L’Année sociologique*, vol. 11: 363–369, repr. as id., *Journal sociologique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1969), pp. 644–649. As against

- Marianne and Max Weber, Durkheim discounted the historical origins of “legitimate” marriage as a device to protect women against male caprice and emphasized instead the psychological benefits of marriage to males. Frankly conceding that indissoluble marriage was often a burden for a woman, he firmly believed that men needed the institutional restraint of lifelong monogamy to rein in their potentially anarchic sexual drives.
11. Friedrich Paulsen, “Die Frau im Recht der Vergangenheit und der Zukunft,” *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. 132 (1908): 396–413.
  12. For a basically positive discussion of Simmel, see Helene Lange, “Steht die Frauenbewegung am Ziel oder am Anfang?,” first published in *Die Frau*, Nov. 1921, repr. in id., *Kampfzeiten* (Berlin: Herbig, 1928), vol. 2, pp. 251–272.
  13. Marianne Weber, “Die Beteiligung der Frau an der Wissenschaft,” in id., *Frauenfragen und Frauengedanken* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1919), pp. 1–9.
  14. Georg Simmel, “Weibliche Kultur,” *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 33 (1911): 1–36; also in id., *Philosophische Kultur* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt, 1911), pp. 278–319; “Das Relative und das Absolute im Geschlechter-Problem,” pp. 67–100. In English, the essays are now available in Georg Simmel, *On Women, Sexuality, and Love*, tr. and introduced by Guy Oakes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 65–132.
  15. Marianne Weber, “Die Frau und die objektive Kultur,” *Logos*, 4 (1913): 328–363; repr. in *Frauenfragen*, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–133.
  16. *On Women*, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
  17. For Simmel’s reply to Marianne, see his letter of Dec. 14, 1913, in Kurt Gassen and Michael Landmann, eds., *Buch des Dankes an Georg Simmel* (Berlin: Duncker, 1958), p. 132. See also L 382.
  18. On the Heidelberg women’s movement around 1900, see the forthcoming essay by Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, “Modelle moderner Weiblichkeit. Diskussionen im akademischen Milieu Heidelbergs um 1900.” See also her radio essay, “Max Weber und die Frauen,” *Norddeutscher Rundfunk*, April 2, 1987.
  19. For Baum’s appreciation of Max and Marianne Weber, see her autobiography, *Rückblick auf mein Leben* (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1950), p. 132f.
  20. Gothein, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
  21. *loc. cit.*
  22. Reprinted in *Frauenfragen*, *op. cit.*, p. 20–37. On the contrasting positions of Weber and Stritt, see Barbara Greven-Aschoff, *Die bürgerliche Frauenbewegung in Deutschland 1894–1933* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck, 1981), p. 63ff and 216f. See also Richard J. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894–1933* (London: Sage, 1976). Evans treats Weber only tangentially, referring to the *Centralblatt’s* refusal “to review a conservatively inclined book on marriage by Marianne Weber” in 1906 (p. 150). Since Weber’s book did not appear until the second half of 1907, it is possible that the earlier pamphlet, which anticipated the arguments of the book, was at issue. That Marie Stritt did not like Marianne’s essay on “Vocation and Marriage” is confirmed in Marianne’s own correspondence. (Stritt translated Stetson’s book under the title *Mann und Frau*, Dresden: Minden, 1901).
  23. The quotations are from *Frauenfragen*, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–34.
  24. Letter to Marianne Weber, April 6, 1906, in Gertrud Bäumer, *Des Lebens wie der Liebe Band. Briefe*, ed. Emmy Beckmann (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1956), p. 17.
  25. On Stöcker’s role, see the extensive treatment in Evans, *op. cit.*, 116–143. See also Ann Taylor Allen, “Mothers of the New Generation: Adele Schreiber, Helene Stöcker, and the Evolution of a German Idea of Motherhood, 1900–1914,” *Signs*, 10:3 (1985): 418–438, and Amy Hackett, “Helene Stöcker: Left-

- Wing Intellectual and Sex Reformer," in Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan, eds., *When Biology Became Destiny. Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984) pp. 109–130.
26. I am reasonably certain the woman was Helene Stöcker, author of *Die Liebe und die Frauen* (Minden: Brun, 1905).  
It turns out that Weber's fulmination (which I have restored to its ferocity) is from a letter of Jan. 11, 1907, to Robert Michels, who had published observations on love and prostitution in Germany, France, and Italy in the first volume of Stöcker's *Mutterschutz*. From this time on, Weber was to have many discussions with Michels, sometimes during his visits in Turin, on empirical and ethical questions of sexuality and eroticism. See Wolfgang Schwentker, "Passion as a Mode of Life: Max Weber, the Otto Gross Circle and Eroticism," in Wolfgang J. Mommsen and J. Osterhammel, eds. *Max Weber and His Contemporaries* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987), p. 496.  
In the same year in which Michels published his famous book on political parties and the iron law of oligarchy, he also brought out *Die Grenzen der Geschlechtsmoral* (Munich: Frauenverlag, 1911), which appeared in a series edited by Havelock Ellis as *Sexual Ethics: A Study of Borderland Questions* (London: Scott, 1914). While Michels was co-editor of the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, his book was reviewed by his Turin colleague Rodolfo Mondolfo, 36 (1913): 920–926. See also Weber's letter to Marianne, April 22, 1911, below 481f.
  27. Actually, Weber was preceded in 1906 by Gertrud Bäumer, who spoke about "The Social Demands of the Women's Movement in the Context of the Economic Position of Women." See Harry Liebersohn, *Religion and Industrial Society: The Protestant Social Congress in Wilhelmine Germany. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 76, pt. 6 (1986), p. 39. On the (mal)treatment of women at public meetings, see also Marie-Elisabeth Lüders, *Fürchte Dich nicht. Persönliches und Politisches aus mehr als 80 Jahren. 1878–1962* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1963), p. 55. (Like Bäumer, Lüders (1878–1966) represented the German Democratic Party in the Reichstag from 1920 until 1932. In 1957, she was president pro tem of the Federal Republic's Bundestag.)
  28. Alice Salomon, "Die Entwicklung der Theorie der Frauenbewegung," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, 26 (1908): 451–500.
  29. Alice Salomon, *Charakter ist Schicksal. Lebenserinnerungen*, Rüdiger Baron and R. Landwehr, eds. (Weinheim: Beltz, 1983), p. 128. (The unpublished English original was written in New York City in the 1940s.)
  30. Lily Braun, *Die Frauenfrage. Ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und ihre wirtschaftliche Seite* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1901). On Braun's significance, see Alfred G. Meyer, *The Feminism and Socialism of Lily Braun* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). For Braun's clash with spokeswomen of the BDF over the issue of ethical marriage and free love, see her barely fictionalized autobiographical account in *Memoiren einer Sozialistin. Kampffahre* (Berlin: Klemm, 1923), p. 442ff.
  31. See Evans, *op. cit.*, ch. 5, and Greven-Aschoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–117.
  32. On the relation between the Romantic movement, especially Caroline Schlegel-Schelling, and the "new ethic," see Dr. Marie Bernays, *Die deutsche Frauenbewegung* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1920), p. 16f., 62f. Bernays (1883–1939) was a close ally of the Webers and in her empirical studies followed up Max's interest in the "psychophysics" of industrial labor.
  33. See Martin Green, *The von Richthofen Sisters. The Triumphant and the Tragic Modes of Love* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 55f.
  34. *op. cit.*, p. 23.

35. See Martin Green, *Mountain of Truth. The Counterculture Begins: Ascona 1900–1920* (Hanover: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986).
36. D. H. Lawrence, *Mr. Noon*, ed. Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); see also Frieda Lawrence, *Nur der Wind* (Berlin, Rabenpresse, 1936).
37. Cited in Wilhelm Hennis, *Max Webers Fragestellung* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1987), p. 202.
38. Georg Lukacs, *Die Theorie des Romans* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1963), p. 5; now cited in Judith Marcus and Zoltan Tar, eds., *Georg Lukacs. Selected Correspondence 1902–1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 17f.
39. In Berta Lask's *roman à clef*, *Stille und Sturm* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1955), the Webers, who appear as Helene and Max Wormann, are blamed for Emil Lask's death. See vol. I, p. 598.
40. See Salomon, *Charakter*, *op. cit.*, p. 142f. and 146.
41. "Zwischen zwei Gesetzen," Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gangolf Hübinger, eds., Max Weber, *Zur Politik im Weltkrieg*, vol. 15 of the *Max Weber Gesamtausgabe* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), p. 97f.; see also my essays "Max Weber's Ethics and the Peace Movement Today," *Theory and Society*, 13 (1984): 491–511, and "Weber's Generational Rebellion and Maturation," in Reinhard Bendix and G. Roth, *Scholarship and Partisanship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 25ff.
42. On the peace movement, see Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World Without War. The Peace Movement and German Society 1892–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).
43. An example of Bäumer's early wartime writings is *Der Krieg und die Frau* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1914). See also Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, "Der Krieg und die Frauen" (1914), repr. in id., *Schriften und Reden 1914–1950*, eds. Marga Anders and Ilse Reicke (Tübingen: Hopfer, 1964), pp. 9–19.
44. See Lida Gustava Heymann and Anita Augspurg, *Erlebtes—Erschautes. Deutsche Frauen kämpfen für Freiheit, Recht und Frieden. 1850–1940*, ed. Margrit Twellmann (Meisenheim: Hain, 1977), ch. 5.
45. Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
46. "Zwischen zwei Gesetzen," *loc. cit.*
47. Marianne Weber, "Der Krieg als ethisches Problem," repr. in *Frauenfragen*, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
48. Marianne Weber, "Die besonderen Kulturaufgaben der Frau" (1918), repr. in *op. cit.*, p. 250f.
49. Kurt Hildebrandt, *Erinnerungen an Stefan George und seinen Kreis* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1965), p. 228.
50. See Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Max Weber and German Politics 1890–1920* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 310 and 325ff. The quotation is from p. 328.
51. Gertrud Bäumer, *Lebensweg durch eine Zeitenwende* (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1933), p. 432f.
52. See Greven-Aschoff, *op. cit.*, p. 112, 238 n. 33.
53. Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 186f. During the war Helene Lange's and Gertrud Bäumer's insensitive handling of the League of Jewish Women, an early corporate member of the BDF, led its president Anna Pappenheim—Freud's erstwhile Anna O.—to lead the league out of the National Women's Service and to charge the two leaders with "hatefulness toward Jewish women and Judaism." The long-range difficulties were not resolved through Bäumer's letter of apology. See Marion Kaplan, "Sisterhood under Siege: Feminism and Anti-Semitism in Weimar and

- Nazi Germany," in Renate Bridenthal et al., *op. cit.*, p. 187. See also Kaplan, *The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany. The Campaigns of the jüdische Frauenbund, 1904–1938* (Westport: Greenwood, 1979). On Bäumer's excessively tactical reaction to anti-Semitism in 1933, see the evaluation in Greven-Aschoff, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
54. Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
  55. Cited in Greven-Aschoff, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
  56. Salomon, *loc. cit.* The German editors misidentified Baum as Zahn-Harnack. In the meantime, Prof. Joachim Wieler, who wrote the postscript to the autobiography, made available to me a copy of Salomon's letter of resignation, together with Bäumer's very hostile reply to the executive board. These clearly identify Baum. In her own autobiography, Bäumer played down the incident, without naming Salomon; *Lebensweg*, *op. cit.*, p. 435f.
  57. Marie Baum in her edition of Ricarda Huch, *Briefe an die Freunde* (Zurich: Manesse, 1986), p. 213.
  58. Bäumer, *op. cit.*, p. 434.
  59. See Paul Honigsheim, *On Max Weber*, tr. Joan Rytina (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 79–86 et passim; Helene Tompert, *Lebensformen und Denkweisen der akademischen Welt Heidelbergs im Wilhelminischen Zeitalter* (Lübeck: Matthiesen, 1969), p. 41ff.
  60. See Edgar Salin, *Um Stefan Georg. Erinnerung und Zeugnis* (Munich: Küpper, 1954) p. 111; see also his comparison of the Weber brothers in *id.*, *Lynkeus. Gestalten und Probleme* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1963), p. 66f.
  61. Erich von Kahler, *Der Beruf der Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Bondi, 1920); Arthur Salz, *Für die Wissenschaft gegen die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (Munich: n. n.: 1921).
  62. Salin, *op. cit.*, p. 108f.
  63. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 117.
  64. Margarete Susman, *Ich habe viele Leben gelebt. Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1964), p. 53f.
  65. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, p. 635.
  66. Marie Luise Gothein, *A History of Garden Art*, ed. Walter P. Wright (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979).
  67. Marie Baum in her introduction to *Der Marianne Weber-Kreis. Festgabe für Georg Poensgen*, privately printed for the members (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1958), p. 11.
  68. Friedrich Meinecke, review in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 135 (1927), repr. in René König and J. Winckelmann, eds., *Max Weber zum Gedächtnis* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1963), pp. 143–147.
  69. Gertrud Bäumer, "Persönlichkeit und Lebenswerk von Max Weber," *Die Hilfe*, 10/11 (1926), repr. in König, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
  70. Käthe Leichter, "Max Weber als Lehrer und Politiker," *Der Kampf*, 19: 9 (1926), repr. in König, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
  71. Max Rehm, "Erinnerungen an Max Weber," in König, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
  72. Letter of Oct. 22, 1928 in Baum, ed., *Ricarda Huch Briefe*, *op. cit.*, p. 172f.
  73. Letter of April 10, 1926, in Emmy Beckmann, ed., *Helene Lange, Was ich hier geliebt. Briefe* (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1957), p. 271f.
  74. See also Marianne Weber, *Die Idee der Ehe und die Ehescheidung* (Frankfurt: Societätsdruckerei, 1929), p. 42; Benjamin B. Lindsey, *The Companionate Marriage* (New York: Boni, 1927).
  75. Marianne Weber, *Die Frauen und die Liebe* (Königstein: Langewiesche, 1935).

76. See also *Die Idee der Ehe*, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
77. The Wust/Weber correspondence was not published until 1951. Wust addressed Marianne as “my dear little mother” and signed himself “your son”; she wrote to her “dear son” and signed “your foster mother.” See Walter Theodor Cleve, ed., *Wege einer Freundschaft. Briefwechsel Peter Wust—Marianne Weber 1927–1939* (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1951). For Marianne’s later recollection and Marie Kaiser’s warning, see L 144f. and 363.
78. For more than four decades, Tiele-Winckler vacillated between periods of great organizational activity on the local and national level and periods of withdrawal from the world. As in so many medieval cases, her fortitude and obedience were tested severely by her father and her spiritual guide, Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (1831–1910), the founder of Bethel, to this day the most renowned of the Protestant welfare facilities. For medieval parallels, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
79. Marie Baum in *Der Marianne Weber-Kreis*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
80. Eberhard Demm, “Zivilcourage im Jahre 1933. Alfred Weber und die Fahnenaktionen der NSDAP,” *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 26 (1982): 69–80.
81. A testimonial of their relationship is Marie Baum’s biography, *Leuchtende Spur. Das Leben Ricarda Huchs* (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1950).
82. Huch to the president of the Prussian Academy of the Arts, Max von Schillings, in *Briefe an die Freunde*, *op. cit.*, p. 225f.
83. Baum, *Rückblick auf mein Leben*, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
84. Harnack to Salomon, June 12, 1937, reprinted in Joachim Wieler, *Er-Innerung eines zerstörten Lebensabends. Alice Salomon während der NS-Zeit und im Exil* (Darmstadt: Lingbach, 1987), p. 183.
85. On the Neumeyers’ suicide, see also Dorothee von Velsen, *Im Alter die Fülle. Erinnerungen* (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1956), p. 338.
86. Among the countless victims were Käthe Leichter und Gertrud Kantorowicz. Leichter, who in the mid-1930’s had become one of the leaders of the socialist underground in Austria, managed to write her autobiography secretly in prison, recalling her Heidelberg student days, before she was among the first to be gassed in a trial series.
- After taking great risks and freeing Friedrich Gundolf’s brother from Buchenwald through an elaborate ruse, Gertrud Kantorowicz tried to flee across the Swiss border in 1942, leading Margarete Susman’s sister, Ernst Kantorowicz’s mother, and another aged woman. Only one made it across. Susman’s sister was killed, and Gertrud was dragged back to Berlin. Recognized by one of her interrogators as the nurse who had taken care of him in Turkey during World War I, he engineered to have her sent to Theresienstadt instead of Auschwitz. There she nursed the sick and invalid, read Homer in Greek and wrote poems in the Georgian style, until she died a few hours before the camp’s liberation. See Herbert Steiner, ed., Käthe Leichter, *Leben und Werk* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1973); Michael Landmann, postscript to Gertrud Kantorowicz, *Vom Wesen der griechischen Kunst* (Darmstadt: Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung, vol. 24, 1961).
87. Letter of May 23, 1936, Bäumer, *Des Lebens wie der Liebe Band*, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
88. Letter of Dec. 27, 1939, Bäumer, *op. cit.*, p. 128f. Recently, Bäumer, Zahn-Harnack and Weber were treated as precursors of fascism in a Marxist dissertation by Christine Wittrock. Postulating that fascism was the last stage of capitalism, she views the image of women under fascism as the last stage of a development that began with the bourgeois women’s movement. The analysis

- focuses on written statements and leaves out any personal conduct. See *Weiblichkeitsmythen. Das Frauenbild im Faschismus und seine Vorläufer in der Frauenbewegung der 20er Jahre* (Frankfurt: Sendler, 1983). See now also Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin, 1987).
89. The cumulative evidence of post-war memoirs confirms, however, Marianne's basic opposition to the Nazi regime. For example, Dorothee von Velsen, who felt suicidal in 1933, recalled that at the time she fled to Marianne Weber, "who followed the course of events with a magnificent sense of equanimity, and to Marie Baum, who was deeply wounded." When she vacationed with Marianne in 1940, she reminisced, "we whispered every evening: 'Another day is gained!' As long as England held out, freedom had a refuge. But we did not gloat." (Velsen's sister lived in England.) See Velsen, *op. cit.* p. 346.
  90. In *Women and Love*, Marianne's strenuous opposition to "free love" led her to a moral lapse with regard to Nazi repression. Attacking sexually explicit literature, she mentioned as a sorry example of permissive sex education the advice given by a Marxist medical doctor in a published correspondence with young male and female workers. In a one-line footnote she added: "It is right that such publications are outlawed today" (p. 35). I am reasonably certain that she referred to Max Hodann's *Sexualelend und Sexualberatung* (Rudolfstadt: Greifenverlag, 1928). In suppressing much of German literary life, the Nazis made unrestrained use of the 1926 "law against trash and smut" that Gertrud Bäumer and Theodor Heuss had helped pass in the Reichstag for the sake of protecting young readers and of elevating popular taste.
  91. Marianne Weber, *Erfülltes Leben* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1946). In 1936 she finally managed to get out the long-delayed *Jugendbriefe* (Tübingen: Mohr), the letters of the young Max Weber, with the editorial help of Georg Kunze, a secondary school teacher, who had refused to take the civil service oath to the new regime and, being unemployed, lived for some time under her roof. A second volume of letters was apparently typeset but too controversial to be printed and was subsequently lost.
  92. Gertrud Bäumer, *Der neue Weg der deutschen Frau* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1946). For her unrepenting apologia pro sua vita see her public declaration of 1947 in Bäumer, *Des Lebens wie der Liebe Band*, *op. cit.*, p. 339ff.
  93. Paul Honigsheim in *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (1949): 102ff.
  94. Arnold Brecht, *Mit der Kraft des Geistes. Lebenserinnerungen*, vol. 2: 1927-1967 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1967), p. 394f.
  95. See Dieter Henrich, "Karl Jaspers: Thinking with Max Weber in Mind," in Mommsen and Osterhammel, *op. cit.*, p. 539ff.

## Postscript. Errata in original text of biography.

p. 310 below: read Carl Menger (1840-1921) instead of Anton Menger. p. 386: read *lo scoppio del carro*. According to Gianfranco Poggi, this is a Holy Week ritual exclusive to Florence. A mechanical dove carrying a lit taper flies along a wire toward a cart full of firecrackers. It is a good omen if the dove sets off an explosion.

## Biographical data

I have tried to provide year of birth and death for most persons mentioned in the introduction, but there is a good deal of incorrect information in the literature, including handbooks and encyclopedias. This is also true of Marianne Weber's dates. She was born on Aug. 2, 1870, and died on March 12, 1954, contrary to the translator's preface (p. v.) and several other sources.



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MAX WEBER:  
A BIOGRAPHY

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# 1

## ANCESTORS

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### I

Max Weber's maternal grandparents were such unusual people and imparted such clearly recognizable elements of their own makeup to their grandchild's personality that the outlines of their lives belong at the beginning of his story.

The Fallenstein family can be traced back to the middle of the seventeenth century in Thuringia. Georg Friedrich Fallenstein's father and grandfather could already be described as intellectuals.<sup>1</sup> Fallenstein's grand-

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<sup>1</sup>According to a German-American relative, who shares the American penchant for genealogical studies, the originally aristocratic Hessian family was named Wallenstein, constituting a Protestant branch of Albrecht Wallenstein's family. [Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Wallenstein, Duke of Freidland, 1583–1634, Austrian general in the Thirty Years War.—Ed.] He established that a lieutenant colonel named Wilhelm von Wallenstein served in the Swedish army and received some estates from Gustavus Adolphus as a fief, but sold these some years later. The researcher surmises that this officer came to Germany with Gustavus Adolphus in 1631 and left some offspring there when he fell in battle. Since the Swedish language has no W, his name was written with a V, and since that letter has an F-sound in Germany, that is how it came to be spelled. *Se non è vero è ben trovato.* [If it is not true, it is cleverly invented.] Gervinus gathered authentic information on the family and preserved it in his "Recollections of G. F. Fallenstein," the source of the data given above.

father, a native of Witzelrode near Meiningen, was assistant principal of the Gymnasium at Herford, and his father was the sometime director of the pedagogical seminary at Kleve. There is a certain amount of information about the latter, Max Weber's great-grandfather. He was a highly gifted man with an overabundance of undisciplined energy. He lived in near poverty with a wife who was descended from a Huguenot family and who, like him, was passionate, impetuous, and inclined to be adventurous.

G. F. Fallenstein, born as their eldest son in 1790, was his parents' darling and bone of contention. He preserved the painful childhood recollection of fleeing from their squabbles. But the situation deteriorated further. His father, a philologist of repute, began drinking, and suddenly deserted his family. He was never heard from again, and it was never known whether he had emigrated or had drowned on his way overseas. His wife was left in dire poverty with several children.

Like an orphan, her son Friedrich grew up with strangers, but he overcame all hardships. The Duke of Meiningen made it possible for him to study at the university, but the youth did so only in a desultory way. He studied botany, zoology, and medicine. His poetical side made him turn to philology. He translated classical writers, wrote Romantic poetry under the name of Frauenlob, and authored stories and essays.

When he was still a young man, he found his mother and several of his brothers and sisters living in great poverty in a squalid building in Berlin. He himself had nothing and was nothing, and yet he wanted to help. Despite everything he became engaged at the age of nineteen to a beautiful fifteen-year-old girl [Betty] of no means. When her grandfather for financial reasons refused to give them permission to marry, the desperate young man suffered a nervous breakdown that lasted for several months. After his recovery, friends found him a job as a private secretary. At the age of twenty he managed to get permission to marry. His lovely, gentle wife was his good angel; he loved her dearly and remained faithful to her throughout his eventful life. She bore him six children. They constantly struggled to make ends meet, and for years husband and wife had to live apart. At first Fallenstein was able to earn a living only for himself—as a tutor, a county secretary, a writer and poet. His wife and his children lived with friends. But his energy, his sense of duty, and his lofty ambition enabled him to weather even the greatest hardships. In fact, the overcoming of obstacles gave him pleasure. He had an abundance of manly strength, a dynamic spirit, a puritanical outlook, and a crusty frankness, coupled with a passionate, easily inflamed temper, which was, however, controlled by chivalry and a childlike soft-heartedness toward weaker persons, particularly women and children.

His patriotism, kindled by his personal acquaintance with Friesen, Luden, and Jahn,<sup>2</sup> stood every test. In 1813 he anticipated the Prussian king's call to arms. Without much reflection he joined Lützow's volunteer corps and, poor as he was, had two fellow volunteers outfitted at his expense. He divided his remaining funds between his wife and the regimental treasury, confident that the state would take care of his family. But without the help of friends, his wife and two small children would have been in terrible straits. As it was, she lost one child because of malnutrition; for this Fallenstein held Napoleon personally responsible and felt burning hatred for him as long as he lived. Life in the camp and on the battlefield inspired Fallenstein's muse. He struck up a rapturous friendship with Theodor Körner,<sup>3</sup> and together they wrote battle songs and libertarian poems that were sung and recited by their comrades in arms. His mind was filled with the Teutonic and libertarian ideals of the time. He collected old German literary documents, gave his sons old German names, hated everything *wälsch*,<sup>4</sup> and in his social relationships affected an "unvarnished crustiness" [*hanebüchene Knorrigkeit*].

After his return he suffered greatly because of the political fruitlessness of the war. He was personally affronted at the ingratitude of the Prussian government which, despite the king's promises, offered the returning soldiers no adequate employment. Therefore, when the war broke out again in 1815, he joined the army for the second time and went to Paris. There he was given a well-paid job with the military police. For the first time he was able to relax and enjoy life. But he was so used to privation that he now became intoxicated with the joy of making lavish gifts. To his beloved wife, who was doing without necessities at home, he sent silver plate, silk dresses, and morocco slippers, as well as what he himself called "junk and frippery": a silver rattle for the youngest boy. This was typical of the contradictions of his personality. A woman friend wrote about him: "There are certainly many who knew him only to be proud and severe, but anyone who

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<sup>2</sup>Karl Friedrich Friesen, 1784–1814, was an aide-de-camp of Adolf Freiherr von Lützow, who in 1813 founded Lützow's Free Corps, a national legion known as *Die Schwarze Schar* [The Black Corps] and *Lützows Wilde Jagd* [Lützow's Wild Huntsmen]. Friesen, who fell in France in 1814, also assisted Friedrich Ludwig ("Turnvater") Jahn, 1778–1852, in founding the gymnastic movement and the *Burschenschaften*, fraternities designed to disseminate nationalism in the academic world. Heinrich Luden, 1780–1847, a nationalist historian at the University of Jena, also took an active part in these movements.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup>Karl Theodor Körner (1791–1813), libertarian poet and dramatist, fell while serving in Lützow's Free Corps. His poem *Lützows wilde Jagd* was set to music by Robert Schumann.—Ed.

<sup>4</sup>*Wälsch* or *welsch* refers to things Italian or French, sometimes to foreign or "un-German" influences generally.—Ed.

was close to his heart was surrounded by a veritable profusion of love. And I noticed in him the full wealth of a beautiful human soul when he had the meagerest means at his disposal." All his life Fallenstein displayed a magnificent generosity and helpfulness toward needy people; yet he was also constantly governed by the uneasy frugality that he had had to practice in times of need. For example, when he became the owner of a beautiful house, he did not allow a cake to be baked in it, even for guests.

In 1816 he went to Düsseldorf as a government secretary and became an employee of exemplary conscientiousness and prudence, an indefatigable and self-sacrificing man who was always ready to exert his uncommon energy in the public interest far beyond the call of duty. Consequently a tremendous work load was soon placed upon his shoulders; with the title and the salary of a secretary, he performed the functions of a councillor. His superiors fully appreciated and praised his extraordinary talents, his unflagging energy, and his extensive knowledge. "He had the ambition and the dynamism of those thoroughbred horses which use their strength without moderation until they break down" (Gervinus).<sup>5</sup>

Despite all this, he was deliberately and disgracefully slighted by the ministry in Berlin; he was not promoted and received such pitiful remuneration that, as his family grew, he found it necessary to work as a writer in addition to his regular employment. Why was this? One reason was his democratic and libertarian disposition. He saw "the spirit of the times moving through all peoples and civilizations at an unrestrainable pace, like a joyful child of God and of freedom, like the God that walked ahead of Moses." Because of this, he was enthusiastic about equality for all citizens and, together with Jahn and his circle, inveighed against reactionaries. But he was also troublesome in other ways. He criticized an action of the government with a vehement article, written in the martial style of the wars of liberation, in which he protested against the presentation of an estate to a French nobleman. He even appealed to the king, and was brought to court. Although he was acquitted, he was threatened with a disciplinary transfer, and only the unanimous protest of his superiors prevented this. Afterward he lived in Berlin under a cloud. Following several deliberate official snubs, he bitterly planned to escape this "servitude" by emigrating. When he was able to breathe freely for a change, he felt his existence to be a "miserable

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<sup>5</sup>Georg Gottfried Gervinus, 1805–1871, literary critic, historian, and publicist, professor at Göttingen and Heidelberg, elected to the National Assembly in 1848. Author of commentaries on Shakespeare (1849–52), a history of German literature (1835–42), and a history of nineteenth century Germany (1856–66).—Ed.

life of drudgery” and sighed, “May God relieve me of this feeling if He cannot give me another life to live.” Finally, in 1832, after fourteen years in the employment of the state, he took an examination and was given a suitable position as a government counselor at Koblenz.

Before moving to Koblenz he suffered a terrible blow, the loss of the beloved wife who had always made him happy. He was left with a houseful of underage children. The vehement yet kindly man stood before a chasm, and on his children, some of whom he sent away, the troubled father may have had an even more oppressive effect than before. It had always been hard for them not to be crushed by him. The old Lützow corpsman was a stern moralist and believed unconditionally in the maxim “*Du kannst, denn du sollst.*”<sup>6</sup> Anger frequently made the veins on his forehead stand out. Toward his sons in particular he was a strict, demanding father. The little girls, like all weaker persons, usually found him gentle, yet he also tried to toughen them, using educational methods that today seem barbaric. To cure a headache, for example, he would hold their heads under the cold stream from the water pump early in the morning; in winter he made them walk around without warm underclothes; in the blazing summer sun he did not let them wear a hat. He was especially strict at the table; the children were given large helpings of the less popular dishes, and woe to them if they did not clean their plates! The punishment for lying was a sound thrashing, and this was administered even to the small girls. Yet they loved their father more than they feared him.

The sons, however, escaped his rule as soon as they could; three went overseas, and another ran away. Their father never saw them again. A letter written by Fallenstein when one of his sons was confirmed shows the extreme ethical demands he thought he could bring to bear on his children’s development, and the heroic severity with which he judged their inadequacies. As he saw it, adolescents could choose one of two paths: either “onward and upward,” or perdition.

June 9, 1835

Dear Otto,

The few lines you added to your aunt’s letter gave me the unexpected but welcome news that you are to be confirmed, and by now have been confirmed. May God grant, my son, that you have a proper

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<sup>6</sup>Attributed to Immanuel Kant: “I ought, therefore I can.”—Ed.

appreciation of the importance of this chapter in your life, and that the resolutions and decisions that you have made for your own good here and in the hereafter, as well as the assurances and promises that you have made at the altar, will endure and be fulfilled. All your life you should have God and the honor of a righteous German in mind. Be and remain true, faithful, and confident of your good conscience and of Christ, and you will relate to the world confidently and securely. Despite some bad habits that you have unfortunately displayed, you have given your father pleasure as a loyal, truthful, diligent, and good-natured fellow. Retain these qualities and increasingly give up bad habits, especially incivility, impetuosity, self-righteousness, and the like. Be more industrious, my son, in the tasks leading to your goal in life, and above all bear in mind that one is, and achieves, little or nothing if one is not outstanding or does not do outstanding work. In all things try to emulate the best, the highest, and the finest, for mediocrity is bad in everything, not worthy of honor or of life. In particular remain truthful and morally pure; then you will be worthy of us and cling to God and not consider, do, or tolerate anything dishonorable. Guard your tongue, but always act as though the doors and windows were open; whatever you have to be ashamed of before men is at the same time a sin before God. Preserve your faith; be helpful and obliging to everyone and, above all, be grateful. Forget yourself, but never forget those who have befriended you and yours and have helped you. Preserve your innocence, and do not judge others irreverently. Do no injustice, but do not wittingly suffer any to be done to you. Bear in mind three things at all times: fear God, honor women, love your neighbor. And remember as a fourth point that I would rather see you dead than have anyone call you a scoundrel and a coward. Fear no one but God, but hate evil, lies, and impurity. Honor women in thought and deed, for your mother's sake and to guard against sin. Love your neighbor, and remember that no one exists merely for his own sake. Each person is there for his fellowman, and no love or loyalty surpasses the kind that makes a man give up his life for his brothers. You belong completely to your duty; never forget that. No earthly gain is worth anything as compared to the honor of being loyal, true, and valiant. Let these words be your life's companion, my dear son Otto, and may they remind you of your father, your late mother, and your newly acquired mother, all of whom will think of you with love if you remain worthy of them. You know what sorrow other people have caused me; see to it that nothing like that ever comes to me from you. You are a Fallenstein, and I have entrusted you with an honest name. Keep it

free of any blemish. Let people esteem it because of you as well, and God grant that they may never curse or revile it. For this you should work, live—or die! . . .

And now to your future and your destiny. I am not unaware that you have little inclination for your studies and no dedication to them. Your lukewarm attitude and lack of diligence are in every way unjust, particularly so far as I am concerned, and I was very sorry that your latest school report was a bad one too. I deserved better of you and did not expect this, especially after our last conversation. I do not wish to force you to devote yourself to a task against your will and inclination, but I *do* demand that you now decide, and in an honorable manner, what position you want to fill in life with seriousness and a sense of duty. I have taken care of you to the best of my ability. From your early boyhood it has been your wish to go to sea, and as far as I know this has remained your fondest hope. Very well; if you are serious about it, if after mature deliberation this is still your resolute, manly, and firm desire, then I shall have an opportunity, through the good offices of your mother's brothers who live here, to place you on a Liverpool boat under very favorable conditions. Consider carefully what you do, and above all remember that the step you take is a decisive one, that you cannot go back and that here as everywhere the only motto for an honest fellow is "onward and upward!" If you make your decision, you will leave immediately for Genoa to board the ship; it is called Rabb (?) and you will live on it for five years or go down with it. I shall write you more about it later; I also hope to see you first and commend you to God's mercy and to your fortune with the blessing of a fatherly kiss and a handshake. But do not talk about this to anyone, and when I come, tell me truthfully what is innermost in your own heart. Farewell, my son! Your mother will now add a few lines. Farewell, and in all you do think of your devoted father.

It was fortunate for the children, including those who had already left their father's house, that after four years as a widower their difficult father met a gentle girl who so strikingly reminded him of his late wife that she won his heart at first sight. This girl was Emilie Souchay, the daughter of a refined, wealthy, patrician Frankfurt family. Her father, Karl Cornelius Souchay, the founder of a commercial firm in Frankfurt, Manchester, and London, was descended from a Huguenot family, Souchay de la Doboissière, which had owned an estate near Orleans and had renounced its aristocratic privileges when the family fled to Germany. Some of the refugees settled

in Hanau as goldsmiths; others went to Frankfurt. K. C. Souchay's grandfather was a goldsmith in Hanau, his father a minister at the French Reformed Church in Frankfurt.

K. C. Souchay (Max Weber's great-grandfather) was a cheerful, amiable, and cultured man. By his own efforts and by his marriage he acquired considerable wealth which he spent generously. He regarded himself only as the administrator of his property, an attitude he imparted to his children. He lived in a beautiful, elegantly furnished house at the Fahrtoor; its wide, sunny front looked over the Main River and the Sachsenhausen hills beyond. This kindly, cheerful man liked to live happily and let others live in the same way. He smilingly said about himself: "I have always lived like a rich man, and I have managed to do so with God's help. The skinflints around me have always thought I was rich, even when that was not yet true." To enhance this good life he married a girl of entirely German descent and from a good family. Helene Schunck, the daughter of Major Schunck from Schlüchtern, bore him seven children. She created a harmonious atmosphere around herself and was so lovely that the painter Stieler<sup>7</sup> said she was the most beautiful woman in Germany and offered to capture her charm in a portrait that is still owned by the family. It may therefore be assumed that the grace and noble beauty of Max Weber's mother, qualities she passed on to several of her children, were more a German than a French heritage.

Emilie Souchay, Weber's grandmother, however, was not so endowed. She was remarkably small and very plain; she was intelligent and profound, but had a delicate constitution and was shy and withdrawn. Her strength lay in her deeply religious nature, angelic goodness, and devotion to everything great and beautiful. In her memoirs, which she wrote for the benefit of her family, she said this about herself:

The greatest—indeed, I am inclined to say, the only—sufferings of my childhood and early youth grew out of my constitution. Not that I can remember ever having been sickly, but an indescribable timidity lay in my bones and often gripped my heart. . . . In many an anxious hour the longing for inner freedom became my fervent prayer. When I opened my Bible one day, these words caught my eye: "My grace is sufficient for you." [2 Cor. 12:9] I have reflected a great deal about the deep meaning of these words and have found in them the most beautiful interpretation of the parable of the talents. [Luke 19:11–27]

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<sup>7</sup>Josef Karl Stieler, 1781–1858, from 1820 on court painter in Munich.—Ed.

As an old lady she summed up the experiences of a person whose modest energies were always threatened by feelings of inadequacy in these words:

We should like so much to go through life in our own way and we do not understand that our own nature has set us a goal that we cannot lose from sight with impunity. To contemplate the limits of our nature with courage, to guard against false ambition, but to do wholeheartedly what we are charged with doing and to trust humbly in God's help—this, to my mind, is the task whose fulfillment will bring God's blessings upon us.

When Fallenstein met Emilie Souchay, she was already thirty years old and had never thought of marrying. She seemed by nature destined far more for the quiet, gentle, contemplative life of a nun than for life at the side of an energetic man who never stopped striving. All she knew about marriage was that it was a spiritual communion and an affectionate friendship between a man and a woman. Nevertheless, Fallenstein's intensive courtship brought her into conflict with herself, and she requested time for reflection. When she made an affirmative decision in spite of her misgivings, it was because her goodness had overcome her anxieties. She felt that God Himself had called her to be a helpmate to Fallenstein and a mother to his orphaned children. "It was hard for him to have to place such a burden upon me, and at first this kept him from expressing himself. But I felt strong in my awareness that God had given me such a great and beautiful task and in my confidence that He would help me to see it through."

The letters exchanged by Fallenstein and Emilie Souchay are characteristic of the style of the time (1835) as well as of the writers' personalities.

With the perplexity of a deeply moved heart, I, a man whom you, dear madam, may hardly have noticed, dare to take a step prompted by an inner necessity that sweeps away conventional considerations; and yet I struggle to find the words to tell you what has become a dear consciousness for me since the moment you came into my life. May the kindly graciousness that your blue eyes and your entire appearance betoken permit to speak without a further struggle for expression.

It is the confession of a heartfelt love ventured with anxious embarrassment by a man to whom life has brought many trials and who has faced humanly more dangerous things with greater equanimity than he now faces you.

The one I embraced twenty-five years ago with the first ardor of young love, the faithful, gentle woman whose first love I was, who

shared my life in hard times over a period of twenty-one years, who was my very own, who calmly and trustingly lay in my arms from her fifteenth year on through all the vicissitudes of life, the dear mother of my six children whom I buried four years ago, suddenly stood before me again as though brought back to life in her full individuality, her entire inner and outer being and life, when I suddenly caught sight of you on that evening at your brother's house. The impression stirred me to the innermost fibers of my being, and the surprise was not entirely without pain. A further consequence is this step that I am taking, and I feel that my future, madam, depends on its result—all the more so because your appearance has so wondrously intertwined my entire past with the future destined for me by God that I can, in truth and before God, offer to you, my gentle, amiably quiet Emilie, with my hand the love of my youth and of my life, cleansed and beautified by what I have lived through and lost. Before taking this step I have conscientiously searched my soul. If you, dear lady, could like God look into my heart, if I could bare it to you through speech as it lies before our Creator at this moment, you would trust the simple, sensible words of an honest man who assures you that what he expresses to you is a deep-rooted sentiment—not a love born of passion, but one based on the most sincere and most steadfast devotion, one that has been transfigured from profound mourning over what has been lost into the most heartfelt joy at what has been regained.

I realize, dear lady, what I am demanding by imploring you to be not only the second mother of my children, but their regained mother, and to become the greatest treasure of my life. I have nothing to offer in return but an honest, faithful heart, but at the same time I am offering you my life in heartfelt devotion. Wonderful Emilie, as dear to me as my blessed Betty: I have only been able to say simple, religiously composed words, for my heart is wondrously stirred and yet solemnly serene. It is now exactly twenty-five years since I became engaged to my dear departed Betty, and just four years since she slipped out of my arms and into the grave. At a time of such commemoration the human heart does not lie. Decide now between us; no matter how you may decide, my worshipful love for you is my property and will be my companion even in renunciation.

To this Emilie Souchay replied:

I do not know whether it will be possible for me today to answer a letter that moved me to the bottom of my heart the way I ought

to and should like to. But I will try to tell the noble man who has opened his heart to me with a hitherto unsuspected wealth of love what my feelings are, even though as yet I do not understand them myself. It is my solemn resolution to be quite frank with you, because I feel that this will be a blessing for you and for me; but only God, who knows me better than I know myself, knows whether I shall be able to tell the truth, even with the best of intentions. Until now my life, viewed externally, has been a very happy one, and it would be ungrateful of me not to make a joyous acknowledgment of the favorable circumstances in which I have lived. Nor have I, particularly in recent years, had any desire to leave my station in life—especially since I believed that my character was not suited to giving anyone happiness, at least not in a situation where great demands were made of me. Those who know me more intimately will verify this for you better than I can.

My mother has promised me to inform you of all my faults and weaknesses. Give credence to her and be assured that no one feels the truth of her words more than I do. At first I could not suppress the thought that you were simply mistaken in me because I evoked such a dear image in your soul. My sister confided this to me, and you can imagine how moved I was bound to be when I saw you again. Only my firm resolve not to destroy this dear memory willfully could give me some composure—or, rather, it put me in a mood of such exaltation that I seemed to be a different person.

When you left, a vision of possible happiness laid hold of me, but at the same time I had a feeling of total inability to fill such a place, and since then this feeling has oppressed me in many a difficult hour. Then my heart grew lighter again, and I felt confident of being able to place my future and yours in the hands of the eternal Father. Everything in me was confused, and only one thing became ever clearer: that I must heed the pure voice of my heart and be truthful toward you and toward myself. Believe me, as soon as I clearly recognize it as the will of God, I shall leave the circle which is so dear to me—not without a struggle, but yet with joyous courage—in order to fulfill an even finer calling. But how could I ever have dreamed that such a fate was in store for me, of all people? Give me some time to regain my full senses after the first excitement, and consider how greatly your happiness, too, depends on the decision that I shall make. In any case, the memory of those beautiful days will accompany me through life and give me happiness, and may God grant that it will be a blessing for you as well in one way or another.

It was high time for Fallenstein to glide into a more peaceful port on his life's journey on the gentle arm of a new wife. His energies, which had been taxed to their limits so early in life, were beginning to diminish and he was subject to depressions. The fact that he was finally free from financial worries was a great relief. The Souchay family had the same generous impulses as he had, as well as the means to indulge them. He was now able to gratify his desire to help others generously. But he also had to suffer many disappointments, personal as well as professional. The disappearance of his sons, whom he never saw again, must have upset him a great deal. When the overworked man requested an assistant, his application was rejected. He then tendered his resignation and was hurt by the reproaches with which it was accepted. In 1842 he was transferred to the Ministry of Finance in Berlin as an official making reports [*Vortragender Rat*], but was unable to adapt to the very different conditions and assignments there. The man who had done extraordinary things for so many years now candidly acknowledged the bitter experience of not being equal to the new job. Fortunately he was able to leave the post after a few years.

He moved to Heidelberg, and in 1847 built himself a spacious house of quiet elegance opposite the castle on the Neckar River. He himself planned the large rock garden, which extended all the way up to the Philosophenweg. His house and garden, with its bubbling spring that blended with the rushing of the Neckar River, became an island of beauty which was home to his children and grandchildren and a pleasure for countless others. For the rest, he kept the stoical simplicity and naturalness of his way of life, and he demanded these qualities of his family as well: rising early, washing with cold water, every kind of hardihood, the utmost exertion of willpower, and self-control. All these principles were adopted by his daughter Helene for her own life and the rearing of her children, even though her delicate constitution suffered when she was a child.

Fallenstein remained tirelessly active. In public life he was particularly interested in the promotion of peace among the different creeds as well as the retention of the *Code Napoléon* in the Rhineland. His hatred of Napoleon did not prevent him from preferring Napoleon's institutions to those prevalent in Prussia at the time. He was particularly convinced that the forcible removal of the Napoleonic institutions would alienate the Rhineland from Prussia. In addition to his political interests he was active in charitable work of all kinds; for example, with the aid of the Souchay family he organized systematic relief through loans of money or cattle for the small farmers of Schönau, one of the starving villages in the Odenwald.

He also started writing again, collecting German proverbs and working as an industrious contributor to Grimm's Dictionary.<sup>8</sup> In Heidelberg he joined the "Historical Circle" that had formed around Schlosser and Häusser,<sup>9</sup> and he struck up a friendship with Georg Gervinus, the historian, who moved into his house. With a true official's loyalty Fallenstein clung to his fatherland Prussia, but around 1848 he completely abandoned his monarchist cult and began to love Germany more than Prussia. In the balmy southern air he returned to the libertarian ideals of his youth.

Although not in perfect health, Fallenstein still seemed to have the strength of a giant once he acquired an aim in life. He died at the age of sixty-three as he had always wanted to die: "young," that is, before the infirmities of old age could beset him. His young daughters from his second marriage "remembered as in a beautiful dream" their father "whose warm hands we still felt in ours and whose kind heart was always alive to a child's questions and joys."

In the memory of those who had known him, he lived on as a man who was equipped with an abundance of physical and moral strength, who had grown tough in the school of life, who was passionately excitable, strong in love as in hate, but at the same time most kindhearted and chivalrous toward the weak. He lacked moderation and balance, and he was often irksome and burdensome in everyday life, but in his work his devotion and self-abnegation overcame his impetuosity. In the judgment of Gervinus, "Because of his abundance of strength, everything about him verged on the excessive—the emotion of the moment as well as the well-reflected "permanent principle." (These words apply to Fallenstein's grandson, Max Weber, as well.) His survivors inscribed these words on his tombstone: "All who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God." [Rom. 8:14]

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But how did delicate Emilie Souchay fare at his side? According to a letter she wrote to a friend long after her husband's death, she was denied the profound happiness of complete spiritual harmony and communion. Her husband's vigorous nature—which made him think that he could demand and obtain everything from himself and others and evidently never left any

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<sup>8</sup>Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm began publishing their *Deutsches Wörterbuch* in 1852.—Ed.

<sup>9</sup>Friedrich Christoph Schlosser, 1776–1861, Heidelberg historian; Ludwig Häusser, 1818–1867, historian and politician.—Ed.

doubt that he, Friedrich Fallenstein, correctly saw what should be done—prevented him from understanding her constant inner struggles. He was impatient with Emilie's permanent sense of inadequacy and her pious acceptance of the limitations nature had imposed upon her and others. She was so good; why, then, did she torment herself so? And although he himself remained rooted in the faith of his fathers, her religious depth remained inaccessible to him. He was a rigorous moralist who wanted, and was able, to do what he ought to do and who was convinced that it was the same with others; she was a submissive soul, lacking confidence yet trusting in God; they were bound to talk past each other.

Thus, long after her husband's demise, Emilie summed up her married life in these words:

The hardest struggle of my life is behind me (or so I believe): the impossibility of communicating my true self to my late husband. His great overestimation of me made him regard my failure to attain the ideal that was in my heart—a failure inherent in my individual capacity—as a kind of recalcitrance. He lacked any appreciation of this, and my sorrow over it seemed weakness to him. It was indeed hard for me to bear the fact that he did not understand this, that he could not imagine that despite a sadness about one's own imperfections one can still cling to *hope*, that it is possible to acquiesce in the limits of one's nature and still strive, within these limits, to attain what God has bidden us to do, confident that He will lead us to the goal (for it is said that *God* is powerful within the weak, and to me these are words of truth which have comforted me on a thousand occasions). In short, it was hard for me that he could not grasp what to me seemed the very foundation of Christianity, and this came between us just when daily life brought us sorrows. The way in which he rejected me irritated me and kept me from pouring my heart out; otherwise we should have adapted to each other much better and in all things. As it was, the treasures of his mind and heart became clearly visible to me only on occasion, and his religious views in particular, and how these views affected his life, remained a mystery to me. I did always sense that he was a much warmer person than Gervinus and thus more farsighted. For example, he agreed to my going to church; afterward he liked to have me retell him the sermon, and he did not pour cold water over me, as G. did with his wife. But he did not consider it important to have an exchange of ideas about it with me, and yet pure Christianity was the essence of my life and all my longing was directed toward fathoming it. —Where has all this taken me? I merely wanted to clarify in my