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Expanding Transnational Networks: The Impact of Internal Conflict on the Feminist Press in *Dokumente der Frauen* (1899–1902) and *Neues Frauenleben* (1902–17)

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the interpersonal tensions between co-editors Auguste Fickert (1855–1910) and Marie Lang (1858–1934) to show how internal editorial conflict can stimulate transnational editorial relations. By placing the disagreement within the larger context of the international women's movement at the turn of the century, I argue that Fickert's vision on women's organizations differed from Lang's: Fickert fostered the transnational role of the periodical press, whereas Lang invested in a local approach. Although conflict has been considered a constitutive aspect of the periodical press, it has not been examined before in light of German feminist periodicals, such as *Dokumente der Frauen* (1899–1902), which Fickert co-edited for some time with Lang and Rosa Mayreder (1858–1938) and *Neues Frauenleben* (1902–17), of which she was the sole editor from 1902 to 1910. This article traces Fickert's transnational collaborations. More specifically, it takes her connection to Finnish-born female editor Maikki Friberg (1861–1927) as a case in point to demonstrate how her personal and professional relationship with Friberg resonates through the pages of *Dokumente* and increasingly so, *Neues Frauenleben*. I will show how Fickert's new periodical, *Neues Frauenleben*, benefited from her collaboration with Friberg especially, and resulted in a myriad of transnational connections that were mainly — but not only — Nordic. By taking the periodical as a locus of personal and professional conflict and collaboration, this article thus sheds light on an under-researched link between female editorship and transnationality.

KEYWORDS

Conflict, transnationality, women editors, feminist press

Introduction

On 26 March 1896 Polish-French feminist, journalist, writer, and editor Marya Chéliga-Loévy (1854–1927)¹ wrote to Auguste Fickert, the co-founder and soon-to-be president of the AÖFV or Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein [General Austrian Women's Organization],² a branch of the women's movement in Austria that advocated for better working conditions for women and the abolishment of prostitution. In the letter, Chéliga requested from Fickert a short contribution for a special women's issue of the *Revue Encyclopédique* (1891–99), a French monthly with a focus on scientific and literary contributions, of which Chéliga had been appointed as guest editor:

I am appointed by the director of *Revue Encyclopédique* to organize a special issue devoted to Women. This Issue should give the essence of the feminine spirit of our time. We have already secured the participation of the most famous women of all countries. But this magazine, which is destined to become a true pantheon of female genius, would not be complete if your name were not there. So please, Madam, send me as soon as possible (because we are in a hurry) a new aphorism; a few lines that summarize your mind, and carry the stamp of your intellect.³

Chéliga's ambition to capture the collective 'feminine spirit' of *fin-de-siècle* Europe and create a 'true Pantheon of female genius' including Auguste Fickert, a leading public figure of the late-nineteenth century women's movements, is indicative for the zeitgeist of the 1880s and '90s as it testifies to the increasing internationalization of the women's movement at the time. As Leila J. Rupp has suggested, this was especially the case after the International Council of Women was founded in 1888, which brought together 'women from far-flung countries [...] and constructed an international collective identity'.⁴ In the same vein, Ann T. Allen asserts that the feminist movement was 'among the most dense and active of transnational communities'.⁵ The role of the periodical press at the end of the nineteenth century in 'transnationalizing' the vision of women's organizations is emphasized by Chéliga's letter to Fickert. Through the medium of the periodical, Fickert's biographical contribution circulated in the French public sphere, alongside many others by 'the most famous women of all countries'.

Despite this tendency towards internationalization, women were, as Rupp notes, still 'divided by nationality and often fiercely loyal to different organizations'.⁶ Chéliga's request concerned Auguste Fickert's intellectual and professional ideas, which were closely intertwined with her prominent role as a representative of middle-class Austrian

1 In 1889, Marya Chéliga-Loévy founded the Union Universelle des Femmes (*Universal Women's Union*) and started the publication of *Almanach féministe* (*Feminist Almanach*) (1889–1900).

2 In what follows, I will refer to the Association as AÖFV.

3 'Je suis chargée par le directeur de la *Revue Encyclopédique* de l'organisation d'un Numéro spécial consacré à la Femme. Ce Numéro doit donner en quelque sorte la quintessence de l'esprit féminin de votre époque. Le concours des femmes les plus célèbres de tous les pays nous est déjà acquis. Mais, cette revue qui est destinée à devenir un véritable Panthéon de génie féminin, ne serait pas complète si votre nom n'y figurait. Veuillez donc, Madame, m'envoyer le plus tôt possible (car nous sommes très pressés) un aphorisme inédit ; quelques lignes qui résumant votre idée, et portent l'empreinte de votre personnalité intellectuelle.' Marya Chéliga-Loévy, 'Unpublished note to Auguste Fickert', 26 March 1896, LQH0019215, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Vienna. All translations in this article are my own unless indicated otherwise. All grammatical or spelling mistakes in the original text are the author's.

4 Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 3.

5 Ann T. Allen, 'Lost in Translation? Women's History in Transnational and Comparative Perspective', in *Comparative Women's History: New Approaches*, ed. by Anne Cova (New York, NJ: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 87–115 (p. 89).

6 Rupp, p. 3.

women through the AÖFV. Moreover, even within the seemingly unified, globalized organizations, personal conflict, internal struggle, and fierce debate was common. Indeed, Rupp suggests that ‘conflict and community’ should be seen ‘as part of the same process by which women came together across national borders to create a sense of belonging and to work and sometimes live together’.⁷ Not long after Fickert became president of the AÖFV in 1897, for example, her relationship with fellow member Marie Lang (1858–1934), became increasingly strained. Especially when they both became editors of the official press organ of the AÖFV, the bimonthly journal *Dokumente der Frauen* (1899–1902).⁸ Lang and Fickert edited *Dokumente* together in 1899 with Rosa Mayreder (1858–1938), an artist and painter who was the vice-president of the AÖFV at the time. The personal conflict between the two editors was rooted in opposing views on the internationalization of feminism. Whereas Fickert valued transnational connections, as her correspondence with Chéliga illustrates, Marie Lang, in contrast, mingled with the local and Viennese intelligentsia at the turn of the century. In other words, while Fickert and Lang both aimed to present a unified vision on women’s rights issues through *Dokumente der Frauen*, they disagreed on the best strategy for doing so. For Fickert, Lang’s focus on the local indicated a lack of international commitment.

The impact of the conflict between Lang and Fickert on the periodical was significant. After one year of publication, Fickert dropped out of the editorial board. Lang continued until *Dokumente* ceased publication altogether in 1902. Shortly after the demise of *Dokumente*, Fickert launched a second periodical, *Neues Frauenleben* (1902–17). Comparing the content of both periodicals reveals that the main difference between *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben* lies in the number of international contributions. *Dokumente* contains very few; *Neues Frauenleben* abounds with them. In this article, I argue that the interpersonal tensions between Fickert and Lang as co-editors of *Dokumente* are crucial to understanding the subsequent strengthening of Fickert’s transnational ties in *Neues Frauenleben*. In doing so, it differs from previous research on nineteenth-century women’s movements within a German-language context, which has emphasized the local unification of women, through the building of ‘sisterhoods’, to foster political and societal change. Ulla Wischermann, for instance, has focused on positive emotions such as solidarity, admiration, and sympathy as signifiers of sociability among women’s rights activists in the German national public sphere.⁹ In the same vein, Margit Göttert has discussed how women’s friendships, relationships, or cohabitation shaped local, personal networks within the German women’s rights movement.¹⁰ Harriet Anderson, finally, has described ‘Viennese feminism’ as a concept that captures the common hopeful and utopian project of women’s emancipation in Vienna at the turn of the century.¹¹ This article both challenges and builds on this earlier research. Bringing new insights from British periodical studies to the study of the German feminist press, it demonstrates that conflict, clashing attitudes, or tensions as part of interpersonal relations were also instrumental in shaping the transnational agenda and content of German feminist magazines.

In her work on British periodicals, Fionnuala Dillane recently coined the term ‘affective rupture’ to define the impact of conflict on the lay-out and format of periodical

7 Rupp, p. 6.

8 In what follows, I will refer to *Dokumente der Frauen* as *Dokumente*.

9 See Ulla Wischermann, *Frauenbewegungen und Öffentlichkeiten um 1900: Netzwerke — Gegenöffentlichkeiten — Protestinszenierungen* (Königstein: Helmer, 2003), pp. 35–41.

10 See Margit Göttert, “... als würde die geheime Kraft der Erde einem mitgeteilt!” Frauen, ihre Freundschaften und Beziehungen in der Alten Frauenbewegung’, *L’Homme: Europäische Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft*, 4.1 (1993), 40–56.

11 Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism: Women’s Movements in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. ix.

publications.¹² And Barbara Green¹³ and Sage Milo¹⁴ have suggested that conflict is an essential part of conceptualizing British feminism and feminist periodicals. By inviting criticism and self-reflection, they have argued, conflict can promote inclusivity among the readers of a periodical. In addition, I suggest that conflict on an editorial level can foster dialogue with other communities and contexts as it encourages editors to broaden their horizons, to break out of communities, or to build new ones across the nations. Taking my cue from Dillane, Green, and Milo, I regard interpersonal conflict, which I define as the sum of all disagreements on the personal, professional, and editorial level, as a catalyst for exploring *transnational* connections underlying the internationalization of the women's movement. By adopting a transnational perspective on female editorship and the feminist press, I argue that conflict strengthens women editors' desire to form international alliances, thus shaping new ways of sociability among women. This is particularly the case for Auguste Fickert, as she instigated and developed a transnational approach towards editing, firstly in *Dokumente der Frauen* alongside, and in conflict with, her co-editor Marie Lang, and subsequently as the sole editor of *Neues Frauenleben*.

To show how fundamental Fickert and Lang's opposing views were, I will first demonstrate how Auguste Fickert positioned herself in the international women's movement and fostered transnational relations. Second, I will explore how the conflict between Fickert and Lang reflected on the editorial approach of *Dokumente* as Fickert's international ambitions clashed with its local focus resulting in contributions from primarily German-speaking regions. Third, I will show how Fickert's new periodical, *Neues Frauenleben* benefited in particular from her collaboration with the Finnish woman editor, feminist, and journalist Maikki Friberg (1861–1927), and showed a myriad of transnational connections that were mainly — but not only — Nordic. For my primary source material, I rely on Ariadne, the women and gender-specific knowledge portal of the Austrian National Library, which contains a database of digitized periodicals, including *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben*. In addition, I draw on the private correspondence between Auguste Fickert and Maikki Friberg, which is currently held by the Vienna City Library.¹⁵

Auguste Fickert's Transnational Position

By the time Auguste Fickert started editing *Dokumente der Frauen* at the end of the nineteenth century, she was able to rely on a large, institutionalized social network that connected her to various women's movements both inside and outside the German-speaking realm. Fickert had started building this social network from a very early age onwards. After she was sent to primary school in Vienna in 1869 or 1870 and had studied in Burghausen, Germany, she was admitted to the Lehrerinnen-Bildungsanstalt (Teacher's Training College) St Anna in 1872, where she graduated with Honours on 9 July 1876. Following her education, Fickert worked continuously as a schoolteacher at a girls' school in the Schulgasse in Vienna. In the early 1880s, when confronted with

12 Fionnuala Dillane, 'Forms of Affect, Relationality and Periodical Encounters, or "Pine-Apple for the Million"', *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 1.1 (Summer 2016), 5–24 (p. 12).

13 Barbara Green, *Feminist Periodicals and Daily Life: Women and Modernity in British Culture* (New York, NJ: SpringerLink, 2017), 90–146.

14 M. Sage Milo, "Intellectual Acid": Cultural Resistance, Cultural Citizenship, and Emotional (Counter) Community in the *Freewoman*', *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 2.1 (Summer 2017), 39–53 (pp. 40–41).

15 The archive of the Vienna City Library (Die Wienbibliothek) holds approximately 2000 letters, which reveal Fickert's international connections such as Norwegian author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Swiss editor of *Revue de Moral Sociale* (1899–1903) Louis Bridel (n.d.), or Polish editor and journalist Sofia Daszynska (1866–1934), to name but a few.

the poor employment conditions of women, Fickert decided to become a member of the Verein der Lehrerinnen und Erzieherinnen [Association of Teachers and Educators]. Her public criticism of the religious nature of school instruction led to grave confrontations with her superiors throughout the 1890s, and caused her to leave the Catholic Church in 1893. However, the experience made Fickert realize that her membership of the teachers' association had helped her express her opinion, and that participation in collective, institutionalized networks were necessary to achieve a stronger public voice.

Inspired by the foundation of women's organizations abroad such as the International Council of Women in 1888, which was the first internationally oriented women's organization, or the first self-proclaimed feminist women's congress, which took place in Paris in May 1892, Auguste Fickert co-founded the Allgemeine Österreichische Frauenverein (AÖFV) in 1893 together with Marie Lang, Rosa Mayreder, and Austrian writer and women rights activist Irma Troll-Borostyani (1847–1912). Fickert quickly rose as a leading figure of the organization of which Mayreder was the vice president from 1893 onwards and Lang became vice president in 1897. With the foundation of the AÖFV, Fickert had first and foremost filled a lacuna in the *Austrian* women's movement. At the time, Adelheid Popp (1869–1939) and her periodical *Arbeiterinnenzeitung* (*Female Workers' Newspaper*) (1892–1934) represented working-class women and Marianne Hainisch (1839–1936) was leader of the moderate liberal bourgeois wing. Fickert, however, decided to found a more politically neutral association through which she advocated the rights of middle-class women. This way, she was able to keep close relations with the leaders of the other parties, while still putting forward her own agenda, concerned with better education and employment for women.

Karen Offen points out that international contacts among feminists increased from the late nineteenth century onwards.¹⁶ Fickert is a case in point. In the 1890s she invested in new friendships and professional collaborations with other women editors, feminists, and political activists outside of Austria, and in Germany in particular. Prominent names, for example, were Helene Lange (1848–1930), a teacher and also one of the co-founders of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein, the German branch of the Women's Association. Other connections included more radical voices such as Anita Augspurg (1857–1943), who advocated the abolition of prostitution, the Evangelical Paula Müller-Otfried (1865–1946), who represented the more religious branch of the association or Clara Zetkin (1857–1933), who advocated for the rights of proletarian women. These transnational relations developed through personal friendships in a political climate that fostered connections across national borders. Vienna at the time was a cosmopolitan European city as well as the capital of the multicultural and multilingual mosaic known as the Habsburg Monarchy. From the beginning of her career, Fickert had always been upfront about her transnational ambitions to broaden her intellectual horizon across Europe. Under her influence, the AÖFV became an important player in the European public sphere although membership fluctuated between 200 and 300 members, which was relatively small.

One way to achieve this international ambition was through the periodical press. While Marie Lang became an engaged public speaker in Vienna and attended local gatherings and meetings which led to her vice-presidency of the AÖFV in 1897, Fickert invested in transnational relations through the AÖFV and the press. In 1894, one year after founding the AÖFV, Fickert decided to edit *Das Recht der Frau, Organ für die moderne Frauenbewegung* (1894–97), a supplement to *Volksstimme, Organ der*

16 Karen M. Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700–1950: A Political History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 213.

Demokratischen Partei (1894–1900), a Viennese newspaper that was attached to the small Democratic Party. Although Fickert realized the need for an official press organ of the AÖFV, ‘at the beginning of its [the AÖFV’s] existence’, Anderson writes, ‘it was prepared to co-operate with a political party to gain newspaper space’.¹⁷ Published under the auspices of the Austrian Association, *Das Recht der Frau* consisted mainly of reports on international conferences, discussion, or speeches of women’s movements abroad, which were documented, translated, or summarized. Although Mayreder and Lang were among the first members of the AÖFV, they did not contribute to the supplement, nor were they involved in the editorial decisions of the publication. While Fickert did not contribute to *Das Recht der Frau* herself, she did collect small contributions from all over Europe to be published in the magazine. As Lang did not partake in international conferences at the time, Fickert appointed AÖFV member Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein (1863–1940) as delegate of Austria-Hungary at the first international women’s congress in Germany in 1896.¹⁸ It was through her influence that Schlesinger, and not Lang or Mayreder, gave a speech on the Austrian women’s movement and the survey for working women. The conference was organised by Lily Braun (1865–1916) and Minna Cauer (1841–1922), who led the women’s suffrage movement in Germany and edited *Die Frauenbewegung* (1895–1919) together. Moreover, Schlesinger-Eckstein joined the women’s conference in Berlin as well as in Brussels and both occasions were documented in *Das Recht der Frau*.¹⁹

***Dokumente der Frauen* and the Conflict with Marie Lang**

Shortly afterwards, in 1897, the small ‘Beilage’ (‘supplement’) ceased publication, and information was now provided through a column, ‘Zur Frauenbewegung’ (‘About the Women’s Movement’), which was published in *Volksstimme* until 1898. After *Das Recht der Frau* became part of *Volksstimme*, Fickert continued to contribute to Lily Braun and Minna Cauer’s German feminist periodical, *Frauenbewegung* (1895–1919), for which she provided short articles with information on the AÖFV and Austrian women’s rights in general. The most effective means of making women politically aware of the AÖFV was through the foundation of a journal that would serve as the association’s official organ. As president of the AÖFV, Fickert wanted the periodical to disseminate its political views, but also to comment on international news on women’s employment, women’s social conditions and other women’s movements abroad. The decision to publish her own periodical, however, was not taken lightly and required a lot of preparation on Fickert’s part. Through her previous editorial experience, Fickert was aware of the financial challenges connected to the work of editing a feminist periodical. She was conscious of the extensive workload that came with editorial tasks, and she realized the need for a social network to broaden her readership, including the Austrian bourgeoisie as well as an international audience of intellectuals.²⁰

As *Dokumente* became the official press organ of the Austrian Women’s Association, Fickert chose two co-editors who were also members of the AÖFV to assist her, Rosa Mayreder and Marie Lang, both of whom had very little editorial

17 Anderson, p. 43.

18 Schlesinger-Eckstein followed the same vision as Fickert and they remained close friends, even after she left the AÖFV in 1897 and joined the social democratic movement.

19 Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein, ‘Zur Frauenbewegung in Österreich. Vortrag gehalten am 20. September am Internationalen Frauenkongreß in Berlin’, *Das Recht der Frau*, no. 247 (November 1896), 6–7; Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein, ‘Zur Frauenfrage: Replik zum Artikel über den Brüsseler Frauenkongreß’, *Das Recht der Frau*, no. 297 (October 1897), 5–6.

20 Anderson, p. 15.

or even journalistic experience. The journal cost 60 Heller or 50 Pfennig and was published in Vienna in the Magdalenenstraße 12 and in Leipzig with Otto Maier in the Stephanstraße 12 and had 1281 subscribers in its first year of publication. For the most part, *Dokumente* reflected the objectives of the AÖFV, which ‘committed itself to women’s labour and employment, to education for working-class women, and rights for female domestic servants; it raised the question of prostitution from an abolitionist perspective, created legal protection centers for impoverished women, and rallied a large number of female civil servants, particularly post and telegraph office clerks’.²¹ In addition, the periodical commented on the increasing internationality of the women’s movement. The editorial for *Dokumente* in 1899, entitled ‘Vorwort der Herausgeberinnen’ (‘Preface of the Publishers’) attuned its own provocative editorial program with the political and social changes of the time, as it stressed the changing position of women in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. In the editorial, Fickert showed her awareness of women’s public sphere as increasingly transnational:

A big movement flows through the countries of Western European culture. New powers arise from the earth; life wants to take on a new form, and with a promising shift of the mind, the new century has come. This moving train is more and more consciously aware of improvement compared to earlier times: the emergence of women in public life.²²

As the excerpt shows, the opening words of the magazine emphasized the international scale of ‘eine grosse Bewegung’ (‘a big movement’), the women’s movement, as it was spreading through (Western) Europe.²³ As the editorial of *Dokumente* cemented the internationalization of the women’s movement, it also hinted at a transnational editorial approach similar to *Das Recht der Frau*.

However, international contributions remained scarce and were for the most part limited to summaries of conferences. In July 1898, for example, Marie Lang was sent as the AÖFV’s representative to the International Abolitionist Congress in London, the only Austrian feminist to participate in this congress dealing with prostitution.²⁴ However, despite her presence, *Dokumente der Frauen* published the account of German journalist and feminist Käthe Schirmacher (1865–1930)²⁵ and not Lang’s. The contribution was entitled ‘Der 25. Congress der Fédération Abolitionniste’ (‘The 25th congress of the Fédération Abolitionniste’), and was published in the twelfth issue of *Dokumente*, in 1899. It would be the first and last time Lang attended a conference abroad. After her marriage to Dr. Edmund Lang, she only participated in the social and cultural circles of Vienna and dedicated her time to the foundation of settlements.²⁶ In contrast with Fickert’s transnational feminist connections, Marie Lang’s network

21 Anderson, p. 44.

22 ‘Eine grosse Bewegung geht durch die Länder der abendländischen Cultur. Neue Kräfte wachsen aus der Erde; das Leben will eine neue Gestalt annehmen, und in einer verheissungsvollen Erschütterung der Geister kündigt sich das kommende Jahrhundert an. Ein Zug ist in dieser Bewegung mehr und bewusster als allen früheren Zeiten der Erhebung eigen, das Auftreten der Frauen im öffentlichem Leben.’ ‘Vorwort der Herausgeberinnen’, *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 1 (1899), 1–4 (p. 1).

23 At the same time, *Dokumente* captured the sentiment of the late nineteenth century, which anticipated new and faster technological possibilities — by referencing ‘Zug’ (‘train’), for example.

24 Hanna Hacker, ‘Fickert Auguste (1855–1910)’, in *Biographical Dictionary of Women’s Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. by Francisca de Haan and others (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006), pp. 131–33 (p. 132).

25 Born in Dresden, which was Polish at the time, Schirmacher studied in Paris. Later, she received a doctor’s title in Zürich.

26 The settlement movement was a movement which aimed to foster social cohesion and a sense of community by starting housing projects in which middle-class volunteers lived with poorer citizens.

was limited to the Viennese artistic circles, which included Gustav Klimt, Alfred Roller, Gustav Mahler, Alfred Los, and the Wittgenstein and Hofmannsthal families.²⁷ Significantly, Fickert did not choose Lang or Mayreder to represent Austria-Hungary at the second general meeting of the International Council of Women, which took place in London in 1899. Instead, she appointed Marianne Hainisch as delegate as we can see from her contributions in *Dokumente* entitled 'Bericht an den internationalen Frauencongress in London über weibliche Fachschulen in Österreich' ('Message to the international women's congress in London about female schools in Austria')²⁸ and 'Londoner Brief' ('Letter from London').²⁹ This appointment was despite the fact that Hainisch was a member of the liberal democratic movement, which took a more moderate stance on women's rights than Fickert did within the AÖFV.

Underlying these various decisions was a growing ideological conflict between Fickert and Lang. Apart from her membership of the Association, Lang was also part of the Theosophical Society, and had a more religious take on feminism.³⁰ This was bound to clash with Fickert, who considered truthful, factual information as the way forward to effect social change. This stance is reflected in the title of the periodical, which emphasizes legal *documents* as the basis for promoting women's rights, an emphasis that would become even more prominent in *Neues Frauenleben*. As Anderson points out, Lang's collaboration with Fickert was rooted in a deep spiritual admiration for Fickert rather than 'any long-standing conviction or personally felt disadvantage that characterized feminism'.³¹ The tension between the two editors was echoed in the antithetical content of the periodical. For instance, Lang had editorial responsibility for religious-moralistic contributions to *Dokumente*, such as 'Seelische Heilprocesse von Stephan Grossmann (Wien)' ('Spiritual healing processes by Stephan Grossmann [Vienna]'), whereas Fickert published a survey by Sofia Daszynska, on women's employment in Lemberg.³²

Lang's lack of transnational networks accompanied her very different, ideological focus which eventually led to the inability of the two editors to collaborate further. Indeed, the conflict between Fickert and Lang had a severe impact on the future of *Dokumente der Frauen*. Realizing that the situation could not continue, Fickert left the editorial board after the first year of co-editing *Dokumente*. Lang continued to edit *Dokumente* for another two years until the periodical ceased publication altogether in 1902. This was echoed in Mayreder's obituary of Fickert, published in *Die Frau* in which she commented on the painful experience for Fickert:

For idealists, the clash with reality is always a painful crisis. For Auguste Fickert this was especially hard, because she was completely and utterly disappointed by

27 She also attended Vienna Women's Club (Wiener Frauenclub), which was founded in 1900 by its president, Austrian writer Margarete Jodl (1859–1937).

28 Marianne Hainisch, 'Bericht an den internationalen Frauencongress in London über weibliche Fachschulen in Österreich', *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 9 (1899), 240–46.

29 Marianne Hainisch, 'Londoner Brief', *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 9 (1899), 233–35. As a result, Hainisch would become the founder of Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine (The League of Austrian Women's Associations) in 1902, which represented the Austrian women's movement abroad. Hainisch eventually became vice-president of the International Council for Women from 1909 until 1914.

30 Anderson, pp. 44–45.

31 Anderson, p. 32.

32 Sofia Daszynska, 'Die Arbeiterinnen-Enquête in Lemberg (Galizien)', *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 14 (1899), 362–65.

the one she loved most. A personal friendship [...] together with a collaborative work went to ruins.³³

Fickert became more and more aware of the increasing enmeshment of personal relations and political ambitions. As Anderson indicates, 'for these feminists the personal was intimately intertwined with the political'.³⁴ Although correspondence between Lang and Fickert is too limited to extract the reason behind their disagreement, the strong and expressive words of Mayreder's obituary suggest an underlying, ideological conflict between the two editors as suggested above. Other obituaries also hint at Fickert's personal estrangement from Lang which resulted in her radical decision to leave the editorial board of a journal which was so closely linked to an association of which she herself was the president. The Austrian magazine, *Der Bund. Zentralblatt des Bundes österreichischer Frauenvereine*, for instance, described her as 'die Unerschrockene' ('The Unafraid')³⁵ and *Neues Wiener Journal* emphasized Fickert's stubborn nature: 'Unfortunately, she did not make any concessions, neither to the right nor to the left.'³⁶ The *Evangelische Frauenzeitung* even went as far as to call her 'rücksichtslos' ('ruthless').³⁷

The editorial effect of these 'affective ruptures',³⁸ as Dillane defines the destabilizing impact of conflict on the form of the periodical, was extensive as well. As the relationship with *Dokumente's* readers had to be secured after Fickert's departure, Lang would emphasize the consistency of the periodical's format. In 'An die Leser' ('To the Reader'), the small segment at the beginning of *Dokumente's* second volume, Lang promised that the lay-out and programme of the periodical would stay the same: 'At the end of this year, Miss Auguste Fickert and Mrs Rosa Mayreder resigned from the publication of "Dokumente". Both will continue to take part in the magazine as contributors, which I shall continue in the same manner and with the same course of direction.'³⁹ However, Lang's statement gives the reader a false impression of continuity. In reality, the rupture with Lang had more long-lasting consequences, and Fickert would no longer contribute to any of the issues of *Dokumente*. After Fickert left the editorial board, the frequency of her contributions dropped as well and *Dokumente* adopted a more local approach, writing mostly about Viennese literary circles and political issues. In what comes next, I lay out how the ideological and personal conflict with Lang resulted in a turning-point for Fickert as she further expanded her transnational editorial practices and strategies.

The Influence of Maikki Friberg

The conflict with Lang urged Fickert to invest further in friendships abroad, in particular with Finnish woman editor, feminist, and journalist Maikki Friberg. At the time, Friberg was co-editor of *Nutid (New Times)* (1895–1914), a feminist journal of the Swedish

33 'Der Zusammenstoß mit der Wirklichkeit ist immer für den Idealisten eine schmerzliche Krise. Für Auguste Fickert war es besonders hart, weil sie am stärksten dort enttäuscht wurde, wo sie am stärksten geliebt hatte. Ein persönliches Freundschaftsbündnis [...] ging zugleich mit einer gemeinsamen Arbeit in Trümmer.' Rosa Mayreder, 'Auguste Fickert', *Die Frau*, 18.1 (October 1910), p. 10.

34 Anderson, p. 57.

35 [Anon.], 'Auguste Fickert', *Der Bund: Zentralblatt des Bundes österreichischer Frauenvereine*, 5.5 (16 June 1910), 7–8 (p. 7).

36 'Sie machte leider keine Konzessionen, weder nach rechts noch nach links.' Klothilde Benedikt, 'Erinnerungen an die Schöpferin des Wiener Einküchenhauses: Auguste Fickert', *Neues Wiener Journal*, no. 9547 (5 June 1920), 3–4 (p. 3).

37 [Anon.], 'Auguste Fickert', *Evangelische Frauenzeitung*, 6.20 (15 July 1910), 1.

38 Dillane, p. 12.

39 'Mit dem Schluss des vollendeten Jahres sind Fräulein Auguste Fickert und Frau Rosa Mayreder von der Herausgabe der "Dokumente" zurückgetreten. Beide werden an dem Blatt, das ich in gleicher Art und Richtung weiterführen werde, als Mitarbeiterinnen auch ferner theilnehmen.' Marie Lang, 'An die Leser!', *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 20 (1900), 1.

women's movement which was similar in style and content to *Dokumente der Frauen*.⁴⁰ Highly invested in the German political context, Friberg had studied in Berlin and Zürich and obtained a doctoral degree from the University of Bern in 1887 with a study of Nordic folk before she would start travelling through Europe.⁴¹ Fickert and Friberg connected over their shared professional background as they were both trained teachers and published profusely on the subject of women's education. In addition, Friberg had already been writing for *Das Recht der Frau* between 1895 and 1896, reflecting on the political situation of Finland and the Finnish women's movement in particular. In the 10 May 1896 issue, for instance, Fickert included Friberg's lecture called, 'Die Frauenfrage in Finnland: Vortrag gehalten auf dem Internationalen Kongreß zu Paris am 9. April 1896' ('The women's question in Finland: Speech held at the international conference of Paris on 9 April 1896').

Fickert's personal and professional relation with Friberg also reflected on the pages of *Dokumente*. During its first year of publication, *Dokumente* contained few international contributions. Among the few exceptions were articles by German journalists such as the previously mentioned Anita Augspurg or Käthe Schirmacher and by Friberg. Friberg again wrote about the Finnish women's movement and the political situation of Finland, for example on 'Die Finnländische Frauenbewegung' ('The Finnish Women's Movement').⁴² Although they were living far apart, Friberg and Fickert's friendship fostered a connection between a Nordic and a German-speaking feminist, between Finland and Vienna. This type of alliance was exceptional at the time, although it would become increasingly more important as many Nordic intellectuals were schooled in a German-language context. As Fickert only had a basic comprehension of both English and French, it was much harder for her to establish profound friendships and professional relations because of linguistic barriers.⁴³ In addition, the German and Austrian women's movements were familiar with Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, about a woman who leaves her husband and children, which was published in 1880 in Scandinavia and was hugely successful in Europe. Furthermore, the literary influence in Europe of writers such as Swedish feminist Ellen Key and the Norwegian Bjørnsterne Bjørnson was growing. In fact, Bjørnson was a personal friend of Fickert and *Dokumente*'s first contribution following the editorial in 1899, is a letter from him, entitled 'Ein Brief an Fräulein Fickert' ('A Letter to Ms. Fickert').⁴⁴ Later that year, *Dokumente* contained discussions on Ellen Key as well.⁴⁵

Aside from the content of the periodical, Fickert also wanted to disseminate the periodical internationally. In this regard, Friberg was an important alliance. As Marjatta Hietala suggests, Maikki Friberg's contacts were vast and international.⁴⁶ This was the result of Friberg's travels through Europe between 1889 and 1906, which included a visit to Vienna as well as the attendance of lectures in Paris and an economy course in Brussels. In addition, she regularly translated Finnish articles into French and promoted

40 Maikki Friberg would later start the official press organ of the Finnish women's movement in 1906, called *Näisten ääni (Women's Voice)* (1906–27).

41 Marjatta Hietala, *Finnisch-deutsche Wissenschaftskontakte: Zusammenarbeit in Ausbildung: Forschung und Praxis im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2017), p. 46.

42 Maikki Friberg, 'Die Finnländische Frauenbewegung', *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 15 (1899), 385–89.

43 The Vienna City Library (Die Wienbibliothek) holds letters to Fickert written in French by Mary Chéliga-Loévy and postcards to her brother, Emil, which served to practice her English.

44 Bjørnsterne Bjørnson, 'Ein Brief an Fräulein Fickert', *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 1 (1899), 4–7.

45 See for example, Georges Brandes, who published an article in the seventh issue of *Dokumente* about Ellen Key, 'Ellen Key', *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 7 (1899), 192–95. In the same issue of the periodical, Key wrote an article, 'Weibliche Sittlichkeit', *Dokumente der Frauen*, no. 7 (1899), 171–84, and Bertha Pauli wrote a review of one of Hendrik Ibsen's plays, 'Zur Aufführung von Ibsen's "Gespenster" durch das Berliner Ensemble', no. 10 (1899), 267–70.

46 Hietala, p. 46.

her feminist journal *Nutid* abroad. She kept track of these accomplishments through her correspondence with Fickert⁴⁷:

Things are looking better here regarding propaganda. *Le Soir*, which has 110 000 subscribers, has published three of our articles, *Le Petit Bleu* one and *L'ind. Belge* has all the notes I sent them.⁴⁸

As both Friberg and Fickert were writing small informational 'Notizen' ('notes') for the bigger newspapers, they were hoping to draw more attention to their periodicals and the women's movement in general. This cultural exchange was important to women editors, because it enabled them to establish a reliable network of promotion. To be mentioned in an international magazine also added to the prestige of the periodical. Known for her work as chair of the Finnish Feminist Association, Friberg published essays by Fickert in her own periodical, *Nutid*, and if they were too provocative for Russian censorship, she sent them to other periodicals or newspapers such as the national Norwegian newspaper *Werdens Gang* (*The Course of the World*) (1868–1923) as her contacts often agreed to disseminate *Dokumente* or other contributions by her hand. Fickert also became increasingly involved with contributions for Friberg's *Nutid* by the end of the nineteenth century. In this respect, Fickert's conflict with Lang was beneficial for Friberg. Writing regularly for *Nutid*, Fickert was mentioned as one of the more important journalistic contributors in the subscription template.⁴⁹

Neues Frauenleben

After the demise of *Dokumente* and strengthening her international relations through contributions to *Nutid*, Fickert decided to launch a new periodical in 1902, entitled *Neues Frauenleben*. This time however, she embarked on her editorial journey alone and fully adjusted to her own standards. Unlike *Dokumente*, the journal took a more direct political approach by composing and sending out petitions to legislative bodies. The journal was also cheaper than *Dokumente* as it cost only 40 Heller for one issue instead of *Dokumente's* subscription rate of 60 Heller, therefore accommodating a wider audience. As president of the General Austrian Woman's Association, Fickert was also able to gain enough votes to install *Neues Frauenleben* as the new platform of the AÖFV. This in turn caused the financial and social decline of *Dokumente* since it lost most of its subscribers to *Neues Frauenleben*. After her unsuccessful attempt to continue *Dokumente*, Lang gave up all of her editorial and journalistic endeavors and passed on the editorial torch to German feminist and pacifist Helene Stöcker (1869–1943), who renamed the journal *Frauen-Rundschau* (*Women's Lookaround*) (1903–11) and published the periodical with a team of female editors, including Ella Mensch (1859–1935) and Carmen Teja (n.d.).

For Fickert, the rupture with Lang initiated a much more transnational collaboration than she had ever been able to attempt within the framework of *Dokumente* or the AÖFV. Similar to and to an even greater extent than *Dokumente*, *Neues Frauenleben*

47 Because Friberg was not a native speaker of German, it should be noted that any mistakes regarding spelling and grammar are not my own.

48 'Es geht schon besser mit dem Propaganda hier. *Le Soir*, der 110 000 Abonnementen hat, hat schon drei Artikeln über uns gehabt. *Le Petit Bleu* einer und *L'ind. Belge*, giebt alle die Notizen die ich dorthin sende.' Maikki Friberg, 'Unpublished note to Auguste Fickert', n.d., LQH0068580. Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Vienna Austria.

49 The only other contributions in German were from Marie Stritt (1855–1928) who, as president of the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine (League of the German Women's Associations) consolidated the internationalization ambitions of the International Council of Women and was editor of its press organ, *Centralblatt* (1899–1913).

inscribed itself in the international women's movement.⁵⁰ For example, Elsa Migerka (n.d.) commented on the women's congress in Rome, Anna Pappritz (1861–1939) documented the women's congress in London in 1909, and Rosa Feigenbaum (1853–1912) wrote an article on Parisian suffragettes.⁵¹ Moreover, Adele Gerber wrote a lengthy review on a book entitled *Women's Suffrage: A Record of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the British Isles* written by Helen Blackburn (1842–1903), the editor of the *Englishwoman's Review* (1866–1910).⁵² In addition, Leopoldine Kulka and Adele Gerber, two of the leading journalists of *Neues Frauenleben* at the time, further executed Fickert's ambitions to attend public speeches abroad as they were both present at the founding congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Berlin (June 1904), an offshoot of the International Council for Women with its own press organ, *Jus Suffragii* (1906–1924). No less than three articles were published on the event in *Neues Frauenleben*. Gerber wrote an article on women's suffrage at the congress in Berlin⁵³ and Kulka commented on the concluding remarks of the conference, 'Der Schluss des Kongresses' ('The final conclusions of the congress').⁵⁴ The lesser known journalist Felicitas Buchner wrote specifically about the moral question at the international women's congress in Berlin.⁵⁵ In addition, Fickert decided to publish a list of all speakers and a summary of the most noteworthy lectures in *Neues Frauenleben*: 'Internationaler Frauenkongress in Berlin (Rednerinnenliste)' ('The International Women's Congress in Berlin [list of speakers]').⁵⁶

In addition to this coverage of international women's movement activity, Fickert attracted more international journalists to write for *Neues Frauenleben*. In particular the shaping influence of Friberg and her professional relations can be seen upon the periodical, even more so after she became an active member of the Finnish Women's Association between 1907 and 1924. Friberg continued to contribute articles on the women's question in Finland over the course of the eight years that Fickert was the editor-in-chief of *Neues Frauenleben*. Moreover, women journalists Anna Brunneemann (Sweden), Frederiksen Kristine, Anna Holst, Migerka Elsa, Kohlt Havdan, and of course, writer Bjørnsterne Bjørnson wrote articles for Fickert's new journal. From a private letter from Friberg to Fickert, we learn that she recommended the contributors of the Finnish painter Eva Ingman, whose house in Dresden became a central space for Scandinavian and Finnish students to network: 'Concerning small articles in newspapers, I believe that my friend, Eva, Dreseden can provide you with the best service. She understands Finnish well, reads my magazine and has a skilled pen'.⁵⁷ As the excerpt shows, Friberg suggested Ingman to further share articles for *Neues Frauenleben*. As a

50 See, for instance, Adele Gerber's contribution 'The International Council of Women', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 6 (1904), 6–10.

51 Else Migerka, 'Der Frauenkongress in Rom. 23. bis 30. April 1908', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 5 (1908), 127–31; Anna Pappritz, 'Der internationale Frauenstimmrechts-Kongress, 26. April bis 1. Mai: Ein Stimmungsbild aus London', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 5 (1909), 121–27; and Rosa Feigenbaum, 'Die Pariser Suffragettes', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 2 (1907), 16–18.

52 Adele Gerber, 'Women's Suffrage: A Record of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the British Isles', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 9 (1902), 9–13.

53 Adele Gerber, 'Das Frauenstimmrecht auf dem Berliner Kongress', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 7 (1904), 12–15.

54 Leopoldine Kulka, 'Der Schluss des Kongresses', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 7 (1904), 15–16.

55 Felicitas Buchner, 'Die Sittlichkeitsfrage auf dem internationalen Frauenkongress zu Berlin', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 7 (1904), 5–11.

56 Auguste Fickert, 'Internationaler Frauenkongress in Berlin [Rednerinnenliste]', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 5 (1904), 10.

57 'Beträfts der Zeitungsnotizen glaub ich dass meine Freundin Eva, Dresden Franklinstr. 20 dir die besten Dienste leisten kann. Sie versteht gut finnisch, liest meine Zeitschrift und hat eine sehr geübte Feder.' Friberg, 'Unpublished Note'.

result, Ingman published a longer article called 'Aus Finland' ('From Finland') in 1907,⁵⁸ which demonstrates that Fickert continued to put forward the journal as a vehicle of transnational exchange.

Conclusion

Neues Frauenleben continued publication until 1917, but Fickert became less and less involved from 1909 onwards and eventually died in a sanatorium in Maria Enzersdorf, Vienna in 1910. A new generation of editors took over after her death, which included her brother Emil Fickert (n.d.), Leopoldine Kulka (1872–1920), and Christine Touaillon (1878–1928) and they continued the editorship of the periodical for another seven years. The journal's focus on the transnational feminist community continued to exist, in particular after the first Austrian conference on women's suffrage was held in Vienna, March 1912. For example, both Kulka and Mayreder published articles on the International Congress of Women in The Hague, better known as the Women's Peace Congress, which took place from 27 until 30 April 1915 and which advocated a pacifist stance during the First World War.⁵⁹ And in 1916, Mayreder published an article with the fitting title 'Die Frau und der Internationalismus' ('Women and Internationality').⁶⁰

Today, Fickert is remembered primarily as a prominent member of the women's movement in Austria because of her leadership of the AÖFV and praised for her political and social accomplishments in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. However, none of the obituaries, newspaper articles, or commemorations mention Fickert's international relations or her personal and professional relation to Maikki Friberg, although the editorial impact of the Finnish-Austrian collaboration was extensive. Tracing Auguste Fickert's career as an editor for *Dokumente der Frauen* and *Neues Frauenleben*, I have argued that Auguste Fickert's clashing personal and professional views with Marie Lang resulted in the early demise of *Dokumente der Frauen* and strengthened her transnational connections, especially with Friberg. Unlike Lang, who focused on strengthening her Viennese network of friends, transnational collaborations were an essential part of Fickert's editorial strategies. This was in line with the collective internationalization of women's movements at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. In other words, Fickert is a case in point to show how internal conflict within local, national feminist movements served as a catalyst for the expansion of transnational alliances. Indeed, by taking the periodical as a locus to trace personal and professional collaborations, this case-study serves as an invitation to rethink the role of conflict in shaping sociability among feminist women and their periodicals across the nations.

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58 Eva Ingman, 'Aus Finland', *Neues Frauenleben*, no. 5 (1907), 18–19.

59 Leopoldine Kulka, 'Internationaler Frauenkongress im Haag vom 27.-30. April 1915', *Neues Frauenleben*, No.5 (1915), 101–07. Rosa Mayreder, 'Der Haager Frauenkongress im Lichte der Frauenbewegung', *Neues Frauenleben*, No.5 (1915), 98–101.

60 Rosa Mayreder, 'Die Frau und der Internationalismus', *Neues Frauenleben*, No.2 (1916), 25–31.

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