

brilliant and thorough-going critique. Her earliest extant reference to Zetkin dates from a letter of September 1898, in which Luxemburg quoted to her Polish comrade and friend, Leo Jogiches, the praise Zetkin had lavished on her articles against Bernstein.⁸⁹ It was not until the Stuttgart Congress of 1898, however, that Zetkin and Luxemburg became friends. Already at this gathering the tradition was established of seeing the two outspoken radical women as a pair. A prominent revisionist spokesman Wolfgang Heine, for example, waxed poetical over "the two weird sisters Zetkin and Luxemburg . . . [who] spin their threads" of intrigue, but whose "webs" must ultimately be "revealed by the light of the sun."⁹⁰ Among their political foes Zetkin and Luxemburg were referred to simply as "the two females" by Karl Kautsky and others, or "the two hysterical females" by Victor Adler.⁹¹ Their anti-war activity between 1914 and 1918 provided a further excuse for anti-feminist tirades in the bourgeois and right-wing socialist press. These, as well as many earlier attacks on Zetkin and Luxemburg, were not lacking in sarcastic commentary on the physical appearance of the aging revolutionary feminist and her hunchbacked comrade.⁹²

⁸⁹Letter of Rosa Luxemburg to Leo Jogiches, 25 September 1898, Briefe an Jogiches, p. 115.

⁹⁰Protokoll Stuttgart 1898, p. 109.

⁹¹See, for example, the Letter of Karl Kautsky to August Bebel, 18 July (1913) and the Letter of August Bebel to Karl Kautsky, 16 August 1910, Bebel-Kautsky Briefwechsel, No. 301, 168, pp. 353-227; Letters of Victor Adler to August Bebel, 5 August and 14 September 1910, Adlers Briefwechsel, No. A 96, A 97, pp. 510, 515.

⁹²This level of debate characterized even the "dignified" Württemberg Constituent Assembly. See, for example, the disparaging jeers