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**Margaret Fuller, Bettina von Arnim,  
Karoline von Günderode: A Kinship of Souls**

In January 1842, as editor of the transcendental journal *The Dial*, Margaret Fuller wrote in an essay entitled "Bettine Brentano and her Friend Günderode":

I have been accustomed to distinguish the two as Nature and Ideal. Bettine, hovering from object to object, drawing new tides of vital energy from all, living freshly alike in man and tree, loving the breath of damp earth as well as that of the flower which springs from it, bounding over fences of society as easily as over the fences of the field, intoxicated with the apprehension of each new mystery, never hushed into silence by the highest, flying and singing like the bird, sobbing with the hopelessness of an infant, prophetic, yet astonished at the fulfillment of each prophecy, restless, fearless, clinging to love, yet unwearied in experiment—is not this the pervasive vital force, cause of the effect which we call nature? And Günderode, in the soft dignity of each look and gesture, whose lightest word has the silvery spiritual clearness of an angel's lyre, harmonizing all objects into their true relations, drawing from every form of life its eternal meaning, checking, reproving, and clarifying all that was unworthy by her sadness at the possibility of its existence. Does she not meet the wild, fearless bursts of the friendly genius, to measure, to purify, to interpret, and thereby to elevate? As each word of Bettine's calls to enjoy and behold, like a free breath of mountain air, so each of Günderode's comes like the moonbeam to transfigure the landscape, to hush the wild beatings of the heart and dissolve all the sultry vapors of the day into the pure dewdrops of the solemn and sacred night.<sup>1</sup>

Fuller's description is worth citing at length because it captures perceptively and poetically the different natures of the two German women, and the "two modes of life," as Fuller called them. Essayist, critic, feminist, and a major intellectual force in her own right, the American Margaret Fuller (1810–50), was quite taken with the two German women



whom she knew only by name and through their works, especially through Bettina von Arnim's epistolary account of her friendship with Karoline von Günderode (1804-6), *Die Günderode*, published only in 1840.<sup>2</sup> Fuller's admiration for this work was so persistent that she included in the *Dial* article her own translation of about one fourth of the letters from von Arnim's book which was intended to be the first of four long installments. Later that same year, her friend Elizabeth Peabody published Fuller's translation in a thin volume entitled *Günderode*. As it happens, Margaret Fuller never finished the entire translation project, probably because it did not receive the public acclaim she had hoped for and because she was overburdened with her own work. The translation was continued and completed in 1861 by Minna Wesselhoeft who as a young girl lived next to the Fuller house in Cambridge. Although there is no clear indication in the text that two different translators were involved in the project, Russell Durning, citing Thomas W. Higginson, suggests that "the first letter on page eighty-six in the 1861 edition marks the end of Margaret's portion of the translation. The break occurs in the middle of a letter from Bettina to Karolina."<sup>3</sup>

Stimulated by her own enthusiasm and fascination for German, Margaret Fuller was able to read and review German literary texts as a very young woman. As early as 1834 she began her first serious translation from German, Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*, as well as other major texts by Goethe and Schiller.<sup>4</sup> But even before that, Fuller and her close friend and fellow Germanophile James Freeman Clarke, did various short translations in an effort to better understand and analyze the foreign texts.<sup>5</sup> Yet Fuller was aware of the difficulty of undertaking with a limited knowledge of German a serious translation project like the Bettina von Arnim epistolary novel particularly since the text was unconventional and full of emotional outbursts typical in the private "correspondence" of two young women. In fact the problematic nature of this work is in part in its very nature. Although literary histories refer to Bettina's *Die Günderode* as a thinly veiled autobiography in the form of a *Briefroman*, it is obviously neither, since Bettina created all the letters herself more than thirty years after Karoline von Günderode's death. The autobiographical elements of the work are simply the spontaneous expressions of a young and talented woman, fictionalizing recollections of a past tender friendship. During the intervening years, between the loss of Karoline in 1806 and the composition of her novel in the mid-1830s, Bettina had lived a full life: marriage, the birth of seven children, the loss of her husband Achim von Arnim in 1831, financial and health problems within the family, and along the way, a growing determination to be a woman writer and a respected member of the intellectual elite of her time. This is the sense behind Ingeborg Drewitz's incisive description of *Die Günderode* as "ein Stück Bildungsgeschichte Bettines . . . die sie zum Modell verdichtet hat."<sup>6</sup> In the opening sentence of her "Translator's Preface" to *Correspondence of Fräulein Günderode and Bettine von Arnim*, Margaret Fuller alludes to these aspects and to her response:



This translation is offered to the public with diffidence, for the task is one of great difficulty. The original is not a work subject to the canons of literary criticism, but a simple product of private relations. . . . The exact transmission of thought seems to me the one important thing in a translation. . . . In translating, I throw myself, as entirely as possible, into the mood of the writer. . . . The style thus formed is at least a transcript of the feelings excited by the original.<sup>7</sup>

To be sure, there are occasional problems with Fuller's translation, some having to do with the inherent differences of syntax and sentence structure of the two languages. Bettina makes regular use of compound nouns and long, complex sentences, quite natural in the style of a native speaker, lending as they do a personal touch of spontaneity and intimacy to the "correspondence." In the first letter, although Fuller's "prattling spirit" is an acceptable translation of "Plaudergeist," it does not reveal the airy and childlike tone so typical of Bettina von Arnim in this work. Similarly, in the same text, the underlying irony in "Hauptursach," referring to Bettina's cousin's long nose is lost in Fuller's overly weighty translation of "true reason." There are occasional mistakes, like the translation of "run" for "verlaufen," and at times Fuller adds a word to promote general understanding but which diminishes the unique playfulness of the original. Finally, Margaret Fuller's use of *thee* and *thou* does not correspond to Bettina's colloquial dropping of the final *e* on nouns and on first-person verb forms, which produces an overall tone more literary and formal than the original, especially of course for contemporary readers. In spite of these shortcomings, of which Fuller herself was aware, her acquaintance and critic Higginson thought that "Margaret Fuller's first part of these letters is perhaps the best piece of literary work that she ever executed."<sup>8</sup> Fuller was clearly committed to it, even at a time when she was overburdened with the editorship of *The Dial* (1840-42), and with the organization of the very successful Boston "Conversations" which she conducted from 1839-44. Even if incomplete, this translation did preoccupy Margaret Fuller for several years during an important period of her intellectual and creative maturity, shortly before her fateful departure from the United States for Europe in 1845.

In retrospect, Margaret Fuller's attraction to the two heroines in *Die Günderrode* seems to fit into a particular moment of her life. Although outwardly a rather ebullient and intellectually aggressive woman who challenged the male intelligentsia of her native New England (especially her friend and collaborator Emerson), Fuller was the only prominent American woman of her generation engaged intellectually on a grand scale. Yet, Perry Miller has suggested that she was in fact torn between her heart and her intellect.<sup>9</sup> In the same perspective, Mason Wade claims that "for all her success in a cause that was dear to her, and for all the adulation she received from her circle, Margaret was not very happy during the years of the Conversations. The emotionalism of her nature had no profound fulfillment."<sup>10</sup> Margaret Fuller's own journal and letters confirm this view. In a typical example of her state of mind, she



writes in her journal in the summer of 1844: "With the intellect I always have, always shall, overcome; but that is not half of the work. The life, the life! O, my God! shall the life never be sweet?"<sup>11</sup> During these years Margaret Fuller was an isolated figure in a demanding intellectual environment where there were few, if any female writers with whom to associate, and no precedents of a feminine tradition in America that might have provided guidance and support. Pointing to the Brontës, George Eliot, and to Fuller's fellow American Emily Dickinson, Paula Blanchard stresses the fact that

many of the literary women of the last century . . . did not work alone in the midst of society, but succeeded either by withdrawing from it altogether and living virtually as hermits, or by being fortunate enough to find men who would fulfill for them the protective and supportive role usually assigned to literary men's wives.<sup>12</sup>

Yet, Margaret Fuller insisted on "living the intellectual life of a man and the social life of a woman," a fact which caused continuous frustrations and hardship. It was in this state of mind that she turned eagerly to the lives and letters of European writers who she felt were more in tune with her character and her temperament and whose lives became models for her. She was particularly attracted to the writers in France and Germany.

It is important to recall here that, her own disposition aside, Margaret Fuller had had an unusually thorough education as a young child which, in a sense, predisposed her to classical foreign authors and motivated her to acquire the language skills to read them. The oldest of eight children, Margaret Fuller was educated privately by her ambitious lawyer father Timothy Fuller who apparently put intellect first and had little concern for his daughter's emotional needs.<sup>13</sup> Realizing early Margaret's intellectual potential, the father appears to have viewed her education as his own personal achievement in a life otherwise filled with disappointments and thwarted political aspirations. Margaret was taught to read English and Latin at a very early age. She taught herself German, and in her early twenties, around 1832, she was beginning a serious course of study of Goethe, Schiller, Novalis, Jean Paul, and other German Romantics. It was for Goethe however that Fuller felt the greatest and most lasting admiration, and he remained the uncontested source of intellectual inspiration in her youth.<sup>14</sup> Although some of her contemporaries, and in particular Emerson and Thoreau felt disenchanted with Goethe, feeling that he fell short in his "messianic role of the visionary artist," Fuller never waived in her respect for him.<sup>15</sup> In a letter to James Freeman Clarke in 1832, she refers to Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften*, and was an early champion of a novel considered scandalous by many.<sup>16</sup> Predictably, Fuller was naturally taken with Ottilie's courage and strength of character. By renouncing her love, Fuller thought, Ottilie showed her ability "to instruct others" in determination and discipline, two qualities of character which she admired greatly and which she herself personified to perfection. Twelve years later, and still



under the spell of her admiration for everything German, Margaret Fuller wrote in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845): "Germany did not need to learn a high view of Woman; it was inborn in that race."<sup>17</sup>

Fuller's interest in German letters was both intellectual and emotional. The remark from a letter in 1835, "I fear I am merely 'Germanico,' and not 'transcendental,'"<sup>18</sup> suggests that she aligned herself and felt emotionally closer to the German spirit than to that of her own American generation of intellectuals and literati. From her own experience in and around Boston and Concord, Margaret Fuller felt that the social and intellectual climate in Germany was more open and more favorable to women than in her home country. Furthermore, the fact that in her *Günderode*, Bettina von Arnim discusses with considerable ease and understanding such sophisticated authors as Goethe and Hölderlin indicated to Margaret Fuller that German culture had allowed women to progress further in literary sophistication. In her *Dial* article on *Die Günderode* we read: "Let him who has seated himself beneath the great German oak, and gazed upon the growth of poesy, of philosophy, of criticism, of historic painting, of the drama . . . pick up these little acorns which are dropping gracefully on the earth, and carry them away to be planted in his own home" (321).

From at least the mid-1830s, Margaret Fuller began to idealize German Romantic literature, in part because she perceived it as a body of letters emerging out of a society that valued the talents of women and was more intellectually respectful of their feminine difference. Beyond the lasting admiration for Goethe and Fuller's continued interest in other male German writers like Schiller and Jean Paul, there was an increased attraction to German women writers in the late 1830s. The two women Margaret Fuller felt closest to were Bettina von Arnim (1785–1859), younger sister of Clemens Brentano, and Karoline von Günderode (1780–1806), the young canoness, and a respected Romantic poet in her own right.

Margaret Fuller had probably read Bettina von Arnim's novel shortly after its publication in Germany in 1840 because she mentions it in a letter to W. H. Channing in the same year. What must have struck Margaret Fuller immediately upon reading *Die Günderode* was the two German women's unique sense of friendship. Fuller herself had an unusually strong need and appreciation for friendship, and the strong bond between the women in the novel touched her deeply. In her journal she noted in 1843, that love among the same sex "is regulated by the same law as that of love between persons of different sexes; only it is purely intellectual and spiritual. Its law is the desire of the spirit to realize a whole, which makes it seek in another being what it finds not in itself."<sup>19</sup>

Margaret Fuller found Bettina von Arnim's earlier fictionalized account *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child* (1837) very disappointing, expressing as she thought, an emotional imbalance: "Excess . . . anywhere must lead to poverty somewhere . . . yet if there be not in the mind a counterpoising force, which draws us back to the centre in proportion as we have flown from it, we . . . are not vivified but



weakened by our love" (*The Dial*, 315). In her second book however, Fuller found that von Arnim had avoided that "excess," and she thought that the relationship of the two women in *Die Günderröde* displayed the highest harmony of soul and intellect. Because of their different natures, the one "nature," the other "ideal," Bettina and Karoline formed a perfect balance which in its reciprocal effects resulted in a delicate and creative tension. Fuller writes: "The letters would be of great interest, if only for the distinct pictures they present of the two modes of life; and the two beautiful figures which animate and portray these modes of life are in perfect harmony with them" (*The Dial*, 318). The essentially poetic qualities which Fuller admired in the German women's relationship, the blending of "nature" and "ideal," touched her own romantic sensibilities. She saw them in the romantic mode of a Novalis whom she also admired and whose poetic perception of life, his "imperfection, and glow" made Margaret Fuller feel "as though I could pursue my natural mode with him" (*Letters*, 77). Thus ironically, in romanticizing their existence in their letters, the two women actually achieved a higher degree of reality. What the German critic Gert Mattenklott observed of Bettina von Arnim is exactly what attracted Margaret Fuller: "Die Lebenskunst dieser Frau, die darauf gerichtet war, die Freiheit ihres Empfindens, Denkens und Handelns durch Exaltation zu gewinnen."<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the temperamental ties between them ("nature" and "ideal"), Margaret Fuller was also impressed with the fact that the two German women complemented each other on an intellectual level, the third "mode" so important to the American writer. Learning, and acquiring knowledge was an important part of their relationship, and one which Fuller found particularly apt since it elevated the emotional friendship to the higher intellectual level the great German Romantics sought. Consciously aware of her own lack of such a friendship, Fuller was all the more attentive to the positive impact such a relationship can have on both partners, and on what its existence in society reveals of the state of culture at that time. Fuller wrote: "And not only are these letters interesting as presenting . . . an ideal relation realized, but the high state of culture in Germany which presented to the thoughts of those women themes of poesy and philosophy as readily" (*The Dial*, 320). Thus, the German "correspondence" presents not only an ideal private relationship, but it reflects as well a model intellectual, cultural climate. In this ambience, the talented Bettina relates family and local anecdotes, as well as the inexplicable tragedy of Hölderlin's life and the political vagaries within German society.

Often, the more educated, but in Bettina's novel, inherently more cautious Karoline von Günderröde assumes the position of teacher, guiding and channeling the diverse energies of her exuberant pupil. Bettina, on the other hand, more intuitive and less constrained by conventional thinking, urges her friend to be more imaginative and forceful. Thus, while Günderröde counsels her friend to dedicate more time and energy to her study of history, Bettina replies that book learning induces lack of imagination, "eine versteinerte Welt." While



Karoline wants to prepare Bettina by training and strengthening her intellectual faculties, "was sich im Geist ereignet, ist Vorbereitung einer sich ausbildenden Zukunft,"<sup>21</sup> Bettina tries to convince the more reticent friend of the values of learning through living, "Geist einatmen, wodurch ich lebe, den ich aber auch wieder ausatme, und nicht einen Geistballast in mich schlucken, an dem ich ersticken müßt" (*Die Günderode*, 285). For the natural, free-spirited Bettina, the realm of the imagined is part of her existence, "keine Absonderung der Phantasie von der Wirklichkeit." Thus, in this highly intellectualized period of German letters, Bettina von Arnim stresses the return to and the reliance on the self, the inner world as counterbalance to reality. Her alter ego Karoline, allows her to develop her own self, but Bettina also sees herself in Karoline. The format of the epistolary novel lends itself particularly well to this ongoing presentation and elaboration of the self which is so important to the German Romantic literary temperament.

Bettina's insistence on the self manifests itself clearly in their "Schwebereligion," which emerges early in their relationship. The basic tenet of this ethic lies in the ongoing development and strengthening of the self, while protecting it against external pressures and influences. Bettina's advice to her friend Karoline is both poetic and specific:

Auch über die Verkältung hinweg im Nachtwind wie im Sonnenschein sein eigener Herr bleiben, das muß ein Gesetz unserer schwebenden Religion sein. . . . Ein jeder muß ein inneres Heiligtum haben, dem er schwört . . . jeder soll neugierig sein auf sich selber und soll sich zutage fördern wie aus der Tiefe ein Stück Erz oder ein Quell. (*Die Günderode*, 164, 169, 172)

This notion of self-reliance must have struck Margaret Fuller's imagination for it is one of the major issues that recurs in the latter sections of her justly famous *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, originally published in a shorter version in the *Dial* in July 1843, only one-and-a-half years after her essay on *Die Günderode*. In the following citation one hears a clear resonance that could have come from Bettina von Arnim: "What woman needs is not as a woman to act or rule, but as a nature to grow, as an intellect to discern, as a soul to live freely and unimpeded to unfold such powers as were given her when we left our common home."<sup>22</sup> The emphasis here, not on power per se, but on woman's "nature" and "intellect," also recalls the original "modes of life" Margaret Fuller had appreciated in the von Arnim-Günderode relationship: "nature" and "ideal." A woman's task is to promote the nature and ideal of her own femininity that distinguishes her from the male, and Margaret Fuller would add that this femininity should be developed through learning and the intellect. On this particular point alone, the kinship between Margaret Fuller and Bettina von Arnim is particularly close, keeping in mind that the American woman also admired the German society that permitted the growth of women's "nature" and "ideal."

This attitude was surely a motivating factor in the organization and realization of her Boston "Conversations," a series of public seminars



held during this time. The topics of these seminars, given primarily for women, emphasized education, reading, and developing the intellect. These "Conversations" were also closely related to the famous literary piece in the July 1843 issue of the *Dial*, "The Great Lawsuit: Man Versus Men; Woman versus Women," which was later expanded into *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845). Paula Blanchard writes:

This article, the most radical feminist document yet produced in America, brings together the liberal thought she had distilled from years of study and the bitter contradictions and disillusionment she had experienced, not only in her own life but in the lives of literally dozens of other women who had confided in her as in no one else.<sup>23</sup>

One of her intentions for organizing the "Conversations" for the women of Boston was

to systematize thought, and give a precision and clearness in which our sex are so deficient, chiefly I think, because they have so few inducements to test and to classify what they receive. To ascertain what pursuits are best suited to us in our time and state of society, and how we make best use of our means for building up the life of thought upon the life of action.<sup>24</sup>

Clearly, her ambitions for these meetings were high, and according to contemporaries, her topics of discussion (literature, philosophy and politics) were intended to stimulate her female audience to begin to prepare intellectually for the future. In fact, Margaret Fuller held strongly to the view of the nineteenth century as a starting point after which women would be integrated more equally into society. In all of her writing at the time, and in the Boston "Conversations," one of the implied goals was to renew the place and function of women in American society. Her interest in translating *Die G nderode* for an American audience was part of this thrust.

Of *Die G nderode* she wrote in the *Dial*: "We feel that this book, with all its singular beauty of detail, presents to us but a beginning" (349). The collage effect of Bettina's novel, with a kind of mixed literary effect, interweaving letters, poems, some intellectual and philosophical prose, and even a short play, all of this suggests openness and a model of the various kinds of writing women could aspire to. In an essay from 1978 on Karoline von G nderode, Christa Wolf referred to Bettina von Arnim's novel, and the friendship it describes as "Verk rperung einer Utopie."<sup>25</sup> Although the word "utopia" does not occur in Margaret Fuller's writings on Bettina or on women, it is implicit in her hopes and expectations for women beyond the nineteenth century. This ideal which she felt to be alive in the German Romantic women, and which seems to have haunted Margaret Fuller particularly during the early 1840s, was undoubtedly reinforced through her reading of Bettina von Arnim. For Fuller, the book is a symbol for the achievement of a generation of women who courageously look to the future. Christa Wolf



sees the work and its author as representative of other women at the time who bear witness to the oncoming changes:

Der Briefwechsel der Günderrode ist ein Zeugnis dafür. Frauen, die es fertigbringen, ihre eigene Lage zu reflektieren—ein Vorrecht, das wie jedes Privileg seinen Preis hat. . . . sie lehnen ab, was die Hierarchie verlangt. . . . Beinahe voraussetzungslos, auf Ideen nur, nicht auf soziale, ökonomische, politische Gegebenheiten gestützt, sind sie dazu verurteilt, Außenseiter zu werden.<sup>26</sup>

And in *Die Günderrode*, as if to echo Margaret Fuller's own hopes, Bettina's final lines to Karoline read: "Alles Werden ist für die Zukunft, ja, wir nähren uns von der Zukunft, sie begeistert uns.—Die Zukunft entspringt dem Geist wie der Keim der nährenden Erde" (365).

When Bettina von Arnim published this work in 1840, the situation in Germany had changed considerably, compared to the time during which the original "correspondence" had taken place (1804–6). Among other events, there had been the revolution of 1830, and the *Vormärz* retaliation which had changed much of the mood and conditions of German life. The optimism of the young Romantics had given way to political persecution, including frequent surveillance and imprisonment of young intellectuals. In these difficult times, the celebrated Bettina von Arnim became the center of attention for many young political dissidents, and her Berlin apartment became a gathering place for discussion of social and political issues. Margaret Fuller was also active in social causes in Boston in the 1840s while a member of the transcendentalist group. She was also naturally attracted to the idea of the salons Bettina von Arnim had animated in Berlin in the late 1830s, and which "had long given women of intelligence, wit, and sympathy an influential role with men of letters and politics, a role unknown in America."<sup>27</sup> At the time when Fuller did her partial translation of *Die Günderrode*, it seems clear that she was restless and that she felt isolated in her own country. The years between 1840 and 1845 were marked by feverish work including her major publications *Summer on the Lake* (1843) and *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. She yearned to go to Europe, a plan abandoned once before due to her father's death, and so by 1845 she was more than eager to leave. She arrived in England in 1846, visited France in 1847, and later that same year reached her final destination, Italy.

Although Margaret Fuller seems not to have paid particular attention to the inscription Bettina von Arnim had added to her novel in 1839, dedicating it to the students of the *Vormärz* period and infusing it with strong political overtones, the fact remains that Margaret Fuller, like her German counterpart, adopted a political, even a revolutionary attitude when she joined Mazzini's forces in Italy in 1848. Clearly Margaret Fuller had been influenced by her understanding of the two German women, their unusual, often courageous and uncompromising attitudes toward life, their openness to new ideas, and finally their actions which were not "talk but life," which is just what Henry James remarked about Margaret Fuller.<sup>28</sup> These were the qualities that were at the heart



of the extraordinary intellectual attraction of the American transcendentalist to the two German Romantics. Margaret Fuller said about Bettina von Arnim and Karoline von Günderode that their relationship "is founded on no illusion, but a parallelism of lives that was written in the stars" (*The Dial*, 349), an ideal relationship Fuller was probably searching for, and in vain, during her "American" years.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Fuller, "Bettine Brentano and her Friend Günderode," *The Dial* 2 (1842; rpt. New York: Russel & Russel, Inc., 1961), 318-19. Subsequent citations from this article will carry the page number reference immediately following the quotation.

<sup>2</sup> The Günderode family spelled its name with two r's. Since the sixties, critics have returned to the original spelling.

<sup>3</sup> Russell E. Durning, *Margaret Fuller: Citizen of the World* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969), 115.

<sup>4</sup> For a thorough discussion of Fuller's translations into German, see *ibid.*, 101ff.

<sup>5</sup> For more on this point, see Paula Blanchard, *Margaret Fuller: From Transcendentalism to Revolution* (rpt. New York: Addison-Wesley, 1987), 67.

<sup>6</sup> Ingeborg Drewitz, *Bettine von Arnim* (rpt. Munich: Wilhelm Heyne, 1982), 188-89.

<sup>7</sup> Margaret Fuller and Minna Wesselhoeft, *Correspondence of Fräulein Günderode and Bettine von Arnim* (Boston: T.O.H.P. Burnham, 1861), v.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas W. Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (rpt.: New York, London: Chelsea House, 1981), 192.

<sup>9</sup> Perry Miller, *Margaret Fuller: American Romantic* (New York: Doubleday, 1963), xiii.

<sup>10</sup> Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (New York: Viking Press, 1940), 79.

<sup>11</sup> R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke, *Memoirs*, 2 vols. (1859; rpt. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1884), 1:237.

<sup>12</sup> Blanchard, 130-31.

<sup>13</sup> On this subject, see *ibid.*, 47.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed study of Margaret Fuller's interest in Goethe, see Frederick August Braun, *Margaret Fuller and Goethe* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1910), and Durning, 89ff.

<sup>15</sup> See Martin Christadler, "German and American Romanticism," *American-German Literary Interrelations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Christoph Wecker (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1983), 23.

<sup>16</sup> *The Letters of Margaret Fuller*, ed. Robert N. Hudspeth, 3 vols. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 1:letter no. 74. Subsequent citations from this edition will carry the letter number reference immediately following the quotation.

<sup>17</sup> Margaret Fuller, "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*, ed. Mason Wade (New York: Viking Press, 1941), 138.

<sup>18</sup> Higginson, 141.

<sup>19</sup> Emerson, et al., 1:283.

<sup>20</sup> Gert Mattenklott, "Romantische Frauenkultur: Bettina von Arnim zum Beispiel," in *Frauen-Literatur-Geschichte: Schreibende Frauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Hiltrud Gnüg and Renata Möhrmann (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1985), 128.

<sup>21</sup> Bettina von Arnim, *Die Günderode*, ed. Elisabeth Bronfen (Munich: Matthes and Seitz, 1982), 73. Subsequent citations from this book will carry the page number immediately following the quotation.

<sup>22</sup> Margaret Fuller, "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," 125.

<sup>23</sup> Blanchard, 160.

<sup>24</sup> Emerson, et al., 1:325.



<sup>25</sup> Christa Wolf, "Der Schatten eines Traumes: Karoline von Günderrode—Ein Entwurf," in *Lesen und Schreiben: Neue Sammlung* (Darmstadt and Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1980), 225–83.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 236.

<sup>27</sup> Bell Gale Chevigny, *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1976), 25.

<sup>28</sup> Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends*, excerpted in Joel Myerson, *Critical Essays on Margaret Fuller* (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1980), 132.



