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The Early Life and Family of Feminist Ernestine Rose: New Findings and an Old Secret

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Abstract: Ernestine Louise Rose, a Polish-Jewish contemporary of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton who was active in the women's rights movement, the abolitionist movement, and other progressive causes in both the United States and England, was well known in the nineteenth century but said very little about her family background. As a result, the most basic genealogical information about her has been elusive. Working backward from her last will and testament—the one known document in which Ernestine Rose named relations other than her husband—this article delves into Polish, German, British, and American records to identify her parents and siblings. In doing so, it unearths a secret that Ernestine Rose kept hidden from the public for nearly two hundred years.

In 1856, L. E. Barnard wrote a short biographical piece about Ernestine Louise Rose, a Polish-born immigrant to America who was then a well-known advocate for women's rights, the abolition of slavery, and other progressive causes. Barnard concluded the article by noting that Rose had resisted her friends' urgings to publish an autobiography, but perhaps someday could be persuaded to do so.¹

Ernestine Rose never did publish such a work, and in fact had very little to say about her personal life during the years that she was in the public eye. As a result, the details of her life prior to 1837, when newspapers began to report on her activities, remain murky. But a search of genealogical and other records has yielded new information about Ernestine's early life and family, including a secret that Ernestine managed to keep hidden from the public for nearly two hundred years.

Introduction: The Life of Ernestine Rose

In 1899, Susan B. Anthony was asked for the names of women who should lead the "Honor Roll" of early advocates for women's rights. Anthony responded, "Begin with Mary Wollstonecraft as your first Great Champion—then Frances Wright—then Ernestine L. Rose." Anthony, who had often worked alongside Ernestine for the cause, kept a portrait of Ernestine in her office.² Yet although Ernestine was well-known in her day and was honored by her peers, she is somewhat obscure now, necessitating a sketch of her life.³

Born in Piotrków Trybunalski, Poland, to a Jewish family, Ernestine left her native land as a young woman and traveled throughout Europe before coming to London in the early 1830s. There she began attending meetings of the socialist reformer Robert Owen, who, struck by her devotion to his cause and her oratorical gifts, encouraged her to give speeches despite her then imperfect command of the English language. In London she met her future husband, William Ella Rose, a silversmith, and the pair emigrated to the United States in May 1836. They settled in New York City, where William opened his own shop in lower Manhattan.

Undaunted by her newcomer status, Ernestine began agitating for reform within months of her arrival in New York. In the winter of 1836-37, she went door-to-door with a petition advocating for the right of married women to hold real estate in their own name; she gained five signatures. (Thanks to her efforts and those of others, New York State passed a rudimentary, but significant, law giving married women some property rights in 1848.) By June 1837, Ernestine had taken to the lecture platform, where she spoke on subjects such as Owenite socialism, "the science of government," educational reform, and freethought. In an age when few women spoke in public, Ernestine was not only sharing the platform with men, but debating them. By the 1840s, she was speaking on abolition; throughout the 1850s and 1860s, she was prominent in the women's rights movement.

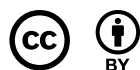




Figure 1. Ernestine Louise Rose (Library of Congress).

In 1869, Ernestine and William left for Europe, apparently for Ernestine to recover her flagging health. Although she and William returned to the United States in 1873, they stayed for only ten months before going back to England, where they would spend the rest of their lives.⁴ Despite being dogged by ill health, Ernestine continued her activism, albeit on a limited scale.

On January 26, 1882,⁵ William Rose, who had traveled into London from the couple's lodgings in Bayswater on an errand, collapsed in the street with a heart attack and died on the way to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.⁶ He was buried in London's Highgate Cemetery.⁷ In his will, made on July 10, 1877, he left all his property, as one would expect, to Ernestine, who was also his executor.⁸ Her last ten years, marked by poor health and her continuing grief over William, were spent largely in seclusion, although she did retain a circle of loyal friends and kept abreast of current events. On August 1, 1892, at Brighton, where she spent her summers, Ernestine suffered a stroke and died three days later. She was buried with William on August 8, 1892. Her death was widely reported.⁹

These events are amply documented. But what of Ernestine's early life, before she entered the public eye? We have three contemporary biographical sources. The first, "Madame Rose" by Jenny P. d'Héricourt, a friend and fellow reformer, was published in France in 1856 and reappeared, in abbreviated English versions, in 1869 and 1877. The second, an article by L. E. Barnard, signed as "L.E.B.," appeared in the *Excelsior* and was reprinted, in the fashion of the day, in *The Liberator* on May 16, 1856, and in the freethinking *Boston Investigator*, run by friends of Ernestine, on July 9, 1856. With additions, probably by Susan B. Anthony, it reappeared in *The History of Woman Suffrage* in 1881.¹⁰ The third is a chapter devoted to Ernestine in Sara Underwood's 1876 book *Heroines of Freethought*, which relies heavily upon the earlier biographies for Ernestine's youth but adds some material for her later years.

From these sources, we learn that Ernestine Louise Susmond Potowski (each writer spells the surnames differently, which as we shall see is the case with the genealogical records as well) was born on January 13, 1810, the daughter of a rabbi who was respected for his learning as well as his wealth.¹¹ By her teens, she had renounced religion altogether. When Ernestine was sixteen, or perhaps sometime earlier in her youth, her mother died, leaving Ernestine a handsome inheritance. Having refused the marriage arranged for her by her father, the seventeen-year-old hired a sleigh and traveled in the dead of winter to the judicial seat of Kalisz to defend against a lawsuit brought by her spurned suitor, who sought the inheritance that would have been Ernestine's dowry. Braving snow, ice, and the starving wolves that lurked around her sleigh, she arrived at Kalisz just as her case was opening, and convinced the judges to rule in her favor. When she returned home, she discovered her father had married a young woman, with whom she did not get along. Leaving much of her inheritance in the hands of her father, Ernestine struck out for Berlin, where she augmented her income by selling perfumed papers that could be used to freshen the air in apartments. After an extended stay there, Ernestine traveled elsewhere on the Continent, including Paris and the Hague, and finally arrived in London, where, aided by a dictionary, she managed to sell her perfumed papers on consignment and picked up work teaching Hebrew and German. In London, she met Robert Owen and embarked upon the speaking career described above. D'Héricourt adds a sad coda to Ernestine's biography: that she had two children who died young.

This leaves some admittedly prosaic details about Ernestine Rose unanswered. Who were her parents, for instance? Even Ernestine's pioneering modern biographer, Yuri Suhl, was unable to answer that question beyond the seemingly obvious "Rabbi Potowski," though not for lack of effort on his part. With Ernestine's last will and testament as his starting point, he tracked down Ernestine's only known relatives—the grown children of Anna Allinson, a great-niece of Ernestine who had attended her funeral.¹² Anna's husband, Dr. Thomas R. Allinson, was a well-known advocate of natural foods. ("Allinson bread," his best-known product, is still sold in England.) Suhl and his assistant made contact with the Allinson sons, Adrian, Bertrand, and Cyril, but the men could offer little help. The brothers recalled their mother, Anna, speaking of Ernestine, and knew she had been famous, but little else.¹³

But thanks to the accessibility of genealogical records today, some of the information that eluded a diligent researcher in the mid-twentieth century can be found in minutes in the 2020s. We can identify Ernestine Rose's parents—and that, in turn, will lead us to a far less prosaic detail of Ernestine Rose's life. The key, as it was for Suhl, is Ernestine's last will and testament, the only known document in which she named any of her relations other than William Rose.

A Family Found

In her will, made on January 6, 1890, the widowed Ernestine left the bulk of her estate to her three nieces: Jeanette Pulvermacher, née Morgenstern, residing at 4 Spanish Place, Manchester Square, in London; Ernestine Radziejewski, née Morgenstern, residing at 43 Dragonerstrasse in Berlin; and Bertha Sigesmond, née Morgenstern, residing at 324 East 74th Street in New York City.¹⁴ The first two women predeceased their aunt: Jeanette Pulvermacher, survived by her daughters Anna Allinson of London and Margaret Ehrlich of Berlin, died at the German health resort of Waldesheim (near Düsseldorf) on September 1, 1890.¹⁵ Ernestine Radziejewski died in Berlin on June 13, 1891.¹⁶ The New York niece, Bertha Sigesmond, survived into the next century, dying in Brooklyn on October 6, 1921.¹⁷ The three women were the children of Rabbi Samuel Morgenstern and his wife, Sophie. Birth, marriage, and death records of the sisters show that Ernestine was born in Wroclaw (Breslau) in 1822 or 1823¹⁸; that Jeanette was born in Berlin on June 19, 1829¹⁹; and that Bertha (recorded at birth as Rebecca) was born in Berlin on September 18, 1834.²⁰ A short-lived brother, Israel, was born in Berlin on April 20, 1827,²¹ and died on January 8, 1828.²²

Modern historians, beginning with Suhl, have assumed that Ernestine Rose was her father's only child until his remarriage and that the mother of her nieces, Sophie, was a younger half-sister from this second marriage. None of the biographical accounts published during Ernestine's lifetime make such an assertion, however, and neither Sophie's birthdate nor those of her children are consistent with it. Sophie died in 1884. Her death certificate indicates that she was eighty-five, putting her birth at around 1799, and describes her as the daughter of Rabbi Nathan Sigismund and his wife Selma, née Sussmann. According to the certificate, both Nathan and Selma died in Praszka, Poland.²³

Given these records, Ernestine Rose must be the *younger* sister of Sophie, the mother of the nieces named in her will, which in turn means that her father was Rabbi Nathan Sigismund. Indeed, shortly after Ernestine's death, a British newspaper, apparently relying on information from someone close to Ernestine, named her father as Nathan Sigismund.²⁴ Ernestine's mother, in turn, must be Selma, unless she died and Nathan remarried before Ernestine was born.

Sophie Sigismund (ca. 1799- 1884) m.	Ernestine Morgenstern (ca. 1822- 1891) m. Simon Radziejewski (ca. 1826-?)	
Samuel Morgenstern (ca. 1760- 1848)	Jeanette Morgenstern (1829- 1890) m. Israel David Pulvermacher (ca. 1819-1884)	Margaret Pulvermacher (ca. 1854-1920) m. Oscar Ehrlich (ca. 1852-1930) Anna Pulvermacher (ca. 1857-1938) m. Thomas Allinson (1858-1918)
	Bertha Morgenstern (1834-1921) m. Simon B. Sigesmond (ca. 1832- 1914)	Victoria Sigesmond (ca. 1867-1889)
	Israel Morgenstern (1827-1828)	

Figure 2. Sophie and Her Children.

No one has succeeded in finding a birth record for Ernestine in the Lodz State Archives, which has records for both Piotrków Trybunalski and Praszka from 1808 onward, although as we shall see, it is likely that Ernestine's actual birth date falls outside of the period for which records exist. Praszka, however, has a number of birth and death records related to Nathan—albeit under several variant spellings of Zusmund, Züssmund, Zyssmann, Süssmann, Zysmund, Zysmann, and Züssmann. The earliest, from 1825, shows the fifty-two-year-old rabbi and his twenty-five-year-old wife, Leja (née Szefer, rendered also as Liba or Leba) registering the birth of a girl named Gita. Given the age difference, it is probable that Leja was the young stepmother with whom Ernestine Rose had difficulty getting along. The couple had a number of other children, including Szlama, perhaps named after Nathan's first wife, Selma. Several died in childhood. Nathan, a widower, died at age seventy in Praszka on October 25, 1853; three of his children were still minors.²⁵ If Nathan's age in this record is correct (it conflicts with that in Gita's birth record), this would make Nathan a very young father at the time of Sophie's birth around 1799, but youthful marriages, at least for scholarly boys, were not uncommon among Eastern European Jews at the time.²⁶

It is true, of course, that Ernestine Rose told her biographers that she was born in Piotrków Trybunalski. There is no reason to doubt this: indeed, in the 1891 British census Ernestine gave her place of birth as "Peterkoff," the English rendering of Piotrków. This, however, does not preclude her family's connection with Praszka—a connection that will become important later in this saga. The family could have been living in Piotrków Trybunalski when Ernestine was born and then moved to Praszka at a later point. Notably, Ernestine Rose told an audience in 1844 that the Russian authorities had seized some land from twenty or thirty Polish families, including her own: "all who had not removed ... were hurled, goods and persons, into the street, without a home to shelter them, and without a farthing of compensation!"²⁷ Might this have been what caused the family to leave Piotrków Trybunalski? The Jewish quarter also suffered a devastating fire in 1825.²⁸ If Ernestine was still living with her family when they moved to Praszka, this would not undermine her account of traveling to Kalisz to defend against a lawsuit, as both Piotrków Trybunalski and Praszka were within the administrative district of Kalisz. Praszka, though small, was not a backwater; near the Prussian border, it had been strongly influenced by the Haskalah reform movement, known as the "Jewish enlightenment."²⁹

But what of Ernestine Rose's other surname—Potowski? For Eastern European Jews, surnames were uncommon until the late eighteenth century, when governments began to require their Jewish subjects to adopt them. Both Piotrków and Praszka were annexed by Prussia during the Second Partition of Poland in 1793. From 1807 to 1815, they were part of the Duchy of Warsaw, and after 1815 were made part of Russian-controlled Congress Poland. Prussia required Jews to take surnames in 1797, and Poland imposed such a requirement in 1821. Some Jews chose their own names; in other cases, they were imposed by clerks.³⁰ Ernestine's father may have chosen, or been assigned, the name "Potowski" at one point, but from 1825 on he used "Zusmund" and its seemingly endless variations, as did his children, with his sons favoring the similar-sounding "Sigismund" once they left Poland. No one but Ernestine appears to have used "Potowski." This suggests another possibility—the most likely, in my opinion: that Ernestine herself chose to incorporate "Potowski" into her maiden name when she mentioned it to biographers, probably as a tribute to her birthplace and Polish heritage.³¹

Confirmation of the connection between Ernestine and this family in Praszka comes in several forms, the oddest being an Old Bailey trial for libel in 1901. The accused was Dr. Isidor Mordaunt Sigismund, a dentist and physician identified in newspaper accounts as the half-brother of "Mrs. Rose"; the person pressing charges was Dr. Thomas Allinson, Anna Allinson's husband. Although the complete record of the proceedings has not survived, the prosecutor, as noted by the press, told the court that Isidor had been outraged when he learned, several years after his half-sister's death, that she had omitted him from his will.³² Convinced that the Allinsons had represented him to Ernestine as dead, he took to sending abusive letters to both Anna and her husband.³³ He made a poor showing at his trial, during which he persisted in peppering Anna with irrelevant questions. Anna bore this with dignity, remarking on the stand that she was Jewish and that family meant a great deal to Jewish people. It may be because of this, and his admission that "he wrote the letters in a state of distraction bordering on insanity," that Isidor was merely bound over to appear for judgment on the condition that he apologize to the Allinsons.³⁴ Decades later, the Allinson brothers remembered Isidor as a relative when they were interviewed by Yuri Suhl's researcher.

Isidor, probably the minor son Israel mentioned in his father's death record, was living in Boston on February 5, 1857, when, giving his age as eighteen, he completed a naturalization form listing his birthplace as Praszka.³⁵ A restless man, he spent the following decades bouncing from country to country, leaving an ample paper trail that, in combination with his distinctive name, can only endear him to a researcher.³⁶ In 1903, he left a particularly helpful tidbit when he lost his naturalization papers just before a planned trip abroad. In a letter to the American Secretary of State, he mentioned both his older brother, Dr. Simon B. Sigesmond, and his sister, the late Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, whom he described as an authoress and a lecturer. Intriguingly, he claimed that after his parents' deaths, Ernestine had taken charge of him.³⁷ How much contact he and Ernestine had in their later years is unknown, but he was often in New York and London, and his behavior to Anna Allinson makes it clear that he felt entitled to have been included in Ernestine's will.

Despite his erratic personality, Isidor shared some better traits with his older sister: he was clearly intelligent and well-educated, and he was a gifted speaker, once holding his fellow steamer passengers entranced while he preached an ecumenical sermon.³⁸ He had a social conscience, speaking out at various times against missionary efforts aimed at Jewish conversion,³⁹ discrimination against black Masons,⁴⁰ persecution of Russian Jews,⁴¹ and cruelty to animals.⁴² He married twice in London⁴³ (having divorced his first wife for adultery⁴⁴) and found time to serve in the Union army, although he soon deserted.⁴⁵ Just weeks after his last sea voyage to America,⁴⁶ he died of chronic endocarditis in Manhattan on September 24, 1913.⁴⁷ Although he received a pauper's burial at the Jewish cemetery of Mount Richmond on Staten Island, someone placed an obituary for him in the *New York Times*,⁴⁸ and Jewish publications picked up on his death as well.⁴⁹ Members of the Jewish community made certain that he had a Jewish burial.⁵⁰

Simon Baron Sigesmond, like Isidor, was a dentist and a physician; with Isidor, he provisionally patented a dental apparatus in England in 1859.⁵¹ He was probably the son of Nathan named "Zussman." Simon first appears in American records in 1855, when he filed a naturalization petition in Boston.⁵² The following year, Simon traveled back to Europe; one hopes he took the opportunity to converse with one of his fellow

passengers, Harriet Beecher Stowe.⁵³ His purpose was to marry Bertha Morgenstern—his half-niece, who was about the same age. Disquieting as such a marriage is to modern observers, both Prussian law⁵⁴ and Jewish law⁵⁵ allowed an uncle to marry his niece. The wedding took place on September 7, 1856, in Berlin.⁵⁶ Ernestine Rose, who with her husband William was traveling in Europe, dated letters from Berlin on September 3 and 10, 1856, which suggests that she might have been on hand for the ceremony.⁵⁷ After practicing dentistry for many years, Simon began marketing a patent medicine known as Ricord’s, which among other things promised to restore “manly vigor.”⁵⁸ Simon may have been a bit too vigorous, because in 1882, Bertha divorced him for adultery. Simon did not contest the divorce.⁵⁹ Instead, ten days after the divorce judgment, he turned up in Hoboken, New Jersey, with a new bride on his arm.⁶⁰ He died of arteriosclerosis and myocarditis in Manhattan on April 22, 1914,⁶¹ having willed everything to his second wife. In a codicil made in 1902, he left token bequests of a dollar apiece to his brothers, Isidor and Bernhardt, although the latter had died before the codicil was executed. Simon was buried at Machpelah Cemetery in Queens.⁶² In addition to the dental device he had patented with his younger brother, he patented a self-sealing envelope in 1898.⁶³

Another half-brother of Ernestine’s, who appears to have been named Berek at birth, also made his way to the United States. Bernhardt (later anglicized to Bernhard or Bernard) Sigesmund first spent some time in London, where in 1865 he was baptized.⁶⁴ He later turned up in Boston and married Jenny Tishler, an immigrant from Prussia, in New York City in 1873. Bernard gave his profession as a glazier.⁶⁵ (His stint as a Christian was short-lived; he and Jenny were married by a rabbi.) The 1880 census finds Bernard in Philadelphia, and suffering with liver disease, but by 1889, as indicated by the city directory, he and his family were back in Boston. In October of that year, Bernard, apparently while working as a peddler, traveled from Memphis to New Orleans, where he fell ill and was admitted to Touro Infirmary. There, he died on January 22, 1890, of chronic albuminuria.⁶⁶ He was buried in the infirmary section within New Orleans’ Joseph Street Cemetery.⁶⁷

Nathan Zusmund (Sigismund) (ca. 1783- 1853) m.	Simon B. Sigesmond (ca. 1832- 1914)	
	m. (1) Bertha Morgenstern (1834- 1921) (div.) (2) Deborah Sturman (ca. 1848- 1921)	Victoria Sigesmond (by Bertha) (ca. 1867-1889)
Leja Szefer (ca. 1800-?)	Isidor M. Sigismund (ca. 1840-1913)	
	m. (1) Caroline Gregory (ca. 1849- 1928) (div.) (2) Vally Jahn (ca. 1873-aft. 1914)	Theodore Sigismund (by Vally) (ca. 1897-?)
	Bernard Sigesmond (ca. 1846-1890)	
	m. Jenny Tishler (ca. 1840-1925)	Louis Sigismund (1882-1955)

Figure 3. Ernestine’s Half-Brothers.

It seems likely that these were the only three half-siblings of Ernestine who survived into adulthood, although others may yet surface in Polish records. Neither Simon nor Isidor mentions other family members, and when Isidor paid a visit to his Polish hometown in 1907, he stayed just long enough to visit his father’s grave and the local synagogue, with no mention of seeing living relatives.⁶⁸

One last question remains: why did Ernestine exclude her brothers from her will? We can only speculate. She may have simply preferred to benefit the children of her full sibling, Sophie, over her half-brothers. She may have favored her female relatives over her male ones. She may have become estranged from her brothers over the years. Or—as we shall see next—perhaps she wanted to reward Sophie’s children for their mother’s discretion concerning an episode she would not have wanted to make public.

A Secret in Berlin

When we consider that Ernestine had an older, married sister living in Berlin in the 1820s, we can also understand why her father allowed the young woman to travel there on her own. Unmarried women often paid extended visits to older, married sisters, an arrangement that allowed the married sister to have a companion and help with her household and the unmarried sister the opportunity to enlarge her circle of acquaintances—including potential husbands. Perhaps Ernestine’s father was hoping that his headstrong daughter, having rejected the suitor he picked, would settle down and marry in Berlin. With Ernestine under the wing of her sister Sophie, what could go wrong?

Plenty, it turned out.

According to d’Héricourt’s account Ernestine arrived in Berlin in 1827 and stayed there until June 6, 1829.⁶⁹ Arriving there, she found that as a Polish Jew, to stay in Berlin for any length of time, she would have to post three bonds or get royal permission. Barnard, in his own short biography of Ernestine, adds the detail that the bonds had to come from owners of real property in Berlin and that Ernestine could have applied for one but chose not to—further corroboration, incidentally, that Ernestine had ties to the Prussian capital, namely, her sister and brother-in-law.⁷⁰ Ernestine, however, decided to stand on principle and requested an audience with King Frederick William III of Prussia himself. D’Héricourt tells us: “As the king agreed that the law was absurd and finding that the best way to solve the problem was for the young girl to be baptized, he graciously offered to be her godfather. ‘I thank you, Sire, she said to him, but I have not abandoned the trunk in order to attach myself to the branches. If my reason prevents me from being Jewish, it cannot allow me to become Christian.’ The king had the good sense to grant her permission to reside in Berlin, where she stayed for two years.”⁷¹

Having gained her point, Ernestine at some point moved into lodgings by herself, sold her perfumed papers, and undertook a rigorous program of self-education. But all was not work and study.

On October 10, 1828, a woman in Berlin named Ernestine Luisa Sussmünd converted to Christianity. Ernestine Luisa Sussmünd’s birthdate is given as February 18, 1806; her birthplace as Praszka. Converting alongside her was an antiquarian bookseller: Marcus Simon Kaufmann, who was born on March 2, 1798, to a Jewish family in the Upper Silesian town of Ujazd. Now part of Poland, in 1829 it was under Prussian control. Marcus’s father was Moses Kaufmann, a shopkeeper.⁷²

Was the Ernestine Luisa Sussmünd who converted the same young woman who had proudly informed the king that she would not “abandon the trunk to attach herself to the branches”? Almost certainly, she was.⁷³ The convert’s father was Rabbi Nathan Sussmünd from Praszka, as was Ernestine Rose’s; although the convert gave her birthplace as Praszka, not Piotrków Trybunalski, this inconsistency seems minor if one considers that Ernestine Rose’s family resided in Praszka. The one glaring discrepancy is that d’Héricourt gives Ernestine’s birthdate as January 13, 1810, and the convert gave the date as February 18, 1806. This is troublesome, but people at the time could be relaxed with dates, and women were not expected to be terribly literal about their ages.⁷⁴ By the 1850s, Ernestine Rose was sharing a platform with younger women and a bed with a younger husband (William Rose was born around 1813); she was also under the merciless scrutiny of journalists, who reported on the physical appearances of herself and other women activists in unsparing detail. It would not be surprising if she succumbed to the small vanity of subtracting a few years from her age and chose 1810 as a nice round year. As she joked in an 1865 letter to the *Boston Investigator*, “Ladies never grow old.” The change of month and date, however, cannot be so easily explained. Perhaps February 18 was simply an error on the part of the person who completed the record, or perhaps Ernestine, coming from a culture that made little fuss about birthdays, was genuinely confused about her birthdate at the time.⁷⁵

But if Ernestine Rose was indeed born in 1806, how can this be reconciled with the account she gave to d’Héricourt of her early years, which has her winning her lawsuit, being presented with a new stepmother, and traveling to Berlin, all at the age of seventeen? Once again we must conjecture, but one scenario is that Ernestine, having argued her case at Kalisz at age seventeen in 1823, returned home, tried for some time to adapt to the changed situation there, and finally left, perhaps visiting other relatives or traveling around before landing in Berlin around 1827. Another possibility is that she did indeed leave home at seventeen, but lived with her older sister for several years before striking out on her own in Berlin in 1827.

The question remains, though, why did Ernestine abandon her principles to convert? The likelihood is that she believed she had no other choice. It was no coincidence that Ernestine and Marcus converted at the same time: Ernestine was carrying Marcus's child.⁷⁶

As an unwed mother from a respectable family, Ernestine's options were few, and grim: brazen out the matter and the consequences of being a social outcast; give birth in seclusion and either give up the child or invent a satisfactory explanation for its presence; or marry the father. In converting alongside Marcus, Ernestine appears to have been contemplating marriage. Given the restrictions the Prussian government placed on what careers its Jewish subjects could follow, Marcus must have decided that to provide for a wife and child, he needed to convert, and in a country with no option for a civil ceremony, to marry Marcus Ernestine would have to convert along with him.

The author Fanny Lewald, a contemporary whose parents allowed her to convert to Christianity in her town of Königsberg about the same time Ernestine and Marcus did, described a rather low-key ceremony, held in the home of the professor who had instructed her with two older male acquaintances of Fanny's parents, the professor's wife, and a friend of Fanny's as witnesses.⁷⁷ Ernestine's and Marcus's conversion was a rather more elaborate affair. Sponsoring Marcus were financial officer Karl Wilhelm Salomon Semler, a member of the king's privy council,⁷⁸ and Professor Moritz August von Bethmann-Hollweg, a professor at Berlin's Humboldt University who served as its rector from 1827 to 1828; during World War I, his grandson was the chancellor of Germany.⁷⁹ Ernestine's godparents were Prussian Finance Minister Friedrich von Motz,⁸⁰ and Carl Friedrich Heinrich Graf von Wyllich und Lottum, who had been appointed in 1828 as General of the Infantry.⁸¹ Listed as a third godparent for both Marcus and Ernestine was the king himself, who most likely did not attend in person but to promote Jewish conversion to Christianity offered a cash gift to any convert who listed him in his or her baptismal record.⁸² Pastor Hetzel presided.

How did Ernestine and Marcus, unmarried parents-to-be who hailed from Poland and the Prussian provinces, merit such illustrious sponsors? Bethmann-Hollweg was connected with the Berlin Society for the Promotion of Christianity Among the Jews, which enjoyed royal patronage; probably the others were as well.⁸³ Still, the sponsors' rank is striking; perhaps Ernestine called in the king's old offer to serve as her godfather and he was pleased enough with the outspoken young woman's apparent change of heart to make the occasion a grand one.

Marcus's and Ernestine's child, Amalia Charlotte, was born on February 18, 1829, and christened by Pastor Hetzel on March 15, 1829. Five godparents were present: Dr. Mangold, Dr. Steinitz, Commissariat Officer Henry, a Walther Kaufmann (possibly a relative of Marcus's), and a Madame Fränkel. The parents, however, had yet to marry: Amalia was listed as being *unehelich*—illegitimate—although Marcus acknowledged paternity and requested that child be given his surname.⁸⁴ Were one or both parents reluctant to go through with the wedding ceremony? Had family members raised obstacles? Was the pregnancy a difficult one? In any case, on June 6, 1829, the couple finally married before Pastor Gossner. Ernestine is described as the youngest daughter of her father, and as having obtained his permission to marry. Her age is given as twenty-three, consistent with a birth date of 1806.⁸⁵

D'Héricourt's biography of Ernestine mentions only three specific dates: her (supposed) birthdate, the day she arrived in New York, and June 6, 1829, the day Ernestine said she left Berlin. The specificity of the last date seems odd, until one realizes that it coincides with the date of her marriage. Did the newlyweds and their baby leave Berlin to escape malicious gossip, had Marcus found some sort of position abroad, or did they simply wish to travel? Did they leave together? In her account given to d'Héricourt, Ernestine described Berlin as a place of "public and private misfortunes," perhaps an oblique reference to her own troubles there, and declared that she had nothing left to learn there, which strikes somewhat of a bitter note.⁸⁶

What happened to Ernestine's small family after June 1829 remains a mystery. As far as I can determine, Amalia Charlotte drops from the historical record after her baptism. Although it is possible that Ernestine lost custody of her, it seems far more likely that she was one of the two children whom Ernestine "cherished, nurtured with her milk, and whom she tragically lost at a very early age."⁸⁷ Given Ernestine's travels after leaving Berlin, Amalia could have died in Paris, the Netherlands, London, or elsewhere. Any number of childhood illnesses or accidents might have claimed her life, but one possibility is cholera, which raged through both London and Paris in 1832. It is even possible that the second child was fathered by Marcus Kaufmann as well, although as Carol Kolmerten has pointed out, the infrequency of Ernestine's appearances on the podium in the early 1840s, during the first few years of her marriage to William Rose, could have been occasioned by pregnancy and child-rearing.⁸⁸

How Ernestine's marriage with Marcus Simon Kaufmann came to an end is uncertain. Most likely the couple divorced. At the time, Prussia had remarkably liberal divorce laws, so Marcus may have returned to his native land to take advantage of them.⁸⁹ Of course, Marcus may have died during the marriage, but this seems unlikely because in 1838, a Jewish man by the name of Marcus Simon Kaufman (the spelling variant probably has little significance) is recorded as being baptized in London.⁹⁰ His father's name was Moses, the same given on the German conversion record, his mother's name was Rebecca, and his birthdate is given as March 2, 1788 (possibly a scrivener's error, as the German

conversion record, by contrast, gives the birth date as March 2, 1798). Intriguingly, he is described as a teacher of languages, the same profession Ernestine Rose followed while in London. Were the two teaching together at one point? In an 1842 issue of a London newspaper, a "Mr. Kaufman" advertised his services as a German teacher, "through the medium of the French" if necessary; he also offered lessons in Hebrew grammar through a pastor.⁹¹ But if this was Ernestine's husband, why would he need to convert to Christianity twice? Perhaps at some point after his marriage, he returned to his Jewish faith, then in 1838 once again elected to follow the Christian religion. Or perhaps he wished to join the Church of England.

It is also noteworthy that on September 30, 1836, a Marcus Kaufmann, who described himself as a bookseller from Germany, arrived in London from New York; we may recall that Marcus Simon Kaufmann's Berlin baptismal record identifies him as a bookseller.⁹² Even more intriguingly, an "M. Kaufmann" wrote a letter to Robert Owen on February 3, 1837, describing himself as "very distant known to you." Referring to himself in the third person, he asked to meet with Owen to discuss a matter "very important to him."⁹³ Could this be Marcus Kaufmann, and could the matter concern Ernestine, who was close to Owen?⁹⁴ M. Kaufmann could have simply been an aspiring Owenite, however, because in a September 1837 issue of Owen's *New Moral World*, a person by that name contributed an article entitled "A Dialogue Between His Son and His Father, a Clergyman, on the Term Divinity."⁹⁵

After the London conversion record, I have found no records pertaining to a Marcus Kaufmann with the middle name of "Simon," but it is noteworthy that on June 19, 1847, a Marcus Kauffman, age fifty-five, died of phthisis in the infirmary of St. Marylebone Workhouse in London.⁹⁶ A birth year of 1792 fits with neither record giving Marcus Simon Kaufmann's age, but Marcus Kauffman was noted to be in the last stage of consumption at the time of his admission on May 11, 1847,⁹⁷ and may have been so ill that the official registering him (who initially recorded him as "Francis") had to guess at his age.⁹⁸

Knowing that from 1829 to 1836, Ernestine bore the surname "Kaufmann" may reveal hitherto unknown references to her, especially in records related to the Owenite movement. Indeed, the May 16, 1835, issue of *The New Moral World* contains what may be the first published reference to Ernestine speaking. The issue gives an account of an Owenite public meeting held on May 1. A Mr. Caldwell "went to a considerable length into his views of faith" to show that Owen, though not a professed Christian, "embodied in his system the most essential and beautiful features of that religion." After his speech, which provoked "a considerable degree of impatience" by some members of the audience, "Mr. Carlile and Mrs. Kaufmann (an intelligent Polish lady) made some observations in answer to the views of the last speaker." Sadly, the lady's remarks were not recorded, but it is highly difficult to imagine that this Mrs. Kaufmann, responding to a panegyric on Christianity, could be anyone else but Ernestine.⁹⁹

Nathan Zusmund (Sigismund) (ca. 1783- 1853) m.	Sophie (ca. 1799-1884) m. Samuel Morgenstern (ca. 1760-1848) m.	(See Figure 2 for issue)
Selma Sussmann (?-?)	Ernestine Louise (1806-1892) m. (1) Marcus Simon Kaufmann (ca. 1798-?) (2) William Ella Rose (ca. 1813-1882)	Amalie Charlotte Kaufmann (1829-?) (by Marcus Kaufmann) Unknown Infant (?-?)

Figure 4. Ernestine's Marriages and Children.

William Ella Rose

Whatever the fate of Marcus Kaufmann, in joining her fortunes with those of William Ella Rose, Ernestine had chosen the man she would love for the rest of her life, and whose fatal heart attack in 1882 was a blow from which she never quite recovered.¹⁰⁰ William Ella Rose was the only son of Joseph Bushnan Rose, a tailor, and Sarah Ella, who married at St. Clement Danes Church in London on January 31, 1808.¹⁰¹ Designed by Sir Christopher Wren, the handsome church, which replaced its medieval forebear, witnessed William's christening on December 28, 1814.¹⁰²

Joseph Rose died at age thirty-three and was buried at St. Clement Danes on December 14, 1821,¹⁰³ leaving behind three young daughters, Mary Ann,¹⁰⁴ Sarah,¹⁰⁵ and Hannah,¹⁰⁶ along with his son and his widow. Although the 1841 and 1851 English censuses indicate that his mother and his two sisters who lived to adulthood also followed the tailoring trade, William would earn his living as a jeweler and silversmith.

Joseph Bushnan Rose (ca. 1788-1821)	William Ella Rose (ca. 1813-1882) m. Ernestine Louise Kaufmann (Susmond Potowski) (1806-1892)
m.	Mary Ann Rose (ca. 1816-1874)
Sarah Ella (1787- 1862)	Sarah Rose (1818-1824)
	Hannah Rose (1820-1854) m. James Bevan (ca. 1800-1851)

Figure 5. William's Family.

Tragedy lay in store for William's family after William left England. His sister Sarah had died at age six in 1824 of "inflammation."¹⁰⁷ Another sister, Hannah, widowed from James Bevan, strangled herself with a stocking on May 31, 1854, during what was deemed an episode of temporary insanity.¹⁰⁸ William's mother, Sarah, died on December 4, 1862, of serous effusion of the brain.¹⁰⁹ His last surviving sister, Mary Ann, was committed to the Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum with a diagnosis of melancholia in October 1863¹¹⁰ and died there on January 15, 1874.¹¹¹ William is noted as contributing to her upkeep in November 1863, although surviving records do not indicate whether he continued to do so.¹¹²

But all that lay far in the future when William and Ernestine fell in love. Despite the family associations with St. Clement Danes, William Rose did not marry there, or in any other church. Both atheists, he and Ernestine opted for a private ceremony outside the auspices of any religion. Supposedly, this ceremony was held before a notary in Ernestine's lodging in London,¹¹³ although at the time, civil marriage was not available in England, so the ceremony would not have had the force of law.¹¹⁴ Yet one more surprise lurks in the records.

Ernestine told d'Héricourt that she arrived in the United States on May 14, 1836,¹¹⁵ and it was on that day that the Baltimore-owned ship *Napier*, originating from London, sailed into New York harbor.¹¹⁶ Two days later, the ship's master signed the manifest. All of the steerage passengers, men, women, and children, are named. Twenty-three-year-old William "Miller" Rose is duly recorded as among them, the "Miller" probably a harried official's misunderstanding or misreading of "Ella." But no "Ernestine Rose" appears in the record under William's name. The omission is baffling until one reads up two lines and finds the name of William's beloved: twenty-nine-year-old Ernestine "Houffman," the only passenger of Polish origin.¹¹⁷ Because manifests were prepared by ship officials, often from information supplied by ticketing agents, William and Ernestine must have "married" just after acquiring their passage. Or did they marry after they left England? It was in the United States that

the couple chose to start their new lives, and it may be that it was not until the couple arrived in that country that they chose to solemnize their union before a civil official, presumably a justice of the peace. Whether there was ever an official ceremony or not, only death would part them.



Figure 6. Obituary Photograph from *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper*, 27 August 1892.

Conclusion

Although Barnard expressed the hope in 1856 that Ernestine Rose might gratify her friends by writing what he predicted would be a “highly interesting and instructive” memoir,¹¹⁸ she never obliged, and in the grand tradition of frustrating prospective biographers, burned a number of papers near the end of her life.¹¹⁹ Quite possibly Ernestine would not have produced an autobiography even if she had no secret to hide; she does not seem to have been a person who revealed herself easily. Instead, she allowed a carefully curated account of her life to be propagated, dealing with events that are emblematic of the values she held dear: her religious skepticism, her passion for justice, her independence of mind and action. Rather than brag, she wanted her admirers to know what a woman was capable of. At the Woman’s Rights National Conference in Cleveland in 1853, referring obliquely to her experience in pleading her case before the tribunal at Kalisz, she urged women to prepare themselves for professions and added, “I have known a cause in a foreign land under despotic rule, pleaded by a woman... . This was the case of a girl hardly seventeen, who had to go to law to rescue her property staked on [a marriage] contract, which she could not and would not fulfil; and against all the laws of the land, she gained that cause. How came she to gain it? Because she pleaded it, and called down the Justice of Heaven against the Laws.”¹²⁰

Even if Ernestine Rose had been inclined by nature to give the complete story of her past, it is unlikely that she would have done so. Ernestine’s unabashed atheism, though it was not a subject she spoke about on the women’s rights circuit, had already made some of her fellow reformers wary of having her on the platform despite her oratorical gifts.¹²¹ To reveal herself as a woman who had become pregnant before marriage and as a divorcee as well—assuming, of course, that there was a divorce—would have damaged her reputation and tarnished the causes she espoused, regardless of the respectability she had long enjoyed as the beloved wife of William Rose. In an age where advocates of women’s rights, including Ernestine herself, were constantly smeared as being advocates of “free love”—a conveniently amorphous concept that could embrace everything from sexual promiscuity to long-term committed relationships without the benefit of marriage—a revelation of a sexual indiscretion would have been a gift to opponents of the women’s rights movement.¹²² With the possibility of exposure always lurking,

it is remarkable that Ernestine found the courage to put herself in the public eye at all.¹²³ Moreover, the proudly atheistic Ernestine would have hardly wanted to reveal the humiliating episode of her conversion to Christianity, no matter how extenuating the circumstances.

But while Ernestine remained largely silent about her past, its influence can be seen in her speeches. In October 1851, at Worcester, Massachusetts, she urged that in cases of separation, children not be taken from the care of the mother: “Children always depend more on the tender, watchful care of the mother, than of the father.” Two years later, in Cleveland, she eloquently spoke of the sexual double standard for men and for women: “It is time to consider, whether, what is wrong in one sex, can be right in the other? ... [H]e who is endowed with the superior advantages of education and experience, he who has taken advantage of that weakness, and that confiding spirit, which the young, particularly, always have—I ask, if she, the victim, is cast out of the pale of humanity, shall the despoiler go free?” When Elizabeth Cady Stanton broached the fraught topic of divorce in 1860, Ernestine made her own appeal. After acknowledging that “the very advocacy of divorce will be called ‘Free Love,’” she explained her own position, “[I]n its truest significance, love must be free, or it ceases to be love. In its low and degrading sense, it is not love at all.” She then went on to say, “[I]f instead of union and happiness, there are only discord and misery to themselves, and vice and crime to society, I ask, in the name of individual happiness and social morality and well-being, why such a marriage should be binding for life?—why one human being should be chained to life to the dead body of another? ... I therefore ask for a Divorce law.”¹²⁴

Of course, as a woman of intelligence and empathy, Ernestine need not have experienced misfortunes in order to speak about them; all she needed were her keen powers of observation and her sense of fair play. The fact that she knew personally the cost of unmarried motherhood and an unhappy marriage, however, adds another layer to our understanding of her and the battles she fought.

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64. Baptisms (PR) England. London Metropolitan Archives. London Church of England Parish Registers. Reference Number P72/JN/003. 30 April 1865. SIGISMUND, Bernhardt. Collection: London, England, Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813–1923. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023. The baptismal record lists "rabbi" under "Profession," but this likely refers to Bernhardt's father, given that the form appears to have been designed for child baptisms.
65. Marriages (CR) USA. New York, New York County, New York. 5 January 1873. SIGESMOND, Bernhard and TISHLER, Jenny. Certificate No. 000304.
66. Deaths (CR) USA. New Orleans, Orleans, Louisiana. Louisiana State Archives. Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Orleans Death Indices 1877–1895. 22 January 1890. SIGISMUND, Bernard. Collection: New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S., Death Records Index, 1804–1949. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
67. Admission Book of Touro Infirmary, 1869–1891, cited in Redman, Michael M., Manuscripts Cataloger, The Historic New Orleans Collection. (2022) E-mail to Susan Higginbotham. 19 October.
68. Sigismund, I. M. (1907). From a Traveler's Note Book: Visiting Kever Under Difficulties. *The Hebrew Standard*. 9 August. pp. 3, 6.
69. Doress-Worters, intro., *op. cit.*, p. 193.
70. Barnard, *op. cit.*
71. Doress-Worters, intro., *op. cit.*, pp. 192–93.
72. Baptisms, Germany. Brandenburg. Berlin. Taufen 1825–1828. 18 February 1828. SÜSSMUND, Ernestine Luisa and KAUFMANN, Marcus Simon. Collection: Germany, Lutheran Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1500–1971. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023 (indexed as Süßmann). These baptismal and conversion records were later put to a sinister use by the Nazis, who collected the

- records from various churches and copied information from the records of Jewish converts to Christianity into notebooks known as the *Judenkartei*. For a detailed description of these records, see Hertz, Deborah (2007) *How Jews Became Germans: The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, pp. 2–10. Steven M. Lowenstein has also made extensive use of these records; it is in his book that I was startled to see the name “Ernestine L. Süßmund” and determined to follow up the reference. Lowenstein, Steven M. (1994) *The Berlin Jewish Community: Enlightenment, Family, and Crisis, 1770–1830*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 261.
73. It is noteworthy that a reporter for the *Hebrew Leader*, an American Jewish newspaper, believed that Ernestine had been baptized. *Hebrew Leader*, The. (1869) Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose. *The Hebrew Leader*, 21 May p. 1e.
 74. The cavalier approach that some took was observed by Harriet Martineau when sailing to America in 1834: “Some show of preparation to land was this day made, and a lively bustle ensued on the first hint from the captain. He went round to take down the names of the passengers at length, in order to their being reported on arrival. The ages had to be affixed to the names; and as the captain could not ask the ladies for their ages, he committed it to the gentlemen to decide upon each. The ladies, who were quilling, trimming, and sorting their things in their own cabin, could not conceive the meaning of the shouts of laughter which came from the top of the gentlemen’s table, till the young Carolinian came and told what the fun was. The standing joke is to make the young ladies many years too old, and the old ladies ridiculously young; and this was done now, the ladies considering the affair no business of theirs. One lady, who had frequently crossed, told me that ten years before she had been set down as forty; she stood now as twenty-four.” Martineau, Harriet (1838) *Retrospect of Western Travel*. Cincinnati: U.P. James, vol. 1, pp. 31–32. Mary Lincoln, widow of President Abraham Lincoln, informed a friend on December 12, 1869, that she would turn forty-six the following day; she was actually on the verge of turning fifty-one. Turner, Justin G., and Turner, Linda Levitt (1987) *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters*. New York: Fromm International Publishing Corporation, pp. 531–34.
 75. Boston Investigator (1865) The Infidel Convention. *Boston Investigator*. 15 February. p. 2b. In the 1850 federal census for Manhattan, the first in which Ernestine is named, Ernestine’s age could arguably be read as “44,” which coincides with her baptismal record, but a case could be made for “40” as well. When the 1855 New York census was taken, Ernestine gave her age as 44. Interestingly, she acknowledged being “nearly 70” in a letter dated 12 January 1877. *Boston Investigator*. (1877) Extracts of a Letter from Mrs. E. L. Rose. *Boston Investigator*. 21 February. p. 2b.
 76. Baptisms, Germany. Brandenburg. Berlin. Taufen 1829–1832. 18 February 1829 (birth). 15 March 1829 (baptism). SÜSSMUND, Amalia Charlotte. Collection: Germany, Lutheran Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1500–1971. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 77. Lewis, Hanna Ballin trans. and ed. (1992) *The Education of Fanny Lewald: An Autobiography*. Albany: State University of New York, p. 119.
 78. Brose, Eric Dorn (1993) *The Politics of Technological Change in Prussia: Out of the Shadow of Antiquity, 1809–1848*. Princeton University Press, pp. 105, 106.
 79. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Über die Universität, “Moritz August von Bethmann-Hollweg,” <https://www.hu-berlin.de/de/ueberblick/geschichte/rektoren/bethmann-hollweg>: accessed 13 February 2023.
 80. Clark, Christopher (2006) *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, p. 394.
 81. Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin, <https://www.parlament-berlin.de/Das-Haus/Berliner-Ehrenbuerger/Carl-Friedrich-Heinrich-Graf-von-Wylich-und-Lottum>: accessed 13 February 2023.
 82. Clark, Christopher M. (1995) *The Politics of Conversion: Missionary Protestantism and the Jews in Prussia 1728–1941*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 99–100.
 83. *Ibid.*, pp. 115–16; Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
 84. Baptisms, Germany. Brandenburg. Berlin. Taufen 1829–1832. 18 February 1829 (birth). 15 March 1829 (baptism). SÜSSMUND, Amalia Charlotte. Collection: Germany, Lutheran Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1500–1971. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 85. Marriages, Germany. Evangelische Kirche. Bethlehemkirche. Berlin. 6 June 1829. SÜSSMUND, Ernestine Louise and KAUFMANN, Markus Simon. Collection: Germany, Lutheran Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1567–1945. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 86. Doress-Worters, intro., *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 193, 194.
 87. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
 88. Kolmerten, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–39. It may or may not be significant that d’Héricourt in speaking of Ernestine’s two children mentions William in the same paragraph, but speaks of the children’s loss only in reference to Ernestine. A French feminist and homeopathic physician, d’Héricourt had made what proved to be an unhappy marriage and eventually separated from her husband; one wonders if Ernestine, finding common ground with d’Héricourt, chose to confide more to her than she did to her colleagues in the United States and England. Offen, Karen. (Autumn 1987). A Nineteenth-Century French Feminist Rediscovered: Jenny P. D’Héricourt, 1809–1875. *Signs*. 13(1). pp. 144–158.
- Biographers have not traced any children, or child, of Ernestine and William Rose, although Carol Kolmerten made an attempt. Kolmerten, Carol, *op. cit.*, p. 38 n.1. This is hardly surprising; New York vital records from this period are not comprehensive, and the couple’s atheism meant that the child would not have a christening record. Moreover, the Roses might have taken an ailing child out of New York City to a healthier environment, only to have the youngster die and be buried there. The 1840 federal census, which names only the head of household, William, lists no children in the Rose household—only William, a woman between age thirty and forty who is presumably Ernestine, and an adult man between thirty and forty who may have been an employee of William’s, a boarder, or a friend or relative. It seems most likely, then, that any child of William and Ernestine was born some time after June 1841, when Ernestine lectured in Boston. Although Ernestine recalled in 1877 that she had lectured in Massachusetts and Connecticut in 1842, I have found no mention of her in newspapers that year, so it may be that her memory was mistaken. By the fall of 1843, Ernestine was once again traveling out of town to lecture. A Liberal But Not an Infidel. (1841) Free Discussion Society. *Boston Investigator*. 23 June. p. 3a; M.L. (1843) Community Convention at Skaneateles. *Herald of Freedom*. 3 November. p. 147a-c; Doress-Worters, intro., *op. cit.*, pp. 347–29.
- While researching this article, it occurred to me to inquire of Brooklyn’s Greenwood Cemetery, where freethinking friends of the Roses such as Benjamin Offen were buried, for a child of William and Ernestine. Sadly, a search of burial records by cemetery staff turned up no children with the surname of Rose for the period from 1841 to 1845. Thatcher, Connie. (2022). E-mail to Susan Higginbotham. 6 September 2022.
89. Phillips, Roderick (1991) *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce*. Cambridge University Press, p. 133.
 90. Baptisms (PR) England. St Pancras, Camden, London. 26 March 1836. KAUFMAN, Marcus Simon. Collection: England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538–1975. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 91. Patriot, The. (1842) The German Language Taught. *The Patriot*. 1 March. p. 1b.
 92. England. HO 2 Home Office. Aliens Act 1836. Certificates of Arrival of Aliens. Piece 11–1836: London Nos. 2501–3000. 30 September 1836. KAUFMAN, Marcus. Collection: England, Alien Arrivals, 1810–1811, 1826–1869 (indexed as Marius Kaufman). <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 93. Letter from M. Kaufmann to Robert Owen, Robert Owen Papers, National Co-operative Archive. Manchester. 3 February 1837. GB 1499 ROC/11/1.
 94. Both Ernestine and her husband William were close enough to Robert Owen to address him as “Father” in letters. Ernestine confided to Owen in 1844 that she had been suffering from depression, and William reported to him in 1845 that Ernestine had been dangerously ill. Doress-Worters, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 65–68, 71.
 95. M. Kaufmann (1837). A Dialogue Between a Son and His Father, a Clergyman, on the Term Divinity. *The New Moral World*. 2 September. pp. 363b–364a.
 96. Deaths (CR) England. Marylebone, Middlesex. 19 June 1847. KAUFFMAN, Marcus. General Register Office for England and Wales.
 97. Workhouse register. Westminster, St. Marylebone, Workhouse Register, 1847–1848 (screen 298). KAUFMANN, Francis. 11 May 1847 (admission). Collection: London, England, Workhouse Admission and Discharge Records, 1764–1921. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 98. Register of Admissions to Workhouse and Infirmary, Westminster, St. Marylebone, 1846–1848 (screen 467). KAUFFMAN, Francis. 11 May 1847 (admission). Collection: London, England, Workhouse Admission and Discharge Records, 1764–1921. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 99. New Moral World, The. (1835). The Great Public Meeting on May 1st. *The New Moral World*. 16 May. p. 231a. “Mr. Carlile” was probably publisher Richard Carlile. Taylor, Barbara (1983) *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Patheon Books, pp. 81–82.
 100. Bonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 106b–107a.
 101. Marriages (PR) England. St. Clement Danes, Westminster, London. 31 January 1810. ROSE, Joseph Bushnan and ELLA, Sarah. Collection: London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns, 1754–1938. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 102. Baptisms (PR) England. St. Clement Danes, Westminster, London. 28 December 1814. ROSE, William Ella. Collection: Westminster, London, England, Church of

- England Births and Baptisms, 1813–1919. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023. No birthdate is given on William's baptismal record.
103. Burials (PR) England. St. Clement Danes, Westminster, London, Middlesex. 14 December 1821. ROSE, Joseph Bushnan. Collection: Westminster, London, England, Church of England Deaths and Burials, 1812–1910. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 104. Baptisms (PR) England. St. Andrew, Holborn, City of London. 5 March 1816. ROSE, Mary Ann. Collection: London, England, Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813–1923. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 105. Baptisms (PR) England. St. Andrew, Holborn, City of London. 1 April 1818 (birth). 24 February 1822 (baptism). ROSE, Sarah. Collection: London, England, Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813–1923. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 106. Baptisms (PR) England. St. Andrew, Holborn, City of London. 24 February 1820 (birth). 24 February 1822 (baptism). ROSE, Hannah. Collection: London, England, Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813–1923. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 107. Burials (PR) England. St. Bride Fleet Street, City of London. 13 January 1824. ROSE, Sarah. London, England, Church of England Deaths and Burials, 1813–2003 (Sarah Rose). <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023. The possibility that this is a different Sarah Rose cannot be ruled out entirely, but nothing suggests that she survived to adulthood.
 108. Deaths (CR) England. Clerkenwell, Middlesex. 31 May 1854. BEVAN, Hannah. General Register Office for England and Wales.
 109. Deaths (CR) England. West Hackney, Middlesex. 4 December 1862. ROSE, Sarah. General Register Office for England and Wales.
 110. Registry of admissions, England. Hackney, Middlesex. Lunatics: Admission and discharge registers, 1836–64. ROSE, Mary Ann. Collection: Hackney Board of Guardians records, Film # 008818618, image 105, <http://familysearch.org>: accessed 15 March 2023.
 111. Deaths (CR) England. Barnet, Middlesex. 15 January 1874. ROSE, Mary Ann. General Register Office for England and Wales.
 112. Register of Lunatics, England. Hackney, Middlesex. 9 October 1863. ROSE, Mary Ann. Collection: London, England, Selected Poor Law Removal and Settlement Records, 1698–1922. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 113. Doress-Worters, intro., *op. cit.*, p. 194.
 114. Civil marriage was made available by the Act for Marriages in England, enacted on 17 August 1836, and effective 1 July 1837—after Ernestine and William left the country. Probert, Rebecca (2015) *Marriage Law for Genealogists*. Kenilworth: Takeaway, pp. 69, 77–78, 91.
 115. Doress-Worters, intro., *op. cit.*, p. 194.
 116. Philadelphia Inquirer. (1836) Postscript. *Philadelphia Inquirer*. 14 May. p. 2e.
 117. Passenger list for *Napier* departing London. ROSE, William Miller, and HOUFFMAN, Ernestine. 16 May 1836. Collection: New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1820–1850. <http://www.ancestry.com>: accessed 12 February 2023.
 118. Barnard, *op. cit.*
 119. Women's Penny Paper. (1889) Interview. *Women's Penny Paper*. 2 February. p. 1. Ernestine left her papers to her niece Jeanette Pulvermacher, whose share of the estate went to her daughters. Cyril Allinson speculated that any remaining documents of Ernestine's were destroyed when the home of his sister, who had inherited Anna Allinson's possessions, was bombed during the Blitz. The sister, Enid ("Francesca") Allinson, struggling with ill health and other issues, killed herself on April 7, 1945. Suhl, *op. cit.*, p. 289; Notes, Yuri Suhl papers, Boston University; Southworth, Helen (2017) *Fresca, A Life in the Making: A Biographer's Quest for a Forgotten Bloomsbury Polymath*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, pp. 279–82.
 120. Leland, T.C., reporter. (1854) *Proceedings of the National Women's Rights Convention Held at Cleveland Ohio, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, October 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1853*. Cleveland: Gray, Beardsley, Spear & Co., p. 104.
 121. Susan B. Anthony recalled in 1896, "All the way down the history of our movement there has been the same contest on account of religious belief. Just forty years ago one of the most beautiful spirited men ... said, 'You had better never hold another convention than let Ernestine L. Rose stand on your platform,' because that Polish woman who always stood for justice and freedom did not believe in the plenary inspiration of the Bible. Did we banish Mrs. Rose?" Avery, Rachel Foster, ed. (1896) *Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National-American Women Suffrage Association Held in Washington, D.C., January 23–28, 1896*. Philadelphia: Press of Alfred J. Ferris, n.d., pp. 91–92. A slightly different version of the quote, ending, "No, indeed!" appears in Anthony, Susan B., and Harper, Ida Husted, eds. (1902) *The History of Woman Suffrage, 1883–1900*, vol. IV. Rochester, N. Y.: Susan B. Anthony, pp. 263–64.
 122. In 1858, Ernestine found it necessary to defend herself against a claim by the *New York Times* that she advocated "Free-love, on principle." In a letter published by the paper, she stated, "I have never advocated these sentiments, from the simple reason that I do not believe in them." Doress-Worters, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 244–45.
 123. In 1839, a widely reprinted newspaper article, apparently originating with the *New York Express*, described Ernestine as "a Polish lady reported to be divorced from an elderly gentleman of that unfortunate country and now married to, or living with a very good looking young American who attends her on her duties [as a speaker]." *Alexandria Gazette*. (1839). The Orgies of Tammany Hall. *Alexandria Gazette*. 30 January p. 2d. While this may have been the invention of a scandal-mongering journalist, it is actually quite close to the truth that we have learned: Marcus, though not elderly, was older than Ernestine and probably of Polish origin, he and Ernestine had likely divorced, and Ernestine was remarried to the younger, albeit not American, William Rose.
 124. Doress-Worters, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 159–60, 280–82.

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Susan Higginbotham is an independent researcher living in Maryland. She is the author of two biographies, *The Woodvilles: The Wars of the Roses and England's Most Infamous Family* and *Margaret Pole: The Countess in the Tower* as well as a number of short biographical articles. Susan has also published historical novels set in medieval and Tudor England and nineteenth-century America. One day she will tackle her own family's genealogy. 