# Looking for Jenny & Co.
# The Image as Practice for a Feminist Imaginary

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Gender does not end in death. Tombstones are sources of biographical data such as profession, family ties and relationship status. Therefore, they also provide information on gender ratio, women's history and women's individual life stories. Looking at four selected tombstones, gender issues become strikingly visible: Jenny von Westphalen's grave is crowned with the huge statue of Karl Marx's head; the inscription on Ernestine L. Rose's tombstone reveals her to be a «womens rights and anti-slavery activist»; the sculptor Anna Mahler's grave shows a tiny, fragile woman, covering her face with her hands; and the plaques of Radclyffe Hall, Mabel Veronica Batten and Una Troubdridge make clear the public dimension of lesbianism in the early 20th century. In the following contribution I will look at Highgate Cemetery as a women's place from a cultural studies perspective. At the intersection of the study of religion, art history and women's studies I will focus on the graves of Westphalen, Rose, Mahler and Hall as vibrant sources of women's history. I will elaborate on this history by setting the images of the four tombstones against the backdrop of each life story. Drawing on this ‹female presence› I will argue for a feminist imaginary to understand Highgate Cemetery's importance for our common history.

## *1. Is Highgate a Women's Place?*

From a socio-historical point of view it is not hard to define Highgate as a women's place. The first person ever buried in the West Cemetery was Elizabeth Jackson on 26 May 1839, age 36,[1] and the first burial in the East Cemetery was the 16 year old Mary Ann Webster on 12 June 1860.[2] From 1839 onwards there have always been significantly more female than male

1 See Bulmer 2014, 20 and Barker 1984, 24.
2 See Bulmer 2014, 44.

burials at Highgate.[3] And finally, Highgate Cemetery was one of the few places where women in the Victorian era could gather and stroll along unimpeded and relatively free from male observation.[4] Despite these historical data, Francis Barker asserts in *Victorian Valhalla* (1984) that Highgate Cemetery «is a place to praise famous men».[5] He reinforces his argument by listing eminent surgeons and physicians, publishers, members of the Royal Academy, the Law, and other important social fields.[6] Barker continues, that this «sounds a very male catalogue» and just like «many old-fashioned clubs, Highgate would seem an exclusively masculine sanctuary. There are innumerable wives and daughters but so few women appear to be there in their own right.»[7] According to Barker, women in Highgate can be discovered in the realm of family ties and the gendered social order. What is missing, are women as independent subjects.

Indeed, Barker's research offers poor results: he found only one grave that «challenges the conventions of the cemetery».[8] What he found was the vault of Radclyffe Hall, Mabel Veronica Batten and Una Troubridge in the Lebanon Circle. We will never know, how intense Barker's effort was, trying to find women in their own right. What we can read, however, is that he calls the vault in the Lebanon Circle a mere «ladies' annexe».[9] With this description Barker dismisses any value that his discovery could have had for the history of Highgate Cemetery, thereby avoiding any further effort in investigating the remarkable life stories of the three women. By describing the vault as an «annexe» Barker also highlights the main problem of women's history: if by looking back into the past women do not *appear* in their own right, does it mean that there actually were no women living a life as independent, creative subjects? Of course feminist theory has long dismissed this question and its underlying claim, that «wives and daugh-

3 This difference reached its peak in the 1870s, when more than 12,000 women and ‹only› about 11,000 men were buried per year. It is only since the 1980s that numbers have become more equally balanced as the overall numbers of burials dramatically decreased; see Bulmer 2014, 48.

4 Highgate Cemetery promised to be extremely secure with its tall brick walls and iron railings and the Highgate Company advertised that an armed force of retired soldiers were present all day and night in the cemetery; see Bulmer 2014, 20. Cemeteries in general, like all other Victorian institutions, had rules to ensure appropriate behaviour; see Rutherford 2010, 26.

5 Barker 1984, 38.

6 See Barker 1984, 39–41.

7 Barker 1984, 41.

8 Barker 1984, 41.

9 Barker 1984, 41.

ters» are not women in their own right, as Barker wrote.[10] The life stories of Westphalen, Rose, Mahler and Hall will show that it is only due to Barker's androcentric view that women do not seem to appear in their own right in Highgate. For if one *wants* to see women,[11] one does not even have to change perspective, one just has to take a closer look.

Since «the performative act of remembrance is an essential way in which collective identities are formed and reiterated»,[12] searching for women's representations in Highgate Cemetery is a decisive quest. It can be understood as a practice of a feminist imaginary that reveals Highgate to be a women's place. The term imaginary was developed by French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, differentiating it from «imagination».[13] Although the concept of «imagination», defined in opposition to reason, has been used to establish gender bias since the 18th century, it also held potential for women, as Joan Scott argues. French feminist and abolitionist Olympe de Gouges for example used the concept to demand citizenship, claiming her right on self-representation: «De Gouges's insistence on the imaginative basis for her own thought and action was meant to establish her autonomy, her ability to produce an authentic self (not a copy of anything else) – to be what she claimed to be – and so her eligibility for the franchise.»[14] Despite this attempt, devaluation of imagination could not be prevented and it was only with French philosophers such as Jacques Lacan, Jean-Paul Sartre, Luce Irigaray or (Greek-French) Cornelius Castoriadis that the *imaginaire* developed its critical substance in the second half of the 20th century.

Laurie Naranch writes in her article *The Imaginary and a Political Quest for Freedom* (2003) that the imaginary meant a decisive turn for feminist theory: «After a long spate as the adjective of imagination, a traditionally understood realm of illusion, misrecognition, and fancy, the imaginary emerges as not simply opposed to reason, but the ‹ground› of reason itself; […] not simply a part of the mind, but fundamental to understanding the interconnectedness of mind and sexed bodies.»[15] She highlights the contribution of Castoriadis for a feminist understanding of the imaginary. Castoriadis formulated the workings of a ‹radical imagination› in two ways: that

10 See for example Appich/Echtermann/Ferrari Schiefer/Hess 1993 on women and their dissident position in androcentric tradition.
11 See Olin 2003, 324–326 on the gaze corresponding with desire.
12 Winter 2010, 15.
13 See Naranch 2003, 64.
14 Scott 1996, 34; cited after Naranch 2003, 64.
15 Naranch 2003, 65.

of the psyche as radical imaginary, and that of society as social imaginary.[16] According to this understanding, the double functioning of the creative liberation through the radical imaginary as well as the instituting processes of the social imaginary are crucial for changes in history. Castoriadis emphasizes the importance of «a praxis as ‹the transformation of the given›».[17] It seems that this understanding of a practice of the radical imaginary derived directly from the women's liberation movements, for Castoriadis wrote:

> The most important social and historical transformation of the contemporary era, […] is neither the Russian Revolution nor the bureaucratic revolution in China but the changing situation of woman and of her role in society. This change […] has been carried out collectively, anonymously, daily, by women themselves, without their even explicitly representing to themselves its goals; […] twenty-four hours a day, in the home, at work, in the kitchen, in bed, in the street, in relation to children, to their husbands, they have gradually transformed the situation. Not only could planners, technicians, economists, sociologists, psychologists, and psychoanalysts not have foreseen this, but they were not even able to see it when it began to take shape.[18]

Through everyday practices, most often not represented through political institutions, women's movement was and is at work.

According to Castoriadis' and Naranch's understanding, feminist theory of the imaginary does not aim to establish concepts of the best feminist practices and afterwards realize them in everyday life. Rather the feminist imaginary is a practice in itself, a «creative action» that puts «meaning into everyday practice and asks us to recognize it and act on it as such.»[19] By giving meaning to everyday practices, the feminist imaginary can be understood as representational practices, which are double bound by everyday struggles as well as knowledge and self-awareness thereof. Following this,

16 See Naranch 2003, 67.

17 Naranch 2003, 66. The radical imaginary is based on representational practices in everyday struggles, that are neither a mere realization of a given plan nor are they opposed to knowledge. The radical imaginary is based on knowledge, «but this knowledge is always fragmentary and provisional. It is fragmentary because there can be no exhaustive theory of humanity and history; it is provisional because praxis itself constantly gives rise to new knowledge […].» Castoriadis 1998, 76; cited after Naranch 2003, 71.

18 Castoriadis 1991, 204–205; cited after Naranch 2003, 71–72.

19 Naranch 2003, 71.

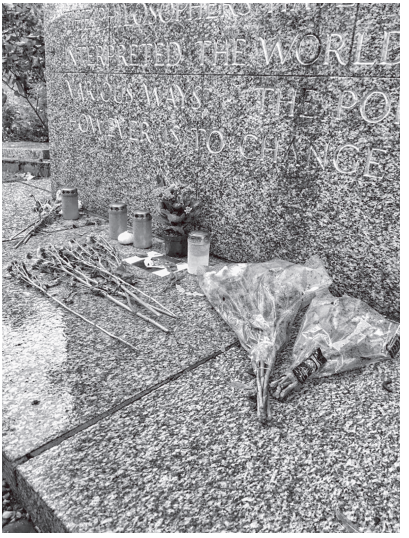
looking for Jenny & Co. in Highgate requires no extraordinary effort, it will not lead the reader on hidden tracks or to secret tombs. We will walk the official paths just as everyone else does, but take a closer look at the vaults and get to know the lives of Jenny von Westphalen, Ernestine L. Rose, Anna Mahler, and Radclyffe Hall.

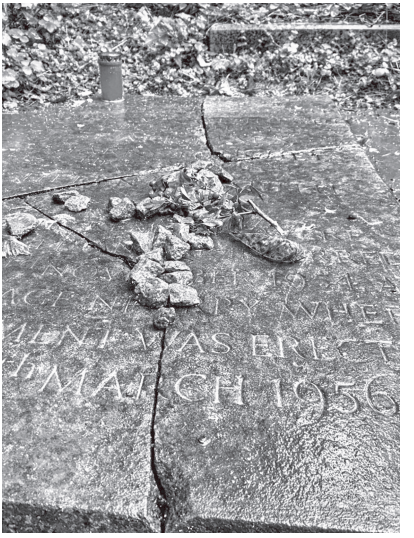
## *2. Jenny von Westphalen: The Socialist Networker*

Entering East Highgate we follow the main path together with scattered groups of tourists. After a sweeping curve we catch sight of people flocking in front of a monument: tourists take pictures or pose for it, a woman circumambulates the huge grey stele with an umbrella, an elderly couple places a bunch of roses on the flagstones (fig. 1).


*Fig. 1: Looking for Jenny von Westphalen our eyes behold the huge bust of her husband Karl Marx (Image: Dolores Zoé Bertschinger 2017).*

Even from a distance we are able to read the shiny golden letters on the memorial, saying «workers of all lands unite», the name of «Karl Marx» and below the slab the most famous concluding sentence from Marx's theses on Feuerbach: «The Philosophers Have Only Interpreted The World In Various Ways – The Point, However, Is To Change It».[20] Stepping closer, we discover that visitors have lit candles, put flowers and even left a piece of garlic (fig. 2). The practice of putting little stones on a marble projection of the monument probably refers to Karl Marx's Jewish origin.[21] We can also find this practice on the memorial stone at the original burial place (fig. 3).





*Figs. 2 and 3: Visitors light candles and lay down flowers and onions. Putting stones on a tombstone is an old Jewish tradition and can be seen on the Marx monument as well as on the tombstone on the original burial place (Images: Dolores Zoé Bertschinger 2017).*

Now we are also able to read the names of all the other people buried in the family grave underneath this massive memorial. On the white marble

20 Marx's theses on Feuerbach can be found on www.marxists.org. For a concise interpretation of the theses see chapter 3 «Marx's Adoption of Radical Historicism» in West 1991, 63–69; for the concluding thesis 11 see 68–69.

21 See Suzgruber 2018.

slab we find the names of Jenny von Westphalen (1814–1881), «the beloved wife of Karl Marx», Karl Marx (1818–1883), Harry Longuet (1878–1883), Helena Demuth (1823–1890) and Eleanor Marx (1856–1898), «daughter of Karl Marx» (fig. 4). Against the overall impression of this monument classifying Karl Marx as *pater familias*, I will now focus on the life story of Jenny von Westphalen, before more briefly touching upon the lives of her lifelong friend and housekeeper Helena Demuth and her youngest daughter Eleanor «Tussy» Marx.

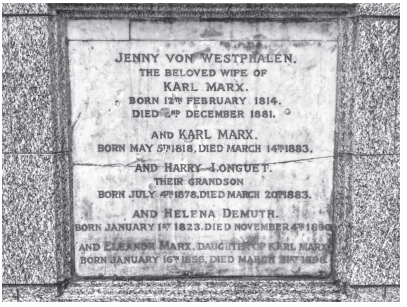



*Fig. 4: The Marx monument is actually a family grave (Image: Dolores Zoé Bertschinger 2017).*

Jenny von Westphalen was Marx's beloved wife and his partner for more than forty stormy years. Together with the Marx-Family the Westphalens belonged to the Protestant minority in Prussian Trier in the first half of the 19th century.[22] Jenny, her brother Edgar and Karl formed a ‹youngsters trio›, educated and politically sensitized by her father Ludwig von Westphalen.[23] A first important social and political event was the July Revolution of 1830, that flashed over Germany in the following years. Jenny von Westphalen sympathised with the revolutionary literary group *Junges Deutschland* (Young Germany), that was also temporarily supported by a young man named Friedrich Oswald, later called Friedrich Engels. Jenny's and Karl's love caught fire when they were in their twenties and he returned for summer holidays from his studies in Berlin. In 1837 they were engaged despite Karl not being of Jenny's rank at all, which caused some familiar trouble.[24] Even before their marriage in 1843, Jenny von West-

22 See Limmroth 2014, 46.
23 For an account of this young trio see Limmroth 2014, 54–57.
24 See on this and the following depiction Limmroth 2014, 60–72.

phalen played a significant role in Marx's political and philosophical agitation.[25] It was also her who saved parts of his early notes on Feuerbach: after yet another evening of games, alcohol and cigars, he drove up to Cologne but left behind parts of his manuscript. Jenny sent the notes after him, saying: «Now that you have torn into pieces your friend Ludwig (Feuerbach) you even left behind a heartpiece [*Herzblatt* lit. heartleaf]. […] You certainly dawdled some more pages. It would be a crying shame. Mind your loose pages.»[26]

The Marx-couple spent the following forty years between Trier, Paris, Brussels and London. Jenny von Westphalen gave birth to seven children, of which only three survived the age of seven. She managed an unpretentious household and kept together a wide-ranging network of European intellectuals and socialists. Besides the family labour, Jenny worked as Karl's secretary and intellectual partner: she wrote part of his scientific work after his dictation, maintained his correspondence, often signing with his name.[27] Jenny was the only person who managed to transcribe Karl's hardly legible manuscripts.[28] She literally acted as his manager, chased her hus-

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25 During this time of long-distance relationship Karl received his dissertation in philosophy and Jenny undertook private studies and visited the theatre and opera, as well as attending lectures on mythology and art history. She studied the Ancient Greek language and read Hegel; see Limmroth 2014, 74. Finally, on 19th June 1843, Karl and Jenny married in a civil ceremony, which according to the Napoleonic Code would have been a valid contract. Jenny however wished for a church wedding and Karl did not disagree, although he was already an atheist; see Limmroth 2014, 81–82.

26 «Da hast Du den Freund Ludwig (Feuerbach) zerstückelt und ein Herzblatt hiergelassen. […] Du hast doch gewiß noch mehr Blätter vertrödelt, Es wär' doch Jammer und schad. Hüt doch die losen Blätter» (Hecker/Limmroth 2014, 50, translation by the author). Jenny von Westphalen wrote this letter in Kreuznach to Karl Marx in Cologne, at the beginning of March 1843.

27 The Marx-Engels correspondence is considered to be one of the most intense and wide ranging of the 19th century and also Jenny's correspondence exceeds the number of over 329 documents edited by Hecker/Limmroth (2014). Only 25 of the letters between Jenny and Karl survived the selection undertaken by the Marx-daughters after their parents' death; see Hecker/Limmroth 2014, 15–17.

28 These include at least The Holy Family (1845), Poverty of Philosophy (1847), Manifesto of the Communist Party (1848), The Eighteenth Brumaire (1852), Critique of Political Economy (1859) and the biweekly article for The New York Daily Tribune; see Limmroth 2014, 160–161. It is said that the work on the Communist Manifesto was so pressing, that Karl dictated and Jenny wrote day and night; see Limmroth 2014, 12. This was a ‹classical› division of labour, as the examples of many other philosophers such as Mireva Einstein-Maric and Albert Einstein or Hans Blumenberg and his many ‹secretaries› show.

band back to his writing desk, and negotiated with publishers and sponsors. She found ways to send illegal pamphlets to fictitious addresses, took part in lively evenings and debates in her own living room or in one of the pubs that Marx, Engels and their entourage frequented almost daily, and attended meetings such as the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association.[29] «Someone who got to know Marx, normally also knew his wife Jenny»,[30] Limroth summarizes.

What the statement «beloved wife of Karl Marx» on the Marx monument neglects, is, that Jenny von Westphalen was an outstanding, independent person, socially, politically, and intellectually involved, always ready with a pithy opinion to put forward in meetings, letters and even articles.[31] Her correspondence, only published in 2014, reveals that she freely exchanged with the male socialist leaders and stayed in touch with numerous important women, among them Caroline Schöler, Bertha Markheim, Ernestine Liebknecht, and Felicitas Longuet. She also kept a lifelong friendship with Helena Demuth, who was not only a housekeeper but also the only person besides Jenny to criticize and defy the thin-skinned Karl.[32] And after all, it was one of the daughters, Eleanor «Tussy» Marx, who carried on Jenny's and Karl's legacy as a socialist writer and orator, feminist, translator and literary critic.[33] One may wonder, whether these women

29 See Limmroth 2014, 164–166.

30 «Wer Marx kannte, der kannte in der Regel auch seine Frau Jenny» (Limmroth 2014, 167, translation by the author).

31 Some of her texts and letters were published in the newspaper *Vorwärts*; for information about Jenny's writing see Limmroth 2014, 218–221. Her theatre reviews can be found on www.marxists.org.

32 On Helena Demuth see Limmroth 2014, 149–157. She gives detailed insights into the circumstances and consequences of Karl and Helena Demuth's illegitimate son Henry Frederick Demuth.

33 After a hard-working but enriched life full of appreciation and popularity, Eleanor Marx committed suicide in 1898 with prussic acid; her ashes were kept for years in the Communist headquarters at King Street (perhaps one day they should be sent to Moscow), and finally seized by Scotland Yard when they raided King Street in 1921. Barker relates: «I caught up with Eleanor some thirty years later at the Marx Memorial Library in Clerkenwell when I chanced to ask the librarian if he had any idea what had happened to the ashes. ‹We have them right here,› he said […]» (Barker 1984, 42). On November 23, 1954, when Marx's grave was relocated to its current site, Eleanor went to join her parent's grave. For more information on Eleanor Marx see Zimmermann 1984 and Fluss/Miller 2017. Eleanor Marx's speeches about the women and labour question, about her father's legacy and other socialist issues as well as all her literary translations can be found on www.marxists.org.

were actually the one's to make possible one of the most influential economic, political, and philosophical contributions to modernity. They lived their lives mainly on the invisible family side of society responsible for the reproductive labour, that neither Marx nor Engels considered as being part of the economic production and therefore of the revolutionary masses.[34] However, these women were part of the intellectual and agitative socialist movement of their époque. Jenny von Westphalen, Helena Demuth and Eleanor Marx were far more than a «beloved wife», housekeeper or «daughter of Karl Marx». They advanced the Marxist project in their very own ways.

### *3. Ernestine L. Rose: The Freethinking Suffragette*

Leaving the Marx-Memorial, we enter the more overgrown part of East Highgate on a small path. Here, gravestones are weathered and cracked, ivy covered branches bar our way, and leaves rustle beneath our feet. Suddenly, in the midst of this enchanted graveyard, we discover a neat and clean grey marble slab. Its round arc shape contrasts with the rectangular tombstone, on which visitors have put stones and coins, and the wind has swept on leaves (fig. 5).

Here we can read the names of two declared freethinkers: Ernestine L. Susmond Potowski Rose and William Ella Rose. He is called a silversmith and reformer, Ernestine a «womens rights and anti-slavery advocate». Looking at this tombstone one gets the impression that an important woman is buried here, who did not only outlast her husband by ten years but even overlies him by the sheer number of designations and activities. In fact, this tombstone was restored in 2002 by the Ernestine Rose Society to ensure that this «courageous and pioneering woman […] would no longer rest in an unmarked grave.»[35] This act is not as trivial as it may seem at first sight. Although Ernestine L. Rose was a founding figure of the American suffragette movement and the most eloquent and well known of the women's rights activists at the time, «today virtually no one knows her name.»[36] As we will discover, Rose's invisibility has much to do with religion.

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34 It was only with Second-wave feminism that family and care work was discussed as part of production and therefore working class struggles; see Dalla Costa 1973.

35 https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/rose-ernestine (accessed July 30, 2017).

36 Kolmerten 1999, xvii. An example of the omission of Rose is the otherwise very informative article by Young, «Women's Place in American Politics. The Histori-

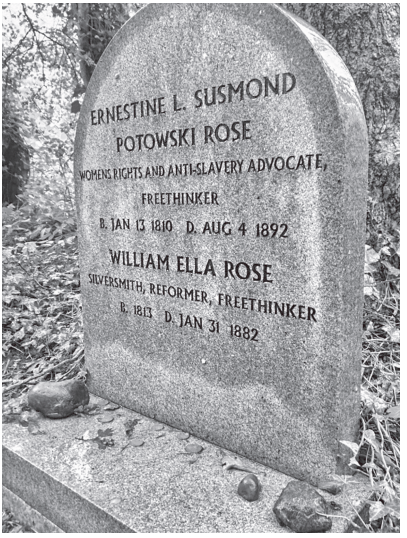


*Fig. 5: Ernestine Rose's gravestone with extensive inscriptions. The stones on the slab relate to Ernestine Rose's Jewish origin, whilst placing coins on a grave relate to ancient Greek practices, but it might also be a way of funding the maintenance of the grave by the Ernestine Rose Society (Image: Dolores Zoé Bertschinger 2017).*

Ernestine Louise Sousmond Potowski (or Sigismund Potowsky) was born as a daughter of a rabbi on January 13, 1810, in Poland.[37] At the age of 17 she evaded her betrothal and fled to Berlin.[38] In 1829 she moved to London, travelling at least once to France, where she participated in the

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cal Perspective» (1976). Rose is mentioned in FN 230, p. 308, but is otherwise strangely absent in the whole article. Kolmerten (1999, xvii) calls Rose together with Virginia Woolf a «stranded ghost».

37 On birth and childhood see Kolmerten 1999, 4–7. Kolmerten also suggest that Ernestine was not Rose's actual birthname for it is neither a Jewish nor a Polish name, but that Rose instead named herself Ernestine probably when migrating to London in 1829; see Kolmerten 1999, 6–7 and 9.

38 According to d'Hericourt, Rose's first biographer, Rose attended an interview with the king of Prussia about the right of Polish Jews to remain in Berlin. Rose's only opportunity on that matter was to convert to Protestantism, however, she supposedly told the king: «I have not abandoned the trunk to latch onto the branches» (Kolmerten 1999, 9).

revolution of July 1830.[39] In London Ernestine came into contact with Owenism[40] and certainly read one of its affiliated newspapers, the *Pioneer*, published by James and Frances Morrison. The Morrison's actively demanded women's rights, equal education opportunities and access to equal wages. They even spoke of a union for women consulting their own affairs.[41] Ernestine became a member of Owen's Association of *All Classes of All Nations* (AACAN) in 1835 and it must have been in this context that she met her future husband William Rose.[42] They were married in a civil ceremony in a rather simple setting in Ernestine's room.[43] Shortly after, they decided to move to one of the Owenite colonies in New York.

Arriving in New York in 1836 the Roses entered a city of economic unrest, riots, and strikes shortly before the ‹Panic of 1937›. It was a time when religious reform movements such as the temperance or the evangelically underpinned abolitionist movement flourished, since they allowed women to work together in the public sphere and forwarded a network of women's activities.[44] Therefore, even when Rose first turned to the freethinking reformers, she found an outstanding woman there: Frances Wright, the first women in the US ever to speak publicly on the equality of the sexes and it soon turned out to be her «most influential foremother».[45] On June 3, 1837, Rose spoke for the first time at a weekly gathering of freethinkers, and by the Fall she repeated these talks on socialism and the evils of private property on a monthly basis.[46] Ten years later she was engaged in constant travel, lecturing throughout the Northeast and Midwest.[47]

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39 See Kolmerten 1999, 9–10. In a letter written in 1856, Rose recalls, that she had seen «the glass shattered at the Louvre after the 1830 demonstrations» (Kolmerten 1999, 10). There is a connection here with Jenny von Westphalen, who followed these events as a teenager from Trier.

40 Owenism was an early socialist movement initiated by Robert Owen, a successful manager of New Lanark mills, who created a social movement that emphasized individual liberty and organized itself in cooperatives, trade unions and socialistic communities. Owenism was pastiched by philosophers of the Enlightenment and utilitarians. See Kolmerten 1999, 10–13.

41 On the Morrisons see Kolmerten 1999, 14–16.

42 See Kolmerten 1999 17–19.

43 See Kolmerten 1999, 19.

44 See on women's networks and reform movements Kolmerten 1999, 20–24.

45 Kolmerten 1999, 27. On Rose's memory of Wright see Kolmerten 1999, 35.

46 See Kolmerten 1999, 33–34.

47 ‹Health problems› was the only appropriate reason for a woman to travel on her own across the States in those days and Rose used this label for her own freedom of travel; see Kolmerten 1999, 56. On the arduous travels she undertook as inexpensively as she could see also Kolmerten 1999, 157–158.

Rose was multilingual in many ways: she spoke Polish, German and English and gave talks about anti-slavery as well as freethinker's and women's rights platforms.[48] She instructed the Owenite audience on «The Science of Government»[49] or «Antagonism in Society».[50] To the abolitionist and women's rights movement she lectured on «The Educational and Social Position of Women» or on «The Civil and Political Rights of Women».[51] Rose must have had an extraordinary appearance on stage, at least her look was commented upon in newspapers up until old age. Her curly open hair, the ever-present white gloves and the neat dark dresses, her ‹graceful› voice with accent – all these features were either loved or exoticized and marginalized.[52] During her lectures Rose used to speak in a steady voice, walking up and down the stage, and stopping at intervals to look at her audience. She was able to talk for hours in a row without notes.[53] Her speeches were of surpassing rhetorical force, she attacked specific people and arguments, and reacted spontaneously, «quick, and often sarcastic»[54] to her audience's objections. A journalist of the *Boston Investigator* wrote on Rose's lecture at the Philadelphia National Convent in October 1854 that «by her accustomed ability and dignity [she] gave character and importance to the meeting, while her able advocacy was felt by all present.»[55] By speaking in front of many different audiences she developed an impressive personality that none of the other women possessed. It made her one of the major intellectual forces behind the American women's rights movement.[56]

To the women's rights movement Rose added her own freethinking perspective and enriched the already heterogeneous group. Kolmerten highlights Rose as *the* example against «an erroneous historical image»,[57] according to which the suffragettes are depicted as ‹one body of women›. Ernestine Rose was not a native, upper class, pious and decent American woman but Polish with Jewish background who voted against the separation of women's and abolitionist's matters and did not hide her freethink-

48 On her ‹multilingualism› see Kolmerten 1999, 40.
49 Kolmerten 1999, 56.
50 Kolmerten 1999, 57.
51 Kolmerten 1999, 145.
52 See Kolmerten 1999, 3, 147, and 159; Kolmerten also speaks of Rose having suffered «unstated anti-semitic prejudice» (1999, 126).
53 See Kolmerten 1999, 101, 147, and 170.
54 Kolmerten 1999, 117.
55 Kolmerten 1999, 163; on praise for Rose's rhetorical talent see also 137.
56 See Kolmerten 1999, xvii and 117.
57 Kolmerten 1999, 64.

ing opinion. Against many of her co-leaders of the movement, Rose did not rest herself on the island of ‹women's nature› or ‹women's sphere›. This «refusal to buy into masculine or feminine essences» set her «apart from many of her contemporaries and seems to make her a denizen of the 1990s.»[58] Consistently, Rose not only propagated women's suffrage but human rights «irrespective of sex, country or color»,[59] as she used to put it. It was this main point of ‹universal suffrage› that separated Rose from Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the other two major leaders of the women's movement. Anthony, in particular, took on more and more racist arguments over the course of time, advocating women's rights *against* the rights of black men.[60] But for Rose universal suffrage was not to be debated – it simply was a moral and logical imperative – and she did not hesitate to challenge her campaigners on stage.[61] She knew, that she was «severe alike on friends and foes» expressing her opinions, and «it is because in principle I know no compromise.»[62]

Beside gender and race essentialism Rose also questioned that religion is a naturally given fact. In this she followed enlightement's reasoning, which held that belief does not derive from divine inspiration but rather from education, environment and experience. Consequently, she also refused spiritualism that came of age at the end of the 1850s even in her own Owenite movement.[63] She publicly argued against the authority of the Scriptures and shocked her audience: «In 1853 few women lectured publicly; even fewer questioned the tenets of Christianity».[64] Rose proceeded with provocations about religion, twice filling a hall of 1600 people! With increasing tensions in the suffragette movement in the 1860s Rose immersed herself again in freethinking. Two days before Fort Sumter and the

58 Kolmerten 1999, 101 and 243 on essentialism in women's suffrage movement.
59 See Kolmerten 1999, 110, 111, 181, and 235.
60 See Kolmerten 1999, 136; on the relationships between the three agitators see 133–134, 149–154, and 217–222.
61 See Kolmerten 1999, 77–78, and 96–97.
62 Kolmerten 1999, 181. Rose wrote this quote in a farewell letter when leaving New York in 1856 for a vacation to Europe. She had literally lectured herself into exhaustion: within twenty years she had lectured in 23 states, often giving more than one speech a day. She was a celebrity and everyone knew what she looked like; see Kolmerten 1999, 183. On her increased newspaper coverage due to her tireless travelling activities see Kolmerten 1999, 158, on her national success also 163.
63 See Kolmerten 1999, 186, and 204–206, especially 206.
64 Kolmerten 1999, 105. «Rose, as a nonbeliever, shocked her audience merely by the fact of her disbelief.» Kolmerten 1999, 126.

beginning of the Civil War she held a lecture entitled «A Defense of Atheism» that became her most famous one.[65]

According to Kolmerten, Rose never looked for the companionship of other women activists outside of the conventions. Rather she found the sympathy and friendship she needed with her freethinking friends and especially her husband.[66] William Rose remained in their first apartment in Lower East Side, New York, and provided Ernestine emotional comradeship and financial security as a skilled craftsman and money-raiser behind the scenes.[67] It is not by chance that the one repeated term on the Rose's tombstone is ‹freethinker›. The movement was Ernestine's backup to be able to push the women's and abolitionist's issues with unforeseen comfort and strength until the interruption of Civil War. At the same time it might also have been her loyalty to the freethinking movement that sealed her fate in being the one suffragette leader forgotten in US-American women's history, as Kolmerten suspects.[68] A striking example of Rose's absence can be found in the Washington Capitol: the women's rights memorial in the Capitol's rotunda shows Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott (fig. 6).[69]

Anthony and Mott were both born into Quaker families, Mott was even a Quaker preacher. Stanton was the author of the first *Women's Bible*, published in two volumes in 1895 and 1898.[70] Behind the three marble busts there is a rough-hewn marble at the top of the sculpture, as if the artist Adelaide Johnson left the artwork unfinished. This marble piece silently marks the invisible atheist legacy that Rose represents in US-American history. However, the newly arranged tombstone at Highgate Cemetery is surely a first step of recovery and acceptance: recovering a buried part of women's rights history and accepting the (religious) plurality and controversy that characterized the suffragette movement.

65 See Kolmerten 1999, 231.

66 See Kolmerten 1999, 208.

67 On many occasions Ernestine acted as major speaker while William was the organizer; on this teamwork see Kolmerten 1999, xxiv, 39 and 41. Whereas Luce Stone or Antoinette Brown were always paid for their lectures, Rose never sought personal gain; see Kolmerten 1999, 182.

68 See Kolmerten 1999, xviii; and Aston 2015.

69 Images of the sculpture can be found on https://www.aoc.gov/capitol-hill/other-statues/portrait-monument (accessed November 19, 2018).

70 Stanton 1999.

*Fig. 6: The women's rights memorial in the Washington Capitol's rotunda shows Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott (Image: Wikimedia Commons).*[71]

### *4. Anna Mahler: The Restless Sculptress*

Returning to the main entrance of Highgate East cemetery we pass by a unique tombstone: the sculpture of a tiny woman covering her face with both hands. Despite the small height of the figure she seems long and tall. This impression is reinforced by a tight dress that adumbrates bosom and waist and reaches the statue's feet in pleats. Likewise toes and fingers are clearly carved out and even the straight forearm is designed decisively. The petite woman has a dynamic expression although she hides her face – a gesture we might interpret as sadness, fear or shame. The delicate hands do not cover the whole face but leave the forehead blank. We can almost sense her eyes. Her intention might be to play hide and seek. Whether happy or sad, the statue indicates the dual meaning of an impossible gaze: the statue stands in public, but because she does not want to look, we also cannot see her completely (fig. 7).

71 https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/89/PortraitMonument.jpg (accessed May 12, 2018).

At the bottom of the sculpture we read the name of «Anna Mahler / sculptor / 1904–1988». Anna Justine Mahler was the daughter of the famous composer Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) and the ingenious ‹show-woman› Alma Mahler-Werfel (1879–1964). [72] She grew up in a stimulating environment in Vienna at the turn of the century. She showed many talents already in her early years. At the age of seven she was able to read notes, even sight-read, and played the piano, the cello, and the violin as well.[73] As a teenager she started drawing and painting and developed her skills as a sculptor in her thirties[74] – a profession she would not abandon throughout her lifetime marked by the Second World War, exile and countless travels all over Europe, the United States and even China. I will shed light on Anna Mahler's restless life by highlighting three aspects that are related to her tombstone on Highgate: the eyes, the body and the notion of hide and seek.

Little Anna's appearance was marked by big blue eyes, thus her parents called her «Guckerl» or «Gucki» (German: *gucken*, to see ).[75] Elias Canetti wrote about her: «Anna was entirely enclosed in her eyes and apart from that nearly mute, her voice, although deep and low, never meant anything to me.»[76] Even her late friend Herta Blaukopf begins her account of Anna with the impression of her eyes: «When I saw Anna Mahler for the first time, I noticed immediately her bright, very big eyes, with which she seemed to see more than other people.»[77] Anna Mahler herself remembers that she often felt lonely as a child surrounded by all the grown-ups in her mother's mansion – so she started to observe and to draw all these «inter-

72 After the death of her first husband Gustav, Alma Mahler was married a further three times, to the painter and writer Oskar Kokoschka, the architect and founder of Bauhaus Walter Gropius, and the author Franz Werfel; see Weidle 2004a, 9. Moreover, Alma Mahler kept a network of artist, intellectuals and politicians, mostly of the Austrian Ständestaat, that later led the country into the Third Reich; on these relations see Hilmes 2004.

73 See Weidle 2004a, 14.

74 On painting and sculpting see Weidle 2004a, 18; and Weidle 2004b, 58.

75 See Weidle 2004a, 9.

76 «Anna war ganz in den Augen enthalten und sonst beinahe stumm, ihre Stimme, obwohl sie tief war, hat mir nie etwas bedeutet» (Seeber 2004, 153, translation by the author). Canetti got to know Anna Mahler in 1933 and was so fascinated by Anna's eyes that he entitled the third part of his autobiography *Augenspiel* after her «play of eyes»; see Blaukopf 2004, 144, and Seeber 2004, 154.

77 «Als ich Anna Mahler zum erstenmal sah, fielen mir gleich ihre hellen, sehr großen Augen auf, mit denen sie mehr wahrzunehmen schien als andere» (Blaukopf 2004, 144, translation by the author). Herta Blaukopf is the author of the collected letters of Gustav Mahler.


*Fig. 7: Anna Mahler's tomb with the characteristic female figure; the origin of the statue is unknown (Image: Dolores Zoé Bertschinger 2017).*

esting people».[78] Her eyes as windows to the world enabled Anna Mahler to communicate in her very own way: her oeuvre covers 206 objects,[79] its main motifs are the (female) body and especially faces. Her portraits of composers, authors and politicians in clay, stone, and bronze are the peak of her artistic work, for Anna Mahler was able to see more than a ‹non-artist› was able to see, as she described it.[80] It was her way to encounter the distinguished company in her mother's mansion face to face and not only as the daughter of the famous composer Mahler. It was due to her ability of observing and seeing people, that she encountered them at eye level.

Both, her mother Alma Mahler-Werfel as well as Anna Mahler, were women of exceeding beauty and sensational appearance.[81] And both wom-

78 «Ins Haus meiner Mutter kamen viele interessante Menschen, und da ich mich unter ihnen allein fühlte, begann ich, sie zu zeichnen» (Weidle 2004d, 169).
79 Since all of her early works were destroyed during World War II this figure is only an estimation; see Weidle 2004d, 206.
80 See Weidle 2004d, 210. Anna Mahler published her ideas on art and aesthetics in the essay *Die Gestalt des Menschen in der Kunst* in 1962; see Weidle 2004d, 207.
81 See for example Anna Mahler's depiction of her mother in Weidle 2004a, 25.

en enjoyed their reputation as *femmes fatales* without compromise.[82] In contrast to her mother Alma, Anna did not hesitate to engage in the most physical act of sculpting with stone. It was the hardness, the resistance of the material, that challenged her and to which she responded with the force of her own body. «My sculpting is a discipline in which you need everything: the body, intelligence, and feeling.»[83] It seems that Anna Mahler never shied away, even from dead bodies. At the age of three her sister Maria passed away, also her father Gustav Mahler died when Anna was only five years old.[84] At the age of 24 she witnessed the death of Lili Schnitzler,[85] who had shot herself. Anna took care of the dying teenager and even carried her coffin to the grave.[86] When her beloved half-sister Manon Gropius suffered from polio, Anna witnessed her dying process, and made a death mask of Manon's face.[87] This was also the case with the composer Arthur Schönberg, whom she portrayed shortly before his death in 1951.[88] Anna Mahler's fascination with the human body, was part of a larger movement in European art history, including Auguste Rodin, Aristide Maillol, and Franz Wotruba, that focused on the shape and volume of bodies.[89] What was extraordinary in Mahler's work, especially concerning female bodies, is formal simplicity paired with a hermetic inwardness, as though the human body serves only as a cover for the embodiment of something transcendent.[90]

Her origin made Anna Mahler a celebrity during the 1920s in Vienna. As *the* daughter of Mahler she remained a requested person even after her emigration to Los Angeles in 1950. Her name was boon and bane. On the

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82 See Weidle 2004b, 61. Alma Mahler-Werfel was married four times and divorced three times, Anna Mahler went through five marriages (with conducter Rupert Koller, composer Ernst Krenek, publisher Paul Zsolnay, conducter Anatole Fistoulari, and screenwriter Albrecht Joseph) but found herself again and again wanting to stay independent and on her own; see Weidle 2004c, 142–143. For more information about her character and way of life see also the novel *Nachwelt. Ein Reisebericht* (1999), a work by Marlene Streeruwitz, dedicated to Anna Mahler.

83 «Meine Bildhauerei ist eine Disziplin, in der man alles braucht: den Körper, Intelligenz, Gefühl» (Weidle 2004d, 168, translation by the author). In fact, when her mentor Fritz Wotruba first suggested to her to work with stone she doubted that a woman of her figure and size could actually do it; see Weidle 2004d, 176.

84 See Weidle 2004a, 10.

85 Daughter of author and dramatist Arthur Schnitzler; see Weidle 2004b, 50.

86 See Weidle 2004b, 52.

87 See Weidle 2004b, 63.

88 See Weidle 2004c, 135.

89 See Weidle 2004d, 177–179.

90 For an interpretation of Anna Mahler's work see Weidle 2004d, 210–214.

one hand she enjoyed the attention and kept her birth name through all of her five marriages.[91] And she never hesitated to give her name for a good cause, for example to the Committee of the Austrian Centre in exile in London in 1939, together with Sigmund Freud.[92] On the other hand, she tried to keep her life private, was introverted and preferred to live and work independently.[93] When Anna invited friends to her place, she used to work in her studio until the very last second, and only changed her dress rapidly to welcome the guests. Her notable status put her under so much pressure, that she even disappeared beneath the table on one occasion when one of her guests attempted to drink to her at a birthday party.[94] Escaping and hiding were a major topic in Anna Mahler's life. She tried to escape her marriage to Paul Zsolnay in 1931, and it was in this time of hiding, that Anna Mahler started to develop her skills as a sculptor.[95] Ultimately her future husband found her and kept her in a place near Vienna. Anna Mahler's restless lifestyle, her ever changing home places, can be interpreted as an attempt not to be found. Anna herself said, it was no problem for her to move again and again, because: «I am at home in myself.»[96]

Having considered Anna Mahler's biography, we should take another look at the petite woman in Highgate Cemetery. Knowing about Anna's paradoxical lifestyle as one of Vienna's celebrities and at the same time her being an artist who never gained full recognition, we now can detect a conflict between the petite woman's presence in the world (being seen) and the instinctive gesture of hiding (not to be seen). The woman is hiding her face but at the same time she seems to wonder, whether we look at her or not – maybe she even peeks through her fingers? Even if we reconsider a possible gesture of weeping, we cannot tell whether she is crying or just recovering from grief. Although the bronze statue is firm and bound to its place, it seems on the edge of moving its feet. In all this ambiguity it almost seems to be too much of a coincidence, that we do not know whether this petite woman is part of Anna Mahler's own oeuvre. All things

91 Therefore she can be recognized as a Mahler-offshoot even in death, as her tombstone indicates.

92 She also designed a tombstone for Freud, that was never realized; see Weidle 2004d, 193; on Anna Mahler's time in Exile and her being more a kind of ‹figure head› than a political agitator see Weidle 2004c, 121–123.

93 For example Anna Mahler never tried to connect to other sculptors although she kept in contact with many different artists; see Weidle 2004d, 203.

94 Anyway, she preferred people visiting her in her studio so as not to leave her universe; see Weidle 2004b, 60–62.

95 See Weidle 2004b, 57–58.

96 Hurworth 2004, 37.

considered, the bronze woman fits perfectly into Anna Mahler's collection of female sculptures that are «in the world without taking part».[97]

### *5. Radclyffe Hall: The Spiritist Writer*

Emerging from this biographical sketch of an almost forgotten sculptress, we enter West Highgate to find another group of female artists. The impressive Egyptian Avenue leads us to the architectural heart of the Cemetery, the Circle of Lebanon. A huge cedar tree at its centre is circled by a small number of chambers, which designate their exclusive status.[98] Going around the low levelled circle our view is channelled along the mossy chamber walls. In this dark grey atmosphere our eye catches sight of orange lilies and yellow roses in front of a vault's black iron door. The flower vase stands on a memorial stone with the engraved name of Radclyffe Hall. Above the gate we can read the name of Mabel Veronica Batten and on the left side of the door-frame we find a marble plaque saying: «Radclyffe Hall / 1943 /… and, if God choose, / I shall but love thee better / after death. / Una.» (figs. 8 and 9).

The arrangement on this vault presents a triangular relationship of unequal condition: three names put on three different levels. Researching the story of this grave, I discovered that the names do not even reveal the legal identities of Radclyffe and Una. So who were these individuals, what kind of connection did they have and why do people still lay down freshly cut flowers?[99]

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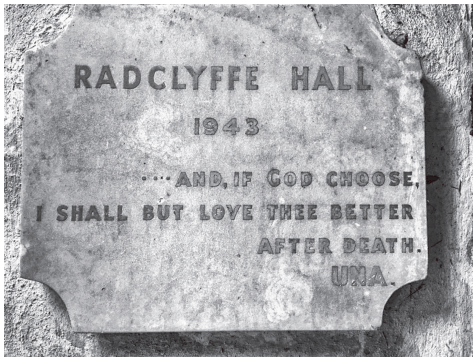
97 See Weidle 2004d, 206. Even after repeated visits I was not able to find the name of the sculptress or sculptor on the gravestone; also the literature about Anna Mahler provides no indication of the tombstone's origin.

98 Initially 20 chambers were built but these «proved so popular that, 40 years after the inner circle was constructed, an outer circle of 16 more vaults was built […]» (Bulmer 2014, 33). One of these newly established vaults was adapted as a Columbarium (deposit of cremated remains) in 1894. On the Circle of Lebanon see also Barker 1984, 13–14.

99 As I am merely interested in the personalities and relationships of the three protagonists I draw heavily on Baker's *Our Three Selves. The Life of Radclyffe Hall* (1985). For a recent publication see Souhami 2013 and the Chapter on Hall in Fest 2009.


*Figs. 8 and 9: The tomb of Mabel Veronica Batten and Radclyffe Hall; after Hall's death Una Troubridge had the marble plaque placed by the entrance (Images: Dolores Zoé Bertschinger 2017).*

Mabel Veronica Batten was already in her fifties, when she met the 27 year old Radclyffe in 1907.[100] She was one of the leading amateur singers of her days, «at once bohemian and bourgeois»,[101] her nickname ‹Ladye› emphasises her double role. During this time Marguerite Antonia Radclyffe-Hall had just published her first collection of poems *Twixt Earth and Stars* (1906) and had already lived through several love affairs with women.[102] Although it seems to have been love at first sight, Mabel's and Radclyffe's relationship developed slowly. But when they went on a holiday to Belgium, the two «who left England as friends came back as lovers.»[103] It was Ladye who changed ‹Marguerite› into ‹John›,[104] a nickname she kept throughout her lifetime. John willingly adopted Mabel's habit of travelling widely throughout Europe – and also her conservative standpoint as a

100 Mable Batten was born in India in 1856 and lived there with her husband George and daughter Cara until 1882, when they moved to England and Mabel started her singing career; see Baker 1985, 34–35.
101 Baker 1985, 33.
102 Baker 1985 mentions Agnes Nicholls (23–25), and Radclyffe's US-American cousins Jane Randolph (25–26) and Dorothy Diehl (26–27).
103 Baker 1985, 36.
104 Probably she named her after her great-grandfather; see Baker 1985, 47.

monarchist and patriot.[105] Against their Catholic views Mabel and John both advocated the Divorce Law reform and took a philanthropic interest in prostitution as it affected women.[106] They were attracted by the women's rights movement and shared friends with suffragettes such as Emmeline Pankhurst, Winnaretta Singer, Ethel Smythe and Violet Hunt. However, Mabel and John never actively joined the suffragette movement. After a demonstration in front of Parliament on 4th March 1912, Radclyffe even declared herself (anonymously) a ‹former suffragist› in a letter published in *The Times*.[107] John kept traditional gender views throughout her lifetime and promoted patriarchal relations and family models in her literary work, a reason why many feminists and lesbians already at the time declined her accounts of lesbian love.[108]

On 1st August 1915, John and Ladye met Una Troubdridge at a party in Cambridge.[109] Una – real name, Margit Elena Gertrude Taylor – was a «professional artist of proven reputation»[110] and it is in her that we find yet another sculptress.[111] Mutual admiration of each other's work set the pattern for Radclyffe and Unas friendship that slowly but surely led into a love affair right under Ladye's eyes.[112] In 1916 Una even moved into the same Hotel where Ladye and Radclyffe stayed. Nearly 60 years of age, Ladye's fragile state of health declined even more, feeling sick at heart. After

105 Rumour had it that Mabel enjoyed an affair with Edward VII before he became king and she always took close interest in his activities; see Baker 1985, 33, 37 and 39. An example of Radclyffe and Mabel's political position is their engagement in the recruitment of men to enlist for World War I. John wrote the leaflets and together they drove around the district distributing them. «Neither woman had near relatives at the front, so their experience of the conflict remained essentially vicarious» (Baker 1985, 55.) In World War II they even sided with the Fascists; Baker 1985, 140–141. For Radclyffe calling herself Conservative see Baker 1985, 246.

106 See Baker 1985, 48.

107 See Baker 1985, 49. Baker continues on Radclyffe's feminism being «at best ambiguous, her sympathies complicated by her curiously divided nature. She saw herself increasingly as a man trapped in a woman's body. Accordingly, she tended to identify primarily with men» (49), a statement that seems far too simplistic in the light of recent developments in gender, queer and transgender theory that perceives gender as a complex configuration outside of a heteronormative framework.

108 See Baker 1985, 191–192, 218–219, and 248–249; see also Pusch 1993.

109 See Baker 1985, 61–62.

110 Baker 1985, 72.

111 At the age of only 13 Una won a scholarship to start her career in modelling in clay. On Una's childhood and artistic development see Baker 1985, 63–64.

112 See Baker 1985, 72–75.

a quarrelsome dinner Ladye felt unwell and fainted, never recovering fully again. She died on 25 May 1916 and was buried at Highgate. After the mourning of Ladye's death, it was their fascination for *en vogue* spiritualism that brought Una and Radclyffe back together.[113] The well-known Mrs. Osborne Leonard became Radclyffe's lifelong medium to stay in touch with «her Ladye». At the second séance with Mrs Leonard, Radclyffe invited Una to take notes.[114] This marked the beginning of an «extraordinary triangular relationship»:[115] Ladye became both idol and ultimate arbiter for Una and John and every house they lived in turned partly into a shrine with photographs and mementos of Ladye.[116] Following Una's memories in *The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall* (1945) Ladye even predicted that John would pass away before Una.[117]

John died on 7 October 1943 from cancer whereupon Una buried her in Ladye's vault and had the marble plate placed at the doorframe. In 1918 John had already obtained permission that Una may be buried with her and Ladye in the vault at Highgate.[118] However, Una lived for another twenty years and died in Rome in 1963. Her will, according to which she would have completed the «holy trinity»[119] with Ladye and John, was found too late – she was buried at Verano Cemetery. Today, one can only guess the reasons for the flowers at Ladye and John's grave . There might indeed be «[m]odern-day admirers of the novelist[, that] regularly lay freshly cut flowers at the vault's doors».[120] Or there might be some people who pay respect to an extraordinary chapter of lesbian relationships in women's history.

113 After the controversial night that caused Ladye's blackout John was driven by guilt and she desperately wanted to know whether Ladye blamed her for her death or not; see Baker 1985, 84.

114 On these first sessions see Baker 1985, 88–94, who gives detailed records of the conversations.

115 Baker 1985, 3.

116 Moreover, the sessions at Mrs. Leonhards was John and Una's entry ticket into the Society for Psychical Research. Una and John published their séances notes as research papers on the accuracy of Mrs. Leonhards revelations, they recorded instances of telepathy occuring between themselves and observed lights, which Ladye explained to them to be the sign that she was watching over them; see Baker 1985, 104–105.

117 See Baker 1985, 338.

118 See Baker 1985, 118.

119 Baker 1985, 3.

120 Bulmer 2014, 33.

## 6. *The Image as Practice for a Feminist Imaginary*

This contribution has provided concise glimpses into the multi-faceted lives of Jenny von Westphalen, Ernestine L. Rose, Anna Mahler and Radclyffe Hall including Mable Batten and Una Troubridge. Our walk through Highgate Cemetery started at the gate of theoretical reflection on the feminist imaginary, as Naranch and Castoriadis understand it. Except for Rose, none of the four women were actively involved in the women's or even suffragette movement. Von Westphalen and Hall had a public voice insofar as their articles were published in newspapers. But none of these women were involved in established political institutions of their times and nation states. They were, to repeat Castoriadis' words, women who «twenty-four hours a day, in the home, at work, in the kitchen, in bed, in the street, in relation to children, to their husbands» have transformed the situation of women in society. Although I fully agree with Castoriadis in his estimation of the women's movement, there is one thing he overlooked: women did not only transform their situation in relation to their children and husbands, but in relation to their mothers, daughters, female friends, lovers and suffragist companions as well. Looking at the biographies of the four women, one has to admit that women always interrelated with other women and most often these relationships were decisive for their ways of life.

Jenny von Westphalen had many penfriends and maintained close relationships with the *grandes dames* of her time such as Georges Sand as well as her daughters Laura and Tussy. Ernestine L. Rose shared stages and exchanged arguments with other suffragettes almost all of her life. In a psychologically complex way Anna Mahler's biography was shaped by the relationship to her mother Alma Mahler-Werfel. And while she preferred working on her own, she created her own very unique group of female companions and surrounded herself with numerous female statues. Finally, the short glimpse into the lives of Hall, Batten and Troubridge already made it evident that these three cannot be reduced to their *ménage a trois*, but maintained connections to many different women all over Europe. Through letters, travel and the arts all of the portrayed women kept women's networks alive, that were far more extensive than the keyword ‹women's movement› suggests. In view of these far-reaching networks, the vaults in Highgate seem like knots that can serve as starting point for rediscovering the contribution of women to our common history. It is our own decision, whether we go on a pilgrimage to visit Marx's grave in Highgate Cemetery, or whether we undertake an unforeseen journey to remember

the «longest revolution»[121] (Juliette Mitchell) and honour these women in their own right.

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121 Mitchell 1984.

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