3. Bertha Pauli and her Biographical Feuilletons

Pauli is unique in writing biographical sketches of women from history. Although other Feuilletonists wrote biographical feuilletons, Pauli is the only one, to my knowledge, who wrote about women in the Neue Freie Presse during the 1920s. In her biographical feuilletons, Pauli spotlights various famous women, giving them personality and life. She presents them as important figures in history. Pauli directly addresses the importance of the women’s lives in her writing about George Sand. She says, “Dieses Leben . . . wird von bedeutsamen Interesse bleiben, solange Frauenliebe und -leben als ein fesselndes Problem erscheint” (Pauli, “Romantik” 1).

By writing about George Sand and other women, Pauli implies that their lives continue to be “fesselnde Probleme.” Her biographical feuilletons from 1921 to 1926 focus on six specific women: Queen Christina of Sweden, Marie Antoinette, Marie Therese, Maria Luise, Empress Carlotta of Mexico, and George Sand. These feuilletons are significant both as reflections of women’s issues in Viennese culture during the 1920s, through their implicit political message, and also as contributions to the form of feuilleton. The second half of this thesis deals with two issues: first, demonstrating what Pauli was trying to communicate in her biographical feuilletons and second, proving that, as a high-quality persuasive writer, Pauli’s craft aids in her communication.

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3 Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), daughter of King Gustav I. Adolf and Princess Marie Eleonore, ruled from 1632-54 (“Christine” 543). The ill-fated Marie Antoinette (1755-1793) was the eleventh daughter of Holy Roman emperor Francis I and Maria Theresia. The queen consort of King Louis XVI of France, she was brought before the Revolutionary tribunal on Oct. 14, 1793 and guillotined two days later (“Marie-Antoinette” 844). Marie Therese (1778-1851) was the daughter of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette (“Bourbons” 1900-1). She was the only one of the family to survive the French Revolution and later married the Duke of Angoulême, becoming a duchess (Pauli “Dauphine I” 1). Marie Luise (1791-1847) was the eldest daughter of the Holy Roman emperor Francis II and Maria Theresa of Naples-Sicily. She was the niece of Marie Antoinette. She became Empress of France as Napoleon I’s second wife and was later duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (“Maria-Luise” 844-5). Kaiserin Charlotte, or Carlotta, (1840-1927) was the daughter of the Belgium King Leopold I. She ruled with her husband Maxmillian, former Archduke of Austria, in Mexico from 1864-1866 (“Carlotta” 416). George Sand (1804-1876) was a French writer during the Romantic era. She is also known as Amandine-Aurore-Lucile (Lucie) Dudevant, né Dupin (“Sand, George”).
3.1. Biographical Information About Bertha Pauli

Bertha Pauli is not one of the women studied in the limited previous research on Viennese *Feuilletonstinnen*. She made noteworthy contributions, writing seven feuilletons for the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1925 alone, but she is not the subject of study. The biographical information I have about Pauli comes from a website for the Women’s Studies Department of the Austrian National Library, Ariadne, recognizing her for her participation in the Viennese Equal Right’s Movement. Unfortunately, the website does not analyze any of her writings.

Berta Pauli was born Berta Schütz in Vienna on November 29, 1878. The daughter of Bertha and Friedrich Schütz, she grew up in a freethinking family. Her parents gave her a literary, artistic upbringing, and she followed in her father’s footsteps to become a journalist for the *Neue Freie Presse*. She also wrote for the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the newspaper of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. In 1899, she married the doctor Wolfgang Josef Pauli and later had two children (Ariadne).

Pauli became critical of her Roman Catholic faith and converted to an evangelical religious community in 1911. She was a pacifist, concerned with social equity and the importance of fighting against reactionaries. She believed in progress and supported the Social Democrats as a means to this progress (Ariadne).

Pauli wrote on a variety of topics. During the election of 1919, she addressed Austrian women directly asking them to vote for the Social Democratic party. She also regularly wrote for the *Frauenzeitung* section of the *Neue Freie Presse*, which featured essays on
women's issues, including equality of the sexes in Vienna. Pauli also wrote about feminist
issues for several of the women's papers of the day (Ariadne).

Fig. 2. "Frauen in der Sozialdemokratie"—a picture of women who, like Pauli, supported the Social Democrats
http://sowi.fwp.uni-linz.ac.at/sdo/3sddaten/sddaten02.html; date accessed: 11/22/02

Pauli committed suicide on November 15, 1927. In retrospect, she is believed to
have suffered from pathological anxiety that affected her without warning. During the night
of the twelfth to the thirteenth, she took an overdose of the sedative Veronal and died two
days later (Ariadne).

Friends and colleagues spoke of "ihrer peinlichen Selbstkritik" combined with her
feelings of inferiority. The unhappy state of her marriage may have also contributed to her
suicide since the Paulis' marriage had been in trouble for some time (Ariadne). Though she

4 For examples of Pauli's Frauenzeitungen see "Die Ablehnung des Frauenstimmrechtes in Frankreich," "Kindersegen," or "Kinderrettung, Kinderschutz."
died young, Pauli left a large oeuvre of journalistic works. Unfortunately, scholars have paid little attention to her writings.

3.2. Political Changes in Vienna During the 1920s

The course of events in Vienna during the 1920s influenced Pauli’s feuilletons. World War I had just ended. Life in Vienna was difficult as people struggled with starvation, unemployment, inflation, and political crises. Many soldiers continued wearing their old, tattered uniforms because there were no new clothes to be bought. Alfred Polgar described Vienna as “Wien, das fidele Grab an der Donau” (qtd. in Veigl 13). With the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy, the state Deutschösterreich was created on November 12, 1918. The notion of Austria as a separate country from Germany was important, and Austrians were struggling to define their unique characteristics (13).

At this time Vienna was still the capital of the Bundesland Niederösterreich. On May 4, 1919, based purely on the strength of the votes from Vienna, the Social Democrats won the majority in the parliament for all of Niederösterreich. Over 60% of the Viennese voters had chosen the Social Democrats, and in Niederösterreich, based on the strength of the votes in Vienna, the Social Democrats won 46.6% of the vote (Mattl 43). This majority was very thin, and people doubted whether it would hold for long. Also, based on the overwhelming political strength of Vienna, politicians began thinking about separating the city into its own Bundesland (Csendes 141).

This separation was not easy to achieve. Legislators began attempts to make Vienna into a separate Bundesland as early as December of 1919. Finally on December 29, 1921, the laws for the separation passed in both houses of Parliament. On January 1, 1922, Vienna officially became its own Bundesland (Csendes 143-144).
The autonomy that Vienna gained through this political change contributed to the start of a period known as “das rote Wien.” The Social Democrats were firmly in control of Vienna, and their reforms created a “kommunalpolitischen Musterfall” (Csendes 147). The Socialists distinguished themselves from the communists in Russia, attempting to prevent the outbreak of a Boshevik Revolution in Vienna by carefully monitoring the workers and their newfound ability to “act in their own interest en masse” (Gruber 19). Their goal was “Armut präventiv einzudämmen und flankierende Unterstützungsmaßnahmen neben dem staatlich regulierten Sozialversicherungssystem zu setzen” (Mattl 45).

One of the Social Democrats’ biggest concerns was building affordable public housing. They constructed communal Wohnbauten, which still stand today, all over the city. They also worked with programs for children, including Kindergartens and Children’s Hospitals. They passed laws for school reform, which resulted in international attention for Viennese communal education. Based on the help the Social Democrats offered their families, many women became involved in the socialist party (Csendes 147).

Starting in 1918, when the Social Democrats first won control of Niederösterreich, the increased social securities offered to the people made it necessary to increase taxes. This became a problem, causing dissatisfaction in “rote Wien.” Helmut Gruber states that the Socialist control of Vienna ultimately failed because the Social Democrats did not nationalize primary industries and banks and because they did not separate the church clearly enough from the state (182). Around 1927, other parties began to be influential in Viennese politics, and the period of Red Vienna neared its end. By 1932, the National Socialists were influential in elections (Csendes 148).

The feminist movement was less active in Vienna during the 1920s. Prior to World War I, most Austrian women had had no part in political life. At the end of the 19th century,
a small number of Austrian women began campaigning for equal rights (Wagener 26-7). When Vienna became its own Bundesland, women there were able to vote for the first time (Marzl 44). Mary Louise Wagener, author of a dissertation on two Viennese Journalistinnen, reports that, “. . . after winning the vote in 1918, the Austrian movement for equal opportunity went into dormancy” (127). Though inequity still remained, most Austrian women seem to have been satisfied by the right to suffrage. Leaving these issues of women’s rights unresolved would have created confusion for women in understanding their role in society.

The reconstruction of Austria after the First World War and the establishment of Vienna as a new Bundesland, made the 1920s a time of great political change. Hildegard Kernmayer claims that since Feuilletonistinnen were free to choose their own topics, their writings participated in the discourses of the time and place where they are published (13). It is not surprising that Pauli’s feuilletons reflect the culture in Vienna as she suggests her ideas for feminist and political changes. Social democracy was popular during this time, and Pauli’s writing reflects her support of this movement. Pauli’s feuilletons also overwhelmingly demonstrate her continued support for feminism.

3.3. Pauli as a Feuilletonistin

Aside from the political content in the texts themselves, Pauli’s mere presence as a Feuilletonistin for the Neue Freie Presse made a statement about women’s rights. Like many other women during the 1920s, Pauli wrote articles for women’s newspapers, the Frauenzeitung section of the Neue Freie Presse, and the Arbeiterzeitung. These more specialized publications constricted the audience for Pauli’s writings, thus, limiting their possible effect. Stefan Zweig, a contemporary of Pauli’s, describes the significance of the Neue Freie Presse saying, “In Wien gab es eigentlich nur ein einziges publizistisches Organ hohen Ranges, die
As one of these renowned Feuilletonists, Pauli’s writings would have been prominent in political and social discussions in Vienna.

Pauli’s feuilletons address both feminist and social democratic issues subtly, presumably in order to avoid offending her diverse audience of readers. However, the subtext of Pauli’s restrained commentaries could have broad-reaching exposure because of the number of people reading and being influenced by them.

Her writings also appeared along with those of talented male writers, implying that Pauli’s work was considered as good as the men’s. Since her feuilletons were on the front page of the newspaper, no longer relegated to the small section for women, this implied that men could benefit from reading a woman’s writings as well. Thus, as a Feuilletonistin, Pauli made a cultural statement about women’s equality.

3.4. Political Allusions in Biographical Feuilletons

Beyond her position as a woman writer, Pauli’s texts also reflect her political beliefs. According to L.H. Bailey, contributor to a book of essays about Austria, the Viennese would probably have recognized the underlying emphasis on politics in her feuilletons:
The feuilleton was both product and reflection of Viennese circumstances and attitudes. . . . this mixture of unserious form and often serious content appealed to the Viennese taste for indirect and intricate modes of expression, itself to a large extent a result of those decades of censorship which had taught the Viennese to look for serious comments in unlikely places. (61)

Though Pauli’s biographical feuilletons are ostensibly descriptions of historical women, the Viennese would have noticed the political subtext in her writing. The similarities between Pauli’s various biographical feuilletons demonstrate their political implications.

3.4.1. Prominent Women

The women, about whom Pauli writes, were, with the exception of George Sand, all royalty. All of them, including Sand, a well-known feminist and writer, were highly visible members of society. Pauli freely admits that, in spite of their former fame, these women were no longer important during the 1920s. In describing George Sand, Pauli explains, “Es ist das Los vieler berühmter Männer und Frauen, in der Nachwelt nur als ein Name fortzuleben, ein Name, an den sich sehr vage Vorstellungen persönlicher Züge knüpfen” (Pauli, “Romantik” 1). Though Sand was famous, people no longer knew very much about her. Pauli also admits that “. . . in der Politik ein Werkzeug einsichtsloser Reaktion, ist Marie Therese von Frankreich historisch von geringer Bedeutung” (“Dauphine I” 2). These women were well known during their lives but no longer important during Pauli’s time. This focus on women of the past suggests feminist implications. By concentrating on these women, Pauli shows that it is important to know about women in history as well as men.
3.4.2. Connection to France and Austria

The women Pauli writes about were almost all connected to both France and the Hapsburg family. Christina von Schweden is the only woman with neither association. George Sand, while not connected with the Hapsburg dynasty, was a famous French writer.

The association of Austria with France, in particular, was significant. From her frequent articles about France and references to that country, it is clear that Pauli was well acquainted with French culture. One reason for this interest in France may be found in her Frauenzeitung article “Die Ablehnung des Frauenstimmrechtes in Frankreich.” She wrote, “Frankreich ist das Geburtsland des Feminismus” (Pauli, “Ablehnung” 1). Her choice to write about these women, with their joint ties to France and Austria, may have been an attempt to encourage Austrian women to once again embrace the feminist movement that arguably began in France.

3.4.3. Stereotypes

In most of her biographical feuilletons, Pauli discusses traditional views of the woman. Pauli then expands these historical stereotypes by offering more complete pictures of the women she wrote about. While discussing George Sand, Pauli mentions the “... verbreitete Irrtum, George Sand sei eine Virago, ein ver männliches Weib, gewesen” (“Romantik” 3). She implies that Sand’s decision to wear trousers created this stereotype and states that Sand’s addiction to smoking was another contributing factor (2-3). Pauli shows her awareness of stereotypical perceptions, seeking to enrich society’s view of these women and, thus, humanize them.

Pauli does not start her feuilletons about Marie Antoinette by discussing a stereotypical image. Nevertheless, as the most well-known of the women featured in these biographical feuilletons, Pauli may have assumed that her readers would have already been
familiar with the popular hatred for Marie Antoinette because of her lack of understanding for the plight of common people. Although Pauli claims that the queen was not satisfied by the amusements of the court, she does mention the “schwärmerischen Freundschaften” and “oberflächlichen Koketterien,” for which Marie Antoinette is often remembered (“Liebe” 1).

Pauli’s description of Christina von Schweden’s reputation initially seems less clearly defined. Christine is apparently “als Göttin gepriesen und kecher Sittenlosigkeit geziehen, als Geistesheldin verherrlicht und als Närrin verhöhnt worden” (Pauli, “Christina” 1). Although people had alternate views of Christine, this description still classifies her according to extremes. She, like the other women, was defined by stereotypes.

Eliminating these stereotypes, which offer simplistic views of the women, can be seen as a feminist act; it encouraged readers to think beyond conventional views of women. Pauli shows that women are real people with positives and negatives, a more balanced view that was more common of men. By expanding the traditional view of historical women, Pauli encourages readers in her own time to reevaluate the role and worth of women in society.

3.4.4. Negative Descriptions

In expanding these stereotypes and realistically portraying these women, Pauli does not gloss over their faults. She details Marie Therese’s lack of pity. When asked to pardon General Labédoyère, who had served bravely under Napoleon, Marie Therese apparently said, “Gnade! man unterscheidet sie nicht von Schwäche” (Pauli, “Dauphine I” 4). She likewise refused to intervene on behalf of Marschall Rey, whose mother loyally served Marie Antoinette even throughout her imprisonment, eventually committing suicide over her grief at the queen’s execution (4).
Marie Therese’s treatment of Graf La Valette and his wife was evidently especially cruel. The Graf, given his title by Napoleon, was condemned to die because he had resumed his former duty of directing the mail when Napoleon returned. His sickly, young wife, in an attempt to save him, obtained Marie Therese’s promise to meet with her. When Marie Therese did not keep her word, the Gräfin accosted the Dauphine as Marie Theresa left Mass. Pauli describes the miserable scene saying, “Die Unglückliche streckt der frommen Beterin eine Bittschrift entgegen. Marie Therese weicht mit heftiger Geste zur Seit und läßt das Dokument in der zitternden Hand der Bittstellerin” (Pauli, “Dauphine I” 4).

Pauli’s depiction of Maria Luise also includes unflattering elements, again showing Pauli’s willingness to address unfavorable aspects of these women’s behavior. She says that Marie Luise’s real flaw was that “sie hatte keinen eigenen Willen” (Pauli, “Frau” 1). It was this weakness of character that ostensibly allowed her father to make her marry Napoleon (2). Pauli elaborates on this theme, explaining that “Maria Luise zählte zu jenen Frauen, die ohne [männliche] Führung sich wie verloren fühlen” (“Mutter” 2). After her marriage to Napoleon I, Maria Luise married two more times. The first time, her need for male guidance overcame all socially-expected scruples about chastity, and she entered into an “open Marriage” with the Graf Neipperg. This marriage was only sanctioned by the state after his death. Then she initiated marriage with Graf Karl Bombelles, possibly against his wishes (3). This desperate need for a man to guide her probably led to the popular perception of Maria Luise’s “Schwächen, Oberflächlichkeit, beschränkter Geist” (Pauli, “Frau” 1). Thus, Pauli’s description, though she cites Maria’s Louise weak-willed behavior as the real cause, corroborates a negative view of the queen.

Maria Luise was, according to Pauli, not a good mother to her son by Napoleon the First—l’Aiglon or the Herzog von Reichstadt. Under the title “Die Mutter des Herzogs von
Reichstadt,” Pauli emphasizes how important Maria Luise’s role as mother should have been. Maria Luise’s lack of motherly feeling toward her son, chronicled in this feuilleton, creates irony when contrasted with the title. She herself seemingly admitted “sie habe niemals warme Gefühle für ihn gehegt” (Pauli, “Mutter” 3). Maria Luise left the child in the care of his grandfather at the Viennese court. She wrote to him, but as Pauli says, 

Keine Spur einer spontanen, echten Zärtlichkeit für ihr Unglückskind in ihren Briefen, den Notizen der Erzieher oder den Zuzeichnungen des Knaben über die Besuche der Mutter. Und wie oft werden diese mit Intervallen von Jahren abgestatteten Besuche von Maria Luise verzögert, hinausgeschoben, abgesagt, auch mit der Begründung durch eine wohlerwogene Sparsamkeit! (3)

Pauli then continues to describe Maria Luise’s neglect of her son. When the Herzog came down with cholera, his mother put off visiting him as long as possible; she was worried about becoming ill herself. Marie Luise first attended the “reizende Soirée dansante” just two months before her son died (3). 

Finally Pauli emphasizes Maria Luise’s lack of motherly feeling, detailing the heart-wrenching contrast between the dying boy’s call for his mother and her refusal to come him any sooner than absolutely necessary. She says, “Den Platz neben ihrem unglücklichen Kinde hat diese Mutter nicht gewünscht und nicht verdient” (Pauli, “Mutter” 4). Marie Luise’s hurtful treatment of her son is an example of the unflattering descriptions that Pauli includes in these biographies.

Pauli also portrays Kaiserin Carlotta as a problematic figure. She originally describes the young Carlotta as “eine Lichtgestalt, schön und verständig wie wenige Frauen, die so nahe einem Throne geboren sind” (Pauli, “Carlotta” 1). Regrettably, her relentless Ehrgeiz
combined with her belief in the "göttlichen Mission der Souveräne" later led to a mental breakdown (2). When Napoleon backed out of his promise to help establish the empire in Mexico, Carlotta decided, in her religious fervor, that he must be the devil himself (Pauli, "Carlotta II" 3). When the pope also refused to help, she became mentally unbalanced. Carlotta believed herself to be the target of a conspiracy with people trying to poison her. She was only twenty-six, and her mind never recovered (3). Thus, Pauli depicts Carlotta’s religious fervor as a weakness.

Pauli’s open recognition and discussion of these royal women’s faults has social democratic implications. Her decision to write about these individuals accentuates their worth as women, but she does not idealize her descriptions. She explains that Marie Therese used her position in an attempt to punish all those associated with the Napoleonic regime, whereas Marie Luise always needed to have a man because she was apparently incapable of making decisions for herself. Though Carlotta seemed uncorrupted by her proximity to the throne, she eventually went mad because of the difficulty of establishing an empire. By showing their weaknesses as rulers, Pauli suggests that royal blood is not sufficient justification for power and influence. Thus, Pauli shows her support for the establishment of a social democratic government in Vienna.

3.4.5. Explanation of Behavior

Though Pauli does not ignore their faults, the overall picture of the women is always positive. Instead of ignoring the negative characteristics or behaviors these women exhibited, Pauli explains their circumstances, thus, clarifying their motivations. After chronicling Maria Therese’s transformation from a sweet, young girl into a mean-spirited woman, Pauli explains that “Nicht der Tempel, nicht das Blutgerüst für ihre Eltern bewirkte den inneren Zusammenbruch Marie Theresens. Was ihre Illusionen tötete, ihre Güte erstickte, die
Katastrophe ihres Daseins war ihre Ehe” (“Dauphine I” 4). Her uncle arranged her marriage to the spiritually and physically inferior Herzog von Angouleme. As a result of this unhappy coupling, Marie Therese eventually became a bitter and hard woman (Pauli, “Dauphine II” 2).

In her description of Marie Antoinette, Pauli shows another side of the supposedly frivolous young woman. Pauli describes how unhappy Marie Antoinette was with her life, saying that she “fand bei schwärmerischen Freundschaften, oberflächlichen Koketterien und standhaftem Ausharren neben dem reizlosen Gatten kaum jemals volle Befriedigung” (“Liebe I” 1). In spite of her dissatisfaction with court life and her husband, Marie Antoinette loved her children. She wrote to her mother expressing her great joy at the birth of her first child. “Ich kann meiner lieben Mama gar nicht sagen ... wie jede neue Bewegung des Kindes mein Glück vermehrt” (3). This quote demonstrates that Marie Antoinette was capable of caring.

Pauli also emphasized Marie Antoinette’s passionate love for the Graf von Fersen. While it is unclear whether their love was consummated, Pauli hints that this may have been the case. She notes that the Baron Taube burned the Graf’s journal covering 1788 to 1791 and that parts of Marie Antoinette’s letters to him have been carefully erased (Pauli, “Traurige Liebe I” 4). Though the details of their affair are not known, Marie Antoinette’s passion for him was clear. “Keine raffinierte Kokette trägt ihre Gefühle vor lauernden Feinden so offenkundig in den Augen, wie Marie Antoinette es tat ...” (3). In fact, when Marie Antoinette was arrested, instead of worrying about herself, she wrote of her concern for him (Pauli, “Liebe II” 2). By emphasizing Marie Antoinette’s intense love for her children and the Graf, Pauli creates a very different picture from the stereotype of a selfish, insensitive queen.
Pauli also explains George Sand’s behavior. Although it may have seemed contradictory to many of her readers, who associated George Sand primarily with the trousers she wore, Pauli claims that “Weiblichkeit” characterized Sand’s life and works. She explains that the misperception of Sand as mannish resulted from Sand’s addiction to smoking. Pauli also asserts that it was Sand’s incredible honesty, rather than masculine inclination, which prevented her from displaying the usual, expected feminine coquetries and social tact (“Romantik” 3).

Pauli celebrates the womanly side of Sand’s character, showing that her feminine attributes did not detract from her public influence. Despite her apparently “manly” idiosyncrasies, Pauli says that she was primarily motivated by desire for true love (“Romantik” 3). She never accepted material support from those she loved and instead gave all she could in order to help and support them. Also, Pauli notes that, though Sand opposed the exploitation thereof, she did support matrimony. “In der Vorrede zu ihrem Roman ‘Mauprat’ anerkennt sie die legale Ehe, deren Mißbrauch sie bekämpft hat, als eine Institution sacrée” (3). Pauli goes on to say that Sand believed that love in marriage was possible, but that one had to both conquer it and earn it (3). Thus, Pauli expands perceptions of Sand, clarifying Sand’s true nature and presenting a more complete image of the writer.

By thoroughly explaining the women’s underlying motivations for their actions, Pauli creates unflinching but well-rounded portraits. These explanations again have feminist implications. Anthropologist Sherry Ortner comments that women in every society “can appear from certain points of view to stand both under and over (but really simply outside of) the sphere of culture’s hegemony” (qtd. in Gilbert 19). Pauli’s depiction these women as real, complex individuals, would have encouraged her readers to reevaluate women as a part of society instead of as outsiders.
3.4.6. Physical Description

Allowing the readers to picture the women would have aided in creating accurate portraits of these women, by again making the historical figures seem more like real people. Accordingly, Pauli also includes a detailed physical description in each of these biographical feuilletons. In discussing the women’s appearances, she does not over-romanticize the descriptions. Kaiserin Carlotta is the only one Pauli describes as being beautiful (“Carlotta I” 2, 3). Pauli says about Christine von Schweden that “durch einen Sturz in der Kindheit ragte eine ihrer Schultern etwas höher als die andere” (“Christine” 2). She also remarks that “Der männliche Zug ihres Geistes zeigte sich auch in ihrem Äußern” (2). In describing Marie Antoinette, Pauli says her face was somewhat too long and that she had a prominent nose (“Liebe I” 2).

Although not idealized, the overall depiction of the women is nonetheless attractive. In Queen Christine’s case, Pauli also said that “Helle, große Augen von lebhaften Glanz und rasch wechselndem Ausdruck verliehen ihr Charme und Anziehungskraft” (“Christine” 2). In describing Marie Antoinette, Pauli writes, “Sie . . . war nicht schön zu nennen, aber begabt mit seltenem Reiz, Anmut der Haltung und des stolzgewagenden Ganges” (“Liebe I” 2). Thus, Pauli describes these women realistically, emphasizing the charm of their “non-beautiful” appearances.

The descriptions of these women’s appearances could have been empowering for women reading the feuilletons. Naomi Wolf, author of The Beauty Myth, wrote, “Since the Industrial Revolution, middle-class Western women have been controlled by ideals and stereotypes . . .” (15). The physical descriptions of these women, who did not meet the social standards for beauty, could have reminded readers that, in spite of the common social perception, good looks do not determine a woman’s value.
Though not classically beautiful, Christine still achieved greatness as an influential ruler. In Pauli’s feuilletons about Christine, she says:

Der Kampf gegen Dänemark und den deutschen Kaiser erschöpfte die Staatskasse und verlendete das Volk.... Der Krieg bewirkte, daß die Generale den Gang der Ereignisse bestimmten und sie wollte keine Schattenkönigin sein. (“Christine” 2)

Originally intended to be a puppet-ruler for advisors to control, she soon demonstrated that she would control them.

Marie Antoinette, on the other hand, was successful in another way. She captured the attention and love of Hans Axel Graf von Fersen, who was reportedly very attractive. Pauli described him saying,

Das Gewindeste in dem seinem Gesicht unter dem leicht gepuderten Haar sind die großen, klaren Augen, überwölbt von sehr dichten Brauen, Augen, die nicht geistvoll blitzen, sondern mit träumerischer Melancholie ins Leben schauen. Dieser sinnende Blick scheint zu beständig, was ein Zeitgenosse in seinen “Erinnerungen” behauptete: “Erscheinung und Wesen des Grafen Fersen entsprachen vollkommen dem Helden einen Romanes...” (“Liebe I” 2)

Hence, in her discussion of Marie Antoinette and the Graf von Fersen, Pauli shows that beauty is not necessary in order to find love. These physical descriptions reflect Pauli’s feminist views, in that she is evaluating these women like men. Historians do not assess a man’s worth based on how handsome he was. Likewise, Pauli shows that these women’s looks were not the determining factor in their lives. These realistic descriptions of the
women's appearances once again demonstrate Pauli's feminist opposition to defining women in terms of traditional roles, such as, in this case, the importance of good looks.

3.5. Pauli's Contributions to the Form of Feuilleton

In expressing her views on these women, Pauli's writing could have been influential in Vienna because of her skill. Sabine Werner-Birkenbach, who wrote an article entitled "Trends in writing by women," in speaking about women writers in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, says, "The problem . . . is not so much that of finding texts by women, as of making a meaningful selection" (129). Many women were writing feuilletons during the 1920s; however, Pauli's are especially important to include in the canon of feuilletons because she was a particularly good writer. Her feuilletons meet the qualities of good writing that Jacqueline Berke outlines in her book Twenty Questions for the Writer: intuition, economy, simplicity, rhetorical stance, and "courtship devices" (8-11).

3.5.1 Intuition

Berke first establishes the essential role of intuition in evaluating writing. According to her, readers subconsciously recognize superior writing (Berke 8). Unlike Berke's other criteria, intuition cannot be objectively established by analyzing texts because it depends on readers' reactions rather than specific elements of the writing itself.

In my preliminary research for this thesis, I read feuilletons by many authors. I quickly identified Pauli as a skillful writer. By the norms of her own time, she was considered sufficiently talented to be one of the celebrated Feuilletonists for the Neue Freie Presse. Along with the business section and political reports, the feuilleton was important for the paper's financial success. Consequently, the editors retained only the most successful Feuilletonists on their staff (Wenny 51). Aside from the editor's revealed preferences in keeping Pauli,