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Organization: 1893-1910**

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LEADERS AND JOURNALS OF THE *ALLGEMEINE*
ÖSTERREICHISCHE FRAUENVEREIN (AÖFV), OR GENERAL AUSTRIAN
WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION: 1893-1910

by

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Submitted to Brigham Young University in partial fulfillment
of graduation requirements for University Honors

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ABSTRACT

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LEADERS AND JOURNALS OF THE *ALLGEMEINE ÖSTERREICHISCHE FRAUENVEREIN* (AÖFV), OR GENERAL AUSTRIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION: 1893-1910

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Bachelor of Arts

This is an Internet-based project that will serve as a guide to scholarly resources, including introductory material to texts written by key figures in the Austrian Women's Movement at the turn of twentieth century. This project is also an overview of the *Allgemeine Oesterreichische Frauenverein* (AÖFV), or General Austrian Women's Organization, and its key leaders and publications during its peak years between 1893-1910. The AÖFV was one of the most influential women's organizations in fin-de-siècle Vienna, changing the face of politics and society for women. The three key figures, Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938), Auguste Fickert (1855-1910), and Marie Lang (1858-1934), and their publication of *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben*, brought women's issues to the forefront of social and political thought.

Sections included in this project include: an overview of the Austrian Women's Movement; the AÖFV; biographies of Mayreder, Fickert, and Lang; information on

Dokumente der Frauen and *Neues Frauenleben*; prominent women's issues discussed at the time, such as prostitution, suffrage, and women's worker rights; bibliographies of petitions; a list of male authors of *Dokumente der Frauen*; an essay by the *ariadne* staff on publications during the Women's Movement; and images of the women, the publications, and members of the AÖFV. Citations are included at the end of each section.

In addition to providing links to the SOPHIE Digital Library and the *ariadne* database of the Austrian National Library, this project includes numerous bibliographies to primary and secondary sources, which provide a foundation for further research on women's studies. The SOPHIE URL where my project will be posted is <http://sophie.byu.edu>.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title and signature page.....	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Status of Research to Date.....	7
Brief Overview of the Austrian Women’s Movement.....	13
<i>Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein (AÖFV),</i> or General Austrian Women’s Organization.....	17
Biographies of Key Figures.....	22
Publications: <i>Dokumente der Frauen</i> and <i>Neues Frauenleben</i>	29
Key Issues of the Women’s Movement (addressed by the AÖFV).....	37
Bibliographies.....	55
Images.....	69
Works Cited.....	79

INTRODUCTION

This project will provide an Internet-based overview of the *Allgemeine Oesterreichische Frauenverein* (AÖFV), or General Austrian Women's Organization, and its key leaders and publications during its peak years between 1893-1910. The AÖFV was one of the most influential women's organizations in fin-de-siècle Vienna, changing the face of politics and society for women. The three key figures, Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938), Auguste Fickert (1855-1910), Marie Lang (1858-1934), and their publication of *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben*, brought women's issues to the forefront of social and political thought. The radical nature of *Dokumente der Frauen* sharply awakened men and women to the inequality of women's political representation and the necessity of women's rights, and boldly addressed problems that others, both men and women, were too afraid or ashamed to address. *Neues Frauenleben* had similar objectives, but took a slightly different approach by composing and sending out petitions to legislative bodies. Although some petitions were rejected, many were seriously considered and later passed, thus incorporating the rights of women into the Austrian political and legal system.

This project will serve as a guide to scholarly resources, including introductory material to texts written by Mayreder, Fickert, and Lang, and an introduction to women's issues in Vienna between 1893-1910. The following images, bibliographies, and introductions will link American scholars with European primary sources by creating a

bridge between the Brigham Young University SOPHIE Digital Library and on-line resources from *ariadne*, a women's research center located in the Austrian National Library. Similar to SOPHIE, the *ariadne* Database makes primary texts by women accessible to scholars online. SOPHIE would normally include *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben* in their collection, but does not want to duplicate texts already available elsewhere. Because the information available on *ariadne* is almost exclusively in the German language, my project will provide a resource for English-speaking scholars. It will include a short analysis of key women's issues from the turn of the century Vienna, and detailed information on *Dokumente der Frauen*, *Neues Frauenleben*, and the AÖFV. Beyond providing an English introduction, this project includes some resources, analysis, and information not available on the *ariadne* website, because *ariadne* only provides primary texts and brief comments from primary sources as an introduction to each person and publication. This project will also include links from SOPHIE to related documents and resources, bridging the gap between SOPHIE and *ariadne*, such that the documents associated with *ariadne* become an integrated and user-friendly addition to the SOPHIE collection.

This project is part of a larger endeavor to make women's writings more accessible to a wider audience of students, researchers, and scholars across the globe. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were critical in European and women's history. It was at this time that women's issues were first openly discussed in society. Until recent decades, women's works have been generally ignored by the scholarly community, and when they have been studied, they have not been represented as a focal point, but instead in fragments, or as side notes. Likewise, until recently, many scholars

have brushed over women's movements, or have dismissed their strength and influence. This project focuses specifically on one women's organization, its publications, and key figures. I have gathered fragmented information from various resources and locations and put them together to provide a foundation for other students, historians and scholars researching the Austrian Women's Movement. While other books, journals, and scholarly websites contain some information on Fickert, Mayreder, Lang, the AÖFV, and its publications, the information is incomplete, fragmented, and often confusing without a previous overview of these subjects. My project will provide a cohesive overview and outline of the primary and secondary sources in an accessible and convenient location for researchers, specifically the English scholarly community.

This project will also help provide information needed to study German-speaking women writers, a tradition of writing that has not been looked at until recently. Jeannine Blackwell and Susanne Zantop state in their anthology *Bitter Healing: German Women Writers*:

In recent years, interest in women writers has been increasing dramatically.... Every year witnesses the appearance of new collections of critical essays and scholarly dissertations on writers whose works had been excluded from the canon, buried in libraries or archives, and therefore forgotten by the reading public. While this effort to recuperate a "lost tradition" has been very productive in English and American studies, we have had little access so far to texts from non-English cultures.... As a consequence, generalizations about women's writing, feminine aesthetics,

or female perspectives have often been based on limited evidence and bear the mark of parochialism. (Preface, 1)

Blackwell and Zantop state their hope that the works and primary resources of German-speaking women will be made available for the complete analysis of a women's tradition. Currently, women's works are scattered in archives, and are unavailable to those not familiar with the German language. Without a complete collection of women's works throughout time, scholars cannot accurately discuss women's works as a tradition.

My project on the AÖFV will fill one of many gaps in the collection of German-language women's works currently available in the United States. Considering its actual impact on society and government, the AÖFV was one of the most influential women's organizations at the turn of the twentieth century in Austria. Few other organizations have matched the AÖFV in impact; only the *Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine* (BÖFV) came close to rivaling the influence of the AÖFV. The AÖFV was central to the women's movement in Austria. Unfortunately, this organization has never been the main focus of any study thus far. While there may be scholarly works on the Women's Movement in Austria in general, few books deal directly with the impact and influence of the AÖFV. In fact, the largest archive of documents from the AÖFV and BÖFV is closed off to the general public and most researchers. Even representatives from *ariadne* at the Austrian National Library are denied access to this archive, further limiting information directly related to this organization. Literature and resources that are available can be found in the "Status of Research to Date" section following this introduction.

This Internet-based guide to researchers contains six main sections. The first section is a brief overview of the Austrian Women's Movement. The second section is

specifically devoted to the AÖFV. The third section contains biographies of the key figures of the AÖFV: Mayreder, Fickert, and Lang. The fourth section is a collection of information on *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben*, including bibliographies of their petitions and authors. The fifth section deals with prominent women's issues discussed at the time, such as prostitution, suffrage, and women's worker rights. The sixth section contains bibliographies of petitions, male authors of *Dokumente der Frauen*, and a useful essay by the *ariadne* staff on publications during the Women's Movement, which provides information on the history of women's publications. The final section contains images of the women, the publications, and members of the AÖFV. Because each section will be a separate web page, citations are included at the end of each section.

Although some petitions of the AÖFV were ignored, some buried in committee, and others flat-out rejected, the petitions nonetheless attest to the impact the producers of these publications had on society and government. These women had no predecessors in politics to whom they could look as models for action, and yet they accomplished much. While some issues they battled may still be issues today, women's circumstances are improved because of women like Mayreder, Lang, and Fickert. We need a historical perspective to see and appreciate just how far we have come, how we got to where we are now, and where we still need to go in the future.

As we look to the past for answers about the present and future of women's rights, we need a framework upon which to build our new understanding. Michelle Stott and Joseph O. Baker in *Im Nonnengarten*, describe the need for such a framework in the study of women:

The historical narrative we know as the “Germany literary tradition” has proven inadequate in accounting for and interpreting German-language women’s literature, particular in its early periods. A clearly delineated tradition is valuable to readers, since it serves to illuminate, for example, thematic conventions or the development of particular aesthetic styles over the centuries; it thus provides a framework for understanding and interpreting literary works. However, since the German literary tradition had been built predominantly from the conventions and aesthetic norms of male-authored work, it must now be expanded and redefined in order to accommodate female-authored work with its particular themes, conventions, and norms. (Preface, xi)

Although this statement is referring mainly to “literary works,” it can be applied to publications such as *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben* as well. This project will provide a framework in which to answer critical questions, such as who were the main players in the Austrian Women’s Movement in the late 19th and early 20th century? What issues were being addressed? Where do we find the primary texts? What men were involved? Among other things, this project would guide readers to answer such fundamental questions.

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Status of Research to Date

Auguste Fickert (1855-1910), Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938), and Marie Lang (1858-1934) were founders of women's organizations and were particularly responsible for publications on the improvement of women's rights, which had profound effects on Austria's political and legal identity for women, yet their efforts remain largely unknown and unstudied. Although there has been substantial research on Mayreder, due to her numerous publications, research on Fickert is more difficult to find, and research on Lang is limited to short entries in a handful of lexicons and one *Diplomarbeit* (comparable to a master's thesis) located in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

Dokumente der Frauen (1899-1902) and *Neues Frauenleben* (1902-1918) were publications of the the *Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein* (AÖFV), or the General Austrian Women's Organization, an organization which sought to influence and shape Austrian political and legal identity for women in Austria. The *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek* (Vienna Municipal Library) keeps volumes of *Dokumente der Frauen* in its archives. The Austrian National Library has digitized both *Neues Frauenleben* and *Dokumente der Frauen*, and most volumes are available online. Additional documents pertaining to the organization may also be found at the Austrian National Library; these are not available online.

Unfortunately, the largest archive of women's organization documents from the turn-of-the-century women's movement, the League of Austrian Women's Organizations

(*Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine*), or BÖFV archive in Vienna, is inaccessible to most of its members, and closed off to students, researchers, professors, and *ariadne* personnel. This is a big setback to the analysis of women's organizations and their influences from that time period. The AÖFV, *Dokumente der Frauen*, and *Neues Frauenleben* formed the basis for women's participation and representation in the Austrian political and legal arena. Mayreder, Fickert, and Lang, their publications and organization developed and incorporated women's rights into the Austrian political and legal system by first raising awareness and creating the idea of women's rights in society. Women's political representation was not just codified into the legal system; it had to be developed outside and incorporated. While the actual primary documents are available, analysis specifically on *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben* is missing. This project seeks to fill part of that gap in women's research.

While there are no books wholly dedicated to the AÖFV, there are books on the Austrian Women's Movement from the 1860s to 1918 (the time in which suffrage was gained). However, these books only comment on the organization, its women, and the publications as supporting evidence on a larger project, of which these women are not the primary focus. However, the following studies are available: Reingar Witzman's *Aufbruch in das Jahrhundert der Frau? Rosa Mayreder und der Feminismus in Wien um 1900* (1989) is an excellent collection of essays from various writers on Rosa Mayreder and her contribution to the Women's Movement in Vienna at the turn of the century. There is even a short chapter dedicated to *Dokumente der Frauen* (seven pages). The most complete compilation of research and analysis of the women, the AÖFV, and their publications, is *Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in fin-de-siècle Vienna* (1992),

by Harriet Anderson. So far as I have researched, Anderson is the only person to recently have gained access to the BÖFV's archive, making her research unique. Her book discussed in good detail the women's hottest issues debated during the Women's Movement in Austria. Anderson discusses many contributions of different organizations and women; among them, the AÖFV is mentioned a good number of times, and she devotes two chapters to the AÖFV. Another useful study entitled *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (1996), edited by David F. Good, Margaret Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes, is divided into three parts: Gender and Politics, Women and Work, and Female Identities. This book has useful general information on women and issues of the Women's Movement in Austria, but only discusses the AÖFV and its key figures in passing.

Much has been written on the life of Rosa Mayreder, either by her own hand, or by authors such as Reingard Witzman and Hilde Schmölzer. The closest, most nuanced research on Rosa Mayreder and her efforts can be found in Reingard Witzmann's *Aufbruch in das Jahrhundert der Frau? Rosa Mayreder und der Feminismus in Wien um 1900* (1989). It deals specifically with her agenda and publications in Vienna, and her influence and dealings with feminism as a whole. Unlike the other books on Mayreder's life, *Aufbruch in das Jahrhundert der Frau?* is more analytical and interpretive of Mayreder's influence and actions in Vienna.

A more complete view of Mayreder's overall life and works is found in Hilde Schmölzer's *Rosa Mayreder: Ein Leben zwischen Utopie und Wirklichkeit* (2002), a biographical sketch of Mayreder's life and works. It is one of the few sources that actually discusses in depth the *Dokumente der Frauen* publication. It doesn't include

much on her childhood; for that information one can turn to Mayreder's autobiographical works, like *Das Haus in der Landskronegasse: Jugenderinnerungen*. In addition, Mayreder's journal, *Tagebücher, 1873-1937* goes deeper than *Briefe an Rosa Mayreder*, which contains letters of the correspondence between Mayreder and Hugo Wolf, a close friend. *Tagebücher* probably gives the most information on Mayreder's personal thoughts and feelings and includes details and events of her life from her viewpoint.

Information on Auguste Fickert can be found in many lexicons listed later on in this review, and also on the *ariadne* database. Most research on the AÖFV includes short commentaries on Fickert's life, although this information deals specifically with her work with the women's movement and her publications, *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben* and offers relatively little in-depth biographical information.

There are only a few works that deal with the life of Marie Lang. *A Diplomarbeit* on Lang, *Marie Lang und ihre Bedeutung fuer die Sozialreformen in Oesterreich im ausgehenden Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, by Irmgard Sparholz (1986), Universitaet Wien, can be found in the Austrian National Library. It focuses on Marie Lang's life, her participation in the AÖFV, her publication of *Dokumente der Frauen*, and her work with the Vienna Housing Settlements.

Recently, many lexicons and bibliographic indices have been written on Austrian women, including Mayreder, Fickert, and Lang, and their works. *A History of Women's Writing in Germany, Austria and Switzerland* (2000), *Women Writers in German-speaking countries: A Biobibliographical Critical Sourcebook* (1998), and *Lexikon der 1000 Frauen* (2000) all include entries on Mayreder, Fickert, and even Lang, but entries are normally limited to a few sentences or paragraphs.

Most recently, the Austrian National Library has put together the *ariadne* database (2004), a compilation of literature, texts, essays, publications, and other works on women, women movements, and gender and feminist studies. The compilation includes works from Austrian women, as well as women from other nations. Included is a section on Rosa Mayreder, Auguste Fickert, and Marie Lang, as well as a section on *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben*. The Austrian Library also keeps archives of the AÖFV's original documents. The *ariadne* database is accessible on-line, but other than the table of contents page, is entirely in German. There is little on the AÖFV that can be found in English.

The *SOPHIE* Digital Library (2004) is a database of works by German-speaking women for the English scholarly community. It contains bibliographies, texts, visuals, scores, and other related works of German-speaking women. As of right now, *SOPHIE* does not have any information on the AÖFV, nor Mayreder, Lang or Fickert, nor their publications. *SOPHIE* is currently translating, processing, and legally acquiring texts. I will submit my finished work on *Dokumente der Frauen*, *Neues Frauenleben*, Fickert, Lang, and Mayreder to be edited, digitized, and glossed for the *SOPHIE* database.

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Brief Overview of the Austrian Women's Movement

This section will provide a short summary of the women's movement beginnings and a brief summary of the political structure at the time period (late 19th and early 20th century) of Rosa Mayreder, Auguste Fickert, and Marie Lang to help contextualize the information on the women's organization and publications.

After Austria was conquered by the Prussians in 1866 by the Six Weeks War, many women who had been used to receiving financial support from their husbands, were now forced to provide for and protect their families. Women needed access to the job market but were ill-equipped to begin working (Anderson 25). The Viennese Women's Employment Association (*Wiener Frauen-Erwerbverein*) was organized in 1866 to address this issue. This organization is considered to be the fore-runner of women's organizations in Austria (*ibid*). The next step in this first women's movement was the organization of schools for girls. At first, the courses offered at the schools were domestic: embroidery, sewing, and so on. It wasn't until later that grammar schools for girls were created, with much adversity and struggle (*ibid*). Organizations for more specialized interests arose in areas reached by women: teachers, post office officials, midwives, actresses, artists, and writers (Anderson 35). But these organizations acted merely as a support group for the women involved. Because of the statute § 30, women, children, and foreigners were not allowed to participate in political organizations. Political influence and representation would have to wait until 1893, in which year the AÖFV, was founded. Fickert, who intended to establish a political organization for women, had hoped that § 30 would be eliminated or relaxed by the organization's first founding meeting. This did not happen, and Fickert was forced to abandon explicit and

official political endeavors (Anderson 41). But although Fickert removed the words “political organization” from the founding constitution of the organization, the AÖFV pursued political influence and participation through other means.

To give a good idea of the political arena, the Austrian political structure will be introduced. The Austrian parliament, the main legislative body, consists of two parts: the Bundesrat, like the U.S. Senate, to which representatives are nominated by state diets, and the Nationalrat, the equivalent to our House, to which representatives are elected by the populace. The Austrian judicial system functions at a federal level. Because the Nationalrat, or Lower House, has the ability to pass bills, and the Bundesrat does not, the Nationalrat was the target of efforts to include and represent women in Parliament (Good, Grandner, and Maynes 92). How does one become a member of Parliament? Voters, who at that time were only men, voted for certain parties. The more votes a party got, the more seats or representatives they could have. The party nominates representatives; the populace itself does not elect representatives. But, since women could not vote, parties had the option of disregarding women’s issues without loss of support or votes.

But how much of a role does Parliament actually play in creating legislation? Can societies such as the General Austrian Women’s Organization have any influence? In Gerda Neyer’s findings, extra-parliamentary institutions during the Second Republic of Austria (from 1945) played a role in legislation, especially because civil society, “neo-corporatist organizations, and other such institutions do not have to concern themselves with elections” (Good, Grandner, and Maynes 95). The AÖFV is an extra-parliamentary institution. Neyer calls certain extra-parliamentary institutions “social partnerships,” a term that refers to a relationship between special interest groups representing employers

and employees, which partnerships stemmed out of the Second Republic in order to counter economic problems after the war. Neyer concludes that extra-parliamentary institutions work against women, because they are comprised mostly of men, and practice policy formation with little or no government influence. Much of the political pull from social partnerships come from the officials at the head of the party, who are often members of ministries and advisory bodies. Because they are men, they do not represent well the needs and concerns of women. However, Neyer fails to consider the role of extra-parliamentary institutions which are headed solely by women. If extra-parliamentary institutions can have political influence, why can't they be beneficial to women regardless of their membership make-up? In other words, many women's organizations post women in the top positions, which are sensitive to and represent women's needs and concerns. Since extra-parliamentary institutions have political influence, so would extra-parliamentary institutions that are comprised of women. The AÖFV knew this principle, and thus granted men special memberships (called "supporting members") in the organization; however, men were not allowed to hold any positions.

Neyer gives no indication of the relationship between gender and political power within these social partners and respective positions of bureaucracy, except that because many social partnerships are labor unions, and because the majority of laborers are men, men would have a better chance of reaching a bureaucratic position within these organizations. In her *Diplomarbeit*, Sparholz finds that in 1890, for every 100 working men in Vienna, there were 79 working women. If women participated in extra-parliamentary organizations, they had almost as good a chance as men in being

represented in these institutions (Sparholz 72, footnote 2). Women did start to participate in and create women's organizations which represented their needs, and then petitioned the government for change.

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Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein (AÖFV),
or General Austrian Women's Organization

The *Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein*,¹ or General Austrian Women's Organization (AÖFV), was founded in Vienna in 1893. Auguste Fickert was appointed as president, with Rosa Mayreder as vice-president. Maria Schwarz, Marie Lang, and Marianne Hainisch, all prominent women of the Austrian women's movement, were among the first members of this organization.

Although Fickert did not want to endorse any certain political party or platform, she initially sought to form a political organization for women. Since this was not permitted at that time due to statute § 30, which prohibited the membership of women, children, and foreigners in political organizations, Fickert settled for a “non-political” general association, with unspoken political ambition (Anderson, 41):

The existing women's associations, although so numerous, could not satisfy our need to grasp the woman problem in its entirety, to uncover its roots, which extend to all spheres of human community, and to acknowledge the need to give the whole movement a theoretical basis. Our association therefore had to emerge. (AÖFV , 1895-1901, 7)

Existing women's organizations were specific to certain trades such as postal workers, teachers, actresses, painters, mothers, and midwives, so they sought to maintain influence within their own sphere, and they did not address the general issue of women's rights.

The AÖFV believed in order to be more influential, they must broaden their scope. The organization tried to stay away from joining any political party, feeling it could pursue its

¹ For more information on the *Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein*, visit the *ariadne* Database from the Austrian National Library at http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/fv_aoeff.htm. Sources for information for the introductory section of this chapter came from this site.

own agenda more effectively without certain political ties. The AÖFV sought to distinguish itself from other women's organizations by not focusing on one issue, and by not focusing on economic consequences of the problems, but dealing with the problems themselves, by getting to the root of the problem (AÖFV, 1895-1901, 7).

At the beginning, membership in the association was limited to women over 16 years of age who paid dues. At the end of its first year in existence, the organization boasted 212 full members and an additional 12 supporting members (*Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein*, 1893, 11-14). Despite its name, most of the members lived in Vienna (Anderson 43). Although Fickert's goal was to influence politics, she did not want the organization to be aligned with and confined to the limits that women's supporting sections, not official sections, of political parties faced.

Although membership fluctuated between 200-300 members, it never reached the size other organizations did, like the *Christlicher Wiener Frauenbund* (Viennese Christian Women's League), which had 14,000 members. This was due in part to the political aims of the AÖFV, its extremism (versus the conservative Christian League), and the anti-Semitism of the League. Also, the discussion of the "servant problem and sexual matters frightened many away," as these were considered taboo to discuss (Anderson 42). In the AÖFV statutes, politics could not be mentioned, but only "economic" and "intellectual" interests, for fear of driving away many and appearing to overstep one's bounds as a woman (Anderson 41). It was precisely for these reasons that the AÖFV was so unique: they were bold and unabashed in discussing socially taboo topics.

The organization produced two highly influential publications, *Dokumente der Frauen* (1899-1902), and *Neues Frauenleben* (1902-1918). These publications are discussed and analyzed in detail in the section entitled Publications.

In comparison to all other women's organizations (with the exclusion of the *Bund Österreichischen Frauen*, or BÖFV), even those with larger memberships, the AÖFV was the most prominent in political influence, rivaling the political influence of the BÖFV, an umbrella organization representing a majority of women's organizations in Austria. On May 5, 1902, the AÖFV joined with the BÖFV for strength and support. But they later separated, the AÖFV clashing with the liberal stances of the BÖFV, whose main focus was women's suffrage and civil rights. After the organizations split, 24 members left the AÖFV, including Marianne Hainisch, a prominent figure in the Austrian women's movement (*ariadne*, Austrian National Library, *Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein*).

The AÖFV, specifically Fickert, Lang, and Mayreder, had personal connections or contacts with influential members and within Parliament, which is why this organization was so prominent. To my knowledge, other women's organizations at this time did not have this contact. The BÖFV started to create their own contacts within Parliament, however, and the two organizations could not seem to unify. Both organizations sent many petitions to Parliament; the AÖFV's petitions are included in the *Neues Frauenleben* publication.

Although the AÖFV and its members mainly came from Vienna, the organization would send representatives, not only on behalf of the organization, but also in the name of all women, to the International London Conference, a conference at which women's

rights were discussed, where the AÖFV and its founders became well known as champions of women's rights. In the *Stenographisches Protokoll ueber die Constituierende Versammlung*, namely during the address from Fickert, applause and support were indicated from England's "Women's Progressive-Society," from a certain Mrs. Warner-Gnoad, and from Zurich, Switzerland, in a telegram, wishing the best of success (*Stenographisches Protokoll*. 6, 12).

How did the AÖFV influence politics? According to a study done by Pieter M. Judson, the Austrian women's movements were heavily influenced by German nationalism. Judson finds a relationship between the rise of nationalist community identity among bourgeois Germans and the rise in gender awareness in Austria. "Asserting a common German identity often enabled bourgeois German-speaking Austrians to co-opt competing classes and social groups for the sake of preserving national unity" (Good, Grandner, and Maynes 13). This is important for the following reason. After the fall of the German Liberal Auersperg Cabinet in 1879, ideology among the bourgeoisie changed, "emphasiz[ing] the bonds that supposedly united Germans of all classes" (Good, Grandner, and Maynes 5). To unite and "reestablish national purity ...belonged to women, or more accurately, to mothers...[which] gave a new significance to women's activities" (Good, Grandner, and Maynes 13). Although women's suffrage in Germany and Austria was gained about the same time (1918), women's roles (and to that, women's participation in politics) in Austria were influenced by German culture. To some degree, women and men looked to Germany to define womanhood and their part in society. The women's organizations continued to look towards German women and their plight for equal rights during the fin-de-siècle women's movements.

Some of the issues the AÖFV aggressively addressed were prostitution, suffrage, women workers' rights, and the right of female teachers to marry (teacher celibacy). To show the influence of the AÖFV, the prostitution debate is a good example of the social and political power of the organization (see section entitled Key Issues of the Women's Movement).

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Biographies

Rosa Mayreder

Rosa Obermayer was born in Vienna, Nov. 10, 1858, in the “Winterbierhaus.” Her father, a native of Greece, was a well-off innkeeper. Mayreder learned French, piano, and art. She was the first woman admitted in the Aquarellisten Club, a club of watercolor artists in Vienna (*Österreichisches Biographisches Lexicon*). In 1881, Rosa married the architect Karl Mayreder, who later became the principal of the Technische Hochschule in Vienna. Throughout her life, Mayreder wrote many books and essays on women’s rights, and participated in many women’s movements (see Bibliographies). Her first work, *Aus meiner Jugend*, a novella, appeared in 1896. Mayreder became close friends with Hugo Wolf, for whom she wrote the libretto *Der Corregidor*, which Wolf used for an opera.

Mayreder was key to the feminist movement in Vienna. She was a founding figure in many women’s organizations and publications for the improvement of women’s rights and had profound effects on Austria’s political and legal identity for women. In 1893, Mayreder was appointed vice-president of the AÖFV, a women’s rights organization in Austria (the AÖFV will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII). Her first speaking out on women’s issues was on January 12, 1894, at a women’s gathering in an old courthouse.

In 1899 Mayreder, along with Auguste Fickert, and Marie Lang co-edited *Dokumente der Frauen*, a semi-monthly publication of the AÖFV. *Dokumente der Frauen* soon became well-known, both nationally and internationally. This publication, along with the later publication of *Neues Frauenleben*, formed a foundation for women’s participation and representation in the Austrian political and legal arena. Feminist

theories incorporated into petitions to the Austrian Parliament from these influential women and the organization helped develop women's rights.

In 1905, her first publication on women's rights appeared, "Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit," a critique on femininity, which can be found in *Neues Frauenleben*. In 1907 Mayreder became a member of the Soziologischen Gesellschaft in Vienna. She spoke on women and prostitution. Mayreder also served as Chairwoman in 1919 to the Internationalen Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit (IFFF) (Köhler-Lutterbeck, *ariadne* Database, Austrian National Library).

Mayreder was very active and unabashed in sharing her opinion on women's issues. Her viewpoints, opinions, and organizations were considered radical. She was outspoken when it came to prostitution, or the "Frauenfrage." Although Mayreder was not ashamed by her stances, she sometimes wrote under the pseudonym Franz Arnold (*ariadne* Database, Austrian National Library). Mayreder considered herself not only a feminist, but also a philosopher, sociologist, and artist (*ariadne*, Austrian National Library.)

Rosa Mayreder is very much praised for her efforts even today. She is on the 500 schilling note, Austria's former currency, which is a tremendous honor. There is a street named after her. In 1928, Mayreder was honored to be named as "Bürgerin der Stadt Wien," or "[distinguished] Citizen of Vienna."

On January 19, 1938, she died in Vienna at the age of 79.

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Auguste Fickert

„Der Tod hat eine Kämpferin für Frauenrecht und -Bildung vom Kampfplatze gerufen, auf dem die Stelle, die sie einnahm, wohl leer bleiben wird. Auguste Fickert war mit ihren grossen Vorzügen und kleinen Schwächen eine so eigenartige Individualität, dass sie keine Nachfolgerin ihrer Art haben wird.“

-Obituary on Fickert from [Der Bund](#), V. Jg., Nr. 5, Juni 1910, S. 7 – 8.

Auguste Fickert was born in Vienna on May 25, 1855, and died in Vienna on June 9, 1910. She was a *Volksschullehrerin*, or elementary teacher. In 1893 she founded the AÖFV with Marie Lang and Rosa Mayreder. Fickert was appointed president. With this organization, Fickert hoped to address social issues affecting women: prostitution, suffrage, protection for mothers, and working women (*ariadne* Database, Austrian National Library).

In 1895 Fickert founded the first Viennese women's legal protection center for working women (*Rechtsschutzstelle*). She was the editor of three journals: *Volksstimme*, *Das Recht der Frau*, and *Neues Frauenleben* throughout her lifetime. Starting in 1899 she was editor along with Marie Lang and Rosa Mayreder to the semi-monthly publication of *Dokumente der Frauen*. Due to contention between Marie Lang and Fickert over *Dokumente der Frauen*, Mayreder and Fickert left their positions on the editorial staff with Lang. In 1902, Fickert started *Neues Frauenleben*. Despite the falling out, Mayreder and Fickert remained friends, and Mayreder later had a monument of Fickert erected in Türkenschanzpark after her death. Fickert had the ability to write in English and French, and wrote many publications on the *Frauenfrage* for both national and international dissemination (*ariadne* Database, Austrian National Library).

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Marie Lang

Vertreterin des radikalen Flügels der österreichischen Frauenbewegung, gemeinsam mit ihrem Mann Dr. Edmund Laube war sie Mittelpunkt eines sehr freisinnig und fortschrittlichen Wiener Kreises, der sich sozialen und künstlerischen Aufgaben widmete, Mitbegründerin und Vorstandsmitglied des ["Allgemeinen Österreichischen Frauenvereines."](#)

-*ariadne* Database, Austrian National Library at
http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/bio_langmarie.htm

Marie Wisgrill was born in Vienna on March 8, 1858. She was the daughter of Karl Wisgrill and Emilie Scholz. Her father was a master carpenter, and her mother was an actress. In 1880, Marie first married Hofjuwelier Theodor Köchert. After four years and one son, Erich, they separated. Marie did marry a second time to a lawyer, Dr. Edmund Lang, and had three more children, Heinz, Erwin, and Lilith (Sparholz 6).

Lang was very involved in the women's movement in Vienna. She joined the AÖFV with Mayreder and Fickert, and helped produce *Dokumente der Frauen*. Not only did Lang seek to aid women, she also sought better protection for unwed mothers and their children (*ariadne* Database, Austrian National Library, *Marie Lang*). She, like Mayreder and Fickert, spoke out on prostitution. She was also a strong advocate against the requirement for female teachers to remain celibate or to quit once they were married. Lang also visited London as a representative of Austria and Austrian women's movements. She was warmly received, and also created a new voice and reputation for Austria and its concern for women's rights. Lang participated in the *Verein Wiener Settlement*, another organization of intellectuals. Lang's greatest accomplishment was perhaps the Settlements in Ottokring, a social housing project in Vienna (Sparholz 49-51).

She died in Altmünster on October 14, 1934. Not a lot has been written on Lang, probably because she did not publish many works outside of women's journals such as *Dokumente der Frauen*.²

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² For more information on the life of Marie Lang, refer to Sparholz's Diplomarbeit, 15.5.86: *Marie Lang und ihre Bedeutung für die Sozialreformen in Österreich im ausgehenden neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. Austrian National Library.

Publications

Dokumente der Frauen

„Den Höhepunkt erreichte die Wirksamkeit der Verstorbenen, als Auguste Fickert mit [Marie Lang](#) und [Rosa Mayreder](#) die Monatsschrift "[Die Dokumente der Frauen](#)" gründete. Dieser Zeitschrift bewahren alle, welche Anteil an der Frauenbewegung nehmen, das ehrendste Andenken, sie wurde im Inlande und Auslande hoch geschätzt.“

-*ariadne* (Nachruf aus: [Der Bund](#), V. Jg., Nr. 5, Juni 1910, S. 7 - 8) at http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/yfb/bio_fickert.htm
Accessed on April 1, 2005.

Upon its conception, *Dokumente der Frauen* was the official publication for the Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein (AÖFV), or General Austrian Women's Organization.³ It contained articles on women's rights, women's issues, upcoming AÖFV events, and commentaries on art, music, and literature. Also included were statistics, membership, and general information on events, rallies, and get-togethers of the AÖFV. *Dokumente der Frauen* was not just circulated locally. It became well-known both nationally and internationally. Men were also permitted to write for the publication, adding to its prestige and circulation.⁴ *Dokumente der Frauen* received positive reviews from the *Neue Freie Presse* (Sparholz, 68).

In den drei Jahren ihres Bestehens konnten sich die "Dokumente" auf Grund ihrer kritischen Haltung einen guten Namen in der Frauenbewegung schaffen. Sie galten um die Jahrhundertwende als die bekannteste österreichische Frauenzeitung und wurden auch von

³ For the historical significance of women's publications, please refer to Bibliographies

⁴ For more information on this publication, visit the *ariadne* database of the Austrian National Library at <http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/02guiddf.htm>.

zahlreichen Frauen in England, den Niederlanden und Russland gelesen.

(Vgl. Leserbriefe und Annoncen in den "Dokumente," Sparholz, 78)

In December, 1898, Marie Lang found a publishing company by the name of Christoph Reissers Söhne in Vienna to publish *Dokumente der Frauen*. Lang edited and solicited writers for *Dokumente*; Fickert and Mayreder wrote for it. Also, many well-known men wrote for the newspaper (see Bibliographies), such as Adolf Loos, Gustav Klimt, and Gustav Mahler, all Secession artists; jurist Julius Offner, also a member of the Social Democratic party; and social reformers Karl Renner and Ludo Moritz Hartmann (Anderson 46). The publication was funded by donations, advertisements, and subscriptions. Within the first six months, *Dokumente der Frauen* had 1281 subscribers (Sparholz, 68). It was not circulated widely outside of Vienna, although the publication did reach audiences in many foreign countries, and there are different advertisements for countries outside of Austria. However, the publication was circulated widely among the Bourgeois and among the intellectuals of society; it was, at this level, influential.

Dokumente der Frauen was well received. Even the *Neue Freie Presse*, the Viennese local newspaper positively commented on the successful *Dokumente der Frauen*:

Wenn der Inhalt der *Dokumente der Frauen* im weitem Verlauf ihres Erscheinens dem in dem Vorworte der Herausgeberinnen entwickelten Programme entspricht, dann kann diese neue Zeitschrift wohl des lebhaftesten Interesses in allen Frauenkreisen gewiss sein.

- *Neue Freie Presse*, 10 March 1899

Even after the end of publication of *Dokumente der Frauen*, Lang received many letters showing dismay and regret that the publication was to be circulated no longer (Sparholz, 71).

Dokumente der Frauen contained sections on new or prominent members and notices of current events, such as community events (*Notizen*). Actions and events of women's organizations in other countries, events and prominent persons in other countries, wrongful actions of the police, articles on women's movement, and women workers were in the section entitled *Zur Frauenbewegung*. In addition, the main section contained articles or reports on special interests, such as worker's rights, teacher celibacy, hospitals and nurses, prostitution, and even women's dress. There was a section for articles on literature, and a section for letters from the readers (*Briefkasten*), summaries of the AÖFV meetings, and myriad advertisements.⁵

In the beginning, *Dokumente der Frauen* served as the AÖFV's main publications, including in each edition statistics and announcements of the organization. Lang, Mayreder, and Fickert wanted neither the AÖFV nor *Dokumente der Frauen* to endorse any one political party, although one of the goals of *Dokumente der Frauen* was to help build up a powerful organization of freethinking women citizens against the Viennese Christian Women's League (Sparholz, 63, 72). "The goals, to which *Dokumente [der Frauen]* was dedicated, awakened interest for all liberal-minded women, and brought a large circulation to the newspaper" (Sparholz, 73, *translated and paraphrased*).

In October of 1899, due to differences of opinion, Fickert and Mayreder left *Dokumente der Frauen*. The exact reasons for this are not known, but it seems that the

⁵ For more information about the contents of *Dokumente der Frauen*, visit *ariadne* Database online

idealistic Fickert could not get along with the impulsive Lang. This rift ended the friendships between Mayreder and Lang, and Fickert and Lang. Mayreder and Fickert left the publication. Mayreder tried to keep a positive relationship with both Lang and Fickert, and later wrote a commentary on Lang's life and erected a monument to Fickert in Türkenschanzpark (Anderson, 48).

Lang continued to produce *Dokumente der Frauen* by herself, until finances could no longer pay for the expensive printing and publication. She made a plea to the readers of *Dokumente der Frauen* to enlist their friends to subscribe to save the publication (*Dokumente der Frauen*, Bd. 6.1, 1902). Lang also appealed to Marianne Hainisch, a prominent figure in the women's movement, to help in the publishing of *Dokumente der Frauen*; Hainisch did give some money, but did not join with Lang in the production process (Sparholz, 69). Lang tried to find another publishing company, but in the end, sold *Dokumente der Frauen* to a Helene Stöcker; *Dokumente der Frauen* was never published again, and Lang was in debt 4786 Kronen to Christoph Reissers Söhne publishing company (Sparholz, 70-71).

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Neues Frauenleben

Neues Frauenleben was the official voice of the Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein (AÖFV), or the General Austrian Women's Organization, from 1902 until 1918. In 1902, while *Dokumente der Frauen* was in its final months, Auguste Fickert bought and reproduced *Neues Frauenleben* as the official publication of the AÖFV. In analyzing the influence of *Neues Frauenleben* one must analyze the effectiveness and impact of the petitions published in *Neues Frauenleben*, which were submitted to legislative bodies. The petitions, and sometimes their responses, were sent out and published within this newspaper. A list of petitions and other communications with legislative bodies can be found in Bibliographies. A newsletter of the new section of the AÖFV, *Die Beamtinnensektion*, or the civil servant section, appeared in *Neues Frauenleben* in 1904 under the name *Die Staatsbeamtin: Organ der Beamtinnen-Sektion*. These two additions made *Neues Frauenleben* a more politically powerful tool in the hands of the AÖFV than before.

Marie Lang did not play a role in the publication of *Neues Frauenleben*, which appeared as a rival newspaper when Fickert introduced it during the final publication year of *Dokumente der Frauen*. After the split between Lang, Mayreder, and Fickert, Lang was left to produce *Dokumente der Frauen* on her own. At this point, *Dokumente der Frauen* ceased to be the official voice of the AÖFV, although it still reported on events and doings of the organization. *Neues Frauenleben* replaced *Dokumente der Frauen* as the official voice of the AÖFV. This move by Fickert brought with it criticism from other women's rights activists, such as Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein and Aristides Breina, who expressed regret at the competition it meant for *Dokumente*, and who also saw this

as an attempt to harm “a useful weapon of the modern women’s movement” (Anderson 49).

Rosa Mayreder, unlike Lang, kept her membership with the AÖFV, but did not play a role in producing *Neues Frauenleben*, the new official voice for the organization, although she wrote numerous articles for it, such as “Der Haager Frauenkongress im Lichte der Frauenbewegung” (17. Jg., Nr. 5, 1915), “Die Frau und der Internationalismus” (18. Jg., Nr. 2, 1916), “Die Frauen und der Prozess Riehl” (18. Jg., Nr. 11, 1906), “Henrik Ibsens's politisches Vermächtnis” (18. Jg., Nr. 6, 1906), “Irma von Troll-Borostyani” (24. Jg., Nr. 3, 1912), “Mutterschaft und Kultur” (17. Jg., Nr. 7, 1905), “Nachwort [zu "Der synthetische Mensch"]” (16. Jg., Nr. 1/2, 1914), “Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit” (14. Jg., Nr. 1,2, and 3, 1902), and a few sonnets.

Auguste Fickert played the largest role of the three women; she was in charge of producing *Neues Frauenleben*, and also contributed a few articles, such as “An die Leser” (21. Jg., Nr. 1, 1909), “Die Frauenfrage in Freiland” (16. Jg., Nr. 6, 1914), “Die Freiheit der Schulen” (20. Jg., Nr. 6, 1908), “Dr. med. Agnes Hacker” (21. Jg., Nr. 10, 1909), “Epilog in Aphorismen” (21. Jg., Nr. 3, 1909), “Auguste: Frauenarbeit in Kopenhagen” (21. Jg., Nr. 10, 1909), “Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster” (21. Jg., Nr. 6, 1909), “Hohe Politik” (20. Jg., Nr. 10, 1908), “Wie ich Finnland sah: eine Erinnerung an ihre letzte Reise 1909” (22. Jg., Nr. 7, 1910), “Ziele und Aufgaben der Frauenbewegung” (18. Jg., Nr. 1, 1906), and “Zum § 30!” (22. Jg., Nr. 1, 1910). Fickert produced *Neues Frauenleben* until her death in 1910.

Fickert structured *Neues Frauenleben* much like *Dokumente. Neues Frauenleben* was divided into sections such as *Aus der Frauenbewegung*, which included reports on

women's movements from all over the world (but mainly Europe), such as Hungary, Finland, Sweden, France, the United States, England, Germany, and Russia. *Literatur und Kunst* included poetry, artwork, and commentary on literary works.

Vereinsnachrichten contained information on the AÖFV such as events, statistics, and notices. *Eingesendet* contained letters to the editor. Of course, the main body included articles on the women's movement, much like *Dokumente*. In the first edition, Fickert presents *Neues Frauenleben* to all readers:

Diese Zeitschrift.... dem allg. österr. Frauenverein in uneigennütziger Weise überlassen, ist allen kämpfenden Frauen gewidmet, Sei es der Kampf um des Lebens, Nothdurft oder der Kampf um das höchste Gut des menschlichen Daseins, das Ringen nach Erkenntnis – er wird ohne Menschenfurcht und unermüdlich geführt werden. Alle, die mühselig und in harter Arbeit ihr tägliches Brot verdienen – sollen aus diesen Blättern Hoffnung und Erquickung schöpfen bei dem Gedanken an die strebende Frauenwelt, welche nach neuen Daseinsbedingungen sucht, nach einer Gesellschaftsordnung, die dem Individuum Raum zur Entfaltung und dem Schwachen Schutz biete (*Neues Frauenleben*, 14. Jg., Nr. 1, 1902).

In this quote, Fickert reconstructs the conditions for women's participation in the society, and invites all to participate.

A new addition to *Neues Frauenleben* in 1904 was the inclusion of *Die Staatsbeamtinnen* supplement, the voice of the *Beamtinnen-Sektion* of the AÖFV. This section was created to represent women civil servants, and was kept as part of the AÖFV until 1908. The civil servant section created its own newsletter, entitled the

Postanstaltsbeamtin (Anderson 80). This organization of the AÖFV, even after its separation in 1908, was rivaled by the *Reichsverein* of the *Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine* (BÖVF), an organization with similar goals, but more socially conservative tactics.

Neues Frauenleben contained numerous petitions, not only from the AÖFV, but also from other organizations which sought out the influential publication as a forum for their petitions. Such organizations included the *Verein deutscher Lehrerinnen*, *die deutschen Frauen Prags*, *Verein Frauenbund in Brünn*, *der Bund österreichischer Frauenvereine*, *der deutsche Verein in Prag*, *Freiheitliches Frauenkomitee*, and *the Österreichischer Bund für Mutterschutz*. These petitions were presented to the legislative bodies by men, many of whom were sympathetic to the women's cause, or believed in women's rights as well. The AÖFV was often represented by men of the Social Democratic party (Anderson 83).

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Key Issues of the Women's Movement (addressed by the AÖFV)

Some of the issues of the *Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein* (AÖFV), or the General Austrian Women's Organization, aggressively addressed were prostitution, suffrage, women's participation in political organizations, rights of workers in domestic servitude, women worker's rights, rights of unwed mothers and illegitimate children, and the right of female teachers to marry (teacher celibacy). The following sections give an overview of four of the most prominent issues addressed by the AÖFV: 1) Prostitution, 2) Suffrage, 3) Women's Participation in Political Organizations, and 4) the Domestic Servitude, or *Dienstbotenfrage*.

Prostitution

The AÖFV took an active role in speaking out against prostitution, also known as the "sexual question." Indeed, many publications, including *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben* included strong editorials condemning prostitution and calling on women to take a stand and have "civil courage for a woman to address publicly such topics as sexuality and prostitution" (Good, Grandner, and Maynes, 22). Harriet Anderson further notes that "the very fact that women concerned themselves with the topic at all was enough to be scandalous; by venturing on to this hitherto forbidden territory the Association set a precedent" (70). Anderson points out that those concerned with the issue of prostitution believed one or more of the following: prostitution was a necessary evil, with the negative consequence of venereal disease, which could be controlled by proper hygiene and sanitation through compulsory medical check-ups and state-run brothels; or that prostitution should be stamped out with a return to Christian

ideals, or with improved economic conditions (71). The AÖFV, especially Mayreder, held the latter view, that prostitution was a social, economic, and also moral issue, and should be stamped out. Numerous articles in *Dokumente der Frauen* addressed the issue, and incited public debate, support, and criticism.

The prostitution debate can be used as an example of the social and political power and influence of the AÖFV of the organization. Although Auguste Fickert and Marie Lang, and Rosa Mayreder, the key figures of the AÖFV, were all concerned with prostitution, it was Rosa Mayreder who took a major and active role in fighting this issue. The AÖFV blamed prostitution on economic and social incentives, and sought to address the issue as an economic and social, rather than solely a moral, problem.

Mayreder composed a petition on prostitution to the government. The petition and the slow response from the government, who would not change prostitution laws, was entitled, *Zur Geschichte einer Petition*. Although the petitions were rejected, the AÖFV raised awareness on the issue and maintained a high degree of influence.

Suffrage

Dokumente der Frauen promoted awareness and publicity, petitioned legislative bodies, and influenced political events. The women's suffrage issue, or *Wahlrecht*, received much attention from *Dokumente der Frauen*. The AÖFV used *Dokumente der Frauen* to raise public awareness of the issue, bring the topic before legislative bodies, and influence the election of suffrage-sympathizers into office. In the two articles that Auguste Fickert writes for *Dokumente der Frauen*, one addresses suffrage, entitled: "Das Frauenwahlrecht in Österreich." Fickert points out the hypocrisy of the municipal statute

(*Gemeindestatut*) §8 on the equality of all Viennese citizens, and the requirements to vote. The statute states:

Bürger sind jene, welche dermalen das Bürgerrecht der Stadt Wien besitzen.... Frauenspersonen können selbständig das Bürgerrecht nicht erwerben, sie erlangen jedoch durch Verhehlung mit einem Bürger oder durch Einbürgerung ihres Ehegatten alle mit dem Bürgerrechte verbundenen Vortheile. (Bd. 1 Nr. 3, 1899)

Fickert sees this definition as erroneous, and believes that women should be granted suffrage. Fickert cites prominent men within the Liberal Party, who favor women's suffrage, namely, Baron Doblhof, Dr. Brestl, Dr. Dienstl, Baron Hock and Baron Tinti, who jointly felt that: "...die Frauen des Grossgrundbesitzes zweifellos wahlberechtigt seien, [dass] das Gesetz also nicht die Absicht hatte, die Frauen überhaupt vom Wahlrechte auszuschliessen... 'Gleiches Recht für Alle!'" (*Dokumente der Frauen*, Bd. 1 Nr. 3, 1899.) These men acted as the AÖFV's contacts to the political arena in which the women could not go. They initially supported and represented the women's initiatives before legislative bodies, on issues such as suffrage. But the organization did face opposition from Parliament as well.

Unfortunately, the Liberal Party, which once supported the women, later dropped its support, and Lower Austrian tax-paying women (mostly property owners), who were some of the few women in Austria allowed to vote under certain circumstances, were not allowed to vote. Furthermore, many felt that women's views were already represented by their spouses and did not need any more representation: "Baron Hock machte geltend, dass auch Frauen dieselben interessen haben, welche durch Männer vertreten werden.

Baron Tinti schliesst sich dem Vorredner an, worauf Dr. Brestl's Antrag mit grosser Majorität angenommen wird" (*Dokumente der Frauen*, Bd. 4, Nr. 19).

In order to retain support from their contacts in Parliament, and to express appreciation to those who were true to women's rights, Mayreder, Fickert, and Lang used *Dokumente* to publicly thank those that did help them in an article from the editors:

Eine Wahlreform-vorlage für die Stadt Wien ist in diesen Tagen vom niederösterreichischen Landtag berathen und mit grösster Hast angenommen worden. Den Arbeitern wird in einem vierten Wahlkörper das Wahlrecht gegeben. Durch allerhand Tifteleien Einschränkungen und Vorbedingungen wird auch diesen das angeblich verliehene Wahlrecht erheblich geschmälert.... Nur die drei Abgeordneten: *Kronawetter*, *Ofner* und *Kopp* haben an die ethische Berechtigung der Frau, insbesondere zum Wahlrecht in der Gemeinde, erinnert. Die Wiener Frauen haben diesen Freunden bereits öffentlich gedankt. (*Dokumente der Frauen*, Bd.2, Nr. 24)

The AÖFV wanted to publicly praise those that came to the defense of women's rights. Although the AÖFV had political contacts with certain parties, it shied away from joining any political party, despite the fact that the organization was politically minded. The AÖFV was often at odds with the Viennese Christian Women's League (*Christlicher Wiener Frauenbund*), or CWF, women aligned with the Christian Socialist political party (*Christlich-Socialen*). Indeed, between the CWF and the AÖFV, there was a huge rivalry. The mayor of Vienna, Dr. Carl Lueger, stood with the CWF, opposing suffrage for women, which angered the AÖFV. Mayreder, Lang, and Fickert used *Dokumente der*

Frauen as a weapon to discredit the CWF. Articles were written that showed the ludicrousness of the Christian Socialist ideals. In the *Notizen* section of *Dokumente* Dr. Lueger is quoted for his disdain of women's suffrage:

Unsere grössten Gegner sind: dafür eingetreten, dass auch den Frauen das Bürgerrecht der Stadt Wien ertheilt werde, sie sind weiters dafür eingetreten, dass die Frauen das Wahlrecht bekommen sollen. Ich habe mich dagegen angesprochen, aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil ich der Ueberzeugung bin, dass jene Frauen, welche ein Gewerbe betreiben, zum grossen Theile nicht zu der christlichen Bevölkerung gezählt werden können. Die Erfahrung lehrt, dass der Mann oft der Hausknecht seiner Frau ist...der Mann dagegen nur ihr Helfer...[Die christlichen Frauen] werden schon deswegen auf ein Wahlrecht verzichten, weil im gegentheiligen Falle unser ganzer Kampf um die verlorene Vorherrschaft des christlichen arischen Volkes erschwert werden würde. (*Dokumente* Bd. 2 Nr. 25)

Fickert was disgusted with his comment and responded: "Wie man sieht, hat Herr Dr. Lueger seinen Frauen sehr billige Pflaster auf die Wunden gelegt, die auch ihnen in der Wahlreformvorlage zugefügt wurden" (ibid). Mayreder, Fickert, and Lang hoped that the arguments against the Christian Socialists presented in *Dokumente* would persuade women not to support that organization. However, the CWF boasted at one point a membership of 14,000; the AÖFV had 298 (Anderson 42).

Even though women couldn't vote, *Dokumente* urged women to participate in politics as preparation for greater political advancement and influence by holding

meetings, distributing agitational materials, collecting money, organizing carriages and telephones, and doing administrative work (Anderson, 85). Fickert calls on all women to help in the elections:

Gerade weil die Frauen Neulinge in der Politik sind, gerade deshalb verfügen sie über unverbrauchte, brachliegende Kräfte! Gerade weil sie jung im öffentlichen Leben sind, sind ihre Augen noch nicht trübe, sondern können leuchten. Jede Frau, die am Wahlabende auch nur ein bisschen besorgt ist für den Ausgang, hat die Verpflichtung, mitzuarbeiten!... Es gilt jene Kandidaten mit Wort und That zu unterstützen, welche die entwickeltesten moralischen und socialen Anschauungen im Allgemeinen und in der Frauenfrage im Besonderen haben. Die "Dokumente" sind mehr als ein bisschen Druckerschwärze auf hübschem Papier. Sie wollen ein ferment im Leben jeder Frau bilden. Wer mitarbeiten will und kann, melde sich. ("Ouverture zu den Reichsrathswahlen", Bd.4, Nr. 15)

This call from Fickert and "Dokumente" for women to support the progressive leaders in the upcoming elections was successful, and in the 1901 elections, the Christian Socialists, the rival party to the AÖFV lost, and the Social Democrats won. This was a huge victory for the AÖFV. In *Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in fin-de siècle Vienna*, published in 1992, researcher Harriet Anderson attributes this victory to the success of the AÖFV and *Dokumente* in calling on women to aid the Social Democrats in the election campaign (84-85). In "Nach den Wahlen," published right after the elections,

Leopoldine Glöckel cites the defeat of the Christian Socialists as a step closer to women's suffrage:

Wir jubeln über die Niederlage der Christlich-Socialen.... Die socialdemokratische Partei ist die einzige, welche unsere Forderung nach wirtschaftlicher und politischer Gleichstellung der Geschlechter in ihr Programm aufgenommen hat.... Wir müssen trachten, eine politische Macht zu werden, dann wird man uns politische Rechte nicht länger vorenthalten können. (Bd. 4, Nr. 21, 1901)

Glöckel states that if women can be recognized as a political influence, as they were in the elections, then one can no longer hold the right to participate politically from them.

In the *Zur Frauenbewegung* section, *Dokumente* emphasizes the importance of every woman being socially and politically aware:

auch die bürgerlichen Frauen [sollen] sich an der Wahlbewegung beteiligen, da es für jede Frau von Interesse ist, welche Partei am Ruder ist; für die erwerbende, wer ihre Lohn- und Arbeitsverhältnisse regeln, Alters- und Krankenversorgung schaffen soll; für die Hausfrau und Gattin, wer die directen und indirecten Steuern fixirt; für die Mutter, wer über das geistige und leibliche Wohl ihrer Kinder in der Schule wacht....(*Dokumente*, Bd. 4, Nr. 19)

In line with AÖFV's aims to undermine the CWF, the article further states "auch die christlich-socialen Frauen.... haben ihre Agitation mit einem kleinen Häuflein begonnen – heute sind sie ohne Macht" (*Dokumente*, Bd. 4, Nr. 19).

Some women in Austria did have a small political voice and were allowed to vote in the Schätzungscommissionen der Personaleinkommensteuer (appraisal commission of personal income tax). But even here, notes the editorial staff of *Dokumente*, women were not given equal status with men,

Zu diesen Commissionen haben nun auch die Frauen das Wahlrecht, aber wenn österreichische Gesetze den Frauen ein Wahlrecht geben, so thun sie es nur recht behutsam und scheu. Die Frauen dürfen hier zwar wählen, aber wählbar sind sie nicht. Sie sollen wohl Steuer zahlen, aber über die Einschätzung der Steuer sollen sie nicht mitentscheiden dürfen. (“Wenn Frauen in Österreich wählen können,” Bd.6, Nr. 20)

Dokumente further encourages its readers to take advantage of every little right and opportunity women do have to participate in politics:

Der Gesetzgeber hat den Frauen hier ein schmales Wahlrecht gegeben, die Frauen dürfen es nicht selbst noch mehr entwerthen, indem sie es nicht benützen. Der Kampf der Frauen um ihre Gleichberechtigung im Staate ist ein so schwerer, dass auch das kleinste Recht, das sie haben, nicht vernachlässigt werden darf.... Wir erwarten daher, dass am Wahltag jede Frau ihre Pflicht thue. (“Wenn Frauen in Österreich wählen können,” Bd.6, Nr. 20)

Although women were allowed to vote in this body, the law limited their political right by stipulating that any income a woman makes is included and counted towards her husband's income, raising the amount taxed, and further depriving women of being recognized independently.

Dokumente der Frauen was successful in encouraging women to act politically, by helping the political campaigns of progressive candidates. *Dokumente* was also successful in spreading news and information to both men and women. Even though women couldn't vote, their choice in political parties in the 1901 elections was granted through thriving circulation, advertisement and awareness from *Dokumente*. This issue shows the effectiveness of the small-membered AÖFV, and the powerful influence of *Dokumente* against the large-body of the CWF.

Despite the short lifespan of *Dokumente der Frauen*, Sparholz in her Diplomarbeit names the publication the most well-known women's publication in Austria during the late 19th and early 20th century women's movement (Sparholz 78).

For Further Reference to Articles on Suffrage in *Dokumente der Frauen*:

Die Frauen in der Wahlbewegung [Frauenversammlungen aller Parteien] (Bd. 4, Nr. 19, 1901)

Die Frauenbewegung und der Gesamtparteitag der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie (Bd. 2, Nr. 15, 1899)

Die Gemeindewahlreform für Niederösterreich [wird der Sanktion nicht zugeführt] (Bd. 1, Nr. 12, 1899)

Die Wahlreformen und die Frauen [Versammlung im Ronacher am 22. März 1899] (Bd. 1, Nr. 2, 1899)

Der Entwurf des Budapester Gemeindegesetzes [gibt selbständig Frauen das aktive Wahlrecht] (Bd. 2, Nr. 19, 1899)

Der Kampf um das Wahlrecht [Gabriele von Possanner will wegen Aberkennung des Wahlrechtes vor den Verwaltungsgerichtshof] (Bd. 4, Nr. 13, 1900)

Der niederösterreichische Frauengewerbeverein [Petition bezüglich Wahlrechtes] (Bd. 2, Nr. 24, 1900)

Eine Wahlreform-Vorlage [für die Stadt Wien] (Bd. 2, Nr. 24, 1900)

Fickert, Auguste: Das Frauenwahlrecht in Österreich (Bd. 1, Nr. 3, 1899)
Frauenpolitik (Bd. 4, Nr. 17, 1900)

Frauenwahlrecht [Parteitag der Alldeutschen spricht sich gegen Frauenwahlrecht aus]
(Bd. 5, Nr. 4, 1901)

Frauenwahlrecht [Versammlung in Lemberg] (Bd. 1, Nr. 5, 1899)

Freundlich, Emmy: Die bürgerlichen Frauen und der politische Kampf (Bd. 4, Nr. 16,
1900)

Gegen die Sanktionierung der christlich-sozialen Wahlreform [Versammlung am 14. Juni
im Ronacher] (Bd. 1, Nr. 8, 1899)

Glöckel, Leopoldine: Nach den Wahlen (Bd. 4, Nr. 21, 1901)

Gumpłowicz, Ladislaus: Frauenbewegung und Frauenschutz (Bd. 3, Nr. 1, 1900)

Ofner, Julius: Die Christlich-Sozialen und die Frauen (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)

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Ouverture zu den Reichsrathswahlen (Bd. 4, Nr. 15, 1900)

Prévost, Marcel: Die Frauen und die Jury (Bd. 6, Nr. 16, 1901)

Prévost, Marcel: Fräulein Rechtsanwält (Bd. 4, Nr. 22, 1901)

Wahlagitation ungarischer Frauen (Bd. 6, Nr. 15, 1901)

Welten, Franz: Dr. Carl Lueger (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)

Wendel, G.: Das Wahlrecht der Frauen im Deutschen Reiche (Bd. 3, Nr. 6, 1900)

Wenn Frauen in Österreich wählen können (Bd. 6, Nr. 20, 1902)

Winter, Fritz: Wie man in Österreich wählt (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)

Women's Participation in Political Organizations

Because of Austrian law, specifically statute § 30, which banned women from the political arena by prohibiting female participation in political organizations, women were politically unrepresented (Anderson 40). A petition to lift statute § 30, drafted mainly by

Auguste Fickert, was presented to Parliament on July 20, 1907. In the petition, the position of women next to children in the short list of those not able to participate in political organizations was shown to hurt society and families:

Die Gleichstellung der “Frauenpersonen mit den Minderjährige mag zu einer Zeit teilweise gerechtfertigt gewesen sein, in welcher auch die erwachsenen weiblichen Familienangehörigen noch der Mehrzahl nach unselbständig waren, von den männlichen Verwandten unterhalten wurden und dadurch unter deren Schutz gestanden haben. Heute, wo in großer Bruchteil der erwerbenden Bevölkerung Frauen sind, die nicht nur für sich selbst, sondern oft für erwerbsunfähige oder minderjährige Familienglieder zu sorgen haben, erscheint die Ausschließung von der Teilnahme an politischen Vereinen für sie als eine schwere wirtschaftliche Schädigung. (*Neues Frauenleben* 19. Jg., Nr. 6, 1907)

Fickert argues here that since women are in charge of their families, and are thus placed in a position in which they must make decisions on behalf of others, they should be allowed to participate in politics and be politically recognized as well. The petition further discusses the importance of political education for women, and gives examples of other European countries, such as Finland, which were by then incorporating women into their political and legal systems. The petition ends with the recommendation to eliminate “women” from the list of those not allowed to participate in political organizations: “Das hohe Haus möge aus dem § 30 des bestehenden Vereinsgesetzes das Wort “Frauensperson” eliminieren” (*Neues Frauenleben* 19. Jg., Nr. 6, 1907).

The petition was not passed, nor were political participation rules for women relaxed. However, the petition was noticed and commented on by many members of Parliament. In a later edition of *Neues Frauenleben* an article by Fickert was printed on the progress of the petition. Fickert included comments the petition had received from members of Parliament. One of the members Fickert quoted in her article was Julius Ofner, a friend of the organization and one of the contacts the women had in Parliament, who wanted to help the women's cause in petitioning § 30. Ofner advised the women of the petition to get more women introduced to and involved in the issue, to show that the petition represented women in general and not just a group of radicals:

Wie viele Frauen in Oesterreich wissen, wie § 30 lautet? Wie viele interessieren sich für die Aenderung? Wie schwach ist der Anstrich der Frauen gegen ihre politische Entrechtung? Ich denke natürlich nicht an die Mittel der Suffragettes. Aber, geehrte Frauen, viel, viel lauter müssen Sie werden, und eifriger und dringender, bis die Herren im Verfassungsausschuß und außerhalb desselben erkennen, daß es sich nicht um die Petition einiger Radikalen, sondern um das ernste Verlangen einer gebietenden Menge von Frauen handelt.... Nur ausdauernde Propaganda im eigenen Lager der Frauen...wird Ihnen die Tore zum öffentlichen Leben dauernd öffnen. (*Neues Frauenleben* 22. Jg., Nr. 1)

Ofner wanted to see the petition passed, but it needed to be the united wish of women in general in order to garner the support it needed to be effective. Ofner recommends further propaganda to awaken and arouse women to their poor political state, something that the publication of *Neues Frauenleben* sought to do; although it should be noted that the

petition the AÖFV handed in to Parliament had 14,000 signatures (*Neues Frauenleben* 22. Jg., Nr. 1).

Other comments were sent to the *Neues Frauenleben* editorial staff; a couple of letters were anonymous, and one was sarcastic. These comments were received in disgust by Fickert:

Das ist die Ernte unserer Aussat! Ein armseliger Lustigmacher, ein Anonymus, der wohl höflich genug ist, eine höfliche Anfrage zu beantworten.... und zwei Ernst zu nehmende Antworten, für die wir den beiden Herren Abgeordneten verbindlichst danken. Sie haben damit ihren Kollegen gezeigt, daß man sich selbst ehrt, wenn man auch “kleine Leute” – und das sind die Frauen vom Standpunkte des Abgeordneten aus betrachtet – nicht verächtlich behandelt.... Wir wissen nun, was die Frauen von unsern Abgeordneten, von unserm Parlamente zu erwarten haben.... Wir können nichts Besseres tun, als die Ratschläge unseres alten Freundes Dr. Ofner zu beherzigen, der uns mit so jugendlicher Wärme und mit einem so aufrichtigen Herzen zu unserer Pflicht ruft. (*Neues Frauenleben* 22. Jg., Nr. 1)

Fickert was resolved to keep pushing their efforts in the manner Dr. Ofner suggested, and indirectly condemned Parliament for their disregard of “the little people,” or women. But the failure of the petition did not stop the organization from pushing political influence. Although they could not officially participate in political organizations, they were able to help influence election outcomes.

Although not a petition, a notable example is the declaration of thanks from the Social Democratic Party, appearing in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, or worker's newspaper, to the women of the organization for their help in the 1907 elections, in which the Social Democrats came out victorious:

Den Dank für die Hilfe der Frauen im Wahlkampf spricht die siegreiche sozialdemokratische Partei in der "Arbeiter-Zeitung" vom 29. Mai aus, und indem sie die politische Reife der Proletarierfrau und weiter Frauenkreise anerkannt, erklärt sie es "jedes erwachsenen und vollsinnigen Menschen unwürdig, unter Gestirnen zu leben, auf deren Zustandekommen er keinen Einfluß hat." (*Neues Frauenleben*, 19. Jg., Nr. 6, 1907)

This further shows that although women could not directly participate in politics, their influence, especially through organizations such as the AÖFV, was great.

To learn more about women's participation in political organizations, refer to the following articles in *Neues Frauenleben* on Women's Participation in Politics:

Neues Frauenleben, 14. Jg., Nr. 1, 1902.

Der § 30 des Vereinsgesetzes (19. Jg., Nr. 6, 1907)

Freundlich, Emmy: Die Frauen und die politischen Parteien (19. Jg., Nr. 1, 1917)

Fickert, Auguste: Zum § 30! (22. Jg., Nr. 1, 1910)

Domestic Servitude, or *Dienstbotenfrage*

The domestic servant problem, or *Dienstbotenfrage*, centered around rights for domestic servants. Domestic servants were subject to terrible working conditions, earned

no health benefits or pension, had no set working hours, and were subject to police control; when any dispute arose, it was automatically assumed to be the fault of the servant (Anderson 76). In addition, once women reached the age of 40, they were considered *verbraucht*, or exhausted and used, and were therefore released (Witzmann, 57).

Lang devoted an entire issue to the problem in *Dokumente der Frauen*:

Die Dienstbotenfrage ist auch in Wien eine brennende geworden, und der die Frauen aller Gesellschaftsclassen interessirt sind.... Eine Anzahl ernster, vornehm denkender Frauen...beschäftigen sich seit einem Jahre mit diesem Problem und streben die Schaffung einer Altersversorgung an, so dass es an der Zeit erscheint, dieses Thema gründlich zu discutiren, weshalb ich hiermit allen ernstgemeinten Reformvorschlägen und Aeusserungen die Spalten dieses Blattes öffne! (*Dokumente der Frauen*, Bd. 2, Nr. 21 1900).

Julius Ofner, well-known jurist, wrote an article for *Dokumente der Frauen*, *Zur Dienstbotenfrage*, which called for better laws and state intervention and provision to improve the servant issue. According to Fritz Winter in his article *Statistisches in Dokumente*, based on the 1890 census, every eighth woman in Vienna in 1890 was a (domestic) servant (*Statistisches*, Bd. 2, Nr. 21). The city of Vienna, on its own initiative had visited the matter in 1891, but unsatisfied with the results, the AÖFV called a meeting with Julius Ofner and Johann Herrdegen, in which the AÖFV was commissioned to prepare more petitions to municipal bodies for improved regulations, which petitions

were later handed in (Anderson, 76). To learn more about the *Dienstbotenfrage*, refer to the following articles from *Dokumente der Frauen*:

Anstalten und Institutionen zur Fürsorge für Dienstboten in Wien (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)

Das Dienstboten-Erziehungsinstitut [in Budapest eröffnet] (Bd. 5, Nr. 5, 1901)

Die Altersversorgung der Dienstboten [Bildung eines Vereins] (Bd. 3, Nr. 1, 1900)

Dienstboten-Versorgungskasse [am 18. Mai Versammlung] (Bd. 3, Nr. 5, 1900)

Dienstbotenselbstmorde (Bd. 2, Nr. 22, 1900)

Die Versorgung der weiblichen Dienstboten [Komitee unter Vorsitz von
Bürgermeisterswitwe Anna Prix] (Bd. 4, Nr. 22, 1901)

Eckstein, Emma: Das Dienstmädchen als Mutter (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)

Ehrenberg-Bösch, Helene: Altersversorgung [der Dienstboten] (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)

Hoffmann, Nina: Zur Dienstbotenfrage (Bd. 2, Nr. 22, 1900)

Kafka, Elsa [richtiggestellt]: Noch etwas zur Dienstbotenfrage (Bd. 2, Nr. 23, 1900)

Migerka, Katharina: Die Dienstmädchenfrage in einer anderen Beleuchtung (Bd. 2, Nr.
21, 1900)

Ofner, Julius: Zur Dienstbotenfrage (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)

Oppenheimer, Franz: Gewerkvereine der Dienstboten (Bd. 2, Nr. 24, 1900)

Pauli, Bertha: Amerikanische Notizen zur Dienstbotenfrage (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)

Schirmacher, Käthe: Französische Dienstboten (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)

Schmidt-Friese, Johanna: Unsere Dienstboten (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)

Sternberg, Moriz: Zur Dienstbotenfrage (Bd. 2, Nr. 23, 1900)

Über die Dienstboten-Versorgungskasse [Vortrag am 2. April im Frauenklub von
Abgeordnetem Noske] (Bd. 7, Nr. 2, 1902)

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The following is a commentary on women's periodicals from the historical Austrian Women's Movement including a historical overview of women's periodicals, newsletters of the Austrian Women's Movement, and the influence of *Dokumente der Frauen*.

Excerpts from "Historische Frauenzeitschriften" von Christa Bittermann-Wille und Helga Hofmann-Weinberger. Found at <<http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/pubhistz.htm>>

1.2 Geschichtlicher Überblick

Die ersten Impulse für eine Presse, die sich dem neuen Thema "Frau" zuwandte, kamen wohl vom Zeitschriftentyp der "Moralischen Wochenschrift", die im England des 18. Jahrhunderts entstanden (Tatler, Spectator etc.). Dieser neue Typ setzte sich für die Bildung und die politischen Interessen eines neuen Mittelstandes ein - und zwar einschließlich jener der Frauen. Er kam über Hamburg (Der Vernünftler) nach Deutschland und fand hier zügige Verbreitung - innerhalb kurzer Zeit zählte man in Deutschland bereits über 500 Moralische Wochenschriften. War der thematische Schwerpunkt in England eher politischer Natur, so verlagerte er sich in Deutschland auf Themen eines idealen bürgerlichen Familienlebens und die Literatur.

Es soll jedoch in diesem Zusammenhang betont werden, daß keine Herausgeberin eine eindeutig positive und offensive Haltung in Fragen der Frauenbildung einnimmt, keine bricht entschieden mit den herrschenden Vorurteilen und den Beschränkungen des bürgerlichen Weiblichkeitsideals. Eine... Generell kann behauptet werden, daß es ein Hauptanliegen der aufklärerischen Presse war, die Frauen aus ihrer geistigen Lethargie zu wecken, vor allem ihr Bildungsinteresse anzusprechen - im Hinblick auf eine in der Zukunft anzustrebende rechtliche und soziale Gleichstellung von Mann und Frau ... In der Folge kam es zu einer starken Ausweitung der Zahl der Frauenzeitschriften, aber auch zu einer Verflachung des literarischen Anspruchs und einer als naiv zu bezeichnenden politischen Positionierung. Neben Wien war Graz die einzige Stadt in der ein Drucker ebenfalls den Mut fand, eine Frauenzeitschrift herauszugeben.... Gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, das auch gerne als das "Jahrhundert der Frau" bezeichnet wird, ist das "lesende Frauenzimmer" keine Seltenheit mehr. Doch blieb die soziale Schicht, in dem die erbaulichen Wochenschriften und Frauenzeitschriften gelesen werden konnten, auf das städtische Bürgertum und den ländlichen Adel beschränkt. Wiener Frauenzeitschriften wurden sowohl von Einzelpersonen, als auch von Personengruppen erworben und gelesen: es gab eine "gesellschaftliche Form des Lesens" in Lesegemeinschaften, Lesegesellschaften und Lesekabinetten. Letztere tauchten in Wien erstmals 1776 auf: sie waren an Buchhandlungen wie z.B. dem legendären Trattner (Wiener Lectur-Kabinet) oder Kunsthandlungen wie z. B. Bianchi angeschlossen. Unter den verschärften Zensurmaßnahmen Josefs II. wurden diese Lesekabinette verboten.

Die teilweise kühnen emanzipatorischen Gedanken der Aufklärungspresse wichen im Zeitalter der Romantik und des Vormärz einem Rückzug ins Ideelle, in die Innerlichkeit. Den Frauen wurde wieder eine eher passive gesellschaftliche Rolle zugewiesen, Erbauungs- und Unterhaltungsliteratur stand im Vordergrund.

1.3 Zeitschriften der österreichischen historischen Frauenbewegung

Der Gedanke der Menschenrechte aus dem 18. Jahrhundert wird im 19. Jahrhundert unter dem Begriff "Frauenrechte" zum Leitmotiv der historischen Frauenbewegung. Die sogenannte liberale Frauenbewegung tritt als erste gegen die staatsbürgerliche Rechtlosigkeit der Frauen auf - noch lange vor der katholischen und der sozialdemokratischen. Ihre Trägerinnen entstammten dem gehobenen Mittelstand bzw. der Oberschicht, sie hatten also einen entsprechenden Bildungshintergrund, der ihnen erlaubte, die Wichtigkeit einer freien geistigen Entwicklung und vor allem der Mädchenbildung im Hinblick auf eine spätere berufliche Betätigung und die damit verbundene ökonomische Selbständigkeit zu erkennen.

Besonders hervorzuhebende Organe dieser liberalen Frauenbewegung waren die "Dokumente der Frauen", "Neues Frauenleben" und "Der Bund", wobei sich anhand dieser Zeitschriften auch die schwierige ideologische Abgrenzung und Verortung der liberalen Frauenbewegung anschaulich zeigt.

Die Dokumente der Frauen sind hervorgegangen aus dem Allgemeinen Österreichischen Frauenverein (AÖFV, 1893 gegründet) und wurden von Auguste Fickert, Marie Lang und Rosa Mayreder herausgegeben; allerdings traten Fickert und Mayreder wegen inhaltlicher und organisatorischer Differenzen schon früh von der Herausgeberinnen-Funktion zurück und Marie Lang führte das Blatt bis Ende September 1902 alleine weiter. Hauptthemen der Zeitschrift waren: Frauenbewegung, Vereine, Kongresse; Berufstätigkeit; Rechtsfragen, Bildung; auch Schwerpunktthemen wurden behandelt: z.B. 1. März 1902 (Reformkleidung); 15. Jänner 1900 (Dienstbotenfrage). Zu den MitarbeiterInnen zählten: Julius Ofner, Fritz Winter (über rechtliche Situation), K. Schirmacher, Marianne Hainisch, Henriette Fürth, A. Salomon, O. Bondy, H. Herzfelder, C. Hess, Adelheid Popp, Emmy Freundlich, Bertha Zuckerandl, Betty Brod; Arthur L. Jellinek erarbeitete eine Bibliographie zum Thema Frau. Literaturbeiträge erschienen oft in Fortsetzungen, z. B. von Ricarda Huch, Ellen Key, Anna Schapire, Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein. Das Unternehmen scheiterte schließlich auf Grund von mangelndem Organisationstalent, fehlender journalistischer Erfahrung, finanzieller Verschuldung; nicht zuletzt erwuchs dem Blatt Konkurrenz durch das Neue Frauenleben, das nun vom AÖFV finanziell unterstützt wurde. Fortgeführt wurden die "Dokumente" ab 1903 bis 1922 in Leipzig und Berlin unter dem Titel: Frauen-Rundschau, später als Illustrierte Frauen-Rundschau; Redakteurinnen waren u.a. Marie Raschke und Helene Stöcker. Ab 1912 fungierte die Zeitschrift als Vereins-Mitteilungsorgan deutscher Frauenverbände und -vereine.

Ab 1902 wurde die bereits bestehende Zeitschrift Frauenleben (herausgegeben von Helene Littmann) von Auguste Fickert (Vereinspräsidentin des AÖFV) als Herausgeberin

übernommen und in Neues Frauenleben umbenannt und damit neues Sprachrohr des AÖFV. 1903 gab es Bemühungen, die Zeitschrift auch zum Organ des neu ge-gründeten Bundes Österreichischer Frauenvereine gewählt zu werden, was aber wegen ideologischer Differenzen zwischen fortschrittlichem Frauenverein und konservativerem Bund nicht zustandekam. Ab 1904 erschien die Beilage Die Staatsbeamtin als selbständiges Organ der Beamtinnensektion des AÖFV.

1906 wurde im "Bund" eine neue Organisation beschlossen, und zwar die der Post- und Telegraphenmanipulantinnen, die als Konkurrenz zur Beamtinnen-Sektion auftrat, worauf der AÖFV aus dem Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine austrat. Der Bund : Zentralblatt des Bundes österreichischer Frauenvereine wurde 1905 ins Leben gerufen und berichtete vor allem über Ereignisse der österreichischen Frauenbewegung und aus dem International Council of Women / ICW. Für die Schriftleitung waren verantwortlich: Henriette Herzfelder, Daisy Minor und Maria L. Klausberger. Die Anliegen des "Bundes" wurden im Jahr 1928 bis zum Jahr 1938 von der Zeitschrift Die Österreicherin fortgeführt. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg war die Frauen-Rundschau das Organ des "Bundes" (1950-1971)."

"Verbreitung von Frauenzeitschriften

Die Zahl der deutschsprachigen Frauenblätter im 18. Jahrhundert wird von LACHMANSKI (1900) mit 37 angegeben. Im Illustrierten Konversations-Lexikon der Frau werden für das Jahr 1900 ca. 70 Frauenzeitschriften in Deutschland angeführt, nur 4 davon beschäftigen sich - nach Einschätzung des Autors - mit Tagesfragen der Frauenbewegung. Für Österreich-Ungarn werden 11 angeführt und ebenfalls 4 "Frauenbewegungs-Zeitschriften", wobei das Frauenleben—und sicher nicht ganz zufällig—die Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung unter den Tisch fielen! Für die Schweiz 6, es handelt sich dabei jedoch nur um "Hausfrauenzeitungen". Bei Joachim KIRCHNER (1969) werden bis 1900 131 deutschsprachige Frauenzeitschriften nachgewiesen.

Pränumeration oder Subskription, also die verbindliche Vorausbestellung, war eine verbreitete Vertriebsmethode von Frauenzeitschriften. Deutsche Frauenzeitschriften wie die Pomona wurden 1783/84 von 31 Wienerinnen (Subskribentinnen) gelesen; Amaliens Erholungsstunden (1790/92) von 73; Die Einsiedlerinnen aus den Alpen (1793/94) von 30 (vgl. WECKEL 1998). Eine beliebte Verkaufsstelle von Frauenzeitschriften war die damalige Wiener Zeitungszentrale, wo sowohl "streitbare Frauenzeitschriften" wie unterhaltende Modezeit-schriften angeboten wurden. Dieser Zeitschriften-Einzelhandel—über den Ladentisch—ermöglichte den Frauen "anonymes Lesen"—im Gegensatz zum Abonnement, wo sie der Kontrolle des Ehemannes oder der Familie ausgesetzt waren." From same above source.

A List of Men who Contributed Articles for *Dokumente der Frauen*

- Albrecht, Adalbert: "O Sehnsucht" (Bd. 6, Nr. 13, 1901)
Altenberg, Peter: "Aphorisma" (Bd. 6, Nr. 23, 1902)
Althof, Paul: "Die dumme Sach" (Bd. 1, Nr. 11, 1899)
Bahr, Hermann: "Zur Reform der Tracht" (Bd. 6, Nr. 23, 1902)
Barth, Paul: "Die Frauenfrage in geschichtsphilosophischer Beleuchtung" (Bd. 4, Nr. 23, 1901)
Benzmann, Hans: "Jeanne Marni" (Bd. 6, Nr. 24, 1902)
Bolz-Feigl, Alfons: "Die Lage der weiblichen Bühnengehörigen der deutschen Theater Österreichs" (Bd. 3, Nr. 7, 1900)
Brandes, Georg: "Ellen Key" (Bd. 1, Nr. 7, 1899)
Bunzel, Gustav: "Die erweiterte Frauenbildung und die Ehe" (Bd. 5, Nr. 12, 1901)
Bunzel, Julius: "Das Leben einer Textilarbeiterin" (Bd. 4, Nr. 20, 1901)
Carpenter, Edward: "Die Ehe. Ein Blick in die Zukunft" (Bd. 6, Nr. 19, 1902)
Carpenter, Edward: "Die Freiheit der Frau" (Bd. 6, Nr. 14, 1901)
Carpenter, Edward: "Die Leibeigenschaft der Frau" (Bd. 6, Nr. 13, 1901)
Clemens, Justus: "Bureaukratia paralytica" (Bd. 6, Nr. 20, 1902)
Drecoll, Christoph Freiherr von: "Frauenkleidung und Mieder" (Bd. 6, Nr. 23, 1902)
Eckstein, Josef: "Über die Eignung der Frau zu juristischen Berufen" (Bd. 1; Nr. 8, 1899)
Federn, Karl: "Frauenseelen" (Gabriele Reuter) (Bd. 6, Nr. 22, 1902)
Federn, Karl: "Gleichheit" (Bd. 4, Nr. 22, 1901)
Fortini, Pietro: "Wie eine beherzte und ehrbare Dame durch ein frommes Geständniss ihren Gemahl von der Marter der Tortur befreite und ihm dadurch das Leben rettete" (Bd. 3, Nr. 12, 1900)
Fuld, Ludwig: "Die Vaterschaftsklage in Frankreich und Belgien" (Bd. 7, Nr. 1, 1902)
Grossmann, Stefan: "Der Tod der Antonia Baumberg" (Bd. 7, Nr. 3, 1902)
Grossmann, Stefan: "Praerafaeliten als Erzieher" (Bd. 3, Nr. 6, 1900)
Grossmann, Stefan: "Rosa Marianek" (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)
Grossmann, Stefan: "Seelische Heilprocesse" (Bd. 2, Nr. 14, 1899)
Gruber, Max: "Die Wiener Wohnungsfrage und die sogenannte Christlich-Soziale Partei" (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)
Haas, Julius: "Pflegeschwestern und Pflegedienst" (Bd. 1, Nr. 6, 1899)
Heiss, Clemens: "Der Frauenerwerb in Deutschland" (Bd. 4, Nr. 16, 1900)
Heiss, Clemens: "Die Beschäftigung verheirateter Frauen in den Fabriken Deutschlands" (Bd. 4, Nr. 21, 1901)
Heiss, Clemens: "Aus den Jahresberichten der englischen"
Heiss, Clemens: "Der böhmisch-mährische Generalstrike der..."
Heiss, Clemens: "Die Hausindustrie der Frauen in Berlin" (Bd. 2, Nr. 16, 1899)
Heiss, Clemens: "Die Jahresberichte der englischen Fabriksinspectorinnen für 1898" (Bd. 3, Nr. 11, 1900)
Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 5, Nr. 1, 1901)
Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 2, Nr. 17, 1899)
Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 2, Nr. 18, 1899)
Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 2, Nr. 19, 1899)

Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 2, Nr. 20, 1900)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 2, Nr. 23, 1900)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 2, Nr. 25, 1900)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 3, Nr. 1, 1900)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 3, Nr. 10, 1900)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 3, Nr. 12, 1900)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 3, Nr. 5, 1900)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 4, Nr. 15, 1900)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 4, Nr. 20, 1901)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 5, Nr. 11, 1901)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 5, Nr. 4, 1901)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 6, Nr. 21, 1902)
 Jellinek, Arthur L.: "Bibliographie" (Bd. 6, Nr. 24, 1902)
 Jentsch, Carl: "Prügelpädagogik" (Bd. 1, Nr. 5, 1899)
 Jodl, Friedrich: "Höhere Mädchenbildung und die Gymnasialfrage" (Bd. 1, Nr. 6, 1899)
 Kellen, Tony: "Schriftstellernde Frauen" (Bd. 7, Nr. 4, 1902)
 Kellen, Tony: "Über das Lesen der Schauerromane" (Bd. 7, Nr. 12, 1902)
 Kraus, Siegmund: "Österreichische Mädchenlyceen" (Bd. 5, Nr. 3, 1901)
 Kraus, Siegmund: "Die Schulverderber in Niederösterreich" (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)
 Kraus, Siegmund: "Lage der Lehrerinnen in Österreich" (Bd. 4, Nr. 14, 1900)
 Leuss, Hans: "Frauen und Strafanstalten" (Bd. 4, Nr. 22, 1901)
 Lindner, Anton: "Kinderkunst" (Bd. 7, Nr. 3, 1902)
 Linhart, Carl: "Slovenische Frauenbewegung" (Bd. 6, Nr. 16, 1901)
 Linhart, Carl: "Zur Abwehr" (Bd. 6, Nr. 19, 1902)
 Loos, Adolf: "Damenmode" (Bd. 6, Nr. 23, 1902)
 Menger, Anton: "Die neue Civilprocessordnung und die Frauen" (Bd. 1, Nr. 1, 1899)
 Mesnil, Jacques: "Die freie Ehe" (Bd. 5, Nr. 1, 1901)
 Mesnil, Jacques: "Die freie Ehe. Fortsetzung" (Bd. 5, Nr. 2, 1901)
 Mesnil, Jacques: "Die freie Ehe. Fortsetzung" (Bd. 5, Nr. 3, 1901)
 Mesnil, Jacques: "Die freie Ehe. Schluss" (Bd. 5, Nr. 4, 1901)
 Michels, Robert: "Das Weib und der Intellectualismus" (Bd. 7, Nr. 4, 1902)
 Michels, Robert: "Ein italienisches Landarbeiterinnen-Programm" (Bd. 7, Nr. 6, 1902)
 Morburger, Carl: "Genfer Schulen und Schulkinderfürsorge" (Bd. 7, Nr. 11, 1902)
 Necker, Moritz: "Die Literaturgeschichte in der Höheren"
 Necker, Moritz: "Ricarda Huch als Literarhistoriker" (Bd. 2, Nr. 24, 1900)
 Ofner, Julius: "Die Christlich-Sozialen und die Frauen" (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)
 Ofner, Julius: "Die Frau im österreichischen Privatrecht" (Bd. 2, Nr. 17, 1899)
 Ofner, Julius: "Zur Dienstbotenfrage" (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)
 Olberg, Oda: "Über den Schutz der Frauenarbeit in Italien" (Bd. 4, Nr. 15, 1900)
 Oppenheimer, Franz: "Gewerkvereine der Dienstboten" (Bd. 2, Nr. 24, 1900)
 Perger, Josef: "Vorschläge zur Lösung der Frauen- und Kinderfrage und zur Abhaltung einer diesbezüglichen Enquête" (Bd. 5, Nr. 1, 1901)
 Philippovich, Eugen von: "Frauenlöhne" (Bd. 1, Nr. 2, 1899)
 Polgar, Alfred: "Zweierlei" (Bd. 3, Nr. 11, 1900)
 Pollak, Max: "Der Kinderschutz in Ungarn" (Bd. 5, Nr. 5, 1901)

Pudor, Heinrich: "Frauenstudium" (Bd. 6, Nr. 22, 1902)
 Rappenheim, Wilhelm: "Der Schutz des ungeborenen unehelichen Kindes in Österreich" (Bd. 5, Nr. 9 u. 10, u. 1901)
 Reyer, Eduard: "Bessere Bildung" (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)
 Roller, Alfred: "Gedanken über Frauenkleidung. Ein Brief" (Bd. 6, Nr. 23, 1902)
 Rosenthal, Maximilian Erich: "Was Frauen als Alkoholgegnerinnen leisten können. Bericht über ein Experiment" (Bd. 7, Nr. 2, 1902)
 Schölermann, Wilhelm: "Die deutschen Frauen und die Frauenbewegung" (Bd. 6, Nr. 13, 1901)
 Schölermann, Wilhelm: "Die zweite Schulausstellung des Vereines"
 Schölermann, Wilhelm: "Ruskin als Erzieher" (Bd. 4, Nr. 23, 1901)
 Schölermann, Wilhelm: "Settlements" (Bd. 2, Nr. 14, 1899)
 Scheu, Robert: "Die Märzgefallenen". Studie (Bd. 2, Nr. 25, 1900)
 Scheu, Robert: "Alltag eines Fröhlichen" (Bd. 6, Nr. 18, 1901)
 Scheu, Robert: "Bruder und Schwester" (Bd. 1, Nr. 6, 1899)
 Schulhof, Hedwig: "Das Stärkere. Skizze" (Bd. 4, Nr. 17, 1900)
 Schulhof, Hedwig: "Gefahren" (Bd. 6, Nr. 21, 1902)
 Schulhof, Hedwig: "Prosalyrismus" (Bd. 2, Nr. 15, 1899)
 Schwabe, Toni: Nervös. "Die Geschichte einer Ehe (Bd. 7, Nr. 3, 1902)
 Schwabe, Toni: Nervös. "Die Geschichte einer Ehe. Fortsetzung" (Bd. 7, Nr. 4, 1902)
 Schwabe, Toni: Nervös. "Die Geschichte einer Ehe. Fortsetzung" (Bd. 7, Nr. 5, 1902)
 Schwabe, Toni: Nervös. "Die Geschichte einer Ehe. Fortsetzung und Schluss" (Bd. 7, Nr. 6, 1902)
 Schwann, Mathieu: "Liebe." (Von W. Schölermann) (Bd. 6, Nr. 16, 1901)
 Schwann, Mathieu: "Ostermorgen" (Bd. 1, Nr. 3, 1899)
 Spohr, Wilhelm: "Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes" (Bd. 5, Nr. 3, 1901)
 Spohr, Wilhelm: "Die Lex Heinze, die neueste Schmach für "das Volk der Denker"" (Bd. 3, Nr. 1, 1900)
 Spohr, Wilhelm: "Ein Waffengang für die Frau von Multatuli" (Bd. 3, Nr. 12, 1900)
 Sternberg, Moriz: "Der Entwurf eines ungarischen Familienrechtes" (Bd. 5, Nr. 5, 1901)
 Sternberg, Moriz: "Mütterliches Erziehungsrecht" (Bd. 3, Nr. 5, 1900)
 Sternberg, Moriz: "Rechte und Pflichten der Mütter" (Bd. 4, Nr. 13, 1900)
 Sternberg, Moriz: "Zur Dienstbotenfrage" (Bd. 2, Nr. 23, 1900)
 Tschechow, Anton: "Jonitsch. Erzählung" (Bd. 6, Nr. 14, 1901)
 Tschechow, Anton: "Jonitsch. Erzählung. Fortsetzung" (Bd. 6, Nr. 15, 1901)
 Tschechow, Anton: "Jonitsch. Erzählung. Schluss" (Bd. 6, Nr. 16, 1901)
 Tschechow, Anton: "Schlafen!" (Bd. 7, Nr. 1, 1902)
 Victor Graetz. / Gizycki, Paul: "Das Weib." (Von W. Schölermann)
 Welten, Franz: "Dr. Carl Lueger" (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)
 Whitman, Walt: "Die große Stadt" (Bd. 1, Nr. 12, 1899)
 Whitman, Walt: "Gedichte" (Bd. 4, Nr. 23, 1901)
 Winter, Fritz: "Das Heimatsrecht und die Frauen" (Bd. 6, Nr. 24, 1902)
 Winter, Fritz: "Das Recht der Blumenmädchen" (Bd. 5, Nr. 6, 1901)
 Winter, Fritz: "Das Recht und die Frau" (Bd. 1, Nr. 10, 1899)
 Winter, Fritz: "Der Heiratsmarkt" (Bd. 4, Nr. 23, 1901)
 Winter, Fritz: "Die alten Frauen und der österreichische Staat" (Bd. 6, Nr. 13, 1901)

Winter, Fritz: "Die Arbeiterin der Confectionsindustrie" (Bd. 2, Nr. 23, 1900)
Winter, Fritz: "Die Gewerbeinspectoren über das Elend der Arbeiterinnen" (Bd. 3, Nr. 10, 1900)
Winter, Fritz: "Dienstvermittlung" (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)
Winter, Fritz: "Ein neues Schutzgesetz für Gouvernanten und Privatlehrerinnen" (Bd. 6, Nr. 18, 1901)
Winter, Fritz: "Eine Erwiderung" (Bd. 5, Nr. 4, 1901)
Winter, Fritz: "Haushaltungssorgen" (Bd. 3, Nr. 2, 1900)
Winter, Fritz: "Statistisches [zur Dienstbotenfrage]" (Bd. 2, Nr. 21, 1900)
Winter, Fritz: "Wie man in Österreich wählt" (Bd. 4, Nr. 18, 1900)
Wolff, Fritz: "Die Kunsterziehung und die Frau" (Bd. 7, Nr. 1, 1902)
Zepler, Marg. N.: "Kunstgewerbliche und Juwelierarbeiten von Frauenhand" (Bd. 7, Nr. 9 u. 10, 1902)
Zeromski, Stefan: "Abenddämmerung" (Bd. 4, Nr. 20, 1901)
Zschorlich, Paul: "Yvette Guilbert als Schriftstellerin" (Bd. 7, Nr. 12, 1902)

Occupations of Male Authors of *Dokumente der Frauen*

Albrecht, Adalbert

Altenberg, Peter: Viennese writer and poet; played an influential part of the Jung Wien, or “Young Vienna” movement. Altenberg is sometimes referred to as the “coffee house poet”, because most of his work was written in different Viennese coffeehouses (Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Altenberg)

Althof, Paul: (pseudonym of female writer Alice Gurschner; http://www.musikerbriefe.at/INDEX_anz.ASP?Nr=110663)

Bahr, Hermann: Austrian writer, essayist, and critic. He was a spokesman for the Jung Wien or “Young Vienna” group. He is also one of the most important comedy-writers of his era (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon, <http://www.aeiou.at>)

Barth, Paul: German philosopher and sociologist; professor of philosophy and education in Leipzig from 1897 (Encyclopedia Britannica Online, <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9000560>)

Benzmann, Hans: German writer (<http://www.luise-berlin.de/strassen/Bez12a/B286.htm>)

Bolz-Feigl, Alfons

Brandes, Georg: Danish literary scholar who sought to free Denmark from its cultural isolation and provincialism. His writings and lectures had large influence on Scandinavian literature (Encyclopedia Britannica Online, <http://www.britannica.com/ebi/article-9344521>)

Bunzel, Gustav

Bunzel, Julius

Carpenter, Edward: English socialist poet, anthologist, and homosexual activist; sometimes considered the champion of both women’s and homosexuals’ liberation (http://www.glbtc.com/literature/carpenter_e.html and Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Carpenter)

Clemens, Justus

Drecoll, Christoph Freiherr von

Eckstein, Josef

Federn, Karl: Author

Fortini, Pietro

Fuld, Ludwig: German lawyer and juridical author (Jewish Encyclopedia, www.jewishencyclopedia.com/)

Grossmann, Stefan: Viennese author of novella and novels, dramatist, journalist, and essayist. Editor of newspapers *Wiener Rundschau* and *Arbeiterzeitung* (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon, <http://www.aeiou.at>)

Gruber, Max: Austrian bacteriologist and hygienist (Who Named It? <http://www.whonamedit.com/doctor.cfm/1325.html>)

Haas, Julius

Heiss, Clemens

Jellinek, Arthur L.: Hungarian lawyer; member of Hungarian Parliament; studied law at the University of Vienna (Jewish Encyclopedia, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=220&letter=J#768>).

Jentsch, Carl: Author?

Jodl, Friedrich: Philosopher and professor in Vienna; founded “Ethic Culture” (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon, <http://www.aeiou.at>)

Kellen, Tony

Kraus, Siegmund

Leuss, Hans: Author of *Aus dem Zuchthause. Verbrecher und Strafrechtspflege?*
Member of the Reichstag (parliament)

Lindner, Anton: Poet?

Linhart, Carl

Loos, Adolf: Famous Viennese architect associated with the Secessionist Movement

Menger (von Wolfensgrün), Anton: Jurist and social theorist; university professor of civil process rights in Vienna (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon, <http://www.aeiou.at>)

Mesnil, Jacques (pseudonym): Dwelshauvers, Jean Jacques: Anarchist and scholar of Florentine renaissance art (Dictionary of Art Historians, <http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/dwelshauversj.htm>)

Michels, Robert: German Sociologist who wrote on political behavior and the problem of power and its abuse (Book Rags, <http://www.bookrags.com/biography-robert-michels/>)

Morburger, Carl: German literary critic and professor (Project Gutenberg, <http://snowy.arsc.alaska.edu/gutenberg/etext05/8shs110.txt>)

Necker, Moritz: Literature and theater critic (Zolles, Christian. Jüdische Konvertitinnen und Schriftstellerinnen, http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/bt_fl_konvertitinnen.htm)

Ofner, Julius: Social-political thinker and jurist. Member of parliament (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon, <http://www.aeiou.at>)

Oppenheimer, Franz: Famous German sociologist and political economist (Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franz_Oppenheimer)

Perger, Josef: possibly father of Marianne Hainisch, feminist and founder of the BÖFV, (*ariadne* database, http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/bio_hainisch.htm)

Philippovich, Eugen von, Freiherr von Philippsberg: Expert economist, university professor in Vienna, founder of the Austrian School, or *Österreichische Schule*, intellectual leader of the Social Political Party (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon, <http://www.aeiou.at>)

Polgar, Alfred: Critic and writer; editor for parliamentary and law issues for the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, a Viennese newspaper (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon, <http://www.aeiou.at>)

Pollak, Max

Pudor, Heinrich: Considered the “Father of Nudism;” author of many works: *Lehre vom Kunstschaffen* (1891) – “Theory of art,” *Geschlechtsleben und Ehe* (1907) – “Sexual life and marriage,” and *Heimbaukunst* (1913) – “Home architecture” (<http://www.michis-seiten.de/side380.html>)

Rappenheim, Wilhelm

Reyer, Eduard: Scientist, librarian, visited US public libraries and started the movement for open book halls, which granted access to books by the general public (*Bücherhallenbewegung*), and educational teacher (Österreichisches Volkshochschularchiv, www.vhs.or.at/172; and www.andreas-schrader.de/slides/DigitalLibraries2004/2004_DigitalLibraries_History.pdf)

Roller, Alfred: Co-founder and 1902 president of the Vienna Secession; professor and director of the School of Arts and Crafts in Vienna; set designer, painter, and graphic artist; created scenic designs for the Burgtheater (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon, <http://www.aeiou.at>)

Rosenthal, Maximilian Erich

Schölermann, Wilhelm

Scheu, Robert: Austrian politician and journalist; studied law; was civil servant in the Ministry of Trade; editor of the *Arbeiterzeitung* newspaper (*aeiou*: Österreich Lexikon,

<http://www.aeiou.at>)

Schulhof, Hedwig

Schwabe, Toni: Author (Projekt Historischer Roman: Datenbank,

http://hstrom.literature.at/cgi/wrapegi.cgi?wrap_config=hr_au_all.cfg&nr=26740)

Schwann, Mathieu

Spohr, Wilhelm: Writer, publisher, and translator for the Niederland *Multatuli* (Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wilhelm_Spohr)

Sternberg, Moriz

Tschechow, Anton: Russian Writer, Novelist, and Playwright (Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anton_P._Tschechow)

Victor Graetz. / Gizycki, Paul

Welten, Franz

Winter, Fritz

Wolff, Fritz: German Architect; built the Pergamonmuseum in 1901 (Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fritz_Wolff)

Zeromski, Stefan: Polish writer who spend most of his years in exile; wrote nationalist pieces; regarded as leading candidate for the Nobel Prize (The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition. 2001-05. <http://www.bartleby.com/65/ze/Zeromski.html>, and Slider Encyclopedia <http://enc.slider.com/Enc/Zeromski>)

Zschorlich, Paul: Music reviewer for the *Deutsche Zeitung*, reviewed Gustav Mahler's work

Petitions of Neues Frauenleben and Decrees/Responses from Government

Deputation des Frauenstimmrechtskomitees bei Ministerpräsident Bienerth [Abschaffung des § 30] (22. Jg., Nr. 6, 1910)

Memorandum des Allgemeinen österreichischen Frauenvereins an Justizministerium (17. Jg., Nr. 1, 1905) (memorandum is summarized)

Erlaß des Justizministeriums bezüglich Aufschiebung der Straftat verurteilter schwangerer Frauen (17. Jg., Nr. 1, 1905) PAGE 17

Frauenwahlrecht im Abgeordnetenhaus (18. Jg., Nr. 11, 1906)

Petition für Zulassung von Frauen an der Akademie der bildenden Künste (23. Jg., Nr. 12, 1911)

Petition um Aufhebung des Zölibats für Lehrerinnen in Niederösterreich [durch den AÖF] (28. Jg., Nr. 5, 1916)

Petition um Einführung einer allgemeinen Mutterschaftsversicherung (20. Jg., Nr. 12, 1908)

Petition des Allgemeinen österreichischen Frauenvereins an das Parlament [bezüglich § 30 des Vereinsgesetzes und Frauenstimmrecht] (19. Jg., Nr. 6, 1907)

Erlaß des Justizministeriums über Strafvollzug an Unmündigen und Jugendlichen (17. Jg., Nr. 10, 1905)

Lehramt an Koch- und Haushaltungsschulen [Erlaß des Ministeriums] (21. Jg., Nr. 6, 1909)

Erlaß des Innenministeriums bezüglich den Mädchenhandel (22. Jg., Nr. 2, 1910)

Erlaß des Ministeriums über die Beaufsichtigung und Benützung der Schülerbibliotheken (27. Jg., Nr. 10, 1915)

Beschluß gegen das Eheverbot für Lehrerinnen durch den deutschen Volksrat in Böhmen (28. Jg., Nr. 5, 1916)

Beschwerde der Advokaturbeamten [vom Justizministerium abgewiesen] (15. Jg., Nr. 8, 9, 1903) (petition not included, from another organization)

Petition des Vereins deutscher Lehrerinnen (22. Jg., Nr. 3, 1910)

Wahlreform-Debatte im Abgeordnetenhaus [Zitat Dr. Adler] (18. Jg., Nr. 3, 1906)

Petition der deutschen Frauen Prags (21. Jg., Nr. 11, 1909)

Verein Frauenbund [Eingabe an das Handelsministerium betreffend Gewerbeinspektorinnen] (15. Jg., Nr. 12, 1903)

Verein "Frauenbund" in Brünn [Petition um Einführung weiblicher Fabriks-Inspektoren] (16. Jg., Nr. 5, 1904)

Petition des Vereins "Frauenbund" in Brünn (17. Jg., Nr. 7, 1905)

Petition des Bundes österreichischer Frauenvereine [bezüglich Antialkohol-Unterricht] (17. Jg., Nr. 8, 1905)

Petition des Bundes österreichischer Frauenvereine (18. Jg., Nr. 11, 1906)

Petition des Deutschen Vereins "Frauenfortschritt" in Prag (18. Jg., Nr. 12, 1906)

Zwei Petitionen des Bundes österreichischer Frauenvereine (20. Jg., Nr. 6, 1908)

Petition des BÖF bezüglich landwirtschaftlicher Frauenschule in Otterbach bei Schärding (24. Jg., Nr. 7/8, 1912)

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Übergänge. Novellen. Dresden: Pierson 1897. 2 ed. Wien: Heller 1908.

Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit. Essays. Jena, Leipzig: Diedrichs 1905. 2 ed. 1907. 3 ed.
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*Zur Geschichte einer Petition gegen Errichtung öffentlicher Häuser in Wien : Protokoll
der Frauenversammlung vom 20. Februar 1897 (etc.) - Wien, Verlag des
Allgemeinen österreichischen Frauenvereins, 1897.*

Zwischen Himmel und Erde. Sonette. Jena, Leipzig: Diedrichs 1908.

Images

FIGURE 1: Rosa Mayreder

Source: *ariadne* Database, Austrian National Library at http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/bio_mayrederrosa.htm



FIGURE 2: Gravesite of Rosa and Karl Mayreder

Source: Author's personal collection



FIGURE 3: Auguste Fickert

Source: *ariadne* Database, Austrian National Library at http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/bio_fickert.htm



FIGURE 4: Monument of Auguste Fickert in Turkenschanzpark

Source: Author's personal collection



FIGURE 5: Marie Lang

Source: ARIADNE Database, Austrian National Library at http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/bio_langmarie.htm



FIGURE 6: Meeting of the AÖFV

Source: Wiener Bilder, 9. Jg., 1904, Nr. 28

Versammlung des AÖFV im großen Saal des Türkenschanzparcs im Juli 1904



FIGURE 7: *Dokumente der Frauen*

Source: *ariadne Database*. Austrian National Library, courtesy of Helga Hoffmann

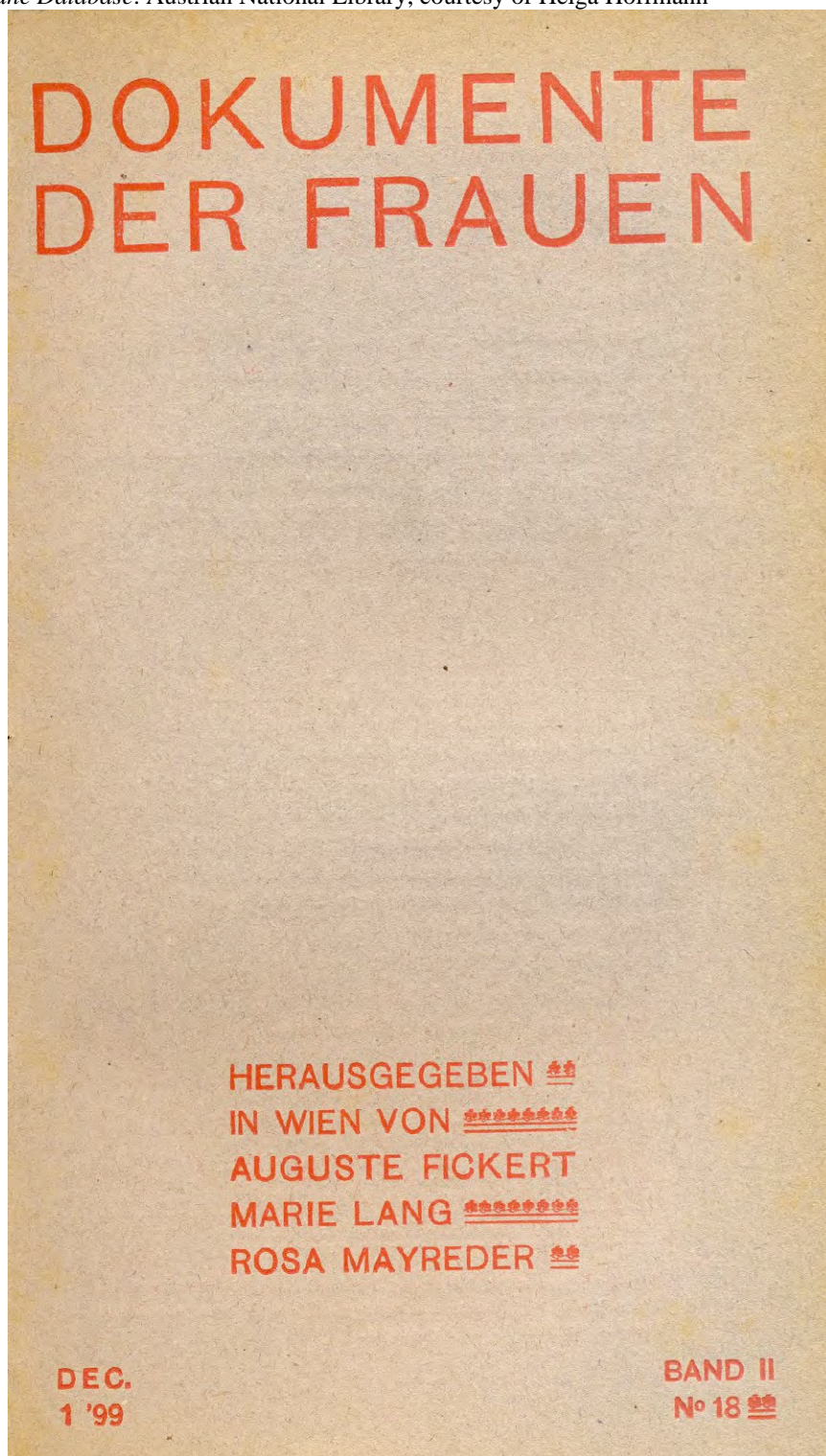


FIGURE 8: Inside *Dokumente der Frauen*

Source: Austria National Library, *ariadne* Database, http://www.literature.at/webinterface/library/ALO-BOOK_V01?objid=1290&zoom=6

DOKUMENTE DER FRAUEN

15. JUNI 1899

STATT die mir über weibliche Sittlichkeit und Ehe im niederösterreichischen Landtag insinuirten Anschauungen zu widerlegen, bringe ich im Einverständnisse mit meinen Mitherausgeberinnen den nachfolgenden Artikel, der das schwierige sexuelle Problem tief erfasst und in einer edlen Auffassung und Sprache zu lösen sucht. Den Ausführungen dieses Aufsatzes schliesse ich mich voll und ganz an. *Auguste Fickert.*

WEIBLICHE SITTlichkeit. VON ELLEN KEY*)

»Das Gesetz verurtheilt den zum Hängen, der Banknoten fälscht; gewiss nothwendig für den Fortgang des Ganzen. Aber wer die Liebe fälscht, das will sagen, wer sich aus tausend anderen Gründen, aber nicht aus Liebe mit einem Wesen verbindet, das er nicht liebt, und so einen untauglichen bluslichen Kreis bildet — ob der wohl nicht ein Verbrechen begeht, dessen Grösse und unberechenbare Folgen für Gegenwart und Nachwelt weit fürchterlicheres Unglück verbreiten, als die Fälschung von Millionen Banknoten?»

C. J. L. Almqvist.

DIE einfachste Formel für den neuen Sittlichkeitsbegriff, der sich gegen das von der ganzen Gesellschaft, aber vor Allem dem weiblichen Theile derselben noch hochgehaltene Sittlichkeitsdogma emporarbeitet, dürfte diese sein:

Die Liebe ist sittlich auch ohne gesetzliche Ehe, aber diese ist unsittlich ohne Liebe.

Der gewöhnlichste Einwand gegen diesen Satz ist, dass die, die ihn aufstellen, alle anderen ethischen Pflichten und berechtigten Gefühle vergessen, das Geschlechtsverhältniss zu dem centralen Lebensverhältniss machen und die Erotik zu dem einzigen ausschlaggehenden Gesichtspunkt

*) »Neue Deutsche Rundschau«, X. Jahrgang, Heft 4.

FIGURE 9: Neues Frauenleben

Source: Ariadne Digital Library at <http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/images/nfl1.jpg>



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