PIONEER JOURNALISTINNEN,
TWO EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY VIENNESE CASES:
BERTA ZUCKERKANDL AND ALICE SCHALEK

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

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The idea of fin de siècle Vienna conjures up many images, intellectual and erotic. Integral to the period which spawned these images are the influential newspapers and the journalists who wrote for them. This study will, I sincerely hope, shed new light on that fascinating period by focusing on the contribution of the Viennese Journalistin of the period as represented by two women journalists, Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek. Thus, a close examination of these participants in the formative phase of twentieth-century culture will perhaps serve as a partial corrective for the traditional conception of the woman's passive role in Viennese intellectual life.

My initial interest in the period was stimulated by research for my Master's thesis, "Arthur Schnitzler and the Decline of Austrian Liberalism," and heightened by reading William Johnston's brilliant volume on intellectual and social history, The Austrian Mind. To an extent I have followed Johnston's suggestion that scholars "reexamine the entire range of modern Austrian thought." This dissertation begins to explore the active role of women in the "woman-steeped society" of fin de siècle Vienna.

In my effort I have been aided by intellectuals in both the United States and Austria. Professor Kurt Paupié, University
of Vienna's Institute fur Zeitungswissenschaften, Frau Professor Hermine Müller-Hofmann, Dr. Günther Nenning of the Austrian Journalists' Union and Liljan Espenak of New York provided valuable clues to the personalities and circumstances of the early Journalistentinnen. The staffs of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Kriegsarchiv and Bibliothek der Stadt Wien were most helpful.

Finally, I owe special thanks to my advisor, Professor Carole Rogel, for her insightful editorial assistance, and to those readers who, in the manner of Karl Kraus, contributed perceptive critical comment.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AI - AM ISONZO MARZ BIS JULI 1916
KPQ - KRIEGSPRESSEQUARTIER
NFP - NEUE FREIE PRESSE
NWJ - NEUES WIENER JOURNAL
NWT - NEUES WIENER TAGBLATT
TiW - TIROL IM WAFFEN KRIEGSBERICHTE VON DER TIROLER FRONT
WAZ - WIENER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

As the title of this dissertation indicates, women were indeed active in the influential press of Vienna in the early twentieth century. The following pages will examine in detail the work of two individual Journalistinnen of the period and will demonstrate that they had a definite, positive impact on the society which nurtured the cultural flowering that accompanied the decline of the Habsburg Empire. First I offer a preliminary survey of the development of the press in Vienna after 1848 and of the social and economic circumstances encountered by the first Viennese women journalists. Following this, I investigate the intellectual contributions of the two most noted Journalistinnen of the early twentieth century: Berta Zuckerkandl, the first woman journalist of any importance who contributed regularly to the Viennese press and Alice Schalek, the first woman travel and war correspondent to write for a Viennese newspaper. In examining the published work of these previously uninvestigated figures of the Viennese press, the historian gains a valuable insight into pre- and postwar Viennese society and cultural life from the perceptive viewpoint of two observant and well-placed Journalistinnen.
However, Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schaekl utilized their positions not merely to serve as "Spiegel der Zeit" (mirrors of the time), but to crusade actively and effectively for their own particular causes.

Both seemed aware that intellectual life and social mores in their city were in need of criticism, yet a sense of mission and a basic pride in Vienna prevented them from losing all faith in its powers of recuperation. Zuckerkandl championed the modern in art and theater against the Viennese predilection for an eclectic conventional style. Schaekl sought to overcome Viennese indifference to the world outside the Kaiserstadt by drawing attention to two neglected aspects of the outside world: the situation of women and the fate of the common soldier in World War I. But their efforts would prove to be only partial remedies to Vienna's malaise, a fact that became clear to these Journalistinnen only when they were forced to flee into exile in 1938. As apolitical journalists, they campaigned against cultural ignorance and social insularity and gained the attention of their often indifferent fellow citizens for their causes through the most influential news medium of the period—the daily press.

Newspapers played a major role in conditioning the social and intellectual milieu of the Habsburg capital. No Austrian with intellectual aspirations neglected a daily dissection of the various Viennese gazettes available for leisurely perusal at his favorite coffeehouse. In such a society a skilled professional journalist obviously had great influence. Indeed, wags when referring to Moritz Benedikt, the editor of the Neue Freie Presse from 1880 to 1920,
remarked that next to him Emperor Francis Joseph was the most important personage in Austria.¹

This state of affairs had not always prevailed in the Cisleithian part of the Empire. The initial section of my paper describes the rapid growth of the Viennese press after 1848, leading to the development of a number of mass circulation dailies and, subsequently, to the entry of the first women into journalism. Eager to increase their circulation, Viennese newspaper owners and editors introduced popular feature articles designed to attract women readers; these articles were often written by women. Women first became prominent as feuilleton writers, and in fact made their greatest journalistic impact in this French import, which had become the most Viennese of genres. Middle-class women, frequently of Jewish background, were first in the field, for journalism was one of the few status-carrying occupations available to them. Special problems were encountered by these women and, to an extent, overcome by them. Female journalists were plagued by: the difficulties of obtaining regular employment, often they used pseudonyms to disguise their sex; the unfair criticism levelled by male editors and colleagues; the frequency with which the Journalistinnen were relegated to "female" areas as news of society or of fashion; and the reluctance of editors to promote them. How the Journalistin countered these problems to win a permanent place in the Viennese press will be examined in Chapter II, Part 2.

In the major portion of my work, I will consider the careers and cultural contributions of the Journalistinnen, Berta Zuckerandl (1864-1945) and Alice Schalek (1874-1956). How Zuckerandl used her position on the arts staff of the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung to influence the cultural life and opinions of her time is the subject of Chapter III. An intellectually prominent hostess of a leading literary and fine arts salon and a lifelong pacifist, she was also involved in political affairs (chiefly with Franco-Austrian negotiations in World War I). However, journalism was her principal occupation; for decades she contributed to art and theater columns where she championed the cause of the then little-known Viennese Art Nouveau group, the Sezession, and the innovative drama of Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal. Her interests extended to the applied arts as well, since she was a leading supporter of the new architecture of Otto Wagner and Josef Hoffmann. Ludwig Hevesi, the Hungarian-born art critic who wrote an introduction to a collection of her columns, much admired her work. Together with Hevesi, Zuckerandl supplied perhaps the most complete documentation of the development of the first modernist movement in Vienna, from its origins in the 1890's to its abrupt end with the death of Klimt in 1918.

Berta Zuckerandl wrote almost exclusively of events in Vienna; Alice Schalek, on the other hand, most often reported on happenings abroad. In Chapter IV, I will examine her travel and war feuilletons for Vienna's most influential paper, the Neue Freie Presse, and the impact these had on Viennese readers. She reminds one of the
adventurous Henrietta Stackpole, Henry James' traveling journalist in *Portrait of a Lady*. In the First World War, Schalek had the dubious distinction (for which she was castigated by her critics, among them the Viennese satirist Karl Kraus) of being the only woman correspondent in the Austrian Kriegspressequartier. Her activities on the front and her graphic descriptions of conditions there aroused both admiration and censure. Her current unjustifiably negative reputation is due mainly to the vicious satiric attack on her character and her wartime articles by Kraus, first in his magazine, *Die Fackel* (The Torch), and later in his war drama, *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit* (The Last Days of Mankind). Kraus' myriad admirers and biographers have perpetuated his negative view of Alice Schalek. I will attempt to rehabilitate her reputation, at least partially, with a more balanced selection and reevaluation of her many articles, including the wartime feuilletons. I hope that a reappraisal of the work of both these women will serve to give them a place in the cultural and intellectual landscape of early twentieth-century Vienna, so well documented by accounts of distinguished men in every field.

Whether Zuckerkandl and Schalek were "feminists" in the current sense of the term is debatable. While wholeheartedly endorsing equal opportunity in education and career selection, they remained outside of the Austrian women's suffrage movement. However, both contributed to the literature of the cause by writing for various publications of the women's movement.
To my knowledge very little work has been done on the intellectual contributions of Austrian women of this period. Only the Nobel Prize winner, Bertha von Suttner, the aristocratic pacifist, and Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, the distinguished novelist, are known outside of Austria. William Johnston, in his otherwise outstanding volume, The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History (1972) discussed only these two and Rosa Mayreder, a contemporary of Sigmund Freud and early interpreter of the woman's role in society in a few brief pages. In most studies women appear in a passive role; they serve as inspiration for the male creative force, a force said to be indebted to the woman-steeped aestheticism of Vienna.

Others have explored the political role of Austrian women at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially that of women in the Social Democratic movement, e.g., Thomas Hamer's Ph.D. dissertation "'Beyond Feminism': The Women's Movement in Austrian Social Democracy 1890-1920." In 1965, Elisabeth Zaunbauer examined for the Press Institute of the University of Vienna "The Woman's Position in the Viennese Daily Press between 1945 and 1960 in the Second Republic." Her study, largely a statistical analysis, was based on responses to questionnaires by thirty-two women journalists. She did not discuss the content of their work.

Unfortunately, today a thorough study of all of the first Journalistinnen in Vienna is not possible. The archives of all the relevant newspapers and of the only press club, Concordia, were transported to Germany during World War II. They have never been recovered. Any investigation of the conditions under which women first entered
into active participation in the Austrian press must be based on those few individual women whose activities can be documented from sources other than the lost archives. Fortunately, Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek attained enough notoriety as journalists to leave a documentary trail. That their articles were signed attests to their importance as columnists and makes possible a thorough perusal and evaluation of their work.

In evaluating the impact of these outstanding Journalistinnen, I am not primarily interested in the social and economic effect of the pioneer Austrian women journalists as a group, but in the individual intellectual contributions Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek made to Viennese journalism; in how they worked to change the ingrained attitudes and opinions of their times. They were not typical and I do not see them as prototypes; it was to their individual credit that they made an impression on the closed population of a city not easily moved by women or men of talent.
CHAPTER II

THE VIENNESE PRESS SINCE 1848 AND
THE EMERGENCE OF WOMEN JOURNALISTS IN VIENNA

To introduce the journalistic world which Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek entered, a short survey of the development of Austrian newspaper journalism after 1848 and an examination of the general situation confronting the first Austrian Journalistinnen is in order. In the German Sprachgebiet (speaking-world) outside of Austria, the women's movement developed, and women entered the journalistic profession, in approximately the same way as their counterparts in the Empire. Studies written on the position of the Journalistin in the other German-speaking countries are therefore used comparatively to further illuminate the position of her Austrian equivalent. Indeed, German studies have often included Austrians without acknowledging their separate identity. This all-too-frequent tendency to identify Austrian writers as Germans while tenuously justified by the fact that their language is the same, nevertheless often irritated the identity-conscious Austrians. One such sensitive Austrian, the Journalistin Kamilla Theimer, discussing "Women in Professions" at the 1899 International Congress of Women, complained:
Because the authors and authoresses of that country [Austria] wrote in German, it was generally assumed that they were Germans. They were from a conglomeration of nations and this was not advantageous for the production of great national writers, but some of the women writers most renowned in Germany [Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, for example] were Austrian-born . . .

The researcher interested in general trends benefits, however, from the inclusion of Austrians in German studies.

While the situation of the Austrian Journalistin was frequently parallel to that of the German woman journalist, the Austrian press (centered in Vienna) had no counterpart elsewhere in Europe after 1848. Its pioneers, to be sure, borrowed ideas from foreign papers (especially French journals), but the product was a uniquely Viennese press. Cautiously seeking to avoid political and economic pitfalls, editors and publishers were not prepared until the 1890's to accept women as regular staff members. By this decade editorial emphasis had shifted from pursuing a careful policy to guarantee survival for a new paper to following a competitive, innovative strategy designed to win a large readership. With the development of a popular mass-circulation press in Vienna came a place for the modern Journalistin. Attracting women readers by publishing regular "feminine interest" columns was one successful circulation-enlarging innovation of the 1890's. This effort involved a major change in policy as editors began to hire

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Journalistinnen to write these and other columns. But signs of the future vigor of the unique Viennese press were already discernible forty years earlier.

1848 was as decisive a year for Viennese journalism as it was for Austrian politics. The press, grown moribund from the years of repression of the Metternich period, revived in the brief but exhilarating period of freedom. The months between March and October saw nearly three hundred papers printed in Vienna; of these over eighty were dailies. This number contrasted sharply with the pre-March tabulation of thirty-five papers and three dailies. The impetus provided by the revolutionary year carried the press through the ensuing period of reaction after which it developed steadily and in the process created a highly individual style analogous to that found in the city of Vienna itself.

Viennese newspapers prior to 1848 were unexceptional in both form and content. They had been government regulated since the earliest regular publication, the Ordinari Zeitung, was licensed in 1620. In the Vormärz (pre-1848) period much governmental effort was directed toward stifling political dissent; even coffeehouses were restricted in their newspaper subscriptions, so as to hinder political discussions by their patrons. The temper of the times fostered by

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such a press policy was simply put by an elderly man interviewed in Vienna in 1901: "Ah, we were all very stupid in those days, ... but we were very happy as well."

This state of affairs had ended abruptly, but temporarily with the 1848 revolutions when the newly established parliament abolished censorship. However, most of the new papers fell victim to the repressive measures of Prime Minister Felix Schwarzenberg in late 1848. The journalistic "infant mortality rate," as one writer described the phenomenon, was high; only a few of the revolutionary year publications lasted into 1849. That reaction had begun to exert itself was evidenced by the December 1848 press law which forbade door-to-door sales and brought back the preventative censor. A tax on advertisements, a further obstruction to press freedom, was inaugurated in 1850. Other restrictions included a law requiring a large security deposit to insure a cautious attitude on the part of the publisher and a warning system with a threat of suspension for the second offense. As a direct result of these measures the once numerous Viennese daily papers decreased still further; only fourteen remained in 1852. But in these hardy gazettes could be found the seeds of a great journalistic future.

4 Maria Lansdale, Vienna and the Viennese (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates and Co., 1902), p. 120.

5 Paupié, p. 1.

6 Ibid. pp. 2-3, and Olson, p. 198.

7 Paupié, p. 4.
Five of these fourteen were of special significance in this respect: Fremdenblatt (founded in 1846), Wanderer (1828), Ostdeutsche Post (1848), Morgenpost (1850) and most importantly of all, the Presse (1848). The first two served as government papers, the Fremdenblatt as the organ of the foreign office, and Wanderer as a subsidized paper of the government press department. Although subsidized, Wanderer nevertheless suffered from financial difficulties and finally fell victim to the stock market crash of 1873, ceasing publication in that year. Calling itself "voluntary governmental," the Fremdenblatt was not always an obedient follower of the government line. It tried to take a middle position between the conservative and liberal press. Later acquired by the giant Elbemühl paper concern, this paper continued publication until 1919.8

The Morgenpost, Ostdeutsche Post and the Presse all grew into large-circulation dailies, the most advanced papers of the period. Moritz Szeps, later editor of Neues Wiener Tagblatt, was the soul of the Morgenpost during his term as editor in chief from 1855 to 1867. After 1860 the paper emphasized political commentary following a German-Austrian liberal line.9 Editor Szeps was one of the first in Vienna publicly to demand a constitution following the Austrian defeats in Italy in 1859. After Solferino he penned a feuilleton, "An Open Statement by a Citizen to the Emperor of Austria,"

8Ibid. pp. 124-128.

9Ibid. pp. 141-142.
with this demand. In the Gründerzeit (years of reckless financial speculation in the late 1860's and 1870's), the Morgenpost turned from political topics and concentrated on economic news and expansion of advertising. After 1884 it became a semi-official paper and supported the conservative Taaffe government (1879-1893), ceasing publication in 1886 when it was absorbed into another Szeps' journal, the new Wiener Tagblatt.

The Ostdeutsche Post, like the Presse, was modeled on a French journal; these two were the only independent papers of the period read outside of the Empire. It employed many noted economists and other specialists as writers and its commentary was consistently on a high level. Politically it followed the grossdeutsch line combined with constitutional centralism. Seeing no possibility of a large-German solution after Austria engaged in war with Prussia in 1866, the owners of the Ostdeutsche Post chose this occasion to cease publication.

By far the most influential of the early papers was the Presse founded by the one-time Austrian-exile baker in Paris, August Zang. Zang modeled his publication after the famed Paris journal, La Presse. He engaged the leading figures of the time to write for the Presse and the paper immediately won immense popularity in Vienna.

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11Paupié, pp. 141-142.

12Paupié, pp. 139-140.
Zang's business sense enabled him to retain independent control of his paper until 1858, when he sold a half interest to the Creditanstalt director Franz Richter. Zang's philosophy of journalism was a practical one; he once said describing his occupational goals:

My newspaper is a retail shop; I sell publicity. My ideal newspaper would be a paper that would contain not a single line unpaid for. 13

With this attitude he was able to keep his paper financially viable for a long time, but his parsimonious policies eventually alienated his staff, the majority of whom under the leadership of Theodore Friedlander and Michael Etienne left the Presse to found the Neue Freie Presse in 1864. 14

Zang's paper was the first mass-circulation publication in Austria; it attracted advertisers by virtue of its impressive circulation statistics. Its make-up set the standard for the major newspapers that came after it. The Presse typified what was later to be regarded as uniquely Austrian journalism for

... it united ... the high standard of French journalism to the individuality and tradition of the Viennese press and to Austrian charm; and thus became the first representative international paper of the Danube Monarchy that found a readership abroad. 15


14 Olson, pp. 200-201.

Another of Zang's lasting contributions to Austrian journalism was his encouragement of that imported feature which became characteristically Viennese, the feuilleton. This difficult-to-describe phenomenon could usually be found on the first side of the paper "unter dem Strich" (below the black line). The feuilleton had originated in France, but in Vienna "developed into a chatty essay on any topic (frequently cultural or political in content) written to match the verve and sparkle of conversation." The talented feuilletonist could by his engaging technique make any topic seem newsworthy and interesting. Critic Hermann Lös' following comment succinctly describes this talent:

> If one can strikingly describe a basket of eggs, each of which is exactly like the others, then one is a good feuilletonist.

One source maintained that Zang used this eye-catching device to attract advertisers as well as readers. Certainly his successors followed his example and the feuilleton was assigned an important place in the make-up of the later Viennese daily papers. The feuilleton had many variations and women writers were frequent contributors of these essays.

One especially popular variation was the travel feuilleton, such as those written by Alice Schalek in the early twentieth century.

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18 Dovifat, Col. 993.
The travel feuilleton has been defined as "a piece of prose in which, by literary means and journalistic method, ... in a personal manner of description, an area of the world is presented as worth experiencing." The combination of literary and journalistic forms in an individual manner characterizes any feuilleton. The travel feuilleton also sought to enliven an otherwise terse factual description of unfamiliar places with a personal "literary" touch. Above all, the Reisefeuilleton devoted itself mainly to issues of "human interest," that is, issues which could be rendered into intimate vignettes of country and people. Significantly, one of the earliest Journalistinnen, Betty Paoli, wrote travel feuilletons for the exacting editor Zang.

The period following 1848 had been one of struggle, innovation and growth for Vienna's press. After 1860, encouraged by the breakdown of absolutism new papers appeared. The liberal reforms of the late 1860's further stimulated journalistic development.


20Ebba Koller, "Das Reisefeuilleton als Mittel der Publizistisch - literarischen Aussage in der Presse und seine Bedeutung für die zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen der Nachkriegszeit" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1968), p. 263.

Moreover, final emancipation of the Jews brought large numbers of this group to the staffs of the major liberal newspapers. In 1863 a new press law effectively removed the press from the jurisdiction of government administrators although it did not remove censorship or the publishers' security obligation. Nevertheless, during this period a number of important new papers first saw the light of day. Among them were: the Neue Freie Presse, the Neues Wiener Tagblatt and the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung.

Austria's outstanding paper of the prewar period, the Neue Freie Presse, grew out of the editorial revolt against editor Zang of the Presse. At first the new paper conformed to the pattern set by its parent journal, but in ten years it had developed into a first-class international sheet and had increased its circulation ninefold. It followed a German liberal line and wielded its

\[\text{22} \text{Although many restrictions on the Jews had been removed during the reign of Joseph II (1780-1790), they were not granted full equality until 1867. Almost immediately they flocked to the professions in great numbers, especially to the professions of law, journalism and medicine. Anti-Semitic prejudice continued, however, preventing Jews from serving in the diplomatic service, from holding responsible positions in the army and in the bureaucracy (with some exceptions) and from attaining the highest posts in the universities.}\]

\[\text{23}\text{Paupié, p. 5, and Olson, p. 198.}\]

\[\text{24} \text{Richard Grunberger, "Jews in Austrian Journalism,"}\]

tremendous influence against the Slavophiles in Taaffe's regime. It was said of NFP editor in chief Moritz Benedikt that "for a long time he was the most powerful politician in Vienna, he was the quotidian judging authority, his rejection checked, his recognition furthered. . ."25

The Neue Freie Presse was a leader in the areas of cultural and economic commentary as well. All of the major figures of the day wrote for the paper, considering it an honor to do so. The prominent Zionist leader, Theodor Herzl, served as its feuilleton editor for many years; in this post he furthered the career of Stefan Zweig, among others. Zweig described in his autobiography the elation he felt when his first article was accepted by Herzl for publication: "It was as if Napoleon had pinned the Knight's Cross of the Legion of Honor upon a young soldier on the battlefield."26 The judgments handed down by Neue Freie Presse critics and columnists, such as literary editor Herzl and the noted music reviewer Eduard Hanslick, were taken as gospel by its readership. (Hanslick's judgments could be too traditional on occasion as in his condemnations of the composers Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner and Hugo Wolf. Zweig spoke of his family's high estimation of the paper, a telling example of its impact on public opinion.


My parents occupied themselves but little with literature and laid no claims to any judgment of it. For them, as well as for the entire Viennese bourgeoisie, only that was of importance which was praised in the Neue Freie Presse, and only what was ignored or attacked there was inconsequential. Whatever appeared in the feuilleton seemed vouched for by the highest authority, because those who sat in judgment there commanded respect by their mere position. 27

The Neue Freie Presse retained its grip on the minds of the bourgeoisie until the First World War. It continued in existence until 1939 when it was combined with the Neues Wiener Journal and the Neues Wiener Tagblatt to form a new Neues Wiener Tagblatt.

The Neues Wiener Tagblatt, founded in 1867, was the creation of Moritz Szeps, the formal editor of the Morgenpost. Like the founders of the Neue Freie Presse, he revolted against the controlling interests of his former paper and took most of its staff with him. The Neues Wiener Tagblatt relied on the lower middle class, bureaucrats and tradesmen for its readership. The motto, "Demokratisches Organ," appeared on its title page until its demise in 1938. The paper was not as international in scope as the Neue Freie Presse, but it gave much coverage to Viennese news and cultural events. One of the Tagblatt's most successful public-minded ventures was its support of Josef Schöffel's 1870's campaign to save the Wienerwald. 28 Often during the Szeps years it took an antigovernmental stand. In the


28 Paupie, pp. 150-151.
1880's one of its more famous contributors was Crown Prince Rudolf, whose political confidant Szeps was. They both favored liberalism at home and an anti-Prussian, Francophile foreign policy. Under Szeps' energetic leadership the circulation and advertisements of the Tagblatt grew rapidly and the paper soon outdistanced its rival, the Neue Freie Presse in these respects. By 1914 NWT had a circulation of 100,000. Szeps, however, had gradually relinquished control of the paper, leaving it entirely in 1886 to found the Wiener Tagblatt. (In 1872 the NWT had been acquired by the Steyrermühl paper concern.) Under the editorship of the Singer brothers, Wilhelm, Julius and Mendel, the paper continued its commercial success and kept to the democratic line until the First World War.

The third major paper of the period, Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, founded by Theodor Herzka in 1889, did not equal its two rivals in achieving a distinct character or prestige. It took a federalistic left-liberal stance in opposition to the German-Austrian position of its competitors. One explanation for its federalistic view can be seen in the interests of its backers. They were wealthy industrialists involved in exploiting the wealth of the newly-acquired Bosnia-Herzegovina. Editor Herzka, however, was extremely concerned with social problems and despite the WAZ's backing it continued along a left-liberal path, later supporting the Social Democrats. It was

29Szeps was considered scheduled to become Austria's future press chief after the accession of Rudolf to the Emperor's throne.

30Grunberger, p. 92.
forced to cease publication in 1934.\textsuperscript{31}

Financial difficulties were a common problem for almost all of the major papers of this period. By 1896, the two large organizations, Steyrermühl and Elbemühl had each acquired several major papers, among them: Fremdenblatt, Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung and Neues Wiener Tagblatt. Furthermore, other liberal papers had business connections: Neue Freie Presse with the Anglo-österreichischer and Union Bank, Presse with the Wiener Bankverein and Morgenpost with the Hypothekarrentenbank.\textsuperscript{32} Naturally, these connections brought forth charges of corruption against the press. Moreover, after the 1873 crash, the anti-Semitic forces began to vilify the "Jew-controlled" liberal press. Hans Tietze admitted that a number of Jews were involved in press corruption in Vienna, often as an "instrument of mobile capital." Yet he argued that press corruption was also present at the same time in New York and London, where there were not significant numbers of Jews employed by the press.\textsuperscript{33} The 1890's did not bring an end to corruption in the press, but it did see the rise of a more ideologically oriented party press. The most outstanding of these papers were: Reichspost and Arbeiter Zeitung. In addition, two other papers of note were founded in this decade: Zeit and Neues Wiener Journal.

\textsuperscript{31}\textit{Ibid.} p. 87, and Paupié, pp. 158-159.

\textsuperscript{32}Paupié, pp. 31-32.

\textsuperscript{33}Tietze, p. 212.
The Reichspost, founded in 1893, served as the organ of the Christian Social party and polemicized against all of this party's political opponents, German nationalists were an especial target. It allied closely with the policies of Francis Ferdinand and he often wrote articles for the paper. Until World War I, it supported a federal solution to the nationality question. The paper was tinged with anti-Semitism; however, while supporting Mayor Karl Lueger's tactics, it refused to recognize the racial anti-Semitism of Georg Schönerer.

The outstanding personality of the Reichspost was Dr. Friedrich Funder, who began to work for the Reichspost while still a law student in 1896; he became editor in 1902 and led the paper until its cessation in 1938.

The Social Democratic Arbeiter Zeitung, established by Friedrich Austerlitz and Viktor Adler (the organizer of the Austrian Socialist Party at Hainfeld in 1888) was an outstanding periodical of the Second International. Appearing first as a weekly in 1889, AZ

34Karl Lueger (1844-1910) served as Vienna's Bürgermeister from 1897 until 1910. Originally a Liberal lawyer, he became a Christian Socialist in the 1880's. He espoused municipal socialism while in office and used anti-Semitism for political propaganda purposes; he denounced Jewish capital to gain the support of artisans and small tradesmen. Despite this, he had a number of Jewish friends and once declared, "It is I who decide who is a Jew."

35Georg von Schönerer (1842-1921) was a radical anti-Semite as well as a German nationalist who favored prohibiting Russian Jews from entering Austria and sponsored a bill to that effect in 1882. Moritz Szeps of the NWT who criticized Schönerer's anti-Semitic, pro-German policy, was sued by Schönerer and sentenced to prison for slander in 1884. In 1888 Schönerer lost his title and his parliamentary seat for leading a raid on the same paper for prematurely announcing the death of the German Kaiser Wilhelm I.

36Paupié, pp. 99-100.
became a daily only in 1895. It espoused international solidarity and pacifism. Before the war the Arbeiter Zeitung had often been the victim of government confiscations and so had suffered financially despite its rapid growth in circulation. To secure a wider readership especially among the middle class and also to enlighten its own followers, the Arbeiter Zeitung developed its cultural section in the late 1890's. This department published such outstanding works as the novels of Emile Zola and Peter Rosegger in serial form. During World War I the editors to avoid confiscation were less critical of specific government policies, but they were quick to condemn social dislocations caused by the war.  

The Zeit began publication as a weekly cultural-political journal modeled on the American Nation. The paper favored the Slavic nationalist aspirations and pacifism. Among its contributors were Bertha von Suttner, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, and Thomas Masaryk. In 1902 Zeit became a daily, continuing its prestigiously high journalistic level. This journal was the organ of the Austrian Fabians as well as one of the chief supporters of modern literary

37 Peter Rosegger (1843-1918) was a pacifist writer whose work primarily depicted life among the rural population of the Austrian province of Styria.

38 Paupie, pp. 88-90, and Grunberger, pp. 92-93. Even in wartime the AZ condemned the Austrian tendency to "Ruf nach dem Polizei" (call for the police) whenever upset by a minor matter. The suit against Alice Schalek for the impropriety of her war reports was the case in point. "Eine Interpellation gegen Alice Schalek," AZ, Sept. 28, 1917, p. 5. See also Chapter IV, pp. 160-161.
movements. But its readership was confined to the upper middle
classes and Zeit had little, if any, impact on the masses. The
gazette’s editors, under attack from other papers, temporarily sup­ported the war, but later came out against it so that the Zeit was
often cited by the allied press. The editors were forced to sell out
to avoid confiscation in 1917 and the paper developed into a bland
sheet, finally ceasing publication in 1919.39

The last important newspaper founded in the 1890's, the
Neues Wiener Journal, was the first daily to cultivate a female reader­ship. Established in 1893, Neues Wiener Journal ironically called
itself an "Unparteiliches Tagblatt" ("Apolitical Daily") since it
followed no clear political line, although it was friendly to the
Serbian cause, sympathetic to the monarchy and to Zionism. (NWJ
also never refuted accusations that it was subsidized by the Austrian
foreign office). The paper soon assumed the characteristics of a
modern tabloid with a format that stressed entertainment rather than
informational or editorial columns. From the first this gazette had
sought a female audience and to achieve it emphasized social affairs,
fashion and cultural issues.40 To report on these issues, NWJ’s edi­
tors hired women journalists on a regular basis. This change in
policy publicly proclaimed by the Neues Wiener Journal made its
founding significant in the history of the Viennese press, for other

Viennese papers rapidly followed its lead; soon they too inaugurated columns aimed at women readers and employed Journalistinnen to write them.

This survey has briefly highlighted the emergence of Vienna's major newspapers in the nineteenth century and the key phases in their development. Just how difficult operating conditions for Austrian journalists were in these years is clearly revealed by the comments of an American observer on the state of press freedom in Vienna around the turn of the century.

In no constitutional state in Europe are the conditions for free expression of opinion so unfavorable. Anything "dangerous to public interests" may be confiscated by administrative order, and the door is open to official discretion that a quotation from the Bible might occasion the suppression of an issue. This censorship not only extends over the published statement, but also begins in a preventative fashion before publication. ...Moreover, the government can regulate the criticism of its action by means of the license law....On top of this comes the stamp duty. ...Furthermore, the semi-official papers which publish legal notices are exempt from this duty, and can thus thrive at the expense of the others. Then it requires a special license to sell newspapers. The newsboy is unknown. Only at the scattered kiosks and other well-defined places can the journals of the day be bought when not taken by subscription. The result is good the cafes, whither everybody flocks to read the news but not for the general spread of intelligence. 41

In the fifty years since 1848, the Viennese press had first struggled for survival and then for mass readership, by the turn of the century, several major papers had achieved both, the latter with the

aid of new features and new employees—the first Journalistinnen. These Journalistinnen deserve recognition for their pioneering endeavors in the influential sphere of the Viennese press.

* * * * * *

The following section examines the emergence of professional women in Austria, particularly the woman journalist in the Viennese press. It then discusses the achievement of these Journalistinnen who overcame opposition from within and without their profession to gain a place on the staffs of the most influential news media of the Empire.

Austria's Journalistinnen in the latter part of the nineteenth century benefitted from the political, social and economic changes which affected attitudes toward working women throughout Western Europe. Austria was, however, seldom in the vanguard of reform and her stand on equal rights for women was in keeping with her conservative tradition. L. Keimer, an Austrian Journalistin, at the 1899 International Congress of Women reported that her country was "perhaps the most backward in Europe on the woman question . . . [where] nearly every profession was closed to women."42

Before World War I the average Austrian woman took no part in political life. She was ineligible to hold public office and, in most cases, to vote. Exceptions were possible for women of means, or for those of the nobility, since the system of local autonomy

introduced in 1849 allowed Austrian women who paid a certain amount in taxes to vote in local elections in all village communities and in many cities. (Vienna was not one of them.) The February Constitution of 1861 allowed the provinces their own diets for which the enfranchisement scheme was the same as that for community government; thus taxpaying women were enfranchised here as well. Female merchants and manufacturers could vote indirectly through the Chamber of Commerce, and the landed proprietress directly, for the Reichstag. Nevertheless, all women were forbidden direct participation in political life by the Right of Assembly Law and by the Law forbidding them the passives Wahlrecht (the right to hold office.)

Property reforms from the Allgemeines bürgerliche Gesetzbuch (Civil Law Code) finally promulgated only in 1812—after fifty years of codification—permitted women to direct the disposition of their own property, except where that right had been modified in the marriage contract. The eighteenth-century Theresian and Josephinian educational reform laws had permitted children of both sexes to attend the Volksschule (although Gymnasium classes were not open to women until 1893). Perhaps because of the piecemeal quality of these concessions, Austrian women seldom engaged in any political


44 Ibid. p. 168.
activity until the end of the nineteenth century. Even then only a small number campaigned for suffrage and equal rights. The majority of these were Social Democrats, women of the working class, who together with their male colleagues strove to attain the universal suffrage which was finally awarded to males in 1907. A middle-class campaign for the vote existed only among the women of Vienna.\textsuperscript{45}

Closer perhaps, to the hearts of most middle-class women than the question of suffrage was the matter of employment. Marianne Hainisch, (1839-1936) the mother of the Austrian women's movement, described her awakening in the 1860's to the economic peril of the middle-class woman. A married friend whose husband was no longer able to work sought Hainisch's aid in finding suitable employment. The friend was a talented musician and linguist, yet together they could find no employment for her. Hainisch recalled, "that shattered me. Because our women workers could feed their children and themselves if they became widows. Why could we middle-class women earn nothing? Certainly it had to do with employment opportunities which ought to afford a higher wage, and a social position equal to that of the husband. At once it was suddenly clear to me, that middle-class girls must be prepared for employment. I was deeply affected and on that day became a pioneer for women's rights."\textsuperscript{46} This problem of

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid. p. 177.

"suitable" employment for the bourgeois woman received increasing attention toward the end of the century.

Lily Braun (1865-1916), a Socialist writer from Berlin, also discussed the problems faced by the middle-class woman as she first sought employment. Her 1901 study specifically differentiated between the struggle of the middle-class woman and that of her lower-class counterpart. While the latter had attained a position in industry alongside males relatively early (and had joined with them in the fight for better working conditions and wages) the former, trained only for the unsalaried position of the housewife, began her quest for a suitable position in the working world much later. She was, for the most part, ill-educated and/or ill-trained to pursue such work as her class considered suitable. 47 An example of a "respectable" position for Austrian middle-class women in the 1870's might be that of telegraph operator which as a civil service job had an innate propriety. As more women sought such "respectable" employment, however, salaries declined. Seeking to capitalize on the new supply of cheap labor, the Austrian Ministry of Commerce even went so far as to recommend that women be allowed to work for the post office at low salaries as an economy measure. 48


Another "respectable" occupation along with other literary fields, was free-lance journalism, consisting of independent contributions of short stories, essays, or feuilletons to a magazine or newspaper. Such work by amateurs was usually poorly remunerated. Furthermore, such irregular wages could not provide a steady income for a middle-class woman without other means of support. It could, however, offer an attractive outlet for the talents of the better-situated woman of a literary bent for whom publication, not pay, was of primary importance. Many of the early female contributors were of this type.

The growing interest of women in employment outside the home, and the frustrations encountered pursuing it led to the foundation of a number of women's organizations in Austria in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The first of these, the Wiener Frauen-Erwerbsverein (Viennese Women's Employment Union, 1866), was established to aid such women who had been forced by circumstances to seek employment. As these women frequently found themselves untrained for any occupation, the Verein concentrated on establishing sewing and drawing classes and a trade school for women. Four years later the Verein turned its attention to the problem of equal educational opportunities for women. In 1871 it opened a four-class institution of higher learning for girls and began a campaign for financial support for a Gymnasium for female students. Only in 1893

49Ibid. p. 171.
was the first of these opened in Vienna and as late as 1899, schools for women were receiving only seven per cent of the funds spent on education in Austria. The first enthusiasm for a women's movement coincided with the era of Liberal rule (1861-1879), following which, in the face of Austria's economic decline, interest and financial support for feminist projects declined. Moreover, the movement was weakened by a split which developed along class lines. The working-class women preferred to join their male comrades in the Socialist effort, while upper-class women remained isolated from the movement because of their position in society. Indeed, any organization of these women was apt to be church-affiliated, and as such, virulently opposed to the Socialists. Nationality differences also hindered women's groups in the Empire from forming a united front and from achieving their common goals.

Despite the movements' lack of success in achieving their goals (equal rights for women in education and employment, elimination of the moral double standard, reform of the marriage law to guarantee individual rights, equal right of assembly for both sexes and eligibility for all representative bodies), these very aims served to inspire a small group of women to devote their lives to the popularization of women's rights. In Germany, as in Austria, it did not take long before journalism was recognized as an indispensable tool in this

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50 Ibid. p. 173.
52 Ibid. p. 188.
effort. One Journalistin bluntly asked in 1905: "what use is the largest women's conference, which can always be only open to the initiated, if the newspaper does not carry its message to hundreds of thousands, even millions?" 53 Professional journalists often actively participated in the women's movement, or lent support by offering models of a successful workingwoman. Obviously many of these successes indirectly owed their positions to the support lent them by the movement. For, as Max Osborn, another early chronicler of the Central European Journalistin, noted in the 1890's:

Here [in journalism] where literary activity develops from a purely artistic profession, to some extent, to a more commercial one, the women's emancipation movement naturally plays a much greater role than in the question of the production of literature. 54

He implied here that as a career woman, the Journalistin could be aided by the activities of the women's movement, whereas the woman writer, as an independent and self-employed artist, could not. While political and social changes, the growth of the women's movement and increasing educational opportunities for women, cannot be underestimated as influences affecting the Austrian woman's turn to professional journalism, the literary and early journalistic tradition, inherited from early nineteenth-century female writers, was an important factor as well.


Very few areas of intellectual activity were open to the Austrian woman of the early nineteenth century. Members of her sex performed in theater and opera, wrote privately and held salon receptions. Beyond these activities upper-class and bourgeois women had little opportunity to participate in the creative life of their society and lower-class women had none at all. The first female participation in journalism involved those literary women who submitted manuscripts for publication in the cultural sections of newspapers and journals, and later in the century included women involved with the Hausfrauenzeitungen (magazines for married women), or women working in the women's movement or other political causes.

Though they acknowledged a large female readership, few women were admitted to the editorial staffs of the daily newspapers of the period and few women contributors published under their own names. A notable exception was the outstanding poetess of the Grillparzer era (1825-1850), Betty Paoli. (Barbara Glück, 1814-1894). Her poem "An die Männer unsere Zeit" (To the Men of Our Times) appeared in Wittauer's Wiener Zeitschrift in 1832. Later she wrote social commentary and travel feuilletons which appeared in various Viennese newspapers, including the Presse in the years following 1848. Other Osterreicherinnen wrote poetry, short stories or feuilletons for


56 Grunwald, p. 284.
Austrian newspapers often using an assumed name. In his 1885 work on woman writers, Heinrich Gross mentioned six Austrians who had frequently contributed to newspapers.\textsuperscript{57} None of these, however, made journalism her career. The first of the career woman journalists were to appear only in the next decade.

There was, however, a special literary tradition for the Jewish woman feuilletonist; Nahida Lazarus writing in 1891 noted that several generations of Jewish women had worked in this genre, although she did not approve of the work of the youngest of these feuilletonists:

\begin{quote}

...to recognize here [in her book on the Jewish woman] the crowd of younger and youngest Jewish feuilleton writers, short story and novel writers who satisfy in a large part the need of the reading public for relaxation is not proper as most of these ladies are no longer filled with the earlier Jewish tendencies in their writing—to pay homage to fidelity, mother love and religiosity...\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

Their male coreligionists had also flocked to the profession in large numbers since 1848, and according to the estimates quoted by Henry Wickham Steed in 1913, seventy-five percent of Vienna’s journalists at that time were Jewish.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{57}Heinrich Gross, Deutsche Dichterinnen und Schriftstellerinnen in Wort und Bild (Berlin: Verlag Fr. Thiel, 1885).


Jewish journalists tended to support Liberalism, especially before 1900.
In the late nineteenth century women became involved in the writing and publishing of a variety of special publications. Many wrote for the publications specifically directed toward women, the Hausfrauenzeitungen, which were aimed at a middle-class readership. Ottilie Bondy, for example, the founder of the Vienna Housewives' Society (1875), was a frequent contributor to the Hausfrauenzeitungen. Toward the end of the century women of different political parties also founded organs to proclaim their particular needs. Many women writers and editors could be found here working for such publications as the Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung of the Social Democratic women, Die österreichische Frauenwelt and Frauenbriefe of the Catholic women's organization and Der Bund of the Federation of Austrian Women's Organizations itself. Adelheid Popp, an early political Journalistin, headed the Social Democratic women's movement. As editor of the movement's organ, Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung after 1899 she projected two goals to be reached through her paper: to call attention to the plight of the working-class woman by publicizing injustices done to her and to attempt to educate readers in the spirit of socialist awareness and the need for presenting a common working-class front in the emancipation struggle. These special publications reflected ideological and

60 Hainisch, "Zur Geschichte," p. 23

social concerns which were not found in the Viennese dailies of the same period.

The first women employed by commercial newspaper organizations seldom had the opportunity to champion ideologies, for they were assigned to so-called "feminine areas" such as fashion, cookery and household matters. They only occasionally reported on aspects of the women's movement. Gradually, they were permitted to move into other areas considered of interest to women and suited to the talents of the female journalist; these included the writing of travel articles, short stories and theater and art criticism. One source noted in 1896 that a large majority of Journalistinnen were active in the area of belles lettres.62 In Vienna, fashion, too, was a major concern for both the female newspaper contributors and their readers. Osborn mentioned two outstanding Viennese Journalistinnen in this field. One of the Frau Wettstein-Adelt, had even set up a fashion correspondence operation for newspapers. However, Osborn also noted that positions on the editorial staff, that is those positions paying a fixed salary, were still more or less closed to women.63

In a previous study, Erwerbsmöglichkeiten für Frauen ("Employment Opportunities for Women," 1897) Ichenhaeuser defined the three major journalistic positions and the work involved in each. The leading position, Redakteurin, editorship of an entire paper, or a section

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63 Ibid.
of it, was seldom held by a woman, although there were, as noted, a
number of female editors of specialized publications. Ichenhaeuser
saw this position, however, as a reasonable goal for ambitious
Journalistinnen. The Korrespondentin, if she worked for a large paper,
was often a full-time salaried employee. A wide knowledge of various
subjects, e.g. public life, trade, commerce, government and society
were prerequisites for the job. The position of Mitarbeiterin
required little specialized knowledge and was the usual first assign­
ment for the aspiring journalist. With additional expertise she could
become a permanent staff member and report on a particular topic, such
as fashion, literature or society. Ichenhaeuser, herself, a successful
journalist, was optimistic in her estimate of the woman's future in
the field for by the turn of the century the Journalistin had found
a permanent place in her profession.64

However, contemporary data gives only a sketchy idea of the
number of Journalistinnen employed and what they earned. Even these
scant figures show a wide gap between the situation of the English­
speaking and that of the German-speaking Journalistin; yet few of
these figures are strictly comparable as most of the studies were car­
rried out independently of one another and at different times. No com­
parative study was ever made, partly because of the difficulty of
defining the subject. What was considered journalistic work varied

64Eliza Ichenhaeuser, Erwerbsmöglichkeiten fur Frauen
so greatly that no more than a general assessment of the profession was possible.

Loosely defined a Journalistin was often simply any woman who contributed articles to a paper or journal. Later the term was narrowed to describe only those who made most of their income from this work, although there were still many exceptions to that description. For example, early works on the subject grouped female journalists, writers and private scholars together in a single category; other listings counted journalists and writers in one category. For example, Kamilla Theimer's 1909 study on working women in Austria, stated that in the census year of 1900, 335 Austrian women were engaged in publishing-associated occupations; of these 112 were working in editorial staff positions. The former figure included not only journalists in every branch of the publication field, but even such office personnel as typists and stenographers. Another researcher, Margarete Edelheim, in 1928 noted that it was especially difficult to carry out accurate surveys because "all possible elements, who occasionally write a newspaper article like to call themselves journalists, while again others find it nicer to call themselves writers, although according to the type of work they do, they really

65 Ichnenhaeuser, Die Journalistik, p. 6.
belong to the category of journalists." Even as late as 1965, Elisabeth Zaunbauer reported difficulties in ascertaining the number of Journalistinnen in Austria because not all were obliged to register with the journalists' union; even the Concordia press club included women who were not journalists. Such difficulties were also apparent in Dresler's 1934 survey of Austria's Journalistinnen. He found that the Organization of the Viennese Press had fifty-one women members; fourteen full-time editors on Austrian newspapers, twenty-three editorial staff members, stenographers and secretaries and fourteen free-lance journalists who made their living from contributions to newspapers. At the same time the more prestigious Concordia club had ten female members. Groth in 1930 made the best comparative study of the Journalistinnen population of several countries, although he was not always consistent in his approach for his sources defined the term "journalist" differently in each

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instance. Groth's figures can only serve as indicators of the situation of the Journalistin in Austria and abroad.

Figures on journalists' earnings are also incomplete, and some sources often cited only top journalists whose positions and salaries were not typical. Generally, it seems that journalists engaged in cutthroat competition for small financial reward. In a

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Groth gathered his figures from several sources and presented them in a chart reproduced below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Full-time Journalists</th>
<th>Female Journalists</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>7,000 journalists</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>34,000 editors and reporters</td>
<td>5,730</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>(n.d.)</td>
<td>1,000 members of the journalists' union</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>(n.d.)</td>
<td>no estimate</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>no estimate</td>
<td>78 in non Verband der deutschen Presse; 100 Groth's estimate</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

buyers' market, publishers could choose from the many manuscripts offered (especially for the feuilleton section of a newspaper) often they selected cheaper or substandard material from the nonprofessional writer rather than the more highly priced work of the professional journalist. The latter did not hesitate to comment on the unscrupulousness of many publishers. Ichenhæuser remarked:

... one does not know if one should be more astounded by the publisher who dares to offer such [a low rate], or by the women journalists who accept such an offer.

In most instances, a journalist was certain of an adequate income only after being hired by a large daily newspaper. In Austria at the turn of the century, such positions were difficult to obtain. However once employed, the Viennese Journalisten was favored over the Journalistinnen for advancement.

Only Ichenhæuser cited some salary figures in her report on women in journalism. The largest papers obviously recruited the best reporters, male and female, and paid the highest rates and annual salaries, regardless of sex. A typical salary scale was: Korrespondent, 720 Marks annually; permanent staff, 600 to 900 Marks annually; editor (in the case of a Journalistin most often on a

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72 Ichenhæuser, *Die Journalistik*, p. 12.

73 Theimer, *Frauenarbeit*, p. 17.
women's magazine), 1200 to 2400 Marks annually. For single articles the large papers paid their contributors as follows: poems, 50 Pfennig to 1 Mark a line; regular articles, 10 to 35 Pfennig a line; leading articles, essays, feuilletons, 20 to 150 Marks per article. The situation was quite different on a small paper where very low rates prevailed; e.g. poems, often only 1 Mark was paid for an entire piece; regular articles, 5 Pfennig a line (the best rate); and feuilletons, etc. 3 Marks per article. Salaries were generally the same for men and women, depending upon the writer's ability. It was this feature of the profession (despite the difficulty of advancement) that motivated a number of pioneering journalistinnen consider journalism a profession with a measure of equality of opportunity.

Exactly when the first woman journalist was hired by a Viennese daily is difficult to ascertain. William Jenks mentioned a woman staff member present in March 1888 when Georg Schönerer and his associates stormed the offices of the Neues Wiener Tagblatt (They were enraged by the paper's erroneous report of Kaiser Wilhelm's death.) However, Adolf Dresler wrote in 1935 that women entered Austria's press offices at about the turn of the century.

74 Ichenhaeuser, Die Journalistik, pp. 11-12.

75 This woman was not necessarily a journalist, for women often filled other positions on a paper, see


77 Adolf Dresler, Die Frau im Journalismus (Munich: Verlag Knorr und Hirth, GmbH, 1935), Dresler, p. 44.
Two Austrian newswomen representatives at the London International Congress of Women in 1899 claimed to be female "firsts" in Austrian journalism as well. The first of these, Kamilla Theimer, said "she was the first lady journalist to have editorial control of a department in a newspaper office in Austria."78 The other newswoman, L. Keimer, said "she was the first woman in Austria to approach the editor of one of the important newspapers, and was allowed a space of three columns a week in his paper; and in one year's time four other Austrian papers had opened their columns to women."79 Clearly, women were indeed present on the staffs of Vienna's daily papers well before 1900, but further details on the actual positions of these two pioneers are lacking.80

The duties of a pioneer Journalistin as sketched in Dresler's study were typically "feminine." In 1900, one Ilona Patacky, began work with the editorial staff of the Fremdenblatt, then under the control of the Elbmühl concern. She was hired to


80Kamilla Theimer was apparently active in religious affairs; she spoke with Pope Pius X on anti-Semitism and wrote to the Chief Rabbi of Vienna, Moritz Gudemann, on the topic in 1907. She also wrote and published a work on women's careers in Austria in 1909, entitled, Frauenarbeit in Osterreich.
set up a fashion column because of her Parisian journalistic experience. In addition, she was required to report on social events and to answer inquiries about styles. This column proved so popular that other papers soon followed the Fremdenblatt's example. 81 Emilie Halesch's monograph about the Neues Wiener Journal (a paper aimed at an educated public interested in the court and society, not in the problems of the workers and the middle class) 82 described the prewar efforts of an ambitious journal to continue the trend in its attempt to win a wider female readership. In so doing, it began to employ a number of Journalistinnen. One, Claire Patak, after 1910 edited the column "Aus der Gesellschaft" (Society News) which contained gossipy notes of high society life. She was responsible for a successful fashion column as well. In its regular columns, the NWJ featured sketches of Viennese life and customs along with romantic stories favored by the public. A frequent and typical contributor of the latter was Hedwig Courths-Mahler, who wrote thirty serialized stories for the paper. Their general tenor can be illustrated by one title: "Eine ungeliebte Frau" ("An Unloved Woman"). 83 [A more serious side of the NWJ appeared in special articles like those of Berta Zuckerkandl's brother, Julius Szeps. The latter wrote pieces on

81 Dresler, p. 93.


Prince Rudolf which made use of his father's voluminous correspondence with the prince.] Much was written in NWJ on music and art; in the early years the Journalistin, Dr. Elsa Bienenfeld, became the paper's leading music critic.\textsuperscript{84} Other papers followed the lead of the NWJ and Journalistinnen gradually began to secure their positions on newspaper staffs.

Once women began in earnest to pursue professional journalistic careers, their male editors and co-workers showed their skeptical sides, as well as becoming grudgingly complimentary. Some were openly hostile. A look at these critical attitudes illustrates the difficulties with which the first female journalists had to deal. On the one hand, editors envisioning larger circulations sought the Journalistin's talents; on the other, male journalists and editors often objected to the employment of female journalists fearing that they could bring only unprofessional frivolity to newspaper writing—and would become a source of competition.

The skepticism of a newspaper editor toward the work of a Journalistin often resulted from his fear that the public would react adversely to a large number of articles written in the so-called "frauenzimmerlicher Stil" (ladylike manner). This attitude on the part of her prospective employer forced many women to submit their work under male pseudonyms. That the ladylike style was not immediately apparent to the editor is shown by the large number of articles

\textsuperscript{84}\textit{Ibid.} p. 111, 115.
published by women under male pseudonyms. By 1905 according to Ichenhaeuser, as a result of enthusiastic public reception to articles written by women this practice had almost disappeared. Nevertheless, women journalists were hindered in their efforts to secure full-time employment. And as late as 1931, one Journalistin pointed out that editors still showed "a passive resistance" to hiring women for their staffs, although their good free-lance work was readily accepted. She noted quite frankly that "every woman who occupies an editorial post in the daily press, still stands today as a pioneer at her job." Only talented women made of stern stuff stood to succeed in the male domain of the press room.

A manifestation of this hostile attitude from male journalists was the exclusion of women from membership in various press organizations. This was especially evident in Vienna where women were not allowed to join the prestigious Concordia press club until shortly before World War I. Founded in 1859, Concordia quickly became one of the best-known professional organizations in Vienna. Balls and other entertainments sponsored to benefit needy members and widows and orphans of members became the most popular in the city. The question of female membership had come before Concordia's board

85 Osborn, pp. 284, 286.
86 Ichenhaeuser, Die Journalistik, p. 8.
87 Edelheim, p. 235.
in 1911, but was voted down at that time on financial grounds.\textsuperscript{88} During the war discrimination abated somewhat and Austrian \textit{Journalistinnen} were admitted without question to the newly founded Organization of the Viennese Press in 1918.\textsuperscript{89} This new attitude reflected the general postwar feeling of gratitude toward women for their war effort. In 1918 that gratitude climaxed with universal suffrage.

Some nineteenth-century commentators were complimentary, although condescendingly so, to female journalists. Osborn for example writes that their
talent for small talk, for agreeable conversation is an excellent basis for the feuilletonist's occupation. The true feuilleton style in its harmless loquaciousness, its loose style of composition, the light superficiality that is frankly demanded; this will attract the women who can write—and half of all journalistic work is based in the end, on the feuilleton style!\textsuperscript{90}

A similar statement on inherent feminine aptitude and its consequences was offered by the Viennese editor, J.J. David, an early observer of women in journalism:

one notices that the woman, as a rule, is superior to the man in formulation, in taste and in sharpness of intellect; and that she immediately and everywhere lowers rates; and then one grasps what this means for

\textsuperscript{88}Maria Eva Bögner, "Wesen und Werden der Concordia" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1950), p. 100. Concordia members feared that the newly accredited female members, besides offering competition on the marketplace, might put immediate claims on pensions and other club benefits, such as burial costs and dependents' allowances. They did, however, name the renowned authoress, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, an honorary member on the occasion of her eightieth birthday in 1910.

\textsuperscript{89}Dresler, p. 94.

\textsuperscript{90}Osborn, pp. 273-274.
male work. Her sharpness of mind is often and in many respects superior to that of the man. Perhaps she observes less accurately, certainly not so conscientiously, because she tires more easily. . . . also her shrewdness, that curiosity that she has by virtue of her sex, and that the real journalist must always find in himself for things that at the moment concern him little, should come into consideration. 91

Such statements are similar to the many broad generalizations which can be found in contemporary commentaries on the success of Jews in journalism. 92

Other difficulties of a less subjective nature confronted the Journalistin. A basic problem, shared to some extent with male colleagues, was competition from nonprofessional writers. These were most troublesome adversaries for they asked only a minimum recompense for their efforts and thus threatened the livelihood of


92H. Wickham Steed, for example, wrote in 1913 that so Vienesse Jews were in press work because the intellectualism and quick-wittedness of the Jew, his versatility and power of adaptation to circumstances, evidently fit him in an especial degree to discharge functions which are practically those of a middleman between the public and matters of public interest. Newspaper enterprise is, moreover, a business, albeit a business sui generis, and is governed largely by the considerations that apply to all commercial undertakings. If a newspaper be regarded as a mere commodity, it is comprehensible that the Jews should possess the same advantages in manufacturing and selling it as in the manufacture and sale of other wares.

The Hapsburg Monarchy, p. 184.
the professional journalist. These competitors were primarily of two types: the well-to-do dilettante who wrote for pleasure and was not primarily concerned with the fee, and the wives and daughters of the lower middle class who sought to supplement the meager income of their breadwinner with self-earned pocket money. Both were satisfied with the most trifling sum for an article.93 Ichenhaeuser warned aspiring Journalistinnen against using such tactics which, she declared, would only work to their disadvantage when they became full-fledged members of the profession.94 Another Journalistin in 1912 viewed this development as a serious problem contributing to the growth of an "artistic proletariat."95 She severely criticized both those occupationless women who contributed to the glut of literary articles for vanity's sake and those uneducated women who believed themselves talented enough to write.96

Another group of competitors were the semiprofessional writers, university professors, scientists and government officials, who supplemented their incomes by writing single articles or series of articles.97 The quantity of articles produced by such individuals

93Osborn, p. 284.
96Levy-Rathenau, Die deutsche Frau in Beruf, p. 147.
97Edelheim, p. 233.
made it difficult for the professional journalist to bargain for higher wages, much less for a permanent position. Women journalists were particularly vulnerable to competition of this sort.

To combat the problems arising from such competition, Ichenhaeuser (herself a professional journalist) had some suggestions. She recommended that a common front be made by all women journalists, not only to secure employment for greater numbers and to raise the quality of the work turned out by the inadequately trained, but also so that the journalists might obtain "an appropriate evaluation of their achievements for their own sake, for the sake of their sex and, last not least, in order to avoid unfair competition against the opposite sex." 98

Male commentators were less specific when they spoke of difficulties women journalists encountered. Groth, for example, offered some conjectures, as to why, in spite of their talents, women were underrepresented in the field. These included women's psychic inadequacy in the face of criticism, the inappropriateness of a journalist's working hours for a woman, and the low salaries for Journalistinnen. As societal attitudes toward women changed, however, he believed, the number of Journalistinnen would most likely increase. 99


99 Groth, p. 74.
In 1905 one Journalistin with thirty years experience reviewed her own efforts to maintain a position in the face of prejudice. Her words indicate the insecure situation of even a successful woman and the pains taken by her to keep her job:

I have had to expend great diligence, untiring endurance and much energy; I have in every respect subordinated myself to the man, lest they close the door on me entirely.\(^{100}\)

The first Austrian Journalistinnen were aware of the difficulties they faced; many believed these could be overcome by a combination of optimism and diligent preparation. One Journalistin commented that there was no perfect formula for success, although talent and luck seemed to be most important.\(^ {101}\) Other professionals had more specific recommendations, among them a broad general education (to be attained through Gymnasium and university attendance) and specialized knowledge in a particular area (e.g. history and political science for political journalists, literary background for the feuilletonist, and practical sewing for the fashion writer).\(^ {102}\) All journalists, of course, needed to learn their trade by actually working on a paper. One writer recommended that the aspiring Journalistin begin by composing articles and reviews for a personal file to be submitted to various papers. One might then obtain a

\(^{100}\) Ichenhaeuser, Die Journalistik, p. 22.

\(^{101}\) Theimer, Frauenarbeit in Osterreich, p. 17.

\(^{102}\) Edelheim, pp. 236-237.
position as an editorial secretary in order to become acquainted with all areas of newspaper work, and from this advantageous position work up to an editorial assignment. A sound preliminary education, however, was most important, Ichenhauenser believed, for "the well-trained journalist ... may be without fear of losing her job, may weigh offers; she will be paid for good work gladly, only the inferior talents are offered low bids, only they are forced to take them".

A definite hindrance for the Austrian woman seeking to prepare herself academically for the journalistic profession was the lack of higher educational opportunities for women. The first Gymnasium for women in Austria opened its doors only in 1893. The Department of Philosophy at the University of Vienna first accepted women as degree candidates in the 1890's. Not until after World War I were women admitted to several Hochschulen, e.g. those of International Trade, Agriculture and the Law Department at the University. That women were not encouraged to pursue careers in such fields was evident from these lines from a vocational handbook for girls and young women published in Vienna in 1924: "in general, technical study suits neither the abilities nor the inclinations of

103 Levy-Rathenau, Die deutsche Frau in Beruf, p. 149.
104 Ichenhauenser, Die Journalistik, pp. 20-21.
the female sex. One can only then advise against this study."

Though other guides to employment for women mentioned journalism as a suitable occupation, perhaps a very demanding and insecure one, requiring talent and hard work, none offered advice for securing a job as a journalist. Only one Viennese tradition gave Austrian women of the press an advantage over their colleagues at home and abroad, the tradition of the literary and artistic salon. This custom was noted and eagerly adopted by an American correspondent in postwar Austria, Dorothy Thompson. While in Vienna she made her home a gathering place for celebrities from every field. This Viennese salon tradition and its importance for one Journalistin will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

The salon tradition was of use only to the established journalist. For the aspiring Journalistin getting a press job was difficult, the work was hard and advancement hindered. What then inspired these women to go on, to persevere? One inducement was the prospect of equal reward for equal work, another was inclination, likened by one Journalistin to the artist's calling. For many politics was the impetus: the press might educate women and become a vanguard for the women's movement. Often personal motives played

106 Ibid. p. 51.
108 Edelheim, p. 236.
a part in the choice of profession as well. Journalism offered the individual—whether male or female—a special personal satisfaction. Ichenhaeuser noted

for a century journalism has exerted its captivating effect on the world of men; this world has enjoyed to the full all of its joys and also all of its pains; for the woman too, it will become that which it already is for men.109

Viennese women were avid newspaper readers, they had witnessed the rise of the press in their city since 1848. It was only natural that they should wish to participate in this influential medium. Some women realized that journalism offered the opportunity to campaign for causes, the social and human causes in which other women were actively involved, or individual causes of importance to the journalist herself. One Journalistin advised her fellows that they "should never forget that they have here [in their profession] a special mission to fulfill as well—to promote the good and the noble and to intercede for the oppressed and the weak."110 Exactly this sense of mission distinguished the careers of a number of the early Viennese Journalistinnen; it was especially evident in the achievements of two outstanding newswomen whose efforts to promote underservedly ignored causes will be documented in the following chapters. Although the success of their careers was due mainly to individual effort, Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek owed much to

109Ichenhaeuser, Erwerbsmöglichkeiten, p. 75.

110Ichenhaeuser, Die Journalistik, p. 38.
their predecessors, male and female, whose work had made the Viennese press the powerful and influential force that it had become by the early twentieth century.
This and the following chapter illustrate by means of two case studies how two early Journalistinnen, Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek, used their profession to influence Viennese society in the first years of the twentieth century. An examination of Zuckerkandl's work shows the cultural concerns of educated Viennese in the period of cultural efflorescence in that city where Sigmund Freud, Gustav Klimt, Gustav Mahler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Arthur Schnitzler, among others, made their home. Bertha Zuckerkandl's Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung columns provide an insight into the artistic and dramatic situation prevalent in Vienna from just after the turn of the century until the 1920's.

It was during this period that the nineteenth-century tradition of Historicism in art (careful imitation of old styles) was toppled from its position of dominance by the efforts of the modern art group, the Sezession. Without the aid of Berta Zuckerkandl's publicity, it is doubtful that the members of the Sezession could have been so successful in winning the patronage of their fellow citizens for the Sezessionisten totally opposed the popular eclectic style of their
Historicist predecessors. Historicism held sway until the very end of the nineteenth century in Austria. Fostered by the official Kunstacademie, this traditional style had become increasingly imitative and caught up in a meaningless formalism. This was the "old art" that Zuckerkandl and the modernists fought; they were not opposed to art of the past per se, but believed that each period in history deserved an artistic expression suitable to its time.

Almost alone this Journalistin/art critic labored to combat the artistic ignorance of the Viennese public which had arisen from the decrease in contact between artist and public in the nineteenth century. A public educated in painterly tradition and technique, Zuckerkandl believed, would be less willing to support the Kitsch produced by the Historicist painters. She aimed her feuilletons and reviews at a bourgeois public, interested in art, but not to the degree that it would willingly exert itself to appreciate a new style. Still, Vienna was fertile ground for the persuasive Journalistin:

...in 1900 Vienna was the only place in the whole of Europe where the applied arts were flourishing. Following the law of supply and demand, the artist modified his work to please the average Viennese citizen who constituted the public interested in art, and who... was by nature "neither an individualist nor prepared to accept blindly anything that was offered. The Viennese public approached the Court Theater in the same way, and also the concerts and art exhibitions patronized by the Court. There was a highly developed appreciation of art, but it remained true to the approved eclectic style. Hence

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attention was exclusively concentrated on virtousity, on the player, not the play, on the musician, not the music..." (Broch)

It was Zuckerkandl's task to turn her audience's attention to the play and to the music of art--and to keep the artists themselves true to their artistic calling.

A close reading of this Journalistin's work reveals these concerns, and reveals also how she challenged contemporary opinion rather than mirrored it. Thus, the tradition of struggle first seen in Chapter II, Part 1 as the fledgling Viennese press sought to establish itself in an authoritarian Empire, hostile to news media, and later seen in Chapter II, Part 2 as Austrian women overcame adversity from within and without the profession to become Journalistinnen, continues here. Berta Zuckerkandl, and Alice Schalek also (as will be seen in Chapter IV), established professionals in an influential media, endeavored mightily to change ingrained cultural and social opinions of Viennese society. These Journalistinnen believed their role to be that of the interfering Kiebitz who by frequent agitation could awaken a response from an audience most satisfied by the comforting ambience of Gemütlichkeit. Clearly they were more than simply "Speigel der Zeit."

Berta Zuckerkandl was the spokeswoman for the Austrian Sezession and for modern Austrian drama. As feuilletonist/culture critic for a major Viennese paper, the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, she

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2Ibid. p. 12.
consistently championed the "modern" in art and drama. Zuckerkandl was a formidable behind-the-scenes personality as well, influencing narcissistic cultural figures who responded positively to her vigorous criticism and tireless efforts to smooth paths for them and for the new art. But the activity of salon hostess was only one side of this energetic woman. She felt that her influence could be wielded more effectively for her causes in public—through her essays of the evening in the WAZ 6-Uhr Abendblatt (Six o'clock Evening Paper), where she hammered away at the walls of cultural ignorance and obsolete traditions which hindered the growth of the modern. These walls had remained standing long after Francis Joseph had the Vienna's stone barricades torn down in 1858 to prepare the way for a modern city. Only years of tireless, incisive reiteration, Zuckerkandl found, could break down her city's apathy toward the new and untried. So she took up the cause of the moderns and with intellectual prowess, sarcasm and determination began to bring artist and public into contact again.

How was a middle-class Journalistin in fin de siècle Vienna to impress her convictions upon her indifferent fellow citizens? By innovative use of traditional métier, art and theater criticism, Zuckerkandl adroitly transformed the art and theater review into a popular feuilletonistic treatise on culture. This treatise then became the vehicle for her pungent arguments for the modern, aimed at disarming a tradition-bound Vienna. This Journalistin knew her city, and knew when antagonism or charm would best serve her purpose. Thus she adapted two of Vienna's best traditions—the salon and the
newspaper feuilleton—to advance her cause. Skillfully manipulating traditional means to publicize her beliefs, Zuckerkandl's critical and didactic statements succeeded in influencing Viennese views of modern culture and in imparting a measure of this Journalistin's own pride in the cultural flowering of Goldenes Wien to her readers (and a wealth of information on Viennese cultural trends to the historian).

Journalism had always required an irregular mode of life, demanding many sacrifices of those who pursue it. All of the early Journalistinnen encountered such demands; one who throve on them was Berta Zuckerkandl (1864-1945). Her career as an art and drama critic lasted well over three decades. During these years she alternated her reviewing responsibilities with other avocations, holding an intellectual salon, translating plays and promoting the culture of Austria (although not always its governmental policies) at home and abroad. Both Zuckerkandl's published work and her vibrant personality had a substantial impact on the cultural life of her country, especially that of its capital city, Vienna, until the moment of the Nazi invasion.

It was in her Döbling salon that the future Sezessionisten in 1897 first discussed leaving the official Kunstakademie.³ Forty years later during the last days of independence in March 1938, the

³"Sezession" was the designation given by a group of young Viennese artists, who broke away from the official Künstlerhausgenossenschaft in 1897, to form their new organization. The Sezession was devoted to the development of modern Austrian art under the leadership of Gustav Klimt.
"Hofrätin" anxiously debated Austria's fate with the cultural historian and actor, Egon Friedell, the playwright, Odon von Horvath, and other members of Vienna's intellectual community. A few days later Friedell was to leap from a window to his death at the approach of Nazi storm troopers. Shortly thereafter, Berta Zuckerkandl, aged seventy-three, fled to Paris and, after the fall of that city, to Algiers. "The Viennese Cassandra," as she had been called, survived the war but died in 1945, age eighty-one, in a Parisian clinic without seeing her beloved city again. In her years of exile, she recorded her last impressions of that culture which she had chronicled and criticized in newsprint for decades; these are a testament to a lifetime of faith in Austria's Kulturleben, in the development of which she herself played a large part. She likened her role to that of the Kiebitz, who comments on the game as it is being played, regardless of the participants' reaction to the interference. The "game" she commented on was

4Hofrätin was the honorary title accorded to Berta Zuckerkandl as the wife of a Hofrat (Privy Councillor) which was often used by her friends when referring to her.


6Ibid. 321.

7Berta Szeps Zuckerkandl, "Spielkarten," (January 1907) in Zeitkunst Wien 1901-1907 (Vienna: Verlegt bei Hugo Heller & Co., 1908), p. 199. This volume contains a selection of BZ's WAZ art criticism columns, Kraus would agree with her self-assessment here, see p. 120 and note 147.
the development of a new style and the "players" the most able pro-
ponents and opponents of the Sezession.

It is odd that Berta Zuckerkandl is seldom mentioned in
connection with Austrian cultural life of the period; her part in the
founding of the Sezession and her spirited defense of the modern in
the fine and applied arts of prewar Austria have been almost totally
overlooked. Her collaboration with Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Max
Reinhardt in the postwar revival of Austrian culture, especially drama,
has been similarly ignored. While the movements and institutions
publicized by her in the columns of the WAZ have gained a secure place
in the public eye and in the cultural history of Austria, Berta
Zuckerkandl's role as their publicist and as a catalyst of modern
Austrian culture has been ignored by historians of the period.

This cannot result from lack of published material, for this
multi-talented Journalistin wrote three books (including her anecdotal
autobiography), translated more than one hundred plays and contributed
innumerable articles and feuilletons to newspapers and magazines,
although she left remarkably little information about her own life.
Her niece, Hermine Müller-Hofmann, remarked on this proclivity of the
Hofratin's for personal privacy. Despite her talent for discussing
various subjects and persons with knowledge and interest, Zuckerkandl
kept details of her personal life to herself. For example, her financial situation after the death of her husband is unclear. Müller-Hofmann suggested that remuneration from newspaper writing was a necessary supplement to the small pension she received as the widow of a Hofrat and University Professor. Zuckerkandl herself noted at one point that her husband had failed to seek financial reward from his many scientific publications and research projects (believing that information should be freely available to all scientists), but this comment was not made in reference to the Hofrätin's situation as a widow or to her journalistic career. Her autobiography and memoirs are replete with details from the lives of illustrious personalities; however, Zuckerkandl referred to herself only in passing as an observer or an interviewer. That she was Jewish is nowhere evident in her writings.

Yet the Jewish contribution was influential in Vienna's press revival of the late nineteenth century, and in the intellectual heritage of Berta Szeps Zuckerkandl. Family background played a

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8Hermine Müller-Hofmann, private interview, Vienna, Austria, February 1975.
Zuckerkandl herself wrote in her autobiography on the subject: "I insisted on having such a simple wedding because I have always hated the public exhibition of a wedding ceremony, which after all, is so very much a part of one's private life." My Life and History, pp. 121-122.

9Hermine Müller-Hofmann.

10Zuckerkandl, My Life, p. 160.
major role in the formation of Zuckerkandl’s views and in her choice of career. Her father, Moritz Szeps (1834-1902), was a Galician Jew who emigrated to Vienna in 1854 to continue his medical studies at the University of Vienna. But his interest soon turned to newspaper work and his talent for journalism brought him his own paper (Neues Wiener Tagblatt) and much wealth. In eight years he had advanced from simple journalist to multimillionaire. He continued to work as an editor and publisher until his death at age sixty-eight in 1902. Just two years before his death he established a completely new periodical for the working man entitled Wissen für Alle ("Knowledge for All"), dedicated, according to Zuckerkandl, to bringing the masses scientific knowledge. Szeps’ wife, Amalie, was the sister of two renowned Viennese feuilletonists, Max and Sigmund Schlesinger. It is readily apparent why Zuckerkandl

11 See Chapter II, pp. 19-20 on Szeps’ career as a journalist.


later told friends that the smell of printers' ink awakened in her the same memories of home as barnyard smells did in a peasant.\textsuperscript{16} 

Moritz Szeps' interests extended beyond journalism to an analysis of contemporary politics. Austria's Crown Prince Rudolf sought him out; Szeps served as his confidant on foreign and domestic policy for eight years until the Prince's suicide at Mayerling in January 1889. Szeps was a Liberal with democratic leanings in domestic affairs, who supported a Western-oriented, Francophile foreign policy. This became his daughter's political inheritance. The family's Francophile proclivities were further strengthened by the 1886 marriage of Szeps' older daughter, Sophie, to Paul Clemenceau, brother of the "Tiger." Mme. Clemenceau was to reside in France until her death in 1937.\textsuperscript{17} 

Szeps fostered in his five children a catholic love for art and music—especially a taste for the modern. He took them to Bayreuth where they visited with Richard Wagner, and introduced them to such cultural leaders as composer, Johann Strauss, Jr. and art historian Albert Ilg. Moritz Szeps' home was open to Vienna's literary and art world.\textsuperscript{18} As a young girl Berta often served as hostess there 


\textsuperscript{17}Ibid, p. 217.

\textsuperscript{18}Zuckerkandl, \textit{My Life}, p. 163.
greeting these illustrious guests and joining in conversations with them. These early experiences predisposed Szeps' daughter, Berta, toward an enthusiasm for the arts and a preference for modern movements. The Szeps children, received a broad and varied education; included in their studies were languages and music. Berta Zuckerkandl noted that she became for a time a student of the Baroque art scholar, Albert Ilg. While still in her teens she joined his art circle, portentously named "Gegen den Strom" (Against the Stream). Ilg, a leading proponent of Austrian Baroque art, championed views opposed to those held by the then-prevailing school of art historians who favored Renaissance styles to the exclusion of the more Austrian Baroque forms.19

Berta, or "BZ" as she was referred to because these initials identified her newspaper columns, was initiated at an early age into the intricacies of international politics, for until her marriage in 1886, she served as her father's private secretary and was entrusted with Prince Rudolf's confidential messages. Berta and her sisters, free of many restraints bourgeois parents of the period placed on young girls, rode and swam with their brothers. Berta in particular was involved in a number of escapades not normally indulged in by proper young ladies, such as decorating the trees surrounding the Szeps' home with the top hats of her father's guests.20

19Ibid. p. 105.
20Ibid. pp. 73-74, 79.
As indicated, the Szeps children were strongly influenced by their father's tastes and opinions, Sophie Szeps Clemenceau, too, retained a keen interest in the culture of her homeland for she entertained and supported many of its representatives who came to Paris. Among those visitors was the composer, Gustav Mahler. Berta Zuckerkandl maintained close contact with her sister until the latter's death, through frequent visits and correspondence. These Paris visits often provided material for newspaper articles, and French culture provided the standard by which she could measure Viennese artistic achievements. Her brother, Julius Szeps, obtained a degree from the University of Vienna, and later followed his father's professional example by becoming for a time editor and publisher of the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung. His sister began her journalistic career with this paper and became a regular columnist on its art and theater staff. She was to write art and theater criticism for it for over twenty years. In the same year of her sister's marriage (1886) Berta Szeps wed the personable professor of anatomy at the University of Graz, Emil Zuckerkandl. The marriage was to add yet another dimension to her life, close contact with the scientific community—medical men in particular. Emil Zuckerkandl (1849-1910) was an outstanding member

21Julius Szeps began his journalistic career with the NWT of which his father had been editor for a time, worked for the WAZ and then became editor in chief of the Fremdenblatt, a position he held through the war. He was very influential in foreign affairs and regarded as one of the most talented journalists of his time.

22Zuckerkandl, Osterreich Intim, p. 51.
of the medical faculty of the University of Vienna. One of the few full professors of Jewish background, he taught there from 1888 until his death in 1910, gaining a reputation as a brilliant researcher and as a popular teacher.\textsuperscript{23}

Through her husband Berta Zuckerkandl became acquainted with many members of Vienna's illustrious medical community, among them, the psychiatrists Richard Krafft-Ebing and Julius Wagner-Jauregg, colleagues of Freud; she met Freud as well in her husband's laboratory. Emil Zuckerkandl shared his wife's interest in the arts. As a youth he had studied the violin seriously and later collected art, especially Japanese works. Furthermore, he gave lessons in practical anatomy to Gustav Klimt in 1897 and at Klimt's request conducted lectures for other artists.\textsuperscript{24} Professor Zuckerkandl also introduced his wife to the playwright, Arthur Schnitzler. The son of a prominent laryngologist, Schnitzler was a physician in his own right. Berta Zuckerkandl became an early Schnitzler enthusiast and later praised his plays in her drama reviews.

\textsuperscript{23}Dr. A. H., "Ein grosser Lehrer und Forscher," \textit{Die Presse} (Vienna), September 18, 1949, p. 7.

Professor Zuckerkandl's students fondly remembered him as an interesting and humorous lecturer, a rare feat for an anatomist. He made ground-breaking studies on the anatomy of the nasal cavity and even discovered above-named after him--\textit{os Zuckerkandl}.

Perhaps because of her husband's involvement with his own work, or because BZ herself needed additional income to support her salon and Parisian trips, she began writing art reviews and criticism in the 1890's.\textsuperscript{25} She contributed frequent essays to magazines and newspapers in that decade and first wrote a column of art criticism for the \textit{Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung} in 1898. By 1905 the column had become her special property and she changed its title from "Art Criticism" to "Art and Culture."\textsuperscript{26}

About this time she became involved in social reform projects as well. The Zuckerkandls supported the \textit{Wiener Volksheim} (Viennese People's House) an organization established to educate working-class Viennese by exposing them to popular science as offered in lectures and discussions. The organ for this movement was Moritz Szeps' weekly, \textit{Wissen für Alle}, which appeared for the first time in December 1900. Berta Zuckerkandl's description of the aims:

\begin{quote}
a number of people, convinced fighters for the idea that it was essential to raise the intellectual level of the people by means of popular science, who believed in this from a sense of justice and also from the conviction that such an intellectual democratization was necessary to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas, united to found the \textit{Wiener Volksheim}.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{25}Zuckerkandl, \textit{Osterreich Intim}, pp. 159-160 and Hermine Müller-Hofmann.

\textsuperscript{26}Zuckerkandl, \textit{My Life and History}, p. 179.

\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Ibid.} p. 167.
shows the organizers' intentions motives to have been well-intentioned, if expressed in a somewhat self-serving way.

Her keen interest in political affairs and personal connections with France enabled her to serve as an unofficial Austrian diplomat in the latter part of the First World War. Involved in an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate a separate peace for Austria in 1917,28 she traveled after the armistice, again unofficially, at the request of Austria's socialist leader Otto Bauer, to Berne. Here she communicated to the Inter-Allied Commission Austria's dire circumstances and the desperate need for immediate shipments of food and coal.29 The allied officials she met offered their cooperation. By the end of December 1918, the Commission sent a special delegation to Vienna to investigate postwar needs.30

28 Ibid. pp. 224-244.
As a delegate of Painlevé, then French War Minister, Sophie Szeps Clemenceau related the French offer to conclude a separate peace with Austria-Hungary to her sister, Berta Zuckerkandl, who was in contact with Count Czernin, the Austrian Foreign Minister and with the German minister in Switzerland. Painlevé, later Prime Minister (September 1917), authorized the communication, but it is not known if he had been informed of Prince Sixtus' similar mission to conclude a separate peace with Austria, which had been secretly engineered by Poincaré, the French President. Leo Valiani, The End of Austria-Hungary, Trans. by Martin Secker & Warburg Limited (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), pp. 259-260.

29 Zuckerkandl, My Life and History, p. 253.

30 Ibid. p. 266.
In the twenties and early thirties, Zuckerkandl kept in contact with developments in Austrian and international politics. She conversed with Bundeskanzler Ignaz Seipel and Engelbert Dollfuss, both of whom were interested in her French connections, especially her friendship with the former French Prime Minister, Paul Painlevé. In 1929 for her quasi-political efforts she received the French Legion of Honor. Despite her diplomatic missions and associations with foreign politicians, she was seldom directly involved in internal Austrian politics. Her apolitical attitude contrasted with intense cultural loyalty to Austria. In a 1928 letter to her sister, she likened herself to her friend, Ethel Snowden, wife of the British Labour Cabinet Member, Philip Snowden, who had retained an independent stand despite her husband's position. Zuckerkandl further commented, "as you know, I hate the term 'Party.'"

Concurrent with her involvement in cultural and political affairs, Zuckerkandl made her own personal contributions to the arts in Austria. She translated 120 French plays many of which were performed in the Burgtheater and in the Theater in der Josefstadt. These light drawing-room comedies, several written by a Parisian friend, Paul Geraldy, were applauded for the flowing translation, if not for the plots of the original works. One reviewer stated:

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31Ibid. pp. 294-315.
33Zuckerkandl, Österreich Intim, p. 162.
Berta Zuckerkandl has done everything possible to make Bourdet's new play, *Soeben Erschienen* ("Just Appeared") attractive in Viennese dialect. If the applause mounted stormily after the first act and slackened toward the end, I believe the writer was at fault.°

BZ's careful translations seldom received negative reviews. The material for these she selected largely during her visits to the Paris theaters. Even in her sixties when she was no longer contributing regularly to the *WAZ*, she did many translations. That Zuckerkandl considered herself a professional is shown by her membership in the professional organization, Genossenschaft dramatischer Schriftsteller und Componisten (Society for Dramatic Writers and Composers).

Another reviewer spoke derogatorily of Berta Zuckerkandl's prestige and influence in Vienna's theater world. The critic used the occasion of the opening of a poor play to criticize BZ's position of influence over theater criticism and repertoire selection:

an acquaintance with *Die Feindin* ("The Female Enemy") would supposedly have been spared us, had not Berta Zuckerkandl translated this comedy. She proves herself, with her swift translating talent, here, not for the first time, to be a Feindin of Viennese theater. Because she has such good connections at her disposal, she knows well how to effortlessly arrange a place for her translated plays...Thus Zuckerkandl ["die Zuckerkandl"] triumphs over one director after another and is gradually becoming a danger, against which the German stage directors will soon have to found a league.°°

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34 J. St., *Volkszeitung*, December 12, 1929. Here and elsewhere, columnists only initialed their articles.

It could be inferred from the preceding that the critic was jealous of BZ's achievements and the tactics he suggested to oppose her strike a chord reminiscent of turn-of-the-century anti-Semitism.

By the 1920's Berta Zuckerkanl had become an institution in Vienna, perhaps one not fully appreciated by her fellow Viennese. Although the avant-garde causes she espoused were often unpopular, being in the minority did not daunt this woman of positive notions who was ready to campaign for movements and ideas she believed to be slighted by an ill-informed public. On the cultural front Zuckerkanl acted in two capacities, as publicist for what she thought was the true in art and as a catalyst for creative genius. Her newspaper column and her salon served to promote her causes. The following pages consider the two complimentary pursuits of this pioneer Journalistin.

* * * * *

In her capacity as salon hostess she was following an established and revered Austrian tradition. Since the time of Maria Theresa (1748-1780), writers and artists had found inspiration at the salons of intellectually gifted women; such gatherings were frequently presided over by Jewish women. During the reign of Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II (1780-1790), salons became immensely popular.

One Josephinian hostess, Franziska Arnstein, who had come from Berlin to marry a Viennese banker, soon made the Arnstein house the center of Viennese intellectual life and it was largely through Franziska's efforts that the famed Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Society of the Friends of Music) was founded.\textsuperscript{37} During the years of Metternich's influence, however, police surveillance of public gatherings led to the replacement in the 1820's and 1830's of the brilliant open-house salons with smaller private soirees. It was only in \textit{fin de si\`ecle} Vienna (1890's) that the salons regained their original luster and their hostesses again became mentors to budding artistic talent.

Among the more important of these \textit{fin de si\`ecle} women were Josephine von Wertheimstein, who encouraged the efforts of the student poet, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Berta Zuckerkandl, who presided over a most diverse and controversial Viennese salon for more than forty years. In her role as a salon hostess, her personality contrasted markedly with that of her older contemporaries, Frau Josephine von Wertheimstein and her daughter, Franziska. According to the historian, Robert Kann, these two women were of a shy and melancholy temperament, and played only a passive, though sympathetic role in the intellectual discussions of their guests.\textsuperscript{38} A contemporary described the atmosphere of BZ's salon thus:

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid. p. 101.

\textsuperscript{38}Robert Kann, "Ein Salon, in dem sich Geist und Geld trafen," in \textit{Die Presse} May 11/12, 1974, p. III.
how ought I describe the charming, lively atmosphere of Berta Zuckerkandl's salon,... She was the personification of color and grace, modern and strongly sensitive to the modern... She was like an exotic flower in her delicately colored rooms designed by Hoffmann... Most often one found her sitting on her divan, surrounded by young painters, writers and musicians, who always felt at ease with her because a relaxing, vibrating breeze blew there. Something free, unreal, never burdensome pleasantly surrounded her. One was always joyful with her, believing in a future, no matter that it looked dark. This cheerfulness of which one speaks so often in Vienna and which often sounded so melancholy to me, one truly found with her. 39

Berta Zuckerkandl, the salon hostess, was far from passive.

After visiting her sister Sophie Clemenceau's salon in Paris, and meeting Rodin there, BZ decided to establish a meeting place for modern-minded intellectuals in Vienna. She later reminisced about the impact of her experiences in France: "after all those new artistic experiences and impressions which I had collected in Paris, it was natural enough that I could not remain simply an appreciative onlooker of the struggle which was beginning to be fought about the new art in Vienna. I was caught up in that storm of new vision and new sensibility." 40 She was to channel this enthusiasm into active support of the modern movement. In an article on "Wiener Geschmacklosigkeiten" ("Tastelessness of the Viennese") in Ver Sacrum (the organ of the Sezessionist movement) she railed against the tediousness and banality of art and social life in Vienna.


40 Zuckerkandl, My Life and History, p. 177.
Is there a Viennese salon that is a meeting place for modern-thinking and-striving people? A neutral ground where each opinion is respected and also discussed with poetry and grace? By no means. Our sociability is an empty formalism. There are some soirées where grapes are served in January, and in every season, as many VIP's as possible are served; this is at most the banal execution of social obligations. 41

Her own salon was perhaps a response to the questions she sarcastically asked her readers.

In her Biedermeier-style home in the suburb of Döbling, she wrote and entertained leading figures of art, literature and medicine from the time of her husband's appointment to Vienna in 1888 until 1916, six years after his premature death. 42 It was here according to the art critic, Ludwig Hevesi, that the Sezession movement was first discussed, and here too, that the Sezessionisten planned the battle for the revitalization of Austrian art with BZ often providing the necessary initiative. Hevesi reported, "often it was she who spoke the first words in important discussions, and often it was she who spoke words that no other person could have


42 Zuckerkandl, Österreich Intim, p. 185.
said.\textsuperscript{43} Perhaps he meant "would have said" as well for her outspokenness was well known.

During World War I, Zuckerkandl turned to an energetic sponsorship of modern theater. Her columns reflected this shift of interest. Her major concern, the Sezession, had burned itself out before the war; many of its founders were dead by 1920. Even her new home in the Oppolzergasse directly across from the Burgtheater and minutes away from the Volkstheater, Staatsoper, Volksoper and Theater in der Josefstadt was more appropriate for a salon catering to theater interests. BZ with renewed enthusiasm continued in the postwar years to promote cultural causes privately and publicly. She cooperated with Hofmannsthal and Reinhardt in the foundation of the Salzburg Festivals, giving the speech of greeting for the first Festival paper in 1920.\textsuperscript{44} As her translations of French plays were now frequently put on at Viennese theaters, she began to take an active part in theater life, attending rehearsals and discussing roles with actors. Her pace never slackened with age. The writer, Franz Theodor Csokor, 

\textsuperscript{43}Ludwig Hevesi, cited in Zuckerkandl, My Life and History, p. 179.

Ludwig Hevesi (1843-1910) was a Hungarian-born writer, journalist and critic. Noted as the main authority on the Sezession, he served as art critic for the Fremdenblatt and authored numerous articles on modern Viennese art. He wrote admiringly of Berta Zuckerkandl's critical acumen, referring to her as "a penetrating modern art critic...whose healthy artistic instinct and energetic idealism belongs to the whole atmosphere of the Sezession." in "Auguste Rodin in Wien" in Acht Jahre Sezession März 1897–Juni 1905 Kritik Polemik Chronik (Wien: Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Konegen (Ernst Stülpnagel), 1906), p. 394.

\textsuperscript{44}Zuckerkandl, My Life and History, pp. 273-274.
recorded a typical arrival of the septuagenarian Hofrätin at Max Reinhardt's villa, Leopoldskron:

about ten in the evening Berta Z. buzzed in, our beloved-by-all "Hofrätin" (her brother-in-law, Georges Clemenceau, dubbed her the lovable lunatic). She came fresh from the railroad station after a twenty-hour trip from Paris, pressed into a third-class compartment with six people; after which she threw on an evening dress at the Osterreicherhof [Hotel] and rushed to Leopoldskron. She was quickly able to convince the night watchman of her innocence; and then she still fluttered about the room until 2:00 AM like the youngest of us all... 45

Such behavior made this salon hostess/Journalistin almost a legend in Vienna, and the impact of her newspaper columns was enhanced by her somewhat eccentric personality.

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The shift from salon hostess to newspaper columnist was not difficult for Zuckerkandl. She had written occasional art reviews for periodicals such as the Zeit, a weekly Viennese journal of literature and culture, in the early 1890's. In the following years she contributed several essays on Viennese art and design to the Munich publication, Kunst für Alle; and testy pieces on the public taste (or the lack of it in Vienna) to the journal of the Sezession, Ver Sacrum. In the first years of her career her Döbling salon had served her well. Many newsworthy tidbits could be gleaned from the discussions there. One of her first feuilletons (her

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articles were frequently written in feuilleton form) showed an intimate knowledge of the opinions of the art establishment, the young innovators and the intelligentsia of Vienna. In disapproving terms she described the slogan campaign being waged against the innovations of the director of the Österreichisches Kunstgewerbe Museum, Hofrat von Scala, by members of the Kunstgewerbeverein (Society of Applied Artists).46 Strongly opinionated positions were to become a hallmark of BZ's future feuilletons and reviews.

Berta Zuckerkandl's major journalistic endeavors were feuilleton essays and reviews on art and the theater published in the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung in the first decade of the twentieth century. The WAZ was an evening paper of mediocre repute except for its cultural section, which enjoyed a reputation for excellence.47 These high standards were maintained until the late 1920's by which time Zuckerkandl had ceased to contribute to the paper. After her departure, the paper's section on art criticism devolved to enumeration of exhibitions and gossipy human interest stories on art personalities. The feuilleton had died out here as well as in other Viennese journals.48

46 Zuckerkandl, "Im Zauberbahn des Schlagwortes," WAZ, November 9, 1898, pp. 5-6.


As she began her career with the WAZ, by-lined, non-fiction feuilletons by females were a rarity. [Interestingly in 1898, the year Zuckerkandl made her debut with the WAZ, the paper ran a four-part series on "Die Frauenbewegung" by Julius Eckart.] But by the 1920's her "BZ" at the foot of a column had become a familiar Viennese trademark. Ironically, she became famous as Frau Zuckerkandl, a name she once found ridiculous when introduced to its bearer, her future husband.49 As "BZ" however, she was able to make her own name without being immediately linked to her publicist father. Szeps did have an influence on her nonetheless, for Zuckerkandl greatly respected the political and cultural ideas of her father.50 Others furthering her interest in the arts were her sister, Sophie, and brother-in-law, Georges Clemenceau. The latter is credited with introducing the young BZ to new trends in both European and non-Western art.51

49Zuckerkandl, My Life and History, p. 73.
"Zuckerkandl" means "sugar candy."

50In Viennese intellectual circles the family was well known. Julius Szeps, BZ's brother was a journalist in his own right and editor of his father's correspondence with Prince Rudolf. BZ herself sketched a portrait of Moritz Szeps in the introduction to her memoirs and devoted a chapter to his public life and political ideals.

51Zuckerkandl, My Life and History, pp. 76-77, 171-175.
Several factors led BZ to a career in journalism. Doubtless her desire to further Austrian art and culture was a major one.\textsuperscript{52} Financial considerations may have played a role as well; her husband was not wealthy and BZ had been used to "comparative luxury"\textsuperscript{53} in her father's house. (this was reflected in her fondness for well-designed clothes and frequent visits to Paris.) Moreover, journalism,\textsuperscript{54} was one of the few acceptable occupations for middle-class women at this time. Although the latter factor may have been a consideration in choosing a profession—along with her familiarity with the profession "\textit{von Haus aus}" (from the beginning)—BZ worked far too hard and long at her journalism to be considered a dilettante. Not satisfied with occasional feuilleton contributions, she became a professional journalist in 1900. She endured much criticism in the course of her career and was, on occasion, the subject of ridicule for some of her published opinions.\textsuperscript{55} But in the end she gained respect for the forthrightness of her comments, even if she could not always elicit agreement with her opinions. A fellow journalist writing on the occasion of the publication of a collection of her critical articles

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid. pp. 178-179.

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid. p. 160.

\textsuperscript{54}Chapter II, pp. 28-30.

in 1908 (Zeitkunst Wien: 1901-1907) noted:

one can be miles away from the aesthetic standpoint that Berta Zuckerkanndl as an art writer is partial to; and the esteemed writer will certainly take it as a proud claim to glory, if one assures her that those who share her opinion compose a compact minority. One thing is certain, here is a true, strong ability for enthusiasm, a pleasing power to love and to hate. Therefore even convinced aesthetic opponents of this writer respectfully raise their hats to her high-spirited efforts. The pulse of our artistic life often beats so weakly and so silently that we are in need of camphor injections. And Berta Zuckerkanndl's Zeitkunst signifies just such a camphor injection.56

The energy which BZ devoted to the promotion of cultural causes or to obtain the redress of cultural wrongs never abated. Even when writing as an exile, in her last years, she displayed outrage when sensing injustice. In 1944 at age eighty she wrote to another exile, André Gide:

... we were all shocked on reading the latest report of the Consultative Assembly. The ominous fool who made himself ridiculous by daring to attack your work had the impudence to make use of Clemenceau in order to pass off his false patriotism and his totalitarian attack on intellectual freedom. I lived many years with Clemenceau. I have known the heights of his soul. To be cited as a witness by this presumptuous imbecile would have made him furious, and this Giovoni would have felt the Tiger's claw. ... As I protest in the name of Clemenceau, brought to the fore and falsely cited

56St-g. "Das Buch einer Hofrätin," p. 10.
for purposes of base demagogy, I merely regret not having access to any newspaper to reply more vigorously to such lamentable assertions. . . .57

This spirit, however, never overcame her professionalism. Berta Zuckermandl was rarely in a position to devote a 1,500 word feuilleton essay to a particular work or artist. Newspaper criticism written to be rapidly read, chiefly by a non-professional audience, required a more popular approach. But on those occasions when Zuckermandl wrote criticism on a single collection or individual, aimed at a professional audience, her pieces were sophisticated, detailed and non-polemical. Zuckermandl wrote "serious" criticism from a historical perspective in Kunst für Alle and in a number of newspaper articles on specific topics. But all of her articles dealt seriously with some aspect of the arts or cultural politics, none was merely a listing of paintings or a vacuous editorial. Zuckermandl sincerely believed in the critic's responsibility to acquaint readers with the historical context of a work of art. On numerous occasions she lamented the lack of perception among those Viennese who were ignorant of art history, and therefore could not recognize genius in contemporary art.58 To enlighten her audience she wrote brief introductions to her articles


58Zuckermandl, "Die Hoffnung," WAZ, April 26, 1909, p. 3.
or vignettes chronicling the development of the style or art form she was reviewing.

As a critic Zuckerkandl felt an obligation, furthermore, to relate the qualities of contemporary art to the values and needs of the twentieth-century viewer. She felt, moreover, that art must be appropriate for its time, that was itself a measure of its quality in her opinion. But for an artist to be contemporary did not mean that he would merely show deference to contemporary demands; on the contrary he would strive to consider only the dictates of the discipline, thereby creating an art for the age which might also be powerful enough to become timeless.59 Zuckerkandl often referred to this principle of timeliness. In a 1914 graphic art review for example, she wrote: "what ought to be brought out is the time idiom of this exhibition, and the large unifying aspect which here, finally, one receives the impression, connects the masters of yesterday and the artists of tomorrow."60 Her many articles on Gustav Klimt and Otto Wagner depict these Sezessionisten as the outstanding Viennese artists of the early twentieth century. Their work was held up as exemplifying what was best in the Zeikunst. Both were masters of their materials and both broke the barrier of convention that restrained their contemporaries. She wrote admiringly of Klimt:


more and more the spiritual picture of the
time is reflected in Klimt... the phenomena
of a great cultural change takes shape for the
artist in a linear and atmospheric form of closed
unity. A new world is in the process of becoming
and the sensitive transmission of the enormous
change by the creative fantasy of the artist's
genius is already beginning... 61

Klimt's greatness was evident in his creative individuality as well as
in his apprehension of the Zeitkunst, BZ emphasized. Wagner, too,
formulated an individual approach to architecture which espoused
modernity of design and materials.

Zuckerkandl was above all dedicated to truth in art and
totally opposed to the imitative, nineteenth-century style of Histori-
cism. She believed that

 imitation [was] always an illusion; it [aped]
nature, while the true painter transposed his
impression of nature through the soul of his
material.62

She criticized Picasso's work on the ground that what Pablo Picasso
created "... [had] nothing in common with painting any longer; he
... sacrificed his beautiful, pure, sensitive power of description
to an idea."63 She viewed Picasso's stylistic dogmatism as a
hindrance to free artistic creativity. However, she did acknowledge

61 Zuckerkandl, "Gustav Klimt zur Eröffnung seiner
Ausstellung" (Nov. 1904), in Zeitkunst Wien, pp. 88, 90.


Austrian art critic, Kristian Sotriffer, also sees this
intrusion of the intellect and influence of Picasso as major factors
in the decline of one of Picasso's Austrian contemporaries, Herbert
Boeckel (1894- ), Modern Austrian Art, trans. by Alisa Jaffa (New
the genius of the developer of Cubism, comparing the movement with the serialist movement of Arnold Schönberg in music. But her final judgment was that for the time being Picasso's importance could better be described as influential in a moral rather than in an artistic sense. She believed he had mistaken the method for the end in his work. This method may well have been inspirational to other artists, but narrowed the scope of Picasso's own genius by the tyranny of its exclusivity.64

The same standards held for the other arts as her approving comment on the architect Otto Wagner's Kirche am Steinhof indicated; it was a "work which united the self and the age."65 The Viennese Konzerthaus was an example of architecture which did not conform to her standards. Completed in 1913, it was not acoustically sound (street noises were audible in the main hall), nor did it possess unity of form, nor represent the Zeitkunst. Zuckerkandl found it incapable of fulfilling its purpose: "a monumental art center for musical life was supposed to have been created. And only a main railway station came out of it. A place of commerce dressed up with artificial luxury."66 She also condemned many Ringstrasse buildings

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65Zuckerkandl, "Die neue Kirche" (Oct. 10, 1907), in Zeitkunst Wien, p. 76.

for their lack of architectural unity and ornate but unsuitable interior structure.  

On several occasions, BZ described the difficulties involved in art reporting to her readers. Asked by her editor to cover three overlapping exhibitions in the spring of 1906, totaling more than 1,000 works, she fumed to the public that she and her colleagues should organize to strike in the face of such an impossible task. Emphasizing the absurdity of simultaneous spring exhibitions, she digressed to discuss the French Salon d'Automne which had dared to "break the iron law of the sacred spring exhibition."  

In several essays, among them a 1912 column entitled "In eigener Sache" ("On My Own Subject"), she described her view of the responsibilities of an art critic. She found most restricting to the critic the limitations of the feuilleton, a form which she regarded as "a deficient, short-winded and superficial thing; it can only touch on problems, never show the nature of these problems." Other limitations were imposed by the public, the paper's editors and the art community; the latter expected the critic to detail happenings in the art world and relate these, suitably explained, to the reader/would be customer. Zuckerkandl complained that "one had to


write about them [certain exhibitions]," when there was nothing about "them" to say. Despite the limited nature of her métier, she had definite goals, among them, to analyze subjective feeling, and to understand and transmit this comprehension of the product of human artistic achievement. To do this one could write "criticism for everyman" citing all works without distinguishing among them, or one could be "radical" as Zuckerkandl was, and rate the works according to set standards. She suggested certain reforms in criticism, for "proletarianization" of art had made it impossible for the critic to fail to take a stand. He ought to separate true art events from purely commercial undertakings, but in so doing still allow the artist to prosper from his works by giving him proper newspaper coverage. A critic should only list minor exhibitions, not comment on each. Then he could devote himself to the task of describing, assessing and evaluating those works which were of major significance. 70 BZ adopted this format for her own critical reviews.

Most of her critical remarks were made in reference to Viennese exhibitions, although she did report on international events in France, Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Although not a nationalist in political matters, in cultural affairs she harbored a strong allegiance to Austria:

enthusiastically I followed this slogan into action. [to each epoch its art: to each art its freedom, which was the motto of the Sezession:] It was a

70 Zuckerkandl, "In eigener Sache," WAZ, Jan. 13, 1912, pp. 3-4.
question of defending a purely Austrian culture, a form of art that would weld together all the characteristics of our multitude of constituent peoples into a new and proud unity. For to be Austrian did not mean to be German; Austrian culture was the crystallization of the best of many cultures.71

Her own family exemplified this merging of cultures for her father and husband had both emigrated to Vienna, the former from Galicia, the latter from Hungary. Along with Austrian art and architecture, she championed the modern in the work of foreign artists, holding these up to the Viennese artists and public for example and admiration. Her definition of a modern or contemporary style (that which reflected the demands and attitudes of the time, functionalism and purity of line) was applied to foreign artists as well. She believed each work had to be an original creation of the artist, a product of his imagination, not a copy or eclectic conglomeration of borrowed styles.

Comparisons of Viennese fine and applied art with that of other nations were often made in Zuckerkandl's columns. These columns were headed by titles such as "Wien Voran!" ("Vienna Is in the Lead") and "Das Wiener Modell" which indicated her concern that Viennese artists take stock of competition from abroad in order to hold their own in international art circles.72 Yet neither Zuckerkandl herself nor foreigners considered her faith in Austrian

71Zuckerkandl, My Life and History, p. 178.

art chauvinistic. The English Socialist, Ethel Snowden, commented that both she and Zuckerkandl "recognized in art the living spirit of a true and lasting internationalism." BZ's welcoming speech at Salzburg (pages 122-123) also showed how she combined a devoted loyalty to Austria with a true spirit of internationalism. She recognized and praised qualities of the modern, even when they came from, what to her were, unlikely quarters like Finland and Poland. She held the works of young Finnish and Polish artists up to the admiration of the Viennese, even publishing a short volume on Polish painting, Polens Malkunst, in 1915.

Modern styles in architecture and in the applied arts were also forwarded; these areas, she felt, had been neglected in the past in Austria. By the turn of the century the Austrian applied arts had just begun to flourish. Public acceptance of the modern styles introduced by Viennese craftsmen, however, lagged behind practice. Consumer preferences were still dictated by the ornate and eclectic Historicism of the "Ringstrasse style." Zuckerkandl wished appreciation for the arts like their love for music to become intuitive for the Viennese.


74 Zuckerkandl, Berta, Polens Malkunst (Vienna: 1915).

75 Ringstrasse architecture displayed a mixture of styles: Renaissance, Gothic and Neoclassic. Each was revived in Vienna in the last half of the nineteenth century and was exemplified by public buildings on the Ringstrasse itself.

76 Zuckerkandl, "Vom Bauen," p. 2.
To achieve intuition she employed a number of tactics designed to generate enthusiasm for her causes both from officials and from the public. She scolded those craftsmen who were not using their talents to their potential or who mixed styles to suit commercial interests. Believing that only an educated public could create a demand for the art and craft work of the moderns, she wrote didactically, prefacing her reviews with two-paragraph mini-histories, defining terms, introducing foreign artists and styles to her readers and interpreting new artistic trends in Vienna for them. Departures from the immediate subject were an accepted feature of the feuilleton form; indeed, subjective comment remained very much a part of the newspaper critic's stock in trade.

In her first articles dealing with the Sezession and the applied arts two characteristics typical of her later writing came into play. In one essay she questioned the capacity of the Viennese to appreciate modern art, picturing them as narrow-minded, backbiting rumor-mongers. Even a display of famed international works of art brought negative comment from the conservative Viennese provoking Zuckerkandl to write "in Vienna, such an event [the international exhibit] means subversion, revolt, betrayal!!!" A week later her essay questioned the traditional format of the art review: "should an art report be nothing more than a guide book for eager buyers"?

77Zuckerkandl, "Im Zauberbahn des Schlagwortes," p. 6.
From the first she intended to "guide the opinion of the public to the universal; to articulate the important aspects of the phenomena." She began reeducating the Viennese to appreciate the modern by explaining the applied art work in the exhibit and sketching the history of Art Nouveau in England and France. Viennese craftsmen were now capable of working in the style of the movement, she concluded, but had yet to create their own "Wiener Stil." A simple modification, incorporating uniquely Austrian motifs, e.g. the laurel and the mistletoe into their design would accomplish this. But the growth of Austrian applied art depended very much on the development of a modern architecture. Her later articles on Otto Wagner emphasized this point.

*Kunstgewerbe* (Applied Art) remained a major topic for Zuckerkandl for several years. She reviewed the exhibits of the Kunstgewerbeschule and the Österreichisches Gewerbemuseum, allying herself with the innovative director of the Applied Art School, Baron von Myrbach, whose liberal teaching methods gained him enemies among the traditionalists. By 1901 she had turned against the museum director, Hofrat von Scala, for his refusal to show the works of students from the allied Applied Art School. He had added insult to injury by displaying manufacturers' wares which did not conform

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to the *Zeitkunst*, nor offer any inspiration to artists or public.\(^0\)

Her disillusionment with the museum led her to review the obligations of such a museum and to propose several new duties for it. It should serve not only as a custodian of the Austrian artistic heritage, she suggested, but function in an active capacity as middleman between craftsman and manufacturer, artist and public. It could then promote the development of domestic crafts and art. The museum had made it a policy to show only manufacturers' designs and completed works, thus delegating the responsibility for stylistic development to the manufacturer.\(^1\) For such a policy Zuckerkandl had open scorn; in a 1906 review of an exhibit in the same museum she remarked that such a review did not belong in her column, entitled *Kunst und Kultur* (Art and Culture), for the exhibit "had absolutely nothing to do with art and even less with culture."\(^2\)

Viennese craftsmen despite official neglect rapidly advanced in knowledge and application of the *Zeitstil*, so that by 1909 Zuckerkandl could announce with pride that "Wien Voran!" ("Vienna Is in the Lead") in the applied arts due to the privately-financed Werkstätte (artists' workshops). The state should support this domestic talent, she wrote, or the craftsmen might emigrate to

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\(^0\)Zuckerkandl, "Kunstgewerbe I" (Dec. 1901), in *Zeitkunst Wien*, pp. 1-6.

\(^1\)Zuckerkandl, "Echte und gefälschte Volkskunst" (Dec. 1904), in *Zeitkunst Wien*, p. 41.

Munich. In 1910 she went so far as to remark that "in Europe the leadership of the contemporary style in the applied arts [had] been won by Vienna because France's development in this direction [had] fallen completely behind." She applauded the appearance of the "Künstlerische Mode" ("Artistic Fashion") in 1913 and the unique Viennese style in which the Zeitkunst was visible in fashion. The whole period was now reflected in the applied arts from architecture to fashion.

The loss of artistic authority to non-artistic bodies was a special point of concern for Berta Zuckerkandl. In keeping with her belief in the Sezessionist ethic, "... to each art its freedom," she lamented the instances of bureaucratic or industrial policy-making in purely artistic matters. Using her column as a weapon BZ frequently railed against the insensitivity and stupidity of the Austrian bureaucracy. A typical instance was the Ministry of Education's 1904 rejection of the unified Sezession's proposal for an Austrian exhibit at the St. Louis World Fair. The artists had overcome jealousies among themselves to select one representative artist (Klimt), rather than send a sampling of the unrelated works of various artists. The bureaucracy's rejection of this

83Zuckerkandl, "Wien Voran!" p. 4.
84Zuckerkandl, "Das Wiener Modell," p. 4.
caused such uproar and confusion that no official exhibit was prepared in time to be shown at the Fair. Zuckerkandl satirized this sort of bureaucratic inefficiency with an imaginary dialogue between the President of the Artists' Association and the minor government official who had neither the aptitude nor the interest for problems of art:

Beamter: [commenting on proposal] Very strange, in any case, very interesting. Only once again entirely different. Not at all corresponding to the common view. Why are you always looking for the new, for the never-seen-before?
Der Präsident: My dear sir, that which we want to do is nothing new in art, but only in the bureaucracy.

In a few sentences BZ cleverly depicted the opposing outlooks of artist and bureaucrat.

When Gustav Klimt resigned a commission for the university paintings upon which he had worked for a decade, due to government interference in the execution of his designs, Zuckerkandl scooped an exclusive interview with him and published his letter to the Minister of Education. This interview remains the major statement of Klimt's views on artistic freedom. Klimt's views reflected Zuckerkandl's: "the state should not play the artistic patron when it at most gives alms. The state should not presume to dictate the form of exhibitions and artistic expression, where it is its duty

86 Novotny, p. 388.
only to act as an agent and commercial manager and to leave artistic expression entirely to the artist."\(^{88}\) BZ applauded Klimt and prophesied that "the days of 'bureaucratic art' [were] numbered."\(^{89}\) As a defender of modern art, Zuckerkandl felt it her obligation to take a stand against injustices being committed against the artistic community.

One can trace her concern with such problems from a front-page article in 1902 on the newly inaugurated Kunstamt (Bureau for the Arts), a professional advisory body to the Ministry of Education. She favored a solution whereby the Kunstamt would be responsible for aesthetic decision-making, e.g. the designs for public buildings and parks. She even suggested that the Kunstamt might include an expert on literature who would guide the scissors of the unfortunately still-active censor. Zuckerkandl did not believe, at this point, that the Kunstamt would be used to impose bureaucratic decisions on the arts.\(^{90}\) Her optimism was ill-founded; hence Zuckerkandl frequently thereafter came to the fore --as in the Klimt case--against bureaucrats. In a 1907 piece entitled "Von den definitiven Provisorien" ("On the Definite Provisional Arrangements") she attacked bureaucratic interference in the nomination of art teachers. These civil

\(^{88}\)Gustav Klimt, cited in Zuckerkandl, "Die Klimt-Affäre anlässlich der Zurückziehung der Universitätsbilder" (April 12, 1905), in Zeitkunst Wien, pp. 165-166.


servants were simply unqualified to deal with artistic affairs for "they [were] taken from exactly the same law faculty [graduates] as those who [executed] agricultural commercial, or financial records." Such officials, she felt, were not qualified to control the education of a generation of artists. Zuckerkandl's more theoretical views on the role of the state in questions involving art and the artist are very similar to those expressed by Klimt:

so long as no form, which develops from an inner need, is found for the relationship between the state and the arts; so long as the state does not regard itself as the true servant of the Zeitkunst and its economic demands, instead of distributing alms or practicing politics; so long must the arts submit to existing by virtue of the ministry and by its blessing. Bureaucracy and art must stand eternally opposed to each other because the essence of bureaucracy is tutelage and the essence of art is freedom.92 For her it was clear in regard to the bureaucracy: "the Austrian state does not deserve Austrian art."93 Here and elsewhere BZ challenged one of Austria's most cherished traditions—respect for bureaucracy.

Zuckerkandl favored artistic freedom in all of its manifestations. This is primarily why she disapproved of Picasso's overriding concern with one style to the exclusion of all others.

91 Zuckerkandl, "Von den definitiven Provisorien" (Jan. 1907), in Zeitkunst Wien, p. 175.
93 Zuckerkandl, "Die Universitätsbibliothek," WAZ, May 2, 1910, p. 3.
She approved of the policies of the Applied Art School's director, Baron von Myrbach, who had broken the thirty-year tradition of academic Historicism by allowing students to execute their own designs.94 For the same reason, she praised the work of the sculptor, Georges Minne, for daring to carve a non-memorial of the poet, Georg Rodenbach, which expressed the inner life of the poet and was not merely a photographic rendering of his physical being.95 Paul Gauguin and Auguste Rodin were other pioneers of individualism opposed by their contemporaries upon whom she heaped praise.

Another branch of the arts to which Zuckerkandl devoted her polemicizing talents was architecture. She believed aficionados of the fine arts to be ill-informed in this area and sought to remedy this through critical comment on the then-current building styles. Her emphasis was on architecture's relationship to the economy, the ideals and the world view of a period.96 In her opinion architects led the attack against outdated forms for "there is, as long as mankind exists, no change in the conception of the state which has not found its expression in the architectural form."97


95Zuckerkandl, "Minne" (November 1902), in Zeitkunst Wien, p. 47.


97Zuckerkandl, "Das Theater auf Mass," WAZ, June 28, 1903.
Essential to the understanding of the former was knowledge of the latter.

Her chief architectural protégé was Otto Wagner, whose functional style of architecture the conservative majority in the Kunstlerhaus opposed. His advanced designs for a number of public buildings including the University Library, the Francis-Joseph Municipal Museum, the Ministry of Trade and the Technical Museum, were rejected, often in favor of inferior work. Zuckerkandl stormed to his defense, but was, unfortunately, less successful in promoting Wagner than in promoting the Sezession. He left his mark on Vienna, but it is visible today mainly in smaller projects: apartment houses and villas, bridges, streetcar stations and dams. Wagner completed only one large municipal project, the magnificent Post Office Savings Bank.

The rejection of all of Wagner's proposals for the Francis-Joseph Municipal Museum in the Karlsplatz was a prime example of the workings of cultural politics: the conservative architects against their ex-colleague, the Sezessionist Wagner. When a conservative design was selected by the majority over Wagner's in the Second Competition in 1902, no complaint was heard against the immediate

Footnote 98: Functionalism is that architectural style where the emphasis is placed upon the function a building is to serve, shelter, food service, etc.; the materials used are those newly developed by technology, steel, concrete and glass. This clean-lined style was also carried over into the applied, or useful arts, furniture-making, interior decoration and other crafts.
construction of a large building next to the Baroque Karlskirche. When, however, due to complications, the competition was re-opened in 1907 and 1909, the conservative elements banded together at once with a cry of "Schutz der Karlskirche!" ("Protect the Karlskirche!") ⁹⁹ BZ described their hypocritical attitude in detail to WAZ readers in a column entitled "Das architektonische Gewissen" ("The Architectonic Conscience"). Here Zuckerkandl castigated those who had previously allowed all sorts of "barbarous" construction in plain view of the Karlskirche, such as the ornate Künstlerhaus and Musikverein. ¹⁰⁰ Suddenly, she sarcastically noted, the conservatives found it necessary to protect the Karlskirche—but only from Wagner's modernism.

Wagner, as one of the first scientific architects, insisted that "all things created today must reflect the new materials and the new requirements of our time . . ." and that


¹⁰⁰Zuckerkandl, "Das Architektonische Gewissen" (Nov. 1907), in Zeitkunst Wien, pp. 77-81.
every architect must come to grips with the postulate: "a thing that is unpractical (sic) cannot be beautiful." His major commissioned work for the city of Vienna, the Post Office Savings Bank, brilliantly illustrated this axiom. Zuckerkandl praised Wagner's consideration for the persons using his building as well as the economy and grace of its form. She unashamedly pushed Wagner for the Ministry of Trade commission, citing the bankruptcy of modern architecture in Vienna as evidenced by the patchwork structure of the Viennese General Hospital and the unmatched, overblown styles of the Ringstrasse buildings constructed in the 1870's and 1880's. To support her defense of Wagner, BZ cited the harm done to Vienna's architectural monuments by these same "Beschützer" of the Karlskirche. They had allowed landmarks such as the Mehlmarkt to be torn down and had considered demolishing the large door of the Stephansdom. In her view, only Otto Wagner had the talent to create an architecture fitting to the time.

Zuckerkandl coupled to her praise of modern architecture an appreciation for the glories of Viennese Baroque and Biedermeier architecture. She lauded modern artists who honored their architectural heritage by preserving, not imitating it. The true artist


102 Zuckerkandl, "Otto Wagner" (Feb. 1907) in Zeitkunst Wien, p. 67.

103 Zuckerkandl, "Das architektonische Gewissen," pp. 78-79.
would recognize the talent of his predecessors and would realize that each artist created for his own epoch. In one Zuckerkandl column, a letter allegedly "written" by the Baroque architect, Johann Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723) came to the defense of Wagner. Speaking from the grave, Fischer von Erlach had been shaken by criticism of Wagner and was compelled to write in protest.\textsuperscript{104} Here Zuckerkandl sought to make her readers aware of the connection between artistic genius of the past and the present,\textsuperscript{105} which like the interrelationship of architecture with other arts, was a notion, Berta Zuckerkandl felt, largely ignored by the Viennese.\textsuperscript{106}

This interest in the aesthetics of architecture broadened into a concern for city planning and the preservation of architectural and scenic treasures. Zuckerkandl wrote in 1909 of the impending demolition of the centuries-old Kornhaus in the Lower Austrian city of Steyr which was to make way for a new post office. In requesting a rescue effort, Zuckerkandl mentioned growing public awareness of the need to preserve Austria's heritage and called for intervention from the national government to save the Kornhaus. Five or ten years before, she recalled, the whole city might have been demolished. However, efforts of Austrian artists had begun to

\textsuperscript{104}Zuckerkandl, "Berichtungen," WAZ, January 2, 1911, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{105}Zuckerkandl, "Die Hoffnung," p. 3.

\textsuperscript{106}Zuckerkandl, "Im Anfang war das Wort," WAZ, January 2, 1909, p. 3.

arouse public support for the preservation of architectural examples of this vintage. This new communication between artist and public had been facilitated by the work of Berta Zuckerkandl, Journalistin.

Despite her deep commitment to the modern, Zuckerkandl as critic maintained a regard for Austria’s cultural inheritance and fought for its preservation. In a 1914 column, "Attentate" (Assaults”), she compared the atrociousness of the contemplated destruction of the Brühl landscape to the south of Vienna (where the rolling hills were to be destroyed by gravel quarries) to the horribly distorted modernization of the Biedermeier satirical play, Einen Jux will er sich machen ("He Wants to Plot a Prank") by Johann Nestroy. An Artist, a Neurologist and a Journalist (BZ’s persona) discussed the lack of respect shown by the Viennese for both the beauty of the landscape and the integrity of the drama. Thus she demonstrated how art lovers from every walk of life might unite to preserve their heritage; and furthermore, how it was the task of the art critic/journalist to publicly admonish just such scandalous occurrences and by so doing awaken the public from its apathy.

Only the catastrophe of war (temporarily) changed her view of the critic’s duty to admonish. In wartime, she wrote in May 1915, while the critic could recommend and praise artistic

quality when it occurred, he should not be overly critical of a slackening of achievement during a period of strife. In "Krieg, Kunst und Kritik" ("War, Art and Criticism") Zuckerkandl expounded her views on this subject. Not "in spite of the war, but because of the war" the Viennese must support their artists, who depended on patronage even more than in peacetime. She wrote that art and war were "compatible objects," for "destruction and construction belong together." For the critic, however, war was not something "compatible." He would have to eliminate himself from the art arena for a time if he did not wish to harm art's already stunted growth, or to support Kitsch out of patriotic or humanitarian motives. Thus the true critic must for all practical purposes remove his critical self from the scene, his only remaining duty being to arouse enthusiasm for art from the populace. 109

Less than a year later, Zuckerkandl had modified this uncharacteristically lenient attitude. In an article on the Spring Exhibition of 1916, she remarked that the artist must not give in to purely commercial enterprise, sacrificing originality to the production of moneymaking objects to please superficial public taste. When this occurred, then the art critic could not abdicate moral responsibility, he had to condemn commercialism in spite of hard times. The critic then became the artist in that he demanded from

the artist "new vigor, impulse for the extraordinary, direction into
the future, attempts, errors and disorders, which are already in
themselves truth. For truth alone is necessary," Critics were
responsible for inciting the artist to create, to believe with the
critic in the constant renewal of art. In wartime as in peace, she
contended, for the sake of art the critic could not relax his

guard.

As a long-time observer of Vienna's development in the
applied arts, BZ found it ironic that only wartime import restric-
tions brought about Viennese appreciation for domestic products.
With the goods of Paris and London cut off from consumers, the
Viennese fashion industry, for example, was encouraged to produce
its own high fashion designs. This it had done to a lesser degree
previously, but unfortunately it took the war for Austrians to
fully appreciate their own native talent.

Several factors could account for Berta Zuckerkandl's
gradual turn from art to drama criticism during the war and postwar
years. Fine arts production among other things sharply decreased
during these years. Wartime art exhibitions in Vienna were
irregularly scheduled, the first was held in May 1915 after a

110Zuckerkandl, "Epilog zu der Frühjahrsausstellung,"
WAZ, April 26, 1916, pp. 3-4.

111Ibid. p. 4.

112Zuckerkandl, "Osterreichische Mode," WAZ, Feb. 14,
1916, p. 3.
In addition the impetus and excitement of the Sezession years had lessened considerably after the first decade of its existence (1898-1908). By the onset of the war, Zuckerkandl had become disillusioned with the quality of Austrian modern art as represented in the exhibitions of both the Künstlerhaus and the Sezession. The immediacy of artistic impact, the presence of a unifying influence, the evidence of the creative imagination which had been the trademark of the Sezessionisten had faded. For her then, art reviewing was no longer an exciting occupation, but had become rather a mundane activity, requiring much basic reportage and enumeration of works exhibited.

Zuckerkandl had registered her disillusionment with the arts in Vienna on a number of occasions. As early as 1909 she observed: "now it is the same in the Sezession as elsewhere," the Spring Exhibition "lacked a unifying theme and evidence of coordinated planning; Kitsch and art were hung side by side." In 1911 she stated severely that the Sezession "still calls itself that, and has long ago ceased to be it. . . . the Sezession is dead. The exhibition hall on the Wienzeile needs a name." By 1914 she was

\[113\] Zuckerkandl, "Krieg, Kunst und Kritik," p. 3.


lamenting "it is not to be denied that slowly the Künstlerhaus is becoming more modern than the Sezession. . . . it admits foreigners and furthermore, even foreign youth." 116 Only the applied arts had maintained high standards. 117

Not only had the quality of art deteriorated, but little public or private encouragement of it was forthcoming. When in February 1912 the city of Vienna was about to evict the Hagenbund group 118 from its exhibition hall, Zuckerkandl wrote that affairs had reached a deplorable state when "artists are no longer asking for furtherance; all that they ask for in an official petition is that they not be destroyed." 119 In Zuckerkandl's opinion Vienna degenerated from a pulsing center of the modern art movement into a desert of mediocre art and public indifference. What had gone wrong, she asked her readers in February 1913?

where are the people who long for art?  
For an art intermingled with life? Where is the state which knows how to use the strength, the desire the longing of


118 The Hagenbund was another society of modern Viennese artists formed in 1899. Its program lay between the conservatism of the Künstlerhaus and the radicalism of the early Sezession. Its members named their group after the proprietor of the Gasthaus (pub) in which the first meetings were held.

creative artists: in an empty room, without
aim and echo, poor destitute artists circle
senselessly, because they are serving no
ideal, no common style. Artists whom no
one misses because the world has no more
need of them. Then gradually, while dis-
tancing itself from the hearth of art, this
world slowly begins to turn to ice.120

The milieu of the artist had been her world, but now she felt less
at home in it. Somewhat perplexed by the Cubist movement which
seemed destructive of representational and symbolic art, she none-
theless found it less of a threat to art than the Viennese penchant
for all that was mediocre and conservative in art.121 For a time
Zuckerkandl lamented this deterioration of art and of public appreci-
cation for the arts. Her early enthusiasm for communicating the
ideals of the Sezession to Viennese readers had left her unprepared
for the weakening of the movement to which she had devoted so much
effort over the years. Vienna without creative artists would be
a poorer city, EZ realized; it was her mission to save her city from
such a fate. She began anew to seek out creativity, for the fifty-
year-old Journalistin had learned to persevere. Perhaps the example
of her predecessors inspired her to adapt her column to the changing
times. As an established publicist of modern causes, she could use
prestige gained in art criticism to further the modern in a new, but
related area, the theater.

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121Zuckerkandl, "Die neue Kunst," WAZ, Jan. 18, 1913,
pp. 4-5.
These developments led Zuckerkandl to turn her attention and talents to a fresh endeavor, theater criticism. Although dismayed by the rigidity of the Viennese theater repertoire, especially the "arteriosclerosis" of the national Burgtheater, she found in the drama new inspiration for her life-long task of promoting the modern, particularly the modern in Austrian culture. The war years marked a transition period for BZ, she began translating French plays as well as writing more criticism. She had written occasional drama reviews after her first in 1907; these increased in number after 1912 so that by 1920 she was writing chiefly drama criticism.

Her early feuilletons in this form discussed the staging and production of a play or opera rather than concentrating solely on the drama element itself. One of BZ's first theater favorites was Alfred Roller, set designer for the Burgtheater and for Gustav Mahler in the Staatsoper. In a 1903 column on Wagner's architectural designs for a modern theater building, she remarked that it was necessary that the architect design a theater to fit the contemporary drama to be performed there.\(^{122}\) In drama as in the fine arts she supported the ideal of the Gesamtkunstwerk --the unified work of art—as exemplified by Mahler's opera productions in which he strove "to adjust the form and rhythm of space to the measure of music and

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\(^{122}\)Zuckerkandl, "Das Theater auf Mass," pp. 5-6.
Max Reinhardt strove for the same ideal, his productions stressed the unified whole wherein production, acting and decor were harmonized.

The new critic was especially enthusiastic about works by modern Austrian authors: Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal, Franz Werfel and Anton Wildgans among them. She encouraged their work as she had that of Klimt and Wagner and all were frequent visitors to her Oppolzergasse salon. It was there that Hofmannsthal gave the first public reading of his play, *Grosses Welt-theater* ("The Great World Theater") adapted from Calderon's *El Gran Theatre del Mundo* in January 1922. Her devotion to the drama was less intense than her near-obsession with the Sezession. The works of dramatists were generally well-received in the postwar period so required less enthusiastic support than did Viennese artists of the turn of the century. Thus, two qualities so often found in Zuckerkandl's art columns are lacking in her theater reviews: patient explanation of precedent and developments in the field and castigation of public and officials for their lack of appreciation and understanding. Her theater reviews are also more conventional in that they keep to the topic of the performance.

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125 Zuckerkandl, *Österreich Intim*, p. 147.
Digressing into Kunstpolitik occurred less often. Her critical horizons were limited by the restriction of her reviews to Burgtheater performances, whereas her art reviews had covered exhibitions of all the important Viennese art associations and galleries.

BZ reported primarily as Burgtheater critic, reviewing both the premiere performances and new productions. Her drama criticism was straightforward, combining both the authoritarian and the impressionistic approach, with more emphasis on the former. As a rule she devoted more space to the play as a work of art than to its performance. However, her criticism of the drama as performed was impressionistic, often revolving around the competence of the actors' interpretation of their roles. Viewing a play, her main concern lay with character, rather than with plot development. (Zuckerkandl's enduring interest in the applied arts often led her to examine the costumes and staging of a play, but only in a cursory manner.) She discussed the works of Strindberg and Schnitzler with special regard for nuances of character. The characters' struggles were seen to mirror contemporary man's inner and external responses to psychological and physical problems. Both Strindberg and Schnitzler were naturalists with penetrating psychological insights; subtlety of character portrayal was essential to the staging on their plays. Writing of a female character in Schnitzler's Das weite Land ("The Vast Domain"), Zuckerkandl remarked:

Exactly her inner many-sidedness demands exterior simplicity, demands simplicity in
performance style. This demand which Das weite Land places entirely on the performer, Fräulein Maria Mayer and Herr Marr feel, and fulfill entirely . . . they do not play, they are. 126

Again describing Schnitzler's Das einsame Weg ("The Lonely Way"), she stated:

the difficulties involved in staging Der einsame Weg are among the most subtle of production problems. Because the people who move, scintillate and interact up there on stage apparently open their souls and still conceal themselves behind veils. The actor must bring what is, and must let be surmised what goes out from this self. Concealment, silence, indication, surmise, speaking past one another listening to one's self! These are the elements of acting which decide the style of Der einsame Weg. 127

Proper characterization was also important in the performance of theatrical classics, as her scathing remarks on the poor acting in a 1916 production of King Lear indicated. Ludwig Müllner, the famous orator, played Lear too superficially:

His voice lusterless, although carrying, does not give in to the pulses of feeling. His gestures nowhere rise above the academic schema of classical convention, never catch hold of the bubbling witch's cauldron of multi-faceted, unrepeatable human development. His fantasy of representation . . . nowhere extends its wings. 128

The portrayal of Cordelia by Fräulein Mayen was even worse:

it was one of those incomprehensible things, in which Burgtheater castings are so rich.

126 Zuckerkandl, "Das weite Land," WAZ, June 17, 1915, p. 3.
Cordelia loved, and was silent as it is approximately the custom in "Alt-Heidelberg." And spoke like a beautiful "Papa-Mama" doll with a patented clockwork mechanism.129

Only one characterization was up to Burgtheater standards, Herr Marr's Kent:

the Kent of Herr Marr showed what getting under the skin of a character means for the stage; how a sample of dramatic art captures the soul, ...130

She implied that a performer was only an artist in his own right when he acted with talent and consideration for the artistic creation of the playwright.

Although less alarmist regarding the presence of obsolete standards in the theater than in the fine and applied arts, BZ publicly lectured the Burgtheater for its conservatism in selecting a repertoire. During the war years it had imposed a sort of self-censorship, as had other Viennese theaters. Only in June 1919, four days before summer recess, was August Strindberg finally premiered at the Burgtheater. Zuckerkandl remarked sarcastically in her review that "Austria was at one time accused of being about one idea behind. But the Burgtheater has remained just about one entire writer behind. Consequently about a world behind... So just the right moment had come for the Burgtheater to play Strindberg, now that he has been overtaken by world history."131 In praising

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129 Ibid.
130 Ibid.
the performance of one actor, a Herr Schwanneke, in an outmoded piece, she remarked: "unfortunately it appears that the Burgtheater does not possess any challenging repertory roles for guest artists. Here as well it still remains at the niveau of 1880–1890. Herr Schwanneke, however, knows the theater of 1913."\textsuperscript{132} Actors, BZ told her readers, deserved more than the mediocre productions staged by the Burgtheater.

Zuckerkandl's stand on the Burgtheater was similar to the one she took vis-a-vis the conservative bastion of the fine arts, the Künstlerhaus. Again her mission was to awaken Vienna to the talent of the moderns, foreign and Austrian. However, her drama criticism was less didactic than her art reviews, owing to the greater sophistication of the Viennese theater audience. The Viennese were noted for the exacting standards they demanded of actors—and also for their adulation of certain performers.\textsuperscript{133} BZ was able to rely on the former trait when referring to past performances and performers, sure that her audience was versed in theater history. She criticized the lionization of actors by theater audiences—a well-known Viennese failing (in the Kaiserstadt minor actors were more often recognized and esteemed by theatergoers than were major playwrights like Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal); her columns called attention to the merits of the play itself.

\textsuperscript{132}Zuckerkandl, "Burgtheater," WAZ, March 3, 1913, p. 4.

If Zuckerkandl's theater criticism showed one weakness, it was for drawing messages from works whose themes coincided with her own views. In an examination of Hermann Bahr's play, *Der Unmensch* ("The Monster"), she discussed its varied reception in Germany. Both leftist and rightist groups had criticized it for its alleged satire of the institutions of each. This demonstrated for Zuckerkandl the truth of the matter that "one ought not stand on the Left or the Right. The truly humane person... Der Unmensch, stands above or outside of the Right and the Left."134 As discussed above, she herself took exactly this position in political affairs, as was obvious from her postwar friendships with both the Socialist Otto Bauer and archconservative Ignaz Seipel. This tendency was again reflected in an article contrasting the two wartime writers, Fritz von Unruh, a German, and Henri Barbusse, a Frenchman. Their denunciation of the horrors of war united them in spirit, despite the difference of nationality.135 They, too, lamented man's inhumanity to man, and like Berta Zuckerkandl, were of pacifist persuasion.

In Arthur Schnitzler's works BZ saw a true portrait of the city which she herself had alternately praised and damned over the

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years. Schnitzler, like she, saw through the surface of frivolity to the true essence of the city. Berta Zuckerkandl remarked in her commemorative article for his fiftieth birthday:

he has carved his work from the heart of Vienna. The Vienna of the creators, which is even more endowed with malicious types. The Vienna of the most sensitive affirmation of life and of the most cynical destruction. The Vienna of the softest vowels of love and of the most brutal egoism. The Vienna which just as indefatigably begets geniuses as its destroys them.136

Vienna, despite its faults, still won this Journalistin's devotion as evidenced by the complete lack of bitterness toward it in BZ's memoirs written in Algerian exile. This love-hate attitude toward their capital city was common to a number of Austrian intellectuals among them: architect, Adolf Loos; philosopher, Ludwig Wittgenstein; and composer, Gustav Mahler; as well as Sigmund Freud.137 Recognition of Vienna's faults often led her citizens to severe self-criticism of their city and of themselves by implication. Zuckerkandl, in an article on "Wienertum" ("Viennese Ways") summed up the comments of the self-critics, "Wienertum is the synonym for lack of character." Yet, she argued, Vienna had a certain attraction, not precisely definable which made it congenial to both self-critical inhabitants and foreigners. The latter saw in it certain

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137Johnston, p. 238.
certain qualities of Sympathie which, despite its drawbacks, made Vienna a city worthy of respect (and of aid in the postwar disorders). 138

An apt observer and occasionally unfair critic of Zuckerkandl's journalistic style and comment on art and theater was the eccentric Viennese satirist, Karl Kraus. In his magazine, Die Fackel, published "at least four times a year" from 1899 until his death in 1936, Kraus took issue on a number of occasions with the opinions of the "the ripest applied art product of the Viennese self-consideration." (82) 139 He did not hesitate to condemn and ridicule her weak points, mainly overenthusiasm for some new development in the applied arts or for a particular theater personality. He failed to see that hers was as ardent a polemicism for her causes as his own. His comments were biting and it is interesting to note that Kraus was not among the celebrities mentioned in Zuckerkandl's memoirs, nor did she mention him in her newspaper articles. By implication he was perhaps one of those Viennese writers who contributed to the rich supply of derogatory literature on Vienna she discussed in her article on Wienertum. 140

It would appear that Kraus was somewhat piqued by the lack of press comment on his various speeches, lectures, and essays.

139 Karl Kraus, Die Fackel, 381-383 (Sept. 19, 1913), 37.
140 Zuckerkandl, "Die Legende des Wienertums," p. 5.
This is implied in a short essay on the reception of a Zuckerkandl favorite in Paris as reported in her paper. He snidely noted that his own speeches at the Sorbonne were deliberately ignored by Z and the Viennese press, although others had received coverage for theater gossip and private Parisian visits.\(^{141}\) (Understandably, the Viennese press gave their fiercest critic the silent treatment on the occasion of his greatest accomplishments.)

Some of Kraus’ comments were humorously incisive. Noting a poor choice of words in one of Zuckerkandl’s columns, he stated that "the Zuckerkandl speaks German like a Parisian."\(^{142}\) On another occasion, commenting on her enthusiastic espousal of applied art, including interior design by Koloman Moser and Josef Hoffmann, he wondered if the hygienic needs of the public in a newly designed pub "[were] better served by the use of paper upon which [were] printed the art criticism of the Zuckerkandl, or by the dress of the Klossettfrau (lavatory cleaningwoman) designed by Professor Hoffmann."\(^{143}\) Over a period of thirty years Kraus criticized "die Zuckerkandl" a number of times. Most ascerbic however, were his remarks belittling her patronization of the Art Nouveau style of Moser and Hoffmann which he and Adolf Loos opposed. Strangely he ignored her espousal of Otto Wagner’s functional architecture, and

\(^{141}\)Kraus, \textit{Die Fackel}, 717–723 (April 1926), 56.

\(^{142}\)\textit{Ibid.} 57.

\(^{143}\)\textit{Ibid.} 236 (Nov. 18, 1907), 3–4.
oddly enough, Kraus, who "fashioned the imperishable profile of his
time from highly perishable materials, basing the permanent record of
an age on transitory papers,"¹⁴⁴ castigated Berta Zuckerkandl for her
championship of the new and untested in art and theater.

As early as 1900 he sneered at her efforts to make Viennese
applied art known to the public. A declared foe of the "neue Kultur"
and "neue Kunst" that she fought for, he was irritated by the
"Snobismus" of the applied arts and the square shapes of the new
style that produced among other things, a knife "which not even the
best-willed Viennese snob could put in his mouth and a spoon which
none could put in his pocket."¹⁴⁵ Of Zuckerkandl's part in the
popularization of the Wiener Werkstätte's products Kraus nastily
remarked:

every evening when the Aunt Klara in the
WAZ leads us into the poorly aired secrets
of a new culture, my fingers itch to be at
her. But, that the essence of all joy in
life be the recognition, that we have the
gentlemen, Kolo Moser and Hoffmann, as
contemporaries, is lately demonstrated to
us with an importunity against which only
insolence helps. What does the Zuckerkandl
want? Admittedly the world is poorly fur-
nished, as far as it is not furnished by
the Wiener Werkstätte. But when the
gentlemen, Moser and Hoffmann, build a
shoe dealer a new counter, even the art
critic of the WAZ would think three times

¹⁴⁴Harry Zohn, Karl Kraus, Twayne's World Author Series

¹⁴⁵Kraus, Die Fackel, 236, (Nov. 18, 1907), 8.
before she dated a rise in shoe dealing from this reform act. Why then does she date a rise in the art of Kabarett from the delivery of uncomfortable chairs? To believe in the rise of the artistic niveau because along with the prices, the podium has been raised, was one of the cleverest metaphors ever heard in the cultural language of the land of the six o'clock evening paper. 146

Part of Kraus' criticism is justified by the often over-effusive style of Zuckerkandl's commentary. However, his own prejudice against the Viennese press and the working woman influenced his views as well. In a short article entitled "Die Frau in Beruf" ("The Working Woman") he satirized an out-of-context Zuckerkandl statement and remarked: "... the Zuckerkandl seems to flatter herself that she is a Schmock." 147 This agrees with critics' contentions that Kraus did not approve of women's rights except in sexual matters 148 and that he did not believe them capable of thinking logically. 149

That Berta Zuckerkandl was known to his readers was taken for granted by Kraus; for the most part he referred to her as "die

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147 Kraus, *Die Packel*, 445, (Quartalsheft, Fall 1916), 159. "Schmock" was the name for the journalist who stuck his nose into everyone's affairs and made mountains out of molehills; a sensationalist. This was also the nickname for a liberal journalist. Dagobert Pokorny, "Die Wiener Tagespresse und ihre Einflussfaktoren im Ersten Weltkrieg 1914-1918" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1950), p. 204.

148 Zohr, p. 42.

Zuckerkandl\textsuperscript{150} without further title. In so doing he indicated that she and her ideas had become institutions in postwar Vienna. This impression was strengthened by references to "die Hofrat\textsuperscript{\textperiodcentered}in" in the letters of Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal and Stefan Zweig among others. As unorthodox a journalist as she was a personality, BZ was effective in attracting attention to her causes, if not always enthusiasm for them, with her editorial digressions which were less the exception than the norm in BZ's newspaper feuilletons and reviews. It is in these paragraphs that one finds the sarcastic and entertaining commentary on the state of Vienna and its cultural life in those decades. Just Karl Kraus in \textit{Die Packel} harangued the Viennese for their faults—chiefly slovenly usage of the German language—so BZ confronted her fellow citizens with their lack of sensibility and taste in questions of style and art. "Vienna is now a single large second-handshop,"\textsuperscript{151} she remarked in an article on the Viennese love for copies of Biedermeier furniture and utensils, preferring poorly made copies to original modern work. And again she cynically remarked: "the Viennese inclination to meet the strong and true with distrust and to prepare an instantaneous success for everything second-class once again came forward spontaneously" (in their

\textsuperscript{150}"Die Zuckerkandl" means approximately "she" or "the Zuckerkandl woman."

\textsuperscript{151}Zuckerkandl, "Vom blauen Bienenkorb," \textit{WAZ}, Feb. 1, 1908, p. 4.
their preference for the work of the more conservative Rumpfsezes-
sion.) Zuckerkanld's digressions were more than mere observa-
tions, they were challenges to a lackadaisical Vienna. Her column
became a chronological review of the state of the arts and their
reception in Vienna. At the same time it was the record of one
woman's effort to gain greater appreciation and support of Austrians
themselves for their own contemporary art. This very confrontation
of her readers with their foibles, demonstrates, however, a faith
that the Viennese would see the light, as it were, and save their
talented modern artists from domestic and official neglect.

Berta Zuckerkanld was both of and not of her city (and
Austria). Its ways were her ways, yet her cosmopolitan life gave
her a perspective not readily available to most Viennese. The broad
cultural perspective of this outstanding Journalistin is well sum-
marized in the welcoming speech she wrote at the request of Max
Reinhardt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal for the first Salzburg Festivals
in 1920:

A word on the Mozart Festspielhaus at Salzburg.
A state has been overthrown. A throne has
fallen. A people has been torn to pieces.

152 Zuckerkanld, "Rumpfsezesion," WAZ, March 16, 1910,
p. 2. Rumpfsezesion was the name given to the group remaining
when Gustav Klimt and his associates split off from the main body
of the Sezession forming their own more stylistically oriented
group, called the Klimtgruppe, or alternately, the Stilisten.
A new kind of state has been welded together. A new world has begun. Nothing has remained as it was. And what has been the first thing to be born of this chaos. The Mozart Festival at Salzburg. A temple of divine art. A symbol of indestructible Austrian culture. A confession of faith by Austria. The beginning. Before uncertainty, pain and disaster have been suppressed, before individuals have started to rebuild their own lives, before the question of the actual existence of the nation has been solved, people have come together with one desire — to build a holy temple of art on the spot where Mozart was born, for his indestructibility and for a confirmation of his nation's indestructibility. . . . Through its symbol, Mozart, Austrian culture should develop the full richness of its nature. Not only music, but the genius of speech also should bear witness to the invincible values of the soul. From Calderon to Raimund we should have a true spiritual League of Nations. Here it should grow, on Austrian soil. Here it should stand, the meeting-place of international art. Faithfully it should fulfill the task set to it by nature— to communicate and distribute the true values of the human soul, from north to south, from east to west. That should be Salzburg's mission.153

Thoughtfully entitled, "The Beginning," BZ's moving statement on the importance of art for Austria and for the world illustrates her own hopes and goals for Austria's cultural future. The mission of the Salzburg Festivals "to communicate and distribute the true values of the human soul" was that of that of the Journalistin who wrote these words as well. Through the medium of the Viennese

press, BZ succeeded in communicating the value of Austrian art and
drama to her readers. She did not demand conversion to her point
of view, but recognition of it. As a Journalistin and critic her
mission was to combat apathy, thereby initiating awareness. If her
contemporary reputation is any indication, Berta Zuckerkanzl,
Hofräfin and Journalistin, achieved this goal.
CHAPTER IV

ALICE SCHALEK, CAREER JOURNALISTIN:
PIONEER TRAVEL WRITER AND WAR CORRESPONDENT

Berta Zuckerkandl concerned herself primarily with combating Viennese cultural prejudice and apathy toward the arts (although she did take an active part in the campaign for admission of women to the University of Vienna). Alice Schalek's struggle was largely one against social convention. This Journalistin aimed to overcome Viennese prejudice against the emancipated woman she represented as a career journalist. As Alice Schalek (1874-1956) was growing up in Vienna, the middle-class Wienerin was hindered by social custom from engaging in strenuous activity, remaining unwed, or pursuing a career outside the home. Just how restrictive bourgeois conventions were for young women was perceptively documented by Stefan Zweig in his autobiography The World of Yesterday, written in 1943 when both he and Schalek were in their sixties:

in Vienna . . . a girl of good family had to live in a completely sterilized atmosphere from the day of her birth until the day when she left the altar on her husband's arm. In order to protect young girls, they were not left alone for a single moment. . . . But while the aim was to make them as educated and as socially correct as possible, at the same time society anxiously took great pains that they remain innocent of all natural things . . . "Good
breeding," for a young girl of that time, was identified with ignorance of life; and this ignorance oftentimes lasted for the rest of their lives . . . . And that is how the society of those days wished young girls to be, silly and untaught, well-educated and innocent, curious and shy, uncertain and unpractical, and predisposed to this education without knowledge of the world from the very beginning, to be led and formed by a man in marriage without any will of their own.¹

Alice Schalek overcame such an environment to become an avid mountain climber and a renowned travel and war reporter. (Schalek also remained unmarried). Her personal experience as an aspiring Journalistin in Vienna made her doubly aware of the necessity for informing insular Viennese women (and men), many of whom were totally ignorant of ways of thinking and acting beyond their immediate surroundings.

In her years as a travel journalist, Schalek endeavored to acquaint her readers with an unfamiliar social subject, the situation of women all over the world--from a Journalistin's point of view. Again during World War I, she used her considerable narrative gifts to confront the Viennese with a more unpleasant unfamiliar topic--their native country at war. Alice Schalek did not mirror the opinions of her readers in these feuilletons, but rather forced them to peer through a periscope of her own construction which presented then with a graphic view of faraway places and unfamiliar events. Her candid methods seemed unconventional to the easygoing Viennese, but her unusual frankness won attention for her views (and eventually apprehension of them in wartime as a war-weary Vienna pressed for peace in

1918). Schalek's efforts on behalf of the career woman were not overwhelmingly successful and brought her much personal abuse. To many Viennese she typified the often caricatured old maid, "the butt of the shallow derision of all the comic papers." Furthermore, after winning the vote in 1918, the Austrian movement for equal opportunity went into dormancy. However, the aspiring Viennese Journalistin did not suffer for want of an inspiring example as long as Alice Schalek pursued her career in pre-Anschluss Austria.

"The highly talented Schalek did outstanding work in the most varied of areas, to the esteem of her sex at a time when the work of women was still not regarded as equal to that of men." This is how a 1936 biographical handbook described this intelligent, aggressive, remarkable Journalistin. The perseverance and dedication Alice Schalek exhibited in her forty-year career were regarded as unwomanly by her Central European compatriots in that early part of the twentieth century. Since Schalek was a woman her unvarnished statements and candid interviews were called abrasive, but she was castigated less for the style and content of her reports, more for her lack of "femininity" in pursuing such a "masculine" career as journalism. Karl Kraus asserted in the course of his courtroom defense against Schalek's 1916 libel charge that "the plaintiff was not attacked in her capacity as a woman, but rather in her capacity as a man, namely

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2 ibid. p. 79.

as a war correspondent." For Kraus and others linking the terms "woman" and "reporter" was incongruous. He once remarked "as long as a woman does not write, she preserves the appearance of sexual attraction, the addition of repulsive intellectuality which enables her later to be a writer, may produce a suspicious mixture which deludes the fool." (But it did not Kraus.)

Later in his mammoth play about World War I, Die letzten Tage der Menschheit ("The Last Days of Mankind"), Kraus again sardonically implied that the war reporter Schalek was unfeminine. One scene punningly satirized a Schalek interview with two Serbian women soon after the Austrian takeover of Belgrade in 1917:

Die Schalek: . . . Ask them what they feel and why they are giving me jam.
The Translator: (after he has spoken with the woman) She says nothing can put Serbian hospitality out of operation.
Die Schalek: But why exactly, jam?
The Translator: (after he has spoken with the woman) She says that they wanted to show that they are women and jams are the domain [preserve] of women.

Kraus' description of "die Schalek" as the "Unweib" (vixen), "the

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4Karl Kraus, Die Fackel, 521 (February 1920), 13. In this issue Kraus reprinted the proceedings of Alice Schalek's libel suit against him which extended over three years. Schalek had charged him with defamation of character for his article in the May 5, 1916 Fackel wherein he called her, among other things, the "monstrosity of a Jewess-journalist [Jourjudin] who dares to satisfy her curiosity in foxholes," and a "swaggering monster with a lorgnon" who offered "a spectacle of degeneration" to the public.


woman turned hyena" stuck and even those who never knew her saw her in this light. Schalek also had to contend with anti-Semitic prejudice. She was a registered Protestant, but of Jewish descent and therefore encountered racial slurs from Kraus and others. Despite this she succeeded in reaching the pinnacle of Austrian journalism, becoming a staff member of the leading Viennese newspaper, the Neue Freie Presse.

Alice Schalek was born in Vienna in 1874 to German-Jewish parents newly emigrated from Bohemia. The family, unlike most newly arrived Jewish immigrants, was fairly well-off, living in a respectable section of Vienna's first district rather than in the second. Her father, Heinrich Schalek, operated a prosperous newspaper Annoncen Expedition (advertising agency) which his son, Norbert, took over after his death. Another son, Rudolf, earned a law degree from the University of Vienna and was well known in Austria's capital both for his expertise in bankruptcy law and, among sport fans, as a skater. For years he served as an officer of the Viennese Eislaufverein

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7Kraus, Die Fackel, 431 (Aug. 1916), 17. "Die Schalek" was the appellation given to Alice Schalek by contemporaries and is roughly equivalent to "the Schalek woman."


9As Vienna's newspapers grew in number, they also increased in volume, the daily NFP, for example, grew to thirty pages with a Sunday edition of eighty pages. As the content pages of the paper increased, so also did its advertising pages, making the position of an Annoncen Expedition owner a prosperous one.
(ice skating association) which he co-founded. Alice Schalek, like her brother, had a passionate interest in sports, especially hiking and mountain climbing, and she made several climbing tours of the Austrian and Italian Alps in her youth. In her pursuit of sports Schalek also encountered opposition from those who judged such activities unbecoming, if not harmful, to a young woman. In a 1926 essay she described early family opposition to her activities:

... I myself fought in the sharp battles which brought women this freedom [to join mountain climbing parties] "Women do not belong on mountains," even my own father maintained; and an old aunt once said of me "She writes and she climbs mountains, she is not entirely normal at all." Schalek saw participation in sports as a natural right for men and women. Thus it was of major concern to her when in 1921 the Austria-Sektion of the Deutsches und Österreichisches Alpenverein (German and Austrian Alpine Union) barred non-Aryans from its organization. She wrote in an aggrieved tone:

instead of this [selective censure of the guilty parties involved in profiteering and currency maneuvers in Austria], the unenlightened, incorrigible and unfortunate race hatred holds this to be the hour for the achievement of an atrocity; to identify the members of the Alpenverein with those parasites, while it is a fact that almost all Jewish members belong to the most put-upon class of German, loyal-to-the-state intellectuals and for whom it is almost necessary to stint on food to save up membership dues. ... The German and Austrian Alpine Union must stand above all parties, on the

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watchtower of the high mountain chain that is its place of work, it should remain the objective intermediary between the whole people and the whole world of the Alps, never to belong to a single group and never to be subject to the arbitrary action of anyone.\(^{12}\)

Although nominally a Lutheran, Schalek unlike Berta Zuckerkandl did not ignore her Jewish heritage, but came to its defense in print when discrimination threatened.

There was a close bond among members of the Schalek family it appears, for on occasion Schalek even referred to her family in print. (Unlike Berta Zuckerkandl, she left no memoirs.) Once, according to a 1915 article, when the adolescent Schalek ran low on funds in Tyrol while on a mountain tour forbidden by her father, she contacted her brother for 100 Kronen in order to continue her climb.\(^{13}\) Some years later when Karl Kraus' wartime criticism of Schalek became too personal, her brother, Norbert, challenged him to a duel. (Kraus refused the challenge and did not appear on the appointed day.)\(^{14}\) Her lawyer brother, Rudolf, it would seem, was also close to her, serving as auditor for the Viennese Association of Women Writers and Artists on whose board Schalek served. By way of reciprocation perhaps, she wrote a NFP article on her brother's favorite sport, ice skating, and

\(^{12}\)Schalek, "Der Arierparagraph der Sektion Austria," NFP, Feb. 22, 1921, p. 6.


\(^{14}\)Kraus, Die Fackel, 521 (Feb. 1920), 18-19.
the talented Austrian World Champion, Herma Jarosz-Szabo. When in
Vienna, Schalek lived with her widowed mother in an Innenstadt apart-
ment on the Ringstrasse. She ultimately left Austria, a refugee from
the Nazis in 1938, reaching England, where she remained until 1940;
from there she emigrated to New York City where she died in 1956 in a
Lutheran charitable institution at age 82. 

At first Schalek had hoped to make her name as a writer of
fiction; before 1910 she wrote a number of popular novelettes and
short stories—the first of these under the pseudonym, Paul Michaely.
These fictional pieces already revealed a concern for women's rights;
moreover, the early stories were quite well-received. A reviewer
of Schalek's Auf dem Touristendampfer ("On Board the Tourist Steamer"),
a 1905 collection of short stories, wrote of Schalek:

she writes not from vanity and ambition, as so
many do now, but from the need to say something.
But earnest as Alice Schalek is in her enthusi-
asm, she becomes sentimental in her expression.
Nevertheless, much bitterness manifests itself
in these small pieces, and many of them are
satires on the hypocrisy and dishonesty of our
society, above all in the question of the up-
bringing of girls.

Schalek herself confirmed her interest in the woman question in a
Selbstanzeige (a review by the author) of her novel, Das Fräulein

15 Schalek, "Die Kämpfe einer Weltmeisterin," NFP, Feb. 25,
1927, pp. 1-3.

(Employer and friend of Alice Schalek in New York in the 1940's.)

17 See pages 141-142 for later criticism of Schalek's fiction.
18 Klara Maucner, "Literarische Notizen," review of Alice
("The Single Woman," 1905), where her disapproval of customs which limited women's freedom and fulfillment was clearly manifested. She suggested that "perhaps [men] wanted to erect a wall . . . to prevent the female any glimpse of the world while the pretext [was to protect] her from this world."\textsuperscript{19} Schalek hoped to expose the hypocrisy of customs which perpetuated the ideal, meek "feminine" conduct. In \textit{Das Fräulein} the author expressed her position against traditional Viennese ways of raising girls. The lead character in \textit{Das Fräulein} "was true, honorable and modest her whole life long; but she never found reward for it. She did not even know that [the notion of] 'reward' was a lie, a fairy tale for children, and that in life only the individual strength of the individual will lead to happiness."

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Her early works revealed Schalek's view about the need for change in the life-style of European women. Time and again she emphasized this conviction in her own career. She did not restrict her campaign to the written word or isolate herself from female colleagues, but strove to sustain the Viennese Association of Women Writers and Artists, and its individual members, in the difficult postwar years. She arranged for Danish food shipments for this group and gave lectures for the financial benefit of the organization.\textsuperscript{21} The struggling

\textsuperscript{19}Schalek, "\textit{Das Fräulein Novellen - Selbstanzeige}," \textit{Die Zukunft}, LIII (1905), 298.

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Ibid}.

organization nevertheless had to shut down in 1927, the forty-third year of its existence. The organization shared Schalek's view of the lot of professional women in Austria, commenting in a final report:

... unfortunately, the difficulties of the struggle for existence for all women working in the arts have not lessened; on the contrary, they have solidified into a lasting situation, which has resulted in recurring troubles for many by reason of their isolation and through a feeling of helplessness and discouragement.22

Schalek herself was for the most part accepted by her male colleagues, becoming the first female granted membership in the Viennese press organization, Concordia.23 Perhaps the greatest official honor she received was the Goldene Verdienst Kreuz mit der Krone am Bande der Tapferkeitsmedaille (Gold Service Cross with the Crown on the Band of the Medal of Bravery), presented to her on the Southwest front during World War I by Kaiser Karl.24

Although Schalek encountered opposition from those who, like Kraus, saw her achievements as a threat to established female roles (Kraus as indicated above viewed the emancipated woman as unnatural), there were prominent Viennese who valued her views. The distinguished jurist and Liberal parliamentarian Josef Redlich mentioned in his diary several discussions with Schalek on the war conditions in Tyrol and on

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22Verein der Schriftstellerinnen, Jahresbericht, 1926-1927, p. 2.


the Isonzo front. Despite, or perhaps because of, her prickly personality and forthright statements, the "Unweib" came to be quite well known in Vienna and popular enough to attract sellout crowds to her illustrated lectures at the Wiener Konzerthaus and Urania theater. Her long absences from the city notwithstanding, Vienna recognized her as its own (and vice versa), but it was only on the occasion of her eightieth birthday in 1954, that it belatedly acknowledged the cultural contribution of this talented, highly volatile woman with an Ehrgeschenk (Gift of Honor). (She received two wartime awards under the Empire for her work with the Schwarz-Gelbe Kreuz.) Today, however, this precedent-challenging journalist is unknown except to Karl Kraus devotees, who, for the most part, view her negatively as he did. An examination of Schalek's life and work refutes his picture of her as a naive, opportunistic glory-seeker. She wanted her due, as her numerous letters to the War Ministry in quest of another award for her wartime work on the front indicate. Yet she felt that this Schwert (honorary sword) was rightfully hers—for her bravery under fire.26 Here, as throughout her career, she actively pursued her goals in the face of unremitting opposition.

Although a product of a conservative upbringing, Schalek always showed tolerance for the various mores she encountered on trips

25 Josef Redlich, Schicksalsjahre Österreichs 1915–1918
Das politische Tagebuch Joseph Redlichs, ed. by Fritz Fellner, II

26 Thomas Chorherr, "Keine Schwert für Alice," Die Presse
abroad and on the warfront. She never showed a sense of superiority in her reports on foreign counties; even her World War I articles made an effort to be fair toward the enemy. Her objectivity seemed to win Schalek admirers. She was the first woman speaker to appear in the new Vienna Urania theater in 1912 and was thereafter so often "the first woman" or "the only woman" to do "such and such" in Austria that she could not help but regard herself as an example for aspiring Austrian schoolgirls and for women abroad. Even her travel essays fostered the emancipation of women. Almost every Reisefeuilleton contained a detailed report on the situation of women in the area visited. And in her wartime feuilletons, Schalek described the work of women in the towns near the front: the female restaurant-keepers who stayed behind risking enemy fire to give the soldiers a good meal, the cigarette venders, the chambermaids and the peasant farm-women, all of whom remained at their posts, taking over traditionally male tasks while the war went on. In an article on ethics of Japanese women (as imposed on them by males) for the magazine, Die Ehe ("Marriage"), she wrote:

the world has, to be sure, only seldom heard the criticism of these ethics because the reports of distant lands are mostly given to us from the male point of view; there is still nowhere in public opinion a female point of view and every

27 Alice Schalek was the "first Austrian woman to make a career of her travels," giving more than 400 lectures in all both at home and abroad. She also gave the first illustrated public lectures in Austria in 1910. "Alice Schalek," Neues Wiener Tagblatt, Aug. 21, 1934, p. 8.
start in this direction is nipped in the bud by the rebuke of bias. 28

Here Schalek acknowledged the difficulties of her own unique position —writing of the woman's role abroad from the woman's point of view.

Sometimes her frank reports of conditions abroad aroused anger from the country's patriotic nationals. Schalek's outspoken feuilletons and lectures on the miserable conditions awaiting Austrian and German immigrants to South America in 1926, even had repercussions on the diplomatic level. An irate Brazilian, the former vice-consul in Vienna, Gualberto de Oliveira, wrote an impassioned letter to the Brazilian newspaper, O Imparcial, castigating Alice Schalek and threatening diplomatic reprisals against Austrian interests in Brazil. 29 Two weeks later (August 3, 1926) a nervous Austrian diplomat in Rio reported to the Bundeskanzleramt für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten (Federal Chancellor's Office for Foreign Affairs) that Schalek's candid presentation had been very offensive to the nationalistic Brazilians; that "eccentric old spinsters" ought to "let their energies romp elsewhere than in the columns of newspapers." 30 Censure,


29 Gualberto de Oliveira, "Der Verleumdungsfeldzug der Frau Alice Schalek gegen Brasilien," O Imparcial (Rio de Janeiro, July 23, 1926), in Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Alice Schalek File. (official translation of the original article into German)

however, did not stop "die Schalek;" she continued writing her first-person articles from India in 1928 and East Africa in 1931. (She planned to visit Palestine, Iraq and Persia in the late thirties, but did not.) She left Austria hurriedly in 1938 and continued to write and lecture on her experiences once she got to the United States, albeit only infrequently, due to her advanced age. That this career was stalwartly continued by the sexagenarian "Journalistin is revealed by a remark made by Thomas Chorherr in another context, "still Alice Schalek would not have been 'die Schalek' if she had not continued fighting."31

Schalek, like Berta Zuckerkandl, sustained a love-hate relationship with her native city and her country. Although often abroad, she remained a loyal Viennese, respectful of the great cultural contributions and of the natural beauty of Austria proper. Yet she felt Austrians themselves did not properly appreciate the wonders of their own country. In a 1926 essay she lamented that she found only fifteen per cent of the tourists in Bad Gastein were Austrian. Looking at her country from the visitor's standpoint, the often-absent feuilletonist reflected on the beautiful scenery of the Bad Gastein region and the impressive cultural offerings of the Salzburg Festivals; but for all its attractions Austria had drawbacks for the tourist. Certain conservative attitudes had hindered the modernization of transportation facilities; this caused Schalek to remark somewhat sarcastically: "while a road for automobiles crosses all of

31 Chorherr, p. xv.
Sumatra, the way to Rassfeld—the main excursion route from Gastein—can be traveled only with horses."\textsuperscript{32}

She was also critical of Austria's class structure. Returning from South America in 1926, she wrote that Austria seemed to have changed for the better in many ways (custom officials were less officious, transportation, better), but Austrian society still lacked mobility. In Vienna "a bellboy remained a bellboy his whole life;" each worker's occupation was stamped on his face (briefly during the war years, Schalek felt this was changing).\textsuperscript{33} In contrast, for Schalek, South American society was much more egalitarian.\textsuperscript{34} Schalek wrote on another occasion of her countrymen's intransigence:

but why exactly are we here in Austria so miserly with recognition? \ldots To the honor of the Austrian it should be admitted that the reason [lies] in the overflow of talent in Austria, that many an achievement which finds recognition abroad, at home is not regarded as so remarkable. Perhaps just because of this, a successful person is so badly treated \ldots \textsuperscript{35}

Perhaps she was thinking of her mistreatment at the hands of the War Department and of her failure to obtain the coveted Schwerter. "Die Schalek" realized that only boldly presented work could be recognized

\textsuperscript{32}Schalek, "Osterreich, du hast es besser!" pp. 1-2.

\textsuperscript{33}See page 174 for Schalek's wartime views on this subject.

\textsuperscript{34}Schalek, "Heimkehr nach Wien," NFP, Aug. 7, 1925, p. 2. In South America Schalek had met numerous European immigrants working in service positions, but none of them intended to make them a career.

\textsuperscript{35}Schalek, "Die Kämpfe einer Weltmeisterin," p. 3.
in Vienna; thus she set out to win attention for her opinions through the medium of the travel feuilleton.

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Although remembered today chiefly for her unique first-person feuilletons from the Austrian front lines in World War I, Alice Schalek was by trade a travel journalist. From 1906 until the early thirties she wrote countless travel essays for Vienna's Neue Freie Presse and for a number of German publications, among them the Illustrierte Zeitung (Leipzig), the Berliner Illustrierte, the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (a holding of the financier Hugo Stinnes) and the Frankfurter Zeitung. These essays provided both a record of varied travel journalism and a study in cultural confrontation. Alice Schalek, bourgeois Viennese, sought to explain non-European culture to her readers and simultaneously, to herself. Schalek's feuilletons usually described visits to areas not frequented by her countrymen: North and East Africa, Japan, Korea, India, Brazil and Argentina. As was typical of the genre, her feuilletons were not in-depth, scholarly studies, but featured observations of interest to the homebound European curious about exotic regions.

Travel essays were not intended as guidebooks for the prospective tourist; they were meant to entertain, and in addition, to act as a cosmopolitan informant for the reader. From the Reise-feuilletonist, Schalek's Neue Freie Presse editors generally required, in addition to essays on travel and the exotic, pieces on the customs
of foreign countries. 36 A Reisefeuilleton appeared in the NFP on the average of once every ten days. Frequently, as with Alice Schalek, the feuilletons were published in a series of up to a dozen install-
ments. The travel feuilletons of the NFP were considered the most illustrious in Vienna and the most talented journalists of the time published there. 37

Alice Schalek was not the first woman to write Reisefeuille-
entons for the NFP. In the mid-nineteenth century Betty Paoli, writer and companion to the Princess Schwarzenberg, wrote extensively on the politics and culture of Italy in Reisefeuilletons entitled "Reise Stationen" ("Journey Stops"). 38 However, Alice Schalek was the first woman to undertake travel writing as a career, wisely (judging from her novels) deciding to abandon her work as a writer of fiction. She may have been heeding the advice of a reviewer of one of her novels, Schmerzen der Jugend ("Pains of Youth," 1909), who commented that her prose was best when it was journalistic. He wrote:

... [Schalek] was talented in the swift appli-
cation of an experience, of an impression, a con-
versation. She knows how to portray a situation in a few words, to let a landscape live again.

36 Adam Wandruszka, Geschichte einer Zeitung. Das Schicksal

37 Ebba Koller, "Das Reisefeuilleton als Mittel der publizistisch-literarischen Aussage in der Presse und seine Bedeutung für die zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen der Nachkriegszeit" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1968), pp. 41, 43.

38 Tbid. p. 44.
before our eyes in forms and colors. If she could only forgo digging into the depths of the heart and exchange the heavy trained gown of the novel for the light petticoat of the sketch, she would appear fresher and more fascinating to us.\footnote{Sascha Schwabacher, review of Schmerzen der Jugend, by Alice Schalek in \textit{Das Literarische Echo}, 72 (1909-1910) Col. 1117.}

Significantly perhaps, this was her last novel.

The travel feuilletonist's task was more precise than that of the general feuilletonist, for he was required to cover specific ground in his essay. Nonetheless, in comparison with a regular reporter, he enjoyed a good deal of freedom. He could select a theme for his essay from such categories as nature and landscape, social background, local customs and habits, religion and superstition, transportation and its problems, contemporary history and events, or art and cultural life. Further he had several conventional feuilletonistic forms: the travel report, the chatty essay, the impressionistic commentary, the eyewitness account, the letter or diary form, the anecdote, the interview and criticism. Alice Schalek, like most feuilleton writers, often combined several of these forms in a three-page feuilleton. Almost every travel feuilletonist commented on aspects of the human condition and often championed the rights of the poor and underprivileged, but he was expected also to show respect for the customs of the host nation and display a degree of empathy towards the natives. He served as a sort of popular ethnologist, composing up-to-date reports of cultures and mores. His remarks on contemporary political, social and cultural events further delineated the character
of a people for his readers. In sum, his task was that of a literary impressionist, to relay to the public his impressions of an unknown nation in short passages, clearly and artistically written.

Alice Schalek wrote various types of Reisefeuilletons in the twenty-five years of her most active period (1906-1931). Her essays generally described her own experiences in a country; in them she related in a first-person format her personal encounters with certain inhabitants. In other feuilletons Schalek might describe the route's sights as she experienced them or she might dwell on the difficulties of traveling in a particular area, giving the feuilletons a human, if sometimes banal, touch.

Schalek, although she knew French, English, Spanish and Italian, regularly relied on native guides and interpreters, but at times she could not communicate with them. Commenting humorously on an experience in the Indian province of Hyderabad, she wrote:

two half-naked Marathis meet me at the gate of the Cyclopean Wall. They are the only living humans far and wide, understand not a word of English and of the 735 languages of India, I have also not learned Marachi. I would like to ask them to climb more slowly in this scorching tropical glow of about 40 Réaumur [about 120° Fahrenheit], but as I attempt my obviously deficient sign language, they want to hoist me to their shoulders.

Her essays occasionally reflected on the detrimental impact of western mores on the indigenous populations. Schalek was especially moved by

40 Koller, pp. 263-332, passim.

the patience of Indians awaiting the arrival of the train at Manmad. Although in this instance she found the natives childlike and naive for camping in the station overnight instead of asking when the train would arrive, she disapproved of the British attitude of superiority in their relations with the Indians.  

But neither was she an admirer of Mahatma Gandhi, finding him and his approach to the question of Indian independence disappointing. In the preface to a 1928 interview with Gandhi (which in agreement with his stipulations was reprinted word for word) she described the "Apostle of Indian Nationalism" as follows:

... although Gandhi allowed his hands to turn his beloved spinning wheel without interruption in the expected manner ... from his wide, almost toothless mouth under the dark glasses comes the quarrelsome voice of a modern advocate, which Gandhi despite every holiness plainly cannot entirely overcome. It contrasts, just as the energetic animosity of his aggressive speech so shrilly contrasts, with the Buddha-like figure.

That Schalek was skeptical of the efficacy of his program was evident from the questions she put to him concerning India's economic dependence on Britain. In her introductory paragraphs, though acknowledging Indian and European esteem for Gandhi, Schalek judged him to have exhausted himself politically.

While never at a loss for critical comment, Schalek was

42Ibid. pp. 32-33.
44Ibid. p. 2.
was generally sympathetic in her descriptions of foreign habits and customs. On her first trip to Africa in 1906, she was evidently unprepared for the enormous contrast of North Africa with Europe. However, she overcame her feelings of uneasiness, carefully observed local customs and concluded: "Africa has taught me that no people can adopt the moral code of another, if that people's life expressions shall be respected. Because racial peculiarities are not created by human intellect, but depend on the size of the angle under which the sun's rays fall upon the forehead. What is beautiful is only that which is true, original and innate."45 This tolerant attitude did not, however, hinder Schalek from criticizing the basic injustices she saw reflected in the status of women in various counties.

Even advanced countries such as Japan and the United States provided interesting material for her cultural and social portraits of foreign lands. A Japanese girls' school presentation of A Midsummer Night's Dream in the original won Schalek's admiration—as did the enthusiasm of the audience for such entertainment.46 As for America, Schalek was at first impressed and then somewhat disconcerted by the all-female residential establishment of the American Women's Association in New York City.47 In reviewing the work of an American


educator lecturing in Vienna, she was taken aback by the educational systems he discussed. The system, in order to instill proper personal habits, emphasized appealing to the child's sense of self-interest. The child was to be paid and fined according to his performance of basic tasks. 48 This sort of procedure, Schalek felt, typified the American tendency to separate business from morality. The Americans were basically pragmatists, yet they retained a carefully isolated idealism about which she wrote:

the American does not view idealism as something which leads him onward by a consciousness of fulfilled duty to believe in an illusion of a higher ethic. Idealism in the American sense never expresses itself fruitlessly and is always to be kept at a distance from every necessary expression of life. American idealism must be set in motion in a practical manner and has nothing to do with the essentials of life. . . 49

Here as elsewhere Schalek wrote as a "European" rather than as an Austrian or Viennese. However, when discussing other European cultures, particularly in her wartime articles, her Austrian nationality was quite apparent.

Always a keen observer, Schalek frequently wrote on individual cultural quirks and often assigned stereotypes to a nation. Sometimes her comments could be deeply insightful, but they were on occasion glibly facile. She wrote in 1921 that Americans and British possessed "the ability to perceive opposites at the same time, to


49 Ibid. p. 2.
indulge in two feelings which neutralized each other, independently of one another. "Europeans," she felt, "[would] never reach the same degree of perfection in this so extremely necessary art." This view reflected the one prevalent in the defeated Central Powers of the Entente nations, who, in their opinion, had a proclivity for giving aid to the defeated countries while simultaneously concluding hard business bargains with them. Schalek's own negative experience with the American Red Cross worker, Alice Allen, must have influenced her portrayal of Americans as pragmatic pursuers of their own economic gain.  

Alice Schalek never hesitated to express her direct impressions of a foreign culture; these at times reflected her own bourgeois Viennese background and standards. On a 1912 visit to Hong Kong, she wrote:

of course we are still in English territory and one only receives an impression here of real Chinese stench and filth. Nevertheless the aroma on hand suffices for me, the Westerner, who has not yet visited Canton.

50 Ibid. p. 1.

51 Mrs. Alice Allen, an American Red Cross worker in Vienna, allegedly took money and valuables from several Viennese promising to deliver them to Austrian war prisoners held by the Allies. According to Schalek (from whom Mrs. Allen took manuscripts and photos) these were never received. Schalek took the case directly to Baron Frankenstein, the Austrian ambassador in London (where Mrs. Allen was living). She wrote: "the Americans adhere to the business standpoint, 'If you have been betrayed, it serves you right.'" Letter from Alice Schalek to Baron Frankenstein (1920) Haus- Hof-und Staatsarchiv, NPA Präs. Alice Schalek File.

She could be patronizing as well, as her comment on the Indians' reception of the railroad indicates: "the railroad acts with magnetic attraction upon the Indians, as it does upon our young boys." But she simultaneously speculated on the impact the railroad could have upon the Indian class system:

perhaps it [the railroad] may be able to bring races and classes nearer to one another some day, now it already brings brahmins and outcasts together in one carriage. 53

Schalek frequently included both her first impressions and her later reflections in a single feuilleton.

The most penetrating of her observations were those on the women of the places she visited. Schalek regarded herself as an emancipated woman; as a result of her profession and habit of traveling unescorted, she was generally regarded as one. She often visited women's educational institutions, as in Japan and Korea, and wrote a feuilleton on "The Japanese Women's Movement" following a tour of Frau Hani's Freiheitsschule (Freedom School) on the outskirts of Tokyo. The enthusiasm and aptitude displayed by the school's students for their modern education with its emphasis on self-sufficiency for women so impressed Schalek that she forgot to inquire about its curriculum in the pure sciences, a subject that usually interested her. But, as she told her audience in Vienna, this "appeared to me to be secondary to the instruction in the new ideals." 54

53 Schalek, "Heiderbad," p. 32.

54 Schalek, "Die japanische Frauenbewegung," VI, p. 3.
In Hong Kong she visited an orphanage for abandoned female children run by French nuns. Her portraits of both students and teachers were well drawn. She brought the situation close to her female European readership by relating the circumstances in which their own imported Chinese fashions were manufactured:

have you any idea, prickly Parisian women, million-airesses from Berlin W., elegant British women, you, who show off the elegant Chinese embroidery on your dresses, who put Chinese lace on your blouses, how these are produced? Can you imagine the white-washed rooms in whose murderous glow hundreds of yellow-skinned girls, without pay and without holiday, without rest and without joy, without parents and relations, decorate spiderweb-fine net and rigid silk with inwrought ornaments?\(^{55}\)

Despite her efforts to convey the poverty of these seamstresses, Schalek had no illusions about making more than a fleeting impression upon her distant readers. Even her Viennese companion in Hong Kong, a long-time resident of the city, momentarily overcome with pity for the plight of the embroiderers, would soon forget them in the whirl of consulate parties and dances.\(^{56}\)

In an article written for the German periodical, Die Ehe, Schalek discussed in detail the women's movement in Japan. The social position, upbringing and education of women were explained to European readers. Schalek observed that most studies of Japanese life had been written by men who presented a distorted view of the true condition of women. They emphasized, for example, the romantic life of the geisha,

\(^{55}\) Schalek, "Chinesische Stickerinnen," p. 2.

\(^{56}\) Ibid.
neglecting to mention the social tragedy this institution implied for the traditional Japanese home. She wrote:

as a result of this [lack of the woman's point of view] the male reports of the Japanese geisha have become a cultural concept for the entire world. A counterweight to male judgment is for no topic more necessary than that of the fate of the Japanese woman, who was formed by man, used by man and surrounded by man with a poetic legend. . . . The geisha is namely by virtue of her exterior far more dangerous for society than the usual demi-monde in other lands. With her colorful brocades she puts the middle-class woman, who after her twentieth year may not wear light colors, in shadow. All seductive and brilliant femininity in Japan appears only in connection with corruption and vice, while the mental image of dullness, boredom and lack of education is fused with engagement, marriage and the home. 57

Here as elsewhere Schalek included in her reports details of women in society omitted by male journalists.

To present the world from the woman's point of view was Schalek's goal in almost every travel feuilleton. Little anecdotes or comments on the condition of women in lands to which she traveled showed Schalek's concern that information on this neglected topic reach her readers. Of course, she could not devote as much space to it in the Neue Freie Presse as she did in a magazine with a largely female readership such as Die Ehe. Nevertheless the situation of women abroad was briefly analyzed and compared with that of European women in Central Europe, in many of her NFP essays.

Alice Schalek, like many German-speaking professional women

of the time, envied her English and American counterparts for their freedom and the respect accorded them by their male countrymen. She was herself painfully sensitive to (male) ridicule, of which she had received more than her share. In India, she was pleased by the acceptance accorded her solo journeys. The British deference for the single woman traveler contrasted markedly with the insults commonly experienced while traveling alone in Europe. The enormous contrast presented by the American Women's Club Residence in New York City, which admitted only those males escorted by women, seemed to overwhelm Schalek. Although a critic of man's inhumanity to woman throughout the world, Schalek thought that the constant company of only women at the hotel would be "in the long run fatiguing, or at least strange."

She found the situation of women in North Africa in 1906 the worst of her experience for there women were in all things completely subservient to their husbands, "the Arab woman in a rich household [was] a plaything, in a poor one a slave." Not much better was the situation of the well-to-do South American woman in 1926. She was restricted in all her actions and treated as a child by males. Schalek suggested, however, that the woman was herself partly responsible for this situation for "not overmuch [was] really forbidden in the life of a woman; her freedom [was] above all restricted by

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60 Schalek, "Von Tunis nach Tripolis," NFP, Feb. 26, 1906, p. 3.
custom." Though universities had been opened to women in Chile (1877) and Argentina (1880's), for example, even before they had been in Austria, women seldom attended. (The majority of those who did were either first-generation Latin Americans or foreign-born.)

Schalek interviewed women active in Brazilian public life and found all of these were of European or North American background. She concluded that the women's movement like the unescorted woman was immediately recognized as foreign and shunned by native Brazilians. Schalek was forced to piece together her information about native women from observation and from other foreigners, for as she concluded, "the Brazilian woman still holds her home and her soul closed to European women."  

Schalek also wrote on attitudes toward women in Austria. Again she was disapproving, using for her illustration of antifeminist sentiment the story of a young Viennese artist who spent her summer painting the peasant chapel on Grossglockner. Only at its completion did she win the admiration and thanks of local farmers, who nonetheless excluded her from the all-male ceremonial banquet which celebrated the chapel's completion.

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63 Schalek, "Brasilianische Reise," p. 3.

64 Schalek, "Osterreich, du hast es besser!" p. 3.
All of Schalek's travel feuilletons attempted to transmit an image of a foreign milieu to Viennese readers. Her particular talent lay in use of the conversational style so typical of the feuilleton. Her viewpoint, that of an inquisitive, albeit educated and well-traveled Viennese woman, was one familiar to them. If at times, her essays seem chatty and lacking in depth, it must be remembered that such a light tone was expected in the feuilleton. Generally, however, substance and moralizing was to be found behind the chattiness of a Schalek essay.

Her concern with the inequities between the sexes and classes in countries she visited appeared along with the more standard fare of travel reports—descriptions of local color and tourist attractions. That she was able to present these concerns within the fixed métier of the travel feuilleton testifies to her talent as a journalist. By the beginning of the war, this talent had gained her a regular place on the staff of the prestigious NFP—a tribute to her ability. Thomas Chorherr, present-day editor of the Presse (NFP's successor), suggests that Schalek did not properly appreciate this honor. He wrote recently of her impious attitude toward the paper:

Was this failure to obtain the decoration [the Schwert] recompense for the insatiety, the return for the fact that it had not satisfied her to be counted among the correspondents' corps of a newspaper to which the likes of a Karl Marx, a Ludwig Ganghofer, a Sven Hedin, and a Roda Roda had belonged—only to name a few? Take comfort, Alice—of all the names in
the Olympus of the Neue Freie Presse yours was not the least!\textsuperscript{65}

Admission to this Olympus was guaranteed, however, only after her wartime contributions to the NFP.

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During a significant period of her career Alice Schalek was a NFP war reporter, sending her pieces from the battlefronts of World War I. Reporting about wars has been an age-old occupation, but war reportage for large audiences such as those Schalek wrote for dates only from the late nineteenth century. The London Times set the example with its extensive coverage of the Crimean War (1854–1856); William Howard Russell was especially famed for his Crimean letters, dispatches from the front, one of which inspired Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade."\textsuperscript{66} Among Vienna's papers the Neue Freie Presse soon recognized the potential for well-written Kriegsberichte (war reports). Reports of the American Civil War and its impact on British policies were sent to Vienna from October 1861 to December 1862 by its London correspondent Karl Marx.\textsuperscript{67}

Despite strict censorship and other limitations on news from battle areas when Austria herself was at war, innovative newsmen like Moritz Szeps of the Neues Wiener Tagblatt provided the public with war

\textsuperscript{65} Chörherr, p. xv. Sven Hedin, Ludwig Ganghofer and Roda Roda were all well-known World War I correspondents.

\textsuperscript{66} Joseph J. Mathews, Reporting the Wars (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. 68.

\textsuperscript{67} Wandruszka, p. 56.
news. Berta Szeps Zuckerkandl recalled how her father was the first in Vienna to have news of the Austrian army’s defeat at Sadowa (July 3, 1866) in the Austro-Prussian War. A Bohemian friend had sent Szeps word of the disaster by private courier; he took immediate steps to publish the information. In order to prevent the news from spreading before the first edition of his paper appeared, Szeps carried the dispatch himself to the printers—provided them with sausages and beer—and then locked them in the composing room until the following morning. 68 Like any editor constantly plagued by a government censor, his actions were by necessity resourceful.

Austrian papers reported on the campaigns of the Russo-Japanese (1904) and Boer Wars (1899–1902) (the NFP frequently published anti-British reports during the latter 69), as well as the more proximate Balkan Wars (1912–1913). Viennese war correspondents gained large audiences at home for their broad coverage. By 1914 war reportage in Austria had become a popular newspaper feature. Yet the war report, like war itself, was to undergo vast changes before the 1918 armistice. War news had been loosely defined as information about battles and those who participated in them, but the purpose of the news changed as the war broadened considerably in the long years of

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trench warfare. Faced with strict censorship and pressed into dispensing propaganda, the World War I correspondent became deceptive in his writing. With little factual information at hand, his reports often turned into cleverly written propaganda pieces, or, at the very least, the writer's own "interpretation" of the few facts he had access to. Some reporters became willing tools of their country's war leaders. The postwar reaction to this breakdown of integrity on the part of newsmen, especially British newsmen, was considerable. A British journalist, who had served in the war as a soldier, afterwards described his impressions of the wartime British press:

> though a very junior regimental officer in France I knew too much. To men fighting for their lives day by day in the foulest of physical conditions it was nauseating to read, day after day, the lying official communiques in the Press. . . . It was more nauseating still to read the endless drivel dispatched by G.H.Q. whose business it was by striking a loud and continuous note of light-hearted optimism to cheer the spirits of the troops at the front and to stimulate the morale of the civilians at home. 

Alice Schalek wrote of similar experiences. Interviewing prisoners of war in Tyrol, she found many had become embittered toward their officers and the press for falsifying official battle reports. 

In Britain the Defense of the Realm Act established censorship over publications to prevent articles which might prove

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incompatible with the government's war aims and policies.72 French law also forbade publication of political or diplomatic news which might serve to weaken army morale.73 Most British correspondents cooperated fully with the government; some even went beyond tacit acceptance of the government's position to contribute atrocity stories for propaganda purposes. This aspect of British propaganda was extremely successful, especially in its creation of the "Hun" prototype of the Teutonic enemy and its exploitation of the firing squad death of the British nurse, Edith Cavell, who smuggled allied soldiers out of Belgium. This distortion of the news for domestic consumption was intended to sustain enthusiasm for the war, thereby winning new recruits; it also protected the high command from criticism by withholding or muting news of Allied mistakes or defeats.74

The Central Powers engaged in similar truth-distorting activities and press censorship, but they were not as successful as the Allies in defaming the national character of the enemy;75 nor initially was it so essential for them to falsify battle results. By

72Knightley, p. 80.


74Knightley, p. 97.

75Although in 1914 Germany was the only country in Europe which already had a deliberately organized national propaganda system, it was only used to cultivate a favorable view of Germany abroad, and was not designed for use on the home front. Sidney Rogerson, Propaganda in the Next War (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1938), pp. 12ff.
1917, however, the German war minister had concluded that counterpropaganda would be necessary to counteract the demoralizing effect of the Allied leaflet campaign. Countermeasures included recruiting well-known lecturers to travel throughout Germany to speak on patriotic subjects.76 (Alice Schalek was one of these; her lectures of experiences with the troops on the Italian front were quite well-attended in Germany, Austria and Hungary and a positive contribution reviving interest in the war on the home fronts. But her slides of corpses on the battlefield also showed the grim reality of the war and caused a furor among those who believed such frankness was callous.77) German propaganda efforts in neutral countries enjoyed only limited success due mainly to heavy-handed military control and lack of organization.78 Concealment of German losses and false reports of American troop numbers in Europe were among the journalistic propaganda measures supported by the German press authorities at home. In Austria, as in Germany, the War Press Office (Kriegspressequartier), headquartered significantly in the War Office, was established to control the content

76Bruntz, pp. 194-195.

77Kraus, Die Fackel, 462 (Oct. 1917), 139, and Die Zeit Vienna, Sept. 26, 1917, p. 5. Perhaps Schalek was sent by Austrian authorities to implement "the most effective propaganda... that of the deed, the 'good example.'" Dagobert Pokorny, "Die Wiener Tagespresse und ihre Einflussfaktoren im Ersten Weltkrieg 1914-1918" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1950), p. 32. Schalek had been involved with the war effort on the front and could well serve as "ein gutes Beispiel" for the populace in the hinterland.

of news releases. All correspondents had to be certified and no criticism of war policy was permitted. As no German war correspondents were allowed on the fronts, news for German domestic papers came from twice-weekly press briefings held by the GHQ staff officers. This was not the case in Austria, where correspondents, among them Alice Schalek, were permitted, indeed encouraged, to journey to the front where they interviewed both officers and enlisted men within range of enemy fire, sending back detailed reports of the multinational empire at war. Albeit, the Austrian correspondents themselves freely admitted that in general "where we, the KPQ are, there is peace." 79

The Austrian censor's basic aims were the traditional ones of allowing the public news (although stressing the favorable) about their army at war and forbidding the publication of information that might be useful to the enemy. 80 Raising morale behind the front lines, it was assumed, would result from these measures. Both the war office and the military command resisted stricter controls (the military even extended war correspondents such courtesies as giving press telegrams from the


80 The correspondents were expressly forbidden to topographically locate Austrian troops or any troops to the rear of the front; nor were they permitted to include discussions of a military nature, predictions or conjectures of the future development of military events, especially reports of offensive operations. Nor were reports of numerical strength, of losses or of the composition of enemy troops to be reported, etc. Klaus Mayer, "Die Organisation des Kriegspressequartiers beim k.u.k. AOK im Ersten Weltkrieg, 1914-1918" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1963), p. 109.
front lines priority over all others. An incident involving Alice Schalek indicates the position of the military on the question of press independence. Following a Schalek lecture in Innsbruck in December 1916, ten parliamentary deputies requested an inquiry. They sought to indict her for her numerous lectures and feuilletons, saying "finally, the tone of these feuilletons and lectures heaps scorn upon the simplest feeling of tact, on any honesty of experience and on all respect for the immeasurable sea of agony and wounds." They called for measures to be taken against "this ... emancipated vixen" and that Schalek not be permitted to return to the front. However, the defense minister defended the autonomy of the press and Schalek's right to pursue her career:

... according to the existing regulations it is left to the newspapers to nominate war correspondents. A restriction as to sex was not in effect. ... The Kriegspressequartier does not in any way take responsibility for the writing style of the war correspondent. The censor restricts himself to suppressing passages, which could lead to a betrayal of military secret procedure. The KPQ cannot become a sort of literary forum, and must leave it to the press to judge the journalistic suitability of the article for publication.


83 Ibid.

84 "Fräulein Alice Schalek als Kriegsberichterstatterin," Neues 8-Uhr Blatt, Vienna, Sept. 27, 1917, p. 2.
This policy statement clearly documents the great leeway left to the individual Austrian war correspondent.

Alice Schalek's paper, the NFP, from the beginning of the war took an outspoken stand for peace. Its editor, Moritz Benedikt, was even attacked as a Friedenswunschler (whiner for peace) by the more war-hungry elements of the Austrian press. Throughout the war, the NFP put great emphasis on detailed, factual reports from the front and numerous unadorned reports on war conditions were published, despite the censor. On the other hand, the NFP did not openly attack government war policy out of a sense of civic duty.85

Austria's treatment of the press, both domestic and foreign, was sympathetic. Foreign newsmen were at first overwhelmed by the luxurious accommodations assigned them. Each journalist was supplied with a personal footman, free wine and cigarettes, and housed in one of several base towns from which escorted tours of the war zones were conducted.86 Neutral newsmen soon found, however, that unless they agreed to remain in Austria-Hungary for the duration of the war, their movements would be strictly limited. Moreover, only a few of those Austrian and German correspondents, who were to report from behind Central Powers' lines until the armistice, were allowed to roam freely along the Russian and Italian fronts.87 The others took part in group

85Wandruszka, pp. 119, 121.

86Towns designated as bases for the war correspondents were: Dukla, Neu-Sandec, Popgrad, Sillein, Teschen, Rodaun, and Nagy-biesce. Pokorny, p. 173.

excursions accompanied by officer guides. An American journalist wrote favorably of his experiences in Austria-Hungary:

> the things correspondents were permitted to see differed from those seen on the other fronts less in kind than in quantity. More trips were made, . . . the difference in Austria-Hungary was that the correspondents saw these things [hidden batteries in action, reserves moving up, wounded returning, quiet trenches and battlefields and captured cities], not as mere outsiders, picked up from a hotel and presently to be dropped there again but as, in a sense, a part of the army itself.88

Despite restrictions, Austrian officials tried to cooperate with the press and smooth their way as much as possible.

From the beginning Austria had, unlike other warring countries, encouraged journalists, but at the same time had also established an organization to regulate what they saw and wrote. At the onset of war the Kriegspressequartier assumed responsibility for press organization and war news distribution.89 Located in the War Office, the KPQ had been a paper committee since 1912 scheduled to be activated within a few days of mobilization.90 In addition to censorship, the KPQ was responsible for supplying the reporters with official information and for the personal welfare of the correspondents. It also organized group trips to the front under supervision of army officers. The organization of the KPQ definitely encouraged a certain

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89Four separate press groups came under the authority of the KPQ: war reporters, editorial writers, propaganda writers and the film department. Mayer, p. 50.

90Pokorny, p. 168.
camaraderie and identification of the press with the army. It even issued officers' blouses and arm bands with the insignia "KPQ" on them to war reporters. One Austrian correspondent noted in his memoirs that "we were so to speak, hybrid creatures—a cross between civilians and the military." 91 Alice Schalek too noted this feeling of closeness with the military. Speaking of the arrival of the press at an outpost near the front, she remarked on the greeting extended them by the post's lieutenant: "First of course he greeted the lieutenant [leading the press party]. He is one of them, is trusted. Then us. But we too became friends right away, because we are present here, with them in war." 92

The KPQ was officially designated to distribute to the press edited news and rumors from the Armee Oberkommando (army supreme command). This was done by means of Laufzettel (circular letters), and it was specified that the sources were not to be revealed. 93 As in Germany, official war news was also distributed to the press by a special bureau under military auspices located in Vienna. This bureau, the Kriegsüberwachungamt (war surveillance office), held several press conferences every week for representatives of the major papers of Vienna and provincial Austrian cities. On the front there were official briefings for the war correspondents given by staff


92 Schalek, "Im 3000 Meter Höhe August 1915," TiW, p. 27.

93 Mayer, p. 55.
officers. Reporters were expected to embellish these reports with
literary commentary and submit them as articles containing substanti-
ally the same information as the briefings. \textsuperscript{94}

Journalists wishing official recognition by the KPQ had to
present stipulated qualifications to army authorities (no war corre-
spondents were taken by the navy). Among the numerous provisions for
domestic correspondents were: consent from the Austrian government,
exemption (in most cases) from the draft, certification of employment
by a newspaper and competence in both German and Hungarian (or at
least one of these in addition to French). Once he obtained approval
to go to the front, the correspondent was permitted to take a servant
and a horse with him, although he provided for these himself. He was
required to sign a statement submitting himself to the authority of
the military and simultaneously freeing the military from any liabil-
ity for personal injury. The correspondent was forbidden to speak
with citizens of enemy states unless he wished to be charged with
espionage. Once the prospective war correspondent had fulfilled
these requirements and had declared himself ready to remain with the
Empire until the end of hostilities, he was free to select the fronts
he wished to visit. \textsuperscript{95}

Despite these restrictions, a number of correspondents, such
as Alice Schalek, while without doubt partisan in outlook and in
print, did attempt to comment on the brutality of the war as it was

\textsuperscript{94}Pokorny, p. 172.

\textsuperscript{95}Ibid. pp. 169-171.
being waged and in a number of ways indirectly lobbied for peace. Schalek and other reporters—whose prewar experience with the "Kleine Form" (small format) of the feuilleton served them well—for the most part succeeded as portayers of a country at war. Human interest stories such as Ernie Pyle's homey reports of front conditions written from the "worm's eyeview" of the common soldier were universally well received in World War II.  

However, Alice Schalek's reports of "der einfache Mann" (the ordinary soldier) on the Austrian front, while popular with readers, were severely attacked by critics such as Karl Kraus for sentimentality.

Alice Schalek was early to involve herself in wartime activities. Along with another journalist, Siegfried Loewy, and a few prominent Viennese women she established a charitable organization, the Schwarz-Gelbes Kreuz (Black and Yellow Cross). With the approval of the government it sold its cross-shaped insignia, a sort of patriotic badge, and with the proceeds opened several soup kitchens in each of Vienna's districts, 113 in all. The organization's steering committee also promoted a war-relief fund where individual donors could contribute on a monthly basis. Each donor simply received a postal order on the first of each month, on which he might enter the sum of his next contribution.  

The committee unsuccessfully petitioned the Ministry of the Interior for permission to inscribe playing cards and

96 Knightley, pp. 326-327.

chess and domino sets in cafes with its insignia and a request for donations.  

Alice Schalek and Siegfried Loewy were entrusted with the administration of the organization for which Schalek received an award from the city of Vienna.  

Highly successful initially, the Schwarz-Gelbes Kreuz collected over two million Kronen to feed Vienna's hungry in the period from September 1914 to July 1915. Alice Schalek was understandably pleased with the success of the project. She wrote a news article describing the organization and its accomplishments in July 1915. In it she wrote about the operation of the public soup kitchens and their success in the winter of 1914-1915: that they "prevented any needy person from suffering hunger, who through no fault of his own had fallen into want." It meant that "Vienna can say ... that it has had no starving within its walls during this war."  

This proud statement, however, was premature, for Vienna did indeed suffer severe food shortages in the last year of war and even after the armistice. Like Berta Zuckerkandl, Alice Schalek after the war worked with Red Cross authorities on behalf of the Viennese.

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98 Letter from Alice Schalek, Baroness Bienerth and Siegfried Loewy to k.k. Finanzministerium, Oct. 23, 1914, and Report of Finanzminister Engel to k.k. Ministerium des Innern, Nov. 25, 1914, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Alice Schalek File. The request was denied as the state felt this might interfere with its own tax on playing cards.

99 The Kriegskreuz für Zivildienst Zweiter Klasse (War Cross for Civil Service, Second Class) was awarded to Schalek for her work with the Schwarz-Gelbes Kreuz; she also received the Eiserne Salvatormedaille (Iron Salvator Medal) for her war work.

In the summer of 1915, Alice Schalek, like most Austrians some distance from the front, had little understanding of how the war was progressing. By the autumn she had become a full-fledged war correspondent (the only woman so accredited by the Austrian KPQ) on the front in the Tyrol. Until late summer 1916, she reported primarily from the southern borders of the Empire, first from the Tyrol, then from the Isonzo and the Serbian fronts sending dispatches back to her paper, the NFP. From 1916 until the end of the war she traveled intermittently to the Eastern and Southern fronts, photographing and gathering material for dispatches and lectures. Her eyewitness reports written in feuilleton form were frequent front-page features of the NFP; both the articles and her illustrated lectures were to stir up controversy for their frankness and graphic portrayal of battlefield conditions.

The war in the Southwest began with Italy's declaration against Austria on May 23, 1915. (She did not declare war against Germany until August 1916.) The Italians were ill-prepared for war, yet they managed to muster thirty-six infantry divisions totaling 875,000 soldiers against Austria. The latter was able to detach only about 100,000 troops from her Eastern front in Galicia to send against

101 Kriegsarchiv, AOK, KPQ, Fasz. 28014, No. 1401. There was a German woman reporter, Thea von Puttkamer, in Turkey but none on the Entente side. Some women, such as the American reporter, Peggy Hull, tried to obtain credentials while illegally in the war zone, but failed. Knightley, p. 126. The Austrian KPQ had allegedly planned to admit eight women reporters, four Austrian and four Hungarian, but ultimately only Alice Schalek was permitted to report from the front. Karl Kraus, Die Fackel, 462 (Oct. 1917), 137.
Italy. Because the mountainous frontier between Austria and Italy allowed for little maneuverability, Austria was able to hold the Alpine peaks; thereafter the prewar boundaries changed little. Alice Schalek attributed this to Italy's delayed attack:

instead of this [immediate attack], the important day, the choosing of which was completely open to the enemy, passed, . . . it looked almost as if Italy had waited until everything was completely ready and in order on our side; and as it [the offense] began, one could have thought it began with a signal from us.103

Yet the major breakthrough for Austria came only with German aid when in early fall 1917 the armies of the Central Powers devastated the Italian army at Caporetto and swept through northern Italy to the Piave River. While Alice Schalek was reporting from the Tyrolean front the Italians staged four Isonzo offensives all resulting, in spite of General Cadorna's two-to-one numerical advantage, in great Italian losses and a strategic stalemate. The Italians launched these unsuccessful campaigns between June and December. Italy lost 280,000 men, almost twice the number lost by Austria-Hungary; for this she gained only a few worthless yards of mountainous terrain.104 On the front, virtually permanent encampments stretched from the Trentino to the Isonzo River.


Alice Schalek began her tour of the Tyrolean front in the early months of the Italian offensive. At first her war stories seemed strangely like bleak travel feuillatons. The graphic descriptions of places and persons must have struck the Viennese reader as a continuation of the Schalek accounts of the Orient. But soon signs of the realities of the war were evident in her writing. When Schalek found she needed special papers to enter Bozen (Bolzano), only a few months before a popular vacation place for Austrians and foreign visitors alike, she sadly noted:

Bozen . . . the center of the tourist trade, the goal of honeymooners, the resting place of mountain climbers—now Bozen has become the great antechamber of the war . . . . 105

Other reports commented on the disappearance of civilian men from villages and towns, or noted that peasant women now labored alone in the fields.

Initially Schalek wrote from the standpoint of the Viennese civilian, one unfamiliar with the front. The Viennese press had reported of the war in general and impersonal terms, it told the civilian "only of battles and suffering, of successes and misfortunes, . . ." 106 But Schalek soon came to see and report the war through the eyes of the initiated, front-hardened soldier and even to visualize herself as one of the troops. Her reports on the individual combatant better conveyed the reality of the war to her readers.

105Schalek, "Im 3000 Meter Höhe," TiW, p. 17.
106Ibid., p. 19.
Schalek's early pacifist leanings led her to question the war's rationale and to criticize artists and writers for abandoning their role as mediators among peoples. Although they were probably powerless to stop the war, Schalek felt they could at least honorably refrain from slandering the opposing side.\textsuperscript{107} In mid-1916 viewing the vista from Gorizia, the deserted fortress city on the Isonzo, Schalek contemplated

\ldots here in this unforgettable moment as I stand for the first time on the banks of the Isonzo, the river which has become a badge of honor for us, a battle call, an idol for thousands; here between the dead houses and in view of foxholes which have become homes, the war suddenly appears to me in its entire, unspeakable absurdity. Is there anyone who can comprehend why the houses are shot to pieces and men forced into caves? Who prompts this [war] which no one wants? The war? Who is this war?\textsuperscript{108}

and was struck by the meaninglessness of war.

She was not above playful characterization of the Italian enemy, however. Everyone knew the Italian was disorganized and his tardiness and Latin temperament were proverbial. The Italian proclivity for short-changing and genteel extortion were recalled from her youthful mountain climbing expeditions. These traits were contrasted neatly with the recalled honesty and straightforward character of the Austrian climber-guides, many of whom were now serving as special scouts in the Austrian army. Italian malingering at the front

\textsuperscript{107} Schalek, "Tirol als Festung," TiW, p. 58.

\textsuperscript{108} Schalek, "In Görz," Am Isonzo März bis Juli 1916 (Vienna: L.W. Seidel und Sohn in Wien, 1917), p. 16. Schalek's NFP articles from this period were collected in this volume.
was depicted as typical; thus it led Austrian officers to nickname a break in the shelling as a "Polentaspause" (polenta or cornmeal-gruel break). Schalek frequently encountered samples of such humor at the enemy's expense. "This indescribable spirit of mockery," she wrote, "haunts the entire front. I cannot imagine that ever before a war has been waged with so much Schadenfreude (joy at another's misfortune). . ."110

Schalek's observations often went beyond characterization of life at the front. She speculated upon the war's effect on Austria and the Austrian population. The "Americanization"111 taking place in wartime Austria was one change brought about by the war. Tasks that formerly took years or were not undertaken at all now were accomplished with rapidity. Schalek wrote of the road-widening of a narrow pass in the Dolomite Mountains and of bridge-building by a diploma-less officer, uncertified by any architectural school.112 Neither of these projects would have been deemed possible in prewar Austria where roads were not built if difficulties presented themselves, nor persons without official credentials entrusted with vitally important tasks.

Schalek applauded the tunnel-building thirty meters below the surface

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110 Schalek, "Wallensteins Lager," TiW, p. 94.
of the Alps which she depicted as a "gigantic exertion of energy and
will."\textsuperscript{113} Yet she noted "with the deep admiration which moved me,
there merged also an unconquerable regret that so grandios an achieve-
ment must be completed for protection against the invasion of foreign
peoples and not in the service of commerce and trade with them."\textsuperscript{114}
She remarked that war had made "so much 'possible' of which it was
always said 'it is impossible,'"\textsuperscript{115} a barbed reference to the Austrian
tendency to postpone action with this phrase.

Returning to Vienna from the front in 1916, Schalek was dis-
tressed that the Viennese were eager to dismiss this war of which
they, in her opinion, knew all too little. Overhearing a woman in a
Vienna bookstore disdainfully refuse recommended reading about the war
with "No thank you, nothing about the war," Schalek became angry:

\begin{quote}
the horribly terse words in which it [the war]
is compressed for us stand like a wall before us.
Battle—what an expression! Victory—what a
synopsis! That men die behind it—do we know
this? That each of these words encompasses
thousands of fates—do we appreciate this?
While the war clutches at a hundred thousand
lives and from them allows today one, tomorrow
another to bleed to death—should we close our
ears, so that we can laugh and dream undisturbed,
should we be allowed to say: "Please, nothing
about the war."\textsuperscript{116}
\end{quote}

Schalek used this incident to introduce her second series of war

\textsuperscript{114}Ibid.
reports; obviously she had come to regard it her mission to inform a
callous and apathetic citizenry of the daily horror of war as experi-
enced by those on the front.

Nonetheless, at first Schalek had found the war fascinating. 
Although she noted again and again the tragedy involved (often more 
frankly than stay-at-home critics preferred), she could not help but 
comment enthusiastically upon military life. A frequent topic was 
"the passion of the front experience" which made all men brothers. It 
made the boy soldier a man at an early age—if he survived.117 She 
wrote of the men’s enthusiasm for the task at hand, of their sense of 
freedom from the everyday routine of civilian work. For the govern-
ment clerks from Prague and Vienna soldiering was, initially at least, 
an unexpected holiday. One petty bureaucrat told Schalek, "Yesterday 
I was on the Refugio on skis, on the glacier! In August! I wrote of 
it immediately to my colleagues in the government office so that they 
would blot their ink from envy!"118 Such reports no doubt helped 
recruit those reluctant bureaucrats still in civilian life. However, 
she wrote from the Isonzo in 1916 of the young soldiers: "But these 
men have become old. Many a merry young lad is now a serious phleg-
matic man, the youth has been wiped from his eyes, there is nothing 
harmlessly gay as there once was in the youth's eyes."119 After

119 Schalek, "Die vorderste Linie auf dem Monte San Michele," 
AI, p. 104.
months at the front her enthusiasm had dissipated.

The very atmosphere of the front seemed to separate the men there from their pasts. In Vienna a man’s trade appeared on his face. But in wartime, the external signs of class differences fell away; all who were in the war looked somehow similar. Furthermore, they spoke a common language, which could be understood not only by soldiers from all corners of the Empire, but also by the enemy. Perhaps, Schalek ventured, these opponents in war even understood each other better than they did their respective countrymen in the hinterland.\textsuperscript{120} Officers and men shared quarters and privations and came to know fellow citizens from varied backgrounds and homelands, a thing virtually impossible in civilian life. A kind of democracy sprang up in the trenches where both men and officers were equally exposed to death. As Schalek noted, "the bullets . . . care nothing about the [number of] stars on a collar."\textsuperscript{121}

The prewar difficulties of the multinational Empire and lack of cooperation among the different nationalities were lamented. Schalek found it distressing that Austrians proved themselves at their most talented and selfless in wartime; that "only the enemy and need have taught us that he who serves the Fatherland serves himself also."\textsuperscript{122} She wrote of the Italian-speaking Tyrolean who elected to side with Austria. These loyalists had often clamored for unification

\textsuperscript{120}Schalek, "Im 3000 Meter Höhe," TiW, pp. 27-28.
\textsuperscript{121}Schalek, "Die Honveds auf dem Monte San Michele," Ar., p. 130.
\textsuperscript{122}Schalek, "Tirol als Festung," TiW, p. 47.
with Italy before the war, but now in an effort to prove their Austrian patriotism had begun to learn German. This led Schalek to optimistic conclusions: "after the war there will be more good Austrians than before."\(^{123}\) She viewed the war as a rehabilitating experience for Austria; it brought out the best in each individual soldier, affording him purpose and responsibility.\(^{124}\)

Although many of Schalek's views on the war altered in the year she spent at the front, this one did not. Even on the Isonzo she wrote of the salubrious effect responsibility had on the "ordinary soldier" without whose effort the war could not be waged. The home-guard, composed of men over forty-five, responded enthusiastically to the tasks assigned by their superiors, convinced of the importance of their contribution.\(^{125}\) Even the pettiness of the bourgeois disappeared with his arrival at the front. As one of the few Viennese civilians in the grip of the war experience, Alice Schalek, Journalistin, attempted to describe this phenomenon:

> those who remain at home may steadfastly call the war the disgrace of the century—I have done it also, as long as I sat at home, in the hinterland—but those who are here, are seized with the fever of the experience, that through all the centuries gripped each fighter; that is perhaps one of the reasons why despite all atrocity and need, war still springs up again and again.\(^{126}\)

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\(^{123}\)Schalek, "Wallensteins Lager," TiW, p. 91.  
\(^{125}\)Schalek, "Zum Monte Colich, dem südlichen Frontpfeiler an der Adria," AI, p. 158.  
Schalek commented on other positive effects of the war in reports from Tyrol. She applauded the disappearance of fripperies and fashionable pretense so much a part of prewar European life. With enthusiasm she wrote "now no perfumes and frotteurs are needed; face powder tins and pomade jars are done away with—the war has made men healthy and true and wonderfully hard."127 She went on to praise the attitude of a young lieutenant who regularly requested a post closer to the front:

call it love of Fatherland, you idealists; hatred of the enemy, you nationalists; call it sport, you modernists; adventure, you romantics; call it sense of power, you psychologists; I call it liberated humanity.128

Such comments won Schalek the attention and ongoing criticism of Karl Kraus, who abhorred this "romanticizing" of the war. Taking a number of Schalek's less noteworthy remarks out of context, Kraus devoted several short scenes of Die letzten Tage der Menschheit, and numerous critical articles to ridiculing Schalek, her sex, her occupation and her presentation of the war. Kraus disagreed with Schalek's portrayal of the war as a backdrop for heroism. For him heroism had disappeared as war became a mechanized conflict. Kraus was vitriolic in his denunciation of the war and of the corrupt culture which, he believed, had spawned it. However, he himself never visited the front but remained in Vienna distilling his satires from the pages of the daily

127 Ibid. p. 72.
128 Ibid. pp. 72-73.
press. 129

In extolling the bravery of both the Austrian officer and the ordinary soldier, Schalek quoted extensively from an interview with the commanding officer on the Isonzo front, General von Borojević von Bojna (to whom her second collection of essays was dedicated). 130 The modesty of Borojević and the pivotal role he attributed to the ordinary soldier would be unheard of in the German army. She felt modesty was not an attribute of Austria's allies:

in Germany the bards are punctually on the spot to celebrate the heroes. They do not wait for the laurels of posterity, ... only we Austrians still believe that others will twine the laurel for us. 131

Moreover, the difficult direction of a multinational army was being superbly executed by the military leaders like Borojević; Schalek contended:

Among the men, there prevails not only a colorful mixture of all age groups, but also of all the nations of Austria-Hungary. How difficult this makes the task of the officers, what pedagogic wisdom must be summoned up by each lieutenant; no German commander has any idea of this, he who has only a unified people before him. ... Our Isonzo defense has to be a model for the future reconciliation of peoples. 132

As a publicist Schalek pointed out these qualities of the Austrian as perhaps anachronistic. But she believed it was her duty to document

129Igers, pp. 120-121, and Kraus, Die Packel, 462 (Oct. 1917), 139.


131Ibid. pp. 3-4.

them, "in the age of American advertising every country must be its own chronicler, or else there will be no immortality."\textsuperscript{133} Thus she expressed pride in the skill and bravery of the Austrian soldier:

only the stronger heart of these men—nothing else—saves Austria-Hungary from the enemy. Only the weak heart of the eight-times superior opponent—nothing else—hinders him from achieving victory.\textsuperscript{134}

Yet Schalek often noted that the Italians suffered the same privations as Austria's troops. They too were honorable men dying in a war not of their own making. In condemning the Salandras\textsuperscript{135} who ignited wars in Rome, fought by other men on the Isonzo,\textsuperscript{136} she was in fact condemning all warmongers, including those in Vienna, who never needed to experience the horrors of the front.

During her second visit to the front, this time to the Isonzo, Schalek's portrayal of men and events became more sober; the romantic tone of her first reports disappeared. No longer did she extol the exhilaration of the war experience; now her reports described the miserable physical conditions, the filthy, damp and cramped quarters in the trenches. Struck by the soldiers' stoicism in the presence

\textsuperscript{133}\begin{tabular}{l} Schalek, "In den unerlöst Gebieten," TiW, p. 35. \end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{134}\begin{tabular}{l} Schalek, "Die vorderste Linie auf dem Monte San Michele," AI, p. 110. \end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{135}\begin{tabular}{l} Antonio Salandra (1853-1931) was the Italian Prime Minister at the outbreak of World War I; he was forced to resign in 1916 because of Italian military reverses. \end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{136}\begin{tabular}{l} Schalek, "Trommelfeuer auf dem Monte San Michele," AI, p. 122. \end{tabular}
of death, she noted the impact that news of the death of four comrades had on the occupants of one foxhole: "... not the slightest agitation is noticeable. The section commander in his usual voice announces it [the deaths] while the still-living sleep, eat, or write postcards as before."\textsuperscript{137} On this Isonzo tour for Schalek even the earth had become dead:

all traffic must proceed in the trenches and thus the whole group of hill ridges is interspersed with a maze of holes, cavities and furrows. Hardly any of the indentations in this labyrinth can be called "trenches," because this earth is dead and one cannot dig in it anymore. It has become dust, rubble; it no longer adheres or clusters, it has no backbone. We know that when a man is dead he is no longer able to stand. But that the earth also no longer finds purchase, has been effected by the war for the first time. In this earth corpses cannot be buried, it rejects them. A wire entanglement collapses. No board finds ground, no water runs off or soaks in; it refuses every effort. It is dead. The fate of the men seems almost indifferent in the face of this occurrence. The fate of the earth is so much more gripping. How many men have died here—and so many still lie here unburied—whether each had a mother, a bride, a daughter, that is not what matters. The strange, stifling egoism which the war has sown and now reaps, this new egocentric feeling of the individual who now experiences his life so much more strongly the more his comrades are cut down, this dam-breaking breakthrough of the will to live in the face of one's comrade's death battle brings with it the need to quickly glide away from it. More easily than our descendents will believe possible.\textsuperscript{138}

Again and again she emphasized the horror these men faced daily; but


\textsuperscript{138}Schalek, "Oslavija, der gestorbene Hügel," \textit{AI}, p. 77.
the atmosphere engendered by the imminence of death was not easily conveyed to readers comfortable and warm in distant Vienna. Schalek came to believe that one of the reasons that the war dragged on was that "every kilometer of distance from the front [altered] the perception of it."

Even the front reporter was not privy to the real mood of the front for he only observed, he did not suffer, and "between these two concepts lay the war."

She suspected that only a writer of Tolstoi's stature could convey an understanding of the soldier's plight. For her part, Schalek thought that a first-hand glimpse of the horrors of war might hasten peace. She pondered

how to go about inviting the world to Podgora, everyone without exception for age or sex. . . . Everyone should be asked to come here, without differentiation, friend or enemy. The citizens of the Entente can visit the Italian side. Agreed, not all contemporaries would have a turn, because long before the end of this pilgrimage the war would be finally over. And there would never be war again.

She seemed more intent than ever to portray the wartime existence of the ordinary soldier. She focused on the least-publicized front, the front least known to the Austrian civilian. Here too, men were valorous, lived out their lives and died in battles of little

139 Schalek, "Trommelfeuer auf dem Monte San Michele," AI, p. 117.
141 Schalek, "Von der Front in die Etappe," AI, p. 59.
importance in the grand plan of the war, battles which cost both Austria and Italy thousands of lives. To fight on the Italian front was to defend the homeland from possible invasion, for the Italian war declaration had betrayed a prewar alliance. Stories of soldiers giving their utmost to prevent surrender to superior Italian numbers were particularly stirring. In order to impress the indifferent Viennese, Schalek described the war efforts of Austrian civilians in the Tyrol, where, she wrote, "... the army is the people." 143 In Trieste also, she found heartening the cooperation of German-Austrian, Italian and Slovenian citizens. Its many relief programs for the men at the front could well serve as an example for Vienna. 144

Schalek as a woman correspondent was granted few privileges other than a private room in army headquarters. She seldom directly commented on her unusual assignment as the KPa's only woman journalist, although at times she related humorous comments which were occasioned by her presence:

my guide accompanied me to quarters in the Park Hotel, which stands just next to the city gardens. He tells me that in this hotel a woman was hit by a rifle bullet coming through the window. Seeing that I make an involuntary start, he adds calmly, "But you have a window to the bullet-proof side." 145

On a photographing expedition within reach of enemy fire this dialogue between Schalek and an accompanying officer transpired:

"So, now the Italians can see you from all of their positions, now you can do whatever you wish." "Yes, but ~ ~ -" I begin without understanding, then he interrupts me. "It is namely that your light-colored blouse makes you quite safe. I am convinced that if the Italians spot a lady they will not shoot." "Are they so gallant?" I ask still more astounded, but again my merry companion interrupts me. "Let me finish, honorable lady! The mischief makers know us so well already that they know that it certainly has nothing to do with military matters when a woman is along. And furthermore, it is not worth their effort. You ought not forget how much money each shot costs!" So now I have heard it put quite frankly, that in the war we women are not worth a shot of powder.146

While thankful that her feminine clothing might protect her from harm, Schalek needed no male assistance in performing the duties of a war reporter. Her mountain climbing experience served her well since the press corps had to ascend steep grades to reach the furthest front positions. Schalek's knowledge of Italian helped in interviews of prisoners of war. She was also an experienced photographer. Her photographs so well illustrated life on the front that she was released from her repor torial chores to go on a government-sponsored slide-lecture tour of Austria-Hungary and Germany after August 1916. Thereafter, she returned only intermittently to the front. In the summer and fall of 1917 she briefly visited the Isonzo again, and then Montenegro and the Eastern front where she witnessed the Battle of Brzezany in Poland. Here action was of a kind not found on the mountainous Italian frontier. The Russians, greatly outnumbering their German and Austrian foes, attacked the trenches again and again. She wrote of the

Russians, "... those who come, are brave. They do not raise their hands high at the sight of the weapons as they did in the first years..."  

Schalek saved her scorn and sarcasm for the western Entente powers, whose propaganda depicting the German nations as "barbarians" seemed to have pained her tremendously. So she gave back what she could. The Italians were an alleged "Kulturvolk" who bombed their own churches destroying priceless art in the process; the French brought gas warfare to the Russian front, and the English, in equipping the Russian troops with boots and weapons, also supplied them with alcohol despite the Russian prohibition of intoxicating beverages. The western powers who professed they were "civilized" could be barbaric. They even refused a pause in the firing to allow the armies to collect their dead from the battlefield—a human gesture even permitted by the Russians.

Schalek sought to bring the reader to the front by closely describing her own physical circumstances and reactions. The reader was to feel the cold or the heat, the dampness, stand in the slime and inhale the stench of corpses. Through brutal description, Schalek hoped to jolt the civilian into an awareness of the realities of war. Though Schalek wrote chiefly about one aspect of the Austrian war, she

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149 Schalek, "Die Schlacht bei Brzezany," NFP, Aug. 9, 1917, p. 3.
did draw a fairly comprehensive picture of the often overlooked Italian front. She described its terrain, interviewed the army's men and officers and supplemented her stories with photographs.

Her reports had a refreshing frankness, not found in many newspaper articles. After the initial enthusiasm of her first articles, a sober prose and a serious description of the great conflagration characterized her writing. "Die Schalek" did not fall victim to the sins of the western correspondents; she did not keep an "inspired silence" about the slaughter of thousands, nor allow herself to be used by the propaganda machine. She often questioned the sanity of the war, although to the end she was absolutely loyal to Austria and its war effort.

The portraits Alice Schalek drew in her journalistic work were not pleasant ones. She ferreted out the truth about the sufferings of the unrecognized—women abroad and the common soldier—and presented it in unvarnished terms to her audience, the newspaper readers of Vienna, known for their preoccupation with form and style to the neglect of content. But Schalek by her unorthodox feuilletons managed to bring the unpleasant and the little-known to the attention of her fellow citizens. Conditioned by years of habit to respect the opinions published unter dem Strich in the Neue Freie Presse, they read Alice Schalek with interest, with alarm, but with attention, a reaction which more than satisfied this Journalistin. Her editors recognized

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150 Mathews, pp. 155-158.

151 Knightley, p. 81.
Schalek's ability to win a large audience for her feuilletons and lectures. Eccentricity, it seemed, although publicly censored, was privately relished by the bourgeois Viennese of the early twentieth century.

Schalek, unlike Zuckerkandl, wrote primarily in the first person; what she saw abroad and on the war front was distilled, edited and editorialized about by Alice Schalek. Writing in the first person, Schalek figured in every article; thus Karl Kraus was perceptive when he cast her prominently in front scenes in his play on the war. But the persona of Alice Schalek who figured so prominently in her feuilletons and war reports was not merely Alice Schalek, Wienerin, but Alice Schalek, Wiener Journalistin. As a Wiener Journalistin, Schalek used her pen to challenge social convention and apathy in Vienna. Her personal achievement had been a difficult one, often hindered by the bourgeois conventions of the city which was her home. But by means of the influential Viennese press, Alice Schalek, Journalistin, made her mark as a challenger to the ingrained social habits of this city which nurtured so many outstanding figures of the early twentieth century.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The particular "feminine" quality attributed to the cultural life of *fin de siècle* Vienna\(^1\) was reflected in its press as well, especially in the newspaper feuilleton. Yet women were by no means encouraged to participate actively in newspaper journalism, in fact just the opposite was generally the case. A 1909 Viennese guide to careers for women advised: "the writer's trade is a difficult one. With the huge supply of submissions, it is difficult even with excellent work to gain a place. In addition, writing is not lucrative. . . . To find employment in journalism, thorough knowledge of the area is recommended. But the honoraria vary greatly. Translations are more lucrative.\(^2\) It is perhaps telling that many of the first *Journalistinnen* were also translators, or at least bilingual. Both Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek supplemented their journalistic incomes by doing translations. Indeed, Alice Schalek even gave lectures in

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English while touring Japan and the United States.

The middle-class Wienerin who wished to enter press work was hampered by numerous conventions and restrictions which forbade most kinds of remunerative employment to women. The fledgling Austrian women's movement had only just begun to break down these restrictions when Zuckerkandl and Schalek began their journalistic careers. The latter rather more than the former was subject to censure for her joint occupations of travel and war correspondent, which flew directly in the face of conservative bourgeois opinion in Vienna, where no young woman of good family was seen outside the home without a chaperon.³ Zuckerkandl suffered criticism more for the unconventional causes she public-ly furthered than for her personal behavior. However, both had recognized the power of the press to communicate their views and accepted the notoriety which accompanied their fame with equanimity. Years of being in opposition had inured these hardy Journalistinnen to critic-

Unlike most beginning Journalistinnen, Berta Zuckerkandl had a background rich in newspaper experience—and the advantage of famil-

³Johnston, p. 117.
so, even by Kraus. Hostility was to be expected, especially if one
were a female critic. But if, with hostility, the reader took renewed
interest in the cultural events of the day, Zuckerkandl felt her task
to be accomplished. Berta Zuckerkandl did not have to languish behind
a pseudonym and was free to gather material from public and private
sources. She rose from an occasional contributor to a regular colum-
nist and editor of the cultural section of the Wiener Allgemeine
Zeitung, an unusual position for a woman at the time. Berta Zuck-
kerkandl's contributions, however, reached beyond the limits of her pro-
fession. Artists from all fields sought and respected the Hofräfin's
advice, and, it was well known, her influence was not to be abused.
She was a great respecter of talent, perhaps on occasion over-effusive
in cosseting her favorites. Nonetheless, the persons she chose to
further proved themselves worthy of her faith in the succeeding years.4

4Hermann Bahr wrote of the profusion of talent in Vienna
around the turn of the century: "Riegel was Wickhoff's colleague at
the University of Vienna since 1895, at the time when Hugo Wolf was
still alive, Burckhard* renewed the Burgtheater, Mahler*, the opera,
Hofmannsthal* and Schnitzler* were young, Klimt* matured, the Sezession
began, Otto Wagner* created his school, Roller*, the painterly
theater, Olbricht*, Hoffman* and Moser* Austrian applied art, Adolf
Loos arrived, A. Schönberg* revolved, Reinhardt* walked unknown in
the quiet streets dreaming of the future, Kainz returned home,
Weininger disintegrated into flames, Ernst Mach held his popular sci-
ence lectures, Joseph Popper wrote his Fantasies of a Realist and
Chamberlain, fleeing from the disintegrating world into our gentle
city, wrote here The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century. . . .
It must have been very interesting in Vienna then." in Wien Chronik,
ed. by Jost Perfahl (Salzburg, Stuttgart: Verlag "Das Bergland-
Buch," 1961), p. 308. Of the twenty prominent Austrians mentioned
by Bahr, Berta Zuckerkandl was directly involved in the careers of
thirteen, as indicated by *.
Not relegated to a purely private role as were other intellectually
gifted women of the period, Berta Zuckerkandl, Journalistin, actively
worked to promote causes and careers. Her unflagging efforts on be-
half of the modern as exemplified in the work of Klimt, Hoffman and
Wagner, anticipated the development of the new Wiener Stil, which
moved beyond the Art Nouveau style then current elsewhere in Europe.
She realized that Vienna's designers and architects had surged into
the lead and she was prepared to support their venture into the un-
known regions of geometric simplicity in art, and to urge others to do
so. In point of fact, with encouragement from Zuckerkandl and others,
the creators of the Wiener Stil gathered strength. Their achievement,
as contemporary art critic, S. Tschudi Madsen noted, "to a far greater
extent than Art Nouveau, points to the Modern Movement and the
stylistic development of the twentieth century."

Berta Zuckerkandl fully comprehended the power of the pen to
publicize movements and ideas; she used this instrument to promote her
own causes as well as those of others. A maternalistic flavor is dis-
cernible in her attempts to educate the Viennese public in the intri-
cacies of art history, but her method demanded didacticism. Berta
Zuckerkandl's drama reviews reveal a more egalitarian approach, even a
respect for her readership, a feature not conspicuously present in her
art criticism. It can be argued that Berta Zuckerkandl's efforts were
beneficial only to an elite group since only the wealthy could afford

5S. Tschudi Madsen, Art Nouveau, trans. by R.I. Christopher-
son, World University Library (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company,
to purchase the fine and applied art works commented upon. But this would contradict her own expressed view that the art critic was not to serve as a "guide-book for eager buyers," and would discount her reviews of such varied subjects as folk art, protection of historical landmarks and Finnish painting. Furthermore, the Journalistin's theater reviews were accessible to all classes, as was indeed the theater itself in Vienna. Zuckerkandl's intention was to publicize and promote the arts of Austria by inculcating in her public an appreciation for true art, past and contemporary. Her commentary was directed to the artist as well; it sought to and succeeded in providing both instruction and feedback for a lay and professional audience (something not present in the period of eclectic Historicism). In this manner the Journalistin Berta Zuckerkandl and her newspaper columns played a catalytic role for three decades of Austrian cultural achievement.

Throughout her long career as a war and travel Journalistin, Alice Schalek remained a critical observer of all that she witnessed. Seldom did her work allow her to concern herself with niceties and she endured much physical discomfort in pursuit of a story, particularly when setting up unwieldy photographic equipment necessary for the glass-plate negative mode of photography. (Berta Zuckerkandl's modus operandi contrasted sharply with Schalek's for she regularly wrote in bed and conducted her most interesting interviews upon a spacious

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divan in her city dwelling. Although Schalek's area of endeavor was entirely different from that of Zuckerkandl, she, like BZ, regularly campaigned for unpopular causes, never disguising her point of view behind of forest of verbiage. Her struggle for success was more difficult than that of BZ and as an "emancipated woman" she did not receive the social deference accorded to the Hofrätin. But Schalek's


8The long-time British correspondent in Vienna, H. Wickham Steed, described the Austrian social system as he found it on his arrival from Rome in 1902: "there were, . . . at least three strata or classes of 'Society,' one above the other. The 'first' society consisted chiefly of the high nobility, who were mostly related to each other, and of a few outsiders whom they admitted capriciously to their midst. Neither ambassadors nor the diplomatic corps in general belonged, ex officio, to the 'first' society. An ambassador might be excluded from it whereas a third secretary of embassy might be 'in' it, if its members happened to like him. One or two artists were also among the favored few, less by reason of artistic merit than for some personal quality. The 'second' society was more comprehensive. It was made up of ministers of state, the lesser nobility, high officials, some big financiers and baptized Jews together with the majority of diplomatists. The 'third' society was nondescript. It comprised professors, artists, writers, Jews, journalists, second-rate officials, actors, actresses, singers and politicians. Between these strata there was little communication . . ." Through Thirty Years 1892-1922, 1 (Garden City: Doubleday Page and Co., 1924), pp. 195-196.

Speaking of the position of the Jews in Viennese society Hilde Spiel wrote: "members [of the long-established families] often intermarried with the gentry and aristocracy, and gradually came to be integrated in what was known as the 'second society' of Vienna. Just below this stratum were professional people such as newspaper editors, journalists and party politicians, among them many Jews in positions of influence. One of these was Moritz Szeps, a well-known liberal and a forceful writer who had studied medicine in his youth and had now become one of the great European journalists." "Jewish Women in Austrian Culture," in The Jews of Austria, ed. by Josef Fraenkel (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 1967), p. 106.
journalistic career was a most active one, which provided an invigorating example for aspiring journalistinnen. Very few journalists of either sex could claim competence as a travel feuilletonist, war reporter and photojournalist; Alice Schalek was adept at all three. She rose from the mass of middle-class female fiction writers hidden behind male pseudonyms to a position as a prominent newspaperwoman known throughout Austria by the simple appellation "die Schalek." Her travel feuilletons were unique, being the first to detail the social situation of women all over the world. A critical attitude predominated here as it did in her war feuilletons. Even military censorship did little to hinder Schalek's natural frankness. Much of what she wrote on the war was amazingly graphic. Perhaps the army censors passed over "the only woman war reporter's" first-person human interest accounts more lightly than reports by her male colleagues. (Or perhaps the censor was as inept as Kraus once implied: "Satires which the censor can understand deserve to be banned."9) In any case, Schalek managed to draw attention to the war—a major goal—both by her reports and lectures and by her very presence at the front. Criticism of "die Schalek" only served to make her better known. And she gained wide admiration for her work in a variety of quarters: Kaiser Karl, the leading citizens of the many towns in Germany and Austria who invited her to lecture on the war, the historians of the conflict who used her photographs as source material and the citizens of Vienna who swarmed

9Karl Kraus, cited in Johnston, p. 50.
As a personality and Journalistin, Alice Schalek was an enigmatic figure. Though appreciative of the values of bourgeois Viennese society (efficiency, courtesy, achievement, proper deportment), she criticized this city's insularity, particularly its idiosyncratic resistance to change. Since her articles were chiefly concerned with people and events outside of Vienna and the German-speaking Erblander (crownlands), wherein lived the bulk of the Neue Freie Presse's readership, Schalek took pains to make her unfamiliar subject matter comprehensible to the Viennese. The consistently used first-person format of her feuilletons contributed to this end. To awaken in her audience an appreciation for an unknown world (in her travel feuilletons) and to initiate them into the realities of war (in her wartime reports) were Schalek's major goals as a journalist. If one judges the impression created in the minds of her readers by the critical reaction, Schalek was successful in both efforts.

Her struggle to attain a place in the almost exclusively male world of journalism was a long and arduous one. Unaided by journalistic forebears and without special connections, Alice Schalek achieved a place on the staff of Vienna's most influential paper. In the process she became even more sensitive to the injustices confronted by women both at home and abroad. Comfortable with her own success, she risked unpopularity with her readers and editors by consistently

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publicizing the situation of the underprivileged woman throughout the world. By her attention to the "nitty-gritty" of the war she managed to bring the attention of the indifferent Viennese to it. Alice Schalek's achievement was manifest in her own career, but beyond her personal achievement, Alice Schalek, like Berta Zuckerkandl, succeeded on another level, that of acquainting her public with attitudes outside of their immediate ken—not an easy task in a city as self-conscious and sharply critical as Schalek herself.

In assessing the impact of the first Journalistinnen, it would be useful to consider the position of women in the Viennese press of today. Elisabeth Zaunbauer's 1965 dissertation on women in the daily press of the Second Austrian Republic provides an interesting contrast to the turn-of-the-century studies. Zaunbauer's survey includes the results of a detailed questionnaire distributed to a number of contemporary Journalistinnen. The replies indicate the areas in which these women are now active. Almost all sections of the press are represented: film and television, culture, feuilleton, literature, fashion, "women's interests" and local news. However, as in Eliza Ichenhaeuser's 1905 study, in the areas of economics and military affairs women are unrepresented, as they are in international politics, a fact which Zaunbauer laments. (Viennese papers currently, 1975, have women writing on both political and economic topics.) It would


12 Ibid. p. 155.
appear, then, that the areas in which women were active in the press have not changed significantly since the first years of the century. The occupational goals have, however; most beginning **Journalistinnen** can now anticipate contractual, full-time employment after a few years apprenticeship.\(^{13}\) The current pay scale is the same in all cases for male and female journalists.\(^{14}\)

Several generalizations can be drawn from Zaunbauer's study which indicate that journalism in Austria still is a field in which women find advancing to the highest positions difficult. She notes that the average age of the **Journalistinnen** is rather high and that 60 per cent of her respondents (32 responded to a questionnaire sent to 75 newspapers) are single, widowed or divorced with two or fewer children. Zaunbauer believes that the "marked superannuation" can be traced to "a certain preference shown male colleagues" since editors believe "women are more susceptible to sickness, [and] one must be especially considerate in giving them free time, and still there is the possibility that they will marry and leave the job, or at the least give up their career after the birth of their first child."\(^{15}\) It is interesting to note that both Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek were well into their thirties at the beginning of their careers and most prolific in their forties and fifties. The former was married with one child, but was widowed at forty-six. The latter remained

\(^{13}\)Ibid. pp. 135, 166.

\(^{14}\)Ibid. p. 167.

\(^{15}\)Ibid. p. 166.
unmarried. Both decided on a career in journalism for intellectual and financial reasons. Both found journalism an appropriate vehicle for propounding their beliefs as well. Both came from the same bourgeois Viennese Jewish background, although BZ's family stood higher in Viennese society. BZ was more reticent about her personal life and career than Schalek, who widely publicized her stand as an emancipated woman and sought to serve as an international intermediary among women of different cultures.

Nonetheless, Zuckerkandl, too, aided the women's cause; behind the scenes for example, she supported her husband, the anatomy professor Emil Zuckerkandl, who was the chief advocate of women's admission to the University of Vienna medical faculty and the first professor there to choose a woman for his assistant, despite the opposition of almost the entire university to this reform.16 And as early as 1899, BZ had publicly stated her stand on the woman question in an article on "cultural dilettantism" in Dokumente der Frauen, a feminist journal; she wrote,

is it not sad that even in women's circles, the words "women's emancipation" still call forth much antipathy and repugnance, simply because they [the women] do not want to grasp the true meaning of the movement. Only when interest in the high ethical mission of the free, equal female is developed in the family, only when concepts of our modern ideology are disseminated and clarified by women of every class and every occupation in a very intelligent manner, only

then is real, logical, consequential furthering of the woman question in Austria to be created.\(^{17}\)

Women had a special role to play in modern society, Zuckerkandl thought. This conception of a woman's mission was developed further by BZ during the war; in 1918 in an article entitled "Die Botschaft der Frauen" ("The Women's Message"), she wrote of the upcoming Congress of Women in Basel and hailed it as a harbinger of world peace, seeing the task of reconciliation among peoples as the mission of the twentieth-century woman.\(^{18}\)

The furtherance of communication and enlightenment among the diverse citizens of the expiring Empire was certainly a Herculean task, one for which the early Journalistinnen were often unprepared. But in the prewar years some women began to acquire journalistic competence and responsibility. Two in particular, Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek, utilized the Viennese newspaper feuilleton, which together with the coffeehouse where it was often read "supplied an atmosphere that conduced to innovations in thought."\(^{19}\) Through this medium they made a personal impression upon the culture and society of their skeptical and misogynistic city.


\(^{18}\)Berta Zuckerkandl, "Die Botschaft der Frauen," WAZ, March 30, 1918, p. 3.

\(^{19}\)Johnston, p. 124.
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