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 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,
however, we do not have any other contemporary evidence about her reputation as a writer. Thus, we must look to Berke’s other criteria for less subjective evidence of Pauli’s literary skill.

3.5.2. Economy

Berke states that economy is an essential aspect of good writing. “This requires not that the writer make all his sentences short or that he avoid all detail ... but that every word tell” (Berke 8). Pauli’s sentences are not typically short; nonetheless, her choice of words is always expressive and evocative.

Discussing Marie Therese, Pauli writes: “Der Ehrentitel von Volkes Gnaden, der die Unglückliche wie eine Dornenkrone schmückte, ist: ‘L’orpheline du temple.’ ... Die Glorie des Leidens, die Marie Therese umgab, erlosch durch ihre eigene Schuld, sobald sie zur Macht gelangte.” (“Dauphine I” 2). Pauli utilizes religious imagery to illustrate a change in the Dauphine’s nature, taking Marie Therese’s nickname “L’orpheline du temple” (the orphan of the temple) as the basis for this description. Referring to a “Dornenkrone,” Pauli compares Marie Therese’s ordeal with Christ’s. Unlike Jesus, who was innocent, Pauli concludes that Marie Therese’s behavior canceled out the injustice of her previous sufferings. This is an example of what Berke defines as economy. Pauli’s language is communicative and descriptive.

3.5.3. Simplicity

Good writing should be natural, sincere, and unpretentious—characteristics that Berke summarizes as simplicity (9). Feuilletons are often characterized by a chatty, informal style. Heinz Knobloch, for example, describes feuilletonistisch style in terms of “der leichte, plaudernde Ton” (29). This chattiness is not necessarily in opposition to simplicity; it makes
the writing seem unaffected. Pauli's writing, similarly to feuilletons in general, sounds genuine. Pauli says that Maria Luise:

"... trug man es grollend nach, daß sie keine Persönlichkeit war, daß sie auf dem werthin sichtbaren Piedestal, das sie erstieg – ach, es war nicht ihre Wahl – le beau gest gänzlich vermissen ließ, die heroische Gebände, ja nicht einmal trügerischen Schein zu wahren wußte." ("Frau" 1)

In the midst of a polished and detailed description, Pauli interrupts herself, exclaiming "ach, es war nicht ihre Wahl!" This outbreak of sentiment is an example Pauli's unaffected writing style.

Pauli's appeals to her readers are another example of simplicity. After explaining that Carlotta's father supported the establishment of an Empire in Mexico, Pauli asks, "Kann man ihr das Festhalten an einer Illusion verwerfen, der ein berechnender Politiker wie der im Regierungsgeschäft ergraute Koburger unterlag?" ("Carlotta II" 2). Questioning her audience directly is another technique that keeps Pauli's writing from becoming stiff and overly formal and that makes the feuilleton seem conversational.

3.5.4. Rhetorical Stance

Rhetorical stance is essential in good literature. Writing should be addressed to the hypothetical or real audience. Rhetorical stance consists of knowledge of the following points: 1. Who you are as a writer, 2. Who your readers are, 3. Why you are addressing them and on what occasion, 4. Your relationship to your subject matter, 5. How you want your readers to relate to the subject matter" (Berke 10).

Pauli's feuilletons reflect knowledge of herself, her reader, and her subject matter. Although Pauli's biographical sketches express her political views, they are not the aggressive political statements that Maierbrugger claims developed among feuilletons at this time. Her
descriptions of historical women suggest feminist and social democratic views; however, Pauli never openly advocates these beliefs in her feuilletons. In fact, some of her statements seem to contradict these political views. For example, she describes Christine von Schweden’s mother as being “ganz Weib, ganz Hingebung, ganz Schwachheit” (Pauli, “Christine” 2). In this statement, Pauli equates being a woman with being weak. Pauli’s cautiousness in discussing feminism, at a time when women were still not considered men’s equals, is an example of a carefully considered rhetorical stance.

One of Pauli’s Frauenzeitung articles reveals the extreme popular distrust of feminists during the 1920s: Pauli describes Strindberg’s perception of feminists as debased seductresses: “Der Haß des Dichters gegen die erschlaffende Macht der Sinnlichkeit, die ihm im Weibe verkörpert erscheint, verquickt die verkappte Dirne mit der Feministin und bringt einem sozialen Kampfe ... entgegen” (“Strindbergs Frauenhass”). Emancipated women were often seen as frightening. Alice Shalek, one of Pauli’s fellow Feuilletonistinnen for the Neue Freie Presse, was widely castigated for her manly behavior (Wagener 127-128). Karl Kraus describes her in his satirical magazine “Die Fackel,” stating, “Wie das immer zu sein pflegt, daß die Frau, wenn sie aus der Eigenart des Geschlechtens heraustritt, ihre Zartheit abstreift und sich zum Mannweib verunstaltet ... Da werden Weiber zu Hyänen” (71). In her Frauenzeitung “Das dritte Geschlecht” Pauli challenges the characterization of feminists as members of a new sex, or “Mannweiber”:

Kein misandrisches, rein abstrakten Zielen zugewandtes Wollen, kein
“männliches” Denken: ... das Denken fliegt im allgemeinen nicht in hohe Sphären, und das unverrückbare Zentrum des Wollens auch der modernen Frau ist – von Ausnahmen und bedrückten Opfern des Schicksals abgesehen – die Liebe geblieben. (3)
Although this statement seems to support the notion of women being less intelligent than men, it could also reflect Pauli’s attempts to make feminism seem less threatening. Pauli is controlling how she wants the subject matter to appear. Pauli’s description of “liberated” women accordingly emphasizes their continued femininity:


By discussing topics like love, Pauli further distances herself from the perception of the feminist writer as a member of an unnatural third sex, emphasizing her femininity as a writer. Love features prominently in her biographical feuilletons. Marie Antoinette’s love for the Graf von Fersen gives meaning to her life (Pauli, “Liebe I,” “Liebe II”). In contrast, “Die letzte Dauphine I” shows the tragic effects of Marie Therese’s unhappy marriage (1-4). Pauli mentions romance in discussing Christina von Schweden, who had sworn never to marry (“Christine” 3). Pauli concentrates on showing George Sand as a woman, lover and mother rather than analyzing her writings (“Romantik” 1-3).

According to Wagener, the brusque, candid “Schalek’s efforts on behalf of the career woman were not overwhelmingly successful...” (127). Pauli’s understated political commentary was less likely to antagonize readers, thus, better ensuring Pauli’s ability to
incrementally influence the minds of all her readers. Pauli's attempt to subtly influence her reader's perception of her subject matter is an example of rhetorical stance. By concentrating on a "feminine" issue, like love, in the gender-neutral setting of the feuilleton section, Pauli suggests the value of women's thoughts and opinions without ever explicitly declaring a feministic agenda.

3.5.5. "Courtship Devices"

Finally Berke discusses the importance of "courtship devices." She compares good writing to a romance where the writer tries to "woo" the readers, luring them into a personal relationship. In doing this, the writer must communicate his or her personality. The reader needs to feel a personal connection to the writer (Berke 10-11).

By expressing issues that were important to her, Pauli's political views indicate her personality, and her writings also reveal other aspects of her character. Pauli's feuilletons show that she is an educated woman. In talking about Marie Therese, Pauli starts by questioning, "Wer in Oesterreich kennt diese hochgeborene Frau, nach der keine mehr den alten Titel der Kronprinzessinnen von Frankreich getragen hat?" ("Dauphine I" 1). Then, over the course of two feuilletons, Pauli proceeds to demonstrate that, unlike most Austrians, she knows about the princess. Indeed her biographical feuilletons demonstrate extensive knowledge of these women. The research necessary to write these is evident in Pauli's writing. In her feuilletons about Marie Therese, as well as in the other texts, Pauli includes quotations from the woman's personal correspondence. For example, in "Die letzte Dauphine I" Pauli includes segments of a letter that Marie Luise wrote to her friend "Renette." (2). These examples of her research help readers come to know Pauli as a dedicated scholar.
Pauli's feuilletons also reveal her compassionate nature. She seems to be genuinely attached to her subjects. Her sensitive description of one of Marie Luise's letters reveals her attachment to this supposedly "unbedeutender Frau" (Pauli, "Frau" 1). She says, "Zur Charakteristik des sanften Kindes, das da wie ein Wertgegenstand in die Fremde geschickt wurde, drängt sich ein unersehbares Wort der beimischen Mundart auf: ein Hascherl!" (2).

Her tone feels affectionate as she refers to the "sanften Kindes," and she seems to take great delight in the girl's use of Wienerisch. Pauli also seems sympathetic to Marie Luise's plight in being sent away to an undesired marriage.

The feuilletons about Marie Antoinette are another example of Pauli's caring nature as a writer. Her title, "Traurige Liebe" emphasizes the tragedy of Marie Antoinette's love affair. In order for something to be sad, one has to care about it. Consequently, it is Pauli's apparent attachment to this woman that makes this feuilleton tragic. Pauli introduces the readers to Marie Antoinette saying,

Sonntagskinder, denen fast alles gelingt, Hänse im Glücke, die es verstehen, allem eine gute Seite abzugewinnen, und als ihren Gegensatz, traurige Schlemihle hat es immer gegeben. Das sind schwerblütige Charaktere, denen das gewandte, kecke Zugreifen versagt bleibt, Pechvögel, die hienieder wie verfolgt erscheinen. Eine eigene Art bilden Naturen, die just nicht an dem Plätze stehen, wo die oft reichen Fähigkeiten ihres Wesens sich entfalten könnten, zuweilen mit dämonischer Tücke dorthin verpflanzt werden, wo sie jammervoll zugrunde gehen müssen. Solch eine zum Unheil ihren natürlichen Lebensbedingungen entrückte Individualität war die bestrickende Lieblingstochter Maria Theresias, die rettungslos in todbringende Politik verstrickte "reinemartyre"... ("Liebe I" 1)
This detailed description of Marie Antoinette’s undeserved suffering clearly indicates Pauli’s sympathy towards the unlucky queen.

Her biographical feuilletons reveal Pauli’s sympathetic nature and considerable scholarly prowess. These traits, when combined with her implied support of feminism and social democracy, help to illuminate Pauli’s own personality. This, in turn, would allow Pauli’s readers to form an ongoing personal attachment to the Feuilletonisten.
4. Conclusion

Bertha Pauli writings have never been systematically analyzed before despite their volume and prominence in the Vienna of the 1920s. Studying Pauli's works addresses a gap in the research on the little-studied form of feuilleton. This thesis contains a certain postmodernist irony in that I, a woman writer, am writing about another woman writer, who wrote about women. My work has made me realize the historical importance, not only of women in general, but specifically of women writers. If scholars do not study women writers in addition to men, they create a lopsided view of culture, indicating that only men were thinking.

Pauli's biographical feuilletons represent a women's point of view as she expresses her feminist and political views. The open format of feuilletons allowed writers to express their own opinions; however, in spite of this openness, Pauli seems paradoxically cautious about candidly expressing her opinions. Taking into consideration the widespread distrust of feminists during the 1920s, Pauli uses her skill in persuasive writing to carefully influence her audience's thinking, encouraging her readers to reevaluate women's role in society and supporting social democratic ideas. The subtext in her feuilletons is so subtle that many readers may not have been consciously aware of the ideas she introduced into the intellectual discourse of the day.

My research about Pauli's feuilletons has made me realize that countless other "undiscovered" writers' works must merit scholarly attention. On the other hand, Lillian S. Robinson, a feminist literary critic, explains:

...feminist efforts to humanize the canon have usually meant bringing a woman's point of view to bear by incorporating works by women into the established canon. The least threatening way to do so is to follow the
Thus, in this thesis, I have attempted the addition of one writer into the canon of notable feuilletons. I argue that Pauli’s writings are significant, citing her unique subject matter of biographies about women and her demonstrated skill as a Feuilletonistin.
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APPENDIX

The *Neue Freie Presse* and its Feuilletons

The *Neue Freie Presse* appeared for the first time on September 1, 1864, with the goal of being a liberal, advanced, unbiased way of advancing the open opinion (Wenny 47). Perhaps because of this liberal attitude, many women were published in this paper. The *Neue Freie Presse* soon became the most influential paper in Vienna (49).

According to Wolfgang Duchkowitsch, the *Neue Freie Presse* was “Unbestritten der bedeutendste Vertreter der Wiener Großpresse im ausgehenden 19. sowie im 20. Jahrhundert bis 1938 ...” (80). August Zang chose the title for the paper after discovering that newspapers already existed with the names *Die Freie Press*, *Die Neue Presse*, and *Die Wiener Presse* (Wenny 46-47).

The paper appeared twice daily, with the feuilleton in the morning edition. It traditionally started on the first page, continuing to the following pages as necessary. The feuilleton section was divided from the political section by a line and was, as the Viennese characteristically describe it, said to be “unter dem Strich.” Zang is said to have used the “Strich” to attract readers’ and advertisers’ attention (Wagener 15).

Max Friedländer, Michael Etienne and Adolf Wethner, who were leading employees from an earlier paper called the *Presse*, now working for the *Neue Freie Presse*, recognized the importance of continuity in gaining readers. They were able to steal away most of their colleagues from the *Presse*, thus, starting the *Neue Freie Presse* with familiar, tested quality
(Wenny 49). Because of this, their feuilletons best reflect the three important functions of feuilletons: to critique, to teach, and to amuse (74).

The numbers of editions printed testify to the paper’s quality. In 1870 there were 25,000 editions when the paper started. By 1920 this number had grown to 90,000. At the time of the paper’s decease in 1938, the paper had lost popularity; nevertheless, there were still 59,000 editions printed in that year (Wandruszka www.aeiou.at).

The end of the liberal era came with the change in the political situation and the start of the anti-capitalist, anti-liberal, anti-Semitic movement right before the First World War. The Neue Freie Presse changed in response to this changing atmosphere in Vienna in order to remain appropriate for the population. The paper emphasized the world of finance and criticized liberality, a characteristic with which they had formerly been associated. The journalists showed the declining prosperity and interests of the business world in stark contrast to the success of the supposed Jewish financial power (Wenny 55).

During World War I, the Neue Freie Presse published detailed reports about the war. The paper generally supported the war, in part because of a sense of duty and in part because of the censors placed on Austrian newspapers during this time; however, it did advocate a quick end to the combat (Wandruszka Geschichte 120).

After the war, the fall of the Austrian-Hungarian empire affected the Neue Freie Presse especially severely. Adam Wandruska, author of the book Geschichte einer Zeitung, explains that this was natural given the paper’s extensive circulation, “Die Zerschlagung der Donaumonarchie mußte für jene Zeitung, die mehr als alle anderen als ein gesamtstaatliches, im ganzen Reich verbreitetes Organ gelten konnte, noch verhängnisvollere Folgen haben als für die übrigen Wiener Blätter” (137). However, in spite of resulting financial difficulties during the time between the two World Wars, the Neue Freie Presse remained the most
important paper in the “Donauraum” (137). In spite of the Neue Freie Presse’s worsening financial situation, the editors continued to rate the importance of the cultural section, including the feuilletons, very highly. They allocated a great deal of money to attract the best writers (143).

After the Anschluß of Austria into the Third Reich, the paper was placed under provisional leadership for a short time. It is a testament to the Neue Freie Presse’s continued influence that “Reichsaußenminister von Ribbentrop und Reichswirtschaftsminister Funk sollen vor allem dafür eingetreten sein, das Blatt wegen seiner Geltung im Ausland und wegen seines bis zuletzt bewahrten Ranges als Wirtschaftsblatt zu erhalten” (Wandruska, Geschichte 147). However, Hitler personal aversion to the paper, which began during his youth, appears to have been the deciding factor in rejecting this plan. The last issue of the Neue Freie Presse appeared on January 26, 1939 (147).