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Brown, Karin Brinkmann

**KARL LUEGER AS LIBERAL: DEMOCRACY, MUNICIPAL REFORM, AND
THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN THE VIENNA CITY COUNCIL 1875-1882**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1982

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KARL LUEGER AS LIBERAL

Democracy, Municipal Reform, and the Struggle for Power in the
Vienna City Council
1875-1882

by
Karin Brinkmann Brown

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in History in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for
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INTRODUCTION

Austria today is a free democratic republic with a "mixed" capitalist-socialist economy, in which political power is shared by two major parties - the socialist SPÖ (Sozialistische Partei Österreichs) and the Catholic ÖVP (Österreichische Volkspartei). Both parties are committed to the basic tenets of popular democracy and both have roots in the nineteenth century when "Austria" denoted a multi-national empire of forty million inhabitants, rather than the small Alpine country known by that name since 1918. The direct antecedents of these parties, the Social Democratic and Christian Social movements, developed in a climate of mutual hostility culminating in civil war between them in 1934, and contributing to Austria's loss of independence and incorporation into Hitler Germany in 1938.

Austria's present political and social stability, based on the idea and reality of peaceful coexistence, and to a certain extent, cooperation between her two major parties, is very much a product of her experience between 1918 and 1945. Yet it goes back to the very roots of democracy in the Habsburg Empire, in the liberal reform movement leading up to and away from the Revolution of 1848. The city of Vienna gained its first experience of self-government and its first taste of democracy in this "incomplete" revolution, whose chief beneficiary was the propertied and educated upper bourgeoisie, or Grossbürgertum.² While the boon of self-government devolved on this privileged class in the aftermath of the turmoil, democracy was relegated once more to the realm of ideas where it survived in two contradictory forms: as an unfulfilled hope that might one day be realized; and as a dreaded eventuality to be put off as long as possible.

In late nineteenth century Europe, the "liberal democracy" born of the struggle against absolutism, and holding to the primacy of personal rights, laissez-faire economics, and the

idea of the "free mandate,"³ gave way before a tide of "mass democracy" that placed equality first on the table of democratic values,⁴ imposed party discipline, and demanded various kinds and degrees of government intervention in social and economic life.⁵ This transition from upper-class rule, grounded in the principle of "open oligarchy" by which individuals were free to advance to the upper strata,⁶ to the advent of mass-based political parties demanding collective favors and rights for unprivileged socio-economic groups, was a common phenomenon in the last two decades of nineteenth century Europe.⁷ Where it occurred, it marked the decline of political liberalism as the ruling parliamentary force, and its displacement by parties grounded in different conceptions of social justice, government responsibilities, and the proper relationship between state and society.⁸

In Austria three movements emerged under the guiding inspiration of three particularly forceful personalities - Pan-Germanism under Georg Ritter von Schönerer,⁹ Christian Socialism under Karl Lueger,¹⁰ and Austrian Social Democracy under Victor Adler¹¹ - to challenge the rule of a doctrinaire liberalism disinclined to adapt its strategies, policies, or basic world-view to changing political, social, and economic conditions.¹² While each of the three leaders parted company with the progressive liberalism of his student days and young manhood, only one, Karl Lueger, was not lured away by a competing ideology, but rather in search of one after breaking with a liberal establishment he had sought unsuccessfully to reform from within.

In Vienna and its environs, where these anti-liberal movements were centered, they found adherents in two disaffected social groups: the working class, which was excluded entirely from the self-governing process; and the lesser bourgeoisie, or Kleinbürgertum, rendered virtually powerless by a system of weighted suffrage that assured political dominance to the wealthy and better educated upper classes, or Grossbürgertum. This Kleinbürgertum, also known as the Mittelstand,¹³

felt not only politically constrained, but materially disadvantaged by the advent of liberal economics, or Manchester-ismus, which had swept away an ancient protective guild system and exposed the small businessman to the often brutal effects of unrestrained and unregulated competition. Not only were these people, with no access to credit, and outmoded marketing and production methods, unable to compete with factory-made goods and large retail establishments, but their existence was threatened by the rapid proliferation of small entrepreneurs like themselves under an expanding economy which could no longer sustain them in the depression years following the great Crash of 1873.¹⁴

This class, which was particularly numerous in Vienna,¹⁵ posed the first serious challenge to Viennese Liberalism as it entered with a vengeance a political process designed specifically, though as it turned out imperfectly, to hold the "little man" at bay. It was not the intention of "liberal democracy"¹⁶ to hold the masses forever in tutelage; they had simply first to be prepared for the weighty responsibilities democracy entailed, and in the meantime give evidence of their social conservatism and good sense by seeing the logic of the argument, "Wer helfen will die Stadt zu verwalten, muss selber was zu verwalten haben."¹⁷ Unfortunately for those in the thrall of this philosophy, the unrefined masses ripened prematurely to political consciousness and rose against an established order, grounded in ideas of liberty and equality, but constituting in effect, "a new order of privilege."¹⁸

The course of Austrian democracy is particularly difficult to follow, as the traditional political spectrum was pummeled out of shape by the multi-sided attack on classical liberalism in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Participating in the assault were a Marxist-oriented industrial working class, a lower-middle-class anti-Semitic populism, a rabidly anti-Semitic pan-German extremism, and liberalism's own democratic left wing, bearing still the banner of 1848, hoping still for an orderly extension of democracy in the tradition

of civic brotherhood established in the battle against Habsburg absolutism.¹⁹

The man universally credited with forging all but the first-named of these disparate elements into Austria's first modern mass party, the Christian Social Party founded in 1889,²⁰ was Karl Lueger.²¹ That Lueger succeeded where others failed, was an event of some importance for Viennese, Austrian, and finally European history. Why he succeeded, and how he became the idol of the Viennese populace, is the story not only of one man's rise to power, but of a political system in transition from oligarchy to democracy, from the norm of the parliamentary club to the norm of the organized mass party. It is also the story of the political awakening of the Viennese populace to demand a government responsive to the needs of the average citizen and the economically hard-pressed common man. A study of Lueger's evolution from a caucus politician to leader of a popular mass movement, of his transformation from democratic liberal to leader of a Catholic populist anti-Semitic mass party, is at the same time a study of the evolution of democracy in Vienna.

Karl Lueger was in his lifetime, and remains today, a controversial personality and an unsolved puzzle for the historian. Admired by his few biographers as a man of the people and enterprising municipal reformer, revered by the Viennese masses who rightly claimed his victory as their own, yet detested by his enemies and political opponents as an unscrupulous striver, insincere democrat, demagogue and vicious anti-Semite, Lueger haunts the present like an unretired ghost, waiting for some final verdict to release him from the limbo of ambiguity and incomprehension that surrounds his memory.

There is to date no scholarly biography²² or satisfactory interpretation of this complex and gifted man who served unwittingly as a model for the young Adolf Hitler, and yet for all his radical talk and modern grasp of the mass mentality, became a bulwark of traditional values and institutions - the Catholic Church, the Habsburg State, and the capitalist order.

What has been written about Lueger in recent years, tends to be superficial, and even where approaching profundity, inaccurate in detail to the point that the final image is distorted.²³

The problem of capturing a reasonable likeness of Lueger, incorporating his contradictory characteristics into a comprehensible whole, has been aggravated by a tendency to view him primarily as the party leader he became after fusing his personal ambition with the anti-liberal groups so vociferously abroad in the Vienna of the 1880's. After that point, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish the man from the movement, the leader from the masses who propelled him forward to claim power in their name. Lueger's evolution from democratic liberal to leader of a Catholic, anti-Semitic collectivist mass party has generally been seen in one of three ways: as a natural development of his identification with the interests and problems of the Viennese "kleiner Mann;"²⁴ as a mere exercise in self-serving opportunism;²⁵ or as an irresistible response to forces that engaged him as an instrument for their own purposes, which were at a far remove from the more or less refined world of Rathaus liberalism that was Lueger's point of departure.²⁶

While there is evidence to support each of these interpretations, they cannot obviously each be a fair assessment of the man they respectively idealize, criticize, or reduce to a pawn in the grip of ideas and impulses essentially at odds with his character and intentions. All are distortions created by the perspective of the viewers (generally based on too narrow reading of the sources), and the contexts in which Lueger is traditionally portrayed - in the bosom of the Kleinbürgertum, demanding a place in the sun, and yet at some remove from the passions he encouraged, or in the throes of massive forces moving inexorably to the destruction of nineteenth century middle-class culture.

No historian has closely examined Lueger in the political environment of his formative years, and all have missed the

significance of this background for Lueger's ultimate course and the problematical legacy he bequeathed to twentieth-century Austria. Lueger's political life falls into four distinct phases: the first 1875-1882, in which he rose to lead a progressive liberal reform party to the brink of power in the Vienna City Council; the second, 1882-1888, in which he searched for broader support in the electorate at large for an anti-liberal democratic course; the third, 1888-1897 when he formed the Christian Social Party and brought the "liberal era" of Viennese history to an end; the fourth, 1897-1910, his term of office as mayor of Vienna. This study will focus on the all but entirely neglected first phase, seeking to draw from the full record of Lueger's public life between 1875 and 1882, a character profile based on consistent traits he exhibited as a liberal municipal reformer and rising young star of the Vienna City Council.

The thesis proposed is that Lueger's "Wanderjahre," or years of political vacillation and uncertainty, began not with his election to the Vienna City Council, but with the collapse of his left liberal party and hopes of winning a Council majority in 1882. It was only then that he ceased to call himself a "liberal" and began to cultivate a rhetorical style that appealed less to the reason than to the emotions of his voters, that dealt in generalities, and that expressed a grievance he had indeed come to share with the "little man" shut out from the liberal paradise.

Lueger's coming-of-age as a "Volksmann," required two major strategical shifts away from the political system as it was when he entered the Vienna City Council in 1875. The first was away from the "caucus" system of parliamentary politics, as this is defined by Maurice Duverger in his classic study of political parties.²⁷ Lueger's failure to find a reliable base among the cliques of district notables who controlled access to political office and power, led him to seek support outside the chamber and against the fractions he had hoped to weld into a great liberal party. His failure,

on the other hand, to find a modus operandi within the ideological and structural framework of an inflexible and, in the final analysis, unreformable liberalism, led him to break with the liberal establishment, and explore the uncharted ways of opposition to the party he had hoped to reform, and in which he had hoped to find a dependable constituency. The failure, in short, of Lueger's attempt to find a liberal way, is the subject of this study. That Lueger only appears one-third of the way through this dissertation follows from the political biographical approach and the paucity of secondary literature in the area of municipal politics at this time. The first three chapters dealing with constitutional and political developments from 1848 to 1875, and introducing the personalities that were to have the greatest influence on Lueger's early development, seemed the most appropriate and economical way of achieving a sharper overview and better understanding of the world he entered and sought to conquer.

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- 1 On the present day Austrian political "partnership" see Karl Stadler, Austria, pp. 290-295, 321-322.

A brief but sound summary of Austrian political development to the present is the chapter by Peter Pulzer, "Austria" in European Political Parties - a Handbook, edited by Stanley Henwig.

- 2 Walter Pollak, 1848 Revolution auf halbem Weg, p. 225.
Wilhelm Wadl, "Liberalismus und soziale Frage in Oesterreich," p. 12.
- 3 Peter Gerlich and Helmut Kramer, Abgeordnete in der Parteidemokratie, describe the "dogma of the free mandate," as the nineteenth century liberal parliamentary ideal by which decisions are reached by a process of free deliberation and temporary majorities formed in respect to specific questions. p. 201.
- 4 J. Roland Pennock, Democratic Political Theory, p. 16.
- 5 Carlton J. Hayes, A Generation of Materialism 1871-1900, pp. 196-198.
- 6 "... the talent and energy of the individual determine his entitlement to an influential position in society and a

claim to the manifold enjoyments of life; the progress of the whole is assured by the chance of individuals for development in all areas." NFP, 28 January 1875.

- 7 Hayes, A Generation of Materialism, pp. 196-204.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Andrew G. Whiteside, The Socialism of Fools, pp. 311-312.
- 10 Rheinhold Knoll, Zur Tradition der Christlich-Sozialen Partei, pp. 171-188.
- 11 Fritz Kaufmann, Sozialdemokratie in Österreich, pp. 18-23.
- 12 Generally referred to as "camps" or "Lager," a terminology established by Adam Wandruska, in, Heinrich Benedikt (ed.) Geschichte der Republik Oesterreich, pp. 291-292.
- 13 On the difficulty of defining this class see, Shulamit Volkov, The Rise of Popular Anti-modernism in Germany, pp. 123-138. By and large it was made up of small producers, master artisans, merchants, and those in service trades, such as hairdressers, fiaker drivers, and Gasthaus (see below, pp. 97-98, Note 54) proprietors.
- 14 Christian Salmeyer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgerthum in Wien," pp. 46-66, 203, 239-242.
- 15 In 1869, there were still 45,484 independent craftsmen, as opposed to 202,854 dependent ones. Ibid., p. 14.
- 16 Georg Franz, Liberalismus, p. 146.
- 17 (He who wishes to help govern the city, must first have something of his own to administer) The remark was made by a conservative liberal City Councilman, and is quoted in Eduard Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit des Wiener Gemeinderates in den Jahren 1884-1888," p. 437.
- 18 Wadl, "Liberalismus und soziale Frage in Österreich," p. 13.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 137-139.
- 20 Knoll, Zur Tradition der Christlich-Sozialen Partei, p. 177.
- 21 Albert Fuchs, Geistige Strömungen in Oesterreich, p. 58, states, "No party was ever a one-man party to the extent of the Christian Social during the lifetime of its founder."
- 22 There are three biographies of Lueger, all admiring and unabashedly focussed on his "better side," none analytical in the sense of a comprehensive objective (reasonably) interpretation grounded in original sources and archival research. The rudiments of a scholarly apparatus are almost entirely lacking: two are without documentation of any kind, giving only general bibliographies (Rudolf Kuppe's Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, and Heinrich Schnee's Dr. Karl Lueger - Leben und Wirken eines grossen Sozial und Kommunalpolitikers); the third grants an occasional reference, but is of little help to anyone in search of expert guidance

- (Kurt Skalník's Dr. Karl Lueger, Der Mann Zwischen den Zeiten). The largest, most detailed and still standard biography, that of Kuppe, was written in 1933, and though it runs to 600 pages (of these 40 are devoted to the years 1875-1882), has no index. Arthur J. May gives the measure of its scholarly value with his comment, "pleasant and diverting glimpses," The Hapsburg Monarchy 1861-1914, p. 516.
- 23 Two recent interpretations, given in the context of larger works in which Lueger figures prominently are Carl Schorske's Fin de siècle Vienna, and John W. Boyer's Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna; both suffer by way of "constructing" the Lueger that best suits their larger theses.
- 24 f.e., the Kuppe biography, and two dissertations which have become standard sources for lack of anything better: Gertrud Stöger's "Die politischen Anfänge Lueger's," written in 1941, and Margot Kunze's "Dr. Karl Lueger als Gemeinderat von 1875-1896," which presents Lueger as heroic champion of the people against the machinations of Jewish capitalism (1968).
- 25 Richard Charnatz, "Lueger," Biographisches Jahrbuch, Vol. 15; and recently Boyer, Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna, who claims a rather too easy intimacy with Lueger's thought processes, in the writer's opinion.
- 26 Schorske, "Politics in a new Key," in Fin-de-siècle Vienna.
- 27 Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, pp. 62-71.
-

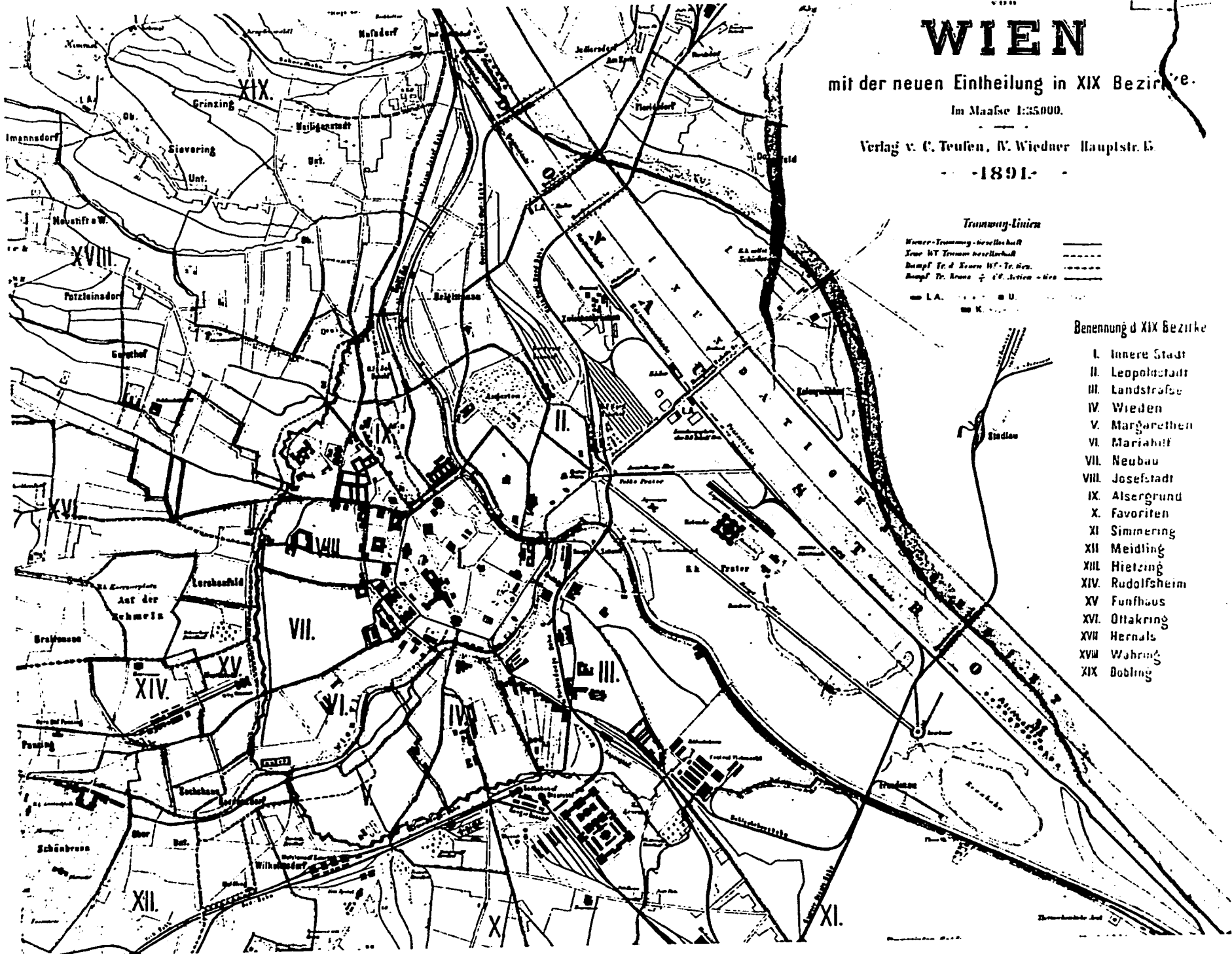
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Chapter One

VIENNA - A FREE COMMUNE

"Die Grundfeste des freien Staates
ist die freie Gemeinde."

Franz Graf Stadion

(Provisorisches Gemeindegesetz
17 March 1849)

A study dealing with Viennese politics in the "Liberal Era" must necessarily begin with the events and circumstances that prepared the ground for Austria's transition to a modern constitutional state - the "Revolutionary Days" of 1848 or "Märztage." For this sudden eruption of stored discontents and suppressed aspirations both buried the feudal-absolutist system of Habsburg rule and brought forth ideas and institutions that became incorporated in the political attitudes and forms of a new regime. Significant among these above all for the history of Vienna was the "Provisional Municipal Ordinance of 1850" which established the framework of municipal self-government for the Imperial capital and residence.¹

The upsurge of middle-class defiance and popular fury which focussed a mass of grievances on the prevailing system and its chief architect, Chancellor Klemens von Metternich,² was anything but a homogeneous movement with a clearly formulated purpose or plan of action.³ It was rather a spontaneous, momentarily concerted, assault by disparate groups intent on removing the same obstacle to divers visions of progress and human fulfillment.⁴

On one hand, the revolution that broke out in Vienna on 13 March 1848 was the culmination of a political reform movement that sought to free the citizen from arbitrary government by means of a constitution guaranteeing basic civil rights and a representative legislature. This was essentially a "paper" movement that confined its protests and demands to pamphlets, political treatises, vaguely subversive theatrical productions, and respectful petitions to the established authorities enjoining reform of the civil order.⁵ What finally gave this agitation, which was centered in the better educated and economically advanced classes,⁶ a popular dimension and revolutionary force, was its convergence with massive unemployment and severe economic distress among the lower orders of society. Already hard hit by the introduction of machine manufacture and finishing in the textile

industry,⁷ the Viennese laboring population, including skilled and unskilled factory workers, day laborers, and those still employed in the dominant small service and craft shop industries, was battered to the brink of pauperism by the onset of a business depression in the mid-1840's.⁸ Aggravating the devastating effects of the depression were poor harvests in 1846 and 1847 which raised the price of bread at a time of falling incomes and disappearing livelihoods.

Bread riots and machine wrecking were as characteristic of the 1848 upheaval⁹ as rural protest against the remnants of feudal servitude, "national" uprisings against the central authorities, workers demands for improved wages and working conditions, constituent assemblies, and the call of the "modern Bürger"¹⁰ for freedom of the press, trial by jury, a secular state, a free capitalist economy and representative governing institutions. The one positive unifying aim amid these sharply differentiated, at times contradictory, petitions by the various social elements that "expected an improvement in their situation from the transformation of the existing state order," was the demand for communal self-government.¹¹

From the time of Emperor Joseph II, whose zeal for uniform and efficient government led him to incorporate his towns and cities into the centralized Habsburg state, municipal offices had been staffed by trained bureaucrats paid and supervised by the central regime.¹² In establishing the Vienna civil service (Magistrat) in 1783, it had been Joseph's intention to give the city an institution that would run municipal affairs without interference by either the state or private citizens purporting to represent the Bürgerschaft (citizenry).¹³ Yet the Magistrat, while all-powerful as against the general public, was, on the other side accountable to a state-appointed City Governor as well as to the provincial government of the province of Lower Austria (Landesregierung).¹⁴ Instead of gradually declin-

as Joseph had envisioned, the city's dependence on these higher governmental organs increased, becoming a brake on municipal self-reliance and hindrance to urgent reforms necessitated by Vienna's rapidly growing population.¹⁵ The mayor, who was chosen by the Interior Minister from six candidates proposed by the Magistrat, became, in effect, a state official. Appointed for life after confirmation by the Emperor, his authority was nil; he could not so much as order a new office chair without the prior consent of the City Governor.¹⁶ Between 1773 and 1848 only five men filled the post, one serving for thirty-one years, none able to restore a substantive measure of communal self-sufficiency.¹⁷

The city's inability to control its own affairs was particularly aggravating in the case of police security and market supervision. Although the Viennese police were under state command, the city was charged for their upkeep as well as for the additional security forces needed to maintain order in the burgeoning suburbs over which the city had no jurisdiction at all. In the question of market supervision, the city came into conflict with feudal landholders who still controlled numerous pockets of city territory and resisted all attempts by the Magistrat to create a unified system of inspection and regulation of the food supply.¹⁸ The public, however, did not make distinctions between the basically impotent Magistrat and other authorities less directly responsible for bad streets, overcrowded schools, high prices, contaminated water, adulterated food and defective merchandise. Every abuse, inconvenience, or misery was laid at the door of the Vienna magistracy by an increasingly volatile and disaffected public.¹⁹

While political life stagnated under this tutelage to bureaucracy and state authority in the first half of the nineteenth century, economic and social life were stimulated by rapid population growth and the impact of early industrialization. Between 1790 and 1851 Vienna's population doubled from 207,000 to 413,000.²⁰ The outlying suburbs, or

Vororte - the villages beyond the outer defensive ramparts (Linienwall) - were growing at an even faster rate as country people moved in to find work in the textile industries concentrated there. Many new industries preferred to locate in these outer areas where the cost of living was considerably lower than in the inner suburbs (Vorstadt) and Vienna proper. Not only was housing cheaper in the Vororte, but their inhabitants were not subject to the heavy consumers' tax (Verzehrssteuer) imposed on all goods that crossed the outer city line, consequently also known as the "Consumer Tax Line" (Verzehrssteuerlinie).²¹

Vienna grew in radial fashion like a great fan extending from a central core - the Inner City - bounded on its eastern perimeter by the Danube River. Spreading outwards from this walled nucleus that had once been the site of a Roman settlement (Vindobona), were (after 1850) eight districts comprising the Vorstadt; and beyond this band of settlement, the Vororte. The outer band was the most diverse geographically, reaching from the flatlands south of the city around wooded hills to terraced vineyards on its northwestern flank. Generally speaking, these concentric rings showed social and economic as well as physical and political differences, with the prosperity of the inhabitants decreasing with their distance from the center.²² The Inner City housed the Imperial Court and its aristocratic attendants as well as the most wealthy and prominent citizens who made up the Grossbürgertum (upper bourgeoisie) along with their hordes of servants;²³ the Vorstadt held the lesser government officials (kleinere Beamten), independent craftsmen and tradespeople who made up the Mittelstand; the Vororte, depending on their location were home to vintners, small gardeners, and an incipient industrial working class which was subject to the standard proletarian miseries of mid-nineteenth century Europe - bare subsistence wages, deplorable living and working conditions, unemployment, insecurity, disease, and strict police surveillance to assure that or-

der, if not harmony, in the relations between employers and workers was maintained.²⁴ Between 1820 and 1850 the population of the Vororte grew from 18,810 to 66,984 (more than tripled), while the population of the Inner City and Vorstadt grew by 65 per cent.²⁵

From the mid-eighteenth century, under the aegis of its reforming monarchs, Vienna developed rapidly as a center of commercial and industrial as well as bureaucratic enterprise. While the centralizing strategy of the Habsburgs created a vast army of officialdom which boosted consumer demand in the Imperial capital, their mercantile policies added further stimuli to trade and production.²⁶

Although wary of inviting a large working-class population to share the close quarters of the Inner City, the government did not succeed in discouraging all attempts to build factories in proximity to so lucrative and well situated a market. In some ways, by organizing great industrial fairs and by locating the Empire's most advanced technological institute in the center of Vienna, the government contributed directly to industrial growth in the city and its immediate environs.²⁷

While its distance from the source of mineral raw materials precluded the development of heavy industry in the area before the advent of the railroad,²⁸ Vienna's site on one of Europe's great waterways, and its large internal market of conspicuous consumers - the Court and aristocracy, the ever-growing place-seeking bureaucracy, and the prosperous commercial and banking community - offered ideal conditions for the manufacture of fine textiles, leather goods, home furnishings, well-tailored garments, and other luxuries. By 1810 silk weaving was the city's largest single industry, employing 15,000 persons in 600 establishments.²⁹ Here too, the government lent a helping hand by encouraging the immigration from France, England and Switzerland of trained experts to teach their skills to a still largely rurally reared work force.³⁰

As the banking and commercial center of the Habsburg realm, Vienna also profited from the growth of industrial centers in the provinces. Much of the new wealth created by the expansion of mining, transportation, and manufacture found its way to the coffers of the great banking houses of Vienna; and along with it, in search of social position, cultural enjoyments, and stylish comfort, the newly rich, spending their way to happiness and reinforcing the myth of Vienna as a city overly given to feasting, dancing, and the pursuit of pleasure in general.³¹

An immediate social consequence of growing economic vitality, aside from the beginnings of an industrial working class, was the emergence of an affluent, educated upper middle class or Grossbürgertum which established itself alongside the indigeneous aristocracy as a "second society - a class highly conscious of its vital position in the Empire's cultural and economic life, and increasingly restive under a government that held it in political tutelage and was sworn to the adage, "rule, but change nothing."³² No longer content merely with the elevated rank conferred by their wealth and fervent patronage of the arts, these merchants, bankers, and successful entrepreneurs began in the 1840's to seek a political voice commensurate with their economic power and cultural influence.³³

A direct expression of this ambition was the call for communal self-government - a reform considered by the progressive elements as basic to the health of a well-ordered state and a necessary first step towards the gradual assumption of full political rights and responsibilities for all citizens.³⁴ "Citizen" (Bürger) was a term that did not generally extend to the population at large - to servants, day laborers, unestablished artisans (Gesellen), and factory workers. Except for a handful of genuine democrats who ardently espoused universal male suffrage, "Bürger" implied educational and property qualifications that would have excluded the great majority of adult males, not to speak of

females, from active participation in any envisioned constitutional order.³⁵

On 6 March 1848 the Imperial Government received a petition signed by thousands of Viennese requesting a "timely communal constitution" as well as representation for the hitherto neglected economic sectors - industry, agriculture, commerce and the intelligentsia - in the provincial government of Lower Austria. The urban middle class, as this dual request indicates, felt itself doubly disfranchised - as individuals within their cities, and as "cities" in relation to their provincial government, which for Vienna were the Staathalter and Landtag of Lower Austria.³⁶ In an effort to accommodate the disaffected population at least in the first regard, the last pre-revolutionary mayor of Vienna, Felix Czapka, had proposed a reform separating the judicial and executive branches of the Magistrat, making of the latter a political organ responsible to public electors. But even this modest concession was rejected by Prince Metternich as "too radical."³⁷ Thus when rebellion came on the wind in the second week of March 1848, the Viennese Bürger had little reason and less inclination to resist a force that looked at first like the onset of a long-awaited "people's spring."³⁸

The Vienna Revolution³⁹ was only one in a larger constellation of popular upheavals taking their cue from the fall of King Louis Phillippe in Paris on 24 February 1848. Every capital of the vast Habsburg domain erupted almost simultaneously in a storm of protest against the repressive central regime over which Prince Metternich had presided as foreign minister and state chancellor for more than thirty years. The outbreak of violence in Vienna had been immediately preceded by a series of petitions from every social class calling for reforms in civic and economic life, a representative assembly, and freedom of the press, speech, and religion.⁴⁰

On 13 March 1848, ten days after Hungarian "freedom

fighter" Louis Kossuth had denounced Habsburg tyranny in a fiery address to the Pressburg parliament, a restless throng, assembled before the meeting house of the Lower Austrian Estates in the Inner City, was incited by a reading of Kossuth's address and other declamatory excesses to storm the premises and demand a hearing from the terrified notables inside. Troops were called to disperse the enraged mob, and in the ensuing encounter between soldiers and civilians five persons - four men and an old woman - were shot dead, winning immortal glory as the "fallen of March" (Märzgefallenen).

That same evening Metternich resigned. The following day citizens and students were enlisted in a National Guard and Student Legion respectively to augment the civil police in their effort to restore order upon the withdrawal of the military units which bore the onus of having fired on the people.⁴¹ On 15 March press censorship was abolished, a constitution promised by imperial manifesto, and a Provisional Citizens' Committee (Bürgerausschuss) of thirty-six called by the mayor to serve as liason between the Viennese and the Government. The Committee's first, and in the event most popular, act was a vote of no-confidence against Mayor Czapska, who promptly resigned his office and fled the city.⁴²

As a semblance of calm returned to the Inner City, the suburbs erupted in an orgy of looting, factory burning, and machine wrecking undertaken not by lawless hoodlums, but by ordinarily peaceable workers and artisans striking a blow for their own idea of "liberation." For these people the Revolution proved an occasion both to vent their wrath and, if possible, destroy the instruments of a means of production that had brought them only social degradation and economic misery.⁴³ This unexpected outbreak of violence by the victims of encroaching industrialism, which horrified the respectable Bürgertum, created the first breach in the united front that had toppled the Metternich system with such apparent ease.⁴⁴ It also revealed massive energies that could be won and utilized for political ends beyond a minimal trans-

fer of authority from the official establishment to a select group of notables presuming to represent the commune as a whole.

On 17 March the Provisional Citizens Committee was charged by the regime to draft a suffrage ordinance for the election of a Viennese constituent assembly. Though a breakthrough for the principle of representative government, the suffrage devised proved highly restrictive and well calculated to place the burden of self-government squarely on the able shoulders of wealth and experience.⁴⁵ By this first in a seemingly endless series of formulas put together over the next seventy years to regulate the Viennese franchise, a Committee of 100 was elected on 20 May 1848 to draft a municipal ordinance. As it set about a thoroughgoing reform of the civil administration, however, the Committee proved unable to deal either with the social distress behind the outbreak of lawlessness, or with the growing tendency of radical student circles to channel this lower-class unrest into a movement for political democracy.⁴⁶

As the government hedged on the promise of a constitution that would meet the demands of the pre-March reform movement, and more conservative citizens lost sympathy with a revolt they feared was going too far too quickly, the Student Legion became more an instrument to protect and promote the Revolution, than the civil order in danger from its excesses. On 15 May the student leaders called forth new disorders in protest against the undemocratic features of the constitution which had been decreed on 25 April. This "Pillersdorf Constitution"⁴⁷ was accordingly withdrawn and a constituent parliament (Reichstag) called in the name of the increasingly enfeebled Emperor Ferdinand.⁴⁸ The Student Legion was no happier with the franchise that had produced the Committee of 100, and proceeded to agitate for a more democratic municipal suffrage. Under pressure of this persistent unrest and growing impatience on all sides with the Committee's inability to cope with the 30,000 unemployed

workers who stood ready to throw their weight behind the democratic reformers, the Committee of 100 produced a suffrage ordinance more democratic than any the city would enjoy over the next half-century.⁴⁹ Although all male citizens over the age of twenty-four were given equal voting rights for the election of Vienna's first City Council (Gemeinderat) on 5 October 1848, only 8717 ballots were cast. The concession to democracy had been delayed too long and carried too little weight to relieve the accumulated political and social tensions which erupted in a fresh revolutionary outbreak the day after the new councilmen took their seats.⁵⁰

On 6 October 1848 the National Guard and Student Legion, supported by a large crowd, prevented the dispatch of troops en route to quell the revolution in Hungary. Heady with their triumph on behalf of Hungarian liberty, the crowd milled through the streets of the Inner City, setting up barricades and gathering up more demonstrators to voice its wrath against War Minister Theodor Latour who was presumed responsible for the decision to send an army against the Hungarian rebels. As much from the fear that their own liberties would be threatened by the success of counter-revolution in Hungary, as from a sense of fraternity with their Magyar brothers, the Viennese took to the streets in what became a raging mob, dragged the old minister from his house and beat him to death before stringing his mutilated corpse from a lantern post.⁵¹ The following day all troops were withdrawn from the city and prepared to launch a final attack on the Viennese Revolution.

Throughout the subsequent "October Days" as the city prepared its defense against the gathering forces of the counter-revolution, the new City Council remained in permanent session attempting to hold a balance between conservatives and radicals. When its efforts to mediate a truce between the Emperor and his rebellious subjects failed, it organized the defense of the city and finally, facing hopeless military

odds, enjoined capitulation - an act popularly branded as a cowardly betrayal of liberty. The Council thus found itself in an awkward position between the combatants - despised by the populace for its servility, and distrusted by the military authorities who blamed it for the rejection of their final ultimatum. The Viennese paid dearly for this rejection and their courageously foolhardy resistance to the army of General Windischgrätz who ordered the bombardment of the city on 26 October 1848. After five days of shelling and, in the end, hand to hand combat as the imperial troops stormed the battered city, Vienna lay in smoldering ruins with two thousand dead and its dream of a "people's spring" become a nightmare of carnage, bitterness and the surrender of hope.⁵²

The City Council survived, however, not only the wrath of the people and the fire of Windischgrätz' artillery, but the storm of political retribution that swept away other liberalizing innovations such as the Reichstag and freedom of the press. Vienna was placed under martial law and the City Council entrusted with the unenviable task of restoring normal conditions of life and work to the defeated city.⁵³ Functioning only as an advisory body, its freedom and competence sharply curtailed, the City Council remained in existence throughout the following decade when political life was all but suspended under the reign of a "new absolutism" more centralized, autocratic, and proscriptive than the "system" that had fallen in the "March Days."⁵⁴

Though Vienna's brief spell of autonomy came to an undignified end, important internal reforms survived the general defeat of the liberal movement in 1848. With the abolition of patrimonial rights (Grundherrschaft),⁵⁵ the semi-autonomous feudal remnants, long a source of jurisdictional conflict and public irritation, were incorporated into the city.⁵⁶ The powers and responsibilities won by the City Council at the expense of the formerly all-competent Magistrat were retained by the elected body. The Magistrat was

henceforth to administer the government and property of the city and serve as executive organ for the decisions and directives of the City Council. The formula delineating the respective powers of the two bodies lacked precision, however, leading to endless wrangling between them as the Magistrat sought to regain powers lost to the elected representatives.⁵⁷

Among powers lost by the Council was the drafting of a new city ordinance. This assignment now devolved upon Interior Minister Franz Graf Stadion, a man of moderately liberal views who had successfully introduced municipal self-government to the province of Dalmatia while serving as governor there.⁵⁸ Under the motto, "The free commune is the foundation of the free state," Stadion devised the Imperial Municipal Law (Reichsgemeindegesetz), promulgated on 17 March 1849, which established the principle of communal autonomy for the Habsburg realm. A large portion of public business was shifted from the state to the communes, which would henceforth administer taxes, local police and municipal services, make appointments, and execute laws independently of the central bureaucracy. Mayors would no longer be appointed for life, but elected by the various city councils, and so represent, even if indirectly, the interests of the public-at-large.⁵⁹

For Vienna, Stadion drew up a more detailed "sketch" which served as point of departure for a mixed commission of city, provincial and state representatives who were entrusted with the final formulation of a new ordinance for the imperial capital. The work of this commission and its attitudes with respect to basic political questions were to have a profound effect on the development of Vienna's political life over the next half-century. The commission deliberated on such questions as the incorporation of the Vororte, district administration, the respective roles of the Magistrat and City Council, and the basis and manner of communal representation - what came to be known as the "suffrage ques-

tion." The last would fuel controversy and burden the agenda of public business to the end of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918.

Stadion's vision of a Greater Vienna,⁶⁰ including the surrounding villages beyond the "consumer tax line," was rejected in the first sittings, as was his plan for a decentralized administration that would have allowed a measure of independence to the separate districts. Opposition to the city's expansion was based primarily on the fear that so large an accretion of "poor" would place intolerable strains on limited municipal welfare funds, and also on a general uneasiness at assuming responsibility for what were, not without some justification, considered the "dangerous social elements."⁶¹

On the question of district autonomy, the new city fathers recoiled at the thought of dispersing powers only now at long last coming within their reach. They did, however, approve the division of Vienna into eight administrative districts, each to have an elected committee and chairman whose respective functions were also a cause of eternal strife within and between the several communal bodies. The City Council was, in any case, to have the power of decision in major business - to govern the city. It was to be organized into "sections" devoted respectively to various aspects of public affairs - legal questions, internal business, schools, sanitation, welfare, building, finances and provisioning - which would prepare, study, and advise on motions put before plenary meetings. The City Council was to have 120 members apportioned among the districts according to population.⁶²

Probably the most important question raised in these deliberations, certainly the one to have the longest and liveliest after-life, concerned the suffrage for electing the City Council deputies. At issue was the fundamental question of popular sovereignty inherent, but not clearly formulated in the pre-March clamour for constitutional rights and representative government.⁶³ Once the grant of a con-

stitution had been conceded by the Emperor, the idea of extending political rights to the lower social orders became a standard item of discussion in Viennese press and political circles. It brought into sharp focus the different shades of liberal opinion that had been masked by rhetorical vagueness and the need for unanimity in face of a common enemy. Now that the time had come to speak clearly, give shape to the idea of freedom and life to a constitution, the suffrage question brought confusion, distrust, and division to the Viennese liberal movement.

The problem was not only in moving from an abstract to a real world, but in making adjustments to a real world unforeseen by the pre-March opposition with its general and distinct penchant for reform from above. There had been no hint of revolution in the reform petitions addressed to the government in the first days of March 1848, still less of demands for universal suffrage or a "democratic monarchy."⁶⁴ These demands, voiced by idealistic students and radical journalists presuming to speak for the disaffected masses,⁶⁵ and the negative reactions they provoked in the greater part of the liberal Bürgertum, were products of the Revolution itself: of its partial success, causing the affluent middle-class to withdraw once its aims seemed realized; of its growing radicalism as the government concessions accepted by some failed to satisfy the exaggerated hopes raised in the lower-middle and working classes by the fall of Metternich and the calling of a constituent assembly; of the succession of popular uprisings that injected the lower orders into the political process, even though it was not in search of the ballot, but work and bread, that they took to the streets at first, and, at last, to save a revolution that seemed their only hope for a more secure and decent existence.

The suffrage question proved divisive because those who had inadvertently staged the revolution were unprepared to deal with its broader ramifications; and because the emergence of the masses and their cry for social justice had

convinced the majority of the middle-class reformers that a lower-class vote would be a vote for social revolution, if not anarchy. In the course of debate over the city ordinance, however, a dissenting minority brushed aside the evidence of mob violence, low voter participation, and "unreasonable" worker demands,⁶⁶ as clear signs of the common man's unfitness for political responsibility. A small but articulate contingent of optimists held that political education should begin with the ballot, every citizen possessing the right to a voice in government even if his personal contribution was only in the form of indirect taxes. They argued further that a preferential system of voting would have a divisive effect on the community and create an unpopular representative body incapable of enjoying the confidence of the Viennese populace.⁶⁷ This line of reasoning proved totally unpersuasive for the majority as a way of assuring civil concord, compliance with the law, and the rights of property. Even cooler heads who did not believe they would be murdered in their beds, and their property divided amongst the mob in the event of a democratic suffrage, objected to a low property qualification without the further protection of a curia system for the strain the demands of the less prosperous would place on the communal treasury. The city could not afford, "to give the non-possessing classes the predominance over the possessing. To spare the commune from impoverishment, property (Besitz) alone must be represented."⁶⁸

While the most conservative Council members favored a highly restrictive suffrage, reserving the ballot only for the most affluent, a moderate majority between the conservative and democratic extremes, proposed a system of weighted voting that would include the Kleinbürgertum or lower-middle class while denying it the obvious advantage of its greater numbers. This plan envisaged three electoral curia (Wahlkörper) distinguished on the basis of income and education, each entitled to elect one-third of the Council deputies.

The First Curia was to be the preserve of the wealthy Gross-bürgertum - those paying a minimum property tax of 500 florin (hereafter fl.);⁶⁹ the Second, of those paying at least 100 fl. or possessing special academic credentials (civil servants, men with doctoral degrees, secondary school teachers, military officers, and clergymen); the Third, of those paying less than 100, but at least 10 fl. in personal or business tax. The minimum voting age was to be twenty-four, all qualified voters at least thirty years old having passive suffrage. This compromise plan, which enfranchised approximately 18,000 men, of whom 16 percent voted in the First Curia, 25 per cent in the Second, and 59 percent in the Third, was adopted after much debate and remained the basis for communal representation until the end of the monarchy.⁷⁰ As a recurring topic of discussion and item for revision, the curial system remained a source of friction in the City Council for years to come. It would serve as the main point of differentiation between the municipal political fractions, setting off democratic from conservative liberals,⁷¹ until the late 1880's when the landscape changed dramatically with the rise of the anti-semitic parties.⁷²

As vital to the reorganization of municipal government as the restructuring of the internal administration, was the code regulating Vienna's relationship to the state and provincial authorities - the long-standing question of municipal autonomy. In contrast to the pre-March period, the city gained substantial independence in its "natural" sphere of competence; that is, in matters touching the interests of the commune directly, and that could be discharged through its own efforts (streets and bridges, fire protection, the water supply, sanitation and public health, welfare, provisioning and market supervision, public transport and the municipal budget). There remained, however, a "transmitted" sphere of competence covering tax collection, military matters, publication of laws, and education, in which the state and Lower Austrian government retained certain prerogatives

and rights of supervision over Vienna's self-governing institutions.⁷³

Specific powers were reserved to the Statthalter of Lower Austria, a crown official who served as mediating authority between both municipal and provincial governments and the state. He was represented by a non-voting deputy at all City Council sessions; he could dissolve the assembly for "reasons of state" and order new elections, as well as countermand a mayoral veto or a City Council decision deemed "illegal or injurious to the commune."⁷⁴

The mayor of Vienna was another link in this chain of interlocking jurisdictions. As head of the municipal government he served as president of the City Council and as executive chief of the Magistrat (civil service). Though freely elected by the City Council, he was ultimately responsible to the Statthalter to whom he swore an oath of loyalty; and he could not be confirmed in office without sanction of the emperor.⁷⁵

Although Vienna gained effective control over matters falling within its "natural" sphere, it could not revise its constitution (even with respect to updating its fire ordinance) without the approval of the Lower Austrian Landtag (hereafter Landtag), the Statthalter, and finally, the central regime. These powers above, on the other hand, reserved the right for the time being, to obstruct implementation of the Provisional Ordinance which technically went into effect with the sanction of Emperor Franz Josef I on 6 March 1850.⁷⁶

As the central government began to retract the political concessions granted under revolutionary pressures, most notably the promise of a liberal imperial constitution, it also moved against the achievement of municipal autonomy. For the young emperor⁷⁷ and his close advisers, neither the restoration of internal unity and order nor Austria's power position in Central Europe could be entrusted to an experimental system of government based on personal freedom, repre-

representative institutions and decentralized rule. What was required to secure Austria's existence and survival as a great power was not a dispersal, but a concentration of power and will at the center of political life - namely a "new absolutism."⁷⁸ While the concept of the "free commune" was retained on paper, in practice it fell victim to a new order of bureaucratic control emanating from a central regime answerable only to the emperor, and sustained by military force with the aid of an elaborate police network.⁷⁹

In the spring of 1850 Vienna and other large cities of the Habsburg Empire were placed under "special statutes" establishing executive commissioners who made deep inroads into the promised autonomous sphere. All the "transmitted" rights reverted to the central government, as well as some of the "natural," such as the local police. The final blow came through a cabinet order of 31 December 1851 enacting new ground rules which placed all public activity once more under the control of the state bureaucracy. Representative bodies were henceforth to meet in closed session only, and further elections were summarily forbidden. Vacancies were to be filled by state appointment.⁸⁰

The Ordinance of 1850 nonetheless established the essential working code and institutions by which Vienna was governed for the duration of the monarchy. Though the principles of communal autonomy and public participation were suspended in the decade of "neo-absolutism" from 1851 to 1861, the machinery for their activation remained in tact. The Mayor and City Council elected in 1850 remained at their posts, fearing if they resigned in protest against the repressive measures, the hard-won self-governing institutions would disappear altogether.⁸¹

The new city fathers thus assumed the role of maintenance crew for an apparatus they hoped would one day be recalled into service. They quietly administered the city budget and general business, occasionally venturing to remind the central authorities that elections were long over-

due. Plenary sessions of the City Council met ever less frequently, declining from eighty-one in 1850 to a miniscule eleven in 1861. The greater part of the Council's work was carried out in the "sections" preparing memoranda which betrayed nothing so much as the narrow confines imposed on communal initiative under the new order. Isolated from the public and powerless to influence developments, the Council's prestige dwindled to insignificance before the ascendancy of the traditional forces of order and stability - the bureaucracy, the army, and the Catholic Church.⁸²

A telling indication of the City Council's lowly status was its virtual exclusion from the planning and execution of the great expansion project authorized by imperial decree on 25 December 1857. The wall enclosing the Inner City was to be torn down, and the city extended to connect with the Vorstadt beyond the Glacis - an intervening band some 450 meters wide of meadow and dusty flatland that had to be crossed on foot by any Vorstadt resident with business in the Inner City and vice-versa.⁸³ In place of the ancient defensive ramparts the Inner City was to be encircled by a broad tree-lined boulevard sixty yards wide and two and one-half miles long. On either side of this "Ringstrasse," as it came to be known, would rise a splendid cordon of palatial mansions, graceful parks, and noble public buildings representing the pride of empire and the substance of bourgeois culture, making the avenue an architectural wonder and "one of the grand urban sights of Europe."⁸⁴

Yet the Ringstrasse was more than a building spree indulged by the rich and powerful. From the decade of neo-absolutism when the old walls fell to the "Herr Demolierer," to the twilight of the "liberal era" when the last stone was set in place completing the transformation of Vienna, the Ringstrasse mirrored the political, social, and economic developments of the time, both in its buildings and in the changing face of the citizens who variously strolled, paraded, and finally massed there in demonstration for rights

lost but not forgotten in the rubble of 1848.

As a Christmas gift to the Viennese, the city expansion project signalled, first of all, a change in the strained relations between the stiff young autocrat on the Habsburg throne and his chastened subjects who remained under military surveillance despite their return to civilian rule in 1853.⁸⁵ A gesture of reconciliation and sign of an impulse to modernity, the Ringstrasse was also an expression of dynastic pride and a confidence, not shared by all, in the multinational empire's regenerative powers. The poet Franz Grillparzer, for one, cast a dubious eye on the demolition mania noting the illusory nature of the freedom gained by the fall of Vienna's ancient battlements. "Austria should rather," he wrote, "look to the Chinese wall surrounding the entire realm."⁸⁶ The general reaction was positive, however, even joyful, the Viennese receiving the Emperor's gift with the gratitude of "needy children who have been awarded a necessity of life;" in this case living and work space as well as profit and employment for the contractors, artisans, and thousands of laborers engaged in the various construction projects.⁸⁷

As the majestically romantic new opera house, lavishly appointed State Theater, splendid concert halls and museums reflected the tastes and cultural obsessions of the Viennese Grossbürgertum,⁸⁸ so the impressive mansions of the "newly rich", the opulent banks, and the commercial establishments that lined the Ringstrasse betokened a revival of prosperity after the depression of the 1840's. An unprecedented economic "boom" marking the onset of Austria's "Gründerjahre" now swept her abruptly into the industrial age.⁸⁹

Although the political gains of the Revolution of 1848 had been temporarily lost in the subsequent reaction, the government proceeded with measures designed to free the backward Austrian economy from outmoded restrictions on production and commerce.⁹⁰ Within a short time the remaining craft guilds were abolished, the internal customs barrier

between Austria and Hungary removed, and prohibitive tariffs set aside.⁹¹ The neo-absolutist regime, in fact, adopted a policy that has been termed "absolute liberalism" in honor of its efforts to accommodate the economic demands of the entrepreneurial middle-class⁹² with the aim of stimulating and modernizing an economy still backwards by West European standards and far behind industrial development in the German Confederation.⁹³

The Austrian economy was particularly disadvantaged by a relatively primitive communications and transportation network and a general unavailability of investment capital.⁹⁴ To encourage private initiative in these areas, a new railroad concession law was issued in 1854 and banking restrictions eased to permit the founding of Austria's first corporate lending institutions for the purpose of providing credit for commercial and industrial clients.⁹⁵ The immediate effect of these measures was a dramatic upswing in all branches of trade and industry,⁹⁶ generating the hoped-for increase in state revenues, which tripled in the decade 1849-1859.⁹⁷

Despite this increment in fiscal resources, government income could not keep pace with the growing expense of a vast bureaucracy and standing army of sufficient size and strength to maintain the integrity of the Empire and its great power status.⁹⁸ A fledgling industrial economy was consequently burdened with excessive taxation,⁹⁹ and by the end of the 1850's had lost the momentum to sustain the economic revival. By 1859 economic stagnation and a deepening governmental crisis combined with a costly and disastrous war over Austria's Italian provinces to totally discredit the heavily centralized absolutist regime.¹⁰⁰

Disappointment with the policies of his conservative advisers prompted Franz Josef to consider a turn in the opposite direction; Austria's weakening position as against a resurgent Prussia provided further incentive for a liberalization of the state. For it was still Austria's hope that

the smaller German states might be attracted into the Habsburg orbit; and it was recognized that the chance of this happening was not helped by the Emperor's image as an unbending autocrat who ruled by the sword and tore up constitutions at will.¹⁰¹ In the case of Hungary, Franz Josef was beginning to weary of the expense and trouble it cost to hold down these restless and insubordinate subjects who refused to accept his dictates and insisted on the restoration of privileges lost as the price of rebellion in 1848. Thus was Franz Josef urged at last upon "the thorny and distasteful path of constitutionalism."¹⁰²

After a failed attempt at a decentralized system that would have placed the bulk of relinquished powers in the hands of the aristocracy,¹⁰³ a prominent liberal statesman, Anton von Schmerling, was appointed to draft a new constitution which was introduced in February 1861. This "February Patent" established a bi-cameral legislature with an upper house reserved for the high nobility, Church dignitaries, and crown appointees, and a lower house of deputies with 343 seats to be apportioned to the separate provinces (Länder) and elected by their diets, the Landtage. These in turn were to be elected by citizens divided into curia representing the interests of the great landholders (Grossgrundbesitzer), towns, chambers of commerce and rural communities respectively. Suffrage was tied to a minimum direct tax payment of ten fl. This suffrage distribution favored the German-speaking population as the more economically advanced and hence more strongly represented than the much more numerous though generally poor Slav nationalities.¹⁰⁴

Having achieved the political advantage, the German-Austrian Bürgerturn took leave of its liberal principles where extension of political rights to the non-German peoples was concerned. It was, with few exceptions, entirely at home with the principle of "interest representation" which protected the dominant position to which it felt entitled by virtue of its economic contribution and elevated cultural

niveau. A second guarantee of German predominance, aside from the limited suffrage, was the centralized state and parliament (Reichsrat) which seemed adequate insurance that German would remain the official language and hence the key to advancement and power even in provinces such as Bohemia where Germans were greatly outnumbered by Czechs.¹⁰⁵ While fairly remote from the concerns of the Vienna City Council through the 1870's, the nationality conflicts arising from German claims to "hold a position in the empire which reflected their national rights and achievements,"¹⁰⁶ were to leave their mark in later decades even on this all but one hundred per cent German liberal body.

The new Reichsrat was empowered to initiate legislation, final passage of its acts requiring the majority consent of both houses and approval by the Emperor. Ministers were to be appointed by, and responsible to the crown.¹⁰⁷ Both Czechs and Hungarians objected to the centralist character of the new constitution and registered their disapproval by staying away from the Reichsrat and persevering with their demands for provincial autonomy.¹⁰⁸

The Viennese could only welcome the new state of things. The most oppressive restrictions on municipal autonomy were lifted and the Provisional Ordinance of 1850 permitted to go into effect. Vital to the reactivation of Vienna's political life was the election of a new City Council and mayor in March 1861, and the opening of Council sessions to press and public.¹⁰⁹ While its activities remained subject to scrutiny and approval by provincial and state authorities, the City Council ceased to be merely a tool of the central bureaucracy and became a truly representative institution.

For Vienna, the liberal wind that swept through the councils of state in 1861 brought not a cluster of new institutions, but rather, as Rudolf Till has noted, a change of spirit to the rusty organs of self-government created in 1850. Energized by an infusion of new blood and the prospect of fruitful activity beyond routine management of the

communal household, the city government executed its own "take-off" in moving to provide Vienna's growing population with the basic amenities of modern urban life.¹¹⁰ Although intended like its German counterparts as a primarily economic and administrative organ,¹¹¹ the Vienna City Council was from the first, because of its greater autonomy and authority, as well as by the mix of social classes represented there, predisposed to "political infection."

In contrast to Berlin where a progressive majority in the city council did not even venture to elect a mayor from its ranks in the certainty such a choice would not receive the necessary confirmation by the crown, the struggle for power in the Vienna City Council was an ongoing contest for the mayoral dignity on the part of individuals and groups who saw the office as carrying immense prestige and the opportunity to exercise a real measure of power.¹¹²

Although the percentage of the population qualified to vote in municipal elections remained very small (the 3.3 per cent in 1861 grew to only 5.8 in 1895),¹¹² it was this limited electorate that determined the fate of Viennese liberalism and ultimately changed the face of Austrian politics with Karl Lueger's election as mayor of Vienna in 1895.¹¹³ Of these dramatic events to come there was barely a hint in 1861 when Lueger was a schoolboy of seventeen and Vienna just coming to life as a self-governing commune under liberal auspices. That the spirit of communal fellowship and enterprise abroad in the dawn of the liberal era had grown somewhat dim by the time Lueger appeared on the scene in 1875, was a product of both external circumstances and the particular personalities called to leadership of the "free commune." In its formative years the Vienna City Council was shaped not by the temper of the electorate or by imperial disposition, but rather by the men who assumed without pay¹¹⁴ the burden of communal self-government and the task of creating a social and technical infrastructure appropriate to a modern metropolis.

Notes:

- 1 Karl Ucakar and Manfred Welan, "Kommunale Selbstverwaltung und konstitutioneller Rechtsstaat," (hereafter "Kommunale Selbstverwaltung ...") in Wien in der Liberalen Ära, p. 5.
- 2 Hugo Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, Vol. III, pp. 264, 294-295.
- 3 Ucakar and Welan, "Kommunale Selbstverwaltung ...," p. 7.
- 4 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 321.
- 5 Walter Pollak, 1848 - Revolution auf halbem Weg, pp. 90 - 137.
- 6 Georg Franz, Liberalismus, pp. 146-147.
- 7 Wolfgang Häusler, "Von der Manufaktur zum Maschinensturm," in Wien im Vormärz, p. 51.
- 8 Roman Sandgruber, "Indikatoren des Lebensstandards in Wien in der ersten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts," (hereafter "Indikatoren ...") Wien im Vormärz, p. 65.
 In the same volume Peter Feldbauer and Hannes Stekl in "Wiens Armenwesen im Vormärz," report over 40,000 "needy" (Dürftigen) persons at the time; also that the number of beggars apprehended by the police rose between 1840 and 1847 from 4996 to 8430. p. 176.
- 9 Häusler, "Von der Manufaktur zum Maschinensturm," pp. 50-55.
- 10 Franz, Liberalismus, p. 146.
- 11 Ucakar and Welan, "Kommunale Selbstverwaltung ...," pp. 7-11.
- 12 Joseph's municipal reform of 1783 was the first major overhaul of the city's governing apparatus since that of Ferdinand I in 1526. While a significant change, in that the new Magistrat assumed both juridical and administrative functions formerly exercised by a City Court and Inner Council periodically renewed from the ranks of propertied citizens, the Josephine ordinance completed a process of incorporating the city into the bureaucratic apparatus of the absolute state initiated by Emperor Maximilian in 1517. Rudolf Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 23; Felix Czeike, Geschichte der Stadt Wien, pp. 66, 155-157.
- 13 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 23.
- 14 Czeike, Geschichte der Stadt Wien, pp. 156-157.

Today a province in its own right, Vienna was until 1918 a part of Lower Austria, and as such represented in the Lower Austrian Landtag (Diet) as a "commune."

- 15 Karl Glossy, "Die Gemeinde," in Wien 1848-1888, Denkschrift zum 2 Dezember 1888, Vol I, pp. 416-417.

By the charter of 1783, for example, Vienna was to administer its own finances and enjoy a free hand in supervising its economic life. This provision was reversed in 1805, after which contracts, purchases and property transactions required the prior approval of the Lower Austrian government. Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 32-34.

- 16 Ibid., p. 20.

- 17 Although the last "pre-March" mayor, Ignatz Czapka, made serious efforts in this direction. Ibid., pp. 29-31.

- 18 Glossy, "Die Gemeinde," pp. 429-430.

- 19 Friedrich Walter, Wien, Die Geschichte einer deutschen Grossstadt an der Grenze, (hereafter Wien ...) pp. 79-84.

- 20 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 27.

- 21 Häusler, "Von der Manufaktur zum Maschinensturm," pp. 50, 55.

Renate Banik-Schweitzer and Wolfgang Pircher in "Zur Wohnsituation der Massen im Wien des Vormärz," (hereafter "Zur Wohnsituation ...") in Wien im Vormärz, point out that from the mid-1820's on most of Vienna's population increase came from immigration, so that by 1846 over 40 per cent of Viennese were born outside the city; in 1827 only 12 per cent were not native born. p. 136.

- 22 This socio-economic distribution of the population is more fully discussed in Banik-Schweitzer and Pircher, "Zur Wohnsituation ...," pp. 133-136.

- 23 At the end of the eighteenth century there were 40,000 servants in Vienna (Inner City and Vorstadt), making up 15 per cent of the population. Czeike, Geschichte der Stadt Wien, p. 134.

- 24 Banik-Schweitzer and Pircher, "Zur Wohnsituation ...," pp. 146-148.

- 25 Ibid., pp. 155, 157, provides population tables.

- 26 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, pp. 195-199.

On the trade fairs see: Gerhard Meissl, "Industrie und Gewerbe in Wien 1835-1845," in Wien im Vormärz, pp. 75-79.

- 27 Walter, Wien ..., p. 105.

- 28 Vienna's first rail line to the Lower Austrian town of Deutsch Wagram (approx. 15 Kilometers distant) was completed in 1837. Karl Gutkas, Geschichte des Landes Niederösterreich, Vol. III, p. 81.

- 29 Sandgruber, "Indikatoren . . .," p. 62.
- 30 Gutkas, Geschichte des Landes Niederösterreich, p. 19.
- 31 Sandgruber, "Indikatoren . . .," p. 65.
- 32 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 295.
- 33 Walter, Wien . . ., pp. 161-162.
- 34 Glossy, "Die Gemeinde," pp. 414-416.

These ideas were not strikingly new except in their application to Austria. They had found expression in the French "Law of Municipalities" of 1789, in the Prussian reform movement of Freiherr vom Stein in the early nineteenth century, and in a number of other German states in the pre-March decades. (Heinrich Heffter, Die Deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19 Jahrhundert, pp. 184-185) Their best-known Austrian advocate was a state bureaucrat, Freiherr von Adrian-Warburg, who published a comprehensive critique of Austrian governmental theory and practice in 1842. Warburg's treatise, "Austria and its Future," held not the existing rigidly centralized paternalistic bureaucracy, but the "freely developing commune . . . in which citizens take their own affairs in hand," as the only sound fundament of a healthy state. Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 25-28.

- 35 Ucakar and Welan, "Kommunale Selbstverwaltung . . .," p. 11.
- 36 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 28.
- 37 Ibid., p. 27.
- 38 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 321.
- 39 The best known work in English on these events is, R. John Rath, The Viennese Revolution of 1848.
- 40 Richard Charmatz, Oesterreichs Innere Geschichte von 1848 bis 1907, pp. 2-5.
- 41 Pollak, 1848 - Revolution auf halbem Weg, p. 143.
- 42 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 39.
Glossy, "Die Gemeinde," pp. 418-419.
- 43 Häusler, "Von der Manufaktur zum Maschinensturm," pp. 50-55, establishes the essential rectitude of the rioters on the basis of court proceedings against those apprehended.
- 44 Pollak, 1848 - Revolution auf halbem Weg, pp. 146, 225.
- 45 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 42.
- 46 Glossy, "Die Gemeinde," pp. 418-419.
- 47 Pollak, 1848 - Revolution auf halbem Weg, pp. 158-159.
- 48 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 332.
- 49 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 46.

- 50 Pollak, 1848 - Revolution auf halbem Weg, p. 230.
- 51 Ibid., p. 231.
- 52 Ibid., pp. 242-245.
- 53 Walter, Wien ..., p. 232; Glossy, "Die Gemeinde," p. 422.
- 54 Eduard Winter, Revolution, Neoabsolutismus und Liberalismus in der Donaumonarchie (hereafter Revolution ...), pp. 77-78.
- 55 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 34-35. Until 1848 20 per cent of the Viennese population had remained under the jurisdiction of feudal lords. Ibid., p. 37.
- 56 Ibid., p. 36.
- 57 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 50.

The Vienna Magistrat as constituted in the Ordinance of 1850 should not be confused with similar bodies of the same name in Prussia, particularly Berlin. In Berlin the Magistrat remained the predominant governing organ over the elected representative body having the right of approval over its decisions. At the same time it was more closely and strictly supervised by the state bureaucracy than the Vienna Magistrat. In this, as in other regards, Austria's communal constitutions were "a good deal more liberal than Prussia's." Heffter, Die Deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19 Jahrhundert, pp. 331-332, 619; also Hans Herzfeld (ed.) Berlin und die Provinz Brandenburg im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert, (hereafter Berlin ...) pp. 235, 300.

- 58 Glossy, "Die Gemeinde," p. 422.
- 59 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 51.
- 60 The Vororte were finally incorporated into the City of Vienna in 1890. Arthur J. May, Vienna in the Age of Franz Josef, pp. 44-45; also see frontespiece.
- 61 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 53.
- 62 Ibid., p. 85.
- 63 Jiri Klabouch, Die Gemeindeselbstverwaltung in Oesterreich 1848-1918, pp. 19-20.
- 64 Pollak, 1848 - Revolution auf halbem Weg, p. 206.
- 65 Ibid., p. 182.
- 66 Among demands voiced by workers in a spinning factory in 1848 was one for a 13-hour day, another for "equal consideration as members of the new constitutional state." Häusler, "Von der Manufaktur zum Maschinensturm," p. 40.
- 67 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 55.
- 68 Ibid., p. 53.

- 69 To estimate the "real" value of 500 fl. at the time, it may help to know that a middle-school teacher earned approximately 1000 fl. annually.
- 70 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 55-60.
The idea of voting by curia had been a standard item in municipal constitutions adopted in a number of German states in the 1830's and 1840's. There, as in Vienna, it represented a compromise between democratic and conservative extremes, giving the less affluent a chance to participate but not to outvote the ruling elites. Baden and Electoral Hesse offer two examples; in the latter one-half of the city council seats were reserved for the highest taxpayers. Heffter, Die Deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19 Jahrhundert, p. 184.
- 71 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 55, 69-71, 75.
- 72 Maren Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen im Wiener Gemeinderat 1861 bis 1895," in Wien in der Liberalen Ära, p. 72.
- 73 Walter Schneefuss, Demokratie im Alten Oesterreich, p. 97.
By virtue of the Concordat of 1855 the Catholic Church retained virtual control over primary education with respect to books, curricula, and staff appointments until 1869 when a new Imperial School Law providing for public secular education went into effect. After that Vienna administered both primary and secondary schools with minimal outside interference. Hubert Ehalt, "Das Wiener Schulwesen in der liberal Ära," in Wien in der Liberalen Ära, pp. 123-124, 136, 141-142.
- 74 Birgit Herden, "Das Amt des Bürgermeister der Stadt Wien" (hereafter "Das Amt ...,") pp. 216-217.
- 75 Ibid., pp. 213-214.
- 76 Glossy, "Die Gemeinde," p. 431.
- 77 Franz Josef I succeeded his mentally impaired uncle Ferdinand to the Habsburg throne on 2 December 1848 at the age of 18. Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 332.
- 78 Winter, Revolution ..., pp. 77-79.
Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, pp. 338-339, 345-346.
- 79 Ibid., p. 345.
- 80 Klabouch, Die Gemeindeselbstverwaltung ..., pp. 41-47.
- 81 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 56-58.
- 82 Charmatz, Oesterreichs Innere Geschichte von 1848 bis 1907, pp. 26-27, 31-33.
Winter, Revolution ..., pp. 82-101.
- 83 Fred Hennings, Die Ringstrasse, pp. 11-15.

84 May, Vienna in the Age of Franz Josef, pp. 33-35.

Carl E. Schorske's "The Ringstrasse, its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism," in Fin-De-Siècle Vienna, is a fine essay on the aesthetic of Ringstrasse architecture and on the avenue itself as a "visual expression of the values of a social class," p. 25.

85 Czeike, Geschichte der Stadt Wien, pp. 191-192.

86 Franz Endler, Oesterreich Zwischen den Zeilen, p. 30.

87 Ibid., p. 28.

88 Czeike, Geschichte der Stadt Wien, p. 195.

89 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, pp. 350-351.

David Good, "Stagnation and Take-off in Austria," Economic History Review, February, 1974, p. 73.

90 Günther Chaloupek, "Der unvollendete Boom," in Wien in der Liberalen Ära, pp. 31-32.

91 Eduard März, Oesterreichische Industrie und Bankpolitik in der Zeit Franz Josef I (hereafter Oesterreichische Industrie ...), p. 21.

92 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 351.

93 Alexander Gerschenkron, An Economic Spurt that Failed, pp. 46-54.

94 März, Oesterreichische Industrie, p. 21.

95 Ibid., pp. 25-43.

96 Ibid., p. 19.

97 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 371.

98 Charmatz, Oesterreichs Innere Geschichte, Vol. I, p. 42.

99 Ibid., pp. 41-42.

Gerschenkron, An Economic Spurt that Failed, p. 51.

100 Arthur J. May, The Hapsburg Monarchy 1867-1914, p. 28.

101 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 357.

102 Ibid., p. 358.

103 Ibid., pp. 358-360.

104 Robert Kann, The Multinational Empire, Vol. II, pp. 124, 300-305.

105 Andrew G. Whiteside, Austrian National Socialism Before 1918, p. 48.

106 Andrew G. Whiteside, The Socialism of Fools, p. 18.

107 Kann, The Multinational Empire, Vol. II, pp. 117-120.

108 Ibid., pp. 123-125.

May, The Hapsburg Monarchy 1867-1918, p. 30.

- 109 Karl-Heinz Kossdorf, "Die Wiener liberale Lokalpresse im 19 Jahrhundert," p. 108.
- 110 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 71.
- 111 Heffter, Die Deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19 Jahrhundert, pp. 334-335.
- 112 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen ...," p. 65.
- 113 Heinrich Benedikt (ed.) and others, Geschichte der Republik Oesterreich, pp. 292-297.
- 114 Birgit Herden, "Das Amt des Bürgermeisters der Stadt Wien in der liberalen Ära 1861-1895" (hereafter "Das Amt des Bürgermeisters ..."), p. 90.

Chapter Two

LIBERAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Politics and Policies

"Es war vorgekommen, dass Mitglieder der Rechten, ... mit der linken Seite gestimmt hatten. Um ... derlei Vorkommnisse möglichst zu vermeiden, wurde die Bildung einer Partei der Rechten ... in die Hand genommen - die Mittelpartei."

Cajetan Felder

"Ein ehrenhafter pflichtgetreuer Magistrat ist die kräftigste Stütze der kommunalen Autonomie der Stadt Wien."

Cajetan Felder

The period of Viennese history known as "the liberal era" is generally seen as a compact unit extending from 1861 to 1895 when it comes to an abrupt and well-deserved end with Lueger's Christian Social Party winning a majority in the City Council. As such it is chiefly characterized by the dominant position in municipal affairs of a self-serving Grossbürgertum, or more generously one whose vision of progress failed to keep up with the changing times, that set the fate of Viennese liberalism on a course of certain doom.¹ The trouble with this oft-repeated scenario is that by oversimplifying and condensing a complex and extended period it obscures the liveliness and variety of Viennese politics of the time as well as the possibility, inherent in any developing situation, that things may after all have worked out differently.

While a "class party"² in the broadest sense, the heirs of pre-March liberalism who sat in the Vienna City Council in the decades after 1861 were never to constitute a closed political entity bound by a common program and leadership. They tended rather to division on grounds of shifting loyalties or differing attitudes towards controversial issues, but mostly along the lines etched into Vienna's constitution with the curial system of voting. Although these lines were frequently crossed and at times all but obliterated, they served in a general way to set off a politically satiated Grossbürgertum from a less satisfied liberal contingent representing the interests of the small business and manufacturing community or Kleingewerbetum.³

The phenomenon of liberal divisiveness was observed on 19 April 1861 as the assorted businessmen, professionals, and tradespeople who had won election to the new City Council⁴ took their places in the council chamber of the Old Rathaus, distributing themselves "almost as if by instinct among the right, center and left sections of the room."⁵ This careful process of seat selection reflected less political than social distinctions among the hundred and twenty Councilmen, the

small business- and tradesmen grouping on the left, the "doctored" intelligentsia and upper echelon Bürger on the right.⁵ The socio-economic distinctions between the three electoral curia were likewise mirrored in the entirely voluntary seating arrangements, with the representatives of the Third Curia overwhelmingly on the left, those of the First and a majority of the Second on the right.

Since each curia was allotted forty seats, it is clear that the first two outnumbered the third, even though the latter represented the great majority of voters. In 1861 there were 2936 First Curia registered voters, 4582 Second, and 10,804 Third.⁶ This discrepancy formed a major point of contention between the right and left Council fractions, with the left opposing the curial system for the same practical reason the right insisted on its preservation: because it prevented the Third Curia representatives from automatically gaining a majority in the City Council and so control over the municipal government.⁷

While this debate was aired for years in a series of commissions appointed to draft proposals for revising the city charter, the question of abolishing the curial system was not regarded a matter of acute public urgency in the 1860's. It rarely reached the floor of a plenary session and was not put to a vote of the entire Council until 1869 when it was narrowly defeated.⁸

As long as democratization of the Viennese suffrage depended on approval by the highly conservative Landtag, it was in any case rather a moot point, although it retained considerable symbolic significance as a touchstone of political disposition. The left reaped the greater political advantage from the situation which provided a shared ideological goal and a talking point that lent itself easily to rhetorical embellishment. Candidates of the left, in espousing voter equality, had little trouble presenting themselves as the sole bearers of justice, liberty, and the common weal. Their inability to deliver on the promise of democratization

of the suffrage, on the other hand, could not be held against them, but stood as a reproach to the conservative interests and higher authorities who had ordained that "the suffrage be regulated with appropriate consideration for protecting the interests of the highest taxpayers."⁹

While the left thus enjoyed a certain ideological unity in its opposition to the curial system, the men of the right simply held together out of a sense of class unity and interest, and, eschewing dramatic verbal gestures, sought to broaden their appeal with programs of a practical nature. Their most capable exponent and later four-term mayor, Cajetan Felder, expressed this more prosaic approach in his campaign speech for election to the City Council in 1861: "I was repulsed by the senseless turns of phrase around superficial, misunderstood utopias," employed by candidates hoping to strike a sympathetic chord in the electoral gathering, he recalled in his Memoirs. "I never mentioned freedom, equality, and brotherhood," he added, "but confined my remarks to matters of practical importance - the bad streets and generally low quality of municipal services ..., and was elected nonetheless."¹⁰

Even practical ends required a stable and reliable majority, however; and this proved difficult to secure in a council made up of ill-defined, continually shifting groups, and unpredictable individuals bent on voting their private opinions.¹¹ A Councilman's position on the curia system, in other words, did not guarantee his allegiance where other issues were concerned, a situation that became critical when it came to winning approval for a mountain spring water system to replace the unhealthy expedient of pumping water out of the Danube.¹²

Vienna's mayor for most of the 1860's, Andreas Zelinka (1802-1868), was a congenial indecisive jurist little given to exercising the full extent of his authority, and loathe to compromise his popularity by taking a strong position on any controversial issue.¹³ Personally opposed to the expense of

the great water project, which was to supply Vienna with the purest drinking water as a way of combatting recurrent cholera and other epidemics,¹⁴ Zelinka left the decision to the Council and gave Cajetan Felder a free hand in organizing the requisite majority for approval of the Hochquellenwasserleitung. This effort led to the creation of the first "party" in the Vienna City Council.

By April 1863 Felder had organized a "club of the right," which was to "concern itself exclusively with specific communal interests ... and with reaching appropriate decisions that would be binding on all members."¹⁵ The aim was to facilitate rapid approval for a list of city improvement projects by avoiding time-consuming debates, and placing responsibility for major decisions in the hands of those deemed best qualified to make sound judgments - in the water project, Felder himself and renowned geologist Eduard Suess who was its foremost proponent.¹⁶

The avowed non-political nature of the new club was signified in its name, Mittelpartei (Party of the Middle), and the program endorsed by the sixty-five founding members. The decision to designate themselves as a party of the "middle" was made in deference to less conservative elements who were not committed to the "left", but who associated "right" with reactionary or at least unprogressive ideas, and hence would be inhibited from joining or cooperating with a club bearing that cognomen.¹⁷ Although technically misleading as to the political groupings in the Council - there being, after the founding of the Mittelpartei, no party of the right - the name was appropriate within a larger political constellation that included genuine enemies of the "liberal state" (clerical conservatives, Czech nationalists, etc.) which were not represented in the Vienna City Council.¹⁸

The Mittelpartei declared itself in favor of progressive evolution of the state constitution and of free self-determination for the commune in its "natural" sphere, particularly where education was concerned. The desire for control

over the schools voiced a common liberal objection to the role of the Catholic Church in this area - a traditional role enhanced by the Concordat of 1855, which was in all its aspects a primary target of liberal politics.¹⁹ Where city spending was concerned, the Mittelpartei prescribed frugality, but not to the point of denying the population the public amenities consistent with the basic standards of modern urbanism. An immense building program was endorsed to provide the city with new schools, orphanages, parks, public baths and sewers, a municipal cemetery, central slaughterhouse and meat market, improved fire protection and flood regulation, and an imposing new City Hall (Rathaus) as well as the aforementioned mountain spring water system. The expense of these ambitious projects was to be met by long-term loans on the idea that future generations who would share in the benefits should also share the cost of providing them. Political aims were confined to a modest statement asserting the value of a free press and the right of free association as conducive to a "self-conscious, loyal, and moderate citizenry."²⁰

While there was little new or startling in this statement of guiding principles, the club statutes introducing party discipline were a significant innovation. The club was to meet regularly and hold preliminary votes on motions to come before the Council. No club member was to present an independent motion or interpellation without prior consultation with his party colleagues.²¹ These stipulations were the basis for later charges that the Mittelpartei was a mere voting machine whose members rarely took the trouble to form an opinion of their own, and even if they did, were prevented from voicing it.

Made up almost entirely of First and Second Curia representatives, the Mittelpartei counted most of the Council's lawyers, academics, and distinguished citizens, as well as industrialists, bankers, newspaper publishers, and businessmen. It was the party of those anxious to preserve the gains

and privileges bestowed by the new constitutional regime, but not inclined to press for more in the way of civil and political rights.²²

A much smaller fraction calling itself Far Left constituted the major opposition to the Mittelpartei. Less likely to have an academic title or connections to the world of high finance than their conservative liberal colleagues, the twenty-odd members of the Far Left were more active in debate, politically more progressive, yet economically more reticent and less inclined to favor expensive building and improvement projects that would add to burdens of the taxpayer. Instead of the mountain spring water system, for example, they favored a plan to filter water pumped from the easily accessible and plentiful resources of the not beautiful, blue, or sanitary Danube.²³ Such pennypinching did not, however, extend to the building of new schools and improved education in general, this ranking as a top priority with the councilmen of the Far Left.²⁴

Although generally qualified to vote in the First and Second Curias, the Far Left deputies were elected by the Third, and regarded themselves as spokesmen for the average citizen or Kleinbürger, as well as the heirs of the "people's spring" of 1848. One of their pet projects was the erection of a city monument to the "Märzgefallenen" of 13 March 1848, a day they held in reverence, and some of their leaders who had been active in the Student Legion, in fond if distant memory.²⁵ "Their endeavor to maintain a connection to the ideas of 1848," writes a prominent Viennese historian, "was expressed in a somewhat positive attitude to the workers' movement and in taking the part of the economically weaker middle classes ... they were the only liberal group not to oppose an extension of the suffrage."²⁶

Between the Mittelpartei and Far Left stood a group of fifteen-odd which had broken away from the former, more in protest against the rule of party discipline than from any substantial disagreement, and called itself the Left. Made

up largely of more progressive and active deputies from the prosperous Inner City, the Left was rather less concerned than the Far Left with the status and problems of the Kleinbürger of the "districts;" its program averred the desirability of abolishing the curia system "when possible."²⁷ Aside from these three more or less fixed groupings, the Council counted a one-man party of the right and an assortment of uncommitted members known as Wilden (wild ones).²⁸

Undeterred by the majority in favor of the status quo, the Far Left presented a series of motions to abolish the curia and reduce the qualifying tax, individual members going so far as to demand that all property restrictions be lifted for city elections;²⁹ a few daring souls risked the ridicule of their colleagues and the press by espousing the vote for women.³⁰ In the matter of school reform, the Far Left differed with the majority in seeking to substitute a general school tax for the prevailing fees paid by individual pupils, while sharing the Mittelpartei insistence on the separation of school and church.³¹ To help the small proprietor and craftsman cope with the "bad times" of the mid-sixties, the Far Left asked relief in the form of interest-free state loans and tax concessions for the small homeowner, as well as introduction of progressively graduated income and business taxes.³²

The one concession to the hard-pressed small businessmen achieved by the Far Left was a change in the City Ordinance restoring taxpayers in arrears to the list of eligible voters. Following the passage of this law in January 1867, the number of inscribed Third Curia voters increased by 59 per-cent.³³ Although a good part of this increase came automatically with a new upswing in the business cycle, the ruling on tax delinquents was regarded as a milestone towards full political rights for the economically weaker segment of the electorate.³⁴

Where this segment of the population as a whole was concerned - the great mass of industrial workers, day laborers,

and dependent employees whose struggle for survival was recognized under the all-encompassing rubric "The Social Question" - the Far Left agreed essentially with the Mittelpartei that the problem of uplifting the poor was beyond the municipal government's competence. The unenfranchised masses were enjoined by all liberals to work, save, remain sober, and enlist in "workers' improvement associations" as the surest way of bettering their admittedly deplorable circumstances.³⁵ Despite its circumscribed challenge to the principle of "interest representation," the Far Left was neither radical enough to take an independent course from the liberal mainstream nor, in the long run, strong enough to divert the sluggish liberal way into new and deeper channels.

Even had the Vienna City Council desired to take some form of direct action, such as subsidized housing, to alleviate the plight of the working poor and increasingly cramped Kleinbürgertum,³⁶ it could hardly have carried any such notion beyond the stage of wishful thinking; for it labored not only under philosophical, but under equally stringent fiscal restraints. By 1866, having in only four years accumulated a budget deficit that exceeded its annual income, the City of Vienna had entered a state of permanent fiscal crisis. Although income had increased since 1860 by 70 per cent, expenses had more than doubled in that time.³⁷

This increase in expenditure was mainly due to huge outlays required in connection with the building of the Ringstrasse - expenses for new streets, parks, bridges, sewers, and other improvements the city was obliged to provide without help from the imperial or provincial coffers. The city was, furthermore, deprived of a potential tax boon when, to encourage the sale of the expensive lots created by the demolition of the old city wall, the state offered a thirty-year tax exemption on building erected there. The City was not only prevented from drawing revenue from the splendid mansions that lined the Ringstrasse, but was forced to supply their wealthy inhabitants with well-lighted, well-paved

streets, expensive greenery and a magnificent "spa" where healing waters and Strauss waltzes were dispensed to those who could afford a respite from the bores and cares of everyday life.³⁸

The relatively meager income of the City stemmed from its basic tax structure, which the city fathers were loathe to alter for reasons of personal interest and economic philosophy. The city exacted no taxes on its own, but was entitled to claim a surcharge on direct and indirect state taxes of up to 30 per cent. Its largest single source of income was the "rent tax" (Hauszinssteuer), which, though paid by landlords, was indirectly exacted from tenants in the rent they paid. For the property owners and upper-bracket tax payers who sat in the City Council, this system was naturally preferable to an independent city tax structure which would have placed additional direct charges on personal income and business profits.³⁹ Holding the classic view of nineteenth century economic liberalism that general prosperity and hence government revenue rise automatically with the expansion of trade and industry, the City Councilmen adopted a fiscal policy designed to keep taxes and public spending to a minimum. In practice, however, the theory connecting a balanced municipal budget to projected economic growth proved untenable for the simple reason that economic growth did not keep pace with the sharp and steady ride in the city's financial obligations.⁴⁰

The unattainable ideal of a balanced budget held even greater sway over the fiscal mind of the Far Left than of the Mittelpartei, the former agitating at length against "unnecessary expenditures" for such projects as the recreational spa (Kursalon) and the new town hall.⁴¹ Its relative parsimony was, however, dictated more by a desire to spare the small taxpayer than to promote the accumulation of investment capital in the private sector of the economy. This particularly as the Kleinbürgertum tended to ascribe its woes primarily to the advent of big industry and finance capitalism.⁴²

Despite their differing viewpoints with respect to the suffrage and budget considerations, the political groupings in the early City Council can hardly be compared to modern European political parties with their strong class biases, firm and discreet ideological underpinnings, strict standards of discipline, masses of inscribed voters, and elaborate organizational networks.⁴³ Because of a government ban on political meetings and organizations involving the public at large, the parties of the 1860's were, in addition to being unstable and weakly differentiated, parliamentary clubs maintaining only sporadic contact with the voters. Such contact as there was, was largely confined to presenting candidates to official voters assemblies held in each district prior to the annual spring elections for the City Council.⁴⁴ Even here, political discussion, not to speak of agitation, was discouraged by the presence of government "commissars" who made certain the voters assemblies steered clear of "deliberating on purely political matters" (Beratung rein politischer Angelegenheiten).⁴⁵ Although nominations at these meetings were open, in practice an unknown independent stood little chance of a nomination. After the first election in 1861, incumbents and local notables were well in command of the selection process; and although the "parties" as such did not put up candidates, those running for office generally indicated, with a view to the curia whose votes they were soliciting, where they would sit in the chamber. After 1866 only a handful of Third Curia Councilmen belonged to the Mittelpartei, while none from the First or Second Curia belonged to the Far Left.⁴⁶

With the outcome all but determined beforehand, elections were extremely dull, and public interest in them accordingly low. In 1866 only 20 per cent of the eligible Third Curia voters appeared at the polls, while the First and Second registered a somewhat better 30 per cent.⁴⁷ Attendance at the voters assemblies was still lower. The overall number of these meetings fell from 144 to 51 between 1861 and 1864;

press coverage of the annual campaigns diminished in like proportion.⁴⁸ The apathy of the electorate was much be-moaned by a small civic-minded minority and by a few newspapers such as the Morgenpost which chided its readers for their failure to exercise the boon of citizenship and criticized, at the same time, a cumbersome electoral system that seemed designed to inspire political ennui.⁴⁹ Compounding the numbing effect of the curia system and the legal constraints on political activity was the often highly technical nature of campaign issues. As interested as the Viennese doubtless were in flood prevention and clean drinking water, they were very likely less enthralled by the details and problems involved in acquiring them. Then there were the internal questions of departmental reorganization and the competence struggle between Council and Magistrat which created sharp divisions in the chamber,⁵⁰ but which could scarcely be expected to fascinate voters who were neither fiscal experts nor civil engineers.

Viennese political life began to revive with the restructuring of the Empire and the adoption of a new constitution in 1867 following Austria's defeat by Prussia at the battle of Königgrätz, and her subsequent forced withdrawal from the German Confederation.⁵¹ As in 1861, military disaster and diplomatic humiliation spurred internal reform and liberalizing measures designed to broaden and stabilize the foundations of the Habsburg State. To accommodate the disaffected Magyars, the idea of a centralized empire was finally abandoned and the Hungarian half of the Monarchy granted autonomy in its internal affairs. The Compromise (Ausgleich) of 1867, as the agreement with Hungary was known, was not fixed in all respects, requiring renewal every ten years of those points dealing with common expenses, tariffs, the imperial bank and currency, and railways.⁵² In the interests of "constitutional balance," the Ausgleich also provided for liberal adjustments in the western half of the Empire which were set down in the Constitution of 1867. Equality before

the law was henceforth guaranteed along with civil rights such as freedom of the press, speech and assembly, provided these were exercised in a spirit of loyalty to the state.⁵³

The lifting of general restrictions on citizens' rights to form associations and hold public meetings produced a dramatic change in the conduct and temper of Viennese politics. Political clubs (Vereine) bearing such names as "Club for the Preservation of the Rights of Man," "Freedom," "Constitutional People's Club," and "Democratic Club," were formed in almost every district of the city, generally under the aegis of Far Left Councilmen.

With the new clubs, the short spring political season was extended through the year and permanent lines of communication established between the electorate and its representatives. The main purpose of the clubs, which in the first years took hold only in the Third Curia, was to stimulate public interest in, and support for, the issues, programs, and candidates favored by the Left and Far Left Council fractions.⁵⁴ The frequent designation "democratic" in their names signified adherence to the principle of popular sovereignty, although in practice the clubs stopped short of unqualified endorsement of equal universal suffrage.⁵⁵

The first such Verein was the "German Democratic Club" of the Third District (Landstrasse); its program served as a model for others to come and can be regarded as representing the aims of the democratic clubs in general. Declaring its primary aim to be "influencing elections," the club avowed an interest in the rights and interests of Austrian Germans, religious equality, separation of church and state, improved public education, and extension of the suffrage to "broad circles," and its opposition to absolutism and "pseudo-constitutionalism."⁵⁶ While hardly revolutionary, this program contrasted in certain respects with the political attitudes and aims of more conservative Viennese who looked with abhorrence on the democratic clubs as fomenters of radical notions and public disorder.

The democratic clubs were primarily feared as potential centers for popular agitation in favor of further liberalization of a constitution with which conservative liberals were very well satisfied.⁵⁷ In expressing disdain for "pseudo-constitutionalism," the clubs were serving notice that they did not regard the new constitution as the final victory for the forces of progress, but as a necessary first step of a great reform that was to shift the basis of government from the shoulders of army, church and bureaucracy to those of the free and responsible citizen.⁵⁸ The democratic clubs were above all concerned to broaden the narrow definition of the latter implicit in the suffrage, which was carried unchanged into the new constitutional era assuring the unequal distribution of the City Council seats in favor of the most wealthy and educated classes. As a political forum for the expression of discontent, the democratic club was regarded with suspicion by the more solid Bürger and, if not as a harbinger of mob rule, at least as an instrument of unwelcome change in the character and tone of city government.⁵⁹

Conservative liberals feared in particular that as voters became politicized through the democratic clubs the Council itself would become a stage for the ventilation of political as opposed to strictly administrative questions. Their basic concept of municipal self-government as "an act of fiscal management" best left to highly qualified persons acting independently of political pressures or public enthusiasms⁶⁰ would thereby be undermined. In refusing to accept the principle of property representation which legitimized this definition, the democrats, even though they did not press the opposing principle of popular representation to its logical destination, carried it far enough to call in question the claim of a privileged class to rule in the name of Liberalism.

The immediate impact of the democratic clubs was, however, anything but remarkable. Voter participation in the Third Curia rose from 10 to 18 per cent in the first election to test the efficacy of the clubs' organizational and publiciz-

ing efforts. The Mittelpartei retained its comfortable majority and firm hold on the chief executive offices - the mayoralty and two vice-mayoral posts.⁶¹

By the end of the 1860's, with its major engineering and building projects underway and its budget more than committed into the foreseeable future, the Vienna City Council appeared to have settled into domestic tranquility, totally absorbed by the business of managing the communal household. The development of a more fractious mood was less directly a product of political differences than of the emergence of a few exceptional personalities little given to compromise or conciliatory gestures. The leading personalities of the 1860's had been largely men respected for their technical or professional expertise or, like Mayor Zelinka, for their civic devotion and objective approach to controversial issues. Upon Zelinka's death in November 1868, an entirely different if equally dedicated man was raised to the mayoral dignity - a man who would leave indelible scars as well as imposing monuments on the face of the city he was called to serve. On 16 December 1868 Cajetan Felder was elected mayor of Vienna with 84 votes, 29 going to the second vice-mayor Julius Newald.⁶²

That 29 votes were cast at Felder's first election for a fellow member of the Mittelpartei who had not even declared his candidacy, was a clear sign that the new mayor did not enjoy the unqualified esteem of the Far Left. This not without good reason. Felix Czeike, who edited the more than 12,000 pages of Felder's dictated memoirs, characterized the personality revealed therein as one, "... impressive in its sovereign bearing, ambitious and yet uncompromising, one whose actions cannot always be measured by the democratic standards of today."⁶³ A man of brilliant gifts and extraordinary achievements, Felder not only lacked a democratic touch, but possessed a will to dominate that brought him into sharp and frequent conflict with any who chose to resist his personal authority. Both his forceful leadership and his conception of the mayoral office were in marked contrast to

to the ways of his predecessor, who had sought to win the confidence and cooperation of all parties, and was content to follow the Council's lead in all decisions.⁶⁴ Felder followed no one's lead but his own and, far from trying to win friends in the opposition, made a point of flaunting the power of the majority he controlled and his contempt for the Third Curia deputies.

Felder never considered himself as exercising a popular mandate or as representing the particular interests of the voters who elected him. He thought of himself rather in the tradition of appointed high officials, and of his election as a grant in recognition of his innate qualification to govern. This he intended to do with as little interference as possible from either the voters or the colleagues who elevated him to the mayoral dignity. Felder deplored the intrusion of "the ordinary" and the incompetent into government, and never became reconciled to the idea that a barbershop proprietor had as much right as a lawyer or professor to serve as chairman of a Council section. His ideal was a government of intelligence and experience whose authority rested on the respectful deference of the community-at-large.⁶⁵ He disdained the democratic aspects, such as they were, of politics, feeling it beneath the dignity of a worthy citizen to court favor with voters who were in any case "too gullible and indolent" to know their best interests.⁶⁶

Cajetan Felder was not born to the patrician attitudes his critics saw as arrogance or the product of a headstrong will to dominate;⁶⁷ he rather acquired them in the course of a life so filled with accomplishment he appeared a natural wonder to contemporaries.⁶⁸ Born into a modest middle-class Viennese "Beamtenfamilie" and orphaned at the age of twelve, Felder was very much a self-made man, his achievements grounded almost entirely in his remarkable qualities of intellect, imagination, enterprise, and self-discipline. From his youth he showed a phenomenal aptitude for languages,⁶⁹ a passion for travel, a love of books, a keen interest in nat-



Cajetan Felder

Cajetan Felder in 1861 at the age of forty-seven.
(Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek - Bilderarchiv)

ural science and geography, and a driving ambition to master any subject that caught his fancy. Felder was a life-long collector of plants and insects, published books and papers on etymology, and was elected to several European learned societies.⁷⁰

In 1841 the future mayor of Vienna was awarded a Doctor of Laws degree and embarked on a successful career in law which he combined with his scientific pursuits and lecturing on political history, law, and statistics at the University of Vienna.⁷¹ He was one of many pre-March liberals whose enthusiasm was quickly neutralized by the advent of mob violence and political radicalism.⁷² Disappointed as well by the return of absolutism, he retired from public life after having taken part in the deliberations over a new city ordinance in 1849. In 1861 he was elected by the Second Curia of the Eighth District (Josefstadt) to the first City Council of the liberal era, and became the intellectual and organizing force behind the Mittelpartei. He quickly gained a reputation for proficiency, dedication to duty, and skillful manipulation behind the scenes to enlist support for controversial motions.⁷³

Felder was largely responsible for approval of the mountain spring water system and the Danube regulation project, both of which were viewed with skepticism by Mayor Zelinka and a wavering majority of the Council.⁷⁴ Holding the motto "rather unpopular than insincere,"⁷⁵ Felder made no pretense of his objection to democratic reforms, and consistently opposed attempts to tamper with the suffrage ordinance.⁷⁶ Never a popular figure, he nonetheless won the respect of voters, colleagues, and high state officials who valued his integrity, capability, and earnest dedication to municipal improvement.⁷⁷

Felder was on good, if not intimate, terms with Emperor Franz Josef and was on more than one occasion offered a ministerial post which he refused. Frequently asked why a man of his obvious ability and ambition chose to bury himself in

municipal affairs, Felder replied that it was precisely in this area he saw the best possibilities for self-realization through lasting accomplishment:⁷⁸

"In contrast to the uncertain world of high state politics where numbers of honorable, ambitious and highly qualified talents are wasted and destroyed to no purpose, I chose a different way to make myself useful. Instead of building castles in the air or on the sordid ground of intrigue, I wanted to build something permanent on a solid basis."

Yet it was not simply out of a desire to build permanent monuments that Felder preferred to devote the greater part of his attention to the administrative and physical rather than the political or social transformation of Vienna. He was neither blind to the fundamental social and economic changes of his time and place, nor indifferent to the plight of the masses struggling to survive in a hostile environment; he was concerned at least to make that environment more sanitary and physically secure, and to give the poor an opportunity to better their standard of living through education.⁷⁹

Felder's conservatism sprang precisely from his awareness of living in precarious times, his fear of social upheaval, his apprehensiveness that, "the nineteenth century will end more gruesomely than the eighteenth,"⁸⁰ and he was convinced that the only chance for "peaceful and steady progress" was a political system based on the more advanced social elements. Felder was consequently obsessed with maintaining the image (Ansehen) of the city administration - its appearance of competence and incorruptibility - and carried to extremes his determination to avoid the least taint of corruption in the Vienna civil service.⁸¹

Felder was equally sensitive to personal criticism, and intolerant of opposition to the point of offensiveness. Authoritarian by nature and conviction, he equated dissent with disloyalty, stupidity, even insanity, on the part of any who dared to oppose or contradict him; his refusal to compromise or extend conciliatory gestures proved political handicaps that seriously impaired the effectiveness of his

more sterling qualities. Unusual by any standards, as a Viennese Felder was a complete maverick. His character and interests appear, indeed to have developed independently, if not in conscious revulsion to his cultural surroundings. Ever eager from his youth to get away from his native city, Felder's extensive travels appear only to have increased his awareness of Vienna's shortcomings and the imperfections of its inhabitants.⁸² Felder had no sympathy for the Viennese way of life, its "lighthearted optimism and stubborn refusal to take life seriously." "Nothing would ever come," he groaned in exasperation, "of the much celebrated 'Gemüthlichkeit' that lets everything take its course ... nor from the indolence ... and excessive pursuit of pleasure indulged by a large part of the Viennese population."⁸³ As if to make a point of his disapprobation of the last, Felder avoided all entertainments most dear to the Viennese; he never attended a theater and declined to grace the opening of the magnificent new State Opera with his presence.⁸⁴

While Felder's lack of joie de vivre was not solely responsible for the increased tensions appearing in the City Council after he became mayor, it signifies the personal isolation and forbidding aura of superiority that alienated important political friends and potential allies such as the young Dr. Lueger. Although Felder enjoyed support for his efforts to carry through the great building projects prepared under his predecessor,⁸⁵ and for welcome bureaucratic reforms,⁸⁶ he met resistance to his policy of shifting the center of municipal authority from the City Council to the Magistrat. Distressed at what he regarded as the Council's dilatoriness and inefficiency, qualities he invariably attributed to the growing numbers of "ill-bred unqualified" deputies sent by the democratic clubs,⁸⁷ Felder set about to raise the status of the municipal bureaucracy and make it the chief organ of government, reducing the Council to a mere rubber stamp for decisions and plans worked out by the Magistrat "professionals."⁸⁸ In the process, he created,

in addition to intensified opposition on the left for his political views, resentment in his own party. In 1872 twenty of the Mittelpartei's most conscientious members split off from the parent body to constitute the Reformklub. While they shared the mayor's conservatism as against the left, they rebelled against his dictatorial rule and slighting of the Council sections where their personal influence was considerable and where Felder's preference for the bureaucracy was most keenly resented.⁸⁹

Symptomatic of both his political conservatism and blatant disregard of Council sensibilities, was Felder's opposition in the Landtag, of which he was also a member, to a suffrage reform proposal passed by an overwhelming majority of 77 to 12 in the City Council on 12 March 1872.⁹⁰ Twenty Councilmen of the left opposition resigned their seats in protest amid general consternation at the mayor's willful flouting of a Council decision that was in any case of more symbolic than real significance. Although Felder's vote in the Landtag against the suffrage reform, which would have abolished the curia but redistributed seats in a way to offset the advantage to the Third Curia, was not decisive, it was widely resented as a slight on the honor of the Council as a whole.

To be appreciated, Felder's contribution in the way of solid accomplishment such as he set out to achieve, must be weighed against the enormity and difficulty of the challenge at a time when Vienna's expansion placed unprecedented demands on municipal facilities and institutions more appropriate to a pre-industrial city than to a modern metropolis.⁹¹ There is little question that the reforms and projects undertaken to meet these demands, from the great engineering works, new schools, hospitals, and public buildings, to the reform of the education system and reorganization of the civil service, bear the stamp of Felder's vision, leadership, and administrative skill.

As a gentleman scholar and political leader rising to

prominence without the advantages of high birth and "good connections" on the one hand, or popular favor and support on the other, Felder was a rarity, and yet very much a man of his time and place. For all his exceptional qualities, he represented the values, social ideals, and political principles of the Viennese Grossbürgertum in whose predominance he saw the only security for Vienna's autonomous and orderly development free from clerical and bureaucratic state control as well as from disruptive pressures from below.⁹² At the same time, nothing better illustrates the inherent paradox of German Austrian liberalism than the life and work of Bürgermeister Felder - a man who virtually radiated individualism, but who found this quality intolerable in others; a man who longed for social peace and quiet progress, while his actions were better calculated to breed dissention and hinder the orderly development of municipal self-government.

While the first two decades of Viennese self-government saw a brilliant flowing of communal initiative and civic pride, they saw little progress in the way of political maturation or government responsiveness to particular problems of the ordinary citizen such as high taxes, over-crowded living conditions, the inferior state of public lighting, transport and provisioning facilities, and, after 1873, severe economic depression. Related to this failure of municipal government to expand its definition of the public interest, was the unremitting control of Vienna's City Council by a privileged elite confirmed by four-term Mayor Cajetan Felder in its conviction that no concession need or should be made to the democratic elements representing the Third Curia voter.

The first serious challenge to Vienna's ruling elite was in large measure a reaction to the imperious Felder on the part of City Councilmen who wore themselves out fighting a political battle of decreasing interest to an electorate faced with new problems arising in connection with the rapid expansion of Austria's economy and transition to

modern industrial capitalism.⁹³ While Felder cannot be held responsible for the internal contradictions and naivete of the democratic liberal movement, by playing on those weaknesses he contributed not a little to the ultimate defection of the Third Curia voter from the liberal camp. By reinforcing the fatal inflexibility of the existing framework of liberal politics, he contributed likewise to the defection of perhaps the one man who might have made a difference in the way it all turned out - that man was Karl Lueger.

Through the 1870's the Vienna democrats were the political group closest to the ordinary citizen and, as the farthest left wing of the Viennese liberals, the major hope for progressive change within the circumscribed but vital arena of municipal politics. They were also the natural pole to attract a young man of Lueger's character and interests. Yet relations between them developed more in the nature of a stormy courtship than a life-long union based on mutual trust and shared perspectives. Both complex and significant to his later development, Lueger's relationship to the Vienna democrats remains misunderstood largely because unclarity persists as to what and who these people were who equated democracy with the coming to power of the Third Curia.

Notes:

- 1 For example, Felix Czeike in his mostly factual and commendable account of developments in the area of communal administration under three regimes, Liberale, Christlichsoziale und Sozialdemokratische Kommunalpolitik, describes the Viennese liberals as a mere adjunct of big capital and "the financially powerful Grossbürgertum." He gives short shrift to "the opposition, which was pushed into the background ... and not in a position to tamper with the basic principles of the ruling party." pp. 5-7.

Although, in contrast to Czeike, he places the Viennese left unequivocally in the liberal camp, Maren Seliger, in a short but suggestive essay cited above, "Liberale Fraktionen im Wiener Gemeinderat," tends to deny that it represented a sincere alternative to the politics of the conservative liberal majority. Wien in der Liberalen Ära, pp. 62-63, 81, 89-90.

A major problem here, as Seliger notes (p. 81.) is the anemic state of historiography on the subject of Vienna during the reign of Franz Josef I. While gorgeous picture books abound, there is a serious dearth of scholarly work (specialized monographs, local histories and biographies, etc.) that might lay the groundwork for a comprehensive history of this time. A useful start has been made with a series of dissertations from the University of Vienna on the composition and activities of the Vienna City Council in the 1860's and 1880's:

Gertrud Hahnkampner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat zwischen 1861 und 1864;"

Annemarie Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat in den Jahren 1864-1868;"

Brigitte Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat in den Jahren 1879 bis 1883;"

Eduard Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit des Wiener Gemeinderats in den Jahren 1884-1888."

The intervening gap of the 1870's has yet to be filled.

- 2 Lothar Gall, Liberalismus, p. 12, points out that under the impact of industrialization the general aims of early nineteenth century liberals (Frühliberalismus) for a de-privileged social order and political structure became more narrowly focussed on the maintenance of middle-class hegemony and so excluded the mass of the population from the political gains of the liberal movement. In this sense the Viennese liberals were a "class party," but still not one devoted exclusively to the interests of big capital, as the persistent concern of the liberal left for the problems of the Mittelstand (at least through the 1870's) amply testify.

Wilhelm Wadl, in a recent dissertation, "Liberalismus und Soziale Frage in Österreich," points out that the extent of Kleinbürger liberalism has been greatly underestimated. p.17.

- 3 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," pp. 67-71
- 4 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 76, gives occupational tables for the years 1861 and 1879. Of the 120 Councilmen in 1861 68 were engaged in business (manufacture and trade); the next largest categories of 10 each were doctors and men living from private means; the remaining 32 were fairly evenly divided among jurists, professors, engineers, and bureaucrats.
- 5 Cajetan Felder, Erinnerungen eines Wiener Bürgermeisters (hereafter Erinnerungen), p. 279.
- 6 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 75.
- 7 Ibid., pp. 67-69.
- 8 Ibid., p. 69.
- 9 Ibid., p. 62.
- 10 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 136.
- 11 Hahnkampner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat zwischen 1861 und 1864" (hereafter "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . ."), p. 145.
- 12 Felder Erinnerungen, p. 336
Banik-Schweitzer, "Liberale Kommunalpolitik . . .," p. 95.
- 13 Hahnkampner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," pp. 603-604.
- 14 It was not only a question of the quality, but also of the inadequate quantity of water required by Vienna's growing population. No new sources of supply had been added since 1846. Banik-Schweitzer, "Liberale Kommunalpolitik . . .," p. 92.
- 15 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 136.
- 16 Ibid., p. 138.
- 17 Ibid., p. 282.
- 18 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," p. 62.
- 19 Winter, Revolution . . ., p. 99.
- 20 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 60.
- 21 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
- 22 Ibid., p. 57.
- 23 Banik-Schweitzer, "Liberale Kommunalpolitik . . .," p. 95.
Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," p. 86, notes that many Third Curia voters were content to stay with the cheaper water drawn from house wells.
- 24 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 199.
- 25 Ibid., p. 66.
- 26 Czeike, Liberale, Christlichsoziale und Sozialdemokratische Kommunalpolitik, p. 15.

- 27 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 75.
- 28 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 283.
- 29 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 70.
- 30 Konstitutionelle Vorstadtzeitung (hereafter KVZ), 20 November 1872.
- 31 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 67.
- 32 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," pp. 86-89.
- 33 Czeike, Liberale, Christlichsoziale und Sozialdemokratische Kommunalpolitik (hereafter Liberale ... Kommunalpolitik), p. 15.
- 34 Ibid., p. 17.
- 35 Fritz Kaufmann, Sozialdemokratie in Österreich, pp. 14-15.
- 36 Josef Ehmer, "Produktion und Reproduktion in der Wiener Manufakturperiode," in Wien im Vormärz, pp. 120-125.
- 37 Czeike, Liberale ... Kommunalpolitik, p. 37.
- 38 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 179.
- 39 Czeike, Liberale ... Kommunalpolitik, pp. 34-35.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 48-56.
- 41 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," p. 88.
- 42 A comprehensive and objective treatment of this whole question is provided in a recent dissertation by Christian Salmeyer, "Das Gewerbliche Kleinbürgerthum in Wien - zu seiner wirtschaftlichen und politischen Entwicklung in der zweiten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts," (hereafter "Das Gewerbliche Kleinbürgerthum . . .,").
- See also John W. Boyer, Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna, pp. 44-59.
- 43 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," pp. 199-202.
- 44 Although City Councilmen were elected for three-year terms, one-third of the Council was up for renewal each spring - a traditional practice carried over from the pre-Joseline ordinance which provided for renewal of the Inner Council (or Stadtrat) in this manner. Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 75.
- 45 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 136.
- 46 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," gives tables showing the distribution of "fractions and curia, pp. 74, 75.
- 47 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 37.
- 48 Ibid., p. 29.
- 49 Morgenpost, 8 February 1875.
- 50 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 33.

- 51 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 372.
- 52 May, The Hapsburg Monarchy 1867-1914, p. 38.
- 53 Kann, The Multinational Empire, Vol. I, pp. 22-24.
- 54 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," pp. 39-40.
- 55 Seliger, "Liberales Fraktionen ...," p. 83.
- 56 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 40.
- 57 Wadl, "Liberalismus und Soziale Frage in Österreich," p.54.
- 58 Ibid., pp. 77-78.
- 59 Franz, Liberalismus, pp. 146-147, 167-168.
- 60 Klabouch, Die Gemeindeselbstverwaltung ..., p. 136.
- 61 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," pp. 43-44.
- 62 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 72.
- 63 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 365. There is to date no full-length biography of Felder, the most complete printed source remains these memoirs edited by Czeike.
- 64 Ibid., pp. 284-285.
- 65 Ibid., p. 134.
- 66 Ibid., p. 314.
- 67 Irene Neuwirth, "Doktor Cajetan Felder, Bürgermeister von Wien," pp. 130-134.
- 68 Felder's curriculum vitae, which he set down on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, is reprinted in Wiener Geschichtsblätter, Vol. 19, 1964.
- 69 Felder was competent in Latin and Greek and spoke fourteen modern languages, eight to perfection. Felix Czeike, "Die Reisen des Wiener Bürgermeisters Dr. Cajetan Felder," Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Vol. 23/25, 1967/69, p. 360.
- 70 Ibid., p. 355.
- 71 Karl Glossy, "Kajetan Felder," Neue Oesterreichische Biographie, Vol. 4, 1927, p. 207.
- 72 Neuwirth, Doktor Cajetan Felder, Bürgermeister von Wien," p. 124.
- 73 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 334.
- 74 The Danube regulation carried through between 1868 and 1875 involved digging a new and deeper bed for the river where it passed the city in hopes of controlling its tendency to flood large portions of adjacent districts. Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 80.
- 75 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 383.
- 76 Ibid., p. 375.

- 77 Glossy, "Kajetan Felder," p. 211.
- 78 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 314.
- 79 Ibid., pp. 380-381.
- 80 Ibid., p. 364.
- 81 Herden, "Das Amt des Bürgermeister der Stadt Wien," pp. 177-186.
- 82 Felder's travels, which he gave up after 1861, are most interestingly recounted in Czeike's "Die Reisen des Wiener Bürgermeisters Dr. Cajetan Felder," cited below, note 69.
- 83 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 363.
- 84 Czeike, "Die Reisen des Wiener Bürgermeisters Dr. Cajetan Felder," p. 366.
- 85 For example, Felder's proposal to raise the city surcharge on rents and consumer taxes was passed in 1874 without strong opposition. Neuwirth, "Dr. Cajetan Felder, Bürgermeister von Wien," pp. 153-160.
- 86 Morgenpost, 9 December 1871.
- 87 Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 288, 313.
- 88 Ibid., pp. 279, 288.
- 89 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen ...," p. 72.
Felix Czeike, "Cajetan Felder und seine Zeit," (Epilogue) Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 372, 379.
- 90 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 69-70.
- 91 The problems involved in creating the infrastructure of physical and social services Vienna required are outlined by Banik-Schweitzer, "Liberale Kommunalpolitik"
The fiscal concomitants are relayed in detail by Czeike, Liberale ... Kommunalpolitik, pp. 33-55.
- 92 Czeike, (Epilogue) Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 375.

Chapter Three

THE "VIENNESE DEMOCRATS"

"Alles für das Volk und durch
das Volk."

Wiener Demokratische Gesellschaft
8 November 1873

"Wir erstreben ein einmütiges
geschlossenes Vorgehen der
demokratischen Partei."

Johann Schrank
16 September 1872

Strictly speaking, the Vienna democratic movement was neither democratic nor was it a movement. It was rather a small group of men who liked being elected and doing good for the community, and were thereby distinguished from a large number of their colleagues in the Vienna City Council who just liked being elected.¹ Known as "the party that wants to move ahead too quickly,"² these men were the most active group in the Council as well as vociferous critics of Mayor Felder and of the established preeminence of the Grossbürger-tum which he personified.³ They declaimed against political stagnation following the grant of a liberal state constitution in 1867, and as the chief proponents of a more equitable suffrage, held sway over the district democratic clubs and constituted the "radical" left opposition in the City Council.

Although the major function of the democratic clubs was to secure the election (generally re-election) of City Council deputies loyal to the leaders of the Far Left fraction, they gradually expanded into a medium for the expression of voter opinion and so became a rudimentary basis for the evolution of democracy in Vienna - that is, of accountable government and a system of political parties as the most effective means of assuring that "public policies are determined by vote of the electorate."⁴

While the democratic clubs were a long way from influencing, not to speak of determining, public policy, and remained in their first years primarily organs for the voicing of local grievances (badly kept streets, inadequate water, falling plaster in a schoolroom, broken gas lanterns, etc.), they became under the impact of changing economic conditions, organs for the expression of general discontents and desires harbored by the public at large. In this way, the economic developments leading up to and away from the Crash of 1873 were to have a profound effect on the course of political development in general and of Viennese democracy in particular.⁵

The "boom"⁶ that brought an end to the economic depression of the 1860's was ushered in by a combination of circumstances

creating a mood of optimism and sense of new beginnings in an empire not a few thoughtful observers had already written off as a crumbling anachronism.⁷ In appearing to draw a line under a series of costly misbegotten military and diplomatic adventures, the defeat at Königgrätz opened the possibility of a more tranquil foreign policy for the future. The Empire's elusive internal stability seemed to have found sounder footing through the Compromise with Hungary in 1867, and the new constitution and appointment of a liberal ministry augured well for the interests of the German entrepreneurial class.⁸

The politically inspired presentiment of better times gained vital confirmation in a succession of unusually fine harvests in 1867 and 1868, years of correspondingly poor yields in Western Europe. This happy discrepancy brought a much-needed boost to Austrian exports and particularly to the Monarchy's financially troubled railroads, which transported the tons of grain demanded in the West.⁹ Their sudden profitability gave the impulse for a feverish burst of railroad construction which in turn stimulated other branches of Austrian industry and so the introduction of "industrial capitalism on a large scale."¹⁰ The rate of expansion between 1867 and 1873 was dramatic in many areas of the economy, but at the heart of the boom were the railroads, heavy industry, and the new investment banks which provided the capital to finance this unprecedented spurt of enterprise. Railroad mileage in the Monarchy increased from 6125 to 15,597 kilometers as a network was created linking major industrial centers with their sources of labor and raw materials.¹¹ Annual coal production more than doubled and equally, if not more impressive, gains were registered in metallurgy and machine building. The number of steam engines operating in the Austrian half of the Monarchy increased from 2882 to 9160 between 1863 and 1875.¹²

As the point of convergence for six major trunk lines from all corners of the Empire, and as the home of Austria's maj-

or banks, insurance and burgeoning number of joint-stock companies, Vienna was the natural heart of this rapidly expanding industrial system.¹³ At mid-century, Vienna's textile industry remained largely unmechanized.¹⁴ The clothing, leather-work, fine furniture, and metal-working trades retained their traditional handcraft character, producing mainly luxury goods for a select clientele with a seemingly insatiable appetite for silk shawls, porcelain figurines, inlaid cabinets, elegant footwear, and silver-tipped walking canes.¹⁵ A machine building industry founded in the 1830's still produced but one-fifth the value of the silk industry in 1854. The largest producers in an infant chemical industry were a candle factory and a vegetable oil works.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century the structure of Viennese industry was radically transformed with the expansion of heavy industry and a corresponding decline in textile manufacture. Between 1854 and 1875 textile production fell by 80 per cent, while machine manufacture, of which locomotive building was a major feature, more than tripled in output.¹⁶ Perhaps fastest growing of all was the construction industry which, after receiving a generous boost from the Ringstrasse expansion and the Danube regulation, steamed ahead to meet the housing and transportation needs of a rapidly growing population. Apartment buildings, many cheaply constructed, sprouted like mushrooms in a frantic drive to meet and profit by the growing demand for living quarters.¹⁷ Just to indicate the pace of growth and general activity, the number of tramway riders increased from 1868, the year the Vienna (horse-drawn) Tramway was founded, to 1873 from 3.3 to 31 million.¹⁸

Nearly every sector of the economy enjoyed a prosperity unthinkable in the troubled years before 1867. Indirectly, as in the luxury trades, or directly in the case of heavy industry, new factories and building ventures, the favorable upturn was to a large extent generated by fundamental changes in the financial sector of the economy - namely the advent of

investment banking and the joint-stock company which gave a variety of new enterprises access to readily available venture capital. The late 1860's saw a virtual flood of investment funds pouring into newly founded, often totally unsound commercial institutions.¹⁹ The majority of these so-called brokerage banks, of which fifty-three opened their doors between 1870 and 1873, engaged in speculative operations of various kinds and attracted substantial deposits by paying out inordinately high dividends - up to 80 per cent in some cases.²⁰ They backed many of the one thousand new corporations founded in Vienna between 1867 and 1873, issuing shares that were commonly bid up well beyond the actual, or even potential, value of the assets they represented. As prices on the Vienna Stock Exchange spiralled upwards, the entire city became caught up in a whirlwind dash for quick profits and easy money, undeterred by occasional warning signs in the market or words of caution from sober-minded observers not in the "game" - the great "Börsenspiel" as it was called.²¹

Vienna was living dangerously, but in style. "Visitors were impressed with the luxury and the ostentatious display of the nouveaux riches who had themselves painted as noblemen and ladies of quality reminiscent of the brilliant decades of medieval Venice."²² As the public played on and the credit structure grew more rickety each day, even responsible elements became hesitant to disclose the true nature of affairs for fear of destroying public confidence and so bringing on the very panic they feared. A few attempts were made to warn against "a blind optimism as to the limits 'paper' can reach," and against "investing the fruits of honest labor in unproductive enterprises" Stock market winnings based on such firms, cautioned the Morgenpost on 5 December 1871, "can plunge into the abyss in one hour, and this hour will not fail to come."²³ This ominous message was addressed not to the haute bourgeoisie decked out in medieval finery, but to the thousands upon thousands of

small speculators whose winnings, while substantial in relation to their normal incomes, were intended to purchase a less cramped lodging, a more secure economic footing, or a comfortable old age. The sense of unending good fortune, which could not be dampened by the doomsayers, received an additional charge from the preparations and expectations connected with Vienna's first international trade exposition which opened on 1 May 1873.

The great Wrold's Fair was to be a festival of achievement celebrating Austria-Hungary's coming of age as an industrial power, as well as Vienna's blooming, exuberant modernity. In expectation of the millions of visitors the fair would attract, shops were expanded and refurbished, hotels, restaurants, cafes and dance-halls multiplied, and prices all but doubled in the effort to catch the awaited "rain of gold." Although seven million visitors came to marvel at the exhibits and at the host of celebrities and potentates from all over the world, attendance was only half of what had been expected, many people being frightened away by the outbreak of cholera in the summer of 1873.²⁴

Yet the disappointed hopes in the Fair itself were as nothing to the blow that fell from another quarter. In its second week the World's Fair had turned into a mocking symbol of shallow dreams and false prosperity. The opening ceremonies were marred not only by a painful awareness of mismanagement, negligence, and poor planning,²⁵ but by trouble signs in the booming economy the fair was meant to advertise. Five days before, the stock market had begun to fall with the registration of twenty-eight insolvencies. The slide gained momentum, and on 9 May 1873 the giant speculative bubble burst, setting off a financial panic and depression that engulfed the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and sent shock waves throughout the industrialized world.²⁶ As the paper millions melted away ruining large and small investors alike - industrialists, merchants, shopkeepers, government officials, aristocrats, craftsmen and pensioners as well as professional

speculators and financiers - a whole society stood embittered, confused, and helpless before the great catastrophe. The search for an immediate scapegoat led, irrationally and ironically, to the disappointing pot of gold - many blamed the World's Fair as the cause of their misfortune.²⁷

By the end of 1874, twenty-eight of Vienna's seventy-two banks were still solvent; by 1879 only fourteen remained. The number of locomotives manufactured in Vienna declined within two years from 199 to 29, the workers employed in their production from 5400 to 1800. Employment in other branches of Viennese industry fell proportionally, in some cases by over 40 per cent. The building industry was held up for two more years by work in progress on the city expansion, but in 1876, this too declined by 50 per cent, remaining in a depressed state until the early eighties.²⁸ The luxury trades understandably languished from an abrupt decline in the number of conspicuous consumers. The low point of the crisis in trade and industry was not reached until 1876.²⁸ Social statistics reveal a measure of the despair and impoverishment that afflicted Viennese society: arrests, mainly for theft, rose from 15,000 to 24,000 from 1872 to 1874; suicides increased at an equally alarming rate.²⁹

The political consequences of the Great Crash were rather more subtle, the most immediate and telling blow falling on the young but thriving Social Democratic workers' movement, which was temporarily crushed by the onslaught of massive unemployment.³⁰ More important in the long run was the damage to the image of the liberal Grossbürgertum, its economic philosophy, and its title to political leadership.³¹ While the Crash cast serious doubt, even in some liberal minds, on the wisdom of entrusting the general welfare to the unregulated pursuit of individual interests, the subsequent revelations of corruption involving Reichsrat deputies and high state officials brought discredit to the liberal ministry³² and cast suspicion on the ruling majority in the Vienna City Council as well.³³ "The cries of 'corruption and be-

trayal' issuing from every quarter in the wake of the Great Crash were directed squarely at the ruling Liberal Party. The reactionary and radical parties gained flocks of adherents," observed Gustav Kolmer, noted liberal historian of Austrian parliamentarism.

The extent of the damage to the older parliamentary leaders became apparent in the campaign for the first "direct"³⁵ Reichsrat election in November 1873. A clamorous band of young German liberals staged a revolt against their elders under the slogans, "... a party of clean hands! Down with the party of corporate directors!" In Vienna the democratic movement took heart, moving to the offensive alongside the young radicals.³⁶ The democrats organized a vigorous campaign through their district clubs and, not having to contend with the Vienna curial system in the Reichsrat election, succeeded in winning five seats in the lower house of the Austrian parliament.³⁷

Although aligned with the "Young Progressives," the five-man club of Vienna Democrats (Wiener Demokraten) was a separate group, constituting the farthest left wing of the German liberal bloc in the Reichsrat.³⁸ They differed with their closest allies primarily in their attitude to the "national question" - the problem of reconciling "the conflict between the national claims of the various peoples versus the demands of the empire, the state."³⁹ While the Young Progressives gave priority to promoting and maintaining German preponderance over the Slavic peoples of the Monarchy, the Democrats were prepared to seek accommodation on the national issue as in the best interests of liberalism and the Empire as a whole. "Like the German clericals, the Vienna Democrats were Austrians first, and then Germans."⁴⁰

As a five-man contingent, the Vienna Democrats hardly reckoned as a political force in a body of 353 deputies.⁴¹ Fully conscious of their legislative impotence, they used their parliamentary voice rather to "speak out the window" in hopes of influencing public opinion and mobilizing popular

support for their program.⁴² All were active debaters receiving extensive coverage in the more progressive papers,⁴³ if not in the Neue Freie Presse, which was and remained a mouthpiece of the conservative liberal Grossbürgertum.⁴⁴ The Vienna Democrats also appeared regularly at voters meetings and political gatherings⁴⁵ to lecture and lead discussions on pertinent issues and developments in state and commune. Three of the five were also members of the Vienna City Council, and here, in the smaller pond of communal affairs, their situation and prospects seemed a good deal brighter than on the high seas of national politics in the Reichsrat.

The three double-deputies, Johann Schrank, Johann Steudel, and Johann Umlauf, were the major spokesmen of the Far Left in the City Council, as well as prime movers behind an attempt to create a party organization outside the chamber in the Third Curia electorate utilizing the network of district democratic clubs. By 1874 this network covered all the districts, serving as centers for electoral agitation and the dissemination of information on such questions of public interest as the gas monopoly, confessional legislation, tax and school reform, the water supply, the transit system, the state of the economy, etc. By the Association Law of 1867, the clubs were forbidden to unite or even communicate with each other, while the state maintained a suspicious watch over their activities to assure strict compliance with the rules. A government representative (Kommissar) was present at every meeting and entitled to close it should the tone or topic of discussion seem overtly critical of the established authorities or tending to public disorder.⁴⁶

The democratic leaders did, however, manage to circumvent these restrictions and found a central union to determine common policies for all the clubs by taking advantage of a "loophole" in the law permitting an individual to belong to more than one club. Thus a new club, the Vienna Democratic Society (Wiener Demokratische Gesellschaft - hereafter V.D.S.) was organized in late 1872 which, while not officially in

league with the district associations, was directly linked to them through individual members. This personal bond was reinforced by a Central Electoral Committee having three representatives from each district who were to coordinate campaign programs and strategies of the various clubs.⁴⁷ The Central Committee also rallied when necessary to counter slurs against the democrats in the conservative liberal press, a tactic frequently employed to discredit the democratic leaders.⁴⁸

A further link was created through a privately published newspaper, the Demokratische Zeitung (hereafter DZ), which reported at scrupulous length on Reichsrat and City Council sessions, election campaigns, and club activities. The paper was edited and largely written by Johann Schrank, chairman of the Democratic Club of the Seventh District (Neubau) until he took over direction of the V.D.S. at its founding.

Born in Vienna in 1830, Schrank was a Doctor of Laws with an advanced degree in national economy; he had also studied medicine and served as director of a business college before his election to the City Council by the Third Curia in 1866. With a strong sense of civic responsibility and untiring zeal for his party's cause, Schrank was active on behalf of public education, suffrage extension, and reform of Vienna's provisioning system. He was not wealthy, and so counts with a minority of Councilmen whose political involvement constituted an economic sacrifice.⁴⁹ A doer, organizer, and cogent though temperamental speaker,⁵⁰ Schrank was the acknowledged chief of the democratic party until his death in 1881. He also sat, as did a number of more ambitious Councilmen, in the Lower Austrian Landtag and on the provincial school board.⁵¹

The aim of the V.D.S. was to effect a united front of the left by establishing a central authority embracing all the district clubs and assuring they "proceed according to a common policy in all matters ... particularly in elections."⁵² The idea was to change the inbred local character of the district clubs by shifting their emphasis away from personal

rivalries and neighborhood concerns to a central program and leadership.

The call for a "unanimous consolidated advance of the democratic party" was addressed to both internal and external weaknesses - to personality conflicts and dissension within the ranks as well as to the unfavorable public image imposed on the movement by the conservative liberal press and supporters of Mayor Felder.⁵³ A widely broadcast picture of the democrats as uneducated radicals, intoxicated as much by their rhetoric as by the beer they were said to consume in enormous quantities at their meetings in assorted Gasthäuser, was regarded as a major handicap by their leaders.⁵⁴ The new society's charter manifested this overriding concern with projecting a respectable image; and while it sounded sufficiently vague to ward off expected charges of radicalism, it also deprived the party of a clearly articulated purpose and program. The purpose of the V.D.S. was stated in as broad terms as the program, which promised little more than to "take into account the interests of the Mittelstand."⁵⁵ The society's purpose was revealed as twofold: one, to erase the prevailing prejudice against the democrats; two, "to bring the democratic idea to bear in all areas of social life, particularly in the realm of education."⁵⁶ In keeping with the former, the V.D.S. was to have its home in the "better" First District or Inner City, and not to meet in the compromising Gasthäuser of the Vorstadt.

As distressing to the democratic leaders as their party's low-brow image,⁵⁷ were recurring instances of intra-party strife and personal feuding within the district clubs at the expense of party unity.

The most serious case of personal loyalties and ambitions sowing havoc in the democratic camp was in the Third District where two competing democratic clubs vied for the favor of the electorate. In May 1872 approximately one-half of the German Democratic Club's 150 members became disgruntled at the failure of the favorite, Dr. Leopold Holly,⁵⁸ to win the club's

nomination for the City Council, and resigned en bloc to form a new club called, with doubtless unintended irony, Eintracht (Unity).⁵⁹ It appears, in light of later developments, that Dr. Holly's rejection was not alone responsible for the schism, but that it aggravated pre-existing tensions caused by a personal struggle for leadership of the club and, very likely, of the movement as a whole.

The actual source of the contretemps in the Landstrasse was a Hungarian-born Jew who was possibly the most original character ever to appear on the stage of Viennese politics - Dr. Ignatz Mandl. The son of a wealthy industrialist, Mandl was born in 1835 to a privileged existence he was not at all inclined to enjoy. Probably more to satisfy parental than personal ambitions, he took a degree in medicine, a profession he never practiced and no aspect of which seems to have interested him in the least.⁶⁰ He developed instead a passion for politics and a consuming zeal for civic reform that bordered on the abnormal, causing Mayor Felder, for one, to believe him mentally deranged.⁶¹ Mandl was high-strung, intense, and single-minded, but his political effectiveness and the significant, if all but forgotten, role he played in Vienna's political history and in the life of Karl Lueger, could hardly have issued from a madman. Though much regretting that role, the NFP in its final assessment of Ignatz Mandl did not neglect to mention his more commendable traits:⁶²

"Born into comfortable economic circumstances, Dr. Mandl never had to earn a livelihood. From his young manhood he took an interest in public life and an active part in the political clubs. He combined a particular gift as a public speaker with tenacious diligence and uncompromising zeal. He easily mastered any question of interest to him, acquiring a profound knowledge of communal affairs that well served his ambition to play a dominant role in the city's political life."

Ignatz Mandl was no more nor less radical than the progressive liberals of his time, yet he differed from them significantly in his essentially economic approach to politics and in being less concerned with adding voters to the rolls than

with seeing to it that the existing electorate knew what it was voting for and about. He believed deeply in representative government as a two-way institution which could only function properly if the official sector was one, designed and committed to serve the public interest, and two, subject to the influence of an informed and vigilant citizenry. Both Mandl and Felder were to a large extent victims of their own fixed ideas. Whereas Felder refused to allow for the fallibility of bureaucrats, who as Mandl pointed out were only human and subject to the same temptations and proclivity for error as anyone else, Mandl overestimated the average citizen's interest in maintaining the strict control over government that defined his constitutional duty.

Mandl's conception of democracy was articulated in a pamphlet he addressed to the Reichsrat in conjunction with a debate over a new business profits tax.⁶³ He begins by noting that the deputies in favor of the measure represent their voters' viewpoints as little as those against - for the simple reason that the voters know nothing at all about the government proposals and, hence, cannot possibly have any opinion about them. "People only learn about them from newspapers which are invariably party organs, or from speakers with various political or business associations who give misleading interpretations." Mandl's wrath is aimed at a propaganda campaign that has succeeded in turning public opinion - as expressed in petitions and public resolutions - against a tax reform he considered clearly in the public interest. Only in those clubs where a "well-informed ... public-minded nucleus was able to explain the true content and purpose of the tax reform," was the agitation against it successfully thwarted. An unknowing populace has been misled to oppose legislation aimed at a more equitable distribution of the tax burden, by arguments based on the distorted perspectives of special interests.

The thrust of this diatribe is not against the ignorant voter, but against the "special interests" - banks, railroads

and industrialists - which through their formidable influence in the press and government were undermining the representative system. Mandl blames both the "unhappy suffrage regulations" and the indifference of the legislature for the political apathy and ignorance of the electorate. "Just as in the pre-March days," the pamphlet concludes, "the government is determined to keep the limited understanding of the subject from interfering with the legislative wisdom of the high authorities."

Mandl's criticism of the suffrage and a ruling establishment that negated the principle of popular participation in government, closely followed the democratic party line. He was distinguished from the other democratic leaders less for his views than for the relentless intensity with which he held, expressed and promoted them.⁶⁴ As an extremist in a moderate cause, Mandl was a paradox to thoughtful contemporaries, and an easy target for ridicule by the conservative liberal press. An astute observer who wrote from a working acquaintance with Dr. Mandl, and was not without respect for his ideas, portrays him as a man hopelessly imprisoned by his own certitude:⁶⁵

"He was for his purposes an excellent speaker, had truly practical ideas for the city's development, but was totally incapable of comprehending an opposing opinion and was entirely inaccessible to ideas other than his own; he dismissed anyone who failed to support him unconditionally as either narrow-minded or corrupt."

Dr. Mandl's political career began with his election to the Landstrasse District Committee as a candidate of the German Democratic Club. The District Committees were a vestige from the time before the Vorstadt suburbs were incorporated with the Inner City in 1850 at which time these local councils were transformed into administrative arms of the executive.⁶⁶ They were to carry out directives from the Rathaus and supervise the local network of municipal services; they were also empowered to deliberate on local needs and bring local complaints and requirements to the attention of the

City Council. These partially administrative, partially representative organs were made up of eighteen members selected in the same way as the City Council, with six seats for each curia; only unlike the Council, where one-third of the seats reverted each year, these bodies were elected all at once for three-year terms. They chose a chairman from their midst who served as executive link between the district and mayor. On the whole they tended to regard themselves more as guardians of local interests than as instruments of the mayor and municipal bureaucracy.⁶⁷ They helped to maintain the strong district orientation of Viennese politics,⁶⁸ and served as a common stepping-stone and training ground for men with political ambitions. It was as a District Committeeman that Ignatz Mandl acquired the familiarity with municipal affairs and the important contacts that prepared his way to prominence and notoriety.

The extent of Mandl's ambition became apparent shortly after the democratic split in the Landstrasse and formation of the rival club Eintracht, under whose auspices Mandl called a meeting to discuss the prospects for a democratic union or "ways to achieve a common course of advance (gemeinsames Vorgehen) of the democratic clubs of Vienna."⁶⁹ Most probably the Eintracht initiative was a strong impetus to the founding of the V.D.S. not only as a painful incidence of poor party discipline, but as a threat to the entrenched democratic leadership. In any case, Mandl's project was preempted by the founding of the V.D.S. which promptly urged, to no avail, the dissolution of Eintracht and return of its members to the German Democratic Club.⁷⁰ Eintracht continued to exist as a second democratic club in the Third District.

In the spring of 1873 Eintracht's favorite son, Dr. Holly, was elected to the City Council with the support of both democratic clubs and Dr. Mandl campaigning furiously against the newly founded liberal Bürgerclub,⁷¹ denouncing it for political chicanery,⁷² and as "the offspring of pseudo-liberalism and corruption."⁷³ The spirit of cooperation between the

two democratic clubs did not, however, survive the German Democratic Club's failure to support Dr. Mandl's bid for a Reichsrat candidacy the following summer.⁷⁴ Bitterly disappointed, Mandl turned against his allies to seek revenge and political solace with the enemy he had rudely maligned in the spring elections - the Felderite Bürgerclub. By the spring of 1874, the (now) "ex-democratic club Eintracht"⁷⁵ was in full accord with the Bürgerclub, which had welcomed the defectors and agreed to sponsor Ignatz Mandl for election to the City Council in the Second Curia.⁷⁶

While Mandl's change of heart regarding the Bürgerclub might be explained as a reaction against the democratic leaders who refused to accommodate his political ambitions,⁷⁷ his ability to carry a club of fifty-odd members into the enemy camp requires some elucidation. Personal magnetism and Mandl's knack for stirring up excitement surely played a part in the loyalty he inspired; as did the imprecise boundaries between the various shades of liberalism which permitted shifting allegiances on a personal basis without the necessity of denying basic principles.⁷⁸ A third factor holding Eintracht together was its regional composition, its members being primarily residents of one section of the Third District, Erdberg, which bore exclusive grievances not shared by the other two parts (St. Nicholas and Weissgerber). In contrast to the latter which boasted an elegant quarter housing the great foreign embassies (Diplomaten Viertel), and a residential area favored by civil servants and well-to-do pensioners, Erdberg was a relatively poor neighborhood of small cheap houses owned by master artisans fallen on hard times and numerous "gardeners" who grew vegetables for the local market. Modernity had come to Erdberg in the form of a huge candle factory that polluted the air, a large brewery, and the city's main slaughterhouse.⁷⁹ In 1875 Erdberg was described as "an area neglected by the march of progress ... our high spring water has not reached here ... dirty unsprayed streets leave people choking in a sea of dust"⁸⁰ These people, in

short, had every reason to question the concern of the German Democratic Club (located in Weisgerber) for its problems and by the same token, to favor Dr. Mandl's practical ideas and appreciate his avowed concern for their welfare.

The socio-economic diversity of the Landstrasse accounts in large measure for the sharpness of political conflicts there and the reputation it developed for political liveliness far above the ordinary.⁸¹ In more homogeneous districts political life was subdued by the absence of strong opposition to the dominant political-social group.⁸² Yet the power struggle in the Landstrasse was sharply intensified by the presence there of a number of strong-willed articulate individuals with a keen interest in political developments. Notable of these among the democrats was August Krawani,⁸³ born in 1829, member of the Student Legion in 1848, and editor of the KVZ. An able journalist and political organizer, Krawani played a leading part in the German Democratic Club as well as in the central democratic union, and was chiefly responsible for his paper's undying antagonism towards Ignatz Mandl and Karl Lueger. With the other democratic leaders, he was sympathetic to the problems of the small producers who voted in the Third Curia and concerned to raise the political consciousness of an apathetic electorate; he was not, however, always in agreement with the approach and methods of the democratic movement's chief organizers.⁸⁴

Of these, the most important after Johann Schrank were Johann Steudel and Ferdinand Kronawetter. Steudel was chairman of the Far Left City Council fraction and one of that body's most active and outspoken members since his election in 1861 by the Third Curia of the Fifth District (Margareten), a heavily populated low-rent mixed working and lower-middle class area.⁸⁵ Steudel was typical of those Councilmen who, though qualified by wealth to vote in the First Curia, did not count with the "doctored" professionals and successful businessmen who sat on the right as members of the Mittel-partei.⁸⁶

Born in Vienna in 1825, the son of a suburban innkeeper, Steudel managed to acquire a secondary school education and some knowledge of the world before his academic and cultural advance was halted by a lack of means. He thus retained a certain resentment, born of frustrated ambition, against his more advantaged and better educated colleagues; his great ambition was to be elected mayor, or at the very least vice-mayor. Steudel became a wealthy man through the rapid appreciation in value of the land on which the family inn was situated; its sale brought him a fortune and the opportunity to pursue a full-time political career.⁸⁷ A fluent speaker and champion for the interests and political rights of the small taxpayer, Steudel sat in the Landtag and Reichsrat as well as the City Council; here he showed infinite concern for the everyday travails of his constituents, bombarding the Council with an endless stream of petitions regarding the condition of the streets, sewers, houses, schools, water and gas lines, etc. He showed little sympathy for the city's larger building projects, however, being an adamant foe of big spending and the long-term loans raised to cover such extraordinary expenditures.⁸⁸

If Johann Schrank was the overall coordinator and publicist of the democratic movement, and Johann Steudel its major voice in the City Council, Ferdinand Kronawetter was its intellectual light and chief spokesman in the Reichsrat on questions of principle and general significance - church-state relations, the imperial budget, the "social question," and the democratization of political life, particularly with respect to the suffrage and remaining restrictions on freedom of the press and association. Kronawetter was a child of the Viennese Handwerkerstand, or artisan class, who made his way to a career in government and politics by the academic ladder available to poor, but intellectually gifted, students even before the liberal school reforms.

Born the son of a locksmith in 1833, Kronawetter was blessed with a passion for learning and a remarkable memory that

caused his Reichsrat colleagues to name him "the walking encyclopedia." After earning a Doctor of Laws degree, he joined the Vienna Magistrat as a legal counsellor, gaining a reputation as an outstanding jurist and champion of communal interests.⁸⁹

A democrat by conviction and high-minded idealist, Kronawetter abhorred special-interest politics, holding to the belief that a democratic society could be founded on the public virtue of individuals seeking not their private interest, but the welfare of the community at large. Congenial and unpretentious, Kronawetter retained a touching faith in the good will and common sense of the Viennese Kleinbürger whose dialect marked his speech and whose political upbringing was his sacred cause. He appeared to be totally without high personal ambition, and in a political milieu where opportunism, personal striving and corruption were commonplace, he clearly stands as a beacon of integrity, fairmindedness, and selfless devotion. Ernst von Plener, a leading Liberal at odds with most of Kronawetter's democratization schemes, paid tribute to his high principles dubbing him, "the conscience of the parliament."⁹⁰

While Kronawetter, the youngest of the Five Vienna Democrats in the Reichsrat, was but a schoolboy in 1848, Johann Umlauf, the oldest, born in 1807, was a hardened veteran of the Revolutionary Days; he had served on the Committee of Public Safety and been jailed for distributing subversive literature.⁹¹ A journalist by profession, and temperamental non-conformist by nature, Umlauf remained one of the few "old fighters" ever prepared to rally anew under the banner of liberty, equality, and brotherhood against the enemies of democracy.

First elected to the City Council in 1862, he was an active debater for the Far Left and an advocate of votes for women at a time when this idea was dismissed even by democrats as absurd or a danger to social order.⁹² Depending still on the slogans and mannerisms that had swept the masses

to the barricades in 1848, Umlauft occasioned much satirical comment in the conservative liberal press which held him up as typical of "the heroic talkers and quarrelsome world-improvers who talk much and do little."⁹³ Voters too were beginning to question the relevance of traditional liberal rhetoric to their deteriorating economic situation - the steady rise in living costs coupled with decreasing incomes and vanishing security.⁹⁴

One area where the democrats' political philosophy translated into useful social and economic action was education, which remained a general liberal panacea for the ills of the Kleinbürgertum. Particularly active in sponsoring kindergardens, the democrats also pushed hard for trade schools, which were badly needed to upgrade the skills of an artisan class largely ignorant of, and in many cases indifferent to, the more stringent demands of modern business and machine-age production methods.⁹⁵ Only an educated citizenry would furthermore ever be in a position to rightfully claim and exercise the promise of popular sovereignty.⁹⁶

Friedrich Dittes, the fifth of the Vienna Democrats in the Reichsrat, personified his party's strong commitment to a modern secular public school system. A practical-minded realist, Dittes had come to Vienna from his native Saxony to serve as the first director of the city's Teacher Training Academy (Pädagogium) founded in 1868.⁹⁷

While the high proportion of "Doktoren" in the democratic party leadership appeared to offset the group's image as unlettered boors, it also tended to bring the level of discourse in the party press and meetings to a height of intellectual gravity and abstraction well beyond the interest or capacity of the general membership. The clearest example of the democrats' failure to strike a resounding chord with their program of voter enlightenment is the brief and pathetic history of their weekly journal, Demokratische Zeitung, (hereafter DZ) which began publication on 3 January 1874 with 560 subscribers.⁹⁸

The paper's four pages were filled with long essays on political developments all over the world, reprints of Kronawetter's and Schrank's Reichsrat speeches, articles devoted to City Council business, annual reports of the several democratic clubs, and brief notices of political meetings throughout the city. While fascinating source material for the historian, it is not difficult to understand why this publication lacked subscribers, not to speak of readers.

The DZ was not, of course, intended, and certainly made no effort, to compete with the artful journalism of the major dailies, or the diverting features of the illustrated tabloids, which sold up to 30,000 copies a day.⁹⁹ Yet the party hierarchy was generally of the opinion that the paper's low price and high principles should make it an irresistible buy for every thoughtful and progressive citizen.¹⁰⁰ Editions ran withal to about 1000 copies, a fact bemoaned by the finance committee of the V.D.S. which noted that if even one-half of the society's 4000 members bought subscriptions, the paper would be a profitable enterprise.¹⁰¹ Its failure to capture a wider audience was a regular topic of discussion among the democratic leaders, some regretting the public taste for "scandal and frivolity," others the general political apathy, and a few prepared to draw a direct line between the DZ's performance and the program elaborated in its columns. The paper's demise in May 1875, coupled with the party's reverses in the recent City Council elections, provoked a general reappraisal and debate on the party's aims and strategies.¹⁰²

The debate was primarily between August Krawani, who saw much to criticize in the party's excessive vagueness and "equal rights for all" doctrine, and Ferdinand Kronawetter, who denounced as opportunistic the former's suggestion that the democrats narrow their perspectives to gain more support within the Viennese Bürgertum. Rejecting Krawani's assertion that universal male suffrage endangered the political survival of the German-Austrians who would be swamped in a sea of

Slavs and Social Democrats should that blessing come to pass, Kronawetter insisted that "the purity of the democratic idea not be contaminated by self-serving concepts of a particular political faction." "Equal rights for all," need hold no terrors for the future, for a society grounded on that principle would by definition safeguard the rights and liberties of all, Kronawetter concluded to the general approval of the gathering, and to the general dismay of a more realistic minority.

This argument highlights a basic problem of the democrats, namely the difficulty of establishing a political identity apart from their more conservative liberal cohorts and, related to this, their inability to agree on a common course of action. Basically their dilemma was having to choose between power and principle: they could either, as Krawani would have, tailor their principles to the German-national mode and merge with the liberal Progressives,¹⁰³ or remain as they were, an isolated, ineffectual vanguard waiting for the moral force of their political ideal to assert itself. Kronawetter alone chose the latter alternative, becoming in the end the last "pure democrat" in the Reichsrat.¹⁰⁴

Whereas on the state level, the democratic policy of maintaining a deliberately imprecise image in hopes of broadening the party's appeal was, in a time of increasing national and social tension, hopelessly naive, on the municipal level it had a certain rationale. For while the prospects of building a bridge between the warring groups in the Reichsrat¹⁰⁵ were slim indeed, in the more homogeneous City Council, the possibility of uniting the fractured Bürgertum under a loosely defined progressive liberalism remained viable, at least until the early eighties.

The democrats tried on the whole to steer clear of the unenfranchised working-class,¹⁰⁶ and didn't dream of promoting a separate movement of the Kleinbürgertum against the ruling liberals.¹⁰⁷ They hoped, rather, to enhance the position of the "industrial middle-class" (gewerbliche Mittelstand)

within the liberal political framework. When Johann Schrank spoke of a "united consolidated advance of the democratic party," he was not thinking of storming the bastions of finance capitalism or overthrowing liberal rule in the Rathaus (as Karl Lueger was to do in the 1890's), but rather of rearranging the internal balance in favor of the Left and Far Left fractions.

Mayor Felder proved in all respects equal to the democratic challenge, taking advantage of the party's structural weaknesses, its inability to mobilize an apathetic electorate with its fuzzy program, and its debilitating fear of appearing unduly aggressive or lacking in cultural refinement. The structural weakness of the party was evident both in the district clubs and in the on again, off again, alliance between the "two Lefts" in the City Council. Ignatz Mandl's election to the City Council with a bare majority over his democratic opponent, KVZ publisher Eduard Hügel,¹⁰⁸ was a severe blow to the Third District democratic organization and so, to the movement as a whole. It is, however, interesting as illustrating the unfixed character of the parties at the time, that the Bürgerclub's second candidate (Mandl's running mate) was not only endorsed by the German Democratic Club, but declared himself opposed to the curial system and announced his intention to join the Left in the Council, if elected.¹⁰⁹

The problem of bringing the Left and Far Left under a single political roof with the chance of overpowering the liberal conservative majority, came to the fore with the Council elections for mayor and vice-mayors in the winter of 1874-1875. The Left proved determined to elude the net of party discipline cast by Johann Steudel of the Far Left; when the two fractions failed to agree on a mayoral candidate, the Left asserted its independence - as well as reservations on Steudel's qualification as a "non-Doktor" for the mayoral dignity - by casting blank ballots, while the Far Left voted for Steudel. Felder was elected to a third term on 17 Dec-

ember 1874 with 70 votes, 30 going to Steudel, and 16 left blank.¹¹⁰

The Far Left was outraged at the implied insult to their favorite, reminding the renegades that their candidate had been supported by the Far Left in the 1871 election, leading it to expect reciprocation. "The Left has shown that either it does not want an "Ungraduierter" (one without an academic title) as mayor, or it does not believe Steudel deserving of proper recognition for his long years of outstanding service," wrote the DZ on the day following Steudel's disgrace.¹¹¹ The offending blank ballots of the Left not only dashed Steudel's hope of commanding a united opposition in the City Council, but dimmed the prospect of forging such a union at all.¹¹² The Left repeated its show of disesteem for the chairman of the Far Left by voting for the Mittelpartei candidate, Julius Newald, for first deputy-mayor, only at last supporting Steudel for the second deputy post.¹¹³

To compound these disappointments, the democrats had not after all succeeded in ridding themselves of the dread association with "shirtsleeves" and "beerhalls". While the democratic press made a point of commenting on the "well-dressed appearance" of members attending meetings of the V.D.S.,¹¹⁴ it is unlikely that formal attire prevailed at the district club sessions, which continued to be held in assorted Gasthäuser throughout the Vorstadt. In any case, the democrats' -actual or purported - lack of social graces created a stir in the Council and press on the eve of the 1875 elections.

The incident in question and its repercussions are worth recounting for the light they shed on the interplay of personalities and politics in the City Council and press. At the installment of the two deputy-mayors, both of the Mittelpartei, Felder expressed his thanks to the Council for electing men from his party to the deputy posts and thereby, "maintaining the unity of the presidium."¹¹⁵ Felder's comment was greeted on the left by a roll of "scornful laughter" (höhnischem Lachen) from democratic leader Johann Schrank.

Schrank's outburst was prompted by the injustice Felder's prized "unity" represented to the opposition in the Council. The Far Left had long contended that, in view of its strength in the Council, not to speak of the larger number of voters it represented, it was entitled to at least one of the vice-mayoral posts.¹¹⁶

Felder, however, had no sympathy for this aspiration, and pointedly remarked after the session was adjourned that he regarded Schrank's intrusion upon the solemn proceedings an "unacceptable impertinence." When a member of the Far Left retorted that Felder would have to put up with the bad manners he had himself provoked, the Mayor replied, "The Council should then rather elect a Hausknecht (servant-porter) as mayor, or someone who won't take offense at beer-hall manners in the Council chamber."¹¹⁷ Taking Felder's comment as an unwarranted slur against its leader, Steudel, the Far Left called a meeting with the Left in hopes of lodging a joint complaint against Felder's insulting remark. The Left refused to be drawn into the affair, however, and no formal protest was made.¹¹⁸

Not satisfied with this "Retreat of the Shirt-sleeve Democrats,"¹¹⁹ the pro-Felder press made a great deal of the affair, using it to launch a vicious attack on the head of the V.D.S. Schrank's by now, "fiendish laughter" was depicted as a "show of manners that are perhaps usual in the democratic club of Neubau, but are out of place in the City Council." The NFP questioned the wisdom of the democrats defending a leader whose behavior could only reflect poorly on the fraction as a whole, without bothering to mention Felder's offensive remarks.¹²⁰

Though a minor ripple on the political waters, this verbal skirmish illustrates certain characteristics of Viennese politics on the eve of the 1875 elections. It shows the highly personal nature of party antagonisms, which, in lieu of substantive political differences, were played out by means of abusive insinuation, biased press reporting, and character

assassination. It also highlights the underlying social tensions between the Gross- and Kleinbürgertum, which Felder did nothing to alleviate, but rather aggravated; first by ignoring the left's aspiration to a seat on the presidium, then by adding insult to injury with his rude comments about Schrank and his constituency. As much as Felder's refusal to concede a measure of formal recognition to the opposition, irritated the democrats, the manner in which he persistently voiced his disdain cut still deeper.¹²¹ Indeed, with a powerful press and solid majority behind him, Felder had neither reason nor need to court an opposition he regarded "unworthy" of the civic honor a misguided electorate had bestowed on it.¹²²

The democrats, on the other hand, with no clear idea or program, or other basis on which to attack the seemingly invincible mayor, had little to offer as an alternative to the regime of the Mittelpartei. The best one prominent democrat, Franz Löblich, had to offer in the event of his party gaining the six to eight seats it needed to win a majority in the Council, was the assurance that the "democrats are not communists, altogether not such dangerous characters as represented by their enemies ... and understand how to manage things just as well, if not better than they have been managed up to now."¹²³ The one issue that might have justified the democrats' existence, but which they allowed to slip through their fingers for lack of a practical approach, was the protection of the economic interests of the small tradesman and producer.

The ineptitude that characterized the democrats' approach to economic questions and their inability to translate the promise to "defend the interests of the Mittelstand against privilege and special interests,"¹²⁴ was clearly demonstrated in their involvement in what was known as the Gasfrage (Gas Question).¹²⁵ The history of this "question" reached back into the pre-March days when an English company, the Imperial Continental Gas Association (hereafter ICGA) suc-

ceeded in ousting a small indigenous firm and winning the public lighting concession for the Inner City. The trying circumstances that gave rise to the notorious Gasfrage can be traced to the first contract between the City of Vienna and the ICGA.¹²⁶

In their ignorance of chemistry, inexperience of "modern" business ethics, and unconcern for the private consumer, the pre-March Vienna Magistrat signed an agreement heavily weighted in favor of the producer and distributor of lighting gas. Thus in 1843 the English company gained the exclusive right to set up street lantern in the Inner City and furnish them with "the purest gas," without anyone thinking to ask for a more specific measure of quality than "purest." Although the Magistrat reserved the right to test the quantity and quality of the gas it was paying for, it failed to set up its own control mechanism, just as it failed to establish a means of being informed of the company's production methods and costs. The City was never able, for example, to find out what kind of coal and how much was used in the manufacture of its gas, what the company paid for it, how much gas was produced, the amount of capital invested in the gas works and pipelines, or the sum of dividends paid out to stockholders of the ICGA. Without such insight into the technical and financial operations of the company, the city could not accurately judge its performance or compile the necessary data on which to base terms for renewal of the contract in later years.¹²⁷ The City's stipulations that the price of gas was to be reduced if the price of coal fell, or that production methods be adapted to take advantage of technological developments, were, in effect, worthless.

In some ways more significant than the contract itself, were aspects of the relationship between the City and the gas company not mentioned at all; such as the company's free use of the space its pipes occupied beneath the city streets, and the services, or lack thereof, delivered to the private consumer. The point is not so much whether the consumer was

satisfied (as he was in the first years, gaslight in any form being a great improvement over the oil lamps and candles in use before), but that the City of Vienna lagged far behind other cities in recognizing its responsibility to provide the general population with gas as the most secure, economical, and sanitary means of lighting before the advent of electricity, and, short of producing the gas itself, to at least exercise a certain control over the price and quality of the stuff piped into private homes.¹²⁸ Instead, Vienna's private consumer was given over to exploitation by a monopoly that the city could neither live with, nor, once the network was extended to the Vorstadt in the 1850's, any longer live without.

The only concessions to the public interest made by the ICGA in a new twenty-five year contract signed in 1852 were contained in a promise by the company to "keep lights burning after midnight during floods or on a dark Christmas, without cost."¹²⁹ The strongest weapon the City put into the hands of the gas monopoly was an assurance of preference over possible competitors, all things being equal, when it came time to renew the contract.¹²⁹

Relations between the ICGA and the Viennese consumer began to sour in the late 1850's, and with the revival of political life after 1861, the public gained a forum for its dissatisfaction over the quality and price of its lighting fuel. As complaints voiced at electoral meetings and in the press multiplied, the Gasfrage became a major preoccupation of the City Council, where a strong sentiment developed in favor of the City building its own gas works.¹³⁰

In 1867 the Council appointed a commission, including a number of outside experts in the field, to study the question and make recommendations. Although opinions varied as to the legal and economic feasibility of a municipal gas works, the commission established the important principle of the City's obligation to protect the private consumer of lighting gas, insisting that any new contract include the

regulation of private as well as public lighting.¹³¹ In the event the English company refused the City's terms, the construction of a new works was to be opened to competitive bids, providing no risk was involved that the consumers would be worse off than before. This last was the crucial question, yet one that could not be satisfactorily answered without access to the records of the ICGA. There was, under the circumstances, no way to determine whether, or to what extent, the English prices really were exorbitant - whether the city or anyone else could produce and deliver gas at a sufficient saving to justify the trouble and expense of replacing the English monopoly. That the latter promptly reduced the price of gas sold to individuals from 4 to 3.5 Gulden per 1000 cubic feet, upon hearing of the commission report, suggested there was at least room for negotiation.

The City Council accepted the commission's report and voted to open competition for a new gas works while holding the door open to renegotiating the existing contract. The trouble with this approach was pointed out in a memorandum drawn up by influential professional and business associations as concerned as the private consumer with the quality of service provided by the ICGA. These noted that the City could not expect to receive any serious offers, due to the English company's reserved right to meet any competing proposals; any interested bidder would have to see that he was only being used to force concessions out of the ICGA.¹³² Both groups, dismissing any theoretical objections to government-run industries in general, proposed in this "special case" that the City proceed without delay to building a municipal gas works and assuming responsibility for any damages the courts might later award to the English. The Council, however, decided to keep all options open, and with the onset of an economic depression in 1873, turned its attention to more pressing matters than the cost of lighting gas.¹³³

Yet consumer agitation continued, growing more heated with the approaching date on which the City would have to decide

whether to renew the contract, due to expire in 1877, or seek an alternative to the ICGA.¹³⁴ As the City was obligated to give the company two years notice in the event of a change, this decision had to be taken in the spring of 1875. By the summer of 1874, the Gasfrage had become a political question in the City Council, with the Mittelpartei supporting Mayor Felder's attempt to reach a compromise with the English, and the Far Left opposing any arrangement with the "foreign monopoly," while pursuing a disorganized quest for an alternative. Opposition enthusiasm for a non-profit communal gas works was far from unanimous, however, and opinions remained divided as a variety of schemes were presented in the democratic clubs to an increasingly baffled and frustrated public.¹³⁵

One such scheme, presented by Far Left Councilman Fronz to the German Democratic Club of the Third District, reveals some of the practical and theoretical questions behind the confusion in the public mind. The practical question raised by Fronz was that of the enormous cost of building a new municipal works which would have to amortize an investment the ICGA had long since covered by charging even higher rates than the consumer was already paying. The theoretical question was that of government venturing at all into the industrial sector where experience had shown private management to be more efficient and less costly than public. His solution was for the Gas Consumers Association to team up with the City and form a corporation financed partly by the City, partly by shares sold to consumers. Such a combined front of the people and their government would, presumably, worry the English into selling their gas works to the new corporation, which need then simply pass on its profits to the consumer in the form of lower rates.¹³⁶

After acceptance by the various clubs and a group of large (industrial and business) consumers, the Fronz plan proved upon further consideration not to be the best possible solution to the Gasfrage. It was criticized for two reasons: one, for ignoring the fact that large individual shareholders

would stand to gain more from high rates than from low ones, and could hardly be expected to forego a profitable return for the benefit of the non-shareholding, lower-income consumer (rates, in short, would not go down); two, in the unlikely event the English would be willing to sell their establishment, the poor condition of the pipes, which the company acknowledged to leaking 15 per cent of the gas they carried, made the present system a bad investment.¹³⁷

Similar difficulties arose with every expedient devised to oust the English company short of the City building and operating its own facility. In august 1874 the DZ came out strongly for this solution, countering the economic and philosophical arguments against a communal works by pointing out that these were based on no more than conjecture.¹³⁸ There was no concrete evidence that a public concern would be less well managed than a private one; on the contrary, the opposite had been demonstrated in Berlin where consumers paid one-third less for gas to their publicly owned utility. Against the argument that a municipal gas works would violate the principle of a free economy, the paper asserted, "Different rules apply to industry, where free competition is appropriate, and to a public institution such as a gas works, which is necessarily a monopoly for technical reasons." The paper also questioned the wisdom of taking over the existing plant with its decomposing pipes, figuring from this condition that if the City built its own system, with only half the leakage admitted by the English, it could easily compete with them on price.¹³⁹

Unrealistic as this argument might have appeared to a business economist, it was not intended to persuade a board of directors, but was essentially a political argument seeking public support for a Far Left initiative in the City Council. Signal for a renewed attack on the ICGA was the election of a new gas commission in August 1874, in which the two Left fractions enjoyed a commanding majority. Engineered by Schrank and Steudel on a day when absenteeism gave them a

temporary majority in the chamber,¹⁴⁰ this coup provided the democrats, if not with decisive power in the matter, at least with the moral force of a "commission" opinion to back their position, should they manage to settle on one.

Although the Gas Commission voted to cancel the English contract, it proved unable to take a firm stand either for or against a communal works. In October 1874 it agreed to consider outside bids while reserving the right to construct a facility of its own.¹⁴¹ As it turned out, the Commission's hard line against the English was a blessing in disguise for Mayor Felder, who had been authorized by the City Council (where in contrast to the Gas Commission, his own majority prevailed when necessary) to proceed on his own to negotiate a settlement with the English.¹⁴² While they brought the city no closer to a real solution of the Gasfrage, the Commission's scattered maneuvers looked serious enough to worry the ICGA, and as Felder rightly calculated, bring it to offer important concessions in the final negotiations.

In the meantime, the democrats wrestled with the dilemma of promoting a project as expensive (and increasingly unnecessary as the English turned conciliatory) as a city gas works at a time the general economy dictated the utmost fiscal restraint on the part of the Rathaus.¹⁴³ Contributing to their doubts and internal disagreements, was a series of articles in the Morgenpost designed to bring "the dreamers" to their senses by soberly pointing out the economic realities they had chosen to ignore - for one, the highly questionable statistical basis of their optimistic projections, for another, the already overburdened city treasury.¹⁴⁴ Condemning the whole idea of a municipal gas works as a "fantasy," the paper warned against an "expensive experiment" that would bring no economic relief, but most likely added burdens to the taxpayer. "Dislike of the English company must not blind us to the fact that they offer the only guarantee that gas rates will at least not go higher," the paper declared.¹⁴⁵

Declining enthusiasm and unanimity in the democratic camp

was evident in a lack of comment on the Gasfrage in the DZ through the winter 1874-1875, and the paper's failure to rebut the Morgenpost articles. Despite this obvious restraint on the part of the left, opponents of the democrats continued to rail at them for "making a party question of a business whose merits and disadvantages should be weighed in practical terms," and for "a Don Quixote campaign that leads nowhere."¹⁴⁶

Although Steudel informed the Far Left caucus at the end of February that, as no satisfactory offer to compete with the English had been received, the City should proceed with plans to build its own gas works, opinions in the club remained divided; to avoid a divisive showdown, the matter was not put to a vote. The Gasfrage would not be considered a "party question"¹⁴⁷ and the democrats maintained a discreet silence on the matter during the spring elections, doubtless relieved that the awesome decision had been taken out of their hands by the more single-minded Felder.

The rallying cry of the previous summer, when the democrats stood in the front line of a movement demanding, "the English monopoly must be broken!"¹⁴⁸ had turned into embarrassed mumble as the deadline approached for renewing the contract. By 23 May 1875, when Mayor Felder announced the terms of a new agreement he had negotiated with the ICGA, the public was at least prepared for the final capitulation; and in the event, not entirely disappointed with the outcome of the long wearying debate.¹⁴⁹ The City and private consumer were both to benefit from reduced rates, and the City agreed to buy the gas works at the end of twenty-five years at an impartially assessed value. The City also retained an option to terminate the contract in twelve years (1889) with three years prior notice. Most important of all for the public interest was the City's implicit acknowledgement of its responsibility to protect the interests of the private consumer in his ongoing struggle with the ICGA for better and cheaper service.¹⁵⁰ On 25 May 1875, the City Council voted to accept the contract by a vote of 90 to 1, the lone holdout being Eintracht member Josef Huber,

who made a last futile appeal for a city-built and operated gas utility.

The Morgenpost praised the new contract as, "securing for the commune every conceivable benefit." Citing an estimated saving for the City and consumer of six million Gulden in reduced rates, the paper offered the additional consolation that, "everyone will be spared the inconvenience of having the streets torn up to lay a (now happily unnecessary) new set of gas pipes."¹⁵¹ The last issue of the DZ, which appeared four days after the Council's approval of the contract, contained not a word on the resolution of the Gasfrage.

The contract of 1875 was not, however, the final word on the question which would resurface within two years and create a new political furor in the early 1880's when the twelve-year option came up for discussion.¹⁵² The problem would eventually be solved under radically different political circumstances than those prevailing in Vienna in 1875. The man who largely brought about the change and solved the problem, just missed being present at the City Council vote confirming the new contract. Although the spring elections that year took place the third week of April, the newly elected Councilmen did not take their seats until the first of June.¹⁵³

On that day, Dr. Karl Lueger entered the Council chamber for the first time as a delegate of the Third District. The day "marked a turning point in the communal life of Vienna," Cajetan Felder noted in his memoirs, ruefully adding, "... it was a day the city annals can only record in ink of the deepest black."¹⁵⁴ For Felder, the turn it brought was certainly a turn for the worse.

Notes:

- 1 Eduard Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit des Wiener Gemeinderats in den Jahren 1884-1888" (hereafter "Die Tätigkeit ...,") p. 49.
- 2 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 63
- 3 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen ...," pp. 71-72.
- 4 Roland J. Pennock, Democratic Political Theory, pp. 7, 270, 475.
- 5 Vesely, "Der Niedergang des deutschen Liberalismus ...," pp. 256-257.
- 6 Chaloupek, "Der Unvollendete Boom," p. 34.
- 7 Oscar Jaszi, The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, p. 11.
- 8 May, The Habsburg Monarchy, p. 33.
- 9 März, Oesterreichische Industrie ..., p. 140.
Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, p. 380.
- 10 May, The Habsburg Monarchy, p. 65.
- 11 März, Oesterreichische Industrie ..., p. 140.
- 12 Very useful tables on coal and pig-iron production from 1850 to 1914 are supplied in Whiteside, Austrian National Socialism before 1918, pp. 22-23.
März, Oesterreichische Industrie ..., pp. 144-145.
- 13 Chaloupek, "Der Unvollendete Boom," p. 39.
- 14 Gerhard Meisl, "Industrie und Gewerbe in Wien 1835 bis 1845," in Wien im Vormärz, pp. 81-94.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 88-102.
For a vivid description of the society that so happily indulged its taste for the exquisite, see Friedrich Uhl, Aus Meinem Leben, particularly the chapter "Die Gesellschaft Wiens," pp. 81-95.
- 16 Chaloupek, "Der Unvollendete Boom," pp. 34-35.
- 17 Peter Feldbauer, "Wohnungsreform und Wohnungspolitik im liberalen Wien?" in Wien in der Liberalen Ära, p. 151.
- 18 Chaloupek, "Der Unvollendete Boom," p. 37.
- 19 März, Oesterreichische Industrie ..., p. 147.
- 20 Ibid., p. 149.
- 21 Gustav Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, p. 267.
- 22 May, The Hapsburg Monarchy, p. 66.
- 23 The Morgenpost, founded in 1850, was one of the few "independent dailies" representing the Viennese Kleinbürger,

though often chiding him for his careless way and lack of good business sense. Kossdorf, "Die Wiener Lokalpresse im 19 Jahrhundert," pp. 99, 109

24 Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 330-336.

25 Ibid., p. 337.

May, The Hapsburg Monarchy, p. 66.

26 Chaloupek, "Der Unvollendete Boom," p. 39.

27 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 337. The wisdom of the "Volksmund" is to some extent upheld in that the World's Fair fueled already overheated expectations, particularly in the area of building speculation. März, Oesterreichische Industrie ..., pp. 172-173.

I have found no evidence to support the oft-stated opinion that the Crash of 1873 produced a wave of anti-semitism in Vienna, a finding confirmed by Sigmund Mayer, Ein Jüdischer Kaufmann, p. 279.

28 Chaloupek, "Der Unvollendete Boom," p. 40.

29 Morgenpost, 22 August 1876, 8 May 1877.

30 Kaufmann, Sozialdemokratie in Oesterreich, pp. 14-15.

Chaloupek, "Der Unvollendete Boom," p. 42.

31 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen ...," p. 72.

32 Wadl, "Liberalismus und Soziale Frage in Oesterreich," pp. 43, 47-50.

May, The Hapsburg Monarchy, p. 67.

33 "No one believes that the mass of the Viennese population is in accord with the 'heroes' of the Crash and desires the continuing existence (Vortbestand) of the Mittelpartei," wrote the organ of the Vienna Democrats, Demokratische Zeitung, 24 April 1875.

34 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, p. 270.

Also on the ideological repercussions of the Crash and ensuing depression, Lothar Gall, "Introduction," Liberalismus, pp. 13-14; and Wadl, "Liberalismus und Soziale Frage in Oesterreich," pp. 167-170.

35 Until 1873 the Reichsrat was elected by the various Landtage.

36 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol II, p. 279.

37 For Reichsrat elections citizens paying twenty Gulden a year direct tax voted equally. Schneefuss, Demokratie im alten Oesterreich, p. 52.

38 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, p. 281.

39 Kann, The Multinational Empire, Vol. I, pp. 29-30.

40 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, p. 279.

- 41 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, p. 281.
- 42 Demokratische Zeitung (hereafter DZ), 2 January 1874.
- 43 Among these are to be counted the Morgenpost, Konstitutionelle Vorstadtzeitung, Deutsche Zeitung, and until the mid-eighties, Neues Wiener Tagblatt. Marianne Lunzer, Die Entstehung der österreichischen Parteien und ihre Presse, (hereafter Die Entstehung ...) pp. 25-27; also Kossdorf, "Die Wiener Lokalpresse im 19 Jahrhundert," pp. 99, 110.
- 44 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen ...," pp. 69, 81.
Founded in 1864, the Neue Freie Presse (hereafter NFP) gained world renown for its extensive coverage of events around the globe and high level of literary journalism. It became an industry itself, employing by 1873 twenty editors, fifty writers and three hundred and fifty reporters. Its daily editions ran to 35,000 copies. Endler, Oesterreich zwischen den Zeilen, pp. 70-71; H.M. Richter, "Die Wiener Presse," in Wien 1848-1888, pp. 445-446.
- 45 Such gatherings might be anything from regular club meetings to commemorative celebrations of the "March Days" or country outings which had something of the character of American political picnics.
- 46 Karl Gugelmann, Studien zum österreichischem Vereins und Versammlungsrechte, pp. 161-162.
Records of the reports drafted by these police observers are to be found in the Presidial Akten, Niederösterreichische Landesarchiv, Vienna.
- 47 DZ, 17 February 1874, 28 February 1874, 16 January 1875.
- 48 DZ, 6 March 1875.
Neues Wiener Extrablatt (hereafter NWE), 6 March 1875.
- 49 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat...," p. 298, gives a brief biographical sketch.
- 50 Mayer, Ein Jüdischer Kaufmann, p. 241.
- 51 DZ, 18 October 1873.
- 52 KVZ, 17 September 1872.
- 53 Although not a "party press" in the strict sense of the term, the Viennese liberal press which dominated the world of Viennese journalism, exhibited various shadings and emphases of the liberal Weltanschauung to which all the major papers subscribed. The NFP was conservative liberal in that it maintained close connections with the world of high finance, industry and commerce and spoke to the "well-situated intelligentsia". In political questions, it stood on the farthest right wing of Austrian Liberalism. Fuchs, Geistige Strömungen in Oesterreich, pp. 21-23.
- 54 The district clubs generally congregated in these estab-

lishments. Somewhere between a restaurant and a saloon, the Viennese Gasthaus is still today a popular refuge from drab and cramped living quarters - a place where evenings are whiled away in boozy fellowship with the neighborhood "regulars." It is the "club" of the common man.

55 KVZ, 17 September 1872.

56 KVZ, 10 October 1872.

57 Mayer, Ein Jüdischer Kaufmann, p. 251, expresses the contempt of the better educated Bürger for the uncultivated democrats as, "this party whose members have no idea of science, literature, art, etc., and which will necessarily bring about the intellectual decline of Vienna."

58 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," gives a brief biographical sketch, p. 246.

59 KVZ, 17 March 1872; 25 May 1872.

60 NFP, 5 May 1907 (Mandl's obituary).

61 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 294.

62 NFP, 5 May 1907.

63 Ignatz Mandl, "Zur Generaldebatte über das Erwerbsteuer Gesetz im Abgeordnetenhaus," 1870.

64 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 216.

65 Mayer, Ein Jüdischer Kaufmann, p. 253.

66 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 87. Also see above, p. 14.

67 Gerlich and Kramer, Abgeordnete in der Parteidemokratie, p. 141.

68 Ibid. p. 141.

Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit . . .," pp. 96, 99.

69 KVZ, 9 June 1872.

70 Mitteilungen der Wiener Demokratischen Gesellschaft, (hereafter MWDG), 15 June 1873; 1 August 1873.

71 Such clubs were being formed in all districts at the instigation of Mayor Felder who was concerned at the growing popularity of the democratic clubs and hoped to counter their influence by creating similar organizations in hopes of attracting more voters to Mittelpartei candidates. Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 214. The program of the Bürgerclub was all but identical in phrasing to the program announced by the V.D.S. KVZ, 4 March 1873.

72 KVZ, 6 April 1873.

73 KVZ, 20 March 1873

74 KVZ, 22 April 1874; Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 214-215.

75 KVZ, 22 April 1874.

- 76 KVZ, 22 April 1874.
- 77 Mandl blamed the democratic leadership as a whole for his failure to win the Reichsrat nomination that went to Friedrich Dittes. The voters assembly, he claimed, had been packed with "the Mamelukes of Dr. Schrank." MWDG, 1 September 1873.
- 78 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," p. 67.
- 79 Karl Ziak, Das Neue Landstrasse Heimatbuch, pp. 133, 140-141.
- 80 KVZ, 1 April 1875.
- 81 Tagespresse, 13 March 1872, noted the election contest in the Third District was not between differences of principle, but "between Erdberger and Weisgerberer."
- 82 The democrats were weak, for example, in the Eighth District which was strictly residential and middle-class, but totally dominated the Tenth (added in 1875 when Favoriten was separated from the Fourth). Third Curia elections were dull in the majority of districts where the democrats were strong because no one ventured to challenge the leaders there as Mandl did in the Landstrasse. Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit . . .," pp. 92-93.
- Monika Glettler, Die Wiener Tschechen um 1900, pp. 52-53, gives a table denoting the social character of the various districts.
- 83 Oesterreichisches Biographisches Lexicon 1815-1950, Vol. IV, pp. 238-239.
- Presidial Akten der Niederoesterreichischen Statthalterei (hereafter PANS) P2 ad 3, No. 4593, includes a police report naming Krawani as "the standing spokesman for the German Democratic Club."
- 84 DZ, 29 May 1875; and see below, pp. 81-82.
- 85 Banik-Schweitzer and Pircher, "Zur Wohnsituation der Massen im Wien des Vormärz," in Wien im Vormärz, p. 170.
- 86 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," p. 78.
- 87 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," pp. 403-404.
- Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 280.
- 88 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," pp. 66-67.
- 89 Edith Sakrawa, "Ferdinand Kronawetter," pp. 4-14. This 1947 dissertation is the best available work on this "last of the pure democrats." He deserves better.
- 90 Ibid., pp. 20-22, 30, 67-70, 124.
- 91 DZ, 18 October 1873; 21 March 1874.
- 92 KVZ, 25 November 1873, provides the interesting comment, "When women cease to be women, they still won't be men."

- 93 NFP, 21 April 1875.
- 94 Feldbauer, "Die Wohnverhältnisse der Unterschichten im Franzisko-Josefinischen Wien," JVGSW, 1978, pp. 365-367.
KVZ, 18 December 1876.
- 95 Salmeyer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgertum ...," pp. 74-81.
Boyer, Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna, p.50.
- 96 DZ 18 April 1874, "Die Arbeiterfrage ist eine Bildungsfrage." Also, 4 July 1874, "Die Volksschule im Licht der demokratischen Principien."
- 97 DZ, 24 October 1874.
- 98 DZ, 3 January 1874.
- 99 Kossdorf, "Die Wiener Lokalpresse ...," p. 195.
- 100 DZ, 18 July 1874.
- 101 DZ, 20 March 1875.
- 102 DZ, 29 May 1975.
- 103 KVZ, 12, 13 October 1875.
- 104 Sakrawa, "Ferdinand Kronawetter," p. 72.
- 105 Whiteside, The Socialism of Fools, pp. 18-23.
- 106 The Democrats in the Reichsrat did no more for the Social Democrats than include the working-class in their call for "general direct suffrage," and failing that agreed to support workers representation "in some form that meets their justifiable demands." DZ, 7 March 1874.
Wadl, "Liberalismus und Soziale Frage in Oesterreich," pp. 81-85, describes the cooling of relations between the organizing workers and the Vienna democrats as the latter took fright at the socialist ideology permeating the labor movement.
- 107 The Association of Small Producers, (Kleingewerbebund) complained regularly that the V.D.S. was ignoring their problems. DZ, 15 December 1874; 6 February 1875.
- 108 KVZ, 22 April 1874.
- 109 Fremdenblatt, 9 April 1874.
- 110 KVZ, 18 December 1874.
Felder's majority declined with each election from 84 in 1868 to 76 in 1871 to 70 in 1874.
- 111 DZ, 19 December 1874.
- 112 DZ, 16 January 1875.
- 113 DZ, 6 February 1875. Steudel was not elected, the honors going to Friedrich Uhl, also of the Mittelpartei.
- 114 KVZ, 27 June 1873.

- 115 Neues Wiener Tagblatt (hereafter NWT) 5 February 1875, carries the fullest account of the incident.
- 116 Morgenpost, 8 January 1875; DZ, 6 February 1875.
- 117 Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt (hereafter IWE), 6, 7 February 1875.

NWT, 5 February 1875, "Der Gebildete Hausknecht" was highly critical of Felder's tactless and unjustified association of the democratic leaders with one of the lowest social denominations.

- 118 IWE, 9 February 1875.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 NFP, 7 February 1875..
- 121 Neuwirth, "Dr. Cajetan Felder ...," p. 102.
- 122 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 313.
- 123 DZ, 17 April 1875.
- 124 MWDG, 5 January 1873.
- 125 A comprehensive documented analysis by an outsider of the whole question is John H. Gray, Die Stellung der Privaten Beleuchtungsgesellschaften zu Stadt und Staat (hereafter Die Stellung ...).
- 126 Gray, Die Stellung ..., p. 3.
- 127 Ibid., pp. 12-17.
- 128 Ibid., p. 22.
- 129 Ibid., pp. 22-25.
- 130 KVZ, 3, 7, 18 July 1874.

The city of Berlin threw out a similar English monopoly as early as 1847 after twenty years of unsatisfactory service, and built a communal gas works. Herzfeld, (ed.) Berlin und die Provinz Brandenburg im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert, p. 39.

- 131 Gray, Die Stellung ..., p. 32.
- 132 Ibid., p. 36.
- 133 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen ...," p. 85.
- 134 Gray, Die Stellung ..., pp. 37-40.
- 135 Neues Fremden-Blatt, 10, 13, 14 April 1875.
- NFP, 10 April 1875.
- 136 DZ, 26 May 1874.
- 137 DZ, 27 June 1874.
- 138 DZ, 29 August 1874.

- 139 This "leakage argument" was not only based on figures

that could neither be proved nor disproved, it left out important factors involved in calculating the prospective profits of an industry whose complexity was scarcely grasped by politicians in search of an easy and popular solution. Gray, Die Stellung ..., p. 36.

- 140 DZ, 15 August 1874.
- 141 DZ, 17 October 1874.
- 142 DZ, 23 January 1875.
- 143 DZ, 27 February 1875.
- 144 Morgenpost, 21, 25 February 1875.
- 145 Morgenpost, 25 March 1875.
- 146 NFP, 20 April 1875.
- 147 DZ, 27 February 1875.
- 148 NWT, 25 June 1874; also KVZ, 3, 5, 8 July 1874.
- 149 NWT, 7 March 1875.
- 150 Gray, Die Stellung ..., p. 498.
- 151 Morgenpost, 26 May 1875.
- 152 Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit ...," pp. 162-182.
- 153 Gemeinderatsitzungsprotokolle (hereafter GRP),
1 June 1875.
- 154 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 215.

Chapter Four

THE ELECTION OF 1875

"Oh, ich bin vielleicht mehr
Demokrat als alle Anderen"

Karl Lueger
12 April 1875

"Wenn ... dann sind Sie der
erste rebel im Gemeinderat."

Karl Seitchek
12 April 1875

In 1875 a party system, consisting of orderly, cohesive, and ideologically distinct political groups co-existing and competing for power through an electoral process, was still far from being established, either within the Vienna City Council or in the voting habits of the enfranchised public.¹ The political groups that existed fall rather into the category of "cadre" parties, described by Maurice Duverger as an embryonic form of political organization common to developing political systems in nineteenth century Europe.² Characteristic of such parties was their select membership, which was recruited with an eye to "quality" rather than "numbers;" what counted was personal prestige, political skill, or a sizable fortune that could be tapped for campaign contributions. The "cadre party" recognized only activists and voters; there was no place in its ranks for mere sympathizers, and no attempt made to enlist voters on a permanent basis.³

The basic organizing unit of such parties was the parliamentary caucus, its contact with the electorate established as needed through electoral committees made up of local notables and elected representatives. These committees recruited candidates and financial backing for election campaigns. The activity of the caucus revolved around parliamentary leaders who commanded respect and loyalty on the basis of individual qualities and achievements, and a perception of shared interests between them and their party following.⁴ The power of leaders was not based on popular adulation or massive political organizations and was, hence, highly vulnerable to slight shifts within the decentralized and loosely structured framework of the cadre system.⁵ Cajetan Felder is a classic example of such a leader, while Johann Schrank and Johann Steudel, though they may have preferred otherwise, also fit the model.

The electorate, prodded into life only intermittently to cast its ballots and then retire into the twilight whence it came, was the third essential element in Duverger's model.⁶ Its political preferences, like those of the delegates it

elected, were shaped more by personal sentiment and the social attitudes and interests of their class than by doctrinal commitment or an all-encompassing world-view. To the extent that nineteenth century Liberalism was a world-view with certain specific strategies and aims,⁷ it might be considered a shared doctrine of the politically active Viennese in 1875 - the point is that the different parties shared basically the same Weltanschauung,⁸ although they correspond to Duverger's two caucus types where social allegiances are concerned:

"The one, conservative, grouping aristocrats, industrial magnates, bankers; the other, liberal or radical ... composed of tradespeople and lesser industrialists, civil servants, lawyers, teachers, journalists"⁹ The Vienna picture also diverged from this general scheme in that the electorate was divided into three rather than two main groups, the educated professionals comprising a separate group in the Second Curia potentially capable of shifting the balance between the upper and lower middle classes.

Where Duverger's model is most appropriate to the Vienna situation, is in his description of the "transformation ... in the nature and role of parties The first parties," he writes, "were purely electoral organizations, of which the prime function consisted in ensuring the success of their candidates: the election was the end and the party the means."¹⁰ The Bürgerverein, the conservative liberal club formed to supervise and coordinate electoral activities in the districts with the aim of safeguarding Felder's majority, was precisely such a "party."¹¹ The Viennese democrats, on the other hand, were attempting to create a more permanent union of voters and representatives, and were beginning to use elections to disseminate propaganda and widen their membership - they were prepared to invite the voters to active participation in political life through their party press and year-round club activities. They had begun to turn the "initial situation" around to the point where, in a mature party system, "the party has become the end, the election the

means."¹²

The democrats were, however, handicapped in their urge to become a popular party, not only by the curial system and the limited application of their general ideas to the practical concerns of city government,¹³ but above all, by their inability to project an unequivocal image clearly distinct from and opposed to the ruling liberals. This difficulty in defining themselves is indicated by the fact that the political groups in the City Council and electorate had no fixed names and appropriated each others' designations when it suited them to do so.

All groups donned the "liberal" label at times, usually with the praenomen "real" (wahrhaft) while at the same time dubbing the opposition "pseudo" or "false". The democrats, for example, referred to themselves variously as the "Liberal Party,"¹⁴ the "truly free-thinking party" (wahrhaft freisinnige Partei), the "Democratic Party," and the "Progressive Party,"¹⁵ while disparaging their counterparts as the "Conservative Party," the "seeming" or "half-liberals," or just the "Doktoren," or "regressives" (Rückschrittler).¹⁶ The conservative liberals also referred to themselves as the "Liberal Party"¹⁷ and frequently the "Citizens Party," (Bürgerpartei)¹⁸ but never as "conservative."¹⁹ The nomenclature used by the press to distinguish the parties, tended to accord with the political leanings of the various journals, the democratically inclined papers commonly referring to the Mittelpartei and its associated clubs as the "Conservative Party,"²⁰ while editors attempting to hold a relatively independent position might adopt the politically neutral designations, "majority" and "opposition" for the two major groups.²¹ The word "liberal" or "Liberal" was retained on all sides as a free-floating adjective whose precise meaning could be inferred, if at all, only from the context in which it was used.

To add to the confusion, the City Council fractions, Mittelpartei, Reformklub, Left and Far Left, did not correspond exactly to the parties represented by the political clubs.

The democrats, for example, who identified closely with the Far Left fraction, sometimes referring to it as "our fraction," at other times stressed their common affiliation with the "Two Lefts."²²

Contrasting to the situation in the Reichsrat, where parties divided along relatively fixed lines of policy according to basic political attitudes and principles regarding the constitution and structure of the Empire, the parties in the City Council merely represented a variety of approaches stemming from a common political tradition. In their commitment to the Constitution of 1867, a secular state and society, a free economy, public education and German language and culture, the Viennese fractions together corresponded to the German Liberal Left of "Verfassungspartei" in the Reichsrat. The powerful clerical conservatives and federalists who in the state legislature represented the interests and viewpoints of political Catholicism,²³ the landed aristocracy, and the non-German nationalities,²⁴ had no counterparts in the Vienna City Council.

Political alignments and allegiances in the latter tended to be as uncertain as the terminology applied to them. It was not uncommon for politicians²⁵ to switch parties, form splinter groups, vote against party directives, or even seek and win electoral support from the opposing side.²⁶ In the 1875 municipal elections, for example, a candidate resigned from the Far Left on the eve of the elections, charging its leaders with "insupportable dictatorial methods," and accepted a candidacy from the Bürgerclub.²⁷ Far from condemning this act of treachery, his erstwhile comrades merely voiced regret at losing so diligent a member, while some were prepared to support his re-election despite his defection to the enemy.²⁸ There were also cases of conservative liberal alliance with the declared arch enemy of all liberals, the Catholic Conservatives, against the democrats, as well as conservative liberal cooperation with democrats against a Catholic conservative candidacy.²⁹ The Catholic conservatives were

just beginning to organize political clubs in the Viennese districts³⁰ and had not succeeded in electing a single candidate to the City Council by 1875. "The population has documented its liberalism," exulted the NFP over the failure of the clerical effort.³¹

The Far Left defector cited above illustrates another aspect of the political system's immaturity - an unwillingness by many to submit to or recognize the need for party discipline. "The leaders alone make the party decisions, depriving individuals of free judgment and forcing them into the slavish yoke of party discipline," he complained.³² An aversion to binding party commitments was also heard in voters assemblies and in the conservative and progressive liberal press. At the outset of the 1875 campaign, the Morgenpost expressed a hope that "people would not vote on the basis of party or personal interests, and thereby widen the gap between left and right."³³ The NFP deplored the fact that such a gap even existed in the City Council, insisting time and again that party politics had no place in communal government. "The population is tired of the senseless party agitation (Parteitreiben) in the neutral sphere of city government," commented the paper in one editorial, continuing " ... it is absurd to carry the political concepts and tactics of great politics (Grosspolitik) into the communal chamber.... This should be composed of experienced professionals capable of making decisions on the basis of practical considerations. ... What is wanted are men who will work much and talk little."³⁴

While much of this criticism was itself politically motivated and aimed at the Far Left which boasted the most active debaters, papers sympathetic to the more progressive elements also expressed dismay at the "growing presence of party politics" in the City Council. The NWT, while admonishing the democratic leaders for "pulling the strings of discipline too tight," blamed the "conservatives" as well for the "cliquishness" prevailing there.³⁵ Vestiges of political individual-

ism, combined with uneasiness as to the propriety of party divisions on municipal questions to bolster the conservative argument against "party politics." In posing the question: what indeed does the price of meat, the gas and water supply, the condition of the streets or the design of a new slaughterhouse have to do with the principles of 1848 and how one interprets them twenty-five years later? the conservatives were striking at a major weakness in the democratic drive to attract the municipal voter - their failure to find an application for their principles in the mundane sphere of city problems.

The conservatives, who tended to represent themselves as a non-party, merely as the "respected citizens,"³⁶ made the most of the democrats' dilemma. They pointed out the foolishness of party politics in an area where a person's professional training, not his idea of the rights of man, should be the first consideration of the voter at the polls; and they attributed the shortcomings and endless delays in city business on "the ridiculous time-consuming debates," engendered by party politics. Considering the year-long fruitless preoccupation with the gas question, the conservatives had a point, although as the majority party they bore the ultimate responsibility for the Council's over-all performance.

Their self-characterization as a non-party was also open to question, for although the democrats had built a stronger organization in the district clubs and V.D.S., Mayor Felder was as insistent on party loyalty and discipline as the democratic leaders; he had furthermore, called the Bürger-clubs into being, "to combat the organized and disciplined ranks of the democratic party,"³⁷ with their own methods. Felder had reason to be concerned for his majority after the 1874 elections gave the Two Lefts a combined total of 50 seats - 31 Far Left and 19 Left³⁸ - enough to pose a real challenge to the Mittelpartei which was plagued with chronic absenteeism in contrast to the left parties.³⁹ The democrats, who never pretended not to be, indeed wished desperately to be, a "par-

ty," welcomed the increased conservative agitation, noting that their opponents would be subject to closer public scrutiny and "forced to show their colors," if they intended to meet the democrats on their own ground.⁴⁰

The conservative liberal candidates took little notice of this new urgency to square with the voters, however, remaining on the whole as vague and non-committal in their statements to the voters as before. Typical in this respect, was the assertion of a veteran Councilman before a voters assembly, "Your fathers voted for me, and therefore you will vote for me." Questioned on a host of city problems, among them the perennial headaches of the gas and water systems, he observed, "... irregularities are bound to arise in such large enterprises;" and when asked to comment on the City's method of tax assessment, he left the podium indignant that, after twenty-five years of serving the commune, he should still have to submit to interpollations."⁴¹ The candidate was Franz Ritter von Khunn, a Vienna-born master baker and veteran of the first citizens committee in 1848 and "revolutionary" as well as "neoabsolutist" Councils, who had been knighted for his years of public service.⁴² Khunn represents the local "notable" variety of political activist who clung to the idea that politics is a matter of good will and deference to those who paid the most taxes by those who paid the least. Described by Felder as the incarnation of "Wiener Gemüthlichkeit," Khunn presided over the Landstrasse Bürgerclub and served as vice-mayor from 1869 to 1875 when he stepped aside to make way for the "younger" Eduard Uhl.⁴³

Conservative liberal candidates rarely engaged in political discussion and tended to justify their administration of the city by pointing with pride to the engineering and building projects that were transforming the life and face of the Imperial Capital and Residence. Though pleased to take credit for these achievements, they were less than gracious in accepting public criticism when things went wrong or were left unattended. When mounting complaints about the new

water system, for example, could no longer be dismissed as an undue clamour by people, "too stupid to appreciate the wonders of modern engineering,"⁴⁴ those responsible were more than ready to share the blame with their colleagues on the left. The NFP, which took the lead in reporting on the problem also took care not to single out the majority liberals, but to criticize the entire Council for "penny-pinching" and failing to make an adequate study of the water project in the first place.⁴⁵ Only two years after its festive inauguration new leaks were discovered almost daily in the pipes carrying the precious water, and the reservoir was found too weak to withstand the pressure of the water it was built to hold. Entire districts were shut off while frequent repairs were underway, and the reinforcement of the reservoir walls was expected to entail further interruptions of service.⁴⁶

The water problem was only one of many that plagued the citizens and gave them cause to question the efficiency of their men in the Rathaus. Due to improper grading and poor natural drainage, the new city cemetery (Zentralfriedhof) was a virtual swamp and declared a potential health hazard by medical authorities.⁴⁷ The city's sewers were outdated and inadequate, and the subject of numerous petitions by unhappy citizens complaining of the "mephistophelean vapors" that befouled the air in their districts. Streets were in a chronic state of disrepair and filth,⁴⁸ schools were overcrowded,⁴⁹ and an antiquated provisioning system was considered responsible for disproportionately high meat and bread prices.⁵⁰

Except for the charge of "party strife" which was seen as contributing to the Council's inefficiency, these mishaps were not viewed as primarily political in origin by the liberal press and spokesmen. They were rather attributed to inexperience,⁵¹ incompetence, and indifference on the part of many Councilmen, and the consequent overburdening of the relatively small number of able and diligent members.⁵² Also contributing to the chronic overburdening of the Council agen-

da, was the city fathers' reluctance to turn over minor business to the Magistrat for fear of surrendering an iota of their precious authority.⁵³ The overburdening and concern with time-wasting trivialities, in turn made it increasingly difficult to recruit and hold able and diligent Councilmen who were more interested in the "order of the day" than "in reading the evening papers and chatting among themselves ... walking about the chamber ...," and otherwise whiling away time during plenary sessions.⁵⁴

The democrats alone attributed the failings of the city administration to primarily political causes; above all, to the curial system which prevented "real" popular government and, hence, an administration serving the interests of the community as a whole. A statement of principles issued by the V.D.S. in January 1875 noted how little the present system accorded with the democratic ideal of municipal representation: "Instead of the elected standing in harmony with the mass of the people, ... few are privileged to vote and cliques rather than parties rule, while the Mayor and his majority base their support on the large property owners ... a class hardly deserving the confidence of the people at large."⁵⁵ The democratic program, as this pre-election statement indicates, remained largely political and dependent on their gaining a more influential voice at the expense of the Council majority.

The major problem with this approach was its generality and want of a more concrete or incisive reason why voters should prefer a majority of the left to one of the right, which promised identical benefits if only the voters would forget about "parties" and elect "capable men of good will," instead of phrasemakers.⁵⁶ The democrats were not unaware of the difficulty of sharpening their image as against the conservative liberals who likewise held out the promise of better schools, a more equalized tax burden, and stricter fiscal management. Even the suffrage issue was no longer the exclusive preserve of the democrats after a motion to abolish the

curial system had passed in the Council by a sizable majority in 1872.⁵⁷ The frustration brought on by this situation was expressed by the democratic leaders in the organ of the V.D.S.:⁵⁸

"It is characteristic of the City Council that the programs of other parties sound just as free-thinking as that of the Far Left. Only the Far Left, however, holds to its principles and rejects opportunism, half-measures and special interest politics ..."

Although they approached the limits of the liberal spectrum, both left and right remained within its ideological boundaries where basic principles were concerned; both believed that society was best served by a minimum of government intervention in its economic life,⁵⁹ and held to a vision of progress through the free development of individual capacities.⁶⁰ Religion was "a private matter," and the authority of the Catholic Church to be confined to the spiritual sphere.⁶¹ Private property, secular education, and responsible citizenship were intimately related in a shared view of progress that held great store by individual self-improvement.

It was in this area of individual striving as the motor of progress, that the conservatives were most liable to the charge of representing a "pseudo-liberalism" - one that by holding on to political privilege and enjoying government economic favors (as in the much criticized subsidies to private railroads),⁶² was negating the principle of equality by which all stood an equal chance to rise in the world. Intent on avoiding the least identification with "socialist elements,"⁶³ the democrats did not ask special favors for the disadvantaged, but only that none be dispensed to the propertied and well-born at the expense of individual rights and the public interest.⁶⁴ Even those standing furthest to the right, however, shrugged off the epithet, "reactionary," by pointing out that they were not opposed to popular suffrage in principle, but merely to ignorance holding sway over intelligence, or the poor disposing of the common treasury.⁶⁵

As stated above, all the contending fractions in the City Council were facing the same direction, but intent on proceeding at different rates of speed. While the democrats were seen by conservative liberals as "wanting to move ahead too quickly," they were in turn warned against becoming "a party that stands still."⁶⁶

As far as the "united advance of the democratic party" was concerned, however, it became clear after the 1875 election that the Viennese voter, as well as a number of candidates calling themselves "democrats," were less than enthusiastic about giving their all to a "popular" party that had so little to show for its pains and promises. Although the Far Left lost only two seats, the extent of the damage must be assessed in terms of the whole situation, taking into account democratic expectations of victory,⁶⁷ the prominence of the losers, the small majority of some winners, and the fact that in five districts, the democrats faced no opposition.⁶⁸

The democrats and progressive liberals,⁶⁹ put up 29 candidates for the 44 seats to be filled, leaving 15 uncontested to the conservative liberals; if all 29 had been elected, the Two Lefts would have gained a majority in the City Council. While a grand sweep on that order was not expected, neither was the disaster that struck two of the democrats' most prominent Councilmen in the presumably safe Fourth District (Wieden). Here the venerable "'48er" Reichsrat deputy, and founding member of the V.D.S., Johann Umlauft, and another "fiery" champion of the opposition since 1861, Wilhelm Ostwald,⁷⁰ both lost their seats by two-thirds majorities. The defeat of the two democrats running in the Second District, while not so stunning a reversal, dashed a strong hope of winning new ground for the opposition. A decline in support was also registered in the Ninth District, a stronghold of the Far Left where another democratic "notable" prevailed by a small margin of 53 per cent, as against 91 per cent for the previous year's democratic candidate. In the Landstrasse

poll, the German Democratic Club candidate, KVZ publisher Eduard H $\ddot{u}$ gel, won against the Eintracht-B $\ddot{u}$ rgerclub candidate, Dr. Holly, with a small majority of 55 per-cent.⁷¹

While it would appear that the conservative liberals were gaining ground in the Kleinb $\ddot{u}$ rgertum from these Third Curia election returns, a closer look reveals less a trend towards conservatism, than disenchantment with the democratic leaders and voter receptivity to the call by moderate and conservatives for "professionals" (Fachm $\ddot{a}$ nn $\ddot{e}$ rer) to replace the "talkers" in the City Council.⁷² The Fourth District produced clear evidence of resentment against the "old guard's" monopoly of the Third Curia seats, and the argument of the "ancients" that, "The young should not take the places of the old, but take new places away from the conservative opponents."⁷³ The sixty-eight year old Umlauf's vulnerability was not only a question of age and long tenure, but of the political style he shared with his partner in defeat, Ostwald, fourteen years his junior. Both were aggressive controversial characters, given to flamboyant oratory and marked as the prime "Phrasenhelden" of the democratic party. Of the two candidates who ran against them with the support of the local B $\ddot{u}$ rgerverein, one was a civil engineer who professed allegiance to no party, the second was a Far Left Councilman with nine years experience who had been edged out of his place as the Fourth District was forced to give up one Third Curia seat to the newly formed Tenth District (Favoriten). Although he initially withdrew from the race in favor of his older colleagues,⁷⁴ this defector, Heinrich Ornauer, had second thoughts about sacrificing his seat for the good of the party after receiving the offer of a candidacy from the rival B $\ddot{u}$ rgerclub.

A clear case of dissatisfaction with the V.D.S. leaders occurred in the Seventh District where the successful opponent of the official democratic candidate proclaimed himself "an anti-Schrank democrat."⁷⁵ And in the Ninth District, Franz L $\ddot{o}$ blich, whose previous election had been nearly unanimous, had to struggle for a bare majority against an industrialist

with no political experience who promised the voters he would "... work hard and talk little."⁷⁶ A survey of the various voters assemblies also revealed a greater interest on the part of the concerned citizen in such questions as the gas and water utilities, taxes, and the poor state of the economy than in the "Freiheitsfragen" that so absorbed some of the most prominent democrats.⁷⁷

In the Third District, Dr. Holly's strong showing, with forty-five per cent of the vote against the German Democratic Club's candidate, again does not indicate a shift of voter sentiment to the Bürgerclub, but rather the doctor's personal popularity and the already proven ability of Dr. Mandl's Eintracht to pull a significant number of votes from the democratic organization.⁷⁸ The value of the alliance for the Bürgerclub can be seen in the composition of its joint electoral committee with Eintracht. The first three officers were Eintracht "ex-democrats;" the second secretary, Hof und Gerichtssadvokat Dr. Karl Lueger,⁷⁹ a young lawyer of uncer-political persuasion with personal ties to the Eintracht leadership,⁸⁰ who was also a Bürgerclub-Eintracht candidate for a one-year unexpired term in the Second Curia. He was elected on 23 April 1875 with 340 votes out of 459.⁸¹

This, his first election to public office, marks the beginning of Karl Lueger's long and stormy love affair with the Viennese voter whom he never ceased to court from that day on.⁸² It was also the beginning of an extraordinary career that would change the face of Viennese, and then Austrian politics over the next quarter century. Though Lueger grew only gradually into the role of public figure and Vienna's foremost political personality, he exhibited here, on the threshold of his career, exceptional qualities and characteristics setting him apart from his fellow candidates and then from his colleagues in the City Council. It was not only his uncommon youth,⁸³ striking good looks,⁸⁴ academic title and profession that distinguished him among men mostly a generation older and trained in business, industry, or trades of one

kind or another,⁸⁵ it was also the vast discrepancy between his lowly origins and high professional status as well as favored position among the affluent patriarchs of the Landstrasse Bürgerclub. For Lueger did not, like Johann Steudel, come from a poor family that struck it rich, but from a poor family that had nothing and stayed that way.

His father, Leopold Lueger (1806-1866), was a country boy who had left the family farm in Lower Austria⁸⁶ to serve as a common soldier. After savoring the bustle of the Empire's larger towns, and learning to read and write in a "regimental school," Leopold developed a taste for urban life and a passion for self-improvement that all but precluded his return to the plodding ways of rural life once his tour of duty was over.⁸⁷ He accepted instead a government post such as the Austrian State reserved for honorably discharged, slightly disabled veterans of small means and little learning. First given the job of "Portier" (combined servant-doorman) at the Theresianische Ritterakademie,⁸⁸ he was promoted to laboratory attendant at the Polytechnic Institute (after 1866 Technische Hochschule).⁸⁹

Leopold never earned more than the modest wages of a servant, supplemented by a small military pension; he was fortunate, especially as a newcomer to Vienna where inexpensive housing was desperately scarce,⁹⁰ to have decent living quarters provided free of charge as a term of employment. Into a small apartment on the ground floor of the Polytechnic Institute, he brought his Viennese bride,⁹¹ and here the couple's fourth child, Karl, was born on 24 October 1844. Three days later, the infant was baptized in the neighboring Karlskirche - a baroque edifice that remains Vienna's grandest symbol of the harmony that once existed between the Habsburg State and the Catholic Church. That Lueger was born and spent his first years virtually in the shadow of this looming monument, may have only a certain symbolic meaning for the life of a man who was to found a great Catholic political party.⁹² Yet the proximity of the church, set in a great

open square on the outskirts of the Inner City, certainly offered a different prospect from the drab narrow streets lined with closely grouped tenements in which the mass of the Viennese populace went about their daily lives.⁹³

More important to Karl Lueger's development, in any case, than his physical surroundings, was the nature of his home life, in particular the character of his father.⁹⁴ For though Leopold was short on external accoutrements, he had seen something of the world beyond the local wine shop, and clearly envisioned something better than his own limited existence for his only surviving son. Although oddly enough the later "Volksredner" (popular orator) did not speak a word until he was four years old, by the time the boy was enrolled in a local Catholic primary school at age six, he could read and compute simple figures. From the first he was an excellent student rising easily to the top of his class, and displaying a degree of intellectual promise that could only have seemed astonishing in the offspring of a Hausknecht.⁹⁵

But Leopold was no more an ordinary Hausknecht than his son was an ordinary boy; for rather than while away his free time in the neighborhood Gasthaus, Lueger's father attended Institute lectures and managed to glean a modicum of scientific learning from the professors whose paraphernalia he cleaned and kept in order.⁹⁶ While Leopold's personal quest for knowledge did not directly advance the family fortunes, it earned the respect and admiration of his superiors, and their willing assistance where his son's schooling was concerned.

At home, nothing was spared to assure a proper education for the precocious child, and the entire family, including his mother and two sisters, was enlisted in the all-consuming enterprise of fostering the boy's rise in the world.⁹⁷ While his father instilled the discipline and ambition that kept him at the head of his class throughout his school years, Lueger's mother served as devoted accomplice, drilling her son in Latin for hours at a time without understanding a word

of the whole tiresome procedure.⁹⁸ From his doting, warm-hearted mother, Lueger also most likely acquired his congenial and lively temperament, his native wit, and love of music and nature; through her too, he touched the heart and mind of the Viennese masses who were to cheer him to political stardom as one of their own - "ein echtes Wienerkind," who knew, and to a large extent shared, the tastes, enjoyments, humor, speech, and outlook of the Kleinbürgertum, in whose midst he was ever "at home," despite his higher education and years of converse with the elite.⁹⁹

At the age of ten, Lueger was admitted as a day student at the prestigious Theresianische Ritterakademie upon the recommendations of his teachers and the professors at the institute where his father was employed.¹⁰⁰ Although by Lueger's time no longer the exclusive preserve of the high nobility, the Theresianum, as it came to be known, was imbued with an aristocratic tradition that molded its students, regardless of their background, into an elite corps, painstakingly trained and educated to fill the highest ranks of government service. Social and national origins were all but obliterated in the school's process of creating that "special being," as one graduate observed, the "Theresianist."¹⁰¹ It was an education that conferred, in addition to a diploma in humanistic studies and access to higher education, immense status, a vibrant patriotism, and life-long membership in a fraternity of the empire's ruling elite.¹⁰²

If as the evidence suggests, Lueger was given from his earliest childhood to believe himself singled out for a special destiny, his education at the Theresianum could only have reinforced that tendency. It gave him, in any case, the polish of a lord and impeccable academic credentials that would have opened the doors, had he chosen, to a ministerial career.¹⁰³ That he chose the political, rather than the all but prescribed bureaucratic route to high office, might be attributed to the changing times, particularly the advent of self-government and the strong impact of constitutionalism

on Lueger's student generation. "By 1867," writes Andrew Whiteside, in a slightly different context, "politics had superceded ritual as the first concern of the fraternities."¹⁰⁴

As a law student at the University of Vienna, where he enrolled in 1862, Lueger showed, with many contemporaries, a strong predilection for democratic ideas but, in contrast to the prevailing mode,¹⁰⁵ an aversion to the German-national tide that swept over the students of the 1860's. As a leading member of the German Academic Legion, he earned a reputation as a staunch Habsburg loyalist¹⁰⁶ and vociferous opponent of the radical pan-German movement that looked to Prussia as the rightful fatherland of all German-speaking peoples.¹⁰⁷

In October 1866, four months after the death of his father, Lueger passed the final state examination admitting him to the legal profession.¹⁰⁸ His mother took over a small tobacco shop awarded her by the State as a form of widow's pension, and the family moved to the Third District where Lueger clerked in various law offices and prepared for his doctoral examination. He was promoted to Doctor of Laws on 21 January 1870, the day after defending forty-six theses prepared in fulfillment of his degree requirements. Among the more interesting of the "theses," indicating his views and ideological predilections at the time, are the following:¹⁰⁹

All citizens of age who can read and write should have active and passive suffrage.

The nationality idea is reprehensible and a hindrance to the progress of mankind.

Freedom of commerce is a goal to strive for, but one whose immediate realization is impossible.

The consumer tax on bread and meat is unjust.

The true sinking-fund of state debts is in the augmentation of the general welfare.

Compulsory schooling is the basis for true public education.

Statistics are the basis for good government.

The condition of the working class demands a much more exact and comprehensive statistical inquiry than has been made up to now.

Taking "working class" in its broader sense to include the artisan and service trades as well as factory and day laborers, Lueger's views and positions as expressed here may be said to have contained the basis for the political decisions and conduct that characterized Lueger's first seven years of public life. This is not to say that his doctoral theses constituted a specific program Lueger set out to achieve, but rather that the underlying ideas and sympathies emerged repeatedly in the course of his career as a rising party leader and municipal reformer.

Lueger's introduction to politics outside the student world where he had made a mark as a fiery patriot and temperamental speaker,¹¹⁰ came through his membership in the German Democratic Club of the Third District. Here, as a fresh-baked academic and brash young man with ideas of his own, and doubtless eager to shine as was his wont, in the company of his fellows, he came into bitter personal conflict with the club's leader, August Krawani.¹¹¹ Instead of departing with the Eintracht exodus, however, Lueger moved to the conservative liberal Bürgerclub where he had professional connections and was welcomed with open arms and the promise of playing the leading role denied him by the democratic organization.¹¹²

Lueger became in effect the protege of "Papa" Khunn, who boasted to Mayor Felder that he had found in the handsome glib young lawyer the perfect foil to beat the district democrats at their own game.¹¹³ True to his promise, Khunn proposed the young "Doktor" to fill a vacancy in the Second Curia that had become available in the spring of 1875. The press did not, however, greet Lueger's candidacy with unqualified joy. The IWE, itself but recently arrived in the Felder camp,¹¹⁴ and therefore not likely to have held Lueger's desertion of the democrats against him, nonetheless greeted the candidacy of "the well-known Dr. Luegger (sic) of the Bürgerclub," with strong reservations:¹¹⁵

We cannot warm to the election of Dr. Luegger; aside from the fact that he has in no way shown he can be entrusted with communal questions, ... the said Doctor

will bring a distinctly passionate element into the City Council, which we predict will be the source of many conflicts.

This skepticism, based on Lueger's youth, inexperience, and strong temperament, could hardly have been allayed by his remarks to the voters assembly that nominated him on 12 April 1875.

The most detailed account of this event was given by the KVZ, looking albeit with Krawani's jaundiced eye, yet capturing something of Lueger's style and the political sentiments he revealed on the occasion of his official political debut. Lueger's speech is described as:¹¹⁶

A rambling effusion ... censuring the City Council Left ... punctuated with slogans and not very successful attempts at humor, while emphasizing at length his patriotism, centralism, and belief in self-government Aside from declaring that the commune accompanies the individual from the cradle to the grave, no practical viewpoints on communal questions could be detected.

Lueger's address was followed by a heated exchange with his erstwhile comrades of the German Democratic Club, in course of which Krawani taunted the speaker as, "the fighting-cock of the Bürgerclub." Stung by the clearly implied insult, Lueger hastened to set the audience straight in the matter of his political principles:

Oh, I am possibly more of a democrat than anyone; it is only the present leaders of the democratic party who must be overthrown!

At this unexpected rejoinder, one of Lueger's opponents prophesied with greater accuracy than may have been intended, "If you go to the City Council with threats of that kind, you will be the first rebel in the City Council."¹¹⁷

A kinder assessment of Lueger's comments to the voters was carried by the Neues Fremden-Blatt, a paper long at odds with the democrats.¹¹⁸ Here Lueger is quoted as declaring his intention to join the Mittelpartei as the party which had up to now, "done all the great things (bis jetzt alles Grosse geschaffen hat)."¹¹⁸ Lueger is then described as having:

presented with admirable precision all that is

expected of the City Council, and then delivered a political testament, which was greeted with much applause.

The applause very likely came from the Eintracht contingent rather than the Second Curia voters, many of whom split their ballots on election day to vote for Lueger's "democratic" opponent, a doctor of medicine who had promised to concern himself with sanitation and school problems.¹¹⁹

In his equivocal stand respecting the democratic leaders and the principles they represented, Lueger echoed Dr. Mandl, Dr. Holly, and other "ex-democrats" who, on breaking with the V.D.S. over personal differences, had accepted the patronage of the Bürgerverein as the only alternative to political isolation and exclusion from the center of action in the Rathaus. For these few political activists, a seat on the City Council was not, as for many, an honorary office - a title bestowed in due course on the successful professional or businessman by admiring neighbors, and carrying no particular obligation beyond their presence at crucial votes in the chamber:¹²⁰ nor did it hold the promise of personal economic gain, as with certain architects, builders, bankers, and others who might hope to influence the awarding of city contracts, or legislation favoring their particular business or industry - those for whom, "politics was a business."¹²¹ Newspapermen also derived a clear advantage from an "inside" seat on the City Council which allowed them to report political news with the authority of a direct observer.¹²²

On the Viennese political stage, long dominated by an "old guard" on both sides of the Council, the new men like Mandl and Lueger, who strove so fiercely for office against their "comrades in principle" without the least prospect of personal gain, often at the sacrifice of personal wealth and professional careers, were a new phenomenon in the mid-1870's. Voters may well have wondered what they hoped to accomplish as outcasts from the left and misfits in the right with no program beyond their personal quarrel with the entrenched leadership of the democratic party. Whether Lueger's out-

burst raised new doubts or confirmed old ones as to his suitability as a Mittelpartei candidate, the election results show that some conservative liberals, at least, had reason to be perplexed by their party's choice.

Although the combined City Council opposition lost only one seat overall in the 1875 election,¹²³ the defeat of two such prominent members of the Far Left as Umlauf and Ostwald was touted by the NFP as a sure sign that, "The ground is weakening under the democratic leaders as ... the party of free-thinking but peaceably inclined (freisinnige aber ruhig denkende) citizens becomes increasingly active and better organized."¹²⁴ While hardly the "stunning victory" claimed by the NFP for the Bürgervereine, the election was a blow to the opposition hopes of gaining sufficient votes to win a majority with the curial system.¹²⁵

While the 1875 election looked at times like a power struggle between two well-defined political parties,¹²⁶ this impression was more a product of campaign rhetoric indulged by the press and contending organizations than a reflection of the real relationship between the liberal fractions. The unusual liveliness of the campaign in fact masked a decline in political differentiation as each party sought to broaden its appeal by invading the others' traditional territory - the democrats, the Second, the Bürgervereine, the Third Curia.¹²⁷ The circumstances of Karl Lueger's first election have been generally misunderstood and misinterpreted from a failure to see that: one; all the parties maneuvering for power in the City Council in 1875 were liberal; and, two, the barriers between them as such, were in process of breaking down as the democrats failed to make a persuasive case for their claim to represent the whole citizenry, or Bürgerschaft, in the Vienna City Council.

Notes:

- 1 In 1875 there were 24,927 registered voters in Vienna: 3466 in the First, 5412 in the Second, and 16,049 in the Third Curia. Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, p. 75.
- 2 Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, p. 65, "In electoral systems based on property qualification, which were the rule in the nineteenth century, parties obviously took the form of cadre parties: there could be no question of enrolling the masses at a time when they had no political influence the political and financial bases of the mass party were lacking.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 18, 64, 71, 102.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 19-20, 63-64.
- 5 Ibid., p. 67.
- 6 Ibid., p. 91.
- 7 Gall, Liberalismus, pp. 12-17.
Fuchs, Geistige Strömungen in Oesterreich, p. 9.
- 8 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 50.
Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit ...," p. 79.
- 9 Duverger, Political Parties, p. 20.
- 10 Ibid., p. 366.
- 11 Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen ...," p. 69.
- 12 Duverger, Political Parties, p. 367.
- 13 DZ, 16 January 1875.
- 14 KVZ, 30 April 1875.
- 15 KVZ, 19 March 1873; DZ, 28 February 1874.
- 16 DZ, 21 March 1874.
- 17 NFP, 28 April 1875.
- 18 NFP, 21 April 1875.
- 19 See below on naming of Mittelpartei, p. 37.
- 20 KVZ, 13 April 1875; Morgenpost, 24 April 1875.
- 21 NWT, 21 April 1875.
- 22 DZ, 11 April, 1875.
- 23 Reinhold Knoll, Zur Tradition der Christlich-sozialen Partei, pp. 187-192.
Alfred Diamant, Austrian Catholics and the First Republic, pp. 30, 40-41.
- 24 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, p. 281.

- 25 "Politicians," as persons "being primarily engaged in party politics as a profession" (Webster), did not exist except for the mayor as the only elected official to receive a salary. The term is used here loosely to include persons involved directly, if not full time, in political activity.
- 26 KVZ, 23 March 1875.
- 27 The candidate was Eintracht member Leopold Holly. NFP, 13 April 1875.
- 28 DZ, 27 February 1875.
- 29 DZ, 22 February 1875.
- 30 They only begin to appear in the "police reports" in 1875. PANS, P4 a21, Nos. 2105, 2951.
Knoll, Zur Tradition der Christlich-sozialen Partei, pp. 172-173.
- 31 NFP, 28 April 1875.
- 32 NFP, 13 April 1875.
Gerlich and Kramer, Abgeordnete ..., p. 202.
- 33 Morgenpost, 13 April 1875.
- 34 NFP, 14, 21 April 1875; In Germany too the idea that "politics had no place in City Hall," was widely touted by liberals loathe to admit the claims of new political groups to infiltrate the traditional urban ruling elite; "it was largely a dodge to prevent a hostile political movement from obtaining power." James J. Sheehan, "Liberalism and the City in Germany," Past and Present, No. 51, 1971, pp. 133-136.
- 35 NWT, 25 April 1875.
- 36 NFP, 18 April 1875.
- 37 NFP, 21 April 1875.
- 38 KVZ, 30 April 1874.
- 39 DZ, 27 June 1874; Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 57, reports that only 15 per cent of the Mittelpartei members could be described as "active," whereas the Far Left counted 50 per cent as regular participants. p. 65.
- 40 DZ, 17 February 1874.
- 41 KVZ, 12 April 1875.
- 42 Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 359.
- 43 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 215.
- 44 KVZ, 16 April 1875.
- 45 NFP, 2 April 1875.
- 46 NFP, 20 March, April 13 1875; Morgenpost, 19 March 1875.

47 Reform, 3 May 1875.

48 Morgenpost, 8, 16 January 1875.

49 Morgenpost, 28 April 1875.

Hubert Ehalt, "Das Wiener Schulwesen in der liberalen Ära," in Wien in der Liberalen Ära, pp. 128-129; reports that classes of 100 and more students were not unusual in the poorer districts.

50 NFP, 7 March 1875; Morgenpost, 18 November 1875.

51 NWT, 7 March 1875.

52 DZ, 28 April 1874.

Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," pp. 48-49.

53 NWT, 7 March 1875; DZ, 8 August 1874, reports a long debate in the Council over the naming of a street.

Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 288-289, also complained of the Council's preoccupation with trivia.

54 IWE, 5 March 1873.

55 DZ, 13 January 1875.

56 Morgenpost, 14 March 1875; NFP, 18 April 1875.

57 Tagespresse, 13 March 1872; See above, p. 53.

58 DZ, 2 May 1874.

59 DZ, 7 March 1874.

60 DZ, 12 December 1874.

61 Vesely, "Der Niedergang . . .," pp. 6-8, 302.

In a rare display of unanimity the entire Council sent a petition via Cajetan Felder to the Emperor, calling for abrogation of the Concordat, on 15 September 1867. Karl Eder, Der Liberalismus in Altösterreich, p. 160.

62 Sakrawa, "Ferdinand Kronawetter," p. 33.

63 DZ, 5 December 1874; Deutsche Zeitung, 3 December 1873.

64 Sakrawa, "Ferdinand Kronawetter," p. 21.

65 Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 136, 146.

66 Morgenpost, 13 December 1871.

67 DZ, 17 April 1875;

68 KVZ, 21 April 1875.

69 "Progressive" or "moderate" liberal was a vague designation that usually referred to members of the Left, but on occasion also to members of the Mittelpartei. It was most commonly used by papers like the Morgenpost and KVZ, which wanted to distinguish themselves from the V.D.S. "radicals," on the one hand, and the conservative Felderites on the other. Some candidates of the Left bridged

the semantic difficulty by declaring their adherence to "the truly free-thinking party." KVZ, 13 April 1875.

The KVZ also recommended a "liberal" (non-democrat) candidate, as opposed to a "conservative" (one clearly designated for the Mittelpartei). 23 April 1875.

- 70 Hahnkampner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," pp. 496-497 gives a biographical sketch.

Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 161, notes that Ostwald's confused and passionate speeches made him "the horror of Council stenographers."

- 71 NFP, 21 April 1875.

- 72 NFP, 18 April 1875; Morgenpost, 18 April 1875.

- 73 DZ, 10 April 1875.

- 74 NFP, 17 April 1875.

- 75 IWE, 24 March 1875.

- 76 NFP, 14 April 1875.

- 77 NWT, 20 April 1875.

- 78 The DZ, 27 February 1875, blamed the "Mandl affair" for the strong competition the democrats had to face in the Third District. When Eintracht was in alliance with the Landstrasse democrats, they drew 93 per cent of the vote.

- 79 A title bestowed on lawyers in Vienna, Linz, and Graz. Officially abolished in 1868, it nonetheless remained in use until 1918. Hilfswörterbuch für Historiker.

- 80 Lueger's friendship with Dr. Mandl goes back at least to 1871 when both were members of the Landstrasse German Democratic Club. Rudolf Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, p. 28.

- 81 NFP, 24 April 1875.

- 82 A life-long bachelor, Lueger was often asked why he did not marry; his usual response denied his "single" status as he had already chosen a bride "... the most beautiful of all," who would tolerate no other woman in his life - "meine Vindobona." Oesterreichische Sonntags-Zeitung, 19 September 1926. WSB, No. B144903.

In a letter to a friend he conceded the sacrifice of wife and family to his political career ambitions. "Business (his law practice) and politics occupy me totally and neither will let me go. Should politics ever become odious to me (Wird mir einmal die Politik zuwider) and I have the time to marry, then I fear very much it will be too late." Letter to a Friend, 20 March 1879, WSB, JN 151.956.

"My brother had no time to get married." declared his sister Hildegard, a half-century later. Grazer Volksblatt, 19 September 1926.

- 83 Lueger was just thirty, the minimum qualifying age for election to the Council. He was the youngest member at his entrance, the average age being around fifty. Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit . . .," p. 56.
- 84 Lueger's handsome features, "... with his intelligent eyes, high brow, and nice little nose of a nice little boy," were admired throughout his life. He was widely known as "Der schöne Karl." Felix Salten, "Erinnerung an Lueger," NFP, 19 September 1926.
- 85 A table showing the professional distribution of the City Council between 1861 and 1888 is in Seliger, "Liberale Fraktionen . . .," p. 76. About 45 per cent were businessmen and manufacturers, 25 per cent assorted professionals, and 10 per cent lawyers at this time.
- 86 Lueger's rural ancestry is traced in, Reinhold Lorenz, 800 Jahre Neustadt an der Donau: Geschichte der nieder-österreichischen Ahnenpfarre des grossen Wiener Bürgermeisters Dr. Karl Lueger.
- 87 Leopold Tomola, "Unser Bürgermeister Dr. Karl Lueger; Festschrift zu seinem 60 Geburtstag," pp. 5-6.
- 88 The exclusive academy founded by Maria Theresia to educate the sons of the nobility for state service.
- 89 Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, pp. 6-7.
- 90 Banik-Schweitzer, "Zur Wohnsituation der Massen . . .," pp. 141-143.
- 91 Juliana Schumayer was the daughter of a master carpenter in the Vorstadt of Lichtental (later in the Ninth District). Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, p. 7.
- 92 Knoll, Zur Tradition der Christlich-Sozialen Partei, pp. 171 -188.
- 93 Banik-Schweitzer, "Zur Wohnsituation der Massen . . .," p. 147.
- 94 Lueger's sister recalled how his father assumed the role of tutor in his early life: "Father was very strict with him ... he even had to sit with his books during vacations. ... If father ever caught him doing 'nothing' he would say, 'Now you won't be the first any longer,' and Karl quickly returned to his books." IWE, 19 September 1926.
- 95 Stauratz, Dr. Karl Lueger, pp. 2-10.
- 96 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
- 97 IWE, 19 September 1926. The unveiling of Lueger's monument on the Ringstrasse in September 1926 provided an occasion for reminiscing by old friends and foes, and by Lueger's only surviving relative, his sister Hildegarde, whose statements are most informative as to his upbringing.
- 98 Ibid.

- 99 Salten, "Erinnerung an Lueger," NFP, 19 September 1926, gives a candid portrait of "This remarkable and interesting man ... who was the most representative embodiment of old Austria. That can be said, even by one who had no reason to call himself a friend or admirer."
- 100 Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, p. 12.
- 101 Max von Millenkovich-Morold, Vom Abend zum Morgen, p. 33; Born in 1866, the author attended the Theresianum twenty years after Lueger. His comments can be assumed to apply to the earlier time, especially as they are confirmed in the memoirs of Erich Graf Kielmannsegg, Kaiserhaus, Staatsmänner, und Politiker, with respect to the "old school tie" fraternity of Theresianum graduates. pp. 253, 287, 303-304, 353.
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Not to be ruled out is the conjecture that Lueger from his earliest forays into local politics, had only one goal - to be Bürgermeister of Vienna. Certainly his disinterest in winning a ministerial post at a time when "he could have achieved the highest," supports this theory. Salten, "Erinnerung an Lueger," NFP, 19 September 1926.
- 104 Whiteside, The Socialism of Fools, p. 47.
- 105 Ibid., pp. 48-51.
- 106 Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, pp. 17-18.
- 107 Whiteside, The Socialism of Fools, pp. 59-60.
- 108 Lueger describes the examination in detail in a letter to a friend, written on 5 October 1866. WSB, JN32293.
- 109 Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, pp. 21-23, gives the theses in full.
- 110 Ibid., pp. 18, 25.
Neues Fremden-Blatt, 24 April 1875, "Lueger already stood out as a student (orator). He combatted the German-National endeavors sharply and decisively took the the part of the Austrian state-idea."
- 111 There was very likely also a substantive issue behind the Lueger-Krawani enmity - namely the latter's strong German partiality at the time of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. PANS, P2 ad 3, No. 4593.
- 112 Before setting up his own practice in 1874, Lueger had clerked for Eduard Kopp, a Councilman of the Mittelpartei, who had clients who belonged to the Bürgerclub, for one of whom he delivered a campaign speech in 1873. KVZ, 19 March 1873.
- 113 Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 214-215.
- 114 Publisher of the IWE, the first paper in Austria to

make elaborate use of pictorial journalism in Austria, was F.J. Singer, a City Councilman since 1870 who received a knighthood after moving himself and his popular paper from the democratic into the Felder camp. His former political friends took some compensation in dubbing him, the "newly illustrated Singer." DZ, 3 April 1874.

115 IWE, 11 April 1875.

116 KVZ, 13 April 1875.

117 Ibid.,

118 Neues Fremden-Blatt, 13 April 1875.

119 IWE, 17 April 1875. Lueger's two Bürgerclub running mates, "Papa" Khunn and Dr. Josef Weiser, (characterized by the DZ, 10 April 1875, as an "arch conservative, though a friend of school reform.") were both elected with more substantial majorities, the former with 430, the latter with 421 of 448 votes case. Lueger received 340.

120 Morgenpost, 8 February 1874.

Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit . . .," p. 422.

121 Ibid., pp. 390-391.

Franz, Liberalismus, p. 149.

122 Kossdorf, "Die Wiener liberale Lokalpresse . . .," p. 124.

Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 270, liste five journalists in the City Council, four of whom headed large Vienna dailies.

123 After this election, the ruling majority had 71 seats and the combined opposition 49 (Far Left 28 and Left 21).
KVZ, 30 April 1875.

124 NFP, 21 April 1875.

125 DZ, 1 May 1875; Also see above, p. 81.

NWT, 25 April 1875, noted that while, "The Judgment of the Voters," was clearly directed at one party (the Far Left) it was rather a warning against "Parteihader" by all sides as distracting the Council from urgent business.

126 DZ, 6, 27 March 1875; NFP, 21 April 1875;

IWE, 7 March 1875; NWT, 9, 21 April 1875.

127 Symptomatic of this is the V.D.S. obsession with respectability, and the Bürgerclub's alliance with Ignatz Mandl's Eintracht.

Chapter Five

THE "MANDL PARTY"

"Die Erneurer der Kommune ...
haben an Ansehen vor der
Bevölkerung nur mehr wenig zu
verlieren."

Morgenpost, 7 October 1876

"Die Tiraden gewisser Volks-
führer wirken vorzugsweise wenn
die Zeiten recht schlecht sind."

Konstitutionelle Vorstadtzeitung
21 March 1877

If the 1875 election results were inconclusive with respect to the voters' sympathies, they demonstrated beyond a doubt the miscarriage of Schrank and Steudel's effort to found a democratic "Volkspartei" on the basis of the district democratic clubs. Equally apparent was the loss of any real prospect of the "Two Lefts" gaining control of the city executive in the foreseeable future. Crushed by their electoral setback, demoralized by their ignominious surrender on the Gas Question, without a real issue on which they could agree to disagree with the majority liberals, unsure of their political aims, and divided amongst themselves as to a course of action, the democrats drifted apart and out of the municipal limelight.

Although in its election post mortem the DZ declared:¹

The Viennese populace is not in agreement with the heroes of the Crash or the continued existence of the Mittelpartei.... The masses are not conservative; they are radical because they have nothing worthwhile to conserve and because their entire hope rests with a basic program of relief (gründlichen Abhilfe).

the democrats remained unable to coordinate their principles with the harsh reality of economic stagnation and its attendant hardships for the small Bürger. Either as in the Gasfrage, and again in a long debate over measures to bring down bread and meat prices, that absorbed the City Council for weeks in the fall of 1875, their principles failed to serve as a guide to concerted action, or they stood as an obstacle in the way of responding to the hard-pressed citizen's cry for "Abhilfe."²

In the meat and bread question, the democrats could not agree on a permissible degree of government intervention to combat the "usurious prices,"³ or even on the seriousness of the problem. Johann Schrank, for one, blamed high prices on the Viennese consumer's extravagant appetite for beef. "They should get used to eating mutton," he declared.⁴

The quandary over initiating reforms without placing "a brake on economic freedom,"⁵ was further dramatized by differences over the tariff question which came up in the Reichsrat

in the fall of 1875.

Far from showing any signs of a turn for the better, the economic picture looked grimmer in the winter 1875-1876 than in the previous year. As factory closures and cutbacks in production and employment in and around Vienna brought increasing misery to the working class,⁶ they signalled the general slump in trade and industry that continued to mark hard times for the small producers and businessmen in the city. Statistics compiled by the City Council⁷ to support a petition for aid to Viennese industry submitted to the Reichsrat in February 1876, depict an economy in continuing decline. Income-tax payments had fallen by 40 per cent since 1872, and in 1875 only 50 per cent of the expected business tax was collected; 6000 stood empty despite a drastic housing shortage, abandoned by tenants no longer able to pay the high rents; 7000 businesses, making up 14 per cent of the business tax base, had moved to the outer suburbs to escape the high rents and consumers' taxes in effect inside the city limits.⁸

The Viennese craftsmen and shopkeepers, who only a few years before had hardly been able to keep up with the demand for new dresses, hats, shoes, furniture, and every kind of trinket by which wealth calls attention to its happy owners, did not, of course, need statistics to tell them that business was bad; neither were they willing to wait for a general upswing to bring their customers back. What they demanded as a right and necessity for survival was immediate action. Through the winter 1875-1876 voters gathered in political clubs to formulate petitions demanding a "protective tariff to save Austrian industry."⁹

Swimming against this tide was Johann Schrank, chairman of the V.D.S., who could not bring himself to renounce his free-trade principles, and was faced with the awkward problem of having to defend them against the clear will of the people his organization was committed to obey. An attempt to resolve this conflict between economic and political philosophies by assuring his voters that he would carry out their

wishes and vote for protection against his deepest convictions, did not set well with either the liberal press or the members of his own party. While the former looked askance at such betrayal of principle,¹⁰ the latter began to doubt their leader's sincerity.¹¹

Schrank's straddling of the tariff issue signified a tendency among the democratic leaders to regard economic problems as essentially outside and beyond the competence of the political realm.¹² Refusing, along with their more conservative liberal cohorts, to grapple directly with the economy, they sponsored measures such as disarmament and incorporation of the outer suburbs (Vororte), to bring relief by the round-about way of reduced taxes.¹³

The tendency was clearly exhibited in the program published in October 1875 by the Five Vienna Democrats in the Reichsrat. Exemplary as a manifesto of human rights and progressive thinking, it hardly ventured beyond the realm of political abstraction, and was criticized both by conservative liberals and democrats more in tune with the mind and temper of the electorate. While the NFP derided the program as the "work of 'Know-nothings' fighting for rights already won," and blind to the dangers of even a moderate return to protectionism,¹⁴ the Morgenpost issued dire warnings to, "A Liberalism ... standing with folded arms in the face of corruption and social ruin." The democrats, in particular, should adopt a more practical outlook and, "confront the issues of the day," asserted the one paper that consistently looked out for the interests of the Kleinbürgertum.¹⁵

Echoing Krawani's strictures of the previous spring against the democrats' unrealistic confidence in a political vision that failed to connect with practical issues and public concerns,¹⁶ the KVZ suggested in early 1876 that they remain in closer touch with the voters and "begin to practice a measure of 'Realpolitik' consistent with the position of elected deputies."¹⁷ The rift in the democratic camp between realists and idealists was growing wider.

But if the democrats were in disarray and confusion in the wake of political disappointments and a deteriorating economy, the conservative liberals faced an equally troubled future. The democrats had at least been purged of serious troublemakers,¹⁸ and still possessed a core of organized strength with their dual footing in the district clubs and the Far Left fraction in the City Council. The Bürgerpartei by contrast, was a looser union compiled of disparate elements merely for the purpose of beating the democrats at election time.¹⁹ Striking a more sober note after its elation at the victory over the democrats in the Fourth District in 1875, the NFP warned against over-confidence, and stressed the need to pursue the slight advantage that had been gained: "The electoral victory is only a modest, hopeful beginning, ... that will not lead anywhere unless intelligent people take more interest in politics."²⁰ The trouble in store for the conservative liberals was not, however, to come from the ranks of the voters, or non-voters as the case may be, but from the small band of "ex-democrats" who had found political refuge in the alien territory of the Mittelpartei.

It became evident in the course of 1875 that the strategy of patronizing dissident democrats carried a high risk of backfiring on the gentlemen of the City Council right - particularly on their uncompromising defender of the status quo, Mayor Cajetan Felder. For "Papa" Khunn's attempt to fight fire with fire brought to the Rathaus a restless, independent, outspoken, and ambitious group whose members had cut their ties to the democratic organization without conceding a serious commitment to the party that had sponsored their electoral victories. In planting this small row of highly-charged maverick democrats in their midst, the conservative liberals had indeed sown the "dragon's teeth,"²¹ that would one day rise up to destroy, not only the hated "Bezirksdemokraten", but the parties of the middle and right as well - in fact the entire liberal establishment as it existed in 1875.

The 1870's and 1880's were decades of transition from the politics of classical liberalism as represented by Cajetan Felder to a politics of mass democracy whose ultimate form and nature were not clearly discernible, even to those who called themselves "democrats" in 1875. There was general agreement that democracy would evolve in due course within the liberal framework that served as political home and ideological point of reference for all shades of opinion represented in the City Council until the mid-1880's. When the Democratic Party announced in its statement of principles that its "ideal of municipal representation" would be realized when "the elected stand in full accord with the mass of the people ... and represent the general will of the population,"²² it was under the assumption that the "general will" would declare for the liberal vision of progress - for modern technology, capitalist enterprise, enlightened tolerance, and the freedom of the individual to develop in accordance with his capacities.²³ That the politically awakened common man, or Kleiner Mann, might constitute an anti-liberal force, was a notion entertained in the liberal camp only by arch-conservatives like Felder and the handful of Councilmen who defended the curial system as a safeguard against the kind of civil turmoil that seemed endemic to republican France.²⁴

Karl Lueger, who was indeed to become "the first rebel in the City Council" by being the first to appreciate that the Viennese "little man" did not share the liberal vision of progress, came only gradually to that realization and its implications for his own political development.²⁵ And before that, he came only slowly to see there was no place within the liberal framework for his good intentions and personal ambitions. Lueger possessed at the outset of his career a sharp critical faculty and the daring of the young to test the platitudes by which an older generation justifies its tenure of power. This kind of questioning can lead either to acceptance of established values and the system that incorporates them, or to disillusionment and ultimate rejection

of both. Thus are rebels made,²⁶ and thus might Lueger, in another setting and given a different background, have become a true revolutionary. That he did not, was a function of his unshakable loyalty to the Habsburg State,²⁷ and of his basic political pragmatism and self-imposed concentration on the city of Vienna and its inhabitants.²⁸ Where Lueger differed from the start from the Far Left democrats (witness the focus of his initial campaign speech on municipal government) was in his primary concern with precisely those aspects of government the democrats were so widely accused of neglecting - the practical, the countable, the useful.

Lueger's election as an "anti-democratic" liberal must be seen in the context of the various meanings attached to that concept at the time, and in the light of his own assertion that he was, "perhaps more of a democrat than all the others." He was an anti-democrat only in the sense that he was alienated from the leadership of the organized democratic movement, from which he was excluded through his personal feud with the German Democratic Club of the Third District. This had moved him to the Bürgerclub, where his youthful exuberance, outspokenness, and vote-getting potential were not resented by a seasoned hierarchy, on the contrary, appreciated by the "elders" and allowed full scope for development up to a point where Lueger's dynamism became an acute embarrassment to his sponsors.

That Lueger did not, with his move to the Bürgerclub, recant the democratic convictions of his doctoral theses, can be assumed from his avowal of the fact under conditions that hardly called for such an admission on grounds of political expediency. Lueger was for his first two terms a candidate of the Second, or Intelligenz, Curia, in which the designation "democrat" tended to carry the negative connotations of shirt-sleeve radicalism and beer hall politics mentioned above. Of the other democrats sponsored by conservative clubs in the 1875 election, two were Third Curia candidates, and one a Second Curia candidate in a district (Neubau) more

progressive on the whole than the Landstrasse.²⁹

The line between democrats and anti-democrats was not, as already mentioned, not as clearly drawn as it had been in the 1860's and would be again in the 1880's. This can be seen in the similarity of programs advanced by the two parties, and particularly by the reluctance of most conservatives to designate themselves "anti-democrats" - most had, after all, declared themselves opposed to the curial system, if only from a desire to appear sufficiently progressive to attract the Third Curia voter.³⁰ None, on the other hand, made a practice of calling himself a "democrat" - this was unusual.

The majority of City Councilmen fell somewhere between the extreme poles of the liberal spectrum represented by Felder on the right and Kronawetter on the left. Most did not feel unreservedly bound to any group or leader, and the public seemed content simply to know the general area where a candidate was expected to take his place; if he was a man of exceptional ability or proven diligence, his political identity was of secondary importance. It should also be noted that partly from inertia, partly from a perennial lack of new candidates willing to take on the chore of serving on the City Council, and partly as a result of the curia system which discouraged competition, incumbents in most cases ran unopposed and were re-elected. Elections were consequently dull affairs on the whole, and voter turnout slight except where, as in the Landstrasse, a real choice was offered.³¹

The lively scramble for office and consequent high voter turnouts in the Third District were mainly attributable to the presence there of a small group of highly motivated political enthusiasts who stood somehow outside the traditional coteries - Ignatz Mandl, because he had his own political club and financial resources,³² Karl Lueger, because he was young and politically unsettled, though an adopted member of an established club of local notables.

Within six months of the 1875 election, these two virtual unknowns had gained city-wide attention and all but taken over from the left fractions the role of opposition to Mayor

Felder in the City Council. They did this not by espousing radical principles, but a principle that was foremost on every party's list of imperatives - reduced government spending (Sparsamkeit) wherever possible. Only where others had talked or enjoined false economies (as with the new water system), Lueger and Mandl turned their attention to an aspect of city spending no one else had thought of, and which many for long believed a figment of Ignatz Mandl's imagination. They raised an issue of enormous political importance that went directly to the heart of self-government not as an abstract concept, but as a practical way of providing the best public service for the least cost. The issue, whose practical import could be grasped by the least enlightened citizen, was waste and corruption in the municipal household - it raised an unprecedented furor, nearly ruining Lueger's career at the outset, but in the end bringing him public favor and a large measure of respect in the City Council. It proved the undoing of Mayor Felder.

It may be recalled that Vienna's City Ordinance provided for two institution of self-government: the City Council, and the District Committees (Bezirksausschüsse) whose functions were somewhat ambiguously defined as a mixture of executive and representative responsibilities.³³ While the main job of these bodies was to act as auxiliary arms of the Mayor and Magistrat, they also played an important political role in supervising elections - the District Chairman (Bezirksvorstand) was almost invariably chosen to serve as moderator at the official voters assemblies.³⁴

Before his election to the City Council in 1874, Ignatz Mandl had won a following in the Landstrasse District Committee while serving on that body. He very likely intended to establish a power base there that would have given him considerable influence over local elections.³⁵ In any case, the Committee became under his direction the instrument of an aggressive campaign against corruption and waste in municipal government, that posed the most severe challenge to his auth-

ority Felder had yet encountered.

The battle that was to develop into a "war" between the Landstrasse District Committee (hereafter L.D.C.) and the Mayor,³⁶ began with a petition drawn up by the said committee charging irregularities in the administration of the city's street maintainance operations.³⁷ The petition insisted, furthermore, on bringing the committee's revelations before the Council rather than the Magistrat because, "Decisive intervention on the part of the appointed control organ was not to be expected in a case involving certain dishonesty," on the part of its officials. The Magistrat, in other words, could not be trusted to set its own house in order,³⁸ a charge that impugned the entire civil service Felder had so carefully reformed and built up as the main pillar of communal order.³⁹ The mayor demanded supporting evidence, which the L.D.C. was reluctant to furnish through the regular channels fearing it might be repressed or simply vanish in the files of the city bureaucracy.⁴⁰

As Mandl told the story some time later, Felder had informed him three days after hearing of the irregularities in the public works department, that the officials concerned denied the charges. When Mandl asked the mayor if he believed these statements, he was said to have replied that, "the administration of his office depended on the credibility of his officials;" and that even if they were untrue, they would have to be given credence in the interest of protecting the authority of the executive.⁴¹ Thus convinced that Felder would not be likely to take action, the L.D.C. insisted on presenting its case where it would gain full public exposure - in the City Council plenary body. Within a short time, the disagreement between the Mayor and the L.D.C. caught the attention of the press, which brought regular bulletins on the affair as, "The War in the Commune."⁴²

While the press welcomed investigation of a situation notoriously rife with neglect and abuses,⁴³ and praised the diligence of the L.D.C. for attending to the "burning municipi-

pal issue" of poor street maintainance, a certain uneasiness was felt at the belligerent tone being taken, "by certain individuals in the conduct of the affair."⁴⁴ In face of the Committee's intransigence and publicity the case was receiving, Felder came under increasing pressure to protect not only his street inspectors, but the dignity of his own office. To no avail he reminded the L.D.C. of the mayor's disciplinary power over district officials, as well as the Magistrat.⁴⁵ To break the stalemate, the City Council passed a measure giving legal recognition to the L.D.C.'s initiative in "this new situation."⁴⁶ Dr. Mandl won support in all fractions for his move against the Magistrat, thereby widening the conflict between Felder and the L.D.C. into one with Felder and the Magistrat on one side, the City Council on the other.⁴⁷

The main object of the controversy was eventually revealed as a shipment of low quality sand for which the city had been billed and paid the price of a higher quality. Unfortunately, the contractor's sample had disappeared, and all that remained was a written record of this questionable transaction which Felder refused to accept as evidence of misprision. The dubious bags had most likely been mislabeled, he argued, and even if the wrong sand had been delivered, no proof of criminal intent on the part of the receiving official could be established. The Council accordingly voted to reprimand the Street Inspectorate for carelessness in losing the samples, and ordered a disciplinary investigation of the department.⁴⁸

In mid-October 1875, the L.D.C. presented a forty-page report giving a dire picture of negligence and mismanagement in the care of the city's streets, and imputing responsibility for the mess to the Magistrat.⁴⁹ The NFP, while hailing the report as a much-needed overview of "unbelievable conditions (unglaublichen Zustände)," pointed out, as did Felder, that the investigation was aimed at the wrong target; the District Committees were themselves responsible for supervising care of the streets in their respective locales.⁵⁰ The L.D.C., however, declared itself powerless to institute re-

forms against the refusal of the Magistrat, and in this case the District Committee Chairman, to cooperate with them.⁵¹ This resentment of bureaucratic indifference and high-handedness was voiced in other districts as well as the Third, and was the focus of a wide-spread movement to grant the local bodies greater independence and authority.⁵² Still, the storm remained centered in the Landstrasse, whose representatives had brought the first charges and formed the active core of the City Council commission assigned to investigate them.

In mid-November this commission presented its findings on the "Sandbag Scandal" to a closed session of the City Council. Dr. Lueger, reporting for the commission, announced that the investigation had yielded no proof of misconduct, but Dr. Mandl and a Far Left Councilman from the Sixth District, Ferdinand Mayer, refused to accept Felder's conclusion that the case be closed. A heated argument ensued in which Mandl accused Felder of interfering with the investigation, and Mayer went so far as to charge him with falsifying the protocols. Bowing to howls of protest as even Felder's enemies on the left rose to defend his integrity, Mayer retracted his offending remark, but Mandl persisted with his assertion of an incomplete investigation. At his insistence, the Council passed a motion returning the inquiry to the Second Section (Internal Affairs) for further study.⁵³

Far from calming down, the Sandbag Affair entered a new phase, as the personal conflict between Ignatz Mandl and Mayor Felder reached its first crisis. Accustomed as he was to having his way with the democratic opposition, Felder hardly knew what to make of Mandl's failure to show him proper respect, and his dumbfounding refusal to admit defeat. In his memoirs, Felder attributes Mandl's obstinate self-righteousness to mental derangement;⁵⁴ yet, fanatical and excitable as he was, Mandl was far from insane.⁵⁵ Obsessed with his "practical ideas on the subject of communal government,"⁵⁶ and determined to act on them, Mandl simply cared nothing for the

accepted norms of Viennese politics and the surface decorum that was preserved at the expense of plain speaking. Dismissed as a crank by a press that vastly underrated his disruptive as well as staying power, Mandl was, as Felder ruefully acknowledged, an irresistible force for change in the accustomed life of Vienna's governing institutions.⁵⁷

What Felder termed Mandl's "demonic" qualities, actually surfaced only gradually in response to the Mayor's outright determination to shield his civil service against what he considered unwarranted charges of corruption.⁵⁸ In his first year in the City Council, Mandl had shown exemplary loyalty to the Felder regime by staunchly supporting its delicate position on the controversial Gas Question.⁵⁹ In the "Sandsäckel Affaire" where in his view the fundament of good government was at stake, where he was totally committed from the start and incapable of retreat, Mandl was prepared to sacrifice any amount of accumulated good will to hold his ground in a clear case of right against wrong. If the wicked were to go unpunished, their defender would have to suffer the consequences, and these were duly meted out at the conclusion of the Sandbag Debate in the Council when Mandl accused the Mayor of obstructing justice and "protecting the Magistrat against the economic interests of the commune."⁶⁰

Incensed and deeply offended by Mandl's "unconsidered" remarks, Felder waited in vain for two weeks to receive an apology for what he regarded as unjustified aspersions on his character. On 2 December 1875, declaring he could no longer remain in the same party with a man "who accused him of illegal procedures," Felder announced his resignation from the Mittelelpartei to a stunned gathering of his oldest confederates.⁶¹ Mandl stood firm against all efforts by fellow members of the party to wring a retraction from him and so restore peace between the two antagonists.⁶² In a letter to the NFP, he explained his unwillingness to give the Mayor a full apology on the grounds he had, "never questioned Felder's personal honor; but still feels his criticism of the Mayor's public perfor-

mance (öffentliche Wirksamkeit) fully justified, and will stick to it."⁶³ Mandl's own resignation from the Mittelpartei was announced at the same time.

To all appearances the feisty doctor had drawn the shorter straw; for while Felder was still mayor, the "avenging angel of the Landstrasse" was now isolated and politically adrift, his anti-corruption drive reduced in the eyes of the press and public to, "A storm in a glass of water."⁶⁴ The KVZ, in what proved a premature epitaph to Dr. Mandl's career, concluded its summary of the affair by observing, "The democrats threw him out, and now in his newly chosen party he already stands isolated and alone. Will the man, with all this, still remain?"⁶⁵ Dr. Mandl was not "alone", however, for a third, totally unexpected, resignation from the Mittelpartei revealed that Mandl had an ally in the person of Dr. Karl Lueger.⁶⁶

Although the fledgling Councilman had taken a prominent part in the "Sandbag Affair," he had not been associated with Mandl's temperamental outbursts, and had appeared a voice of reason and conciliation throughout the proceedings. Lueger's resignation was all the more inexplicable as, on the day of Felder's resignation, he had been elected Secretary of the party whose good offices he appeared now to be recklessly discarding.⁶⁷

The Mittelpartei's high regard for its youngest member was further demonstrated in a letter from its chairman, a political associate of Lueger's from the Third District, Karl Weissenberg,⁶⁸ imploring him to reconsider his self-imposed exile, "from a circle of men he had himself learned, as stated in his letter (of resignation) to hold in high esteem." Aside from bemoaning the loss of, "a man of your education and refined demeanor (Ihrer Bildung und Ihren Umgangsformen)," Weissenberg's letter argues strongly against Lueger's stated grounds for parting company with the Mittelpartei. Assuring him that the party recognized the "need for the greatest economy in the communal household," and acknowledging the efforts of the Landstrasse for stricter control over City spending, Weissen-

berg nonetheless defended the party's censure of Dr. Mandl for the rude manner in which he pursued these laudable aims, and particularly for the unjustified insults levelled at Mayor Felder in the course of the Sanddebatte.⁶⁹

While directly related to these issues and events, Lueger's surprising move was prompted specifically by a lack of support in the procedural question of the mayor's right to initiate disciplinary investigations of the municipal civil service. The question had arisen as Felder denied the authority claimed by the L.D.C. to conduct such inquiries on its own, thus technically closing the door to any outside control over the activities of the executive branch. Felder had authorized the "sandbag" investigation, and would have with difficulty refused such authorization in future cases of alleged misconduct by city officials. He insisted, however, on his prerogative to determine whether an inquiry was justified. Considering the time and energy expended on the improperly classified sand delivery, and with no sign of waning vigilance on the part of Dr. Mandl, Felder had reason to fear that the search for, and even exposure of, corruption could eventually do more damage to the orderly process of government than the discovered abuses themselves - given, as Felder believed, they were not extensive or serious enough to constitute a significant drain on the city treasury.⁷⁰

Mandl was of a contrary opinion, and asserted that Felder's protective stance over the Magistrat substantially damaged the economic interests of the commune.⁷¹ While Lueger echoed Mandl's contention that insufficient control over spending was causing untold waste of city resources, his more subtle political argument went deeper than the struggle for a balanced budget - to the very heart of the prevailing doctrine of trusteeship government. Against this doctrine, which held that the public interest was best served through government by an educated elite (Felderism),⁷² Lueger posed the contrary view that the public interest demanded a controlling agent vested by the governed as a check on executive power and bur-

eaucracy.⁷³

Lueger was arguing, in short, that government for the people was essentially unfeasible without legal guarantees allowing for government by the people - or at least their elected representatives. In 1875 this was hardly a revolutionary idea; it was the principle the democrats had promoted since 1848 in their call for a more equal and widely distributed suffrage. What was new in Lueger's and Mandl's combined assault on the Felder administration, was their attempt to demonstrate in practical terms the inadequacy of the principles on which it was based. The charge of corruption had indeed been levelled against the ruling Liberal Party in the imperial parliament in the wake of financial scandals that came to light in the aftermath of the Crash of 1873.⁷⁴ Yet none of the democratic leaders had thought to raise such an issue against the incorruptible and competent Felder; they had not gone beyond vague promises that given the chance, they would administer the city better and cheaper.⁷⁵ Mandl and Lueger, with the sharper vision sometimes given to outsiders new to a settled situation, and with the daring to point out shortcomings ignored by others, were thus able to apply in the smaller realm of municipal politics a lesson already brought home in higher councils of government - namely, that corruption or abuse of public confidence placed a powerful weapon in the hands of an opposition operating in the name not only of the public interest, but of the public's right to take part in protecting that interest.

No one understood the implicit challenge to his system represented by the "Sandbag Affair" and the related issue of the mayor's disciplinary powers better than Felder himself. In his memoirs he answered the criticism that his adamant refusal to give Mandl even the least satisfaction only encouraged the excesses he was so anxious to avoid, by pointing out the danger to the established order that would have arisen if public confidence in his administration were shaken by just a trace of scandal:⁷⁶

Mandl's baneful foolishness, in magnifying small irregularities into enormous misdeeds in order to deprive the communal administration of the requisite respect essential to its successful operation ... and in undermining the effectiveness of loyal and responsible communal organs, necessitated the sharpest and most energetic counter measures on my part. Mandl's system of attack was the most dangerous conceivable and fundamentally destructive, in that it undermined discipline and honor, and threatened the entire structure of government with collapse.

While Mandl hammered away at the "structure of government" with his evidence of corruption, Lueger, with his lawyer's instinct for legal ambiguities, focussed on the mechanisms hindering full public disclosure of such evidence. by winning support in the Second Section for unrestricted access to administrative records. His failure to win this support served as the ground for Lueger's resignation from the Mittel-partei over a Section ruling supported by his party colleagues that, "An individual Councilman has no right to examine municipal documents, and that the mayor is not obligated to authorize such examinations."⁷⁷ The issue of the public's right to question its government and be informed how its taxes were being utilized, was not, however, put to rest with the Section decision. It emerged intact from the final debacle in the "sandbag case" to become a central objective of a reform movement that would push Mayor Felder beyond the limit of endurance, and very nearly put an end to conservative liberal dominance of the Rathaus in the beginning of the 1880's.

On 14 December 1875, Felder carried off the victory in the "Sandfrage" by presenting the Council with a geological report refuting Mandl's contention that the sand the City had bought was of inferior quality to the sand first specified. Citing, furthermore, his exclusive authority to judge from the facts as presented, Felder announced that no disciplinary action was warranted, and the contractor in question cleared of any suspicion of fraud. The case was closed.

Yet the arguments of science and logic that had given Fel-

der the last word, failed to impress the indomitable Mandl. Undaunted, he rose to protest not the geological findings, but Felder's assertion that "only the mayor ... has the right to initiate disciplinary investigations."⁷⁸ There was actually valid ground for questioning the Mayor's position because he was, "solely responsible for the conduct and management of the civil service," only in his capacity as head of the Magistrat. As president of the City Council, his disciplinary authority came under the rubric of the Council's function as a body to supervise and control the Magistrat.⁷⁹ The mayor's ambiguous powers in this second category became the object of a long-standing controversy in which even Felder's political friends eventually moved to the position outlined by Mandl and Lueger in the "sandbag affair" of 1875.⁸⁰

The "turning point" in communal affairs Felder associated with the appearance of Mandl and Lueger in the City Council,⁸¹ came with the "sandbag affair" which produced the nucleus of a new opposition party and the first breach in the hitherto unassailable Felder system. For the time being, however, the breach was closed and the Mittelpartei, although weakened by the loss of its chief, gained a respite from political strife as the "Two Lefts" decided not to press the issue of the mayors prerogatives.⁸² Fearing to lose still more popular support in the absence of any clear expression of public opinion on the "sandbag" controversy, and with the press unanimously critical of the "Sturm im Glass Wasser,"⁸³ the "Two Lefts" retired to the sidelines to await developments.

That the "storm" had subsided, but its prime instigators given up neither the battle for Sparsamkeit that had brought it on, nor their independence of majority pressures, became clear at the Council vote to approve the budget in its final session of the year. Protesting that the budget was being presented too late to allow for careful study, thereby depriving the Council of its right to question allocations of funds, Mandl, Lueger, and Josef Huber, an Eintracht colleague, voted against the proposal to accept the budget which was

approved by a majority of ninety-five to three.⁸⁴

Mandl and Lueger and their allies on the L.D.C. had actually lost only the first round of a contest that would go on for years until Felder finally gave up the struggle to conduct his office on his terms. Despite the aggressive demeanor of the Landstrasse anti-corruptionists, their primary aim was first of all, good government, not a basically different government. The originality of their effort lay in the attempt to shift power not from one party to another, but from one government organ, the Magistrat, to another, the elected representatives in the City Council and District Committees. Time and again Mandl explained to his voters the simple purpose behind the uproar he created. In one such later account he remarked:⁸⁵

Six years ago when I first entered the City Council, it was seldom the case that Councilmen felt themselves in the least called upon to act as controllers of the communal treasury, or carried out their work with that idea in mind My purpose was to bring them to exercise their full powers of control over communal affairs.

Beneath its non-political exterior, this effort proved, however, well calculated to disrupt a party system showing signs of debility, and an administration that based its authority on the quality of government services the taxpayer was getting for his money. While the immediate effects of Mandl's and Lueger's emergence as a non-party opposition were anything but spectacular, the 1876 spring elections revealed they had not misread the political trend away from party confrontation, nor the relevance of their concern with economy in government and with administrative deficiencies.

The intervening year had brought noticable change to the temper of the left opposition,⁸⁶ and so to the nature of political relationships both within and outside the Rathaus. The bitter confrontations, name-calling, and personal antagonisms that had divided democratic from conservative liberals, appeared to have given way to a spirit of forbearance and compromise, if not total harmony between former enemies.⁸⁷

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Gemeinderath Dr. Mandl.



Cartoon of Dr. Mandl signalling the State Attorney to report corruption in the Vienna administration.

(Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek - Bilderarchiv)

The general tone of the voters assemblies was by all reports, "far less lively than in former years."⁸⁸ "Politics has been pushed into second place," noted the KVZ, "where it belongs in city government ... whose primary task is good administration."⁸⁹ The general feeling that "good administration" meant above all cheap administration, and a government sympathetic to the needs of small business and industry, was illustrated by one voter's strong objection to the candidacy of a physician on the grounds that medical experts in the City Council were of no use to business interests: "We are sick," the man averred, "and need men who represent the economic viewpoint (den volkswirtschaftlichen Standpunkt). If doctors get in, we will just get sicker." (Wenn Mediziner hineinkommen, werden wir noch mehr krank)."⁹⁰

Voter preoccupation with the economy was evident in all districts, and marked by an almost total absence of political concerns and conflicts. Striking, in contrast to former years, was a clear reluctance to adopt or assign political labels. The designation "liberal" in its various manifestations was conspicuously absent in voters meetings and press commentary; as were the epithets and expressions of contempt ("shirt-sleeve politicians," "reactionaries," "screamers," "terrorists," "dictators," "pseudo-liberals," etc.) that had poisoned relations and obscured the common bond between the parties in recent years. Candidates appeared as disinclined as voters to engage in political debate; party affiliation was rarely mentioned, and the great majority confined their campaign speeches to listing their work in the Council - the number of meetings attended, years served, commission and section work - or specific legislation they had introduced on behalf of their districts for schools, street improvements and such. All candidates professed a passion for fiscal restraint, and a determination to spare the taxpayer any additional burdens.⁹¹

Only the Third District produced strong challenges to incumbent candidates, and even these contests were less politi-

cal than contrived by personal differences and local circumstances. Here the German Democratic Club launched a mighty effort to unseat its former comrade, Eintracht candidate Josef Huber, and the Bürgerclub's Dr. Karl Lueger, running again in the Second Curia, but for a full three-year term. As elsewhere, political issues were skirted, and discussion focussed on "material interests and economic questions."⁹² Running against Huber was August Krawani of the KVZ, fore-swearing any political involvements should he be elected. "It is above all important to keep peace, promote unity, and work together," he told the voters, "... and not make opposition for its own sake."⁹³ He promised to care for the material interests of the community and keep public spending to a minimum, provided schools and streets were not neglected. In a similar vein, Lueger's single campaign speech held no surprises or dramatic affirmations, but fell into the general mode of summarizing legislative activities and voicing concern for schools and economic affairs.⁹⁴

Lueger had been nominated again by the Landstrasse Bürgerclub, much to the regret of Mayor Felder and the NFP, but accepted with reservations by the central Bürgerverein, which acted as parent body to link and set electoral guidelines for the conservative liberal district clubs. While the NFP declared, "The Bürgerclub of the Third District seems to be totally off course through its fusion with Eintracht," the Bürgerverein still entertained hopes of bringing the wayward Dr. Lueger to his senses. A subtle strategy was designed to demonstrate the Bürgerverein's disapproval of Lueger's alliance with Dr. Mandl, without on the other hand driving into permanent opposition, "A man whose personal abilities and good will" they highly valued. The central club accordingly withheld endorsements from all candidates in the Third District, even though Lueger's running mate merited its unqualified approval. The move was intended as a warning to and, "directive for Dr. Lueger's future conduct as a City Councilman."⁹⁵

Although he would have liked to block Lueger's re-election at any cost,⁹⁶ Felder no longer commanded the personal authority that had formerly allowed him to manipulate the Mittel-partei to his will. The new chairman of the party, which Felder did not rejoin after Mandl and Lueger parted company with it,⁹⁷ was Karl Weissenberger, the master butcher who with "Papa" Khunn presided over the Landstrasse Bürgerclub and was inclined to take an indulgent attitude in the matter of young Dr. Lueger's high spirits. On the eve of the election a manifesto endorsing Lueger's candidacy was posted by Weissenberger and other prominent citizens of the Third District. Yet Felder's pressure on the numerous bureaucrats who voted in the Second Curia of the Landstrasse was not without effect;⁹⁸ on 21 March 1876 Lueger was elected to a full term with 260 out of 439 votes (or 59 per cent as against the 74 per cent he had won the previous year).⁹⁹

Voter participation in the Landstrasse was again well above the city average, while overall competition for the fifty-one seats at stake reached a low point; only four of fifteen candidates in the Third Curia, and only two of twenty-three in the Second, faced opponents on election day. In view of the large number of "unity" candidates,¹⁰⁰ and the uncertain political identity of the winners in the Third District, reports on the election results were somewhat tentative in assessing the political implications of this election. While the conservative liberals were not sure they had gained anything, the democrats were indisputably the losers; only one of their six contested candidates managed to prevail over his Bürgerverein opponent.¹⁰¹

The NFP chose to see the democratic losses as a sure sign, "the 'wise men' of the Far Left have had their day ... the populace has turned its back on them."¹⁰² While this equation of the 2000 odd voters who cast ballots against democratic candidates with "the populace," is surely misleading - 99 per cent of the Viennese having taken no part and little interest in the election to begin with - the 1876 returns did

show a decline both in voter support for democratic candidates, and in the support democrats were willing to lend each other. The "closed front" of the V.D.S., envisioned three years before, had receded if not from memory, from the realm of realistic probability.¹⁰³ In the Landstrasse, where the Third Curia democrats, with 46 per cent of the votes, had lost by relatively small margins, bitter complaints were voiced at the lack of support tendered by Dr. Schrank and the leaders of the V.D.S.¹⁰⁴ The Morgenpost deplored the decline of, "the once vibrant influential society ... into apathetic bickering groups lacking any sense of common vision or purpose."¹⁰⁵ Even should the democratic leaders bury their differences, as recent meetings between them gave reason to hope, the question still remained, would they find support in the electorate for a unified assault on the bastions of privilege - "a democratic army," willing to enlist behind "the democratic generals."¹⁰⁶

Ironically, the attempted revival of the democratic movement, bearing this thought in mind, brought about its still further disintegration, and the disappearance of the V.D.S. altogether - an event of some importance for the later reconstitution of a powerful left incorporating the Mandl reformers on their own terms.

Hoping to counter the endless charges of democratic lassitude, vagueness, and remoteness from the real concerns of the population, Johann Schrank stepped boldly into the arena of national political controversy, and by doing so called upon the V.D.S. the wrath of the state security forces. Schrank expected to demonstrate the Vienna Democrats' awakening to political and economic reality, by taking a firm stand on the volatile question of renewal of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1877.¹⁰⁷ The issue gained its explosive potential from the unremitting economic depression which Austrian citizens all but unanimously believed would be aggravated by further economic concessions to hold Hungarian allegiance to the dual system worked out in 1867. Already seething under

burdens imposed by the original treaty,¹⁰⁸ the Austrian taxpayer was mobilizing in force by May 1876 to protest new Hungarian demands - particularly, Hungary's opposition to a protective tariff for Austrian industry, its demand for higher grain duties (which would raise living costs in the Austrian half of the Monarchy), and its insistence on a separate Hungarian national bank, all of which asked uncompensated economic sacrifice of the Austrian citizen.¹⁰⁹

Hoping to regain momentum for the faltering V.D.S. by attaching it to this popular cause, Schrank called a mass meeting for 30 May 1876 - "The first party convention (Parteitag) of the democratic party in Vienna, to discuss and decide on a course of action with respect to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise."¹¹⁰ By sending out packets of printed invitations to various clubs for distribution, Schrank overstepped, in the eyes of the Lower Austrian police,¹¹¹ the bounds of the Association Law of 1867, which forbade direct communication between political clubs. Although the charges against the V.D.S. were vehemently denied by Schrank as based on heresay, unproven assumptions, and vague references to "official perceptions of the club's activities and intentions,"¹¹² the "Parteitag" was forbidden and the V.D.S. dissolved by order of the Statthalter of Lower Austria on 4 June 1876.¹¹³

Confronted with a brewing crisis that threatened the dual structure of the Monarchy as the entire Austrian parliament, echoing sentiments voiced in numerous mass petitions,¹¹⁴ popular demonstrations such as the one planned by the V.D.S. were naturally viewed with alarm by the central regime. Although the proceedings against the V.D.S. were denounced in the various democratic clubs as an arbitrary infringement of rights guaranteed by the constitution,¹¹⁵ the government stood firm in the face of all appeals, its harsh warning against agitation deemed inimical to the State, a clear sign that the democratic principle was anything but established, except in the short-sighted view of the NFP.¹¹⁶

Equally plain, in the clamour for a protective tariff and

against the Hungarian Compromise, was a new militance on the part of an industrial middle-class demanding relief from high taxes, foreign competition, and exploitation by monopoly interests in agriculture, transport, banking, and industry. In a front-page editorial entitled, "The Struggle for the Mittelstand,"¹¹⁷ the Morgenpost gave a sympathetic review of the troubles besetting the "working middle-class." These were seen as compounded by government support for the large capitalist enterprises that were closing in on the small producer:

Without the means of big industry to defend itself - machinery, capital, credit, representatives on the boards of banks, railroads, and in government bureaus and legislative bodies - the working 'Bürgerstand' has nothing to compete with but its bare hands and a bitter feeling of helplessness against inner and outer competitors ... while it sinks into beggarmdom and the proletariat.

The source of this decline is not seen in the recent financial crisis, but in official sanctions of economic liberalism in the Industrial Ordinance (Gewerbegesetz) of 1859.¹¹⁸ Despite promised reforms and the urgent need for revision of these laws, "The State sits with its arms folded, content it has served progress by abolishing the guilds." In commiserating with the Kleinbürgertum, the article also chides this independent-minded class for internal divisiveness and failure to organize in defense and promotion of its interests.¹¹⁹

It is only against this background of middle-class economic frustration, unable to find a sympathetic echo in the State, or an outlet in political activity, that Mandl and Lueger's aggressive campaign against municipal corruption with all its attendant risks, becomes somehow understandable. Indeed, they risked, with apparent disregard for the personal consequences of their crusade, the ostracism of the liberal press and expulsion from the political establishment, without which their private as well as public purposes seemed doomed to failure. At the heart of their challenge appears to have been an imperturbable confidence that their efforts would sooner or later strike a responsive chord in the neglected taxpayer, fast becoming disillusioned with the liberal vision

of progress.

The protective tariff issue also came to the attention of the Vienna City Council, where a petition to the Reichsrat for positive action on the matter was prepared by the Second Section in February 1876. Reporting on the crisis in Viennese industry with full particulars, was Dr. Mandl, who had drawn up a petition asking directly for a higher protective tariff. While Lueger and three Councilmen of the left agreed that the urgency of the situation demanded the strongest possible wording, the conservative members, presumably in an effort to tone down the petition without opposing it outright, objected that the Council had no authority to propose specific legislation to the Reichsrat based on its own statistical data. In the end, Mandl's economic figures were sent along with the petition requesting they be considered in deliberations on tariff and trade questions.¹²⁰

The incident reveals the persistence of underlying tensions between left and right in the Council over its proper function as a popular representative body on the one hand, or mere mechanism for providing municipal services and allocating funds from the communal treasury, on the other. This tension, which had been a feature of City Council debates in the 1860's over suffrage questions and building projects for which the City assumed a huge public debt, had slackened in recent years, largely for a lack of pertinent issues to which the democratic principle could be applied - and out of the left's reluctance to match wits with Mayor Felder. Mandl and Lueger had revived some of this tension by raising the issue of the mayor's disciplinary powers, without being in the least concerned what Felder might say or think.¹²¹ That the dispirited left might yet be tapped for support in their effort to restore political meaning to the City Council, was shown by its interest in the discipline question, and here in the debate over the Council's right to petition the Reichsrat on behalf of the citizens it represented.

In the spring of 1876 Karl Lueger stood at a major cross-

road of his political career, with a limited number of options before him. Even had he been inclined to make peace with Steudel and Schrank, the option of joining either of the "Two Lefts" was closed by his long-standing personal conflict with the German Democratic Club of the Third District whose leading members were distributed between the Left and Far Left fractions.¹²² While the Mittelpartei remained accessible, Lueger had been served notice that its good graces were contingent up his abandoning Ignatz Mandl, and giving up his opposition to Mayor Felder. While this possibility offered the distinct advantage of political security, it would have entailed a loss of independence, and commitment to a party whose political tempo was far too slow for an impatient young do-gooder eager to speed up the sluggish progress of democracy in Vienna. Mandl, on the other hand, offered Lueger an active role in that process, but through a partnership holding no guarantee of success apart from the erratic brilliance and civic passion of a man with a rare bent for making enemies and attracting bad publicity. Mandl had two things more: a small weekly newspaper called Fortschritt (Progress) which he owned and used to broadcast his ideas and corruption findings; and his political club, Eintracht with its following in the Erdberg section of the Third District. This loyal corps of voters had again demonstrated its effectiveness by returning Josef Huber to the Council in the face of strong opposition from the German Democratic Club.¹²³

Within two months of the 1876 election, Lueger's decision to throw in his lot with Dr. Mandl was a matter of public record. The move was forced by a split in the Landstrasse Bürgerclub over a fresh controversy involving its noisiest member Dr. Mandl.¹²⁴ An uproar in the City Council, which was reported as, "reminiscent of the worst scenes created by that body's 'enfant terrible' the previous year,"¹²⁵ gave the signal for the exodus from the Bürgerclub of its founders and half the membership. This time Mandl had committed the unforgivable sin of casting aspersions on the City Council it-

self. He first objected to a motion before the Council to approve a bank transaction he insisted was not in the city's interest, but rather likely to line the pockets of the bank's directors, at least one of whom was a Council colleague. Noting the large attendance from the ranks of habitual absentees, Mandl did not shy from suggesting a majority had been artificially "drummed up" (zusammengetrompelt) to pass a bill clearly favoring propertied interests who otherwise would have stayed home as usual. At this insinuation that questionable motives were at work in the unusually solid attendance, Mandl was overwhelmed by a storm of angry protest from every corner of the chamber. Members rose to condemn him and his "entire system of unfounded suspicions (Verdächtigungssystem).\" In a demonstration of furious solidarity, the Council approved the bank measure 98 to 3 - in the minority were only Mandl, Lueger and a comrade from the "sandbag" days, Ferdinand Mayer.¹²⁶

The following day, "Papa" Khunn, Weisenberger, and fifty-nine members of the Bürgerclub resigned in protest against, "Dr. Mandl's offensive and unheard of attacks on the City Council," which precluded their remaining in the same club with, "men who have taken it upon themselves to damage the image and dignity of the City Council."¹²⁷ It was not only Mandl, however, who had made the Bürgerclub uncomfortable for its oldest members; the real problem was that they had stood helpless before the infiltration of their club by Eintracht members until the latter had all but gained control over it. A Mandl and Lueger cohort, District Committeeman Riby, had been elected chairman of the club on the eve of the scandalous doings in the Council that provided the occasion for the mass resignation.¹²⁸

Although an unwelcome blow to the deserted rump that was now the Landstrasse Bürgerclub, the formal break had the advantage of removing the last restraint to Dr. Mandl's bid for power in the Third District. In a ruthless play for command of the L.D.C., Mandl and Lueger were now to employ to the full and all but exhaust the resources of the anti-corruptionists.

At the same time, they would strike genuine alarm in the liberal establishment at the force of a new radicalism that called into question not the principles, but the practice of liberalism.

Beneath the surface calm that had seen Lueger through his re-election, a sequel to the "Sand Affair" had been building in the continuing investigation of the L.D.C.'s catalogue of complaints against the Department of Public Works (Stadtbaupamt). New irregularities came to light, this time in gravel purchases, but were again dismissed for insufficient evidence to show criminal intent on the part of either the contractor or the officials who had authorized payment for materials and services improperly rendered. Lueger and Mandl again protested that the investigation had not been thorough, and that failure to prove malfeasance should not blind authorities to the fact that abuses existed and should be corrected.¹²⁹ This line of reasoning gradually found support in the Council where legislation was introduced later in the year to provide for stricter regulation of street care and maintainance in the various districts.¹³⁰

But Mandl and Lueger were impatient for results, and anxious to counter the double blow, first, of the Council's dismissal of their "gravel conspiracy," and second, of the Bürgerclub split, which was correctly interpreted as a declaration of war by their former patrons. By chance, a weapon fell into the hands of the anti-corruptionists that allowed them to launch a counter-offensive in two directions at once: against the corruption that was not being taken seriously by the Felder administration; and against the Landstrasse conservative liberals who had left the "ex-democrats" politically stranded. The two-pronged attack that was to provoke widespread consternation and unite the anti-Mandl forces in a desperate attempt to get rid of the "troublemakers," was inspired by one finding that could not be shrugged away as unsubstantiated. A clear conspiracy to defraud the commune was discovered, involving Landstrasse District Chairman, Matthias Mayer,

who had served honorably in that capacity for twenty-eight years, and whose removal from office would very likely result in one of Mandl's followers being elected in his place.

Out of sympathy for a local civil servant who had fallen on hard times, District Chairman Mayer had arranged for this man to receive double pay as a part-time city worker by being listed under both halves of his conveniently long name, Kirschlehner.¹³¹ The revelation that Herr Kirsch and Herr Lehner were one and the same, provided Mandl and Lueger with the chance to strike a blow for the public interest and for their political ambitions all at once. Heedless of the small sum involved,¹³² and of the overwhelming sentiment in the City Council in favor of forgiving this minor transgression by model citizen in his eighties, Mandl and Lueger threatened to press criminal charges against the District Chairman if he was not removed from his post. Mayer promptly resigned, less in disgrace, than in indignation at the fuss over a charitable act he insisted was common knowledge in the District Committee. Mandl and Lueger had succeeded in creating the vacancy at the head of the L.D.C. which they hoped to fill with one of their own. Events, and the now thoroughly alarmed conservative liberals conspired, however, to thwart the takeover of the District Committee by the Eintracht renegades.

Due to one death and two previous resignations, the L.D.C. was reduced to 14 members, 9 of whom were active in Mandl's anti-corruption crusade.¹³³ This would have easily given the Mandl party the victory, if the five conservatives had not boycotted the election of a new chairman, thereby depriving the Committee of the necessary quorum.¹³⁴ In respect of a situation not foreseen by the drafters of the City Ordinance, the Council offered to recognize a quorum of 10 rather than the usual 12, a concession Lueger accepted with good grace, going so far as to express appreciation for the Council's "unaccustomed willingness in this case to meet me half-way." This remark, which might under ordinary circumstances have passed without comment, was taken by Mayor Felder as an oc-

casion to vent his annoyance over the "Kirschlehner Affair," and his general antipathy to the young smart-aleck from the Landstrasse. As presiding officer, Felder denounced Lueger's remark as an, "inadmissible breach of parliamentary etiquette" and demanded a "call to order" as admonishment.¹³⁵

Deeply affected by the Mayor's rebuke for what could at worst have been meant as a light sarcasm, Lueger returned the offense in the next Council session, touching off a scene such as would have been unthinkable two years before. In contrast to the "Hausknecht" incident, which had seen the democrats humbly submit to Felder's censure of Dr. Schrank's "ironic chuckle,"¹³⁶ the Mayor this time faced an adversary who could not be intimidated and was, in fact, eager to press his own complaints against a man he had come to consider an enemy of representative government and foe of the public interest. On 5 September 1876, Lueger presented two "urgent motions" in the City Council aimed directly at the weakest points in Felder's conduct of his office - his political partiality, and his dual role as head of both branches of the municipal government, which Lueger contended allowed the Mayor to obstruct disciplinary proceedings against erring public officials.

The first motion pointed out the unfairness of Felder's application of the rule governing unacceptable language in the Council chamber:¹³⁷

Considering that the Mayor permits such expressions as 'vile slander,' 'dissemination of lies,' etc. in violation of Rule 33 of the Business Order, when employed by his followers against members of the opposition; then issues 'calls to order' for such expressions as, 'will- ingness to meet half-way;'

Considering that the Mayor often takes part in debates without, as prescribed, first turning over the Chair to his deputy,

We move that the City Council enjoin Dr. Cajetan Felder to conduct his post as presiding officer ... impartially in the future, and to observe the Business Order for meetings of the City Council.

Felder summarily rejected Lueger's "considerations," and defended his "call to order" as justified considering Lueger

had, "accused the entire Council of partiality against the Landstrasse District Committee;" he added that he would, "furthermore, not go to school to Herr Dr. Lueger in the matter of strict observance of the Business Order." While not denying a certain laxness where the Business Order was concerned, Felder justified minor departures from the written rules as sanctioned, "by custom and necessity in the interest of saving time" Felder closed his rejoinder with the hope, "... the honored assembly will agree I am not deserving of Herr Dr. Lueger's reproaches." That the imperious Mayor, who had worked his will on Vienna's political life for more than a decade, should have been brought to such an appeal by a newcomer half his age, sent a shock wave of indignation through the chamber. Even the democrats on the far left, who had many times felt the sting of Felder's partisanship,¹³⁸ now showed the extent of their disorientation by voting with the majority to proceed to the Order of the Day without further debate on Lueger's motion.

Lueger then put his second motion. Referring to the danger that the mayor, "as head of both the legislative and executive branches,... might misuse his authority to suppress criticism originating in the Council of the activities of the magisterial branch for which he is responsible," Lueger moved:

... that the City Council declare the position of the mayor as direct head of the Magistrat incompatible with his position as presiding officer of the City Council. It is requested that the Statute Revision Commission proceed to draw up an alternative to this injurious situation (Übelstand).

Felder took the second motion, like the first, as an attempt to offend him personally - this time by repeating with a modicum of discretion the familiar charge of the Mandl party that he suffered corruption, if not gladly, with more tolerance than the public interest could safely bear. There having been, however, aside from the pathetic "Kirschlehner" disclosure, no proven case of official misconduct, Felder was easily able to return the implied insult by castigating

the futile effort to uncover "non-existent misdeeds," which for the past year had simply worn thin the Council's patience and wasted its precious time.

It was, of course, precisely the difficulty of proving their assertions, when evidence mysteriously disappeared,¹³⁹ and Felder invariably accepted the depositions of those under suspicion, to which Lueger was objecting. The Council, in turn, having until then no reason to doubt the Mayor, and none to show any sympathy for the failed anti-corruptionists, rejected Lueger's second motion as it had the first.

The significance of this exchange was both in the novelty of Lueger's direct personal challenge to the Mayor - "unheard of," and "scandalous," as it was characterized by Council and press¹⁴⁰ - and in the underlying pressures that forced the simmering feud between Felder and Lueger (with Mandl) into the open. The still pending fate of the L.D.C. could in any case not have been far from the minds of the Council as it witnessed the verbal duel between the Mayor and its youngest member. The next item on the agenda was a motion scheduling a new election for Chairman of the L.D.C., and providing for the dissolution of the Council failing a quorum of ten. The motion was passed by all but eight votes - four more than had voted against closing debate over Lueger's two motions - among them Johann Steudel, who was sternly taken to task by the Morgenpost for this show of solidarity with the "terrorists of the left."¹⁴¹

As foreseen by Mandl and Lueger, the necessary quorum of ten failed to appear, and new elections for the entire District Committee were scheduled for mid-October.¹⁴² While Mandl and Lueger saw their political futures at stake in this election, their opponents saw it as a prime opportunity to rid the city of the most troublesome element it had known in Council politics since the dawn of the liberal age in 1861. From the moment the election dates were set, a flurry of political activity and agitation, "as has not been seen in Vienna since the introduction of the suffrage,"¹⁴³ was reported

in every Viennese paper. The matter was, furthermore, only mentioned in the company of stern instructions to the voters to attend to their "civic responsibilities" by making sure the "denunciators" were turned out of office.¹⁴⁴

Indicating the fear and confusion the "Mandl Party" had engendered outside as well as within the City Council, the German Democratic Club moved into alliance with the conservative liberals of the Landstrasse to combat what one democrat saw as, "the spread of a form of anarchy in the district."¹⁴⁵ Having given up hope of reconciliation with its abandoned other half, the Bürgerclub resignees had formed a new club they called the Bürgerverein;¹⁴⁶ an unfortunate choice of name in that it contributed to voter confusion between it and the Lueger-controlled rump of the old Bürgerclub.¹⁴⁷ In any case, the district notables, now organized in the Landstrasse Bürgerverein, were more than ready to join hands with the lesser citizens they had formerly dismissed as "shirt-sleeve democrats," to regain control of their district's governing apparatus, and restore "peace and order" to the commune.

What might, in view of this combined opposition, have seemed a hopeless struggle for the Mandl-Lueger team, remained a "heated combat" to the end.¹⁴⁸ For what the variously "two-man party," "three-man party" had lost by the withdrawal of conservative support, it made up in fighting stamina and readiness to spare nothing in a desperate bid for votes. To the consternation of their opponents, the "Mandli-ner" were reported to be employing paid agitators who canvassed neighborhoods spreading propaganda and urging commitments from voters to support the "district reformers" on the Committee. The effectiveness of this activity was noted with dismay by the KVZ, which observed, "The Mandl agents have actually succeeded in winning some men who are uninformed as to circumstances in the district."¹⁴⁹ No aid to the enlightenment of the uninformed was the confusion of names adopted by the parties for themselves and their opponents. The Mandl party, for example, sent out circulars in the name of

"The electoral committee of the liberal party," while the democratic-conservative coalition referred to itself as, "the liberal party of order (liberale Ordnungspartei)," or "the truly liberal and sensible (besonnene) party," and the other side as, "Mandlianer," "Zwei-Männerpartei," or just, the "denunciators."¹⁵⁰

The intense public interest in the election, as well as its highly emotional character, were brought out in the official voters assembly held one week before the election. Tempers ran amok as speakers were alternately cheered and booed by an unusually large crowd of 300 voters. The Mandl candidates,¹⁵¹ denounced Mayor Felder as a despot while defending their "sand and gravel" charges as fully justified; the anti-Mandlers, with nothing positive to contribute, contented themselves with deploring the "tactics of denunciation" of their opponents, until the meeting ended in what one reporter described as a "screaming tumult."¹⁵²

The general ferment and singular interest in the struggle between what some considered "anarchy and order," others, reform and corruption, carried over to the election, which saw an impressive turnout of over 50 per cent of the voters in the Third and Second Curia. The enormous effort of the Mandl party to convince the voters of the value of its investigations, and the justice of its assertions that misconduct was going unpunished in the civil service, proved inadequate to the combined onslaught of the democratic-conservative alliance and the Viennese press. Characteristic of the latter, was the following editorial printed in the Morgenpost on the eve of the election:¹⁵³

The interests of all Vienna are concerned in the scandals emanating from the Landstrasse; the manner in which the District Committee there has played detective, bringing almost totally baseless accusations and creating strife and squabbling that has carried over to the Rathaus. The voters should give the tribunes their walking papers. Mandl and Lueger should learn they need more than pushiness and importunity (Vor- und Zudringlichkeit) to ride on the shoulders of the populace.... The voters should ... put an end

to the 'witches Sabbath' of Mandl and Lueger. To the relief of this and other journals, "not one of the candidates nominated by the "Siamese-twin Bürgerclub-Eintracht" was elected.¹⁵⁴ Although defeated overwhelmingly in the Second and, as expected, in the First Curia, the margin of defeat in the Third where the Mandl party won 43 per cent of the votes, was rather less discouraging - a decline of 10 per cent since the spring elections, but a sign of surprising vitality, considering the political isolation and press antagonism the party faced in this campaign.

The significance of this extraordinary election is not only in the defeat of the two men most dramatically effected; it is also in the partial victory they had a right to claim with the strong showing of their candidates in the Third Curia. Here the effectiveness of a new approach to politics, introduced by Mandl and Lueger, was clearly demonstrated. Although denounced as "revolutionary" and "anarchic,"¹⁵⁵ the radicalism of these two men was more of style than substance, combining a sense of theatricality with a fervent moral intensity such as had gone out of city politics with the gradual somnolence of the democratic left. If nothing else, Mandl and Lueger had succeeded in reviving a political milieu grown stodgy and out of touch with the feelings and frustrations of the average voter. While the democratic purists had remained content to "speak out the window" of the Reichsrat, and from the pages of a boring newspaper to an imaginary audience of like-minded idealists, Mandl and Lueger filled the galleries¹⁵⁶ with their histrionics, promise of scandal, and concern with problems that could be seen and counted. If they had not yet uncovered a significant case of corruption, at least they had taken the trouble to investigate abuses that affected everyone directly and painfully. Perhaps most important of all, they had not merely conferred with their cronies, or composed essays extolling liberty, but gone directly to the voter, wherever he happened to be - his home, coffee-house, or favorite saloon - and shown an interest in his woes.

With these novel tactics, Mandl and Lueger attracted attention not only to themselves, but to conditions and issues that would keep the political pot boiling as long as Dr. Mandl was prepared to devote his life and fortune, and Dr. Lueger his talents and expertise to the cause of municipal integrity and the public interest. In contrast to the older Viennese democrats, who had taken their appeal for granted while they agonized over voter indifference, Ignatz Mandl was the first to understand the art of mobilizing popular support through aggressive agitation, personal contact, and a hitherto unknown degree of self-promotion - the last derided as "popularity seeking" by opponents who persisted in clinging to the notion that municipal politics had everything to do with order and professional competence, nothing with popularity. The Third Curia election results had not proven this view mistaken; but neither had they totally negated the efficacy of verbal fireworks and a politics of confrontation with the established order. The day following the District Committee poll, the Morgenpost reported, "Mandl, Lueger, and Huber, quiet as mice, but the galleries filled with spectators waiting for a new commotion (Hetz)."¹⁵⁷

For the moment, however, the Mandl party appeared crushed by its defeat, and by the resignation of Dr. Lueger from the City Council on the day following the disheartening Second Curia election, in which the Mandl candidates won only 25 per-cent of the vote. Explaining that he could not in good conscience continue to represent citizens who had clearly lost confidence in him, Lueger gave up his precious mandate, to the dismay of his Eintracht-Bürgerclub colleagues, and to the wonder and gratification of his detractors. The City Council applauded the announcement of Lueger's resignation, while some of his harshest critics sounded an unexpected note of compassion and respect for the ordeal that brought him to take so hard a decision. "Dr. Lueger's resignation has met with well-meaning approval in almost all circles; the young lawyer is seen as deserving great credit for coming to his senses and

rescuing his honor before it is too late," announced the KVZ.¹⁵⁸

Other reasons may also have prompted Lueger to sacrifice his office at this time and escape temporarily the relentless pressures of his hectic political life. There is evidence, as well as a certain logic, to reports that the grueling campaign, the ceaseless pounding he received from the press, and Lueger's repeated failure to pierce the Mayor's defenses or ruffle his composure,¹⁵⁹ had brought him to the brink of nervous collapse. The Wiener Bürger Zeitung reported that Lueger had been living, "in a state of constant nervous excitement for weeks, unable to eat, drink, or sleep, giving those nearest him to fear he might become ill or prone to some sudden catastrophe."¹⁶⁰ For a young man of Lueger's temperament, accustomed from childhood to affection, praise, and reward for concentrated effort, who had also committed his personal and political aspirations to a plan of action that had badly misfired,¹⁶¹ the foregoing events may well have engendered a deep personal crisis, as indicated in the above press report.

The expectation, however, that, "the bitter experience ... might have brought him to view things differently," and released him from, "the diabolical embrace of his friend, Dr. Mandl,"¹⁶² proved premature. Lueger emerged from his crisis within weeks, fully determined to carry on the good fight with Dr. Mandl and his now lone accomplice in the City Council, Josef Huber.¹⁶³ While Lueger's resignation may be easily understood as a move to salvage the remnants of his personal dignity, and testify to the importance he attached to a correct relationship with his voters, his rapid return to the fray requires some analysis of his position and prospects at the turn of the year 1876-1877. It required, first of all, the assumption that Lueger, being neither a fool nor bent on self-destruction, had good reason to believe Mandl's anti-corruption campaign was fundamentally sound, and would eventually find justification in the eyes of at least some skeptics.¹⁶⁴

Secondly, related to the conviction that the Mandl party would be taken seriously sooner or later, was the unstable combination of forces opposing him for different reasons, and therefore likely to break up again as some major objection of one or the other parties was satisfied.

To elucidate: the anti-Mandl-Lueger front consisted of three elements, each with its own reasons for joining a concerted drive to deprecate and, if possible, eliminate the two from public life. The first element was Mayor Felder and the Mittelpartei, which continued to follow his lead even though he was no longer a member of this group which represented primarily the aims and interests of the highest taxpayers. Their objection was based on Felder's belief that the liberal system of upper-class rule, which he considered the surest guarantee of the city's autonomy, would be deprived of legitimacy by the exposure of corruption in his administration. Felder had also developed a personal aversion to Lueger in particular; for while he tended to excuse Dr. Mandl as a lunatic not fully responsible for his wild outbursts, exaggerated claims and obstinate defiance, Felder took Lueger, with his splendid credentials, cool intelligence and irritating legalism, as a deliberate "spoiler" (ein zielbewusster Bösewicht) - a man who would willfully destroy anything in his way that denied him "blind submission."¹⁶⁵

The second element, was the independent progressive liberal press, represented by the Morgenpost and KVZ, which tended to be critical of all aspects of the municipal government as this fell short of meeting the basic requirements and services the public had a right to demand - fresh water, cheap bread, passable streets, proper sanitation and transport facilities, etc., all at the lowest possible cost.¹⁶⁶ The attack on the Mandl Party from this quarter was prompted less by fear that it would spoil the image of the Magistrat, than by annoyance that nothing had been found to justify the excitement and precious Council time spent chasing phantom evildoers and petty miscreants. The "revelations" of an unauthorized shoe

repair by the director of a city orphanage, of a cook receiving extra wages budgeted for a kitchen maid, or of a worker at that institution having helped herself to city property in the form of two bars of soap, cannot, the *Morgenpost* asserted "be regarded as injurious to the commune ... and are really not worth the agitation this orphanage investigation has aroused in the City Council."¹⁶⁷

More injurious, both papers agreed, were the tactics of the "communal detectives" in bringing their flimsy charges, and incorrectly ascribing abuses to the Mayor and Magistrat, who were seen as carrying out their responsibilities strictly and in good conscience.¹⁶⁸ Concern was also voiced that the persistent charges of corruption, though greatly exaggerated, were creating the impression that Vienna was incapable of keeping its house in order, and was thus liable to intervention by higher authorities at the expense of its jealously guarded autonomy. Although at the moment the city's self-governing apparatus unjustly favored the privileged, its preservation was essential to the liberalization of political life and more equitable distribution of power that were the goal of all progressive liberals. "That these denigrators of communal authority are serving reactionary purposes, seems not to be clear to these so-called 'democrats,'" noted the Morgenpost as new intimations of fraud came to the attention of the City Council in mid-October 1876. The charges this time involved alleged official indifference to abuses in the administration of Vienna's new Central Cemetery (Zentralfriedhof). In contrast to previous cases, the cemetery revelations, details of which had been published in Mandl's newspaper, Fortschritt, had the ring of serious mischief afoot among the gravediggers, contractors, and city personnel connected with this communal enterprise.¹⁶⁹ Felder's, by now standard, refrain that the matter had been investigated to his entire satisfaction - "that the officials concerned had performed with exemplary honesty and sense of duty" - did not on this occasion erase all misgivings. Reporting on the latest accusations,

the KVZ served a warning against any cover-up attempt in the case:¹⁷⁰

Even if we do not approve the method of denunciation employed, we expect the City Council to proceed unsparingly (schonungslos) to determine whether there is any truth to these charges.

Lueger, who was closely involved in collecting the data on the cemetery revelations, may well have taken heart in the midst of his defeat, that the Mandl party, far from running out of ammunition, might expect reinforcement from quarters not in principle opposed to their efforts, but waiting to be convinced of their utility.

The third element in the anti-Mandl coalition, and the one least comfortable in the role of Felder acolyte, was the group in principle closest to Mandl and Lueger, but repelled by their obstinate independence and insistence on going their own way - the Vienna democrats. The possibility of winning support in the incohesive collection of Left and Far Left Councilmen was apparent in the occasional appearance of one or two of them on the side of the "Three-man Party;" Ferdinand Mayer in the "Sand Affair;" Löblich and the chairman of the Left Leopold Berg, in the protective tariff petition; the "Two Left" caucuses in the question of the mayor's disciplinary powers; Steudel and a handful of democrats in the cloture vote over Lueger's motions against Felder's partisanship toward the Magistrat and his own political followers.

Lueger's ambivalent relationship to the Vienna democrats is a major aspect of his political development, and the key to understanding his ultimate break with the liberal tradition and with his colleagues of the City Council left. This relationship was from the beginning of Lueger's involvement in district politics, charged with tension. The conflict was basically personal rather than political - between an ambitious self-assertive, exceptionally able young man who knew himself to be superior, and the rather less brilliant, less accomplished men who represented his political values, but by virtue of their seniority and earlier start, blocked

his personal advance within the democratic movement.

Only in Ignatz Mandl did Lueger find an intellect and drive comparable to his own, and in the slightly older man's daring nonconformity and novel political approach, the ideal complement to his own special qualities. "Both were personalities so well endowed beyond the general range of intellect and talent on the Council left, that they easily dominated their democratic colleagues," noted a contemporary who was able to observe both Lueger and Mandl at close range. "Mandl was the more original thinker of the two," according to Sigmund Mayer, "... while Lueger had the facility of adopting the ideas of others and ... promoting them with the full force of his imposing personality and special talent as a public speaker and trained jurist."¹⁷¹ Certainly in the first years of their association Mandl took the lead in charting their common way through the toilsome maze of Viennese politics.

Both Mandl and Lueger arrived on the scene too late to find a place within the democratic establishment that would fully occupy the abundance of energy, talent, and public zeal they had to offer. While Krawani held sway over the democratic club that, until the advent of Eintracht, controlled the Third Curia elections in the Landstrasse, Steudel and Schrank presided respectively over the Far Left City Council fraction and the city-wide club network intended as the nucleus of a popular democratic party. It was Lueger's misfortune that he stood ideologically closest to the party that was most jealous of his ambition to play a leading role. His break with the party that showed him every personal consideration to the point of indulgence, on the other hand, severed ties with a party whose political priorities he never claimed to have adopted in the first place.

Still, it is unlikely Lueger merely "used" the Mittelpartei to get elected, intending to desert at the first opportunity. For one thing, with the democrats faltering and divided among themselves, there was nothing substantial to de-

sert to; for another, he had no reason to believe the Mittel-partei would prove an obstacle to his effectiveness as a legislator for the betterment of the commune. Most likely, he was not prepared by his association with the congenial Landstrasse patriarchs, for the situation he found upon closer acquaintance with the power structure in the Rathaus - with Mayor Felder holding both the party and the city government in a grip so tight as to deny any impulse for change or improvement that did not meet his own rigid specifications for the general good.¹⁷²

Ignatz Mandl was in a similar quandary, When his failed attempt to win a Reichsrat seat in 1873, verified the impossibility of breaking up or breaking into the movement controlled by Schrank and Steudel, he followed Lueger's example and accepted the support of the Bürgerclub.¹⁷³ Both Mandl and Lueger, however, confined their public opposition to their erstwhile comrades to attacks on the "democratic leadership," thus keeping the door open to an eventual reconciliation should more favorable circumstances arise. Their uncompromising challenge to Mayor Felder, conversely, created a permanent breach with the Rathaus conservatives.

If Mandl's and Lueger's parting from the Mittelpartei was not planned in advance, it was made inevitable by Felder's obstinate refusal to respect their efforts to stand guard over the communal treasury, and his failure to see anything constructive behind their unremitting inquisitiveness, extroverted moralism, and appeal to the lesser citizen, whose cause the democrats had inscribed on their banner, but done little else to promote as the plight of the Viennese Kleinbürger went from bad to worse.¹⁷⁴ In this hard-up class of master craftsmen and small proprietors Ignatz Mandl found a following that believed in his efforts to protect and promote their material interests; equally important was the way Mandl went about capturing his small but loyal contingent of Erdberg voters. For in abjuring the conventional attitudes, rhetoric, and power structure of Viennese liberalism, in em-

phasizing economic over political goals, individual over party values, and frenetic agitation over polite discourse, Mandl introduced a new political style, that would serve in the hands of his helpmeet and protege, Karl Lueger, to undermine the very system it was designed to reform.

Lueger in 1877, however, was far from being in a position to undermine anything other than possibly his own political future. Out of office and relegated to the sidelines, his first priority was to gain a new constituency that would return him to the City Council. For it was there, among the peoples' representatives, rather than in the popular mass, that the future tribune expected to exercise his political calling and win the acceptance of his peers on his own terms. For the next five years, Lueger would follow Mandl's lead in applying his controversial new style to the limited purpose of forming not a mass political party, but a parliamentary majority of the City Council left.

By the end of 1876, Mandl and Lueger had reached a nadir in their joint search for a political base from which to launch a reform movement against Rathaus regime. Had their legion of Erdberg voters not held firm, the tiny Mandl party would have suffered mortal injury in October 1876, and surely not survived the spring elections of 1877, when Mandl's City Council seat came up for renewal. While the crucial importance of this campaign was self-evident, it was equally clear to Mandl that he would have to win new adherents, besides holding voters who had stood by him in the past; and who were now called to the polls for the second time within five months.

Mandl also hoped to fill two other expired mandates, held by members of the German Democratic Club, with Eintracht loyalists, Dr. Leopold Holly,¹⁷⁵ and former District Committeeman Moritz Riby, who had led the anti-corruptionists on the L.D.C. before its dissolution in October 1876.¹⁷⁶ Riby was not the only member of the "dissolved" L.D.C. to be rewarded with a candidacy; the Second Curia seat vacated by

Lueger, was conferred by the new Bürgerverein on a District Committeeman whose timely "change of mind" had deprived the anti-corruptionists of an essential vote in their attempt to stave off dissolution.¹⁷⁷ Lueger confined himself to campaigning on behalf of the Eintracht-Bürgerclub slate.

Against the three candidates of the democratic-conservative coalition,¹⁷⁸ the Mandl party launched a campaign surpassing any thus far seen in the Landstrasse or any other Viennese district.¹⁷⁸ To the tried technique of house to house canvassing and electioneering in pubs and coffeehouses, was added a new means of organizing support among the Third Curia master craftsmen. Eintracht members on the boards of various trade associations (Gewerbege nossenschaften) were directed to call special meetings of these groups, "ostensibly to discuss guild matters," at which Mandl and his running mates were presented as "particular protectors of small trade and industry (besondere g ö n n e r d e s K l e i n g e w e r b e s)."¹⁷⁹

While taking exception to the propriety of using guild¹⁸⁰ meetings for political purposes, the KVZ expressed outrage at what it called "dirty tactics, such as are common in Hungary," being utilized by the Mandlers in their desperate bid for votes.¹⁸¹ Particularly vile, as well as ridiculous, considering Ignatz Mandl's origins, was a "Mandl Party" objection against a Bürgerverein candidate on the grounds that he was Jewish. The individual responsible for injecting this portentous, though at the time still irrelevant, issue,¹⁸² is not named by the KVZ, and the incident is treated more as a comic aspect of the "over-heated struggle in the Third District," than as one deserving serious attention. The absurdity is noted, "... of warning against a candidate on the grounds he is a Jew, by people whose list is headed by a man belonging likewise to God's Chosen People; one who this time, however, will count with those who are called, but not chosen." Sounding a more solemn note in conclusion, as if the spectre of anti-semitism might after all be lurking in certain quarters, the paper averred, "Intelligent voters in the Land-

strasse have long since advanced beyond asking of a candidate if he is a Christian or a Jew."¹⁸³

Although the anti-semitism issue may not have been entirely without significance,¹⁸⁴ the real issue and major point of the Eintracht men was their promise to bring an end to mismanagement and corruption in municipal government. Moving from one beer or wine "Stube" to another, night after night for weeks, Mandl delivered a running tirade against the Felder regime in a battle that appeared at the end no longer as hopeless as it had seemed at the outset. The certainty of the press in early March that "anything connected with the Mandlianers has no prospect of success,"¹⁸⁵ had three weeks later given way to a more cautious note, taking into account the impact of Mandl's tireless and passionate electioneering. "He counts, after all, not a few supporters who listen to and believe in him, and are determined to help him. Mandl is not an enemy to be underestimated," warned the KVZ on the eve of the 1877 spring election.¹⁸⁶

The following day, the "unexpected occurred," with all three Mandl candidates victorious in an unprecedented voter turnout of 70 per-cent of the Landstrasse Third Curia electorate.¹⁸⁷ Mandl's success was attributed both to the extraordinary nature of his effort, and to the "bad times" which created an audience receptive to, "one who appears to share their misery and promises 'golden mountains' All the same, while not to everyone's taste,... it was a hard piece of work (ein saures Stück Arbeit) and the electorate is not so thankless as to have let it go uncompensated." If nothing elst, Mandl had demonstrated the effectiveness of his new political style.

Mandl's achievement was all the more impressive considering the subdued temper of the election in general. Still fewer seats were contested than the year before as the Bürger and democratic parties presented unity tickets in nearly every district, and the electorate showed its usual disinterest by staying away from voters assemblies, and at home on

election day.¹⁸⁸ The Morgenpost, accustomed to bewailing voter apathy, found little to praise this time in the strong turnout of the Landstrasse Third Curia.¹⁸⁹ It did not share the sanguine outlook of the KVZ that Mandl's election should not be taken too seriously, "... the world will continue to turn, and nothing will really change in the government of the city of Vienna."¹⁹⁰ The Morgenpost, rather, saw the prospect of Dr. Mandl's return as, "A new calamity for peace in the commune," and warned that only more of the same could be expected from a man singularly given to, "Sowing dissention and strife in the Council chamber with his unjustified complaints against the municipal administration."¹⁹¹

This appraisal in fact demoted the two basic problems that were to occupy Ignatz Mandl and his adherents for some time to come: first, to show that their complaints were justified and worthy of serious attention; second, to show they could not only disrupt the Council, but serve as a new center of cohesion among the scattered and demoralized anti-Felder elements. The virtual extinction of political conflict in the Council with the decline of the democratic party was, indeed, deplored by the very circles most critical of the Mandl party's operations.¹⁹² For while this splinter fraction had assumed the role of opposition vacated by the democrats after the election of 1875, it had proven no more adept than the Far Left in loosening Felder's hold over the City Council; on the contrary, it had strengthened the Mayor's "voting machine" by distracting the progressive representatives from their accustomed role. Mandl was not condemned by these for making opposition, but for making opposition that seemed only senseless and destructive, as the Morgenpost explained:¹⁹³

If the scandal stories dredged up by certain squabblers (Krakehlern) in the Third District had at least led to something tangible, if the denunciators had produced any results worth mentioning, the reaction to them might be otherwise. Yet they have only brought forth a 'ridiculous mouse,' and an entire party must pay for the sins of a few.

Dr. Mandl had demonstrated the disruptive capacity of a lone "squabbler" out of step with the conventions of his political environment; and he had shown a flair for enticing victory out of defeat in the most trying circumstances through sheer tenacity and telling powers of persuasion over a certain kind of voter. Having mastered the art of winning office, it remained to be seen if he could win in the Council a measure of the support and trust he had evoked in his constituents - or whether he would remain as he had been, isolated, despised, and ridiculed as, "The leader and sole member of his party in the last row of the City Council chamber."¹⁹⁴

Notes:

- 1 DZ, 24 April 1875.
- 2 Morgenpost, 20 May 1875, noted in an article entitled, "An Emergency Cry for Work," "... things cannot go on like this! The savings and emergency funds of the Kleingewerbe are exhausted and their personal credit ruined."
- 3 Morgenpost, 12 October 1875.
Wiener Zeitung, 2 March 1875, comparing meat and bread prices in Vienna with those in other Austrian cities, found these in every respect higher - in the case of beef and bread, 26 and 28 percent respectively.
- 4 Morgenpost, 29 September 1875, noted the retail price of meat had risen steadily since 1861, even when wholesale prices declined. On 4 September 1876, the paper belied the extravagance theory by noting a decrease in beef consumption and increase in the use of horsemeat, chicken, flour and rice from 1875-1876.
- 5 KVZ, 7 October 1875, declared "high food prices are still preferable to calling in question the basic premises of the constitution."
- 6 Unemployment was equally severe in heavy and light industry: one-quarter of iron workers were unemployed (3000); of 3000 shoe- and dressmakers, 50 per cent were out of work, as were 50 per cent of the turners and 34 per cent of 6000 carpenters. Morgenpost, 5 March 1876.
- 7 The statistics were compiled by Ignatz Mandl.
- 8 KVZ, 12 January 1876.
- 9 NFP, 17 October 1875; KVZ, 12 January 1876.
- 10 NFP, 17 October 1875.
- 11 KVZ, 12 January 1876.
After one attempt to square his free-trade beliefs with protectionist sentiments of his constituents, one of these remarked, "People feel as though a mill-wheel is spinning in their heads. Schrank's speech had better be printed - and quickly - or the customs question will be solved before his party has figured out what his position really is."
KVZ, 15 November 1875.
- 12 DZ, 18 April 1874; Deutsche Zeitung, 25 February 1876.
- 13 NFP, 16 December 1875; KVZ, 24 November 1876, reported Steudel presenting a disarmament petition to the City Council, "as the people cannot afford the taxes to support a huge army budget."
- 14 NFP, 17 October 1875.
- 15 Morgenpost, 20 October 1875.

- 16 See above, pp. 81-82.
- 17 KVZ, 26 January 1876.
- 18 DZ, 4 April 1874, expressed a certain relief at the democratic movement's loss of Ignatz Mandl: "If we wanted to nasty we would wish for Mandl's victory (in the City Council election) for that will mean the end of Dr. Mandl and the end of the Bürgerclub."
- 19 KVZ, 22 April 1874, described the Eintracht-Bürgerclub alliance on the Landstrasse as, "a Mischmasch of reactionaries and pseudo-democrats put together for electoral purposes."
- 20 NFP, 28 April 1875.
- 21 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 215.
- 22 DZ, 23 January 1875.
- 23 Vesely, "Der Niedergang . . .," pp. 6-8, 291.
Meixner, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," pp. 50, 101.
- 24 DZ, 27 April 1875.
Wadl, "Liberalismus und Soziale Frage in Österreich," pp. 177-178.
- 25 Kurt Skalník, Dr. Karl Lueger, der Mann zwischen den Zeiten, pp. 42-52.
- 26 Ted Gurr, Why Men Rebel, pp. 33-43.
- 27 Leopold Gärtner, "Lueger und die Aussenpolitik der oesterreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie," pp. 79, 86-89.
- 28 "In his thinking a 'modern' who often laughed at ideologues who wanted to present mankind with the stars in the heavens.... He was certainly not a great man ... yet a whole and genuine one, such as there are very few.... his politics lacked a broad horizon: it remained ... Viennese." Salten, "Erinnerung an Lueger," NFP, 19 September 1926.
- 29 NFP, 18 April 1875.
- 30 It was because of this common ground, Johann Steudel explained, that conservative liberals were forced to the expedient of "making attacks on personalities ... from a reluctance to attack democratic principles," DZ, 10 April 1875.
- 31 In 1875, for example, of 3466 registered voters in the First Curia, 762 voted; of 5412 in the Second, 3225 voted; of 16,041 in the Third, 4151 voted. NFP, 28 April 1875.

In contrast to the overall Third Curia turnout of 26 per cent, the Third District had 50 per cent, while the seventh, where two democratic old-timers ran unopposed, had only 9 per cent participation. Morgenpost, 28 April 1875.
- 32 "Gedenkblatt zum 40 jährigen Gestande des politischen

Fortschrittsvereines "Eintracht" im 3. Bezirk," gives a history of the club founded by Mandl in 1872. Lueger, at that time was an "honorary member." p. 4.

33 See above, pp. 14, 74-75.

34 NFP, 11, 14, 15, April 1875.

35 Mandl's earlier and later attempts to win a Reichsrat seat lend some credence to the belief that Mandl's keen interest in gaining control of the L.D.C. was related to his and Lueger's ambition for higher office. See, Morgenpost, 29 June 1876, and KVZ, 30 September 1876.

36 KVZ, 31 October 1875.

37 NFP, 4 August 1875.

The issue of poor street maintainance had been simmering for some time with various reforms being suggested, among them that the City take over these operations from the private carting firm that held the street-care concession for the city. As for apportioning supervisory responsibility, Felder wished to create a central "Street Inspectorate," while a number of districts supported the idea of decentralizing this work and giving the districts more control over local maintainance. See, "Strassen Miserere" Morgenpost, 8 January 1875.

Ignatz Mandl was a strong advocate of bringing street care inspection under the competence of the District Committees and condemned the idea of a central "Inspektorate" as a victory for bureaucratic control over "self-government by elected organs." Berichte der öffentlichen Sitzungen des Gemeinderats der Reichs-und Residenzstadt Wien (hereafter GRB; these are the full transcripts of City Council sessions; the printed Stenographische Protokolle des Wiener Gemeinderats give only the agenda and brief summaries of debates.) 16 February 1875.

38 NFP, 4 August 1875.

39 Morgenpost, 9 December 1871.

Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 73-74.

40 Morgenpost, 13 May 1875.

41 Fortschritt, 28 July 1878.

42 Morgenpost, 13 May and 10 August 1875; NFP, 7 August 1875.

43 Presse, 17 November 1875; NFP, 14 October 1875.

44 NFP, 10 August 1875; KVZ, 24 September 1875.

45 Morgenpost, 10 August 1875.

46 GRB, 13 August 1875.

47 Morgenpost, 21 August 1875; NFP, 14 October 1875.

48 GRB, 20 August 1875.

- 49 The list of charges is contained in the investigating commission's report, "Referat der Strassenpflege Kommission über die Eingabe des Landstrasser Bezirksausschusses von 11 Oktober 1875," (hereafter "Referat ...") on file in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek, No. 18732 B.
- 50 NFP, 14 October 1875; Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 249-250. "Referat ...," pp. 39, 44.
- 51 "Referat ...," pp. 6-8, notes a conflict between "reformers" on the L.D.C. and the long-time Chairman, Matthias Mayer, who refused to pass on a scathing indictment of snow-removal procedures (establishing, for example, that fewer truckloads were being carted away than the City was charged for) to the Magistrat.
- 52 KVZ, 4 December 1875; NFP, 14 August, 26 September 1875; Also see above, note 37.
- 53 Morgenpost, 13 November 1875.
- 54 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 294, "I regarded Dr. Mandl as a person mentally disturbed, a maniac obsessed by a fixed idea ... never resting until he had tracked down the the slightest hints of corruption ... never bending to the most compelling evidence ... that he was mistaken."
- 55 "The source of Mandl's effectiveness was his gift for public speaking ... the kind of talk which, while not colliding with the truth, by suppressing half of it, conveys the effect of its opposite," noted the NFP, 5 May 1907, while not sharing Felder's opinion that Mandl was insane.
- 56 See above, p. 74. Mandl was strongly influenced by the person and ideas of Hungarian Jewish social philosopher Wilhelm Neurath. Mayer, Ein Jüdischer Kaufmann, p. 253. William M. Johnston, The Austrian Mind, pp. 192-193, describes Neurath as, "Espousing an ethical idealism ... that glorified work as the activity that elevates man above the animals.... Neurath preached progressivism to the uneducated ... proclaiming 'Mensch sein, heisst ein Kämpfer sein (To be a man is to be a fighter)'."
- 57 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 216.
- 58 Herden, "Das Amt des Bürgermeisters ...," p. 183.
- 59 DZ, 17 July 1874.
- 60 Neues Fremden-Blatt 14 November 1875.
GRB, 16 February 1875, Mandl claimed to have saved the City thousands of florin through closer supervision of street maintainance in the Third District.
- 61 KVZ, 2 December 1875.
- 62 KVZ, 3, 4, 5 December 1875.

- 63 NFP, 5 December 1875.
- 64 KVZ, 5 December 1875.
- 65 KVZ, 4 December 1875. (Die Demokraten gaben ihm die Abschied und nun steht er in seiner neugewählten Partei auch schon einsam und allein. Wird der Mann bei alledem noch bleiben?)
- 66 Neues Fremden-Blatt, 9 December 1875.
- 67 KVZ, 2 December 1875.
- 68 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 309.
- 69 NFP, 14 December 1875.
- 70 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 295.
- 71 GRB, 13 November 1875; See above, note 60.
- 72 See above, pp. 48, 51-52.
- 73 Mandl made the same point time and again. See above p. 74.
- 74 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, pp. 268, 281.
- 75 See above, p. 86.
- 76 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 295.
- 77 NFP, 8 December 1875.
- 78 GRB, 14 December 1875; KVZ, 15 December 1875.
- 79 Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 63, 71.
Herden, "Das Amt des Bürgermeisters . . .," pp. 185-186, analyses the problem of the mayor's wearing "two hats."
- 80 Ibid., p. 184.
- 81 See above, p. 94.
- 82 Morgenpost, 19 December 1875, reported that the Left and Far Left planned a joint meeting to discuss the question of the Mayor's "sole right of disciplinary investigation against city officials."
NFP, 19 December 1875, questioned whether "the Left and Far Left are looking for a slogan for the next election?" with their planned meeting.
- 83 KVZ, 5 December 1875; Morgenpost, 15 December 1875
- 84 Neues Fremden-Blatt, 30 December 1875, reporting on the session, voiced the general disapproval of Mandl's bellicose manner of opposition: "The budget debate saw another scene such as the 'enfant terrible' of the City Council has provoked of late; he seems incapable of discussing any question objectively ... the mere word Magistrat being enough to produce a violent eruption of senseless rhetoric. The Council has shown every consideration ... for Dr. Mandl's singularly constructed nature, but patience has its limits."

- 85 Fortschritt, 22 February 1880.
- 86 See above, pp. 112-114.
- 87 One candidate remarked on the "conciliatory spirit that had descended on the City Council as parties united to combat the serious economic situation." Deutsche Zeitung, 7 March 1876.
- 88 NFP, 5 March 1876; NWT, 7 March 1876, noted, "People are taking more interest in their delegates' activities, ... less in their party Standpunkt."
- 89 KVZ, 8 March 1876.
- 90 Deutsche Zeitung (hereafter Deu.Z.), 14 March 1876.
The Kleingewerbetreibende were particularly concerned with the constant rise in rents, despite the depression, suggesting at one point special honors or "decorations" for landlords who reduced their rents. From the City, they particularly demanded distribution of building concessions and work among smaller contractors. Morgenpost, 21 February and 6 April 1875.
- 91 NFP, 17 March 1876; Deu.Z., 18 March 1876.
- 92 Morgenpost, 7 March 1876.
- 93 KVZ, 7 March 1876.
- 94 Morgenpost, 7 March 1876.
- 95 NFP, 16 March 1876.
- 96 Felder, Erinnerungen, p.96.
- 97 Felder explained his decision to stay out of the Mittel-partei as an answer to numerous complaints that he was not sufficiently impartial with respect to the parties. Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 290. On the whole, however, the Mittelpartei continued to follow his lead as no strong personality emerged to take his place at its head. The charge of partiality raised a major row between Felder and Lueger later that year. See below,
- 98 Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 296-297.
- 99 Deu.Z., 21 March 1876.
- 100 Morgenpost, 17 March 1876.
- 101 NWT, 18 March 1876.
- 102 NFP, 7 April 1876.
- 103 Morgenpost, 24 April 1876.
- 104 NFP, 7 April 1876.
- 105 Morgenpost, 14 April 1876.
- 106 Morgenpost, 23 April 1876.
- 107 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, pp. 383-384.

- 108 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, p. 379.
- 109 Ibid., pp. 380, 384, 389; Morgenpost, 17 May 1876.
Deu.Z., 23 January 1876, reported a protectionist petition that had collected 100,000 signatures.
- 110 PANS, 1876 P4 ad 38, No. 2747.
- 111 Ibid., No. 2856
- 112 Ibid., No. 2756, No. 2747.
- 113 Ibid., No. 2778
- 114 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. II, pp. 384-387.
- 115 Morgenpost, 11, 22 June 1876
- 116 See above, p. 135; KVZ, 17 March 1877.
- 117 Morgenpost, 15 May 1876.

A useful working definition of the term Mittelstand, is given by Richard S. Levy, The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany, pp. 18-19.

On the whole, it was a pre-industrial "estate" of townsmen who belonged neither to the aristocracy nor patrician Bürger class of wealthy and "cultivated" commoners; it comprised small shopkeepers, clerks, petty civil servants, primary school teachers, and independent artisans whose skills and marketing procedures were growing obsolete.

- 118 Dissatisfaction with the "Gewerbeordnung" was long-standing and led to a major government inquiry in 1873; nothing was done, however to implement recommended reforms.
 Chaloupek, "Der unvollendete Boom," p. 41.
- 119 Attempts on this order had been made, but without success.
 Salmayer, "Das Gewerbliche Kleinbürgerthum . . .," pp. 108-109; Deu.Z., 18 January 1876; DZ, 6 February 1875.
- 120 Neues Fremden-Blatt, 2 February 1876.
- 121 See above, pp. 143-144.
- 122 References to Lueger's break with the Mittelpartei are invariably misleading or incorrect, many following Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, pp. 32-35, who states "Lueger and Mandl (after resigning from the Mittelpartei) attached themselves to the democratic Left under Steudel." See Stöger, "Die Politischen Anfänge Luegers," p. 22, Boyer, Political Radicalism . . ., pp. 192-193, is closer to the mark in stressing the newness of the Mandl-Lueger alliance, but he ignores the circumstances of Lueger's resignation from the Mittelpartei.
- 123 See above, p. 153.
- 124 Mandl belonged to both Eintracht and the Bürgerclub.
- 125 Morgenpost, 28 May 1876.

- 126 GRB, 26 May 1876.
- 127 Morgenpost, 3 June 1876; KVZ, 2 July 1876.
- 128 Morgenpost, 3 June 1876.
- 129 Mandl spoke at length to the Council on general disregard of the "model regulations" regarding sand and gravel deliveries; most of the officials questioned were, for example, totally ignorant of the prescribed procedure. Book-keeping records seldom matched up deliveries and orders, and at least one attempt had been made to "deliver" the same load of gravel twice. A member of the Left noted that though no evidence of fraud had come to light, "Dr. Mandl and Dr. Lueger have imparted many noteworthy instances of improperly used order forms, and we must acknowledge a certain "Gemüthlichkeit" in the administration." GRB, 3 March 1876.
- 130 Morgenpost, 19 November 1876.
- The purchase of sand and gravel was by no means a small item in the municipal budget at a time when many streets were still unpaved. More money was budgeted for upkeep of streets than for schools. Morgenpost, 27 August 1876.
- 131 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 272.
- 132 "Referat . . .," p. 49; notes the city was out 217 fl. from the case.
- 133 Morgenpost, 29 June 1876.
- 134 KVZ, 10 August, 2 September 1876.
- 135 GRB, 1 September 1876; Morgenpost, 2 September 1876.
- 136 See above, pp. 84-85.
- 137 GRB, 5 September 1876; KVZ, 6 September 1876.
- 138 DZ, 6 February 1875; Morgenpost 3 June 1874.
- 139 "Referat . . .," pp. 44-49, 50-54.
- 140 Morgenpost, 8 September 1876; Lueger's attack on Felder was regarded by many as a publicity stunt. One Mittel-partei Councilman likened him to "Herostratus . . . we also have in our midst a man who shrinks at nothing to make himself talked about. . . ." GRB, September 5 1876.
- 141 Morgenpost, 8 September 1876.
- 142 Ibid.
- 143 KVZ, 20 September 1876.
- 144 Morgenpost, 12 October 1876.
- KVZ, 16 October 1876, reported, "Not one paper or colleague has come to the defense of the Mandl-Lueger party on their machinations over the District Committee election; all are critical and more or less incensed."

- 145 Morgenpost, 15 October 1876.
- 146 Morgenpost, 24 September 1876; KVZ, 22 September 1876.
- 147 Morgenpost, 28 September 1876.
- 148 KVZ, 17 October 1876.
- 149 KVZ, 15 October 1876.
- 150 KVZ, 13, 15 October 1876.
- 151 Mandl and Lueger were not themselves candidates.
- 152 KVZ, 10 October 1876.
- 153 Morgenpost 16 October 1876.
- 154 Morgenpost, 17 October 1876.
- 155 KVZ, 10 October 1876, referred to the "Mandlers" as the "Umsturzpartei."
- 156 KVZ, 16 October 1876.
- 157 Morgenpost, 18 October 1876.
- 158 KVZ, 24 October 1876.
- 159 A sign of Felder's impressive reserves of influence and prestige, was an "Address of Confidence" (Vertrauens-
adresse) in his leadership and performance, deploring the, "well-known incidents, which do not promote the general welfare, but rather disrupt the work of the communal representatives ... and damage the image of the commune and its organs." The "address" bearing 12,000 signatures was presented to the Mayor in a splendid case one month after his confrontation with Lueger in the City Council. KVZ, 4 October 1876; Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 249.
- 160 WSB, C 156593; KVZ, 24 October 1876.
- 161 That these were one and the same is attested by numerous memoirs and personal reminiscences aside from the record of Lueger's life. Years later, a friend of long acquaintance admitted the difficulty of reporting something "personal" about him because, "... his whole powerful personality was so closely linked with politics that it is actually impossible to separate the two.... Lueger for all his amiability (Liebenswürdigkeit) ... was just unable to get away from politics." Heinrich Wittek, "My Friend Lueger," Volkszeitung, 19 September 1926; See also above, p. 128, Note 82.
- 162 KVZ, 24 October 1876.
- 163 KVZ, 23 October 1876. "One branch remains on the truncated stump of the Mandl Party - Josef Huber, another self-appointed savior of Vienna from thorough depravity."
- 164 This was Lueger's explanation to his voters when he ran for office again in 1877. Fortschritt, 24 February 1878.

- 165 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 216
- 166 Morgenpost, 25 March 1875; 18 April 1875, "People should ask less for political allegiance of a candidate (for the City Council) than for ... an understanding of the material interests of the taxpayers."
- KVZ, 8 March 1876, "... the commune is not a political, but an economic corporation ... good administration is its primary aim,...."
- 167 Morgenpost, 7, 19 October 1876. The orphanage case, led nonetheless, to a court trial for two directors, one of whom was sentenced to two months imprisonment for charging a new pair of boots to the City and padding the institution's grocery bills. Morgenpost 21 September 1877.
- 168 Morgenpost, 3 June and 24 October 1876; 12 October 1876.
- 169 See above, p. 159. Extant copies of Fortschritt from 1877 are a valuable source for the political views of Mandl and Lueger, their activities, and the relationship between them. Felder paid the four-page weekly a tribute in admitting that among certain politicians not affiliated with the Mandl Party, "... its ostracism was more feared than the Day of Judgment." Erinnerungen, p. 290.
- 170 KVZ, 12 October 1876.
- 171 Mayer, Ein Jüdischer Kaufmann, pp. 256-257.
- 172 KVZ, 3 August 1878, "In a decade of conflict with the Left of the City Council Felder has shown that he is not willing to give up acting the strict party man (schroffen Parteimann), despite his position at the head of the commune. In political and administrative questions, he has held to the principle, 'I am the government! (Die Verwaltung bin ich!)'"
- 173 DZ, 24 June 1874, acknowledged a problem between the "old and the young ... the established and the newly elected, reluctant to take directives from party leaders."
- DZ, 29 August 74, attributes the appeal of the "Bürgervereinler" for liberal voters to the conservative club's "political youth," - it had not been around long enough, "to give the public cause for dissatisfaction."
- 174 Morgenpost, 12, 22, 24, 31 December 1876, reported continuing decline and stagnation in all areas of the Viennese economy. Unemployment in the clothing industry had reached 50 per-cent, and small producers petitioned the government for army orders that were going to large factories and prisons.
- 175 See above, pp. 71-72.
- 176 See above, pp. 162, 165.

- 177 KVZ, 14 March 1877.
- 178 NFP, 20 March 1877.
- 179 KVZ, 14 March 1877.
- 180 These "guilds" are not to be confused with the powerful associations in being before the advent of economic freedom in 1859. Salmeyer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgerthum . . .," pp. 131, 138; Boyer, Political Radicalism . . ., p. 55.
- 181 Hungarian elections were notoriously corrupt and violent; May, The Hapsburg Monarchy 1867-1914, p. 259; Floh, 21 July 1878 has a cartoon essay on the subject.
- 182 Mayer, Ein Jüdischer Kaufmann, p. 281, asserts that anti-semitism was of no political importance in Vienna until after 1885. See also Peter Pulzer, The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria, p. 153.
- 183 KVZ, 14 March 1877.
- 184 Of the three German Democratic Club candidates, Dr. Kohn, a Jew, received the fewest votes - 398 as against 445 for his running mates. KVZ, 21 March 1877.
- 185 Morgenpost, 4 March 1877.
- 186 KVZ, 20 March 1877.
- 187 KVZ, 21 March 1877; of 1700 voters 1017 cast ballots. In the Second Curia, the "Sandbag Fighters (Sandsäckel Kämpfer)" won none of the three seats contested against the Bürgerpartei. Morgenpost, 24 March 1877.
- 188 KVZ, 8, 19 March 1877.
- 189 Morgenpost, 21, 29 March 1877.
- 190 KVZ, 21 March 1877.
- 191 Morgenpost, 21 March 1877.
- 192 KVZ, 8 March 1876, while holding to the primacy of economic concerns in the city government, also warned against the opposite extreme; "If there were no party politics, voters would take no interest at all in public affairs."
Morgenpost, 4 March 1877, warned against "stagnation in the City Council with its constant conservative majority."
- 193 Morgenpost, 21 March 1877.
- 194 KVZ, 20 March 1877.

Chapter Six

THE ECONOMIC REFORMERS

"Ich bin der Überzeugung dass sich im Gemeinderat eine grosse liberale Partei zusammenfinden wird, welche die von uns verfochtenen Grundsätze zu den ihren machen wird, und der jetzt herrschenden Clique das Heft aus der Hand nehmen wird."

Karl Lueger
3 March 1878

"Unser Idealismus lebt mehr in Taten und Werken, als in überschwänglichen Gefühlen und schwärmerische Ergüssen."

Fortschritt
28 December 1879

The election of 1877 gave Ignatz Mandl a fresh mandate to pursue his investigations of the Vienna civil administration, and so a new opportunity to attract allies from political groups waiting, if not hoping, to be convinced of the validity of his corruption charges. Mandl's failure to win acceptance for his findings through the disciplinary mechanism controlled by Mayor Felder, drove him to report his cases to the State Attorney's Office (Staatsanwaltschaft), and to the expedient of inviting slander suits in order to gain a public hearing in the courts. Two of these cases will be discussed in some detail as showing the substance beneath Mandl's charges, and the significance of these proceedings for a change in attitude towards the "Sandbag Fighters" by the City Council left, as well as for Karl Lueger's return to public attention and political life.

The first case concerned revelations of falsified payrolls and other examples of fraud at the Vienna Central Cemetery. First brought to light on the front page of Mandl's organ, Fortschritt, on 8 October 1876, these findings were promptly rejected by Mayor Felder as based on dubious testimony by a laborer who had apparently been rewarded with a permanent city job by the L.D.C. for his valuable information.¹ Although a full investigation was ordered, the report of the Cemetery Commission disclaiming any wrong doing by public officials, was not accepted as conclusive by the City Council. The report presented on 5 June 1877, confirmed a variety of abuses that had been found as alleged in the Fortschritt article, among them faulty bookkeeping, use of sub-standard materials in paths and walls, unauthorized use of City property by the grave-digging concessionaires (Todtengräber)² and a payroll listing more workers than had actually been employed. While the Commission concluded that none of these irregularities constituted a punishable act by the parties responsible, the Council agreed, at Mandl's insistence, to keep the investigation open.³

Shortly before the Commission report, the State Attorney corroborated Felder's assertion that no evidence of official

midconduct was present in the material submitted by Mandl and Lueger. On 20 May 1877, Fortschritt printed a splenetic objection to the State Attorney's dismissal of "clear abuses in the management of the Central Cemetary," citing in particular Moritz Lachs, director of the grave digging concession,⁴ as having defrauded the city of thousands of Gulden, and expressing the hope that Lachs would respond to the charge by taking the paper to court.⁵

The second case pertained to irregularities in the handling of welfare funds by the Landstrasse Poor Board (Armenrat). These district bodies, which were appointed for indefinite terms by the Magistrat, were responsible for distributing public alms as well as private foundation funds. In checking the names of recipients of one of these funds, the L.D.C. (dissolved in 1876) had found many belonging to persons either deceased or officially non-existent, in that they could not be traced through the residence registers.⁶ The welfare case was the first to bring a positive response from the City Council to Mandl's call for administrative reform. In September 1877 a motion brought by a respected Far Left Councilman, to have the Poor Boards elected by the District Committees, was accepted for consideration by a large majority.⁷

Shortly thereafter, Mandl and Lueger were acquitted of slander charges brought by the chairman of the Landstrasse Poor Board in connection with their published findings of misappropriated funds.⁸ Although improper procedures cited by Mandl and Lueger were not the object of the trial, the question being merely whether they had directed their charges at a specific individual, the public was incidentally made aware of operations that showed at best a too casual way with poor-relief funds on the part of their trustees. In mid-October, the trial of two orphanage directors accused by Dr. Mandl of fraudulent accounting practices, resulted in the conviction and sentencing of one to a short prison term. He was fired from his post by the City Council Orphanage Commis-

sion, and the second director placed under disciplinary investigation.⁹ The press, however, remained unconvinced that Mandl was serving the public interest with his disclosures of "minor irregularities" in the communal household, and continued to disparage him as a, "noise maker, par excellence ..., seeking to make an elephant of a flea."¹⁰

The "flea" was nonetheless gaining visibly in stature - and with it Dr. Mandl's credibility as a serious reformer. His first major breakthrough as "guardian and avenging angel of the commune,"¹¹ came with the favorable outcome in October 1877 of a slander suit brought against the editor of Fortschritt, Eduard von Trexler.¹² At issue was the article published one year before, "Mismanagement at the Central Cemetery," detailing various abuses of public trust in the administration of that institution.¹³ The trial, with Karl Lueger representing Trexler, created a sensation with its exposure of covert operations and devious practices on the part of the grave diggers and two businessmen who managed the cemetery concession behind the scenes. Most shocking, aside from the revelation of this unorthodox relationship, was clear evidence that of ninety-odd names listed on a payroll sheet for snow shovellers, sixty had simply been copied out of the handy burial register. All of Mandl's previous revelations, and his reputation as a defamer and public nuisance, paled before the striking image of this exumed task force. Lueger had no trouble persuading a fascinated jury that the editor of Fortschritt had good reason to believe the story furnished by a former employee of the cemetery concessionaires, which Felder had earlier dismissed as, "based on lies and heresay." Both Trexler and the informant were acquitted on all seven counts of slander brought against them by two officials implicated in the unsavory business.¹⁴

The Morgenpost brought full particulars of the trial, as well as a new assessment of the man it had up to that point seen fit only to villify and ridicule for his paltry findings. The trial proceedings, it was regretfully conceded,¹⁵

... have actually brought to light numerous abuses in the management of the Central Cemetary....The ghostly snow shovellers are not a harmless spook. Serious enough in itself, the incident leads to the likely assumption that 'dead hands' are also receiving wages elsewhere in the service of the commune....There are various unclarified points that can no longer be dismissed from a viewpoint justified before the fateful slander complaint against Dr. Mandl.

The NFP, characteristically, brought only a brief notice of the trial which must have left readers wondering what it was all about, and confused as to which party had emerged the victor. The seven counts of slander were not specified, and the acquittals noted without comment.¹⁶ Two days before, the paper had described "every word" of Mandl's accusations against the cemetary administration as "naked falsehood."¹⁷

While the "dead snow shovellers" were left to rest in peace by the pro-Felder NFP, they were seen in wider circles as reason to question the outcome of investigations that repeatedly exonerated officials accused by Dr. Mandl of offenses against the law or against the communal "Sparsamkeit" pledged by every political party.¹⁸ As the whole corruption issue had taken the form of a personal confrontation between Mandl and Felder, the decline of public confidence in the administration bore direct political implications for the two antagonists. In providing a point of reference for the anti-Felder groups in the City Council, the cemetary affair came to figure prominently in the mayoral election scheduled for December 1877.

Tired of Ignatz Mandl, and no longer enjoying the reliable support he had formerly found in the Mittelpartei and Reformklub, Felder would probably not have agreed to accept a fourth term, but for the heightened political tensions raised by growing alarm over the corruption issue.¹⁹ This placed him, on the one hand, under pressure from conservative business and press circles to remain in office lest the city government fall into complete disorder; and on the other hand, under pressure from a concerted movement of the left to unseat him, which he was reluctant to abet by resigning without

a struggle.²⁰ Whatever comfort Felder had derived in recent years from diminished opposition on the left, was dispelled by growing sympathy for Mandl's demand for stricter control over appointed officials. "More members of the Far Left are showing an inclination to join with the infamous five-man Mandl party," noted the Morgenpost in May 1877, while remarking on a general tendency toward disintegration of the once solid groupings and alliances in the City Council.²¹ Six months later, this tendency had become, "a centrifugal draft sweeping through the Council," as members took stock of the new situation brought about by a succession of court decisions favorable to the Mandl Party. The cemetery trial, in particular, added to the chorus of those believing, "There must be something to it after all ... they are just trying to keep Mandl quiet because he is the only one with the courage to speak up."²²

Trading on their new respectability, Mandl and Lueger took their case against the Mayor directly to the voters, gaining adherents in one district political club after another for resolutions opposing his re-election.²³ At one Eintracht meeting, attended by a number of prominent political personalities, Lueger delivered a lengthy, point by point indictment of the Felder regime.²⁴ Politically, the speech was moderate and vague, alluding only to the principle of rotating leadership as a healthy corrective to stagnation in the body politic.²⁵

Only by holding to this principle, can the legitimate ambitions of younger elements be safeguarded, interest in government maintained, and the urge to improvement awakened.

Careful not to offend the only plausible alternative to Felder, Vice-Mayor Eduard Uhl, or certain conservatives who had joined the anti-Felder movement,²⁶ Lueger made no mention of a change in ruling parties. What was needed, was a man at the head of the commune who, though "also a conservative,"²⁷

... will not use his power to suppress opposing viewpoints; who will examine complaints impartially and strive to eliminate abuses; who will strengthen

the most important element in constitutional government - the elected representatives.

Although urging support for a man as long in the saddle, and even older than Felder, Lueger was outlining here the program for renewal of Vienna's self-governing system that was to sound the basic theme of his own campaign for re-election to the City Council the following spring. The anti-Felder campaign appears, indeed, to have been more of a public relations exercise designed, for one thing, as a vehicle for Lueger's return from the courtroom to the political stage, for another, to consolidate the Mandl Party's increasing support among disaffected political elements,²⁸ than a serious effort to replace Felder with Vice-Mayor Uhl. The only chance of this happening rested not with the opposition, but with Felder himself, should he choose not to run. The Mittelpartei was still too strong and too dependent on the man it saw as "indispensable" at the helm of city affairs, to look elsewhere for a leader, or to be outvoted by the forty-odd Councilmen in opposition.²⁹

Felder was elected to a fourth term on 16 December 1877 with 76 votes, but the anti-Felder movement had achieved the objective of uniting the "Two Lefts" and the Mandl Party for the first time.³⁰ The show of solidarity between these three groups in voting for Uhl against Mayor Felder, signaled an immanent revival of the City Council left.

The spirit of cooperation born in the anti-Felder action received further encouragement from new revelations of scandal flowing from Dr. Mandl's "portable inculpation archive (Verdächtigungsarchiv)."³¹ Among these, a Councilman serving on the Water Commission was found to have promoted the purchase of an inferior water meter manufactured by a business associate;³² the city garden department was found supplying plants and labor free of charge to private persons; and the Central Cemetery was proving a veritable fount of fraud and mismanagement.³³ The shadow cast by this flow of bad news over Felder's new term, grew still darker with the approach

of the 1878 spring elections.

Riding a wave of public indignation they had all but single-handedly brought about, Mandl and Lueger attracted large supportive audiences wherever they spoke - at Eintracht meetings, voters assemblies, and in various political clubs that had shunned the "scandalmongers" the year before as a blight on the honor of the commune. Dr. Mandl was widely praised for his courage and persistence in tracking down waste and fraud in the city administration; one voter was cheered for remarking, "If Dr. Mandl had not written, no one would know anything (so wüsste man ganz einfach nichts). Covering up all these things would have avoided the present disquiet, but would also have hurt the taxpayer."³⁴

Mandl and Lueger generally spoke as a team to the capacity crowds that turned out to hear them elaborate a reform program designed to overhaul a representative system grown stale, lazy, and unresponsive to the needs of the population. Their aim, they stressed repeatedly, was not primarily political, but administrative reform - not to change the municipal constitution so much as to realize the full potential of the institutions at hand - the right of association, freedom of speech, a representative system, and the right of municipal representatives to control the permanent bureaucracy. These basic conditions of self-government were being undermined, Mandl asserted, as, "Free discussion of public administration is suppressed ... and citizens deprived of their capacity to make independent judgments on important questions."³⁵ The problem with the city government was less corruption as such, than the underlying source of abuse and mismanagement in a lack of systematic and effective controls; this, stemming in turn from a power imbalance between the representative bodies and the Magistrat. By placing inordinate authority in the latter, and giving preference to the judgment of experts, Felder and the conservative liberals were inhibiting the fulfillment of municipal self-government; the public was deprived of control over expenditures and a voice in ordering city affairs.

The whole of the "Mandlers" wearing struggle aimed at nothing more nor less than implementing the formula contained in the City Ordinance providing for public control over Viennese officialdom. While Mandl and Lueger emphasized the economic and administrative aspects of their program, to the extent that the ruling majority in the Council failed to cooperate in bringing about necessary reforms, their struggle was also political - "Between the representatives who discharge their public trust faithfully, and the committed followers of Mayor Felder, who wants to reduce the City Council to a voting machine."³⁶ As long as Felder and his majority ruled, in short, they would have no rest from, "the catastrophe that invaded the City Council," with the advent of the Mandl Party.³⁷

The reason Felder saw Mandl and Lueger, with their increasingly successful detective work and demand for stricter fiscal controls, as subversive, was the means recommended to the desired end - "The return of the Magistrat to subordination to the City Council, of the appointed to the elected institutions."³⁸ - which contradicted Felder's ruling principle of stability and order. In place of government by professionals and experts, Mandl insisted on a major role for the informed layman,³⁹ in the direction and control of municipal business. He could hardly have asked for a better example of practical common sense outclassing expert opinion than his own position on the question of mandatory introduction of high spring water, even to houses still adequately served by uncontaminated wells. Over the objections of landlords to the high cost of installing the new water lines, and Mandl's rather more public spirited opposition on the grounds there was not enough of the high spring water to go around,⁴⁰ the City Council accepted the recommendation of the Water Commission to proceed with the mandatory program.

The whole question appeared under a new aspect in the winter of 1877 when a hard early frost brought a calamitous drop in the high spring reservoir.⁴¹ On Christmas Day,

Danube water was reintroduced in three heavily populated districts, which were cut off from the high spring lines to assure a constant supply to the rest of the city. Thousands of citizens had to be content with stale drinking water carted through the streets in barrels - the "Christmas gift of the city fathers," was not received in the spirit of the season.⁴²

Not only were Mandl and the "selfish landlords" vindicated, but Mandl was able to turn the "water calamity" into a general case against the power exercised in the City Council by special interests to the disadvantage of the general public. The specific interests involved here were plumbing contractors and water meter manufacturers, both represented on the Water Commission which had recommended the mandatory policy despite warnings of the new system's inadequate resources. The case also illustrated a basic procedural issue raised by Mandl and Lueger in the 1878 spring election campaign - that of properly locating the actual decision-making power in the Council and sections, which had become overshadowed by the practice of entrusting preliminary work to elected commissions. Invariably controlled by members of the ruling majority, these dozens of special commissions exercised an inordinate influence over such vital questions as the water supply, the projected central slaughterhouse, the gas monopoly, the Central Cemetery, the street maintenance problem, and statute revision, as well as the investigations into Mandl's corruption charges.⁴³ The rise of the commissions and proliferation of sub-committees was, however, only part of a larger problem that Mandl and Lueger spied as the root of corruption and mismanagement in city affairs - the tendency encouraged by Felder to minimize the role of the Council and with it, public control over the self-governing apparatus.⁴⁴ It was in their effort to reverse this anti-democratic trend that Mandl and Lueger were seen by the Mayor as, "Attacking the very core of government."⁴⁵

Rather than assuage Felder's fears, the more moderate tone

adopted by the "Mandlers" in the wake of their court victories, only increased his anxiety as their reform program gained adherents in a widening circle of voters and politicians.⁴⁶ This program consisted essentially of two parts: one, calling for stricter controls over city expenditures, in place of the rubber stamp procedures that allowed abuses to proliferate undetected; two, for unburdening the City Council by delegating trivia to the District Committees.⁴⁷

Contrary to the assertions of Lueger biographers,⁴⁸ Lueger's return to the City Council in 1878 as a candidate of the Third Curia, did not mark the beginning of his career as a "Volksmann" and passionate spokesman for the "little man" against the insidious forces of Liberalism and Big Capitalism. Lueger's campaign was, in fact, noticably devoid of the intense canvassing and aggressive rhetoric Mandl had introduced in his desperate fight for survival the year before. The "kleiner Mann" (little man) was not mentioned in either of Lueger's major speeches, his interests merely subsumed under the call for, "progressive improvement of Viennese conditions," through administrative reforms.⁴⁹ Also generally or disparaged, is the prominence of Ignatz Mandl in Lueger's political life, and in the small band of reformers commonly referred to as the "Mandl Party,"⁵⁰ or "Economic Party" (Wirtschaftspartei).⁵¹

Before a voters assembly with a record attendance of 600, Lueger based his appeal on the need for strict economy in government as the only way to avoid adding to the city's enormous debt and hence to the plight of the overburdened taxpayer. Drawing on the lessons of his personal experience in the Council,⁵² and the now three-years-old anti-corruption campaign, Lueger presented a sober non-political program that echoed, sometimes to the word, his mentor's basic themes. Far from an attack on Liberalism, a plea for the political rights of the neglected masses,⁵³ or, as Skalník suggests, a sign of Lueger's political and ideological uncertainty in these years,⁵⁴ the 1878 campaign speeches suggest

a man fully confident of his direction, harboring no more radical intention than shoring up a liberal system grown stale and inefficient. "The most important job of the City Council is to administer the City's income loyally and in good conscience," Lueger averred, paying tribute to Dr. Mandl for his lonely battle in this worthy cause:⁵⁵

After the defeat in the District Committee election, ... it took courage, almost foolhardiness, to continue the struggle.... And that my friend Dr. Mandl ventured to do so, that he understood how to carry off the victory in the next election, that is a service for which he deserves complete (ungeschmälert) credit, and which has secured for him the eternal (für alle Zukunft) gratitude of our party.

Since then our party has succeeded in convincing not only the Third District, but the entire population of Vienna of the truth of our assertions regarding conditions in the administration of our city.

... if I had to endure persecution and insult, for joining the efforts of my friend Dr. Mandl, I bore them in the consciousness that I had fulfilled my obligations and ... chosen the right course in the interests of my constituents.

Lueger traced the problem with city government, as did Mandl, to faulty administrative rather than constitutional arrangements. To cure the present malaise, "The City Council has but to carry out the duties imposed on it by statute," he declared, proceeding in the style of a manual on good government to explain how this end might be achieved. The Council's primary objective must be to gain more time for its vital controlling function by unburdening itself of minutiae such as side-walk table concessions, minor street repairs, and the location of pissoirs. Then it would have more time for scrutinizing major fiscal transactions, and above all the yearly balance sheet and budget. Repeating on this question, Mandl's precise words to the Council the previous November,⁵⁶ Lueger told the voters, "One man, even if he is the greatest genius, ... cannot be expected to review this complex material, running to hundreds of pages ... and determine whether the Magistrat has stayed within its prescribed competence and carried out the decisions of the City Council."

The only statute revision promoted by Lueger and Mandl at this time was expansion of the competence of the District Committees to unburden the City Council of time-consuming trivia. Here too, they collided with the Mayor, whose solution to the overburdening problem was simply to give the Magistrat the work he felt the Council was too busy and too incompetent to do on its own.⁵⁷

In their ordered progression of facts, figures, and information drawn from his observations and experience, in their eminently practical approach, Lueger's campaign speeches of 1878 read more like a lawyer's brief than a political oration.⁵⁸ They suggest a highly practical intellect, given neither to theorizing nor to particularly broad perspectives. They are of interest because, being delivered at a rare time of political security,⁵⁹ they are all but devoid of polemics, and can be taken as a more or less sincere expression of Lueger's premises and political intentions. His speeches must, of course, be seen in conjunction with those of Ignatz Mandl, who invariably predated him on the rostrum and established a general framework of ideas which Lueger dressed with supporting details and specific proposals.⁶⁰

Mandl did not, as Lueger, concentrate only on communal problems, but saw these as just one aspect of a problem that encompassed the whole of state and society - "The failure of the expected fruits of our liberal achievements - constitutional self-government, industrial freedom, and free trade - to materialize."⁶¹ Mandl's political attitudes did not, like those of most liberals, flow from the idea that self-government was essentially a means of protecting the citizen from encroachment by the state, and assuring his free development without any particular responsibility for his neighbors or for the preservation of the state, as it embodied the interests of the whole.

Mandl was no longer worried about absolutism or the power of the Church,⁶² and it is doubtful he shed a tear at the arbitrary dissolution of the Vienna Democratic Society.⁶³

"Today, it is not a matter of liberal phrases," he told one audience:⁶⁴

... but a matter of practical solutions to the question of escalating poverty.... those who work on this problem are providing for the basic condition of all political liberties.... Austria needs men who are practiced economists and don't rattle on (schwätzen) about loyalty to the constitution.

Rather than solving, constitutionalism in Austria had aggravated the problems of a relatively backward economy striving to catch up with more advanced industrial powers. While the magnitude of foreign investment in Austria drained the country of precious capital, Austrian industry was further hampered by a shortage of skilled labor, an inefficient credit system, an inequitable tax structure, and a lack of markets for its products.⁶⁵ Seemingly immune to these economic woes were the great property owners, bankers and railroad entrepreneurs, who by virtue of their political and economic pre-eminence, constituted the "ruling circles" who were the real beneficiaries of the constitution - "to the detriment of the whole."

Although the issues here raised by Dr. Mandl - the need for an industrial tariff, tax reform, cheap credit, a balanced budget, and an end to government subsidies to private railroads - were at some remove from municipal concerns, they were not entirely unrelated. Indeed, the questionable "sandbag," the orphanage directors boots, the missing welfare recipients, and the phantom snow shovellers, as well as Felder's cover-up attempts, all assumed greater significance as symptoms of a larger conspiracy to defraud the public and deprive the voter of his sacred function.

There was also a direct connection between the larger syndrome of economic disaster, compounded by the rule of an egoistic elite, and the problems of Vienna's administration as seen by Mandl and Lueger. The link that served as transitional device from the great to the small, was, "the ruling circle, whose only aim is to maintain the status quo ... the bank and railroad directors who are in league with the press

and intent on keeping their friends in the City Council."⁶⁶ While Mandl and Lueger insisted their motives were economic, and not political or constitutional reform, their approach inevitably led them into association with dissatisfied liberals, with the traditional champions of the smaller taxpayer - the democratic left.⁶⁷

For the moment, however, Mandl and Lueger preferred to appear politically neutral - for one thing, so as not to incur the odium of either impractical idealism or dangerous radicalism that had given the democrats such a bad press; for another, to give the wicked time to repent, or men of good will time to purge them from the leadership of Austria's representative bodies. This strategy was summed up in a campaign article appearing in Fortschritt along with Lueger's address to the voters in the Third District:⁶⁸

The political divisions of former times between democrats and conservatives are no longer pertinent ... They have given way to the struggle against mismanagement by the ruling clique, ... and the wish for conscientious administration (gewissenhaften Gebahren) of public property has moved to the fore. The clamour for extending political rights has grown silent...and people are concerned today with honesty, and legislation that serves the public interest....

Lueger sounded the same theme, though with a more precise aim carrying practical consequences of a clearly political nature. Moving briefly beyond his narrowly focussed remarks on mismanagement and techniques he would promote to improve municipal administration, Lueger touched the underlying political purpose of his bid for re-election. Noting that the existing parties had "outlived their external aspect," (as democratic and conservative, respectively) he announced in answer to a voter's query which party he would join in the Council,⁶⁹

For the time being, I will not join any ... but I am convinced that sooner or later a great liberal party will come together in the City Council ... adopt the principles we stand for, and wrest power from the present ruling clique, to the benefit of the commune and the people of the city of Vienna.

Far from calling for mass democracy or the formation of a popular party, as he was to do some years later, Lueger is

here seeking no more than a power shift within the City Council to those committed to economy and a liberalism that would extend the benefits and responsibilities of self-government to the community at large.

In not running for a specific party, but only against an enemy vaguely denoted as, "the ruling clique," Lueger might seem on the face of things to have been unsure of his political identity and aims. His assertions must, however, be seen in the context of a political situation in flux, and a political vocabulary whose euphemisms represented clearly understood concepts. For the past year evidence had been building of a new offensive by the City Council left against the majority liberals; indications of this were growing support for the Mandl Party's anti-corruption movement, the large anti-Felder vote in the mayoral election, and repeated references in the progressive press to the need for, "A new majority, free of old party forms."⁷⁰ "The party system," said the KVZ in May 1877,⁷¹ "has outlived any purpose it might have had ... a unified party that knows what it wants and goes after it no longer exists ... a new majority should be formed."

The idea of a new majority had, it will be recalled, inspired the Vienna Democrats from 1873 to 1875, when they hoped to replace the "ruling clique" or "Mayor's party"⁷² as the decisive force in city affairs. In the meantime, the democrats had fallen into disarray and compromise with their political opponents, until the issues raised by the Mandl Party, combined with other municipal aggravations (the water problem, continuing high food prices, the perennial Gas Question, housing shortage, inequitable taxes, etc.) injected a new sense of purpose and cohesiveness into the left fractions, pushing them gradually back on to the track of political opposition. The impact of the Mandl reformers on the men of the left can be gauged by contrasting campaign statements in the election of 1878 with those of the previous year, which were primarily confined to nebulous promises of fiscal restraint and better schools. In 1878, every progressive can-

didate echoed the more specific demands of the "Mandlers" for strict control of the communal household, and for unburdening the City Council through the District Committees.⁷³ A revival of confidence on the part of the opposition was registered in renewed demands for abolition of the curia system,⁷⁴ a theme conspicuously absent in the utterances of Mandl and Lueger. For them the interests of democracy were better served by more effective government within the given statutes,⁷⁵ although repeated references to "the ruling clique" as the major impediment to reform, left no room for doubt that their sympathies lay with the opposition groups.

Lueger's call for "a great liberal party," was not the expression of a vague hope, nor was it, as the KVZ would have led its readers to believe, the climax of "a flaming philippic."⁷⁶ Lueger was rather voicing the widely held view that long overdue reforms in the city administration demanded a new majority to replace the Mittelpartei. He was also signalling the "Wirtschaftspartei's" readiness to cooperate with the left fractions to this end.

Lueger was returned to the City Council with 531 votes of 956 cast by the Third Curia electorate of the Landstrasse,⁷⁷ in an election that did not auger well for the "Mayor's Party." Of the twelve "new Councilmen" elected, four joined the Mittelpartei, while eight were listed by the KVZ (reflecting the blurring of distinctions between the anti-Felder factions), as belonging to "the radical opposition."⁷⁸ The KVZ, whose publisher, Eduard Hügel, had been defeated by four votes for a First Curia seat that went to an Eintracht businessman, vented its wrath at the Mittelpartei as mainly to blame for the oppositional temper of the electorate that had given Eintracht its stunning first Curia victory;⁷⁹

The election clearly shows that voters are dissatisfied with the government of the ruling clique. The arrogance of the Mittelpartei ... its disregard of all complaints, ... its carelessness with the population's hard earned tax money, have aroused a growing mood of discontent. Things must change, and quickly, if the gentlemen are not all to be forced ... to vacate their seats.

The warning was more immediate and prescient than may have been intended, for the anti-Felder front lost no time in pressing its electoral advantage. On 29 April 1878, the first blow fell as the Cemetary Investigation Commission refused to accept Felder's dismissal of charges against two city officials connected with the management of the Central Cemetary.⁸⁰

The announcement of the Commission's decision to dissolve itself in protest against the Mayor's failure to respect its findings, created a sensation in the City Council and press, where it quickly became a new "cause celèbre."⁸¹ The misdeeds involved were scarcely more than oversights; in one instance, failure to place the requisite alarm mechanism in newly delivered coffins awaiting burial;⁸² in the other, the assignment of an employee paid by the city to watch the corpses, to outside guard duty, which was the responsibility of the grave-digging concessionaires.⁸³ Slight as the merits of the case as such appeared to all observers, the fact of the Mayor's total denial of any irregularity, and his abrupt disregard of the Commission's opinion, raised a storm of criticism such as Felder had not experienced in the course of his public life.

The Far Left approved the Commission's action to a man, noting that the Mayor's attitude proved the futility of lodging any complaints against the bureaucracy; the Left and "wild" Councilmen were invited to prepare a united front against the Mayor when the matter came up in the City Council.⁸⁴ Again, the real issue was not only unchecked carelessness, but Felder's habitual stand, "on the side of the officials against the City Council."⁸⁵

The full blast of long accumulated resentments against the Felder regime was unleashed in the City Council debate over the resignation of the investigating commission. Covering two long sessions, the debate turned into a virtual trial of the Mayor and his standard procedure over the past three years in dealing with evidence and charges of corruption.

At issue was the question whether to accept the Commission resignation or, looked at another way, whether Felder was right or wrong in absolving the officials who had condoned the irregularities in question. By seeking refuge in the negligible effect of the derelictions, Felder adopted a tactic poorly conceived to temper the general outrage at his defiance of the Commission majority. Having failed to grasp the symbolic impact of his action, Felder was unprepared for the concerted attack that focussed on the principle behind the conflict - the principle governing the location of authority in the Rathaus. Johann Prix, who as head of the Reformklub, counted with the Council majority,⁸⁶ joined the opposition rally by calling on his colleagues to assert themselves, "manfully,... for it is high time that a limit be set to the Mayor's sphere of operations (dass seine Wirksamkeit eine Grenze gezogen werde)."⁸⁷

Lueger enjoyed a triumph on the second day of the debate when to "bravos" from the left and galleries, he literally drove the Mayor from the chamber with a point by point refutation of his claim to have acted within his competence, and correctly in acquitting the two officials under investigation.⁸⁸ The Mayor stood by his argument that, as no one had been buried alive for the past sixty years, and no actual sums had been misappropriated, no disciplinary action was in order. He refused to acknowledge the harm to the commune, not in the case itself, but as the opposition pointed out, in the example of chicanery going unpunished, in growing public mistrust of the administration, and finally, in Felder's perversion of the principle of communal self-government. "The whole competence of the City Council," Dr. Mandl noted, "is made illusory by this proceeding on the part of the Mayor."⁸⁹

Although by calling in its usual absentees, the Mittelpartei passed a vote of confidence in Felder's handling of the case, the moral victory was carried by the forty-odd Councilmen in opposition, who emerged from the fracas more determined than ever to unite against the Felder system.

"We are not here to declare the dogma of mayoral infallibility," exclaimed Josef Schlechter, a respected member of the Left and Council Secretary who had been one of the first non-Mandlers to take the Landstrasse charges seriously.⁹⁰ Drawing a parallel between the Commission revolt and the "Landstrasse Affair," he brought a sharp indictment against the "terrorism" of the majority in its determination to silence the two men who had dared to point out administrative abuses.

The most direct defense of Dr. Mandl was delivered by his former chief enemy of the Vienna Democrats, Johann Schrank, who blamed the entire conflict between Felder and the reformers on the Mayor's obstinate standpoint that, "all is right," in face of jury verdicts and voters' assertions to the contrary. "We are very grateful," Schrank went on,⁹¹

to a colleague who has uncovered small blemishes in the administration. He was not a member of my party, but of the Mittelpartei, which, had it been willing to oblige him from the start,... could have avoided the numerous scandals that have been so detrimental to the spirit of cooperation. The man who has been reproached for injuring the honor of the commune ... has faithfully carried out the duty of a representative He has the confidence of his voters, and so sits in our midst with the same right as we.... The debate was a success in one thing ... the Mayor, for once, has heard out honest opinion.

What Felder thought of the opposition's "honest opinion," was clear from his concluding remarks before the vote on his controversial action:

The storm that has broken over me has not shaken me in the least. I stand here whole and upright as before, and will remain standing upright, whatever is decided.

The extent to which Felder had been affected by the barrage of criticism in the cemetery debate, only became apparent three weeks later when he was taken seriously ill, and finally six weeks later when, citing reasons of poor health, he resigned his office as mayor and his mandate in the City Council.⁹² In his Memoirs, Felder claims the real reason he resigned was the Mittelpartei's all but unanimous decision to approve, against his express wish, a groundwater sup-

plement to the high spring water line - oddly enough, a rare case in which Mandl and Lueger stood with the Mayor against a project they too believed too hastily conceived to assure the continued standard of quality set by the high spring water.⁹³

Felder had warned the Council at his swearing-in that his acceptance of a fourth term was contingent on a reliable majority in the Council; and the unfavorable water vote thus gave him an exit permit on his own terms - one far removed from the disagreeable cemetery debate. Felder's demurrer that the water vote merely served as a pretext for the resignation he had resolved to tender in any event,⁹⁴ appears to have been prompted by an unwillingness to admit to posterity that, in the final analysis, Mandl and Lueger had made his position untenable over the long term. For one thing, Felder's explanation does not account for the suddenness of his decision, ten days after the objectionable water debate. The day before his resignation was announced, the KVZ reported, "Felder's health is improving ... his sleeplessness abating.... He is doing paper work at home, but his doctors say he will not be able to return to the Council for several more weeks."⁹⁵

The "last straw" may well have been a Council vote on 27 June supporting Mandl and Lueger in their objection to yet another questionable gravel shipment. This move so distressed the Mittelpartei chairman of the investigating commission on the case, that he announced his resignation from the City Council.⁹⁶ The most telling evidence against Felder's later story, was provided by Felder himself in a speech to the Mittelpartei two weeks after he had laid down his office. Reportedly tearful and in shaking voice, he recounted the "long and difficult battles" he had commanded and survived over the years only to have been faced in the end with one he no longer had the strength to endure, or the means to win:⁹⁷

The city of Vienna, as in 1861, is again at a turning point; only instead of the political battle we waged then, we are now faced with the administrative battle ... carried on in such a way as to finally make it impossible for me to persevere in my post (auf meinen

Posten auszuharren)... I could never tolerate the charge of dishonor against an administration which must needs be respected from below as from above.... I am leaving this struggle to others ... so I have resigned, and from no other motive.

While the NFP paid tribute to Felder as a martyr to his sense of honor, bested in an unworthy struggle with a "small but dangerous and unscrupulous clique,"⁹⁸ the progressive press tended to see Felder's predicament as largely self-made. The KVZ had the following to say:⁹⁹

Although worthy and incorruptible, and a man who has done much for this city ... Felder's sorry position is his own fault - a product of his high self-esteem ... and intolerance of any kind of opposition....In disavowing even well grounded criticism of the Magistrat, he lost friends in his own party and only added to the popularity of his antagonists.

The possible consequences of Felder's departure gave rise to as many differing opinions as the causes that had brought it on. None, however, doubted that Felder's absence at the head of a government he had dominated for so long, would bring noticable changes. While the NFP looked with grave misgivings into the, "New and we fear portentous era for the city,"¹⁰⁰ the KVZ foresaw a new era of cooperation between the legislative and executive branches, and between the warring Council fractions.¹⁰¹ The Deutsche Zeitung, long a critic of Felder's authoritarian ways, expressed hope for "a successor who sees his task in restoring weight to the elected representatives ... who identifies with the City Council, ... such a mayor will have the support of all."¹⁰² Of the opposition press in general, Mandl's Fortschritt was the least sanguine in evaluating the impact of Felder's removal from the scene. With no illusion that the Mayor stood as the lone impediment to better government, Fortschritt termed Felder's resignation only the first step, "on the way to realizing the idea of self-government as embodied in the communal statute."¹⁰³ No general improvement was to be expected, unless a "change in head" also brought a "change in system." The question remained whether a new majority could indeed be created on the basis of Mandl's and Lueger's reform program,

or whether the old political divisions and personal conflicts would persist and contrive to thwart any real change.¹⁰⁴

Far from creating panic and uncertainty in the Council of exacerbating tensions, as predicted by the NFP, Felder's resignation produced more unanimity than the chamber had seen for a decade. On 13 July 1878 First Vice-Mayor Julius Newald was elected Mayor of Vienna with 109 out of 111 votes cast by the assembled Council.¹⁰⁵ A lawyer and notary, the fifty-four year old Newald had served in the City Council since 1864 as one of its most diligent and well-liked members. Felder described him as, "A quiet modest man of moderate ideas ... who never missed a club (Mittelpartei) meeting, often lingering past midnight over a cigar and a glass of beer in the company of assorted colleagues."¹⁰⁶ But it was not only in his more convivial social habits and tranquil manner that Newald offered a contrast to his predecessor; as his acceptance speech indicated, he well understood and sympathized with the frustrations that had developed during Felder's ten-year reign. He promised to further the unanimity displayed in his election, interpreting it as a sign that the Council might, "in future work together in harmony ... and join forces to safeguard the esteem of the City Council," which phrase brought a storm of applause from a chamber overly used to lectures on the need to, "safeguard the esteem of the Magistrat." Winning more applause with his promise to, "protect every reasonable expression of opinion," Newald went on to demonstrate his awareness that the relationship between Mayor and Council, and between them both and the public, was a two-way affair. Newald concluded his brief address with the hope, "that within the allowable limits we may ... effectively promote the development and prosperity of our city."¹⁰⁷ The speech, greeted with enthusiastic applause from the Left and Far Left as well as the Mittelpartei, seemed nothing less than a, albeit highly diplomatic, catalogue of Felder's mistakes combined with assurances that the new Mayor would be more forthcoming in dealing with the standard grievances of the opposition.¹⁰⁸

Felder's absence did not, however, bring the expected relief from political tensions, and competition between the opposition and the Mittelpartei erupted anew over the question of filling the Vice-Mayoralty vacated by Dr. Newald. The left had long laid claim to a vice-mayoral post,¹⁰⁹ and the removal of Felder, who had set great store by a "united presidium," by the more conciliatory Newald, had given the minority reason to hope for this symbolic confirmation of its political importance.

The expectation that its display of good will in Newald's election would lead to a reciprocal gesture by the Mittelpartei proved ill-founded; for, although individual members of the majority were prepared to relinquish an office that was in any case only representational, in the interest of improving relations between the parties,¹¹⁰ they were outnumbered by hard-liners determined to resist any such incursion by the left.¹¹¹ While this uncompromising attitude was, in the long run, to doom both the conservative and progressive wings to political extinction, its immediate effect was to bolster the opposition's resolve to contend for the position to which it felt entitled. Consigned for years to impotence and disregard by their minority status and disunity, the opposition Councilmen had lately taken heart, first from the administration's vulnerability to charges of corruption and inefficiency, second, from the numbers added to their ranks by the spring elections, and finally, from the withdrawal of their chief antagonist from the field. Only disunity appeared any longer to stand in the way of the opposition becoming a force of consequence in the City Council.

That this obstacle would prove surmountable became clear as rumors, abroad from the moment of Felder's resignation, of a possible fusion of the "Two Lefts" and the Mandl Party became reality on 2 August 1878. At a heavily attended meeting of the opposition deputies, the two left fractions announced their dissolution, and agreed unanimously to form a single party with the ten "wild" Councilmen. The United Left, as

the new fraction was called, counted 46 members, outnumbering the Mittelpartei by one, although the latter with the Reformklub still held a preponderance. Johann Schrank was elected chairman, Josef Schlechter vice-chairman, and Karl Lueger and Karl Lustig secretaries of the United Left.¹¹²

The executive committee as well as the program of the new party reflected the assorted components that had buried their differences to forge a unified opposition with the aim of turning out the conservative Rathaus majority. The Far Left, in accordance with its larger size, was represented in the chairmanship and second secretary's post; the Left in the vice-chairmanship; and the smallest contingent, the Mandl Party, in the first secretary office held by Lueger. The program of the United Left, however, was almost entirely patterned after the reforms most closely associated with Mandl and Lueger. It consisted of the following points:¹¹³

1. Abolition of the three-curia system.
2. Protecting the competence of the City Council against endeavors to narrow same in favor of the Magistrat.
3. Maintaining the principle that preliminary work be carried on in the voluntary sections; reduction of Council commissions.
4. Unburdening the plenary body of the City Council by enlarging the competence, partly of the sections, partly of the district representations.
5. Observing the principle of utmost restraint in spending.
6. Institution of controls in every area of the communal administration.
7. Dispassionate and objective treatment of assorted questions under discussion.

Only the first item, which expressed the standard demand of the Far Left, and the last, which most nearly approaches the concerns of the more staid and moderate Left, stood in fact, as in the text, just beyond the first priorities of the Mandl Party. Contrary to some later reports,¹¹⁴ Lueger did not in these early years champion democratization of the suffrage, agreeing with Mandl's contention that the people of Vienna would be better served through internal reforms, as outlined

in items 2. through 6. above, than in futile and divisive debates over a question that was in any case beyond the competence of the City Council to resolve on its own.¹¹⁵

Lueger's conformity with Mandl's program for more honest and efficient government through stricter controls and a more active role for the representative bodies, his sometimes touching fidelity to the man he had followed into a political wilderness, but who now brought him back to a place of honor he could accept on his own terms, is well documented in political speeches and in the stenographic record of City Council proceedings.¹¹⁶ Yet it is clear that from a strictly opportunistic standpoint Lueger would have been better off leaving Dr. Mandl to his own devices; for he stood after three difficult years in a similar position to the one he had in the Mittelpartei on the eve of his resignation from that club in 1875 - with the difference that the United Left was still a minority party with a hard struggle before it.¹¹⁷

Lueger's own account of the origins of his partnership with Dr. Mandl may well offer the most reasonable explanation for this enduring alliance. In an open letter to the editor of a new fortnightly journal founded as a political counterweight to Mandl's Fortschritt,¹¹⁸ Lueger recounted again his early disappointment in the men he had trusted to further progress and promote the public interest - the same men whose aims and interests were to be represented in the new paper, the Landstrasser Bürgerzeitung:¹¹⁹

After learning in the City Council the real motives of these men, I could no longer in good conscience allow myself to be used as their instrument. I decided in the interest of what I perceived as truth and justice to join forces with a man who at that time had no party behind him, and to take up a struggle which all the world then regarded as hopeless. If you had looked into the conditions of public administration condoned by these men, you would turn your back on them now.

While the Mandl-Lueger alliance originated in a joint venture aimed at reform of Vienna's public administration, it had by 1878 taken on a wider dimension in Mandl's incipient

incipient campaign against public exploitation by large unregulated capitalist enterprises such as the private railroads and the Vienna gas monopoly.¹²⁰ No doubt realizing that as a two-, three-, or five-man party of nay-sayers, they could not hope to achieve any worthwhile practical reforms, the "Mandlers" teamed up with a democratic movement prepared to enlist in the battle for municipal regeneration, while at the same time pursuing political goals that were of secondary interest to Mandl and Lueger. The latter did not, for example play a prominent part in the effort to secure a vice-mayoralty for the United Left,¹²¹ nor in the extended debate over the curia question, which was revived by Johann Steudel in October 1878.¹²²

Although Steudel's motion to re-submit his 1873 proposal, to abolish the curia system, to the Lower Austrian Landtag passed by a slim majority of 47 to 43, the debate over the motion revealed disagreement on the suffrage question as deep and irreconcilable as in the Provisional Council that deliberated over the City Ordinance thirty years before.¹²³ Mandl and Lueger, while they voted with the majority, made no attempt to refute the conservative arguments, warning only that they carried weight with a large number of people, and regretting that the whole question had come up at an unpropitious time - when the Council was too divided to carry the motion with a majority large enough to impress the Landtag with the urgency of the matter.¹²⁴

The disappointing vote on the suffrage question, coming on top of the United Left's failure to win a vice-mayoralty in September,¹²⁵ was not, however, indicative of the new party's progress where other items on its program were concerned. Not only were administrative reform measures originating with the United Left passed with growing regularity, but proposals affecting the public interest directly received more serious attention than had been usual in the past. Here Mandl and Lueger remained the prime initiators.

Lueger was particularly concerned to correct abuses in the

in the Council business order which the Majority habitually exploited to its advantage. Commission and section meetings, for example, were frequently scheduled to coincide with each other and with plenary sessions - a practice allowing commission chairmen, who tended to belong to the Majority, to manipulate attendance, and thus the outcome of important votes, either in the Council or the commission he headed.¹²⁶ Lueger placed two motions in September 1878, designed to remedy these parliamentary perversions: one forbade section and commission meetings during plenary sessions; a second declared invalid, decisions made at commission meetings to which not all members had been expressly invited. Both motions passed easily.¹²⁷

Lueger delivered a similar blow to the Majority the following year, again with the aim - increasingly vital as the voting strength of the United Left came to approximate that of the Majority - of chipping away at the Mittelpartei's stock of procedural advantages. This time it was not a question of changing, but of enforcing a particular rule that had not been observed in anyone's memory: that Council votes were to take place only within the chamber, and ballots delivered in person to the presiding officer. "This regulation," Lueger declared, "whose purpose is clearly to guard against certain electoral maneuvers, has been circumvented in practice, and elections conducted in as casual a manner as possible." Ballots were routinely collected in baskets tendered by the custodial staff to deputies who preferred to congregate in the ante-rooms rather than attend the proceedings in the Council chamber.¹²⁸ In objecting to this practice by moving that henceforth all votes delivered outside the chamber would be invalid, Lueger was striking at vital "moving parts" of the Mittelpartei "voting machine" - namely, "those members whose task consists, not in steady participation in the work of the City Council, but mainly to secure a majority for the present ruling party in commission elections and important votes."¹²⁹ The conservatives were prepared to meet Lueger half-way by

agreeing to an attendance check before and after votes, allowing for stragglers to be rounded up and brought to their seats before votes were taken. But Lueger's point was that Councilmen should be in their seats at least listening to what was going on, and he held firm to compliance with the legal business order. "Either those who prefer to smoke and pass the time comfortably outside while we sweat and work in here ... will lose their votes," or - and he hit the crux of the matter - the Majority should show some respect for the right of the Opposition to an equitable share of power over Council decisions. Lueger, in short, was prepared to bargain the letter of the business order for a more equitable distribution of seats on the powerful commissions - a standing goal of the United Left.¹³⁰ His motion passed with 43 votes to 36, the vote itself reflecting the customary poor attendance by members of the majority for non-crucial votes.¹³¹

The bitter tone of reproach against the ruling majority adopted by Lueger in the foregoing debate, must be seen in connection with the United Left's second failure to secure a vice-mayoralty one month before,¹³² and with its continued frustration at the Majority's hold over elected commissions. Despite its large membership and diligent pursuit of the public interest, the United Left was no closer to gaining a foothold on the way to power than it had been at its founding one year before. In protest against what the Morgenpost described as, "The brutal and inconsiderate way in which the Mittelpartei and Reformklub proceed against the United Left," the latter decided at the end of November 1879 to make every commission election a test of party strength - a departure from the usual practice of accepting less than half the seats taken by the Majority. In future the United Left would nominate its own candidates for every available position.¹³³

Seemingly secure in its unity and bolstered by aggressive leadership, the Opposition no longer accepted with dispirited resignation endless delays and token settlements on matters affecting basic administrative reforms and vital public servi-

ces. In October 1878 Lueger moved, over the Poor Board Commission's recommendation that the election of Poor Boards (in place of their appointment)¹³⁴ be deferred until a thorough reform of the welfare system could be planned and instituted, to proceed without delay to correct the major shortcoming of the system - the "immortality" of the officials in charge of dispensing relief funds. Lueger's motion was passed, and one reform saved from burial in a commission that might have waited years to present its report.¹³⁵ In December Lueger's and Mandl's three-year-old demand for closer scrutiny by the Council of the annual balance sheet and budget, was accepted to the point that the various sections and commissions were directed to prepare separate reports for the following year.¹³⁶

The most dramatic evidence of a more dynamic temper on the left, appeared in a major debate over a problem that had been at rest from 1875 until revived by Ignatz Mandl in the spring of 1878 - the seemingly inexhaustible Gasfrage. The problem was basically what it had been before the new contract went into effect¹³⁷ - exploitation of consumers by a free-wheeling monopoly the city could neither live with nor without. Only private complaints against the Imperial Continental Gas Association (ICGA) now fell within the City Council's sphere of responsibility. According to the new contract, which went into effect in November 1877, the City had the right to supervise and enforce fulfillment of the agreed stipulations, particularly with respect to the cost of gas meters and the promised price reduction, as well as the quality of gas.¹³⁸

By April 1878 complaints were already mounting that, despite the lower cost per cubic meter, gas bills were higher than ever and rising, even where consumption remained constant. The Gas Question again appeared regularly on the agenda of political club meetings. At one of these, a Bürgerverein Councilman responded to the reports of higher bills by pointing out that gas prices in Vienna were not abnormally high in view of rising coal prices. This argument was sum-

marily dismissed by Dr. Mandl who countered, "The only statistics of interest to the Viennese consumer are those telling him that, while the price of gas has dropped by 60 per-cent since the late 1860's, people are paying 50 to 100 per-cent more for it."¹³⁹ Consumers who complained directly to the ICGA were either ignored or informed they would be spared further aggravation by having their gas service terminated.¹⁴⁰ One customer was thus threatened for refusing to settle the unpaid bill of a previous tenant of his rooms.¹⁴¹ Gas meter rents were neither fixed nor uniform as stipulated in the contract, and constituted an additional source of conflict between the consumers and the City on one side, the English monopoly on the other.¹⁴² The hub of the matter, Mandl pointed out, was the City's failure to supervise the strict execution of the contract; although control jets were set up in each District Hall, these were periodically checked at set times, not by City engineers, but by ICGA personnel who invariably found the quality and pressure of gas in splendid order.¹⁴³

Mandl brought the accumulated complaints against the ICGA to the attention of the City Council on 5 April 1878; a motion put by him to investigate the mystery of the rising gas bills was referred to the standing Gas Commission.¹⁴⁴ The KVZ, reporting on Mandl's motion, cautioned its readers against, "expecting anything to happen in a hurry ... there being sharp differences of opinion over the matter."¹⁴⁵ Not reckoning with political developments that were to breath new life into the Opposition by the end of the summer, the paper noted in June, "As the Gas Commission has met only three times in two months, an early solution to the question is not to be expected."¹⁴⁶ Following the formation of the United Left, however, a series of measures, designed to effect stricter controls over the ICGA's operations were proposed and passed by the City Council.¹⁴⁷

On 16 August 1878, a United Left motion was passed demanding the Gas Commission's report on Mandl's query of the previous April. The report, delivered by the chairman of the

commission, Phillip Kaiser - a conservative stalwart of the Mittelpartei - one month later, was poorly calculated to still growing suspicions and unrest as to the company's faithful compliance with the terms of its contract. The major part of the report consisted of a defense prepared by the ICGA against allegations that it was manipulating the pressure and quality of gas to the detriment of the consumer. People were paying more, the report explained, because they they were using more, or they were not turning their gas on and off in the correct way. The consumer was at fault, the Commission concluded, adding insult to injury by denying that the City Council was in any case party to arrangements between the ICGA and its private clients.

These assertions raised a tirade of objections by Dr. Mandl and other Councilmen, who condemned the Commission report as based on a superficial inquiry and prejudiced against the consumer. It remained for Dr. Lueger to draw the salient points from the flying barrage of recriminations, and suggest a practical course of action. First he reminded the Council that, "The Gas Company is a monopoly, and those under its province have a right to seek protection from the City Council which placed them in that unfortunate position ... every complaint must be checked out and precautions taken to protect the public from further exploitation." He moved that the Commission call in outside technical experts, and study the contract thoroughly to clear up juridical uncertainties and determine which articles were not being observed. Mandl moved to postpone a decision on the Commission report until, "We really know why people are paying more after the price has been reduced." Both motions passed with large majorities.¹⁴⁸

The City Council's rejection of the Gas Commission report in September 1878 launched an offensive that lasted until 1885, when the City's option to cancel the contract in 1887 expired.¹⁴⁹ While it is not necessary here to cover the the series of debates, negotiations, transactions, and court pro-

ceedings that fueled the agitation,¹⁵⁰ a few comments are in order on the political aspects of the controversy. It should be noted that, as the ICGA counted only 33,000 customers in a population of 706,000, the Gasfrage was of somewhat less moment to the Viennese populace than to the enfranchised middle classes who, regardless of their attachment to economic liberty, considered themselves in this case exploited by a foreign monopoly they were determined to fight with every available resource. Of the fourteen members of the board of the Vienna Gas Consumers Association, to indicate the social mix in the anti-ICGA forces, nine lived in the high-income Inner City, while its chairman, Heinrich Billing, and its chief spokesman in the City Council, Anton Gaugusch, were both First Curia deputies.¹⁵¹

Yet the Gasfrage also involved the general population in a number of ways: indirectly, as the ICGA, being English, took its profits out of the country, thereby depleting already inadequate capital reserves; more directly, as the City, being the ICGA's largest customer, passed its higher gas bill on to the taxpayer; directly, as the general public was deprived of the security benefits afforded by well-lighted streets. The dimness of Vienna's street lights was a favorite subject of political humorists, inspiring cartoons such as one depicting a policeman in hot pursuit after two thieves hiding safely in the light of a municipal gas lantern.¹⁵²

Although Dr. Mandl fired the opening volley, and Lueger served as strategist in the ongoing contretemps, the two can hardly be regarded as lone crusaders, an honor that has been thrust upon Lueger in view of his desperate and ultimately successful drive to construct a municipal gas works after he became Mayor of Vienna in 1897.¹⁵³ As the battle wore on, Mandl and Lueger appeared less frequently in the front lines, leaving much of the legislative work and polemics to colleagues of the United Left. In May 1880, of five anti-ICGA motions passed in the City Council with large majorities,¹⁵⁴ none was placed by Lueger, and only one by Mandl. Reporter

for the new Gas Commission, whose recommendation to cancel the City's contract with the English at the earliest date was accepted by the Council on 24 September 1880, was former Mandl foe and Reformklub leader, Johann Prix. The presence of, "the chameleon of the City Council,"¹⁵⁵ in the forefront of the battle, alone testifies to the widespread support the cause had come to enjoy in the two years since Dr. Mandl had taken it up all but alone.

There is no doubt that their fusion with the fractions of the left provided Mandl and Lueger with hitherto but dreamed-of opportunities to realize their political plans and reform ambitions. Not only did the United Left grow steadily in influence from 1878 to 1881, but with the support of this articulate progressive party Mandl and Lueger were able to turn their energies, intelligence and public zeal to far grander purposes than falsified works sheets and sub-standard gravel shipments.¹⁵⁶ They were prepared now to take on any contractor or corporation they suspected of operating, or attempting to operate, over the line of strict business ethics or to the disadvantage of the general public. No City project or transaction, whether it involved the gas company, the supplementary water works,¹⁵⁷ the Rothschild-dominated Nordbahn,¹⁵⁸ the new slaughterhouse and cattle market,¹⁵⁹ the new Rathaus, Vienna's bi-centennial celebration of the Turkish siege of 1683,¹⁶⁰ the Tramway Association, or a projected steam railway to encircle the city, escaped their deadly scrutiny and singular command of every fiscal, legal, medical, mechanical, aesthetic, or other detail to be weighed in judging its merits and deficiencies, and ultimate impact on the life and well-being of the population at large.

The battles Mandl and Lueger waged in concert with the United Left in these and other projects and transactions cannot be recounted here except with reference to selected issues and debates, as these bring out Lueger's particular style, concerns, and intentions in these years. It may be noted that, far from attending only to popular and/or contro-

versial causes, Lueger was highly active as a "reporter" for the Legal and Internal Affairs Sections of the Council, drafting hundreds of memoranda dealing with complex, but routine, real estate and other transactions involving City property. His motions placed in these cases, often following a fierce debate on a highly charged issue in which he faced strong opposition, were invariably passed without comment.¹⁶¹ Although Lueger earned the respect of his colleagues, and finally the plaudits of the Morgenpost for his, "Comprehensive knowledge of communal affairs ... and selfless diligence, for which his only recompense is in the consciousness of duty discharged,"¹⁶² he continued to meet resistance at every turn of the reform course he and Dr. Mandl had mapped out in the first year of their alliance.

A major concern of theirs, reiterated in Lueger's campaign speeches of 1878, was stricter control by the City Council of the annual balance sheet and municipal budget proposed for the following year.¹⁶³ By the winter of 1878, they were at last in a position to have their standing objection to the customary way of accepting the annual book-keeping reports and budget from the hands of a single financial expert,¹⁶⁴ taken seriously. With uncommon restraint,¹⁶⁵ Mandl pointed out once more that the Council was responsible not only for checking the accuracy of the figures and seeing if expenses conformed to Council directives, but also for certifying that all expenses were really in the interest of the commune - in accord with the crying need for strict economy. "It is not a question of finding irregularities," Mandl told the Council, "but of the principle that the accounting reports and budgets not be simply accepted without question or examination." His motion, to have both reports inspected in future by Councilmen qualified in the various areas (schools, building, sanitation, streets, etc.), was referred without debate for study to the Legal and Finance Sections.¹⁶⁶

One year later Mandl's motion remained buried in various

sections, commissions and sub-committees assigned to study and implement his proposal. Mandl was then no longer a member of the City Council, having resigned his mandate in July 1879 after narrowly losing his second bid for a Reichsrat seat.¹⁶⁷ Lueger thus gained the opportunity to emerge from his mentor's shadow as chief spokesman for the Mandl reform program. Johann Schrank, furthermore, had stepped down as chairman of the United Left,¹⁶⁸ after which Schlechter took his place and Lueger moved up to the vice-chairmanship of the party, a position lending his greater authority to voice the political aspirations of the United Left.

Lueger took the occasion of the 1879 annual budget debate to deliver a comprehensive critique of the administrative and political conditions which he blamed for the slow progress of such vital reforms as review of the balance sheet and budget. In this speech he went well beyond the compendium of facts, figures, and simple logic, spiced with pointed jibes at the Council Majority, he was wont to marshall in support of an urgent motion. Assuming what had been Mandl's role of presenting a measure from the broader perspective of the history and principles involved, Lueger produced here a carefully prepared exposition of his political position and motivations as a reformer. The importance he attached to this address was signified by his motion, on seeing the chamber only half full, to have the budget debate postponed to some time when he would not have to, "speak to empty benches."¹⁶⁹ As numbers of tardy deputies drifted in to take their seats, Lueger withdrew his motion and proceeded as first speaker of the day.

He started by recounting the history of the budget reform he and Dr. Mandl had first introduced in 1875,¹⁷⁰ and which had finally been approved under vastly different political circumstances the year before. Unfortunately, he saw no sign that the reform designed to improve, simplify, and sharpen fiscal controls, had produced anything but a proliferation of committees which rarely met and and done little aside from, "giving numerous colleagues the satisfaction of holding a

chairmanship.... And so the same two men, the head of the Finance Section and the Chief Bookkeeper, are here today as they have always been, to demonstrate their amiable concurrence on every point of the budget."

Aside from chiding the Council for sloth and indifference, Lueger sought to impress on them the dire urgency of saving wherever possible in view of the ever widening deficit created by rising expenses and falling municipal income. To illustrate, he presented a point by point comparison of the 1870 and 1880 budgets, and then turned his attention to the real source of the problem with fiscal, as with other reforms that languished in the Council from one year to the next - the commission system, and ultimately the sorry fact that the commissions were controlled by Majority members unwilling to accept the constructive cooperation of the Opposition on equal terms.

In the second half of his speech, Lueger addressed both the administrative and political aspects of the problem of effecting genuine reforms or improvements in city government. On the budget reform, he moved that instead of commissions, special reporters elected by the Council be assigned to study the budgets of the various departments, and present their findings to the plenary body along with the annual accounting and budget reports. Turning to the political obstacle to more effective and responsive government, Lueger first eliminated Mayor Newald from the company of the damned by announcing that for the first time he would, "this year, out of respect for the Mayor's ... objective leadership ... approve the covering of extraordinary expenses.... This man has shown that he takes his obligations seriously, and I wish to express my full confidence in his person as head of the present administration."

In commending Newald's fairness in the conduct of his office,¹⁷¹ Lueger was not only showing gratitude, but holding up the Mayor as an example to his Mittelpartei cohorts; and expressing his still vibrant hope of building a progressive liberal party from members of both sides of the chamber. That

Lueger had not given up his dream of "a great liberal party" coming together on the common ground of economic and administrative reforms, can be seen in the concluding portion of this hour-long address which was directed squarely to the members of the Majority:¹⁷²

Those gentlemen who are likewise concerned with economy in government, need not consider the members of the Opposition as your enemies. We are friends of the good, from wherever it comes.... and if the conflicts here can be harmonized, it will be possible to create that party which will serve as the basis for great endeavor ... and important reforms - a powerful party, conscious of its aims and purposes, and able to restore the City Council to the level of esteem it enjoyed ... from 1860 to 1869. With the wish that the year 1880, the first of a new decade, may bring good fortune to the Commune of Vienna, I close my speech.

Perhaps nothing testifies so surely to the change come over the City Council in the four years since Mandl and Lueger launched their first broadside against the Felder regime, than the hearty applause from all sides of the chamber that greeted this oration.¹⁷³ The same reform Lueger had urged upon a hostile assembly in 1875 was now accepted without serious opposition, and translated into action.

The following year, the "special reporters" were duly on hand to assure the Council that the accounting statement, including extraordinary expenses, and budget proposals had been scrutinized with utmost care and consideration for the need to economize in every department.¹⁷⁴ While no spectacular savings accrued from this reform in the first year, the purpose behind it had been achieved merely through its implementation - every department and contractor was served notice that accounts would henceforth be examined with a view to finding and correcting irregularities and unnecessary expenditures.¹⁷⁵ With this direct assertion of Council authority over the communal household, the vital principle of control over the Magistrat by the elected representatives, received official and indisputable confirmation.

The speech Lueger delivered pleading for stricter adminis-

trative controls and cooperation between the two sides of the chamber, summarized the essence of his and Dr. Mandl's communal ouvre up to the winter of 1879: their unremitting effort to bring about more economical management; and their struggle to weld an economically conscious progressive liberal party of the motley Council fractions riven by personal and special interest politics. As Mandl had declared earlier in 1879, the enormous city debt, "for which the interest now is more than the entire budget of twenty years before," could not be checked by representatives of special interests or by those, "concerned mostly with extending the constitution, and little with economics - with rights people could still demand rather than with how best to use the rights they already possess."¹⁷⁶ Mandl's observation then of a new seriousness and willingness to undertake the "work and study economic questions require," seemed borne out in the Council session of 19 December 1879.

The urge to reform of the liberal institutions grounded in the Constitution of 1867 grew more pressing with the fall of the Liberal ministry and formation of a clerical conservative majority in the Austrian parliament in the fall of 1879.¹⁷⁷ This urgency was noted in the Christmas edition of Fortschritt appearing a week after Lueger's appeal for cooperation to the City Council Majority.¹⁷⁸ Two articles provided what may be considered philosophical underpinnings and a broader context for Lueger's remarks on that occasion.

The first, entitled "The Holidays," saw some cause for rejoicing in a new social consciousness which was supplanting religious enthusiasm as a way of expressing altruistic feelings and social idealism. Society was depicted as growing, not less, but more sensitive, humane, and active in combating poverty and human suffering, despite and to some extent because of waning religiousity, although this "new idealism" was not appreciated in all quarters:

Our idealism lives more in deeds and actions than in raptures and emotional outpourings (überschwänglichen Gefühlen und schwärmerischen Ergüssen).... And the

world is not is such a bad state ... as those would have us believe who see the past in deceptively rosy colors (falschem Rosenscheine).

While this seasonal message alluded only indirectly, though pointedly, to the danger of a clerical conservative revival, the second article, "Battle against Corruption," dealt openly with the "reaction" to be expected if progressive elements failed to combat the "extreme egoism" which was the "darker side" of the liberal achievement, and the "overall corruption prevailing in the administration of public property." Time was running short for Liberals to set their house in order before dissatisfaction with the new institutions produced a "backlash" leading to the restoration of the old. "It is now up to the Progressive Party to acknowledge abuses, and itself apply the necessary remedies."

Lueger's attack on the commission system as the bastion of municipal conservatism and his call for the City Council to jointly assume the burden of public accountability, should be seen not only in the context of his ambition to play a leading role in the "great liberal party" he envisaged. They must be seen as well in the context of the purposes this party, as an extension of the "Wirtschaftspartei," was intended to serve - not the least of which was an "idealism of deeds."

Notes:

- 1 See above, p. 172. GRB, 10 October 1876 and 13 October 1876, where Lueger denies Felder's insinuation that he had bribed the witness, "or misled anyone to make false charges."
- 2 The Todtengräber were not public employees, but holders of a private concession to care for the graves and keep the paths clear as well as stand guard over the cemetery. GRB, 1 June 1877.
- 3 GRB, 5 June 1877; The Commission also recommended that the contractor in question be suspended for two years from city projects.
- 4 Lachs and his partner, being Jewish, were disqualified from the position of Todtengräber, and carried on this "business" (including a lucrative trade in gravestones) through two "strawmen." Fortschritt, 21 October 1877.
- 5 Fortschritt, 20 May 1877.
- 6 Fortschritt, 4 March 1877. GRB, 31 August 1877; As in the "sandbag case" Mandl revealed prescribed procedures were not being observed, while the city accounting department found "all in good order," without checking into the distribution of funds. The Poor Boards, consequently, were "control and cashier in one; ... if they find all is not in order," Mandl told the Council, "they simply report the fact to themselves."
- 7 GRB, 31 August 1877.
- 8 KVZ, 10, 13 September 1877.
- 9 Morgenpost, 10, 12 October 1877; See above, pp. 172, 190 (Note 167).
- 10 Morgenpost, 25 September 1877.
- 11 NFP, 13 October 1877.
- 12 Trexler was the original owner-editor of Fortschritt, which was published in the Vorort of Simmering, adjacent to the Third District. In 1876 he teamed up with Dr. Mandl's reform movement, remaining editor of the paper until April 1880 when he resigned citing "business pressure." After that Mandl was owner and publisher, and Johann Weiss editor of Fortschritt. Fortschritt, 11 April 1880.
- 13 Fortschritt, 21 October 1877.
- 14 Ibid., gives the trial proceedings in full.
- 15 Morgenpost, 21 October 1877.
- 16 NFP, 15 October 1877.
- 17 NFP, 13 October 1877.
- 18 Die Presse, 17 October 1877.

- 19 KVZ, 20 May 1877, 30 September 1877;
Morgenpost, 10 November 1877; NFP, 17 October 1877.
- 20 Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 259-263.
- 21 Morgenpost 26 May 1877.
- 22 Morgenpost, 11 October 1877.
- 23 NFP, 5 December 1877; Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 261-262.
- 24 Among the 150 odd persons attending were Mittelpartei Chairman Weissenberger, Schrank, Kronawetter, and several City Councilmen. Fortschritt, 4 November 1877.
- 25 Ibid., gives the speech in full.
- 26 Among these was Johann Prix, a prominent lawyer, perennial aspirant for the mayor's chair, and leading member of the Reformklub, which was termed, "A reform party without reformers," by the KVZ, 30 September 1877. A biographical sketch is given in, Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit ...," p. 309.
- 27 Born in 1813, and in the City Council since 1850, Uhl was a moderate liberal, respected for integrity and public service. He possessed "more the virtues of a judge than of a political leader," notes Hausner, "Die Tätigkeit ...," pp. 433-435.
- 28 Morgenpost, 30 October 1877; NFP, 2 December 1877.
- 29 Fortschritt, 9 December 1877; Morgenpost, 1 November 1877, reported that while the Left and Far Left caucuses had opted to vote for Uhl, five Left Councilmen announced their resignation from the fraction and their intention to vote for Felder; one was editor of the KVZ, Hügel. Uhl declared he would only run if Felder chose not to.
- 30 Three years before the left had split over an alternative to Felder, with the Far Left voting for Steudel, and the Left casting blank ballots. See above, pp. 83-84.
- 31 NFP, October 13 1877.
- 32 The water-meter revelation led to another slander suit against Fortschritt editor Trexler, who was ably defended by Lueger in a trial on 17 December 1877. In summing up his successful defense, Lueger injected the personal remark that he was glad to defend Trexler, "also out of a political sense of duty to the party of which he is honored to be a member." Morgenpost, 18 December 1877.
- 33 NFP, 17 November 1877; Fortschritt, 28 October 1877, 23 December 1877, 20 January 1878.
- 34 Fortschritt, 6 January 1878.
- 35 Fortschritt, 13 January 1878.
- 36 The comment was Mandl's to the anti-Felder Eintracht meeting cited above, p. 197; Morgenpost, 30 October 1877.
- 37 Felder speaking to the Mittelpartei in accepting its nom-

ination for a fourth term. Fortschritt, 25 November 1877.

- 38 Fortschritt, 4 November 1877. In an earlier debate on reform of the Magistrat, Felder favorably contrasted Berlin arrangements, "where the Magistrat is not under the elected representatives, but coordinate with them," to those of Vienna. GRB, 21 December 1875.
- 39 By "informed," Mandl did not necessarily mean "studied" in the "book-learning sense. Much as he valued the widest knowledge on a given subject, he held great store by the simple citizen's understanding of practical matters, especially those affecting him directly. He regretted, for example, that Third Curia representatives on the District Committees were generally First Curia voters - "The less well-to-do would be more suitable to check on local conditions." Fortschritt, 12 October 1879.
- 40 By October 1876, one-half of the city's 12,000 houses had high spring water. At that time Mandl and Lueger were for keeping the "good house wells," and for setting up fountains dispensing high spring water in poor neighborhoods, such as Erdberg, where private water lines were too expensive for the small householders, and the houses themselves mostly too decrepid to stand the strain of installing them. GRB, 23 May and 27 June 1876.
- 41 Morgenpost, 17 November 1877.
- 42 Morgenpost, 25, 30 December 1877; NFP, 25 December 1877.
- 43 In contrast to the "sections" which anyone could join, the commissions were elected by the Council, and hence subject to Majority control. Fortschritt, 3 February 1878.

The commissions could delay important questions, sometimes for years, as well as "doctor" their findings, as in the sand and gravel investigations; here the commission chairman admitted going his own way with the investigation without consulting the "Landstrassers" as they were, "too difficult to deal with." GRB, 25 July 1876.

Insight into the commission system is given in the report of the Council session of 4 May 1880, where an attempt was made to rationalize the system and eliminate the least effective of the 130 standing commissions.
- 44 Fortschritt, 3 February 1878; "The citizen should exercise his right to supervise tax money," Mandl told his voters.
- 45 Fortschritt, 25 November 1877.
- 46 Morgenpost, 21 October 1877; Fortschritt, 6 January 1877.
- 47 Fortschritt, 3 March 1878.
- 48 Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, pp. 41, 45-46.
Skalnik, Dr. Karl Lueger ..., pp. 24-27.
Stöger, "Die politischen Anfänge ...," pp. 36-37.
Kunze, "Dr. Karl Lueger als Gemeinderat, 1875-1896," p. 6.

Boyer, Political Radicalism ..., in his chapter on Lueger ("Karl Lueger and the Radicalization of Viennese Democracy") has considerably revised and clarified his earlier analysis of the politics of Mandl and Lueger at this time. ("Church, Economy and Society in fin de Siècle Austria - The Origins of the Christian Social Movement 1875-1897," Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975). Whereas he formerly described them as "anti-liberal" he now more correctly sees them as, "a second generation of Democratic Liberalism," (p. 191) distinguished from their elders by an aggressive new style (p. 192) and an ethical pragmatism derived from the ideas of Wilhelm Neurath. (p. 194) Although the writer still disagrees with Boyer's (unsubstantiated) view that Mandl was the more progressive of the two (p. 195) and that Lueger held, "a passionate commitment to a privileged Bürger-patrician social structure," (formerly "feudal-patrician"), there is no arguing with Boyer's well-put summary: "The result of Mandl's and Lueger's interest in civic ethics and municipal reform was what might be called a civic-service Democracy. Their initial program was modest in its actual content, confining itself to city finance and administration." (p. 195)

49 Fortschritt, 3 February 1878.

50 KVZ, 13 May 1877; NFP, 27 February 1878; Boyer, Political Radicalism ..., p. 194.

51 Mandl began to call his Eintracht following Wirtschafts-Partei in early 1878, doubtless to counter the common epithets, such as "Mandlerianer," "Sand and Gravel Party," "Landstrasse Detectives," etc. employed by the press to denigrate his following.

52 In his first two terms, Lueger proved a stickler for careful spending, not only in the Sandbag and budget debates, but with respect to municipal heating costs, (GRB, 29 September 1875), and city investments of various kinds (GRB 26 May 1876, 8 June 1876, 25 August 1876).

"Sparsamkeit" also ranked high as a personal virtue with Lueger, who maintained throughout his life the frugal habits of his student years. Marianne Beskiba, Aus meinen Erinnerungen an Dr. Karl Lueger, pp. 80, 88.

53 Still less supportable is Stauratz' contention that Lueger was from his first year in the City Council, leader of a movement against the, "Yoke of the Vienna Jew Liberals and their unconscionable rule over the City Council." Karl Lueger ..., p. 18.

54 Skalnik, Dr. Karl Lueger ..., p. 28.

55 Fortschritt, 24 February 1878.

56 GRB, 17 November 1877; Morgenpost, 18 November 1877.

57 Morgenpost, 28 November 1877.

58 Lueger made two, virtually identical campaign speeches,

- in 1878, both printed in Fortschritt, 3, 24 February 1878.
- 59 Deu.Z., 1 March 1878, reported, "In the Third District, the election of Dr. Lueger is to be viewed as certain."
- 60 In a letter to Lueger dated 7 July 1881, Fortschritt editor Johann Weiss spoke of the long-term partnership between the two Eintracht leaders: "You were together one heart, one brain; you consulted one another in all important questions, in short, it was a relationship between two true real friends." Handschriftensammlung, WSA, JN 40901.
- 61 Fortschritt, 3 February 1878.
- 62 "Today,... there is no sign of life in the camp of the anti-constitutionalists," Mandl told voters. Fortschritt, 24 February 1878.
- 63 In 1879 Mandl was still referring to the "old democrats" as, "democratic Jesuits ... trying to fool people with nice liberal-sounding phrases about suffrage reform" Fortschritt, 4 May 1879.
- 64 Fortschritt, 24 February 1878.
- 65 In contrast to the "economic reformers" of the 1880's Mandl thought the economy suffered from too little, rather than too much industrialization. In his concern for more markets for Austrian goods, he differed, as did Lueger, with most liberals in approving the occupation of Bosnia-Herzogovina as a way of securing vital markets in the Balkans. Fortschritt, 28 July 1878, 2 February 1879, 19 September 1879. For the same reasons Mandl and Lueger opposed a City Council motion to petition the government to reduce military spending. Fortschritt, 20 January 1878.
- 66 Fortschritt, 24 February 1878.
- 67 The natural confederacy between the Mandl Party and the democrats can be seen by their frequent appearance on the same platform with Kronawetter, whose Reichsrat speeches, condemning the influence of large banks, railroads, and the press on the national economy, appeared regularly in Fortschritt; f.e. 17 February 1878, 26 January 1879.
- 68 Fortschritt, 3 March 1878.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Morgenpost, 31 September 1877 and 30 January 1878.
Kleine Freie Presse, 17 February 1878.
- 71 KVZ, 20 May 1877.
- 72 DZ, 11 April 1874 and 30 January 1875.
- 73 KVZ, 3 March 1878.
- 74 KVZ, 23, 26 February 1878.
- 75 "It is not enough," Mandl told the Democratic Club of the Eighth District, "to pay mind only to the great political

- questions ... it is the duty of voters above all to attend to economic questions ... to keep a constant watch on their representatives that they manage the tax money scrupulously, and not misuse their mandates to egoistic purposes." Fortschritt, 3 February 1878.
- 76 KVZ, 27 February 1878. Even the NFP noted the same day that Dr. Lueger had spoken, "in more measured tones than had been expected from his person"
- 77 In the end, he faced strong opposition from a "democratic-Bürgerverein" candidate with good social connections in the Third Curia. Mandl also complained that numbers of "his" voters had been inexplicably removed from the voter lists. Deu.Z., 4, 5 March 1878.
- 78 KVZ, 27 April 1878.
- 79 KVZ, 12 March 1878.
- 80 KVZ, 29 April 1878; GRB, 10 May 1878.
- 81 KVZ, 3 May 1878.
- 82 By law a so-called "Weckapparat" was to be tied to a finger of the deceased so as to sound an alarm should the corpse prove to be only "seemingly dead." GRB, 15 March 1878.
- 83 See above, note 2. The responsibility of the grave-diggers for guarding the cemetery had been the subject of a lively debate in the City Council one year earlier. GRB, 1 June 1877
- 84 KVZ, 2 May 1878.
- 85 KVZ, 3 May 1878.
- 86 See above, note 26.
- 87 GRB 10 May 1878; KVZ, 11 May 1878.
- 88 GRB, 14 May 1878.
- 89 Fortschritt, 5 May 1878.
- 90 GRB, 18 July and 10 October 1876.
- 91 GRB, 14 May 1878. The NFP, 15 May 1878, totally distorted Schrank's tribute to Dr. Mandl by printing only his less laudatory introductory remarks on Mandl's excitability. It rendered his concluding words so that their meaning was lost, as "... it is good that the Mayor and the parties have ... gained clarity as to each other's viewpoints."
- 92 PANS, P6 ad 3, 1878 No. 3536; GRB, 28 June 1878.
- 93 Felder, Erinnerungen, pp. 268-271; GRB, 28 June 1878.
- 94 "I did not after all, draw the shorter straw in the cemetery affair," he asserted, Erinnerungen, pp. 265-266.
- 95 KVZ, 27 June 1878.

- 96 NFP, 27 June 1878. The Councilman was Georg Ritter von Hruby; on second thought, he retracted this decision.
- 97 KVZ, 12 July 1878.
- 98 NFP, 29 June 1878.
- 99 KVZ, 29 June 1878.
- 100 NFP, 29 June 1878.
- 101 KVZ, 19 June 1878.
- 102 Deu.Z., 29 June 1878.
- 103 Fortschritt, 14 July 1878.
- 104 Fortschritt, 7 July 1878.
- 105 GRB, 13 July 1878.
- 106 Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 285.
- 107 GRB, 13 July 1878.
- 108 KVZ, 14 July 1878.
- 109 See above, pp. 84-85
- 110 KVZ, 7 July 1878.
- 111 KVZ, 5 July 1878; Landstrasser Bürgerzeitung (hereafter LB), 15 September 1878.
- 112 KVZ, 8 August 1878.
- 113 WSB, Lueger Nachlass, No. 82370.
- 114 Stöger, "Die politischen Anfänge . . .," p. 56.
Kunze, "Dr. Karl Lueger . . .," p. 43.
- 115 Each of the items 2. through 6. were contained in Lueger's campaign speech of February 1878. Fortschritt, 24 February 1878.
- 116 See above, pp. 202-203; GRB, 21 October and 19 December 1879.
- 117 The writer does not agree with Boyer, Political Radicalism . . ., pp. 192-193, that "Lueger had nothing to lose by playing the young gadfly," and turned against Felder, "to develop his own political profile," with no reference but his overriding political ambition. On the contrary, the Mittelpartei built, "a golden bridge" for Lueger by not opposing him in the 1876 election, and the opportunity for advancement lay with the Bürgerverein, not with Dr. Mandl. Wiener Bürger-Zeitung, 22 October 1876.
- 118 The editor was Raimund Gröbl, who was Lueger's age and took the course mapped out for Lueger by the Bürgerclub before his break with Mayor Felder. Gröbl was Vienna's last Liberal mayor from 1894-1895, Czeike, Geschichte der Stadt Wien, p. 243.
- 119 Fortschritt, 22 September 1879.

- 120 GRB, 23 April 1878; Fortschritt, 5 May 1878.
- 121 Morgenpost, 25 September 1878; KVZ, 21 July 1878.
GRB, 9 August and 26 September 1878 - Uhl was elected first and Moritz Lederer of the Reformklub, second vice-mayor. The United Left put up Steudel for the latter post - he collected 53 votes against 60 for Lederer - and was particularly miffed that the "splinter" Reformklub won its coveted place on the "Präsidium."
- 122 GRB, 15 October 1878.
- 123 See above, pp. 15-16.
- 124 The suffrage reform languished in the Statute Revision Commission until revived by Lueger in 1880. In 1882 it was again rejected in the Landtag by 30 to 25 votes. Till, Geschichte der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, pp. 70-71.
- 125 See above, Note 121.
- 126 KVZ, 28 September 1878. Mandl, for example, claimed that he was not called to a meeting of the Street Commission for one and one-half years, GRB 25 July 1876.
GRB, 16 November 1877, Mandl ascribed the unsatisfactory investigations into his corruption charges to, "The party which today has the power to elect commissions."
- 127 GRB, 27 September 1878.
- 128 When loans or sale of City property were concerned, 80 Councilmen constituted a quorum; for ordinary votes, 40. Herden, "Das Amt des Bürgermeisters . . .," p. 81.
- 129 Lueger's "professionalism," cited by Boyer, Political Radicalism . . ., pp. 187, 192, extended beyond the political power game, to the conduct of elected representatives in office. Lueger took his own responsibilities as a Councilman, aside from his political role, very seriously. See below, pp. 225-226.
- 130 Fortschritt, 18 August 1878. On the Statute Revision Commission, for example, the Majority claimed 7 seats, allowed 4 to the United Left, and 1 to a "wild" Councilman. GRB, 20 December 1878.
- 131 GRB, 11 November 1879; Although touted as a "Defeat for the Mittelpartei," by the Morgenpost, 12 November 1879, the victory was mainly symbolic - the Majority, though inconvenienced, was not substantially the worse off for having to be in its seats for votes.
- 132 GRB, 2 October 1879. Uhl again won the first vice-mayoralty with the support of both sides, and Lederer the second with 67 against 43 votes, this time for Schrank.
- 133 Morgenpost, 29 November 1879.
- 134 GRB, 4 October 1878. See above, p. 194.
- 135 GRB, 4 May 1880.

- 136 GRB, 19 December 1879. On the fate of this proposal see below, pp. 227-228.
- 137 See above, pp. 87-89.
- 138 KVZ, 24 April 1878; See above, p. 93.
- 139 Fortschritt, 5 May 1878.
- 140 Ibid.; GRB, 27 February 1880.
- 141 KVZ, 15 August 1878.
- 142 Gray, Die Stellung ..., p. 48; GRB, 27 March 1880.
- 143 Fortschritt, 5 May 1878.
- 144 GRB, 5 April 1878.
- 145 KVZ, 24 April 1878.
- 146 KVZ, 28 June 1878.
- 147 The urgency to reform, particularly with respect to the decrepid condition of the pipe network, was enhanced by a disastrous gas explosion in August 1878. KVZ, 17 August 1878; GRB, 23 August 1878.
- 148 GRB, 13, 17 September 1878. Contrary to the assertion of Boyer, Political Radicalism ..., p. 195, Mandl was not at this time ahead of Lueger in promoting municipalization schemes. In the gas controversy, Mandl belonged to the many concerned at first with forcing the ICGA to accommodate its irate consumers, if only to avoid the expense to the City of building a new works. Fortschritt, 6 June 1878; 23 February 1879.
- 149 Gray, Die Stellung ..., p. 49.
- 150 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," pp. 101-116 provides an adequate summary.
- 151 Phillip Kaiser, who brought the offensive commission report, failed of re-election the following year as a result of his unpopular stand on the Gas Question. Morgenpost, 2 March 1879.
- 152 Reproduced in Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 104.
- 153 Stöger, "Die Politischen Anfänge ...," p. 41.
Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 102.
Kuppe, "Festschrift zur Enthüllung des Dr. Karl Lueger-Denkmales," pp. 8-11.
- 154 GRB, 11 May 1880; One of the motions rejected the ICGA gas meter rent proposal, another proposed a new gas commission, another authorized consumers to use gas meters other than those supplied by the ICGA, etc.
- 155 KVZ, 23 January 1881; Felder, Erinnerungen, p. 199. Prix, who joined the United Left briefly in 1880, then left it in 1881 to form a new fraction, the "Wiener Club," then returned to the Mittelpartei, earned the label.

- 156 Speaking to 400 voters called by the "liberale Wirtschafspartei," Mandl recounted the changes effected in city government since his reforms had taken effect: "Today irregularities are treated calmly and corrected ... fraud has been eliminated since accounting reports allow us to see all details, and make control over spending possible." Fortschritt, 3 October 1880.
- Mandl, nonetheless, still managed to get embroiled over petty instances of corruption he could not fully substantiate, as with his charges against the City Parks Department for the untimely death of sixty trees in the Central Cemetary. KVZ, 19 January 1881.
- 157 GRB, 24 October 1879; 26 July 1881.
- 158 The controversy with the Nordbahn concerned the "regulation" of a street adjacent to the railroad's main coal depot. Morgenpost, 4 September 1879; GRB, 20 May 1879; 15 May 1880; 16 November 1880.
- 159 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," pp. 125-144.
- 160 KVZ, 12 August 1881; Fortschritt, 12 June 1881.
- GRB, 4 November 1879. Lueger, noting the "feverish activity" in preparations for the 1883 celebration, which was to coincide with the opening of the new Rathaus, regretted the absence of a "saving commission" (Ersparungen Kommission); the money being spent on monuments, fountains and scholarly publications, would be better applied to "more useful projects such as the reorganization of the Public Works Department, sanitation, welfare and decentralization reforms."
- 161 GRB, 30 April, 4 May, 4 June, 26 November 1880, f.e.
- Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," counts 110 such reports for the Legal Section alone between 1879 and 1884; p. 269.
- 162 Morgenpost 23 January 1881.
- 163 See above, pp. 149-150, 203; Fortschritt, 30 September 1877.
- 164 This was Moritz Ritter von Pollak, a Mittelpartei conservative known as, "the finance minister of the commune." Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 284.
- 165 In 1877 Mandl had created a furor in the Council by asserting some of the bills were deliberately falsified - a charge he later reduced to "incorrect." Morgenpost, 17 January 1877; GRB, 31 October, 6 November 1877.
- 166 GRB, 26 November 1878.
- 167 Fearing this defeat would hinder his effectiveness in the City Council, Mandl chose to withdraw in hopes of having his mandate reconfirmed by the voters the following spring - which it was. Fortschritt 22 June 1879.

- On Mandl's unsuccessful Reichsrat campaign, see Deu.Z., 28, 29, 30 June 1879 and 1 July 1879; Morgenpost, 30 June 1879. On 2 July 1879, the Morgenpost reported the "sensational event" of Mandl's resignation from the City Council, noting Lueger's absence from the chamber with the excuse he was "unwell."
- 168 Schrank lost his Reichsrat seat to a candidate less equivocal in supporting the small business community. Deu.Z., 1 July 1879. After failing again to win the vice-mayoralty on 2 October 1879, he gave up the chairmanship of the United Left to Josef Schlechter. Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 292.
- 169 In later years, Lueger came to view such situations with a kind of stoic humor and would simply address a half-filled chamber as, "Honored Councilmen and benches...." Richard Kralik, Karl Lueger und der christliche Sozialismus, p. 75.
- 170 See above, p. 149.
- 171 Newald demonstrated his impartiality as president of the Council by "calling to order" members of the Mittelpartei for offensive remarks directed at the left as vice-versa; GRB, 27 December 1878, 19 December 1878, 26 September 1879, 28 December 1880; Morgenpost, 26 October 1879, deplored what it called the increasingly "brutal tone" in City Council debates, but did not cite Lueger or Mandl as responsible, but a fiery member of the United Left named Vöth and budget director Ritter von Pollak.
- 172 GRB, 19 December 1879:
- 173 Three complementary motions to Lueger's, put by colleagues of the United Left, one to reorganize the Dept. of Public Works, were passed along with the budget reform.
- The main objection to Lueger's speech came from Ritter von Pollak who saw no point to Lueger's request that his party receive its due with respect to commission seats, and flatly denied commissions were elected on a partisan basis, or that any but personal differences divided the right and left in the City Council.
- 174 GRB, 23 November and 17 December 1880.
- 175 GRB, 28 December 1880; See below, p
- 176 Fortschritt, 2 March 1879.
- 177 Hantsch, Geschichte Oesterreichs, pp. 410-411.
- 178 Fortschritt, 28 December 1879.

Chapter Seven

THE UNITED LEFT

"Das Eine dürfte aber erzielt sein, dass die Vereinigte Linke die Parität mit der Mittelpartei errungen hat....Möge die Vereinigte Linke fortwirken im Geiste der Mässigung und der Reform!"

Fortschritt, 6 June 1880.

"Unsere Partei ist jetzt gefallen, meine Herren, wir sind besiegt.... Aber in mir lebt die Überzeugung dass unsere Partei und die Principien die sie vertritt, zum Siege gelangen werden - zum Siege gelangen müssen."

Karl Lueger, 6 March 1882.

Comparing the Vienna city government of 1879 with that of 1875, Mandl and Lueger had accomplished wonders, even if these did not show on the municipal balance sheet, or in any noticeable improvement in the life of the average citizen. They were rather, hidden improvements, representing a change in course for municipal government that was neither intended nor expected to produce dramatic or immediate results. They were the beginning of a chain reaction process, leading from the City Council's assertion of its responsibilities, to more economical management and active promotion of the public interest, and finally to relief for the taxpayer and improved municipal services. "The whole purpose of popular representation," Mandl noted,¹

In contrast to the earlier (absolutist) system, is to superintend the executive ... and this purpose is negated if the City Council merely acts as a voting machine to cover what has already been done, and approve whatever is put before it.

This sentiment was voiced in connection with irregularities uncovered in the construction of the water pump works approved by the City Council in 1878,² but still not functioning properly three years later.³ That the reformers had, nonetheless, made some impact on the Department of Public Works with respect to controlling work sheets, materials, and building specifications, is indicated not only by numerous Council debates in which Mandl and Lueger questioned costs and criticized construction plans of such projects as the new municipal slaughterhouse,⁴ but also in the growing discomfort of contractors at such unaccustomed vigilance, and the realization that they would no longer be paid for sub-standard materials and services,⁵ and would forfeit their caution money if contracted specifications and deadlines were not met.⁶

Mandl's and Lueger's sense of practicality and concern for a balanced budget also at times overrode the urge to take a popular stand on issues they saw in conflict with their first priority. A case in point was the question of providing tax relief for the consumer and small businessman. When a dras-

tic 20 per-cent reduction in the city surcharge on the rent and consumers' tax was proposed by Councilman Văth of the United Left, Lueger at first supported the idea, and then reluctantly conceded its impracticality as long as the City's income was declining and expenses increasing.⁷ Lueger also opposed a motion by his colleague, Schlechter, to slash the budget by 20 per-cent and pass on the saving to the taxpayer. Both Lueger and Mandl stuck by their belief that savings would have to be effected first through more careful spending; "Up to now," Mandl told the Council in December 1878, "huge sums have been routinely approved without question on the basis of expert opinions none dared to challenge for fear of appearing ignorant."⁸ That such anxieties could be dispelled by taking the trouble to be informed and having the courage to question received opinions, Mandl and Lueger demonstrated on hundreds of occasions.

The effectiveness of their aggressive challenge to cumbersome and careless procedures derived in large measure from a combination of rhetorical skill and command of relevant data in any argument they chose to introduce or pursue; not infrequently they proved better informed as to the fiscal and legal technicalities of a proposal, than the commission and section experts who had prepared it for presentation.⁹ To a great extent, the new politics they introduced to the Vienna City Council, was a matter of sharper discipline and attentiveness by the elected representatives to ordinary business and to the public interest they had been sent to serve.

A telling example of the latter was the campaign launched by Mandl and Lueger against the Vienna Tramway Association (hereafter VTA) - another private monopoly that had taken advantage of the citizens' slender means of recourse against exploitation by a large capitalist enterprise providing an essential public service.¹⁰ The two major complaints against the VTA were, one, its failure to complete the public transit network it had contracted to build in its original agreement with the City in 1867; and two, the inadequate service (ir-

regular, if not haphazard, scheduling and all but intolerable overcrowding) provided at high cost on the few lines that were in operation. Also, on many lines where double track service had been promised, only single lines had been built to avoid the expense of buying up and demolishing houses that stood in the way. A private corporation, which had suffered considerable financial losses when the price of its stock fell in the Crash of 1873, the VTA had for years enjoyed the sympathy and support of the Vienna City Council with respect to fare increases and the delayed construction of the missing lines.¹¹

By the fall of 1880, however, with the United Left at the height of its power, and even the Neue Freie Presse showing impatience with the slow progress of the transit system,¹² the indulgence of the City Council was at the point of exhaustion.¹³ The tramway issue surfaced dramatically in a comprehensive debate in the City Council over the question of the annual rebate the VTA was obliged to pay the City.¹⁴ Originally set at 5 per-cent of its gross income, the amount had been gradually reduced to less than 3 per-cent, in hopes this "financial aid" would encourage the building of the less profitable and/or more expensive lines needed to complete the system. The debate is particularly interesting, in that it reveals Lueger's thinking on the question of public ownership of rail facilities, as well as the continuing resistance of the Mittelpartei not only to the drastic expedient of municipalization, but to reform within the existing private structure of municipal services.

Bringing to bear their usual wealth of pertinent facts and righteous indignation, Mandl and Lueger were again the leading agitators against a commission motion to accept the proposal of a capitalist venture both in conflict with and indispensable for the public interest. The VTA had asked for a permanent reduction in the rebate, in return for which it agreed to complete the unfinished lines, "where possible;" a proposal that raised a furor of protest from the United Left,

and charges that the chairman of the Tramway Commission was, "taking the part of the VTA," instead of its would-be and actual riders who had suffered long enough the company's indifference to their needs. Hoping to temper the criticism, the chairman offered to delete the words, "where possible," but this concession was rejected by the Opposition as a sufficient guarantee the VTA would meet its contractual obligations to the city.

Recounting the history of Council indulgence towards the tramway, Dr. Mandl also pointed out that the company enjoyed a splendid income and paid a 7 per-cent dividend to its shareholders, as well as handsome salaries to its directors - all of which contradicted the VTA's cry of impoverishment and hence inability to expand or improve its services. Mandl moved that the City collect its 5 per-cent rebate in full, (amounting to 120,000 fl. instead of the 50,000 it had been paying since 1876). Lueger supported the motion and placed one of his own, demanding the VTA complete the unfinished lines within two years or forfeit its caution money as well as the concession for the entire city. "That," he declared,

Would be a piece of luck ... for I believe such an enterprise in the public interest must also be administered by public officials ... I would also like to see the State take over the private railroads, and so adopt this principle ... which I hold sacred.

Lueger's motion, and a compromise on the rebate, demanding 90,000 fl., passed with 44 votes in the Council against 32.

Lueger's advocacy of a municipalized transit system and state operated railroads was again in agreement with a cause Dr. Mandl had underwritten in the pages of Fortschritt since 1878, albeit without expressly calling for the municipalization of the Vienna Tramway.¹⁵ Lueger's remark cannot be taken as signifying a basically anti-liberal or anti-capitalist position, nor as part of a popular crusade for an immediate takeover of the VTA,¹⁶ whose concession was in any case to revert to the City in 1903.¹⁷ He hoped, rather, to speed up this process by exerting legal pressures to which the company

was vulnerable through its clear breach of contract - unlike the situation with the Gas Company, where technical and legal complications made it difficult to proceed against the company or even prove it was not fulfilling its obligations.¹⁸ Again Lueger and Mandl were not alone in their uncompromising stand against the VTA and its friends on the Tramway Commission, having broad support in the Council for demanding the company fulfill the terms of its contract or suffer the legal consequences - reversion of its entire operation to the City.¹⁹ When the VTA failed to respond to Council pressures, Lueger placed another motion requiring the company to submit detailed plans for the unfinished network within one month, or be subject to a fine of 2000 fl. a day until the plans were produced. This motion, placed on 30 September 1881, passed with a large majority.²⁰

Lueger's comments on this occasion suggest that had the VTA shown more willingness to accommodate the public demands and complaints that deluged city hall, Lueger would very likely have retreated from his "sacred principle," to the point of leaving the VTA in peace for the duration of its concession. Responding to a member of the Tramway Commission who, by way of reprimanding the hard line of the Council, had alluded to the harmonious relationship prevailing in Berlin between the City and the privately run tramway, Lueger declared the comparison totally invalid, for,²¹

In Berlin the tramway company holds to its obligations - there the prices are reasonable and the population well served. Here, the company does not even want to attract more customers by lowering its rates, for this would involve adding cars and revising schedules, which would be too much trouble (ihr zuviel Mühe wäre).... Unlike Berlin, the commune of Vienna is just being squeezed out like a lemon.

The point is, that Lueger and Mandl attacked the gas monopoly, the tramway corporation, the Nordbahn, and in 1881 the proposed belt railway (Gürtelbahn) not so much out of principle or enthusiasm for government-run utilities, as for the practical consideration that these enterprises saw their first obligation to their stockholders at the expense of their mass cli-

entele, forced to ride, if at all, in overcrowded cars whose doors didn't close and windows didn't open.²²

Outside as well as inside the City Council, Lueger maintained an essentially pragmatic approach, based on statistics, observable data, and experience, by which he assessed and sought solutions to the problems affecting his constituents and the public at large. He did not at this time champion the cause of any particular social group, and, in fact, seemed reluctant to acknowledge class distinctions in the community as a whole.²³ Lueger, and Mandl as well, might best be classified as "rational altruists,"²⁴ in their extraordinary civic devotion and pursuit of the general welfare, although their strong personal identification with the public interest undoubtedly suggests an inner orientation to power, grounded in the personal psychology of the two leaders.²⁵

Since Lueger neither composed nor delivered essays elaborating basic principles that shaped his attitudes and political behavior in these years, but as these were so closely identified with his friend and acknowledged mentor, Ignatz Mandl, it may be assumed that he acted from similar precepts and with like objectives. Mandl was not in principle an adherent of state socialism any more than of a private capitalism operating in the interests of a select group of corporate directors and shareholders. He looked to a third alternative, created by the advent of constitutionalism, but overshadowed by a dominant laissez faire Liberalism that protected the privileged while enjoining self-help individualism on the average citizen. Mandl's third force was precisely this citizen, who had been granted the right to organize, express himself, and delegate legislative representatives, but who had yet to exercise these rights in his own interests. It was above all in Vienna, where the voting citizen enjoyed a measure of control over the executive, that Mandl believed self-government in Austria faced its first test as a viable means of public administration; here Liberalism would be

judged not by the idea of freedom, but by the practical consequences of its rule. It was the aim of both Mandl and Lueger to bring the citizen who was powerless as an individual, to exercise the power latent in his numbers, and in his capacity to organize in defense of his interests.

In an 1873 campaign speech, printed in Fortschritt six years later, Mandl explained his "middle" position on the question of nationalized industries:²⁶

Establishments (Einrichtungen) whose management directly affects the public welfare of millions, ... should be seen as neither private nor state, but as public concerns, and should be handled in such a way they do not operate counter to the public interest.

The public itself was assigned the leading role in assuring the civic conscientiousness of these corporations:

People should become conscious of the interdependence of the economic network ... and use their trade associations, clubs, chambers, and newspapers to promote their own interests ... and so through mutual negotiation and understanding, work to achieve a harmony of their several interests.

Mandl valued cooperative activity of this kind as a form of citizen participation as essential as that between voters and representatives to the creation of a viable public interest democracy. Holding neither with the individualist theories of standard liberals, nor with the collectivism the socialists or clerical social reformers,²⁷ Mandl comes close to the prescriptive version of "public interest democratic theory," described by J. Roland Pennock:²⁸

Persons in their political actions ... take into account both the interests that are collective goods and those that are simply aggregated private interests; an interest in clean air, and an interest in less poverty and a higher standard of living for most people.

Mandl was both an early practitioner of pressure-group politics, and of a politics devoted to material and economic problems rather than to the realization of abstract principles that put no bread on the table.²⁹ He applied himself first to internal reform of municipal government with the aim of eliminating waste and corruption, then to improve-

ments in the public service sector, and finally to the plight of the Mittelstand directly,³⁰ in its cry for relief from a surfeit of economic freedom and unrestricted competition. Here too, he sought to avoid extremes, and to devise practical reforms based on statistics, comparative studies, and the experience of individuals and groups involved.

In their approach to the industrial reform movement, Mandl and Lueger applied the same public interest pragmatism that was a feature of their other endeavors and the hallmark of their joint political style. The chief characteristics of this style were: one, the primacy of economic and practical concerns, signified in the name "Economic Party" adopted for their movement; and two, a sincere effort to maintain not only contact, but a running dialogue with their voters, who were called regularly to exchange views and information with their City Council representatives.³¹ As in the Gas and Tramway Questions, so in the "Gewerbefrage"³² they saw a proper role for representative institutions in serving as a channel for the expression of discontents, and as a means to ameliorative action.

Various efforts had been launched under progressive liberal auspices to organize the craft guilds,³³ into a large protective association that would assist members with credit, marketing, training, security, and production problems, and also serve as a pressure group to urge reforms of the Industrial Ordinance of 1859.³⁴ From the first such attempts in the late 1860's, it became clear to the political sponsors of the Kleingewerbe masters and shopkeepers that certain concessions would have to be made to a large element demanding restraints on competition and industrial freedom.³⁵

The most recent such effort was undertaken in 1876 under the leadership of Heinrich Reschauer, publisher of the Deutsche Zeitung,³⁶ who still hoped to bind the Viennese Kleinbürgertum to the liberal economic order through timely legislation to boost its morale and survival capacity in the depression brought on by the Crash of 1873. A main point of

Reschauer's program was the community of interest between large and small industry that had its finest hour in the protective tariff movement of that year.³⁷ In particular, Reschauer urged more consideration by big industry for the small producers' demand for a more regulated economy, stronger representation on chambers of commerce, and an end to state support for the stock exchange and private railroads.³⁸

Reschauer's movement, which attracted considerable attention and support at the outset, ran out of steam as it became apparent that the Kleinbürger's faith in liberal promises had been undermined and was not likely to be restored by a Liberal Reichsrat majority with no intention of mounting an assistance campaign (Hilfsaktion) to ease credit difficulties and tax burdens of the small business and craftsman, not to speak of reforming the industrial ordinance in the direction of restricting competition.³⁹ The fall of the Liberal majority in the Reichsrat, and appointment of a Conservative ministry in 1879 under Count Eduard Taaffe,⁴⁰ gave a fresh impetus to the industrial reform movement that had run aground under the Liberals. The Emperor himself indicated a favorable turn of events for the Kleinbürgertum when he announced on 8 October 1879 that the new regime would set about, "The revision of the industrial laws taking into account the effects experienced under the Industrial Ordinance."⁴¹

The immediate impulse to the formation of a new association for the protection of small industry, was a public meeting attended by about 400 persons called to protest against house to house peddlars. The first meeting was held on the 11 October 1880, and a second, two weeks later, led to the founding of the Association for the Protection of Trades (Verein zum Schutz des Gewerbestands).⁴² The peddling issue, long a concern of legislators and bureaucrats as well as small businessmen,⁴³ reached a boiling point with the sudden upsurge in the numbers of out-of-town (mostly Hungarian) street vendors hawking cheap wares throughout the city and taking business away from local artisans and merchants. Be-

tween 1878 and 1879, the number of registered peddlars in Vienna nearly doubled from 740 to 1285.⁴⁴ The main problem, however, was an estimated 4500 unlicensed (unbefugte) Hausierhändler who slipped through the local police network and a justice system unprepared and unwilling to take on the additional work of enforcing the peddling regulations.⁴⁵ While most agreed that the already troubled tax- and rent-paying small businessman should be protected from this "unfair" and, above all, illegal competition, opinions were as usual divided as to the form and extent such protection should assume.

Lueger had been elected in August 1880 to head a City Council commission to study the Hausierhandel problem, and he was characteristically cautious about committing himself to a plan before his investigation was complete. At an Eintracht meeting in early November, he merely explained in answer to a query on the matter, that the City Council was working on it, collecting data from the Magistrat and testimonies from individuals and trade associations which would be considered in preparing his commission's reform proposals.⁴⁶ Lueger's circumspection on this volatile issue, also reflected Mandl's preference for a middle way between the extremes of total economic freedom, or what he called the "old liberalism,"⁴⁷ and the regressive hankering of some Kleingewerbe masters for the old restrictive guild system and a ban on peddling altogether.⁴⁸

Mandl believed it should be possible to create guilds, or "Innungen" within a free economy that would have the effect of overcoming the disadvantages that the small tradesman suffered by virtue of their isolation, poor education, and political impotence.⁴⁹ Lueger at this time confined himself to remarking that the economy had been "brought too quickly from the guild system to freedom," creating "unhealthy" competition that harmed the Mittelstand. "We must do something for the Mittelstand," he declared at the second meeting of the Association for the Protection of Trades (hereafter APT) and urged the assembled craftsmen to decide what that "something"

should be.⁵⁰

That Lueger's involvement with the APT did not signify a turn away from his liberal moorings, but is rather to be seen as an extension of his and Mandl's general reform course is indicated by Lueger's moderate position on the Hausierhandel question, and by the presence on the twenty-three-man executive committee of the APT of eight City Councilmen, among them at least three members of the Landstrasse conservative liberal Bürgerverein, as well as Dr. Mandl and one man, Ernst Buschenhagen, who was to emerge as an anti-semitic agitator in the Reformverein that succeeded the defunct APT in 1882.⁵¹ The general moderation of the APT can also be seen in its choice of Josef Nikola, a well-respected long-term City Councilman and progressive, as chairman.⁵²

Although neither Mandl nor Lueger saw the Hausierhandel problem as crucial to the economic condition of the Mittelstand,⁵³ affecting, as it did, but thirty-eight of the existing sixty-seven guilds, they recognized it as a real problem deserving serious attention and legislative correction.⁵⁴ The motions prepared by Lueger's Hausierhandel Commission, and put by him to the City Council in March 1881, recommended only a moderate reform based on enforcing existing regulations, and yet one which, if carried through, would have gone a long way to eliminating the major complaint against the "unauthorized" peddlars. Lueger, interestingly, saw fit to defend the seeming "illiberality" of even this modest infringement of the free enterprise principle, by reading the more severe regulations on peddling in force in the presumably ultra-liberal city of Paris. Lueger's motions, asking that the Magistrat exercise more care in dispensing peddling licenses, and the district police and courts proceed against illegal vendors, both passed with comfortable margins.⁵⁵

If there was, as is likely, a political motive behind Lueger's participation in the artisan protest movement of 1880-1881, it was rather to steer the APT away from extreme anti-liberal panaceas, and keep it "within the traditional frame-

work of Viennese Democratic politics."⁵⁶ The winter 1880-1881 brought, in any case, more immediate and absorbing concerns than the political possibilities of a movement such as the APT.⁵⁷ One was the revival of the suffrage question, which had again become timely with the advent of a conservative-clerical regime harboring thoughts of winning popular support with concession to the neglected Kleinbürgertum.⁵⁸

In a formal letter addressed to his party colleagues on 24 August 1880,⁵⁹ Lueger noted the progress of opposition initiatives since the departure of Mayor Felder and founding of the United Left two years before. The "time had come" he now believed, for the party to expand its program for the development of the city, its administration, and its "free institutions" (*freiheitliche Institutionen*) with respect to bringing "wider circles of the population" to political activity. Lueger proposed the addition of four items to the 1878 program:⁶⁰ 1. the incorporation of the outlying suburbs; 2. the City's assumption of control over the Danube regulation properties (then administered with the state and province of Lower Austria); 3. delegation of local business to the district committees; 4. extension of the suffrage to all citizens paying a direct tax.

On 14 December he moved in the Council that, "As a commandment of justice, that every citizen who contributes after his ability to cover the expenses of government, has a right to assured participation in that government, active and passive suffrage be extended to every Austrian citizen living in Vienna and paying a direct tax."⁶¹ The motion passed over Mittelpartei objections that it be referred to the Statute Revision Commission, where Steudel's motion of 1878 had languished for two years, with a vote of 42 to 37.⁶²

Although Lueger's suffrage motion was but one of many victories for the United Left in pushing through assorted reform measures, a reliable majority bringing political predominance to the opposition, remained elusive. Great hopes were placed in the 1881 spring elections to finally produce

a majority that would place, "the leadership in communal business in the hands of the United Left."⁶³

To briefly recount political developments in the Rathaus since Lueger's 1879 appeal to the Majority for a more conciliatory stance towards the Opposition,⁶⁴ the hoped-for cooperation between the two sides of the chamber failed to materialize, and political tensions rather increased with the steady growth and power of the United Left.⁶⁵ One example should suffice to illustrate the point. After the 1880 elections, which returned Dr. Mandl to the City Council, and brought the United Left up to a count of fifty-eight,⁶⁶ the Mittelpartei could no longer depend on its monopoly over the elected commissions. In view of its increasingly precarious position, the Mittelpartei, which had merged with the Reformklub in December 1879,⁶⁷ agreed to a compromise with the United Left whereby commission seats would be divided equally between the two parties. This gesture was robbed of its good-will potential, however, when the Mittelpartei decided on second thought to have the agreement apply only to new, not to the powerful standing commissions (gas, tramway, cemetery, budget, statute revision, slaughterhouse, etc.) of most interest to the United Left.⁶⁸ The latter accordingly rejected the compromise agreement and succeeded in winning control over the next eight commissions to be elected, prompting the Morgenpost to remark, "The Mittelpartei should learn the lesson that it is in the interests of any party to establish peaceful relations in the City Council."⁶⁹

Yet it was not from the conservative liberal right that the United Left received its first major setback on the eve of the election that was to bring the final victory over the Mittelpartei. It was rather from the men of the left who had never been happily integrated into a party in which Ignatz Mandl and Karl Lueger directed the action, wrote most of the lines, and played the leading parts.

In September 1880, Franz Löblich, who had differed with the party leaders on the gas question and construction of the

new municipal slaughterhouse (Viehhoffrage),⁷⁰ resigned from the United Left complaining that Dr. Mandl had offended him.⁷¹ Some months later, on 21 January 1881,⁷² eight more members of the United Left departed under the command of Johann Steudel to constitute a new club called, more for sentimental reasons than to indicate any particular political position, Far Left.⁷³ The reason given for the walkout was personal, rather than political, incompatibility with the United Left leadership, the new club stressing its loyalty to the common aims and political program of the United Left. The move could not have come as a total surprise, for tension within the United Left between Lueger loyalists and the "old guard" was noted in a letter to the party drawn up by Lueger the previous spring.⁷⁴ Stressing the need for party unity if the United Left was to supplant the Mittelpartei in the City Council, Lueger here singled out, "certain members who had been part of the city government for a long time," but were creating an impression of disunity by avoiding caucus sessions and opposing motions of their own party in the Council:

We hope that the sense of cohesiveness (Zusammengehörigkeit) will be strengthened in future, so that with every consideration for the freedom of the individual still the impression will stand of a unified powerful party.

The formation of a new Far Left was generally seen as an attempt to create a new party of democratic coloring whose chief aim would be to isolate Dr. Mandl and his following, and restore Steudel and Löblich to their former eminence in the Council, as well as protect the leading position in the Third Curia electorate they were in danger of losing to the Wirtschaftspartei.⁷⁵ Mandl had never made a secret of his contempt for the politics of Steudel and Löblich, who he considered hypocritical democrats and popularity seekers, "who never did anything good for the people;"⁷⁶ and there was no doubt that his and Lueger's attempt to influence elections in districts outside the Landstrasse, with the creation of a central electoral committee of the "Liberal Wirtschaftspar-

tei," spelled trouble for the "old guard" democrats in their home territories.⁷⁷

That the "secessionists" represented little more than a two-man defensive maneuver against the younger and politically aggressive elements led by Mandl and Lueger, can be seen in the political background of the defectors.⁷⁸ Eight came from districts (the Fifth, Tenth and Ninth) long dominated by Steudel and Löblich, and four of these were dependent on the two leaders for their up-coming re-election in the spring of 1881. Nine of the group were over fifty years old,⁷⁹ and none, outside of Steudel and Löblich, men of any particular distinction.⁸⁰

Hailed by the NFP as a blessing for the city, and construed by the KVZ as signalling the end of the United Left,⁸¹ the departure of the nine members could also be regarded as a healthy purge relieving the party of political dead wood, and a nagging inner opposition to the "new course" of the "Wirtschaftspartei."⁸² The Morgenpost condemned the "egoistic machinations" of Steudel and Löblich as endangering the future of a party, "Which through its intelligence, sacrifice, and energy, has won sympathy in all levels of the population and earned the right to leadership in the City Council."⁸³

The first test of strength between the "old democrats" and economic reformers came with the spring election, in which the "Wirtschaftspartei" sought to expand its influence in the districts controlled by Steudel and Löblich.⁸⁴ In the Landstrasse, only Lueger's seat was up for renewal, and his election was assured.⁸⁵ He campaigned actively not only for himself, but for other candidates of his party in other districts in a desperate effort to undo the damage to the United Left by the reconstitution of the Far Left.

Although his personal prestige was at a high point, and his political prospects by no means discouraging,⁸⁶ Lueger was clearly aggrieved by the blow Steudel's desertion dealt to his hopes of commanding a majority after the 1881 elections.⁸⁷ At an Eintracht meeting attended by 400 persons,

Lueger spoke on the suffrage reform, and added a bitter comment on the split in the United Left. He regretted, "the damage to the liberal party caused by the withdrawal of some members," and expressed the hope that, "the voters would show their disapproval of the Far Left betrayal."⁸⁸

Lueger's 1881 campaign marked the culmination of his career and reputation as a liberal politician and reformer. "A liberal through and through," the Morgenpost called him while urging his re-election as, "The man to whom the liberal party in the City Council owes its rise and present powerful position."⁸⁹ In contrast to the rather narrow perspectives Lueger exhibited three years earlier, when he and Mandl focussed their entire program and energies on reform of municipal government,⁹⁰ he reflected in 1881 the broader interests and status of a party leader highly conscious of the political world in which he stood at the age of thirty-seven on the threshold of power.

In a memo prepared for the central electoral committee of the "liberal Wirtschaftspartei," Lueger drew up a comprehensive statement touching the national and general political concerns of Austrian German liberals. The municipal reforms, which remained the core of the party's program,⁹¹ were not forgotten, however, in the program candidates of the party were expected to adopt:⁹²

We want men who will be not only for conserving our political achievements, for the unity of the state and protection of German education and culture, but who will also stand up for the further development and extension of the suffrage ... and understand the importance of bringing government expenditure and income into balance.

The party's expanding territorial as well as political reach was signified in the promise:

The party will show the individual comrade (Partei-genosse) in his district that he can count on the support of the party in all of Vienna.

Lueger's official campaign address concentrated primarily on the specific achievements of his party in the communal sphere, and the United Left program already familiar to his

constituents. He reiterated his objections to the gas and tramway monopolies without, however, calling for municipalization of the utilities, and stressed the need for incorporation of the Vororte and extension of the suffrage. A good part of the speech was devoted to clarifying the differences between Löblich and Steudel and the United Left; he attributed these to "personal sensitivities" which are often difficult to "resolve with the general interest."⁹³

Lueger was re-elected on 21 March 1881 with 749 votes, or 65 per-cent, of 1150, as opposed to 55 per-cent three years before.⁹⁴ The United Left, or "Wirtschaftspartei" did not prosper on the whole, however; for while it lost no seats, it failed to unseat a single "Steudel democrat." The Far Left gained four adherents, bringing their number up to 14, while the United Left and Mittelpartei remained almost even with 45 and 47 mandates respectively. With 12 "wild" Councilmen, and no fraction even close to a majority, the party situation was in a state of total confusion after the 1881 elections.

Where Steudel's Far Left would most likely stand if given the opportunity to smash the "Wirtschaftspartei" without appearing to violate its stated principles,⁹⁵ was indicated by the appearance of the old "Felderite" anti-Mandl formula on a vote-of-confidence petition circulated by Steudel supporters on the eve of the election. The petition welcomed the "reformation of the Far Left" by those who have "represented the progressive program in a dignified manner so as to uphold the honor of the City Council." In a jibe aimed at Dr. Mandl, and through him at the economic reformers, the petition claimed, "The voters are tired of the eternal strife and agitation (ewige Verhetzungen)."⁹⁶ In the political vocabulary of the conservative liberals, the entire anti-corruption and public interest activities of Mandl and Lueger had never ceased to be anything but "Verhetzungen" - or deliberate efforts to disturb the peace and hold up Council business just to make noise and win popularity.⁹⁷ The Morgenpost, commenting on the growing instability of the Council fractions, ex-

pressed fear that, "... an unpropitious party constellation is in the process of forming, which could see the Far Left moving into alignment with the Mittelpartei to the detriment of the liberal cause (die liberale Sache)."⁹⁸

A further sign, as well as contributor to uncertainty in the Rathaus, was the lack of unanimity with respect to Newald's re-election as mayor in the summer of 1881. Some members of the Mittelpartei began agitating against Newald as early as March and scouting around for a candidate who might provide somewhat less "objective" leadership in the City Council.⁹⁹

The Felder situation, in which the Mayor had been under constant attack by Mandl and Lueger for taking the part of the Mittelpartei,¹⁰⁰ was now reversed, with the Mayor subject to recrimination from his own party for favoring the left opposition. In the course of a debate on the water pump works, a leading Mittelpartei spokesman for corporate interests involved in municipal enterprises, Theodor Ritter von Goldschmidt,¹⁰¹ blamed Newald's indulgence towards the opposition for endless delays in completing various projects, and for making life generally difficult for contractors engaged to work on them.¹⁰² "The reason nothing gets done," Goldschmidt declared, "is that we have a chief executive who is chief of the government one day, chief of the Opposition the next.... we have no sound ruling party and no sound Opposition ... but only shifting majorities" Lueger and Mandl rose to defend the Mayor against this "unwarranted attack," and to commend his endorsement of more scrupulous care in awarding city contracts and supervising their fulfillment. "We are not in opposition to Newald," Lueger asserted, "for we believe that under his regime the interests of the commune as against contractors and other persons, are better protected than formerly."¹⁰³ Opposition to Newald was centered in his own party and in men like Prix, Steudel, and Wilhelm Ritter von Mauthner, who would have liked more than anything to sit in his place.



Karl Lueger in his mid-thirties.
(Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek - Bilderarchiv)

The anti-Newald forces, which included the Far Left, assorted "wild" Councilmen, and a new nine-man splinter group from the Mittelpartei calling itself "Wiener Club,"¹⁰⁴ did not pose a serious challenge with their nomination of Mauthner¹⁰⁵ to oppose Newald, and the Mayor was elected to a second term on 7 July 1881. He received 95 of 117 votes, 16 going to Mauthner, and 6 left blank.¹⁰⁶

By October, the "Wiener Club" had been joined by the peripatetic Johann Prix,¹⁰⁷ and dissidents from other fractions to make a club of 25 members. The United Left was nonetheless still able to collect 68 votes for Johann Schrank in the vice-mayoral election of October 1881, in which the Far Left put up Steudel to compete with his old comrade of the V.D.S. The Wiener Club cast blank ballots.¹⁰⁸

Despite the increasing fragmentation of the Council groupings, Lueger's position had not been substantially weakened, and his opposition was feared as a major obstacle to projects and legislation not conforming to his idea of the public interest.¹⁰⁹ His relentless pressure on the VTA had slowly brought that corporation to take seriously the City's insistence on completion of the unfinished transit network.¹¹⁰ Just as formidable was Lueger's opposition to a proposed belt railway, or Gürtelbahn, to be built by an English consortium, Fogerty and Company. Fogerty had already won a preliminary concession from the Statthalter of Lower Austria,¹¹¹ when a storm over the project broke out in the City Council in September 1881.¹¹² Objections to the Fogerty plan were both utilitarian and aesthetic in nature; the major ones were outlined by Dr. Mandl at a heavily attended public meeting called by Eintracht.

While commending the general idea of such a conveyance, Mandl declared the English proposal deficient in several respects aside from the fact that it was English and would thus remove its presumed profits from the Austrian economy: it would not meet the need for a connecting line between Vienna's three peripherally located main railroad stations; it would

pollute the environment along its entire route with smoke and noise;¹¹³ and in crossing the Ringstrasse, and traversing the city's main park, the Stadtpark, would create a perennial eyesore and nuisance in the heart of an area prized for architectural grace and natural beauty.¹¹⁴

An alternative plan, under consideration by the Magistrat since 1873, saw a projected belt railway in connection with the regulation of the Wienfluss - an ancient stream that trickled through the city on its way to the Danube, and was more often likened to an open sewer than a waterway.¹¹⁵ The idea was to cover the offensive stream with concrete and build the railway not alongside as Fogerty intended, but directly in the covered bed of the Wienfluss, where it would be placed deep enough to shield surrounding residents from noise and smoke, and obviate the need for constructing viaducts over the Ringstrasse. This plan enjoyed widespread support in local artistic, architectural and engineering circles, as well as in all fractions of the City Council.¹¹⁶

Franz Löblich endorsed the underground scheme with uncommon fervor, warning that the Fogerty project would not expire in time like the unsatisfactory tramway and gas contracts, but remain a permanent structure, "no amount of weeping or handwringing," could dislodge once it was in place. Andreas Streit, a prominent architect and Mittelpartei Councilman from the First District, likewise denounced the Fogerty plan as a project so ill-conceived and hideous, "Only an Englishman could have thought of it."¹¹⁷

The few diehard proponents of the plan argued for its cheapness, in that it would cost the City nothing, and its simplicity, in that it could be built and in operation within three years, while pointing out, not unreasonably, that no contractor could be expected to underwrite the expense of so complicated a project as the Wienfluss regulation. The real question was, could the city wait until it found a builder who would meet its specifications; on this question, only the advocates of the Fogerty project saw the Gürtelbahn as an

immediate and indispensable necessity.¹¹⁸

In the first Council debate on the belt railway, Lueger took no firm position, moving in accord with his customary approach to problems of this kind, that a decision be postponed until all aspects of the matter had been carefully studied and a report prepared to serve as a basis for discussion.¹¹⁹ That he stood with the majority in opposition to the Fogerty proposal was clear from his participation in an Eintracht resolution citing the various reservations put forth by Dr. Mandl. Lueger presented a similar resolution of the United Left in the Council on 13 September 1881, when he was elected chairman of the Railway Study Commission.¹²⁰ In this capacity he represented the Council's reservations to the Ministry of Trade, which had granted the provisional concession to Fogerty, and remained a keen sponsor of the project.¹²¹

Lueger's renowned diligence, personal popularity, abiding concern for the public interest,¹²² and his friendly relationship with Mayor Newald, combined to make him all but invulnerable to direct attack by political opponents who wished him out of the way for one reason or another.¹²³ Circumstances quite unconnected with the conflicts of interest and vanity that swirled around Lueger were, however, shortly to provide his enemies with the opportunity to strike a near mortal blow to his political fortunes, and to the liberal reform movement he and Dr. Mandl had so painstakingly consolidated over the past six years.

On 8 December 1881, one of Vienna's largest and newest theaters, the Ringtheater, was destroyed by a fire that cost over four hundred lives.¹²⁴ The entire city, and much of the world, were horrified by the catastrophe, and shock was compounded by rage as eye-witness reports appeared in the press of criminal negligence and carelessness on the part of theater personnel, the police, and the fire brigade.¹²⁵ The pressure born of these revelations to assign ultimate responsibility for the disaster, led to a bitter controversy between

the Mayor of Vienna and the Statthalter of Lower Austria, Ritter von Kronenfels,¹²⁶ who accused Newald of dilatoriness in modernizing the antiquated fire ordinance of 1817, still in effect at the time of the tragedy.¹²⁷

Reform of the fire ordinance had been under advisement in the City Council since 1863, and in 1878 Lueger had asked that the Public Works Department prepare a draft for a new set of regulations; in 1880 he inquired why a report that should have taken two months had still not appeared one-and-a-half years later.¹²⁸ In 1881 new rules pertaining to fire security in theaters had been submitted to the Statthalter for approval, but were not confirmed. Kronenfels maintained that such rules belonged within the "natural sphere" of the city's competence,¹²⁹ and so did not require sanction by any higher authority, while the Mayor insisted a change in the City Ordinance must be grounded in provincial statute. Although Newald was subsequently exonerated of all blame for the Ringtheater disaster,¹³⁰ he prepared his case against the Statthalter badly, and lacked the energy and decisiveness to convincingly counter the charge he had been lax in his duty until it was too late.¹³¹ Seeing in these developments both a handy scapegoat and splendid opportunity to rid themselves of a mayor they had long regarded as a political liability, the conservative liberals in the Council took the field against Newald with the whole-hearted encouragement of the most influential Viennese newspapers.

The outlook for the United Left grew still bleaker with the death on 28 December 1881 of Vice-Mayor Johann Schrank, who had served faithfully as "spiritual head" (geistige Haupt) and unifying force of the party,¹³² as well as symbol of its claim to executive power. The long-simmering political tensions, already steaming through the arguments engendered by the Ringtheater case,¹³³ came to a full boil over the election of a new vice-mayor to fill the vacancy created by Johann Schrank's untimely demise. The election of Schrank's successor on 12 January 1882, revealed with brutal

force and clarity the damage done to the United Left by Johann Steudel's large ambition to count as a lesser notable.

"The contest will be between the liberals supporting Lueger, and the high conservatives behind Johann Prix," the Morgenpost announced while doubting that Prix would win any votes from the Far Left.¹³⁴ Lueger's election to the second vice-mayoralty seem all but assured, although the KVZ cast aspersions and doubts on the possibility that Lueger would join the Präsidium. Declaring he lacked the "necessary objectivity and calm," for the office, the paper also questioned whether the Far Left would support him - "Else why would they have deserted the United Left?"¹³⁵

The Council was described as in the grip of "unprecedented excitement and agitation," by the NFP on the day of an election it believed would determine, "The whole political and administrative program for the future of the city and its representative body." With so much at stake, "the suspense was enormous," as the balloting began to a full house of Lueger and Mandl supporters come to cheer their favorite from the galleries. The first vote proved a disappointment, however, for with the Far Left abstaining, neither candidate received the requisite absolute majority. Lueger had 49 votes, Prix 44, and 16 ballots were blank. In the second round, the Far Left threw its decisive votes to Prix, who was pronounced the winner with 59 to Lueger's 47 as angry whistles sounded from the disappointed galleries. "The party of intelligence, political principle, and quiet industriousness has triumphed," exulted the NFP as it congratulated the Far Left on its judicious contribution to the victory."¹³⁶

Some took a less sanguine view of the crucial part played by Steudel's fraction in the election. One member of the Far Left resigned from the club in protest against the decision to vote for Prix, a man, "who is against every principle of the democratic party and all political progress."¹³⁷ The Morgenpost summed up the general outrage in the camp of the reformers: "The Far Left has renounced its history," it sim-

ply stated.¹³⁸

Adding to the discomfiture of the United Left in the wake of Lueger's near miss at the vice-mayoralty, was the growing conflict between the Mayor and Statthalter as to who was to bear the responsibility for the city's failure to revise its fire code.¹³⁹ As noted above, a majority of the Council, relieved to have a scapegoat and glad of the opportunity to strike a blow at the United Left,¹⁴⁰ failed to rally behind the Mayor in his struggle to justify the communal administration before an increasingly critical and disenchanted public.¹⁴¹ On 21 January 1882, a deputation representing the Mittelpartei, Wiener Club, and Far Left, appeared in Newald's home to demand his resignation, which followed two days later.¹⁴² The NFP made no attempt to obscure the political motivations behind the pressure on Newald, nor to hide its satisfaction at the turn of events: "By the action of his 'true friends' Newald has been released from the powerful and harmful influences of those who hoped to achieve certain aims through him."¹⁴³ The controversy with the Statthalter, which the Council delegation that "put the gun to Newald's head"¹⁴⁴ insisted had undermined his authority and made his position as chief executive of the commune untenable, was hardly mentioned in the report of the NFP. Of primary interest were the political ramifications of Newald's resignation not for the city as against the province, but for the conservatives as against the reformers in the City Council. In the view of the NFP, the anti-Newald front represented in the delegation of his "true friends," signified a "new party" in the making, "that would be welcome as bringing a strong, sensible, (besonnen) majority to rule in the City Council."

Much has been made by Lueger biographers and others of his private visit to Taaffe to plead for the Prime Minister's intercession with the Statthalter on behalf of Newald as the Mayor's position in the Council and press deteriorated.¹⁴⁵ Yet, although Lueger was distressed by the leaks to the press from the minister's office to the extent that he wrote to

Taafe requesting compensation for this breach of confidence in some form of affirmation that Lueger's visit should not be taken as an endorsement of the Taafe regime,¹⁴⁶ the incident does not appear to have been crucial to the decline of the United Left. Indeed, the KVZ seized the chance to depict Lueger as a friend to the hated Taafe regime, and by implication an enemy of Germandom,¹⁴⁷ but the NFP hardly mentioned the matter in the critical two weeks before Lueger, seeing his party crumbling away, announced its dissolution on the 7 February 1882.¹⁴⁸

Lueger's party began to disintegrate with the formation of the Far Left in January 1881, after which it was only a matter of time and opportunity before his opponents found a common means to unify their disorganized forces against him and against a reform movement that posed too strong a challenge to their leadership and conduct of municipal affairs. Lueger had grown too powerful too quickly to suit either the old-time democratic left or the conservative liberals so long accustomed to regarding city hall as their private preserve. He had also alarmed and alienated powerful financial and business circles who saw their interests threatened by his relentless inflexibility in cases where the public interest came in conflict with the priorities of private industry and finance capitalism.

In the winter 1881-1882 both the Vienna Tramway Association and the Fogerty Company made bribery overtures to Lueger through third parties in attempts to dampen his opposition to their respective enterprises. Lueger made these proceedings public at an Eintracht meeting two days before he announced the formal dissolution of the United Left.¹⁴⁹ The meeting on 5 February 1882 was called by Lueger to explain his actions of the past two months, and describe the circumstances which in his opinion had brought about the precipitous decline in his party's fortunes.

The main point of the speech was to identify the forces whose resistance to his economic and political reform efforts

had broken the lance of the United Left. Its opposition to corporate exploitation of the public, and to the cherished principle of "interest representation" had called up a legion of powerful enemies determined to halt his growing influence and that of his party by whatever means. It was in this context that Lueger made public the bribery attempts, failing which, he was subjected to the political machinations involving Mayor Newald, the Ringtheater controversy and the Taafe visit. "In these two months," Lueger declared,¹⁵⁰

The liberals succeeded, not so much through their own power as through outward circumstances and through cowardly betrayal within the democratic United Left of the City Council, in sabotaging (sprengen) the people's party and its painstakingly acquired power.

I am not, and have never been a toady of the Taafe regime, although at the same time I have opposed the national agitation (nationalen Hetze) as this will plunge Austria into misfortune. The source of the enmity towards my party are simply to be found in its incorruptibility.

While this was the first time Lueger identified his opponents as "the liberals", it was in a second speech to his voters one month later, that the outlines of a new political persona began to emerge. In the meantime Eduard Uhl had succeeded Newald as Mayor of Vienna, Prix moved into the first vice-mayoral post, and Johann Steudel came to his reward with his election as second vice-mayor on 9 February 1882.¹⁵¹ The remnants of Lueger's party, numbering still approximately one-third of the Council deputies, cast blank ballots in the vice-mayoral contests.

The meeting of 6 March at which Lueger cast a long look at his political life and prospects, marked the turning point in his career from liberal economic reformer to avowed opponent not only of individual corporations found wanting in civic virtue, but of big capitalism in general, which he branded here for the first time as inherently antagonistic to the common weal. He attacked as well, "the privileged classes of society who imagine they have taken a lease on the public interest and can please themselves without a thought for

the people." Lueger concluded his diatribe with a polemic and forecast that evoked with ominous precision the anti-Semitic agitator and mass politician he was to become in the next seven years:¹⁵²

The power that stands across from us is a collosus, all but invincible, but we will break it all the same.... These financial cliques and gold powers are what have corrupted public life ... they know no fatherland ... nothing but the money bag. And against this power of international capital, all must take a stand who have the interests of the whole people, and not individual classes, at heart.

Our party has fallen, gentlemen, we have been defeated I readily admit. But I am convinced that our party and the principles it represents will be victorious, must be victorious, if Austria is not to degenerate from corruption.... Our party will rise like a phoenix from the ashes.... Whether or not I will be part of the final victory, I do not know, that is anyway beside the point.

The following day, the KVZ carried the speech under the rubric, "Dr. Karl Lueger - Socialist," ommitting, however, the concluding passage which may have distorted its customary portrayal of "the Cato of Erdberg" as an, "unprincipled striver not qualified to play the first role in the world-city of Vienna (Weltstadt Wien)."¹⁵³ Lueger's "socialism" is seen as merely a new slogan with which to captivate voters tired of hearing about "savings in government and administrative reform." Undeniable, in any case, was the effect of Lueger's words on the assembled multitude:¹⁵⁴

Lueger's speech was acclaimed with frenetic jubilation, pouring forth in ever new waves of cheering and endless applause. Once the next speaker could make himself heard over the tumult, the meeting un-animously passed the following resolution:

'The assembled voters of the Third District express their full confidence in Dr. Karl Lueger ... and extend to him and his like-minded comrades in the City Council, the urgent request that they not be deterred in the conscientious exercise of their mandates.

Lueger had made his debut as a "Volksmann."

Notes:

- 1 GRB, 26 July 1881.
- 2 See above, pp. 211-212.
- 3 On 24 October 1879 Lueger, charging a "cover-up" attempt by the Public Works Department, had persuaded the Council not to vote additional funds for the project to correct mistakes for which the contractor was liable. Morgenpost, 25 October 1879.
- 4 GRB, 15 July and 30 September 1879; 23 November 1880. Fortschritt, 16 February and 6 April 1879.
- 5 In the Council session of 28 December 1880, for example, a measure was passed instituting control mechanisms over the purchase and use of gravel by the City. See also, GRB, 19 July 1881.
- 6 GRB, 26 July 1881, records Mandl noting, "The contractors are uneasy (unberühigt) with good reason ... the city is more at ease (berühigt)."
- 7 GRB, 26 November 1878. The City at this time was spending approximately 16 million fl. and taking in less than 8 million a year; GRB, 30 December 1878.
- 8 GRB, 12 December 1878.
- 9 For example, Lueger's objections to the new market ordinance; GRB, 26 November 1880; and his analysis of the Nordbahn proposal for regulating a thoroughfare to permit its maximum utility for the company's coal transports.
- 10 Wien 1848-1888, Vol. I, pp. 119-120, gives a horrendous picture of Vienna's tramway service.
- 11 Morgenpost, 12 April and 13 July 1875.
- 12 NFP, 5 January 1877.
- 13 Morgenpost, 13 November 1880.
- 14 GRB, 7 December 1880.
- 15 Fortschritt, 7 July 1878; 5 December 1880.
- 16 Neither does Boyer's statement that, "Lueger wanted tight regulatory controls on the private companies," with the implication that Mandl was for municipalization, accurately describe their motives and intentions. Political Radicalism ..., pp. 195-196.
- 17 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 161.
- 18 GRB, 10, 28 December 1880.
- 19 GRB, 15 July 1881. In 1883 the Council was still behind Lueger's "hard line" with only five members approving a commission motion to extend the VTA concession, even if

all the lines were built; Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat...," p. 162. Lueger finally municipalized, and at the same time electrified, the Vienna tramway after he became mayor in 1897. Richard Soukup, Lueger und sein Wien, p. 54.

- 20 GRB, 30 September 1881.
- 21 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 151.
- 22 GRB, 29 April 1881. The VTA was also taken to task by progressives for exploiting its employees by forcing them to take meals in company canteens under strict disciplinary supervision. Morgenpost 11 September 1879.
- 23 To Steudel's suggestion, for example, that the tramway should provide "workers trains" at half-price, Lueger first expressed annoyance that "the social question" was being interjected into the tramway question, and then asked, somewhat rhetorically, "What are workers' trains? What are workers, and how do you tell one from an independent businessman (Geschäftsman)? Why should the City Council look out for one class, and not for all?"
- 24 Pennock, Democratic Political Theory, p. 189, describes this phenomenon as one, "who thinks the interests of persons should be protected and advanced; and for this purpose 'my self' is interchangeable with 'other selves.'"
- 25 Harold D. Lasswell, Power and Personality, p. 38, sees the personality seeking political power as one, "characterized by an intense craving for deference ... which is displaced upon public objects.... The displacement is rationalized in terms of public interest."
- 26 Fortschritt, 22 June 1879.
- 27 Catholic social reformer and publicist, Karl von Vogelsang, who was to become chief ideologist of Lueger's Christian Social movement, began in 1875 to espouse a return to corporatist social and economic institutions that flourished in medieval society, in the weekly paper, Das Vaterland. Knoll, Zur Tradition ..., pp. 96, 100-101, 123, 141. Also Diamant, Austrian Catholics and the First Republic, pp. 58-59.

Pennock, Democratic Political Theory, p. 202, points out the thin line separating the public-interest from the collectivist theorist; while both value cooperation, the latter "disvalues competition," and tends to see the public, "more as a corporate entity ... than an aggregation." Lueger was to step over this line, Mandl did not.
- 28 Ibid., pp. 190-191.
- 29 See above, pp. 175, 205
- 30 Mandl and Lueger were not, however, exclusively concerned with the Mittelstand. They took the part of all manner of unfortunates, from municipal pensioners in old-age homes,

- (GRB, 27 September 1878), to the families of the 20,000 reservists called in Vienna for the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (GRB, 28 August 1878), to workers exploited by the scrip system (Fortschritt, 5 September 1880).
- 31 Fortschritt, 26 September, 3 October, 4 November 1880, reported voter's meetings called by Eintracht.
- 32 See above, pp. 156-157.
- 33 The post 1859 guilds were associations in which membership was automatic for master artisans, and carried obligations in setting up pension funds, etc. Otherwise they were powerless. KVZ, 13 August 1874; 17 August 1875.
- 34 Salmayer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgerthum ...," pp. 105-107. Boyer, Political Radicalism ..., pp. 56-61. Morgenpost, 11 June 1876; 30 August 1879.
- 35 The shoemakers, f.e., wanted the number of shops in their trade to be fixed, and only such admitted who possessed the requisite training and capital to found a going business. Salmayer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgerthum ...," p. 107.
- 36 There is a biographical essay on Heinrich Reschauer (born 1838) in Constant von Wurzburg, Biographisches Lexicon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich, Vol. 25, pp. 303-309. Reschauer's program appeared in a supplement to the Deutsche Zeitung, 25 February 1876.
- 37 See above, p. 156; Morgenpost 15 May 1876.
- 38 Salmayer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgerthum ...," p. 110.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 112-113.
- 40 May, The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914, pp. 194-195.
- 41 Salmayer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgerthum ...," p. 114.
- 42 Brian M. Quigley, "Ernst Schneider, the Vienna Guilds Assembly and the Austrian Reform Club," Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Vol. 34., 1978, p. 336.
- 43 NFP, 25 February 1877; Deu. Z., 29 November 1879;
- 44 Fortschritt, 8 August 1880.
- 45 GRB, 18 March 1881.
- 46 Fortschritt, 14 November 1880.
- 47 Fortschritt, 10 October 1880.
- 48 This solution would not have suited all small producers - f.e. the small gardeners who tended to sell their produce directly from pushcarts, and yet belonged to the Klein-
gewerbe people in Lueger's constituency - a practical example that did not escape him of the complexity of the whole question of limiting economic freedom. Fortschritt, 8 June 1879; GRB, 18 March 1881.

- 49 Fortschritt, 8 August, 19 September, 3 October 1880.
- 50 Fortschritt, 31 October 1880. I have not found a single instance of Lueger using the later so familiar phrase, "der kleine Mann," (the little man) in these years.
- 51 Quigley, "Ernst Schneider . . .," JVGSW, Vol 34, p. 336.
- 52 The scramble by politicians of every liberal shading, to be in on the founding of the APT, attests to a general awareness of the political potential of the Kleingewerbe protest; also to the ambivalence of the participating tradespeople and the formlessness of the enterprise as a whole. Salmayer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgerthum . . .," pp. 154-157.
- 53 More important was the need to strengthen the existing guilds and organize them into mutually supportive corporations. Fortschritt, 20 February 1881.
- 54 Unregulated peddling not only harmed the tradespeople, but the state was directly affected in the lost revenues they would have paid in business tax. The unauthorized peddler naturally, paid no taxes. Fortschritt, 8 August 1880 and 24 April 1881.
- 55 GRB, 18 March 1881.
- 56 Boyer, Political Radicalism . . ., p. 62.
- 57 The APT remained a motley group with no clearly formulated aims. By April 1881 the original 600 enthusiasts had dwindled to 184, after which the movement rapidly disintegrated. Salmayer, "Das Gewerbekleinbürgerthum . . .," p. 157.
- 58 Kolmer, Parlament und Verfassung, Vol. 3, pp. 25-28.
- 59 Lueger Nachlass, WSB, No. E82370.
- 60 See above, p. 216.
- 61 GRB, 14 December 1880.
Morgenpost, 16 December 1880, hailed Lueger's motion, and reported mass petitions circulating to demand the vote for Vienna's 24,000 "five-Gulden men."
- 62 Steudel objected to Mittelpartei arguments that the matter be returned to the Statute Revision Commission for further study, with the remark, "Wer darüber heute noch nicht im reinen ist, der wird nie kluger werden." (Anyone who still isn't clear on this matter, will never be the wiser.)
- 63 "Vereinigte Linke", Lueger Nachlass, WSB, No. E 82369; Letter addressed to the club on the eve of new elections to the executive committee, held on 15 May 1880. On this day Lueger was elected chairman of the United Left.
- 64 See above, pp. 220, 229.
- 65 Morgenpost, 25 November 1880.
- 66 Morgenpost, 15 March 1880.

- 67 Morgenpost, 6 December 1879.
- 68 Deu.Z., 12, 23 June 1880. Elections to standing commissions were held twice yearly and vacancies filled as they occurred. GRB, 4 May 1880.
- 69 Morgenpost, 5 June 1880.
- 70 This question had been on the Council agenda since 1875, and was a standing source of controversy between the reformers and the Council majority. In the beginning Mandl and Lueger opposed the idea of awarding the project to a general contractor, thereby depriving smaller construction firms of a chance to compete for this precious work. Then they objected to the design and contractor approved by the Council, and finally found much to criticize on the work in progress. See Fortschritt, 5 January, 2, 16 February, 6 April 1879; GRB, 23 November 1880.
- 71 GRB, 11 May 1880. For failing to support criticisms of the slaughterhouse construction (particularly faulty roofing) Löblich lost the support of the United Left for election to the Viehhof Commission, and was only elected with the backing of the Mittelpartei. Fortschritt, 6 March 1881.
- 72 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 31, and Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, p. 59, give the date incorrectly as 31 January.
- 73 KVZ, 22 January 1881; Morgenpost, 8 February 1881; Morgenpost, 22 February 1881, alluding to Löblich's friendly relations with the Mittelpartei, declared the new party should rather call itself "Far Right."
- 74 "Vereinigte Linke," Lueger Nachlass, WSB, No. E 82369.
- 75 Morgenpost, 8 February 1881.
- 76 Fortschritt, 4 May 1879, in which Steudel and Löblich are termed, "democratic Jesuits" and "liberal phraseturners (liberale Phrasendreher)." This opinion was shared by Sigmund Mayer, who noted, "The attitudes of both were the most undemocratic imaginable . . ." Ein Jüdischer Kaufmann, p. 250.
- 77 Morgenpost, 2 March 1880. The Wirtschaftspartei did not, however, intrude on Steudel's and Löblich's territory prior to the break. Morgenpost, 6 February 1881.
- 78 Also in that Löblich's own democratic club was sharply critical of his desertion of the United Left, and refused to support his candidacy in 1881. He won anyway, but only by using pressure tactics so blatantly corrupt that his election was formally challenged by citizens of his district, the Ninth. GRB, 29 April 1881.
- 79 The exception being a young Councilman from the Eighth District with a grudge against Dr. Mandl. Fortschritt, 30 January 1881.

- 80 One was described by the Morgenpost, 23 January 1881, as an "absolute nothing." Another was a virtually inactive lawyer of seventy-eight. Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 238.
- 81 NFP, 22 January 1881; KVZ, 22 January 1881.
- 82 Fortschritt, 23 January 1881.
- 83 Morgenpost, 6 January, 8 February, 3 March 1881.
- 84 Morgenpost, 5 March 1881; KVZ, 3 March 1881.
- 85 Lueger was nominated by acclamation and faced no opposition until two days before the election when the Bürgerverein put up the same candidate he had defeated three years before. At his nomination Lueger was praised by a prominent Bürgerverein voter for his "self-sacrificing work in the public interest." Fortschritt, 6 March 1881.
- His old enemy, August Krawani, repeated the familiar charge that Lueger was, "stirring up too much excitement." KVZ, 13 March 1881.
- 86 Fortschritt, 30 January 1881.
- 87 Fortschritt, 6 March 1881.
- 88 Fortschritt, 30 January 1881.
- 89 Morgenpost, 23 March 1881; See above, p. 226.
- 90 See above, pp. 202-204.
- 91 See above, p. 216.
- 92 Morgenpost, 6 February 1881.
- 93 Lueger's public speeches of the time were notably devoid of rhetorical polemics or generalized affirmations (as of German nationalism) or condemnations (as of big capitalism). Fortschritt, 30 January 1881, 6 March 1881.
- 94 KVZ, 22 March 1881; 25 March 1881; reported a "great crowd" come to cheer, "the candidate of the Wirtschaftspartei," at the polls.
- 95 Morgenpost, 22 January 1881.
- 96 KVZ, 3 March 1881.
- 97 See above, pp. 167, 188 (note 140); L B-Z, 30 September 1879, 31 January 1880, 25 November 1881.
- 98 Morgenpost, 3 March 1881.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 See above, pp. 163-164.
- 101 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," pp. 360-362.
- 102 See above, pp. 229, 244.
- 103 GRB, 26 July 1881.

- 104 A nice example of the historiographical confusion over City Council politics at this time is the statement in Knoll, Zur Tradition ..., p. 173, that "Pix (sic) left the Wirtschaftspartei to found the radical-democratic (my emphasis) 'Wiener Klub.'" In fact the club was founded by the Council's most arch conservatives, Prix only joining it some months later.
- 105 Mauthner held decidedly conservative views in the question of suffrage and other reforms. The Morgenpost, 13 November 1879, called him, "the fighting cock of the ruling clique."
- 106 GRB, 7 July 1881.
- 107 See above p. 232, note 26; Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 26.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Ibid., p. 182.
- 110 GRB, 4 November 1881.
- 111 The Ministry of Trade and Rothschild iron interests were also pushing for the project. Letter from Franz Mörth to Karl Lueger, 3 September 1881, WSA Handschriftensammlung, No. JN 52836.
- 112 GRB, 2 September 1881.
- 113 Morgenpost, 20 September 1881.
One doctor in the City Council declared the train would contribute to lung diseases, and announced he would forbid his patients to use it. GRB 19 June 1883.
- 114 Morgenpost, 20 September 1881. The objection was also raised that property values along the proposed route would decline. There is no evidence, however, for the assertion by Kielmannsegg, Kaiserhaus, Staatsmänner und Politiker, that Lueger was protecting the interests of these Hausbesitzer, in opposing the Gürtelbahn (pp. 365-366). Kielmannsegg also states, incorrectly, that the City Council was largely in favor of the Fogerty project.
- 115 Lettmayer, (ed.) Wien um die Mitte des XX Jahrhunderts, p. 713.
- 116 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," pp. 167-181.
- 117 GRB, 2 September 1881; Also in Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat ...," p. 169.
- 118 Ibid., pp. 174, 180.
- 119 GRB, 2 September 1881. Lueger appears to have been deluged with different proposals to judge by the letters on file in the Vienna City Archive, Handschriftensammlung, No. JN 52836; 33107; 53230; Lueger also consulted the noted Viennese architect Otto Wagner on the matter; No. JN 33108.

- 120 Stöger, "Die politischen Anfänge . . .," p. 60.
- 121 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 180. Also see note 111 above.
- 122 The L.B-Z., for example, which existed for the sole purpose of discrediting Mandl and Lueger, did not attack their reform, which it often commended (15, 31 October 1878; 5 June 1879), but their "naked ambition," "lack of principle," "disruptive agitation," etc. as in the issue, 30 September 1879, and numerous others.
- 123 Such reasons as stated were generally vague, referring to "terrorism" (a common euphemism for party discipline), undignified court suits, or "thousands of other things this party does." NFP, 29 January 1882.

See also KVZ, 19 January 1882, wherein the, "decline of the city's prestige," is attributed to the, "terrorism of a few strivers who hinder useful communal work"
- 124 GRB, 9 December 1881; 10, 14 December 1881.
- 125 For example, the regulation "fire curtain" had been raised too early and so the fire that broke out back-stage before the performance began quickly engulfed the packed house; the fire captain called off his men in the mistaken assumption that "all have been saved," as hundreds in the upper galleries were still trying to escape through a maze of unlighted, smoke-filled corridors. Ibid.
- 126 Boyer, Political Radicalism . . ., incorrectly gives the name of a later Statthalter, Ludwig von Possinger, in his account of the controversy; pp. 200-202.
- 127 KVZ, 7 January 1882.
- 128 GRB, 6 April 1881; Lueger had pressed periodically for action on the new fire ordinance; Fortschritt, 3 October 1880, for example.
- 129 The issue was not, as Boyer, Political Radicalism . . ., p. 200, believes, whether the city or provincial government was responsible for fire protection, but whether the new code could go into effect without the sanction of the Statthalter, which was required for all changes in the City Ordinance; see above, p. 18.
- 130 Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 95. The manager of the theater and two officials were charged and sentenced to prison terms of four to eight months. Ibid., p.96.
- 131 Ibid., p. 212; Morgenpost, 21 January 1882.
- 132 Skalník, Dr. Karl Lueger . . ., p. 30.
- 133 See particularly the acrimonious debate over Lueger's plan for a public funeral expressing the city's bereavement for the "unidentified" 150 corpses. Again he was charged by political opponents for "grand-standing" and endangering public order. GRB, 10 December 1881.

- 134 Morgenpost, 5 January 1882.
- 135 KVZ, 13 January 1882.
- 136 NFP, 12 January 1882.
- 137 MP, 12 January 1882. The man was Johann Baumgartner, the one original "secessionist" with no district political ties to Steudel or Löblich; see above, p. 258.
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 Morgenpost, 21 January 1882, reported a concensus in some quarters that the entire City Council should bear the collective blame for the Ringtheater tragedy and resign in a body. It supported this view, while the KVZ, 24 January 1882, disagreed.
- 140 Morgenpost, 24 January 1882.
- 141 Public agitation was not given rest by the running commentary in some papers on the human fragments and personal accessories still being found in the rubble of the burned out theater one month later. KVZ, 1, 6 January 1882; IWE, 5, 10 January 1882.
- 142 NFP, 21, 23 January 1882.
- 143 NFP, 23 January 1882.
- 144 The phrase is from Fortschritt, 12 February 1882.
- 145 Stöger, "Die politischen Anfänge . . .," p. 63; Kuppe, Karl Lueger und seine Zeit, pp. 65-66; Fiala, "Der Wiener Gemeinderat . . .," p. 27, where the assertion is made, "Lueger's visit to Taafe was responsible for the fall of the United Left."
- 146 Lueger to Taafe, 18 January 1882; WSA, Handschriftensammlung, No. JN 203.065; Apprehensive of the political repercussions the story as reported first in the Fremden-Blatt could have, Lueger appealed, "not to the Minister, but to the gentleman (English word), to do what is necessary and correct to hinder further (harmful) effects (from the story). The appeal brought no response, and Lueger defended his action himself to the press and his voters as, "perhaps politically unwise, but not dishonorable." KVZ, 26 January 1882; Fortschritt, 12 February 1882.
- 147 KVZ, 23, 24 January 1882.
- 148 Morgenpost, 7 February 1882; NFP, 23, 25 January 1882; 4, 5 February 1882.
- 149 The depositions Lueger prepared describing these intrigues are reproduced in Stöger, "Die politischen Anfänge . . .," pp. 67-76. The authenticity of the charges made therein has been accepted by all historians, although Lueger's use of the material has been variously interpreted. Boyer, Political Radicalism . . ., pp. 203-204,

for example, faults Lueger for waiting three months after the initial overtures were made on 7 November 1881, before bringing the affair dramatically to light at a time when he was doubtless seized by bitterness and a will to revenge against those who had conspired, in his view, to bring him down.

Two prominent Mittelpartei Councilmen and stalwart defenders of corporate interests in the tramway, gas, Gürtelbahn, and other debates, were also cited by him as implicated in the bribery scheme. (Ritter von Goldschmidt and Wilhelm Gunesch) Boyer does not mention, or is not aware, that Lueger had no substantial proof, or knowledge of the extent of the bribery conspiracy until January 26 1882, when he discovered that one of his law clerks, Dr. Heinrich Löwy, was embroiled in the affair. Also as a trained and practicing lawyer, Lueger was presumably astute enough in such matters to see the difficulty of making charges based only on conversations with parties he knew would not testify on his behalf.

150 Fortschritt, 12 February 1882.

151 GRB, 9 February 1882.

152 Fortschritt, 12 March 1882.

153 The phrase is from KVZ, 6 February 1882.

154 KVZ, 7 March 1882.

CONCLUSION

The dissolution of the United Left in 1882 marked a turning point in the life of Karl Lueger and in the history of Viennese Liberalism which had henceforth to contend with the bitter enmity of this brightest and most ambitious aspirant for the mantle of power that devolved on the city government with the grant of municipal autonomy in 1849. While it is true that, "No one, even Lueger, was certain what it meant to be 'anti-Liberal,'"¹ it is equally apparent that Lueger set out from his drastic reversal of fortune to build a party for which he had no other name than "our party," and whose ultimate form and character he could not discern in the beginning of 1882; the only thing certain was that it would be anti-Liberal and oppose the men and principles Lueger saw as conspiring against the public interest and his personal drive for leadership.

It was no accident that Austria's first democratic mass party was born not on the stage of high politics where the fate of the empire hung in the balance, but on the stage of low politics where the order of the day was more likely given to discourse on the quality of street maintainance, the price of lighting gas, or the inadequacies of public transportation. The Vienna City Council was, of any political body in the Habsburg Monarchy, the most natural birthplace for a popular movement aimed at piercing the "closed ruling circle" of the propertied and educated classes which dominated political and economic life in the "Liberal era."² For there, at least the form of self-government was preserved in the period of neo-absolutism, and there the democratic tendencies that first found expression in the Revolution of 1848, burst forth anew with the revival of constitutional life in 1861.³

The Vienna City Council was also, precisely in its mundane

function as administrator of essential public services, a likely center of conflict over issues people could easily comprehend and, moreover, care about intensely as integral parts of their daily lives and problems. The City Council was a directly elected representative body with wide competence to direct municipal affairs twelve years before the national legislature, or Reichsrat, made direct contact with the individual voter. It is therefore not surprising that the revival of political life in Vienna occurred through "democratic clubs" primarily concerned with municipal elections and concerns. The Vienna City Council produced Austria's first democratic party and provided an, albeit small, number of enfranchised citizens with their first lessons in civic responsibility and the exercise of political power.

It was in this body and in the limited world of district and municipal politics, that Karl Lueger received his political education, established his reputation as a progressive reformer, gained his initial popular following, and earned his ultimate place in history. It was there he learned the importance of securing a power base outside the clique of notables who controlled access to political office, and outside the chamber where political fortunes depended upon personal relationships and transitory power constellations. In 1878 Lueger learned, as the protege of Ignatz Mandl, the art of mobilizing voters in support of a reform program promising more effective and responsive municipal government. In 1882 he learned that a local base of popular support which guaranteed him election, could not guarantee his position as leader of a parliamentary caucus whose members enjoyed their own local followings, and were thus politically immune to party discipline. He learned, in short, the importance of gaining voter support outside his home district if he was ever to realize his aim of leading a "party" that would govern in the public interest.

Lueger took, as one contemporary noted, "The longest detour," from his election to the Vienna City Council in 1875

to his election as mayor twenty years later.⁴ Yet there was every likelihood he might have achieved that goal a good deal sooner had he fulfilled the expectations of his peers as the rising young star of the Majority Liberals who remained in control of the city government until he ousted them from power in 1895. As this paper has sought to demonstrate, Lueger's break with the Viennese Liberals was by no means inevitable, nor can it be seen as a natural consequence of a new political style and program at odds with rational liberal notions of progress and constitutional government.

Much of the confusion about Lueger's early career (whether he was "liberal" or "anti-liberal") stems from unfamiliarity with the political situation in the Vienna City Council, particularly the purposes of the democratic liberals, and ignorance of Lueger's activities and interests as a working legislator and popular representative. Up to 1882, all the Council fractions were unmistakably liberal, and it was only after the collapse of the United Left that an anti-liberal alternative was even thinkable - even so, it took Lueger another seven years to conceive and construct the coalition that would finally vote the liberals out of power in the Vienna Rathaus.

In light of later developments, it is clear that Lueger needed, even at the cost of severing his "good connections" and alienating his constituents, to gain freedom of movement if he was to build a political party outside the patriarchal structure of liberal politics in Vienna. To contemporaries, however, and to the historian willing to suspend temporarily the insights of foreknowledge, Lueger's first break with the Mittelpartei and attachment to Ignatz Mandl, appears incredibly foolhardy, and his willingness to risk political suicide by breaking all ties to the established ruling order all but inexplicable.

Lueger's biographers have passed all too quickly over these first years of his public life as inconsequential, or as simply the first phase of an all but pre-ordained destiny;

they have little pondered the motives that prompted the young Councilman's odd choice of political bedfellows, and none has attempted to analyse the tortuous route of his political fortunes in the decade following his first election to public office. Kuppe's brief account of Lueger's defection from the Mittelpartei is not only inaccurate in many details, but misleading in depicting as novel to Lueger ideas, programs, and tactics that were neither new, nor exclusively his own. Ignatz Mandl's pivotal role as teacher, model, and vital source of encouragement receives scant attention, and the negative as well as positive influences of the Schrank-Steu-del-Kronawetter democrats are virtually ignored. Both Kuppe and Skalnik exaggerate the significance of Lueger's appeal to the Kleinbürgertum, which was confined to the heat of electoral battles, and so pre-date by some years, his decision to build a party in the populace outside the traditional groupings and ideology represented in the City Council of the 1870's. Lueger and Mandl were, however, both more energetic and conscientious in sounding out the opinions of their voters than the ordinary city politician, and in maintaining this kind of contact with their constituents, foreshadowed the more democratic trend that brought Lueger his mass following in the late 1880's.

Historians who have dismissed Lueger's alliances with the politics of an irrational mob on the one hand, and a conservative social Catholicism on the other, as mere by-products of a clear-headed pragmatism and urge to dominance,⁵ have not done justice to the man's complexity, nor to his certainly imperfect humanity. It seems unrealistic as well as contrary to the evidence at hand in Lueger's speeches to his voters and in the City Council minutes, that Lueger had no ideas whatever on the subject of democracy in particular and the workings of self-government in general. It seems clear, however, that when Lueger called himself a "democrat" in 1885, he no longer meant the same thing he had meant in 1875. Then he most likely shared the idealistic view of his peers that democracy

would come with the extension of the suffrage, and that would be that; the ballot would confer political maturity on the citizens; equality would bring respect for the rights of all, and liberty the fulfillment of the individual. In the meantime he joined with Ignatz Mandl in an effort to extend democracy within the given restricted system by shifting greater responsibilities onto the elected representatives as well as on to the small class of enfranchised citizens. Their partial success with the former is documented in the administrative reforms achieved by the United Left; their commitment to the latter, in the dozens of political meetings called to inform their voters on an endless series of issues that concerned their vital interests, as well as to give the electorate a chance to express its wants and grievances.

Until his speech attacking international monopoly capitalism in March 1882, Lueger did not diverge noticeably from the standard democratic reform program urged by the Far Left since the 1860's. What he and Mandl added to this program were specific measures to effect the more generalized aims of fiscal restraint and public interest politics which the democrats had been unable to abstract from a position of simple antagonism to the "ruling clique." Mandl's and Lueger's indictment of Felder's mayoralty was not a rejection of liberal principles any more than the call of the Vienna Democratic Society for government for and through the people. Both aimed rather to give meaning to principles mouthed by all but denied in practice.

Notes:

- 1 Boyer, Political Radicalism ..., p. 202.
- 2 Gerlich and Kramer, Abgeordnete in der Parteidemokratie, pp. 183-184.
- 3 Franz, Liberalismus, pp. 388-389.
- 4 Friedrich Austerlitz, Arbeiter Zeitung, 11 March 1910, quoted in Skalník, Dr. Karl Lueger, p. 73.
- 5 Boyer, Political Radicalism ..., pp. 192, 194, 202-204.

Abbreviations

- APT - Association for the Protection of Trades (Verein zum Schutze des Gewerbestandes)
- DZ - Demokratische Zeitung
- Deu.Z. - Deutsche Zeitung
- ICGA - Imperial Continental Gas Association
- IWE - Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt
- JVGSW - Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien
- KVZ - Konstitutionelle Vorstadtzeitung
- L.B-Z. - Landstrasse Bürger-Zeitung
- LDC - Landstrasse District Committee (Landstrasse Bezirks-Ausschuss)
- NB - Austrian National Library (Oesterreichische National-Bibliothek)
- NFP - Neue Freie Presse
- N.F-B. - Neues Fremden-Blatt
- NWT - Neues Wiener Tagblatt
- PANS - Presidial Akten der Niederoesterreichischen Statthalterei
- VDS - Vienna Democratic Society (Wiener Demokratische Gesellschaft)
- VTa - Vienna Tramway Association (Wiener Tramway Gesellschaft)
- WSA - Wiener Stadtarchiv
- WSB - Wiener Stadtbibliothek

Vienna City Councilmen mentioned in the text:

- Baumgartner, Johann (b. 1844); Brandy manufacturer;
Third Curia; Eighth District.
- Berg, Leopold (b. 1840); Lawyer;
Third Curia; First District.
- Billing, Heinrich (b. 1834); "Privatier;"
First Curia; Fourth District.
- Felder, Cajetan (b. 1814); Lawyer;
Second Curia; Eighth District.
- Goldschmidt, Theodor Ritter von (b. 1837); Engineer;
First Curia; First District.
- Grübl, Raimund (b. 1847); Lawyer and Journalist;
Second Curia; Third District.
- Gunesch, Wilhelm (b. 1830); Engineer;
First Curia; First District.
- Holly, Leopold (b. 1823); Medical Doctor;
Third Curia; Third District.
- Hruby, Georg Ritter von (b. 1811); "Privatier"
Second Curia; Third District.
- Huber, Josef (b. 1814); Brandy Distiller;
Third Curia; Third District.
- Hügel, Eduard (b. 1816); Publisher of KVZ;
Third Curia; Third District.
- Kaiser, Phillip (b. 1832); Architect;
Second Curia; Seventh District.
- Khunn, Franz Ritter von (b. 1802); Master Baker;
First Curia; Third District.
- Kopp, Josef (b. 1827); Lawyer;
Second Curia; First District.
- Lecher, Zacharias (b. 1830); Publisher of Die Presse;
Second Curia; Third District.
- Lederer, Moritz (b. 1832); Lawyer;
First Curia; First District.
- Löblich, Franz (b. 1827); Master Coppersmith;
Third Curia; Ninth District.
- Lueger, Karl (b. 1844); Lawyer;
Second Curia (1875-1876) Third Curia (1878-)
Third District.
- Lustig, Karl (b. 1834); Manufacturer.
Third Curia; Seventh District.
- Mandl, Ignatz (b. 1833); Medical Doctor (non-practicing);
Second Curia (1874-1877) Third Curia (1877-);
Third District.

- Mauthner, Wilhelm Ritter von (b. 1837); Lawyer.
First Curia; First District.
- Mayer, Ferdinand (b. 1835); Decorative feather manufacturer.
Third Curia; Sixth District.
- Mayer, Sigmund (b. 1831); Textile merchant;
Third Curia; Second District.
- Newald, Julius Ritter von (b. 1824); Lawyer;
Second Curia; Ninth District.
- Nikola, Josef (b. 1816); Coffeehouse proprietor;
Third Curia; First District.
- Ornauer, Heinrich (b. 1829); "Privatier;"
Third Curia; Fourth District.
- Ostwald, Wilhelm (b. 1823); Bronzeworks manufacturer.
Third Curia; Fourth District.
- Pollak, Moritz Ritter von (b. 1827); Financier;
First Curia; Second District.
- Prix, Johann (b. 1836); Lawyer;
Second Curia; Fourth District.
- Reschauer, Heinrich (b. 1838); Editor of Deutsche Zeitung;
Third Curia; Sixth District.
- Riby, Moritz (b. 1820);
Third Curia; Third District.
- Schlechter, Josef (b. 1841); Bookbinder;
Third Curia; Sixth District.
- Schrank, Johann (b. 1830); Lawyer and Educator.
Third Curia; Seventh District.
- Singer, Franz (b. 1828) Book dealer and publisher of IWE;
Second Curia; Ninth District.
- Steudel, Johann (b. 1825); Real proprietor;
Third Curia; Fifth District.
- Streit, Andreas (b. 1840); Architect;
First Curia; First District.
- Uhl, Eduard (b. 1813); "Privatier;"
Second Curia; Eighth District.
- Umlauft, Johann (b. 1807); Journalist;
Third Curia; Fourth District.
- Väth, Jakob (b. 1828); "Privatier;"
Third Curia; Fourth District.
- Weissenberger, Karl (b. 1814); Master Butcher;
First Curia; Third District.
- Zelinka, Andreas (b. 1802); Lawyer;
First Curia; First District.

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