

# "Anna Ruling": a problematic foremother of lesbian herstory.

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**Date:** Oct. 2004

**From:** Journal of the History of Sexuality (Vol. 13, Issue 4)

**Publisher:** University of Texas at Austin (University of Texas Press)

**Document Type:** Article

**Length:** 9,716 words

Full Text:

THE NAME "ANNA RULING" BRINGS TO MIND one of the first lesbian activist political speeches to address the relationship between the women's movement and homosexuality. (1) Ruling delivered her speech, "Homosexualität und Frauenbewegung" (Homosexuality and the women's movement), at the annual assembly of the Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitee (Scientific-Humanitarian Committee), or Whk, on 9 October 1904 at the Hotel Prinz Albrecht in Berlin. Around three hundred people usually attended the annual general assembly. (2) The address, which was published under the title "Welche Interesse hat die Frauenbewegung an der Losung des homosexuellen Problems" (What interest does the women's movement have in the homosexual question), has been translated into English and Italian; Michael Lombardi-Nash has organized a celebration to mark its one hundredth anniversary. (3) It is not an exaggeration to say that more has been written about Anna Ruling than about any other woman who openly described herself as a homosexual woman at the beginning of the twentieth century. (4)

The speech was a strong affirmation of the rights of homosexuals and of women. Ruling bravely insisted that the women's movement was a "cultural historical necessity" [kulturgeschichtliche Notwendigkeit] and that homosexuality was a "natural historical necessity" [naturgeschichtliche Notwendigkeit]. (5) Public knowledge about homosexuality in women was comparatively less developed than that of male homosexuality; a case in point was the fact that Paragraph 175 criminalized same-sex sexuality between men only. However, the "spiritual pressure" [seelische Druck] that homosexual women faced from social discrimination was extremely high, according to Ruling, particularly since lesbians lived alone and depended upon a single income. Ruling insisted that the homosexual and women's movements should "mutually help one another to achieve rights and recognition" [gegenseitig zu Recht und Anerkennung verhelfen] as well as to rid the world of "injustice" [Ungerechtigkeit]. In particular, the women's movement should understand homosexuality, the "inborn sexual drive" [angeborenen sexuellen Trieb], within the context of women's engagement with questions concerning youth and childrearing. She urged that this should be one of the "smaller tasks" [kleineren Aufgaben] of the women's movement. As she concretely put it, the women's movement should not "raise the homosexual question to a particular level of importance" [homosexuelle Frage nicht zu einer besonderen Wichtigkeit erheben] but, rather, give it its "due space" [gebührenden Platz]. She noted that the women's movement included homosexual women, adding provocatively: "The position and participation of homosexual women in the women's movement on one of its most important problems (the legal equality of partners within marriage) is of greatest and most far-reaching meaning and earns the most general and furthest reaching consideration" [Die Stellung und Anteilnahme der homosexuellen Frauen in der Frauenbewegung zu und an einem ihrer wichtigsten

Probleme ist von grosster und einschneidender Bedeutung und verdient die allgemeinste und weitgehenste Beachtung]. (6)

She very clearly linked the women's rights struggle with that of homosexuals' rights campaigners. As she put it, it was the "duty" [Pflicht] of the women's movement to stand by homosexuals in their struggle because the women's rights activists fought "for the right of free personality and self-determination" [für das Recht der freien Persönlichkeit und der Selbstbestimmung]. In her remarks she explicitly turned against the sexual-pathological image of a homosexual "species" or distinct personality. (7) For Anna Ruling, homosexuals were characterized by their individual personalities and only after that by their "sexual disposition" [sexuelle Veranlagung]. She also distinguished sexual desires from gender attributes, claiming that homosexual women possessed "attributes, predilections and abilities" [Eigenschaften, Neigungen, und Fähigkeiten] that "we usually feel to belong rightly to the man" [wir gewöhnlich als rechtsgültigen Besitz des Mannes betrachten], such as "clear-seeing reason" [klar blickender Verstand] and goal-oriented self-motivation. Completely the feminist, she explicitly protested against Otto Weininger's claim (1880-1903) that only homosexual women were capable of being emancipated. Finally, she predicted that lesbians were particularly well placed to accomplish great things, although she did not go into more explicit detail about what she meant by this assertion.

Ruling's speech was significant because it can be described in general as the lifting of the taboo against female homosexuality. Several factors distinguish this public announcement of sexual identity: its exclusivity and relationality, its form, its historical context, and the motivations behind it. The exclusivity and relationality of the speech refers to the following factors: the status of the known historical sources, the protagonist of the speech, and its content in relation to contemporaneous currents.

Very few lesbians spoke out about their personal experiences in turn-of-the-century Germany or in other countries. (8) Because of the rarity of this kind of announcement, the speech has been hailed as a "courageous self-acknowledgment" and an exceptional event compared to the basic tendencies of the era. (9) Scholars have proclaimed Anna Ruling to be a pioneer of lesbian political activity and the "first known lesbian activist." (10) Her notoriety as the "first" lesbian feminist is not historically accurate, however. Ruling's announcement actually followed that of the controversial German feminist Johanna Elberskirchen (1864-1943), who made her lesbianism public in a text dated 1904 (although it was probably first published in 1903). In it Elberskirchen boldly wrote: "If we women of the emancipation are homosexual--well, this must be allowed! We are homosexual with good right" [Sind wir Frauen der Emanzipation homosexual--nun, dann lasse man uns doch! Dann sind wir es doch mit gutem Recht]. (11) In 1904 Elberskirchen also published a treatise aimed at the sexual sciences and sexual reform, "Die Liebe des dritten Geschlechts. Homosexualität, eine bisexuelle Varietät keine Entartung--keine Schuld" (The love of the third sex: homosexuality, a bisexual variety, not a degradation--not shameful). (12) As one of the few women in the Whk, Elberskirchen was elected chairperson by its general assembly in 1914 and later served as a representative at the World League for Sexual Reform (Weltliga für Sexualreform). (13) So, Ruling and Elberskirchen must be seen as sharing the honor of being pioneers in linking lesbianism and women's emancipation.

Still, as far as is known, Anna Ruling was the first feminist and the first woman to understand herself as a lesbian who made this known publicly in the form of a speech. In general, speeches are a highly exposed, confrontational, and provocative form of publicity--particularly given such a controversial social issue as one's own homosexuality. In addition, Ruling was the first self-proclaimed homosexual woman to address the relationship between

lesbian identity and the woman's movement in a publication and to "define lesbianism as a feminist challenge." (14)

The speech was significant because it took place at a time when the women's movement was gaining momentum while ignoring lesbian women's involvement within its ranks and the lack of support lesbians received regarding their needs. (15) Furthermore, feminists had remained largely silent about the emerging sexual science discourse on homosexuality. (16) Lesbians had also failed to make their presence known within the movement, and they had been extremely reticent about discussing their sexuality with other women's activists. In fact, lesbian women were initially active within the homosexual movement, which was dominated by men, when they became aware of their situation as women from the demands of feminists. They subsequently developed a "double strategy" within the women's movement, keeping silent about homosexuality while at the same time fighting to create possibilities for women to support each other and lead independent and financially secure lives. (17) In view of the new women's movement the speech further shows that ignorance toward lesbians is not a new phenomenon historically. (18)

Ruling and Elberskirchen followed a different trajectory, with their bold self-acknowledgment of their sexual identity and their attempts

to remove the pathological stigma from homosexuality. Their words on homosexuality shattered the silence on this issue within the women's movement, and the two women also positioned themselves against a silence on women's sexuality in the scientific discourses on contrary sexuality [Kontrarsexualitat]. (19) Furthermore, they helped to create a more explicit relationship between lesbian identity and the women's movement while demonstrating that the women's movement and the homosexual movement shared a commitment to the rights of individuals to determine their own lives.

## THE PSEUDONYM "RULING"

Ironically, despite the attention given to the speech, next to nothing has been known about Anna Ruling's personal identity. I have been able to recover enough information to begin to piece together a fragmentary biographical sketch. Following this bit of good news comes (from my political perspective) bad news: apart from Ruling's lesbian activist speech, her other political positions are not very useful for historical lesbian-feminist identification. Like so many, Anna Ruling must be seen as what Ulrike Janz has termed a "problematic 'foremother' of lesbian 'herstory.'" (20)

Through my discovery of a small announcement in a monthly report from the Whk, I was able to follow a clue through extensive research deadends and detours to track down the person behind the name "Ruling." (21) The events section referred to a lecture by a Miss Ruling that she had given on 27 October before the Bund fur Menschenrechte (League for Human Rights). A curious overlap and confusion of names piqued my interest. (22) The Jahrbucher fur sexuelle Zwischenstufen (Yearbook for sexual intermediate stages) published the speech under the title, "Welches Interesse hat die Frauenbewegung an der Losung des homosexuellen Problems?" and named the author as Anna Ruling. The same identification appeared in a special edition of the lecture produced by the Leipzig publisher, Max Spohr. (23) In contrast, the conference report in Das neue Magazin (The new magazine) and a different monthly report of the Whk listed the lecture's author as "Miss Th. Ruling." (24) Fortunately, the police were deeply suspicious of the Bund fur Menschenrechte. Their thick surveillance file contains the information that helps to explain the mystery of the pseudonym "Ruling." (25)

Anna or Th. Ruling refers to Theo (or also Theodora) Anna Sprungli, who then further scrambled her name to create several combinations: Anna Th. Sprungli, Theo A. Sprungli, and so forth. (26) Although I have not conclusively determined her full birth name, "Anna" and "Sprungli" are correct. (27) The pseudonym can be read as an anagram of Sprungli with the "Sp" removed; the result is "Ruling." For the remainder of this essay I will call her Theo A. Sprungli, since that is the form of her name that she used most often.

## BACKGROUND AND BIOGRAPHY

Theo A. Sprungli was born on 15 August 1880 in Hamburg to Caroline (Dangers) Sprungli (1855-at least 1938) and Adolph Sprungli (1844-at least 1938). (28) She grew up with at least one sister in the "strict Hanseatic atmosphere of her father's house." (29) Her father was an overseas businessman from Switzerland who worked in Hamburg representing Swiss consular interests. (30) Whether Theo A. Sprungli claimed Swiss citizenship is unknown. Files from the Nazi era list her as a citizen of the German Reich; other documents, however, suggest that she, like her parents, might have been a Swiss citizen throughout her life--even though she did not draw attention to this possibility. (31) Her writings stressed the importance of her German birthplace, Hamburg, as a geographical homeland and point of connection. (32) Over the course of her lifetime she moved to a number of German cities: Hamburg, Stuttgart, Berlin, Dusseldorf, Ulm, nearby Blaubeuren, and finally Delmenhorst, where she died of a heart attack in 1953 at the age of seventy-three. (33)

As a child in Hamburg she attended a girls school and took piano and music theory lessons. At the age of seventeen she began writing for the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, an accomplishment that marked the beginning of her career in journalism. Moving to Stuttgart, she finished Gymnasium (high school) and took music theory and violin lessons with Edmund Singer. According to an obituary, she was a schoolmate of Elly Ney (1882-1968), a famous pianist who predicted that Sprungli would enjoy a brilliant career as a violinist. (34) However, she had to give up playing the violin because she suffered an arm injury while rescuing a child. (35)

In 1904 she seems to have returned, at least briefly, to Hamburg, since two of her articles appeared in March and April of that year in the anarchist paper *Der Kampf* (The struggle), listing Hamburg as her residence. Significantly, a number of the people associated with *Der Kampf* held advanced opinions on questions concerning sexual freedom and the rights of homosexuals. (36) At the beginning of October 1904 she gave her now time-honored speech in front of the Whk in Berlin; at month's end she delivered the speech again for the *Bund Menschenrechte* in Berlin and remained in the city. Berlin city directories for 1905 and 1906 contain listings for "Anna Sprungli, Journalist" at Friedrichstrasse 108 (1905) and at Friedrichstrasse 108 III (1906), along with a telephone number. (37) She worked at Scherl Publishing, one of the largest Berlin newspaper groups, to which the newspapers *Der Tag* and *Berliner Tages-Anzeiger* belonged. (38)

Her entire career focused both artistically and journalistically on theater and music. (39) Beginning at the latest in 1908, Theo A. Sprungli lived and worked for the next thirty years in Dusseldorf. In 1914 the Cologne publisher, Tonger, printed her essay, "Kurzer Abriss uber die Musikgeschichte" (Short summary of music history, second edition, 1929) and in 1921 published her book, *Das deutsche Volkslied. Kurze Darstellung* (The German folksong: a short representation), under the name Th. A. Sprungli. Besides these literary efforts, she seems to have earned money by giving private music lessons.

Beginning around 1914, her writings appeared in the nationalistic, patriotic *Neue deutsche Frauen-Zeitung* (New German women newspaper), which was the official voice of the

Deutscher Frauenklub (German Women's Club). (40) This publication voiced only moderate views concerning women's rights. Sprungli's articles discussed the musical and cultural happenings in Dusseldorf. Travel reports, news of the cinema, texts about the Rheinischen Frauenklub (Rhein Women's Club), the Freiburger Hausfrauenbund (Freiburg Housewives League), the Leipzig women's weekly, *Bugra* (1914), along with music and book reviews made up her journalistic repertoire. (41) Sprungli submitted articles using different variations of her name: Theo A. Sprungli, Th. A. Sprungli, and A. Sprungli.

Among her articles two possess special interest. The first does away with any possible doubts of whether Theo A. Sprungli identified herself as female. In a commentary entitled "Kleinstadt-Idyll" (Small-town idyll), under the rubric "Leuchtkugeln" (Signal flares), she reported being annoyed by an incident that she witnessed. She attacked the misogynistic arrogance of men (something that was often echoed by other women), who insisted that women without male escorts must not smoke in public spaces. At the same time she emphasized that this norm was not enforced equally for all women, since she, Theo A. Sprungli, had never been forbidden to smoke. (42)

The second article, from 1919, referred indirectly to her lesbian-activist speech for the Whk. In it, under the rubric of "Science," she paid tribute to the establishment of the Berlin Institut für Sexualwissenschaft (Institute for Sexual Science) by Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935) and "Arthur Herzfelds," whom she certainly meant to be Arthur Kronfeld (1886-1941). (43) So far this is the only mention among all of Sprungli's known articles about homosexuality; the essay is completely out of place in her usual journalistic repertoire. However, she tried one additional time to explore the theme, using an alternate literary genre. In 1906 she published a brief (ninety-six-page) short story collection, *Welcher unter Euch ohne Sunde ist ... Bucher von der Schattenseite* (Who among you is without sin ... books from the dark side), under the auspices of the Leipzig publisher Max Spohr. This collection includes two stories about gay men and three about lesbians--one of these featured an explicit, lesbian happy ending, which was unusual for this time. (44) One of the lesbian-affirmative stories, "Mondscheinsonate" (Moonlight sonata), could contain autobiographical references. In the story two bourgeois lesbians, Hanna and Charlotte, fell mutually in love without being aware that their feelings were reciprocated. While one of the women poured out her heart in her piano playing, which she dedicated to her beloved (whom she believed to be absent), the girl-friend, surprisingly, appeared on the scene and admitted her love: "Hanna, darling, now I know everything, your playing has told me what your lips silenced; I didn't dare to hope that you would feel as I, that's why I seemed cold, O Hanna, how difficult it was for me. Thanks, thanks to fate, which sent me here at the right hour" [Hanna, Liebling, nun weiss ich alles, Dein Spiel hat mir gesagt, was Deine Lippen verschwiegen; ich wagte ja nicht zu hoffen, dass Du empfandest wie ich, darum schien ich kalt, o Hanna, wie schwer ist's mir geworden. Dank, Dank dem Schicksal, das mich zur rechten Stunden hierher fuhrte]. This "moment of truth" halted Hanna's plans to commit suicide, a course that she had contemplated when she believed her love to be unrequited.

In 1922 Theo A. Sprungli's journalism career advanced when she began writing for the *Dusseldorfer Nachrichten* and the *Dusseldorfer Lokal-Zeitung*. (45) Furthermore, in response to a questionnaire from the Reichskulturkammer in November 1933 she declared that she worked as a freelance journalist for the following newspapers: *Bremer Nachrichten*, *Dortmunder Zeitung*, *Hamburger Anzeiger*, *Hannoveranischer Anzeiger*, *Leipziger neueste Nachrichten*, *Magdeburgische Zeitung*, *Regensburger Anzeiger*, and *Westfalische Zeitung*. Beyond that she also submitted articles, from 1935 on, to the *Blatter für Kunst und Kultur* (Hamburg). (46)

## THE NATIONALIST AND THE PATRIOT

One of the centerpieces in Sprungli's career was her commitment to music, theater, and the arts. A second pillar of her belief system was her support for her adopted nation of Germany. Regardless of whether she held on to Swiss citizenship, she was a zealous German patriot and nationalist. Her wartime writings and articles demonstrate steadfast support for the First World War. One article, written for the *Neue deutsche Frauen-Zeitung* and based on a trip to the front lines, exclaimed: "The greatest, however, was that we were able to take with us the certainty that German culture, of which even the German theatrical arts is a part, powerfully stands in the storm of warring times and will carry its blessings into the conquered enemy country. German culture, protected by the German sword--is there a more beautiful, a more hopeful image?" [Das Grosste aber war doch, dass wir die Gewissheit mit uns fortnehmen durften, dass die deutsche Kultur, von der ja auch die deutsche Buhnenkunst ein Teil ist, kraftvoll dasteht im Sturm kriegerischer Zeiten und ihre Segnungen bis in das eroberte feindliche Land tragt. Die deutsche Kunst beschutzt vom deutschem Schwert--gibt es ein schoneres, hoffnungsvolleres Bild?] She concluded her article with words from Schiller, "'War is horrible like plagues from heaven, still it is good, is fate, like you'" [Der Krieg ist furchtbar, wie des Himmels Plagen, doch er ist gut, ist ein Geschick, wie Sie]. (47)

A second element of Sprungli's support for German militarism and colonialism appeared in her role as secretary of the Dusseldorf chapter of the organization *Flottenbundes deutscher Frauen* (German Women's Navy League). (48) This organization, created in 1905, aimed to assist the political lobbying of the *Deutschen Flottenverein* (German Navy Association), which had been founded in 1898. The German Women's Navy League, numbering sixty thousand members [in 1913, was with the *Ostmarkenverein* and the female auxiliary of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (German Colonial Society) one of the central nationalistic alliances of women in the German empire. (49) Politically, the Women's Navy League represented, according to Andrea Suchting-Hanger in her study of conservative women's groups, "an expansive foreign policy [that] was meant to support and enlarge Germany's importance and authority in the world." (50) To this end, its publications communicated the "need for ship armament" as well as a national consciousness to which the "demand for colonies belonged." After the signing of the Versailles Treaty and with it the end of the German fleet, the Navy League held on. In 1918 an impressive 329 local chapters still survived. Whether Theo A. Sprungli continued to be a member of the Navy League during the Weimar Republic is still unknown.

Societies of rural and city housewives also affiliated with right-wing women's organizations. Sprungli joined one of the urban affiliates. The *Reichsverband deutscher Hausfrauen* (Reich Association of German Housewives), to whose press committee Sprungli belonged, was founded in 1915. (51) It proclaimed its central political concern to be the "economic and moral elevation of the German Fatherland" and beyond that to hinder the organization of domestic servants, which the Social Democrats strived to promote. (52) Sprungli's relationship to this group needs to be researched further. The Association of German Housewives was brought to life by the organizers of the *Nationalen Frauendienstes* (National Women's Service) in order to support the war efforts and to a certain extent to organize the *Kuchenkriegsdienst* (Kitchen War Service). Historian Christiane Streubel describes the association's purpose: "Right wing women's organizations were ready when war broke out to contribute to the victory of the nation. Charity work, welfare care, and the schooling of women in the mentality of the 'economic war' were at the forefront." Similarly, Andrea Suchting-Hanger calls the First World War "the catalyst for politicization" of right-wing women. (53) Whether this might have been true for Sprungli cannot be judged. However, her lesbian activist speech from 1904, long before the outbreak of the First World War, already contained the patriotic, nationalistic vocabulary of the "Fatherland." A charitable reading might assume that Sprungli wanted to compensate for her possible Swiss citizenship with

fervently pro-German words. However, taking into consideration her later positions, it seems just as likely that she identified herself as German throughout her entire life.

The attitudes that crystallized in the midst of the First World War do not seem to have changed materially with the rise of National Socialism. At this point, Sprungli's situation in Nazi Germany can be only sketchily reconstructed. A single political expression made after 1933 has been located: her request for admittance to the Reichsverband deutscher Schriftsteller (Reich Association of German Authors). On 27 November 1933 she concluded a letter in support of her application with the following affirmation of her loyalty for all things German:

I have always--even in the "reddest" days--supported the right of German art and German artists. The leader of our Dusseldorf city press office, my colleague, Mr. Delvos, will happily confirm this upon request. An immediately accessible proof that will perhaps be of help to you is the fact that in 1931, as a means of supporting German dramatists, I directed a survey of publishers in order to prove that the assumption of many German theater directors, that there are not enough German plays and for this reason foreigners must have their say, is a lazy excuse.... My music critiques have had the same point of view, so that I may say of myself: I have always fought in the front lines for German art. With German greetings and Heil Hitler, Theo Anna Sprungli.

[Ich habe auch in den 'rotesten' Tagen stets das Recht der deutschen Kunst und der deutschen Kunstler vertreten. Der Leiter unseres Dusseldorfer Stadt. Presseamtes, Herr Kollege Delvos, wird Ihnen das auf Anfrage gern bestatigen. Als sofort greifbarer Beweis dafur kann Ihnen vielleicht auch die Tatsache dienen, dass ich i.J. 1931 zur Unterstutzung der deutschen Dramatiker eine Rundfrage bei den Verlegern in die Wege leitete, um zu beweisen, dass die Behauptung vieler deutscher Theaterleiter, es gabe nicht genug deutsche Stucke und aus diesem Grund mussten sie die Auslander so oft zu Worte kommen lassen, lediglich eine faule Ausrede sei.... Unter gleichen Gesichtspunkten standen auch meine Musikkritiken, so dass ich von mir sagen darf: ich habe immer in der vordersten Linie fur deutsche Kunst gekampft. Mit deutschem Gruss und heil Hitler Theo Anna Sprungli.] (54)

She completely avoided any mention of her earlier activities as a "political lesbian" or a women's rights advocate. She also omitted her 1906 lesbian- and gay-themed short story collection from her list of publications submitted to the Reichskulturkammer, unquestionably for her own protection. (55) Her strategy seems to have worked. The Gestapo file from 1937, responding to her application, approved her without reservation: "From a political point of view there is nothing negative known. There are no doubts as to an inclusion in the Reich's Association of the German Press." (56) Clearly, the authorities did not connect Sprungli with the Whk speech delivered under the name Ruling, nor did they suspect that she had written the homosexual-themed short stories or the articles for *Der Kampf*.

With certainty she did not join the National Socialist Party (NSDAP). Responding to surveys from the Reichskulturkammer, she denied being a party activist in November 1933 and again in April 1938. Furthermore, she asserted that she had not belonged to any party before 1933. (57) She did seek out membership in state-sanctioned professional organizations. In July 1934, at the latest, she became a secretary for the Reichsverband der deutschen Presse. Furthermore, following December 1933 she joined the Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Chamber of Music, regional chapters of Rheinland and Westfalen) as a music critic and music author. (58) She was listed in 1934 as member number 2917 in the Reichsverband deutscher Schriftsteller--and at the same time as the "chief of editors" [Schriftleiter-

Berufsliste] of the regional chapters of Rheinland and Westfalen. (59) In March 1935 she learned that she did not need to maintain her membership in the Reichskulturkammer or to pay any additional fees because of her membership in the Reichsverband deutscher Presse. (60) Beyond these fragments, there is one fleeting hint that Theo A. Sprungli allegedly clashed increasingly with the National Socialist minister of propaganda. (61)

In the final years of her life Sprungli continued to pursue her interests in music, theater, and journalism. Her music reviews supposedly appeared in numerous national and international newspapers, and her so-called art letters [Kunstbriefe], which she occasionally signed with the byline "Theo," were internationally recognized. (62) Between 1940 and 1943 she was the director and dramaturge for, among others, the performance of the opera Ein Maskenball at the Ulm city theater. (63) Her last residence was Delmenhorst, where, according to only partially existing files, she worked for the local theater from 1948-49 until its closing as its dramaturge, director of advertising, and organizer of evening performances. In 1949 she enjoyed a comeback as a working journalist, writing for the Delmenhorster Zeitung and the Nordwestzeitung. When she died at the age of seventy-three her long years of commitment to newspaper work were heralded in the headline "Germany's Oldest [Woman] Journalist Dead." (64) Two obituaries for Sprungli in the Delmenhorster Zeitung and the Delmenhorster Kreisblatt testified to her community's respect for her professionalism and personality. According to the Delmenhorster Zeitung, where she edited the local feuilleton section, the newspaper "loses with Ms. Sprungli ... a wonderful colleague ... but rather grieves more for the person, Theo A. Sprungli, who belongs to the few who can genuinely count as having a claim to being a purely good human being." (65) The second obituary lauded her for having been "unconfused and uninfluenced," constantly possessing a "clear judgment of the highest values of art." She was remembered as having been an "artist of the old school with genuine, inner, spontaneous, true, feeling." (66)

The obituaries contain a few suggestions that Sprungli might not have fit entirely comfortably into the gender and sexual norms of her era. Her colleagues noted: "While many who met Theo A. Sprungli might have laughed softly at her almost manly appearance, how few however, know about the subtle delicacies of her feminine/womanly world of feeling in the best and most original sense. How many met her occasionally hard-hitting critical remarks, and who really knew about the all-inclusive love of this quiet woman for the theater and for art, which had grown like fate onto her fast-beating heart so that without it she would not have been able to live." (67) Dr. Stephan's obituary for her also made implicit references to her private life and relationships, perhaps pointing to her lesbianism. "It is tragic to say that she was buried in our city and had to bear the sorrow of loneliness, which she bore with heroic steadfastness, and which was made milder by the fact that she was supported by an ever-larger growing circle of friends." (68) Loneliness and isolation were typical experiences for lesbians under National Socialism and during the 1950s. I read this passage in connection with her private relationships, with an eye to Theo A. Sprungli's lesbian identification. However, the acknowledgment of her lesbianism was indirect and muted, compared to her groundbreaking announcement in 1904.

## DISCUSSION OF THE SPEECH

When "Ruling"/Sprungli broke the silence on female homosexuality with her speech she provoked pointed responses from sectors of the women's and homosexuals' rights movements. In 1904-5 an anonymous text in the Centralblatt des Bundes deutscher Frauenvereine (Central paper of the League of German Women's Associations) attacked the "Shamelessly Cheeky Agitations" of lesbian feminists with a disgusted tone. (Scholar Margit Gottert assumes that the screed was penned by the editor of the Centralblatt, Marie Stritt [1855-1928].) (69) Decades later, women activists were still distancing themselves from what



Sprungli had allegedly said. Helene Lange, one of the intellectual leaders of the moderate wing of the old women's movement, blamed Sprungli for being the originator of the antifeminist ideas of E. F. Eberhardt. In her 1926 review of a book by Eberhardt in the magazine *Die Frau* she wrote: "The goal of the book is to show that the sources of the women's movement are primarily homosexuality and above all sadism. The former, the author proves with the speech of a lady whose name no one had heard of, who expressed this opinion at a meeting of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee." (70)

Other activists, particularly from among the ranks of those seeking to broaden sexual attitudes, responded more favorably. The weekly *Das neue Magazin* drew advance attention to the upcoming yearly conference of the Whk. Borrowing lines from Nietzsche, Hanns Fuchs-Stadthagen wrote emphatically: "May the committee be well attended and through this many of the old prejudices and opinions be ruined. However, let also the homosexuals who suffer from the disadvantage of relationships and struggle with their fate bear in mind that because so much seriousness and diligence struggles for them, the day will come when their chains will fall. The knowledge of being free, of being able to stand in the light of righteousness will elevate them and 'the soul of the one who is elevated will be happy.'" (71)

Anarchist Johannes Holzmann (1882-1914), using the pseudonym Catulus to review the conference for the same journal, affirmed that "this goal was indisputably reached." (72) Concerning Ruling, *Das neue Magazin* noted that "she spoke factually and moderately beyond all expectations." Catulus reported on those in attendance, commenting sharply on those who had stayed away: "A unique public, doctors and lawyers naturally, the press, many interesting people, some interesting personalities. Actors too--few women. They probably were afraid to also be considered 'like that' if they came, while they really had a 'burning interest' in the question.... Probably, they asked others to tell them about the event." After a complete description of the speech Holzmann summed up its impact: "In general one didn't expect such quiet and factual explanations and rewarded the likeable speaker, who is well known under her nom de plume, with much applause" (my emphasis).

Within the Whk itself Ruling's speech became entangled within conflicts concerning the direction the committee should take. The content of the speech seems not to have interested most of the men politically. However, the fact that Ruling had proudly referred to herself as homosexual enflamed debate between Magnus Hirschfeld and Benedict Friedlander concerning the "correct" assessment of homosexuality. According to historian Rainer Herrn, Friedlander insisted upon an exclusively masculine theory of homosexuality, oriented around virility. (73) Furthermore, Friedlander adopted an essentialist position that there were fundamental truths about what it means to "be" a man or a woman. He believed that women were unable to accomplish any cultural contribution: sociability (the blend of culture and ethics) was an exclusively male characteristic. (74) Ruling's/Sprungli's statements were at odds with this viewpoint precisely because they emphasized the cultural character of the women's movement. This debate also brings to the surface the underlying attitudes regarding women within the Whk. (75)

These different views on homosexuality paralleled other conflicts in the Whk regarding its purposes and scientific and political self-understanding. In the Whk's December 1904 monthly report, two months after Ruling's speech, "Dr. B. Friedlander" (Benedict Friedlander) and "Manor owner Jansen" suggested changes to the central structure of the Whk. (76) They insisted that the Whk should be a strictly "scientific professional organization," a structure that was not compatible with "social"--today we would most likely say political--goals. Even more revealing was their suggestion that the Whk should distance itself from "propaganda" and "glorification." On 7 October 1904, two days before Ruling's speech, the Whk adopted the guiding principle that the organization should contribute to the "elevation of the position

of homosexuals." Friedlander and Jansen called for dropping this particular passage; they also suggested that work related to the Whk explicitly base itself "on the ground of the existing social order" of the German Empire. Without question such depoliticized notions of research were contrary to Magnus Hirschfeld's principle of "equality through science." (77)

Within a month after delivering her address to the Whk Sprungli made a repeat performance to the members and guests of the Bund fur Menschenrechte. Johannes Holzmann probably made the arrangements, since he had commented favorably upon her speech for the Whk and he was an active member of the Bund. Because Sprungli had written for the newspaper that he published, *Der Kampf*, in the spring of 1904, they must have already known each other at least through their writings. In any case, it is possible that Holzmann asked her to deliver her speech "Homosexuality and the Women's Movement" for a libertarian audience, which she did.

On the morning of 27 October 1904 a public assembly of the Bund fur Menschenrechte gathered in the industrial halls at Beuthstrasse 19 in Berlin. (78) According to the police surveillance protocol a total of 130 people participated, of whom about half were women. The agenda listed "Lecture by Miss Th. Ruling--correct: Miss Sprungli, Friedrichstr. 108 III-- On Homosexuality and the Women's Movement." Paul Decker, a carpenter, called the meeting to order, and Herr Paetz, a second lieutenant of the reserves, presided as chairman. To begin the session, Chairman Paetz made it known that a "new organization of the Bund fur Menschenrechte would be discussed at the next 'intimate evening.'" He asked that "everyone refrain from a discussion related to Miss Ruling's speech, but rather to also discuss this on the next intimate evening, since it would only be appropriate on such an evening." This caution suggests that since all public assemblies had to be registered with the police and were observed by the police, the so-called intimate evenings, which occurred in a kind of semiprivate sphere, were relatively unobserved; politically delicate discussions were reserved for those gatherings. Police lieutenant Bader, on duty for the event, summarized the contents of Sprungli's speech in four pages. From this it can be concluded that Ruling/Sprungli delivered her Whk speech once again for the Bund.

Apparently with an eye to the laws governing group events, which were at this time extremely rigid, the chairman stated that "the goals of the association were not focused on political things, but rather were only aiming for a general explanation of homosexuality." According to the record he emphasized that the discussion of Ruling's speech would best be postponed to a "more appropriate" occasion. Lieutenant Bader's record also provides a "note" that Chairman Paetz "seemed to have a particular interest ... in hindering the discussion on the evening in question and moving it to the next intimate evening." In bureaucratically Prussian style this comment was neatly stamped and signed by Bader's colleague, Police Lieutenant Schenk.

Evidently, Sprungli joined the organization in conjunction with delivering her speech to them. Her name does not appear on the first membership list, of about one hundred members, in 1903-4. However, the 1905 roster includes an entry for Miss Anna Th. Sprungli, Friedrichstrasse 108, a journalist. Apparently, Sprungli's connection to the group was short-lived; she had been dropped from the membership list by September 1905. At that point, the league had shrunk to thirty-four people, of whom noticeably few were women. It is unclear whether the peace-oriented and antimilitaristic discussions of the league constituted a reason for Sprungli to leave. (79) It is also possible that Sprungli, as an active member of the women's movement, was politically wary of the league's narrow ideas regarding the education of girls. One of the group's leaflets advocated that girls should be enlightened about their "true professional calling as housewife and mother."

In any case, Sprungli was still among the 150 women and 130 men who participated on 20 January 1905 in a lecture event of the league at Dresdenerstrasse 96. Originally, Miss Maria Lischnewska had been scheduled to talk about the "sexual education of the youth." (80) However, according to the surveillance record of police officer Frohlich, she had canceled, fearing trouble with the government authorities. Instead, "Dr. Benchard," a doctor whose specialty was "mental illness," spoke about the issue. This was most certainly Ernst Burchard (1877?-1920), active in both the Bund fur Menschenrechte and the WhK and, like Magnus Hirschfeld, working as an expert witness for the court. Dr. Burchard is considered to have been Hirschfeld's most important collaborator after 1901. He was a licensed doctor with a private practice in treating "mental illness." (81) Apparently, he himself was living in an openly gay relationship. Mr. Marcuse, Mr. Stiebel, Mr. Hoy (another pseudonym for Johannes Holzmann), and "Miss Dr. Anna Th. Sprungli" were the main participants in the discussion that evening. (82) According to the record of the meeting, Sprungli emphasized that "the parents should begin as early as possible with [sexual] education and the school must go hand in hand with this."

But with that last report Sprungli's record of advocacy for women's and lesbians' rights seems to have come to an end. For the remainder of her career her public political positions focused on promoting German nationalism, militarism, and colonialism.

## THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL



Figure 1. Theo Anna Sprüngli, 1910 (© Frauen-Kultur-Archiv, Düsseldorf).

I was extremely happy to be able to decode the pseudonym Anna Theo Sprungli and to search for traces of her biography. Discovering the speech that she delivered in front of an anarchistic Bund touched me as a radical feminist lesbian. Following this was the first small disappointment when I found no other brave lesbian activist speeches, and finally came my bitter political disappointment at her moderate positions concerning the women's movement and then her extremely right-wing involvements, her nationalism, colonialism, patriotism, and militarism. It is usually unpleasant to contribute intellectually and politically to a kind of

demythologization, since those who read the revised image understandably hold fast to their prior idealizations. Particularly with regard to Anna Ruling, I notice how much I myself, during my writing and research, tended to wish that I didn't know these facts. I wanted the individual woman, Ruling, who stood for a radical lesbian activist position, to remain "good" in both senses in historical memory.

But it must be said that Theo A. Sprungli is to be counted as a problematic foremother of lesbian herstory. As a lesbian feminist, I like to think of Sprungli as "one of us." However, a complete lesbian-feminist identification with her seems impossible because of her glowing nationalism and patriotism, which expressed itself in her glorification of war (at least World War I), and her membership in right-wing organizations. These aspects are part of "negative lesbian property." Her position on homosexuality and her emancipatory ideas of what it means to be a man or woman, however, were completely radical for her time and for her social position as a doubly oppressed individual; these are "positive lesbian property." (83)

I close this contribution to the first biographical sketch of Theo A. Sprungli with the thoughts of Ulrike Janz, co-editor of the radical feminist lesbian magazine IHRSINN, who has analyzed the difficulties of coming to terms with problematic foremothers: "To claim negative property means to first recognize that those who are repressed/resistant can at the same time be repressors and then to ask how the one fits with the other, how both mutually determine the other." She continues, "I understand the search for a lesbian-feminist history as the endeavor to claim both our positive and our negative property and to understand why from the first there has always been too little and from the second always too much." (84)

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This text, including all quotations, has been translated by Kathryn Brooks. It is based on my article in the *Mitteilungen der Magnus Hirschfeld Gesellschaft* 35-36 (2003). I would like to thank Michael Lombardi-Nash for his thought-provoking reception of my older text. This article was related to my research project "Johanna Elberskirchen (1864-1943)--An Early Theoretician of Body and Identity in the Networks of the Women's Movement, Homosexual Movement, Sexual Reform Movement, and Worker's Movement," which received funds from the Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen in 2003 and was financed by the Hessische Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst and the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung. Heartfelt thanks go to Katja Koblitz, Ricarda de Haas, and Jillian B. Suffner for their energetic support with bibliographic research. In addition, a heartfelt thank you goes to Gabriele Mietke for her "virtual special operations" and her help with deciphering two handwritten police protocols. My heartfelt thanks also to Kathryn Brooks for her careful translation, and thanks to Ariane Neuhaus-Koch from the Frauenkultur Archiv Düsseldorf, who allowed me to use a digitalized photo of Sprungli.

(1) Until now, reprints of the speech as well as its reception have assumed that Ruling delivered her speech on 8 October 1904. This, however, is unlikely, as the yearly conference began on 7 October with a chairmen's meeting and continued with the public section on Saturday, 8 October, and Sunday, 9 October. According to the announcement and then the text of the monthly report of the Whk, Ruling delivered her speech on Sunday, 9 October, at approximately 12:00 P.M. The reference for Sunday is also in the conference report of *Das neue Magazin*. The reference for 8 October comes from the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (hereafter *JfsZ*). For 9 October 1904 see *Monatsberichte des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees* 8, no. 9 (1 September 1904): 9, 11, as well as (1 November 1904): 2; *Das neue Magazin* 18 (29 October 1904): 564.

The speech appeared in *JfsZ* 7 (1905): 289-306, and in the more recent past has been widely circulated through the reprint in Ilse Kokula, *Weibliche Homosexualität um 1900 in zeitgenössischen Dokumenten* (Munich, 1981), 191-211; as well as the reprint editions of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*. The first English translation (1978) by Michael Lombardi-Nash appeared in *Urania Manuscripts* (Florida, 2000). Compare Nash's version with Anna Ruling, "What Interest Does the Women's Movement Have in the Homosexual Question?" in Lillian Faderman and Brigitte Eriksson, eds., *Lesbian-Feminism in Turn-of-the-Century Germany* (Weatherby Lake, Mo. 1980), 81-91.

(2) Jens Dobler, *Von anderen Ufern. Geschichte der Berliner Lesben und Schwulen in Kreuzberg und Friedrichshain* (Berlin, 2003), 33.

(3) Michael Lombardi-Nash (Florida) became known in the German-speaking context through his initial role in promoting a memorial celebration for Karl-Heinz Ulrichs. See <http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/uraniamanuscripts/> (April 2003) and <http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/uraniamanuscripts/anna.html> (April 2003). Also see Jens Dobler, ed., *Prolegomena zu Magnus Hirschfelds Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen (1899-1923)*. Register. Editions-geschichte: Inhaltsbeschreibungen (Hamburg, 2004), 59.

(4) See the following texts: Kokula, 23-25; Sabine Hark, "'Welches Interesse hat die Frauenbewegung an der Losung des homosexuellen Problems?'--zur Sexualpolitik der bürgerlichen Frauenbewegung im Deutschland des Kaiserreichs," *Beiträge zur feministischen Theorie und Praxis* 25-26 (1989): 19-27; Margit Gottert, "Zwischen Betroffenheit, Abscheu und Sympathie. Die alte Frauenbewegung und das 'heikle' Thema Homosexualität," *Ariadne. Almanach des Archivs der deutschen Frauenbewegung* 29 (May 1996): 14-21; Geertje Mak, "Wo das Sprechen zum Schweigen wird. Zur historischen Beziehung zwischen 'Frauen' und 'Lesben,'" in Kati Rottger and Heike Paul, eds., *Differenzen in der Geschlechterdifferenz--Differences within Gender Studies. Aktuelle Perspektiven der Geschlechterforschung* (Berlin, 1999), 316-30; Margit Gottert, *Macht und Eros. Frauenbeziehungen und weibliche Kultur um 1900--eine neue Perspektive auf Helene Lange und Gertrud Baumer* (Königstein/Taunus, 2000), 251, 253, 266; Hanna Hacker, "Ruling, Anna (dates unknown)," in Bonnie Zimmermann, ed., *Lesbian History and Culture: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2000), 654 ff.; Line Chamberland, "La place des lesbiennes dans le mouvement des femmes," *labrys, études féministes* 1-2 (2002), viewed at <http://www.unb.br/ih/his/gefem/chamberland2.html> (May 2003).

(5) Anna Ruling, "Welches Interesse hat die Frauenbewegung an der Losung des homosexuellen Problems?" in Wolfgang Johann Schmidt, ed., *JfsZ*, hg. im Namen des wissenschaftlich-humanitären Comitees von Magnus Hirschfeld, *Auswahl aus den Jahrgängen 1899-1923* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980), 117-38.

(6) Her estimate that 20 percent of all prostitutes were homosexual would later be taken up by Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986) in *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (London, 1997). Michael Lombardi-Nash made me aware of this correlation. See <http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/uraniamanuscripts/anna.html> (April 2003).

(7) Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1990). See Klaus Müller, "Sprachregelungen. Die Codierung des 'Homosexuellen' in der Sexualpathologie des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Forum Homosexualität und Literatur* 4 (1988): 75-92, 87.

(8) See Mecki Pieper, "Die Frauenbewegung und ihre Bedeutung für lesbische Frauen (1850-1920)," in Verein der Freunde eines Schwulen Museums in Berlin e.V., ed., *Eldorado:*

Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850-1950. Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur (Berlin, 1992 [1984]), 116-24, 116.

(9) Christiane von Lengerke, "'Homosexuelle Frauen.' Tribaden, Freundinnen, Urninden," in *ibid.*, 125-48, 142. See Pieper, 116; Hacker, "Ruling," 655.

(10) See Hacker, "Ruling," 655; Michael Lombardi-Nash, "Anna Ruling. 100 Years of Lesbian Activism," <http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/uraniamanuscripts/anna.html> (April 2003).

(11) Johanna Elberskirchen, Was hat der Mann aus Weib, Kind und sich gemacht? Revolution und Erlösung des Weibes. Eine Abrechnung mit dem Mann--Ein Wegweiser in die Zukunft! 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1904 [1903?]), 9.

(12) The dedication to Anna Aebi-Eysoldt (1868-1913) in the front of this book is dated 2 March 1904, which seems to indicate that it was published early in that year.

(13) See Christiane Leidinger, "Johanna Elberskirchen und ihre Rudersdorfer Zeit 1920 bis 1943. Eine erste Skizze," FOR UM: Homosexualität und Literatur 39 (2001): 79-106. A monograph by the author on the life and works of Johanna Elberskirchen is in progress.

(14) Kokula, 23. See also Faderman and Eriksson, iii; Hacker, "Ruling," 654-55.

(15) Kokula, 23 ff.; Chamberland; also Gottert, "Zwischen Betroffenheit," 14; Gottert, Macht, 248; Hacker, "Ruling," 654 ff.; Dobler, Von anderen Ufern, 11.

(16) Kokula, 10; Hanna Hacker, Frauen und Freundinnen. Studien zur "weiblichen Homosexualität" am Beispiel Österreich 1870-1938 (Weinheim, 1987), 172; Hacker, "Ruling," 655.

(17) Hark, 21.

(18) See Annamarie Jajose, Queer Theory (Melbourne, 1996); Chamberland.

(19) Hacker, Frauen, 172; Hacker, "Ruling," 655; Chamberland.

(20) For a discussion of problematic lesbian "foremothers" see Ulrike Janz, "(K)eine von uns? Vom schwierigen Umgang mit 'zwiespaltigen Ahninnen,'" IHRINN. Eine radikalfeministische Lesbenzeitschrift 3 (1991): 24-39; and Ulrike Janz, "Reflexionen zum 'negativen lesbischen Eigentum,'" IHRINN. Eine radikalfeministische Lesbenzeitschrift 10 (1994): 70-79.

(21) Monatsberichte des WhK 12 (1904): 5.

(22) This is not referring to the (homosexual) Bund für Menschenrecht from the 1920s. For more about this earlier Bund für Menschenrechte see Christiane Leidinger, "Der anarchistische Bund für Menschenrechte 1903-1906--eine fragmentarische Spurensuche," Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft 35-36 (2003): 43-50.

(23) Anna Ruling, "Welches Interesse hat die Frauenbewegung an der Lösung des homosexuellen Problems? Rede" JfsZ (1905): 131-51; Mark Lehmstedt, Bucher für das 'dritte Geschlecht.' Der Max Spohr Verlag in Leipzig. Verlagsgeschichte und Bibliographie (1881-1941) (Wiesbaden, 2002), 248.

(24) Catulus (i.e., Johannes Holzmann), "Homosexualität und Frauenbewegung," Das neue Magazin 18 (29 October 1904): 563-66; Monatsberichte des Whks 11 (1 November 1904).

(25) See Landesarchiv Berlin (hereafter LAB), A Pr.Br.Rep. 030 Tit. 95 Nr. 15317 (Acta des Koniglichen Polizei-Prasidii zu Berlin betreffend Bund fur Menschenrechte 1904-1906, 310 Blatter).

(26) The name "Theo," without being connected to the question of whether this or Theodora was one of her given names, can be included in the list of lesbian code names such as Gerti, Toni, and Hansi. For more on lesbian coding see Hacker, *Frauen*, 185-211.

(27) In email correspondence from 18 June 2003 and 26 January 2005 the Stadtarchiv Delmenhorst (Delmenhorst City Archive) reported her name as Theo Anna Caroline Auguste Sprungli. Yet even during Sprungli's lifetime her name was often confused: an obituary for Sprungli from her colleagues referred to her as Theodora-Anna; see *Deine Kollegen*, "Der Tod entwand ihr die Feder. Deutschlands alteste Journalistin ist nicht mehr--Theodora-Anna Sprungli," *Delmenhorster Zeitung*, 9 May 1953; Dr. Stephan, "Erfulltes Leben im Dienste der Kunst und des Journalismus. Theodora Anna Sprungli gestorben--Ein unschatzbarer Verlust fur das Kulturleben unserer Stadt," *Delmenhorster Kreisblatt*, 9 May 1953. I would like to thank the Delmenhorst City Archive for the information and for making the obituaries available.

(28) In contrast, the *Deutsches Musikerlexikon* lists 15 August 1885 as Sprungli's birthdate; see Erich H. Muller, *Deutsches Musikerlexikon* (Dresden, 1929), 1379. Since I have further proof of 1880 as the proper birthdate, Muller's entry appears to be incorrect. Because the *Internationale Biographische Index 11 des K. G. Saur-Verlags* (International biographical index of the K. G. Saur publishing company) used Muller's work as the source for its own information, the IBI also provided the wrong date. In addition, this reference work assumed that Sprungli was a man, perhaps because of the masculine-sounding first name. See <http://www.biblio.tu-bs.de/cgi-bin/acwww25u/nph-regsrch.pl> (June 2003). The incorrect birthdate also appeared in the catalog of the deceased estate, Kalliope; see <http://www.kalliope.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de> (June 2003).

(29) See *Deine Kollegen*, "Sprungli." Dr. Stephan's obituary for her refers to "the household with three girls of the Swiss Consul" [Dreimaderlhaus des schweizer Konsuls] in Hamburg, which suggests that Sprungli had at least one sister; that is, the household contained two daughters and a mother.

(30) *Deine Kollegen*, "Sprungli"; Bundesarchiv Berlin (formerly Berlin Document Center [BDC]), Reichskulturkammer-Akte (file of the Reich's Chamber of Culture), Theo Anna Sprungli, MF RK 2101, 1 508, MF, 40.

(31) Bundesarchiv Berlin, 72. In contrast see Ariane Neuhaus-Koch, ed., *Dem Vergessen entgegen. Frauen in der Geistesgeschichte Dusseldorfs. Lebensbilder und Chroniken* (Documentation of an Exhibition) (Neuss, 1989), 177-79.

(32) Theo A. Sprungli, "Hamburger Allerlei," *Der Burger* 31 (30 July 1921).

(33) Even this information is rife with confusion and mistaken identities. Her colleagues credited her with living in Kaufbeuren rather than Blaubeuren. I consider this to be a mix-up because of evidence I have gathered from the printed letterhead of Theo A. Sprungli from this time period. According to a police comment on her registration card in Dusseldorf, she apparently moved to Munich in 1939, a claim that so far is not supported by any additional clues. See email from the Dusseldorfer Stadtarchiv from 3 July 2003.

(34) For information concerning the biography of Elly Neys see <http://www.proclassics.de/EllyNey/elly-ney.htm> (June 2003).



(35) In 1919 Theo A. Sprungli received the Prussian Rescue Medal (preussische Rettungsmedaille) because she rescued a second child, according to Dr. Stephan. The entry in *Deutsches Musikerlexikon* provides more complete details about Sprungli's musical education. She received piano lessons from Jenny Potthoff (Hamburg) and Adolf Bartels. The sketch also mentioned that she studied literature at the university in Heidelberg; Muller, 1379. All of my inquiries with the archives for these schools and conservatories were unsuccessful. It is important to note that these archives were partially destroyed, so it is not possible to research this completely. In her Reichskulturkammer file she herself claims that she studied literature. See Bundesarchiv Berlin, 72.

(36) The magazine *Der Kampf* (The struggle), with the subtitle *Zeitschrift für gesunden Menschenverstand* (Magazine for common sense), was published by Senna Hoy (i.e., Johannes Holzmann), appearing briefly between February and April 1904. Hoy, along with Adolf Brand (1874-1945), had published the brochure "Das dritte Geschlecht. Ein Beitrag zur Volksaufklärung" (The third sex: a contribution to the enlightenment of the people) in 1903. Benedict Friedlander (1866-1908), who also supported the Whk, financed the magazine, which belonged to people who petitioned on behalf of the founding of Adolf Brand's *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* in 1903. Friedlander's quote, "Common sense [is] the most revolutionary thing that there is" [Gesunder Menschenverstand, das revolutionärste, das es giebt], was on every title page of *Der Kampf*, which ranked among the publications of "Bohemian Anarchism" [Boheme-Anarchismus] and proclaimed itself to be a forum for "free movements, of whatever kind" [freiheitliche Bewegungen, welcher Art auch immer], as Senna Hoy put it in 1904. Well-known writers for *Der Kampf* included Else Lasker-Schuler (1869-1945) and Erich Muhsam (1878-1934). See Ralf G. Hoerig and Hajo Schmuck, *Datenbank des deutschsprachigen Anarchismus*, <http://www.free.de/dada/dada-p/P0001301.HTM> as well as <http://www.free.de/dada/dada-p/L000239.HTM> (May 2003); see "Goodbye to Berlin?" 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung. Eine Ausstellung des Schwulen Museums und der Akademie der Künste (Berlin, 1997), 44, 49 f. Theo A. Sprungli's articles in *Der Kampf* are "Dirne," *Der Kampf* 8 (26 March 1904): 228-30; "Gertrud Eysoldt," *Der Kampf* 11 (21 April 1904).

(37) See the address books for Berlin 1905 and 1906. She does not appear in the Berlin directories for the years 1902, 1903, 1907, 1908, 1909, and 1912, nor was she listed in the historical Berlin registration files. See letter from the LAB from 16 June 2003.

(38) Dr. Stephan; *Deine Kollegen*, "Sprungli." Sprungli worked at Scherl publishing in the pre-Hugenberg era. When August Scherl, the company's owner, left the business in 1915, several owners of publishing houses formed the *Deutschen Verlagsverein* (German Publishing Association), which served to acquire and manage the central components of August Scherl Inc. See Kurt Koszyk, *Deutsche Presse 1914-1945. Geschichte der deutschen Presse III* (Berlin, 1972), 164, 166, 222. A year later, Alfred Hugenberg (1865-1951) acquired double voting rights in the *Deutscher Verlagsverein* and thus gained power over the Scherl-Verlag. In 1917 the group formed the "basis of the German national press" [Grundstock der deutschnationalen Presse]. See Kurt Koszyk, *Deutsche Presse im 19. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der deutschen Presse* (Berlin, 1966), 160.

(39) Theo A. Sprungli was the speaker of the *Verband künstlerischer Bühnenvorstände* (Association of Artistic Stage Managers) in 1919. As to the question of the work-related activities of Theo A. Sprungli and how well known they were, here is a small anecdote. My office colleague, Gabriele Mietke, asked her now long-retired, doctoral dissertation advisor Otto Feld, who grew up in Düsseldorf, if he could think of anything related to the name "Sprungli." He responded that he remembered clearly that his parents had repeatedly

discussed this person in connection with the theater; however, he was not able to recall individual details.

(40) This journal was preceded by the Rheinisch-westfälische Frauenzeitung (Rhein-Westfalian women's newspaper) (1906-8) and followed by the short-lived Der Bürger--Wochenzeitung für Politik, Volkswirtschaft und Kunst (The burgher--weekly newspaper for politics, political economy, and art) (1921-April 1922), ed. Rudolf Albrecht.

(41) See, for example, Neue Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung 27 (5 July 1914).

(42) Th. A. Sprungli, "Kleinstadt-Idyll," Der Bürger 6 (11 February 1922).

(43) Th. A. Sprungli, "Wissenschaft. Institut für Sexualwissenschaft," Neue Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung 31 (2 October 1919). I thank the employee at the Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft for the tip regarding Kronfeld.

(44) Th. Ruling, *Welcher von Euch ohne Sünde ist ... Bilder von der Schattenseite* (Leipzig, 1906), in particular "Die Mondscheinsonate" and "Der Kofferträger." See also Hacker, "Ruling," 655; Lehmstedt, 254.

(45) Neuhaus-Koch, 177 ff.

(46) Bundesarchiv Berlin, 38, 73.

(47) Theo A. Sprungli, "Deutsches Theater im Feindesland," Neue deutsche Frauen-Zeitung 26-27 (15 July 1915); see also Theo A. Sprungli, "Deutsches Theater im Feindesland," Neue deutsche Frauen-Zeitung 31-32 (1 September 1915). In 1916-17 Theo A. Sprungli directed an opera on the battle front. A more thorough examination of her journalism is necessary to uncover her exact political positions. However, the existing evidence clearly suggests that she was a nationalist, a patriot, and an advocate of German militarism.

(48) Neue deutsche Frauen-Zeitung 1-2 (1 January 1915).

(49) My comments on the Flottenbund deutscher Frauen and the Housewives Organizations are based on the following texts: Ute Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte. Zwischen Bürgerlicher Verbesserung und Neuer Weiblichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986); Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schuler-Springorum, eds., *Heimat-Front. Militär und Geschlechterverhältnisse im Zeitalter der Weltkriege* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002); Ute Planert, ed., *Nation, Politik und Geschlecht. Frauenbewegungen und Nationalismus in der Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000); Christiane Streubel, "Sammelrezension: Literaturbericht: Frauen der politischen Rechten," *H-Soz-u-Kult* (10 June 2003), <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/NEG-2003-2-141> (July 2003); Andrea Suchting-Hanger, *Das "Gewissen der Nation." Nationales Engagement und politisches Handeln in konservativen Frauenorganisationen 1900 bis 1937* (Düsseldorf, 2002), esp. 67 ff., 90 ff.

(50) Suchting-Hanger, 70.

(51) Neue deutsche Frauen-Zeitung 17-18 (1 May 1915).

(52) "Reichsverband deutscher Hausfrauen. Sitz Düsseldorf," *ibid.*



Figure 2. Theo Anna Sprüngli (*Delmenhorster Kreisblatt*, 1953).

(53) Suchting-Hanger, 90ff.

(54) Bundesarchiv Berlin, 74.

(55) *Ibid.*, 38.

(56) Hauptstaatsarchiv Dusseldorf RW 58 Nr. 26022 (letter from 26 July 1937). Sprungli's application has the name "Anna Theo Sprungli."

(57) Bundesarchiv Berlin, 38, 72.

(58) *Ibid.*, 60, 66.

(59) *Ibid.*, 60.

(60) *Ibid.*, 5.

(61) See Neuhaus-Koch, 178; *Deine Kollegen*, "Sprungli."

(62) *Deine Kollegen*, "Sprungli."

(63) Ulm City Archive Theater collection. It is possible that she didn't live in Ulm at all but only worked there and lived in the surrounding area of Ulm in nearby Blaubeuren. In the Ulm city directories her name does not appear in the years 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, or 1949. I

would like to thank the Ulm City Archive for this information, sent to me in an email on 27 June 2003. For certain, she lived in Blaubeuren from 1946 to 1948. After that she lived in Delmenhorst, a town located between Bremen and Oldenburg.

(64) Deine Kollegen, "Sprungli."

(65) Ibid.

(66) Dr. Stephan.

(67) Deine Kollegen, "Sprungli."

(68) Dr. Stephan.

(69) Gottert, "Zwischen Betroffenheit," 16 ff.; Gottert, Macht, 251, 253, 266.

(70) Quoted in Gottert, Macht, 265 ff.

(71) Hanns Fuchs published on the topic of homosexuality. See Hanns Fuchs, Sinnen und Lauschen. Briefe an einen Freund. Ein Betrag zur Psychologic der Homosexualitat (Leipzig, ca. 1904); Monatsberichte des Whks 10 (1 October 1904): 8 ff.; Hanns Fuchs-Stadthagen, "Zur Jahresversammlung des wissenschaftlich-humanitaren Komitees," Das neue Magazin fur Literatur, Kunst und soziales Leben (Berlin) 12 (17 September 1904): 362 ff.

(72) See Walther Fahnders, "Holzmann, J.," in Hans Jurgen Degen, ed., Lexikon der Anarchie. Encyclopedia of Anarchy. Lexique de l'anarchie, 4. Erganzungslieferung (Bosdorf, 1996); Catulus (i.e., Holzmann), "Homosexualitat." According to Holzmann's report, participants at the meeting included Dr. Agnes Hacker (1861-1909), who rejected Sprungli's assertions, Dr. Ernst Burchard and Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, who both supported Sprungli, Minna Cauer (1841-1922), Dr. von Oppel(n)-Kapstadt, the lawyer Dr. Bruckmanns, and the anarchist Senna Hoy (i.e., Holzmann himself).

(73) For more on the ideas of Benedict Friedlander see Rainer Herrn's unpublished essay, "Die Zwischenstufentheorie" (Berlin, 2003).

(74) Ibid.

(75) Women first responded to work in the Whk in 1901. The first women were elected as "chairmen" in 1910. In 1907 a petition for the founding of a separate women's group was rejected. For more on this see Christiane Leidinger, "Johanna Elberskirchen und ihre Rudersdorfer Zeit 1920 bis 1943--eine erste Skizze," Forum Homosexualitat und Literatur (2001): 79-106, 97-99.

(76) Monatsberichte des Whk 11 (1 November 1904): 1, 12, 9 ff.

(77) However, it must not be forgotten that Hirschfeld did not connect his scientific work to a personal acknowledgment of himself as a homosexual.

(78) Unless stated otherwise, all of the following quotes come from the surveillance file, which is located in the Berlin Landesarchiv. See LAB A Pr.Br.Rep. 030 Tit. 95 Nr. 15317, Blatter 7, 8, 11, 53-59, 106, 107, 131, 137, 138, 241 (emphasis in original).

(79) See, for example, the speech from Dr. W. Loewenthal and Dr. M. Schutte, "Antimilitarismus und Weltfrieden (Antimilitarism and world peace)," January 1905.

(80) For a critical analysis of Maria Lischnewska's position see Anette Herlitzius, *Frauenbefreiung und Rassenideologie: Rassenhygiene und Eugenik im politischen Programm der "Radikalen Frauenbewegung" (1900-1933)* (Leverkusen, 1995), 195-98.

(81) I thank Ralf Dose for these biographical details regarding Ernst Burchard. See also "Goodbye to Berlin," 84.

(82) According to all of my current research, the title of "doctor" seems to be a mistake on the part of the police officer on duty.

(83) Janz, "(K)eine," 33 ff.

(84) Ibid., 36 ff.; also Janz, "Reflexionen."

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**Source Citation** (MLA 9th Edition)

Leidinger, Christiane. "'Anna Ruling': a problematic foremother of lesbian herstory." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 13, no. 4, Oct. 2004, pp. 477+. *Gale Academic OneFile*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/A138705960/AONE?u=slnsw\_public&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=181d310f. Accessed 26 Apr. 2024.

**Gale Document Number:** GALE|A138705960