

Chapter 1

Maturing in a Troubled Vienna

Schutz's Youth

Alfred Schutz (in German, Schütz) was born April 13, 1899 to Johanna Schutz (born Fialla, of Czechoslovakian parents) and Alfred Schutz, of Vienna. The latter had died on January 19, 1899, before his son was born, and two years after his death Johanna married her husband's brother, Otto, also of Vienna, who acted as a father to Alfred throughout his life. Otto's father, Moritz, had been a grocer in Vienna, and Otto himself served for over forty-five years as an executive of the time-honored Vienna banking firm Ephrussi and Col. The Schutz family lived in the Mariahilf neighborhood adjacent to the Innere Stadt, which, surrounded by the Ringstrasse, contained the empire's public buildings, such as the Parliament, University, National Theater, Opera, and Stock Exchange.¹

Johanna never informed Alfred that his biological father had died before his birth, and she accompanied Alfred to the school he attended to fill out forms for him so that he would not know that his father had died. Alfred discovered this fact when he applied in Vienna to join the military at age seventeen and his mother turned over to him official legal documents. He was not angry with his mother, especially since he came to learn that his mother had been very much in love with his father, who had been a *Schöngeist*, interested in poetry rather than science. Schutz even wondered whether he would have been able to get along with his father, since he himself was, according to his wife Ilse, "so very thorough and so very scientific."²

The discovery of his true parentage in fact augmented his love for Otto, as he would reveal twenty-five years later in an affidavit filed on behalf of his father's visa for entry into the United States:

That from my youth the warmth of father and son was a natural development between myself and my mother's husband, Otto Schutz, and that after learning the family history an unusual degree of

attachment was created considering the treatment of the past years that was given to me by my father's brother, moreover the possibilities of education and social standing he desired me to have.³

At Alfred's request, Otto had consented to adopt him legally as his son in 1920, and Alfred admitted

[T]hat I know no other man who served me so loyally and faithfully throughout my life, and my undivided attention and devotion under present abnormal conditions is a natural feeling toward him and there is nothing short of sacrificing my own life that I would not do to assist him in any troublesome situation that he may be faced with.⁴

There was every indication in Schutz's correspondence as a child and young man that he maintained with both his parents the same kind of close relationship that he, as a man of forty-two, described as having had with his stepfather. For instance, the young Schutz regularly composed poetry for his parents on New Year's Day, Christmas, their birthdays, and Mother's Day, dating from as early as January 1, 1909. Letters from summer vacation with his uncle, Otto Weissberger, who lived near Pilsen, Austria, revealed the warm, playful relationship between the teenage Schutz and his parents. In describing the train trip to Pilsen, he depicted himself as a suave adult beyond his years, reading a paper, smoking a cigarette, and being the last traveler left on the train before his uncle met him and placed him in a horse-drawn wagon. In addition, he displayed his musical proclivities in commenting on the double bass (*Kontrabass*) and percussion instruments (*Schlagwerk*) employed by a chamber orchestra entertaining in the village. However, he concluded on a humorous note, describing the "brave musicians" as "loud farmers" who were noteworthy in their activity (*Tat*) and tempo and who played according to notes in an atmosphere filled with wine, cigars, and the much-cherished money tossed their way.⁵

In addition to composing poems on special occasions for his parents, he produced whole volumes of poetry, one of which was dedicated to his parents on Christmas 1914, when he would have been only fifteen years of age. This volume included poems expressing childhood pieties as well as a dialogue between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, who urged his master to live everyday life (*Alltagsleben*) instead of losing himself among the clouds of idealism. The book also contained a series of poems, not dedicated to anyone in particular and dubbed "Songs of an Egoist," in which the voices of Max Stirner or Friedrich Nietzsche resounded in a poem entitled "Ich":

Pray to me, you weak,
You, who still deny
That you are gods,
Sink to your knees before the strong.
I have my fate
In my hand,
I forge myself
My own lot,
I am alone for all myself
The only God
And I am strong.⁶

Whether Schutz here vented adolescent rebelliousness or parodied egoism, it is significant that at age fifteen he was able to set aside any moralizing scruples to take on a point of view starkly at odds with the familial tone of his other poetry. It was as if he used his poetry to practice a kind of free imaginative variation, adopting perspectives quite foreign to his own.

Another instance of such free variation appeared when he composed “Vera’s Diary,” an essay of about ten pages in length, which pretended to be a diary dictated by the six-month-old daughter of his cousin Elly to “Uncle Freddy” on July 25, 1916. Vera told Uncle Freddy that people were horrible to her on her first day in this world, laughing and making faces at her when she cried, as if they were enjoying themselves over her psychological pain. She gave vent to her suspicion of the world only to find that this behavior infuriated her nurse. She thought that the large gray house in which Freddy lived would have soured even his most beautiful day. She described philosophical problems pressing upon her and decided to devote her life to answering questions about her foot in relation to her body—in other words, to study philosophy. Schutz utilized the diary to poke fun at family members and philosophy itself, even as he explored the misinterpretations possible between a newborn child and her family.⁷

His mother supervised his education, fostering in him a deep and life-long love for music through piano lessons that he received from an orchestra trumpeter. In addition, he attended the Esterhazy Gymnasium, also known as Staatsgymnasium VI, at which he did better than all his classmates, taking eight years of Latin and Greek and graduating in January 1918, *summa cum laude*.⁸

The gymnasium system up until 1904 had been the only form of secondary education in the monarchy that enabled entry into the university and a consequent career as a doctor or lawyer. Gymnasium education contrasted with that of the *Realschule*, which provided a more practical education—it

taught, for example, the modern languages instead of the classics—but it must be added that Ludwig Wittgenstein and Arnold Schoenberg attended a *Realschule*. In 1957 when Schutz was drawing up a proposal for a Ford Foundation Grant for the New School, he compared his own gymnasium education unfavorably with the high school education his children received in the United States:

[i]t is one of the most gratifying aspects of American education that children are encouraged at a very early age to participate in the life of the nation by discussing freely the major problems connected with daily events and to try to formulate sensible and well-founded opinions on these issues. I well remember the school regulations at the Austrian “Gymnasium” where I studied under the Habsburg Monarchy: students up to the age of 18 years who engaged in any kind of political discussion were threatened with immediate expulsion. On the other hand, I had the good fortune of watching how my own children, who were educated in American schools, enjoyed full freedom of opinion and were guided to good democratic citizenship not by authoritarian dogmas, but by unfolding the faculties of their own judgment.⁹

The authoritarian character of the gymnasium education may have resulted from academic rigor, its character as the training ground for the Josephinist bureaucracy, or the prevalent mood of the country under the monarchy. It is significant that Schutz’s own appreciation for democratic process—a theme to be developed later—was shaped by a lack of democratic experience in his own education.¹⁰

At age seventeen and with Austria involved in the world war, he completed his education with a comprehensive emergency examination, one year before he should have taken the *Abitur*, or *Matura*, examination to qualify for the university. According to Ilse, Alfred had passed through an adolescent crisis in which he had entertained thoughts of suicide, but, she noted, “he never would have committed [suicide] on account of his mother.” He joined the army’s artillery division in order to be killed, even though he could have been exempted from military service because of a chronic ear inflammation he suffered from since childhood. Holding the rank of lieutenant in the artillery, Schutz performed assorted dangerous military services on the Italian front, including reconnaissance, poison gas protection, signaling, and the reparation of disrupted communications. Although he had intended to end his life, according to Ilse “when the first bombs came, he was among the very first ones to lie down on the ground protecting himself from being killed.” After he spent ten months at the front and witnessed great carnage, the time

for his first furlough arrived, and he took the last train returning to Vienna. The rest of his regiment were taken prisoners, the war ceased, and the Central Powers had been defeated.¹¹

In a letter to Ilse of May 8, 1938, three months after Hitler's *Anschluss*, he described his military service in World War I in order that she might apply for an exit permit. He mentioned with pride that he had served in the trenches in the midst of gas at the battle of Montello and that he had comported himself bravely in war, earning silver and bronze medals for bravery, the Karl Truppenkreuze, and the War Memorial medallion with swords. There was a pathos to Schutz's proud appeal to his valiant military service as a sign of his patriotism for the same country that required of him ten days later a signed promise to emigrate and to prevent his children from ever again setting foot on its soil.¹²

The Austrian/Viennese Context: Up to World War I

In discussing the war, I have been presupposing the cultural, political, and economic events in Austria and Vienna that furnish the context of Schutz's maturation and his subsequent philosophical work. Let me try to describe some of them.

When Count Rudolf IV, chosen by the imperial electors as king, established his power over the Danube Basin in 1278, the Habsburg dynasty commenced a reign that would last for six and a half centuries. In spite of the Austrian monarchy's frequent indifference to its populace, brighter moments appeared during the zenith of the Austrian baroque architectural style when the much-revered Maria Theresa presided for forty years over a multinational, centralized bureaucracy ruling over Austria, Slav Bohemia, and Magyar Hungary. Her son, Joseph II, ruling from 1780 to 1790, implemented a series of reforms, including the "Toleration Patent" (1781) that guaranteed substantial religious freedom throughout the realm. After Count Metternich's conservative policies in reaction to the French Revolution, Napoleon's ascent to power, and the social unrest of 1848, Francis Joseph came to power as emperor, a position he held sixty-eight years, until 1916.¹³

While Francis Joseph suffered major defeats in foreign relations at the hands of Russia in the Balkans, for instance, and of Prussia, insofar as Bismarck resisted any "chaining the trim seaworthy frigate of Prussia to the ancient worm-eaten galleon of Austria"—his major struggles had to do with internal governance. His empire encompassed the German sectors of Upper and Lower Austria, Salzburg and the Tyrol, and Carinthia and Styria in the east; the Czech and Slovakian populations of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in the north; the Hungarian Magyars, Romanians, and Galician Poles to the

east; and the Balkan nationalities of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia to the south. The internal unrest following Austria's defeat by Prussia in 1866 resulted in a new constitutional entity, the "Dual Monarchy," that granted autonomous rule to Hungary, with foreign affairs, defense, and the joint budget remaining the common responsibility of both Budapest and Vienna.¹⁴

This accord, though, by no means resolved all the tensions among the various nationalities. For example, the German-Austrians who made up 80 percent of the military officer corps frequently failed to understand their Hungarian and Slavic subordinates, and German-speaking opponents of pro-Czech language ordinances in Bohemia launched a filibuster with cowbells, sleigh bells, and snare drums that drove the Austrian prime minister, Count Badeni, from office. This German-Czech conflict, dating from a bloody suppression at Prague in 1848, eventually resulted in the German imposition of martial law. This further antagonized the Czechs, who boycotted German cultural events and were rumored to stick their fingers in their ears whenever Germans spoke to them. In some cases, cultural differences, instead of motivating a movement toward secession from the empire, prompted groups to secure advantages for themselves, as occurred in the 1905 Moravian Compromise, which permitted Moravia's different provinces to establish as official languages those of the ethnic majorities. Of course, the conflicts between the various Balkan populations, Austrian desires to curb Serb power, and the Russian strategic interests would finally explode into the First World War upon the occasion of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand on June 28, 1914. When Schutz wrote later on American race relations, he recalled these cultural struggles of national minorities in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. He contrasted "real" equality, based on special rights (such as use of one's national language in schools), with the "formal" equality that those who resisted claims to special rights might be willing to grant.¹⁵

Because of the difficulties of governing this welter of diverse nationalities, Austro-Hungary built up an imperial bureaucracy of tens of thousands, whose efforts to restrain centrifugal nationalist pressures created a political climate of authoritarianism, replicated in the *Gymnasium* system in which this bureaucracy educated its sons. The struggles, frequently violent, between various Austro-Hungarian parties and national-racial groups reflected a lack of the kind of experience of democratic procedures that Schutz was delighted to find his own children having in the United States. As Gordon Brook-Shepherd described it:

Like the Austrian Social Democratic party, which Viktor Adler created almost single-handedly in 1889, the Christian Socials never knew the tolerance and decencies of democratic Parliamentary life, with its respect for opposition as well as government. The Reichsrat

of Shönerer, Lueger, Adler and the rest was essentially a public arena for the racial battles of the Monarchy; it saw much brawling, hurling of inkpots and banging of desks, but hardly any rational debate. This remained of little more importance than the antics of a circus so long as the Emperor stood over it, aloof and near omnipotent. It became another matter when the dynasty vanished, and real power and responsibility suddenly passed into the hands of deputies who had no experience of either.¹⁶

Because of this decrepit political atmosphere, many Viennese simply withdrew, and Sigmund Freud, who did not register to vote until age fifty-two, exemplified a political apathy and despair attacked by the cultural critic Karl Kraus.¹⁷

In spite of these intercultural tensions, the empire flourished economically. The population increased by two million to twenty-four million during the 1880s. Despite recessions, the empire's gross national product in the period 1895–13 nearly quadrupled that of 1872–95. Industrial production grew at an annual rate of 6.3 percent from 1903–07. In 1907 the government budget recorded its greatest surplus in history, and domestic prosperity exceeded anything that could be remembered. Unfortunately, the fruits of this economic expansion were not evenly distributed. While government reforms sought to correct seventy-hour workweeks and child labor abuses and to protect collective bargaining, the Social Democratic Party revived under Viktor Adler in 1888 and continued to press for reforms even after the First World War. The major cities of the empire were unprepared for the massive influx of population, including farm workers, seeking manufacturing jobs, as is demonstrated by the facts that in 1910 the average Viennese domicile housed 4.4 persons, 1.24 per room, and only 22 percent of homes were equipped with indoor toilets. Moreover, many people lived in caves and under bridges, and in 1905 some thirty-five persons were dwelling in trees in Vienna's public parks. Rather than coming to terms with these social problems, the Austro-Hungarian bureaucracy proved itself corrupt; it succumbed to blackmail and bribery, entangled itself in excessive red tape, and sacrificed impartiality for feudal etiquette codes. The Austrians coined the word *Schlamperei*, meaning "slovenliness," to refer to the way their government fell far short of neighboring Prussia in efficiency.¹⁸

Liberalism, whether the socially conscious *Alt-liberalismus* of Josephinism, the more militant "high liberalism" after 1867, or the turn-of-the-century enlightened absolutism and bureaucracy, demanded that cultural groups abstract from their particularity and group feeling to submit to impartial, universal legal processes—an abstraction with immense cultural repercussions. This rationalization of political processes, along with society's increasing

economic rationalization, gave birth at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to German-Austrian counteremphases by such figures as Freud, Nietzsche, and Arthur Schopenhauer. These authors focused on psychological analyses and feeling and on the recovery of the Dionysian dimensions of the psyche from the Apollonian. In music, for instance, Richard Wagner hailed Beethoven's work as a counter to rationalism and developed operas with mythic, mystical overtones, appealing to the whole person, as did Gustav Mahler, who also emphasized Schopenhauerian themes of world-will and resignation in such works as his Third Symphony. No doubt, Schutz recognized the value in some of these cultural trends insofar as he tempered his own rationalist leanings by integrating into his thought the concerns of Bergson and phenomenological psychology.¹⁹

The reaction to societal rationalization also appeared in versions of German nationalism in Austria, such as Georg Schoenerer's anti-Semitic Germanism, the Pernerstorfer Circle's cultural Germanism without anti-Semitism, or Adler's socialistically inclined German nationalism. Adler, along with other Jews, at this time even favored *Anschluss* with Germany, and he further resisted overrationalization by ritualizing the worker's movement (e.g., through the elegant processions of workers in May Day demonstrations) in ways that Hitler later came to admire. Moreover, the Pernerstorfer Circle, in reaction to liberal, bourgeois atomism, sought to communicate through art and literature the communitarian values learned from their Benedictine educators.²⁰

The literature, architecture, painting, and music of the time developed in reaction to the cultural crisis brought on by societal rationalization. In opposition to such rationalization and in concurrence with Freud, the playwright Arthur Schnitzler emphasized much-maligned erotic longings, only to be countered by Hugo Hofmannsthal, whose dramas attempted to revivify sagging moral traditions. When liberalism was just beginning to become more predominant, the novelist Adalbert Stifter's *Der Nachsommer* (1857) presented a "garden" of the bourgeois virtues such as self-discipline and self-reliance. However, Leopold Andrian-Werburg's *The Garden of Knowledge* (1895) criticized high liberal culture for its negative qualities of self-preoccupation and the inability to love. Further, Robert Musil's *The Man Without Qualities* as well as works by Franz Kafka and Rainer Maria Rilke exposed the communication problems underlying widespread sexual licentiousness and depicted the disintegration of Austria's hierarchic society and its rational culture. The Ringstrasse, constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century, epitomized liberal modernity, contrasting with the nearby Gothic Votivkirche, joining unrelated buildings "in their lonely confrontation of the great circular artery," and drawing critical fire from art historians for its "heartless rationalism," "utility," and "lack of community." In painting, Gustav Klimt rebelled against classical realism and nineteenth century certainties

in a series of university paintings that shocked bourgeois proprieties and faculty sensibilities, for instance, in a law school painting that depicted the Furies in power. Finally, the composer Arnold Schoenberg joined Mahler in his struggle for authenticity by developing atonality and “emancipating” dissonance, which in its dynamism challenged rationality, just as Bergsonian temporality, accessible only to intuition, defied intellectual dissection for Schutz. Schoenberg’s music, like Freudian psychology, turned to the subjective, interior world, and emphasized the wilderness nature of life in contrast to the bourgeois pursuit of comfort.²¹

Instead of seeking to reform bourgeois liberalism, others simply drowned the harsh realities of everyday realities in the oblivion of Straussian waltzes or Viennese cafés. Cultural critics such as Johann Schnitzler attacked the self-centeredness and indecisiveness of aesthetes frequenting the coffeehouses. Similarly, Karl Kraus, whose work Schutz knew by heart, began publishing his *Die Fackel* in 1899, criticizing the feuilleton tradition of writing chatty essays that were breezy, superficial, and popular—the apotheosis of *Schlamperei*. Another way of fleeing the misery of Austrian liberal, bourgeois culture was to immerse oneself in currents of cynicism and nihilism. For example, Musil dubbed Habsburg Vienna “Kakania,” a word referring by its initials (K.K.) to the “imperial” and “royal” and at the same time meaning “Excrementia” or “Shitland,” as anyone familiar with German nursery language would have understood. Some proponents of a type of medical nihilism ended up dismissing the obstetrician Ignác Semmelweis, a pioneer in the use of antiseptic procedures, because they “deemed his concern for the patient unbecoming to a professional.” This cynicism and nihilism took its toll at the turn of the century in frequent suicides, even among well-known public figures, including Mahler’s brother, Wittgenstein’s three elder brothers, Crown Prince Rudolf and his lover, and the neurologist Nathan Weiss, whose death initiated Freud’s career in psychology. The widespread nature of suicide so attracted the attention of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society that it scheduled a symposium on the topic in 1910.²²

One can detect in Alfred Schutz traces of several of these cultural factors. There is the turn to the subjective interior experience that one might find in a Freud or Schoenberg, but also the commitment to rationality characteristic of political liberalism and economic rationalization, both of which Schutz the social scientist had studied. Schutz’s liberal, rationalist leanings also appear in his frequent effort to preserve a pluralism of perspectives and in his avoidance of the field of ethics, which several of his mentors took to be inherently less rational than the sciences, as we shall see later in Schutz’s tête-a-tête with Eric Voegelin. Schutz would have never embraced an extreme liberal individualism, however, since he showed himself acutely aware of the social, intersubjective dimensions of experience, something that would even require

accommodations in the way he conducted phenomenology. One perhaps can detect in Schutz's interest in *Lebensphilosophie* (life-philosophy), such as Bergson's, and in the life-world itself an opposition to any totalizing rationalism and a desire to establish rationality's limits in the lived flux of *durée* and the richness of everyday life. Schutz also endorsed Bergson's idea of duration to counter logical positivism, which itself arose, no doubt, to counteract the irrationalism it had perceived in the intellectual atmosphere. One can even understand Schutz's temptations to suicide, of which Ilse Schutz spoke above, as emerging from the winds of nihilism sweeping the Austrian culture of his time.

Finally, in order to understand Schutz himself and the events that would eventually induce him to emigrate to the United States, it is important to understand the position of Jews within the Austro-Hungarian empire and the anti-Semitism poisoning the empire's atmosphere. Joseph II's Toleration Patents and the liberal measures adopted after the 1867 creation of Austro-Hungary granted Jews equal civil, political, and religious rights, removing medieval restrictions on Jewish occupation, political and civil rights, and residence, such as the prohibitions against owning homes or living in Vienna. Despite liberalization, centuries-old Austrian anti-Semitism continued appearing in laws forbidding intermarriage and requiring conversion to Christianity for certain positions, in demonstrations aimed at excluding Jews from the University of Vienna, and in the blame placed on Jews for everything from localized murders to the 1873 stock market collapse. Further, anti-Semitic demagogues exercised increasing influence, such as Georg von Schoenerer, who inspired Hitler and urged German unification (long before the *Anschluss*); Karl Lueger, who unified various anti-liberal groups and once claimed, "I decide who is a Jew"; and Eugen Dühring, whose writings justified racial anti-Semitism. Some authors, however, such as Johann Schnitzler and Hugo Bettauer, protested rising anti-Semitism; and Jewish reactions spread out on a continuum from Theodore Herzl's militant, antiassimilationist Zionism to assimilation to the point of conversion to Christianity (as in the cases of Adler, Hans Kelsen, Mahler, Schoenberg, and Otto Weininger). Jews further inserted themselves within the surrounding culture by increasing their economic and social standing. At this time, they abandoned in large numbers trade occupations and swelled the ranks of salaried white-collar employees, such as those working in insurance and large businesses, a common source of employment for those living in Schutz's Mariahilf neighborhood. In brief, the Jews flourished even in the face of anti-Semitism, and so it is not surprising that the Viennese Jewish population grew to over 175,000 by 1910, 8.6 percent of the total population. Nor is it surprising that Steffy Browne, a member of Professor Mises's circle along with Schutz, estimated that 79 percent of the circle members were Jewish.²³

On an identity/assimilation continuum, Schutz personally inclined toward the assimilation pole. Although he was quite capable of acknowledging

his Jewishness in correspondence with colleagues such as Machlup and Gurwitsch or with Voegelin and Farber, he never associated with Zionist or nationalist movements. Nevertheless, he was fully aware of perils to Jews in the earlier twentieth century, as is shown when he resisted having children because, as Ilse Schutz recounted him saying, "It's not the right time to bring Jewish children into this world." In addition, he resented the anti-Semitism he encountered on a business trip to the United States and, as a result, at first opposed moving there. He sent his daughter and son to the Ethical Cultural Society for religious education, objected to naturalistic explanations of biblical events, and was thoroughly knowledgeable about Jewish ritual practices, though he never participated in them. Moreover, his assimilation was evident in the fact that from childhood on he composed Christmas poems for his parents, sent Christmas greetings to friends, and gave Christmas gifts, such as those to Maurice Natanson's children. Such actions also show that the adult Schutz was quite willing to enter generously into others' worldviews in their terms, even though those terms might not have been his own. Similarly, although he personally seemed somewhat indifferent to religious practice, it is a tribute to his breadth of mind and openness to viewpoints foreign to his own that he made a place for a religious province of meaning in his essays "On Multiple Realities" and "Symbol, Reality, and Society." Moreover, following Johnston's observation that "[e]ven the most secularized of Austrian thinkers imbibed during childhood Jewish or Christian attitudes that could not easily be shed," it can be shown that Schutz lived out the Jewish ethical values praised by Kraus and Schnitzler. Given his distance from the practices of institutional Judaism and the utter disruption of his life that he would suffer due to his Jewish origins during the *Anschluss*, the following comment in his essay on equality takes on a personal poignancy:

What has been unquestioned so far looms now as highly questionable, while heretofore subjectively problem-irrelevant factors become vitally relevant to the now imposed problems. To cite just a few examples: persons who believed themselves to be good Germans and had severed all allegiance to Judaism found themselves declared Jews by Hitler's Nuremberg laws and treated as such on the grounds of a grandparent's origin, a fact up to that time entirely irrelevant.²⁴

From War's End to the *Anschluss*

The years 1918–39 constituted a formative time in the life of Alfred Schutz. During this time he completed his education and formed important friendships that he would maintain for the rest of his life. In addition, he secured

employment and proved himself a trusted employee in a company with which he would also be associated long after moving to America. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, he married Ilse Heim and they together began a family. Furthermore, in this setting Schutz developed his own philosophical perspective, undergoing rather fundamental transitions leading to his own critical acceptance of Husserlian phenomenology. Before addressing these many strands of this critical period in Schutz's life, we must consider in some detail the macropicture—the political, economic, and cultural conditions of Vienna from the end of World War I onward that finally led to the 1938 *Anschluss* that profoundly changed Schutz's life.

Before the war's end, the revered Francis Joseph had died on November 21, 1916, after having ruled for sixty-eight years. In the fall of 1918, after the humiliating defeat of four hundred thousand Austrian troops in Italy and with the Central Powers overwhelmed and exhausted by war, Charles, Francis Joseph's successor and great-nephew, and the German chancellor petitioned President Wilson for peace talks. Charles permitted six nation states to declare their independence from Austria, and on November 12, 1918, the democratic Austrian republic under the leadership of Karl Renner was established.²⁵

The fledgling republic faced daunting problems. The wheat and rye crops fell to less than 50 percent of their prewar yields, and there were shortfalls in meat, potatoes, and fats. Eighty percent of the schoolchildren in Vienna were registered as undernourished, and an influenza epidemic, which in 1918–19 killed twenty million worldwide, more than all those who perished in the world war, took the lives of thousands of Austrians, including Freud's daughter, Sophie. The newly established Czechoslovakia refused to ship any coal to Austria that winter, paralyzing Vienna's blast furnaces and transportation system. Meanwhile, according to Ilse Schutz hordes of returning soldiers were spurned for participating in a war that many thought was fought in vain, in much the way that soldiers returning to the United States from the Vietnam War were treated. These soldiers, some of whom plundered civilians and were considered a most radical and dangerous element, also inundated already fragile labor markets, increasing unemployment. Such unemployment grew, too, due to the shutting down of war industries and the lack of available raw materials. While 45,675 Viennese were unemployed in December 1918, by May 1919 the number had risen to 185,235. Since large numbers of the population needed public assistance, deficit spending and inflation resulted. Even buildings were in shambles, since no repairs had been done in years. Thus the severe winter of 1921–22 shut down the University of Vienna because its roof had not been repaired since 1914. It is no wonder, then, that the two years following the war saw the dominance of the Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party, although this party's dominance of Vienna exacerbated anti-socialist sentiment in rural Austria, which often withheld resources from the capital.²⁶

In the political domain, Schutz's mentor Hans Kelsen drew up a new constitution, which favored the Parliament over the president and which contained a bill of rights that was eventually eliminated. The first elections of the republic gave a slight edge to Social Democrats over their conservative Christian Social opponents, with German-National groups trailing, though—ironically, in light of subsequent history—both the Social Democrats and German-Nationals favored, for different reasons, reunification (*Anschluss*) with Germany. Bitter rancor and the lack of constructive dialogue characterized the proceedings of the new congress, which focused now on class conflicts and governmental social policies instead of on the nationalistic divisions typical of the Hapsburg era. Although the Social Democrats passed some measures on unemployment and workers' insurance to alleviate the misery of the postwar era, in the 1920s the Christian Socials gained power. They would hold it for the next eighteen years, with the Social Democrats opposing them through generally obstructionist tactics.²⁷

During the period 1922–1929, the Christian Social chancellor Ignaz Seipel secured a League of Nations loan to quell galloping inflation, but he failed to roll back earlier social legislation due to a severe depression from 1924–26 that so heightened tensions that right-wing *Heimwehr* paramilitaries, outnumbering the Austrian army, battled the socialist *Schutzband* in street warfare. One of several right-wing chancellors, Engelbert Dollfuss rose to power in 1932, and at the prompting of his *Heimwehr* allies implemented a version of martial law; but his rapprochement with Mussolini to block Hitler's designs on Austria resulted in increased Nazi activity in Austria and his eventual assassination in 1934. Kurt von Schuschnigg, who succeeded Dollfuss, integrated the *Heimwehr* within the more pacific Militia of the Fatherland Front; but after many efforts to appease Hitler, especially by conceding to his demands at Berchtesgaden in February 1938, he called for a national plebiscite on Austria's relationship with Germany. On March 11, 1938, Hitler postponed the plebiscite, Schuschnigg resigned, and German troops invaded Austria on March 12, annexing it without a shot being fired. When Hitler entered Vienna three days later, 250,000 Austrians turned out to welcome him, and the plebiscite conducted a month later favored *Anschluss* by 99.73 percent, with Jews not being allowed to vote. Anti-Jewish measures commenced immediately, including violence against Jewish property, ejection from schools, and the disbarment of Jewish lawyers. Under the supervision of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration under Adolf Eichmann, 79,000 Jews left Austria by the end of 1938, and this number increased until only 8,102 Jews remained in Austria by the end of 1942. In addition, Heinrich Himmler supervised the construction of thirty-one concentration camps in Austria, starting with Mauthausen in March of 1938. Dr. Simon Wiesenthal has speculated that because of this massive execution system, Austria may have been responsible for the deaths of half the six million Jews executed.²⁸

Education and Employment

Schutz studied under the faculty of law and social sciences at the University of Vienna and at the Business School of the Institute for International Trade. He received his LL.D. from the University of Vienna in 1921 and continued postgraduate research in the fields of international law, sociology, economics, and philosophy. In later affidavits, he acknowledged that his mentors included Friedrich von Wieser and Ludwig von Mises in economics, Hans Kelsen and Alfred Verdross in international law, and Husserl in philosophy.²⁹

Schutz, as Kelsen's student, first met Mises when he appeared as one of the examiners for the economics examination requisite for a law degree, much to the surprise and discomfort of those to be tested, who were well aware of Mises's reputation for rigor. Hearing Schutz claim that he had read a book by John Bates Clark, Mises asked if he had read it in the English original or in German translation, and when he replied that he had read it in English, Mises applauded him, since there had been no German translation. Subsequently, Schutz's friend, Fritz Machlup, invited him to attend the meetings of Mises's private seminar, and he did so reluctantly, since he considered himself more of a sociologist than an economist. However, once Mises (who, Schutz believed, had consulted Kelsen about his—Schutz's—ability beforehand), assigned him to present topics, he came to enjoy the seminar and attended it regularly. The seminar was thoroughly interdisciplinary in character, with seminar members regularly presenting in areas other than their own discipline.³⁰

The Mises Circle was one of many Viennese "circles," another was the renowned "Vienna Circle" of Moritz Schlick, which counted among its participants Rudolf Carnap, Otto Nuerath, and Ludwig Wittgenstein. Mises had instituted his circle in 1922 to succeed one started by Carl Menger in the nineteenth century and carried on by Eugen von Bohm-Bäwerk from 1905 until 1914. In addition to this circle, Schutz was involved in the *Geistkreis*, an interdisciplinary group founded by Herbert Furth and Friedrich Hayek that numbered as participants several members of the Mises Circle (but not Mises himself). This circle had been criticized for not including women, in contrast to the Mises Circle, which reckoned several women among its members (e.g., Stephanie Braun-Browne, Mariann von Herzfeld, Helen Lieser-Berger, Gertrus Lovasy, and Ilse Mintz-Schüller). In the *Geistkreis*, which was predominately oriented to the humanities and social sciences, Schutz presented papers entitled "The Meaning of the Opera," "Theory of Music," "Theory of Language," "The Joke" (two lectures), and "Graphology."³¹

In the Mises Circle, he expounded on such topics as Max Weber's methodology, the economic thought of Wieser and Sombart, Scheler's approach to the social sciences, the I and the Thou, group soul and group spirit, and understanding and acting. Members of the seminar included the economists

Stephanie Braun-Browne, Walter Froehlich, Gottfried von Haberler (later to teach at Harvard), Friedrich A. von Hayek, Helene Lieser (secretary of the International Economic Association, Paris), Fritz Machlup, Ilse Mintz (later of Columbia University and the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York), and Oskar Morgenstern (a Princeton professor) who anticipated contemporary game theory; the philosopher Felix Kaufman; the political scientist Eric Voegelin; the historian Friedrich Engel von Janosi; the Viennese lawyer Emanuel Winternitz (eventually curator of the Musical Instrument Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York); and Paul Rosenstein-Rodan from the International Monetary Fund. The group met every two weeks on Friday at 7 p.m.; and, when it had completed its formal meeting at about 9:30 p.m., the members adjourned to an Italian restaurant known as the Green Anchor until about 11 p.m. Conversations went on after dinner in a nearby coffeehouse frequented by artists and university students. Machlup and Schutz would proceed to accompany Mises (who never left before 1 a.m.) to his home and then talk together until three or four in the morning.³²

The group was not all business, since in the Schutz archive one can find copies of various drinking songs that the group intoned with such regularity that the words were written down. The titles of such songs included “The Whole and the Parts,” “Pure Theory,” “Understanding (*Verstehen*) and Marginal Utility,” “The Marginal Utility School,” “Discussion Mises-Mayer,” “The Mises-Circle Song,” “Economics in Paradise,” “Departure of Professor Mises,” and “Lamentation Song of the Circle.” An excerpt from the “The Mises-Circle Song” is illustrative:

Dear Children
 since today is Friday
 There is a Mises-Private Seminar.
 One speaks never so beautifully in Vienna (*Wien*)
 about the economy, society, and meaning (*Sinn*). . .

Is the spirit at about ten o'clock of wisdom full (*voll*)?
 And does the stomach feel itself sad and empty (*leer*)?
 Soon it will receive its import duty (*Einführungszoll*),
 Since we are going to the Green Anchor (*Anker*).

There gaiety is our motto (*Motto*)
 Among spaghetti and risotto (*Risotto*).
 How time passes, no one would have thought (*gedacht*)
 Since all of a sudden it is already midnight (*Mitternacht*),
 And yet comes the most genial idea (*Idee*),
 One can now still go to the artists' cafe (*Künstlerkafee*).³³

One cannot overestimate the importance of the relationships formed and sustained within the Mises seminar for the future professional and personal lives of those involved. For example, Schutz, Kaufmann, Machlup, and Voegelin repeatedly encouraged each other and read and criticized each other's works, and Schutz once acknowledged that without Kaufmann he would not have been able to produce his major work, *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt*. Kaufmann, in a glowing review, described this book as constituting a significant advance in the theory of understanding the Other (*Fremdverstehens*), a foundational problem for the human (including social) sciences, and said that it went beyond the results achieved by Dilthey, Lipps, Spranger, Scheler, and many others. In addition, after the *Anschluss* and the forced emigration of several circle members to the United States, they managed to keep each apprised of each other's fate and to act on each other's behalf in whatever way possible. In their relationships, they also addressed mundane issues, inquiring, for instance, about stocks or the recovery of goods confiscated in Europe. Later, at Schutz's instigation, members of the circle would be able to come to the financial assistance of Walter Froehlich, whose wife's hospitalization after a fall had exhausted all his hospital insurance.³⁴

Schutz's relationship with Mises, in particular, remained significant throughout his life. Mises, as secretary for the Banking and Financial Department of the Viennese Chamber of Commerce, recommended Schutz for his first employment as secretary of a small bankers' organization. Schutz and Mises cooperated in assisting Viktor Stadler to emigrate from Austria, and Ilse Schutz thanked Mises for having intervened so "vehemently" to persuade her husband not to return to Austria after the *Anschluss*. Despite their friendship, Mises remained a private person, who, visiting Schutz's home only a few hours before Schutz's son was born on February 23, 1938, never mentioned to Ilse that he was to marry in a few days, even though at that time the marriage must have been completely planned. For his part, Schutz helped Mises emigrate by arranging his passage from Lisbon to the United States in 1940, notifying other circle members of his pending arrival, personally meeting him when his ship docked, and eventually serving as the sponsor for his naturalization. The Schutz and Mises families visited each other regularly, and personally Schutz always found his mentor brilliant and full of wit in repartee and conversation, especially in German. In Schutz's view, Mises was one of the best speakers he had ever known and an excellent, enthusiastic teacher, who could spark the interest even of those resistant to economics. In the end, Schutz felt that Mises was fully justified in feeling hurt that he had remained a dozent and had never been made a full professor, since Austrian law even before Hitler denied to any Jew full professorship (though Kelsen had achieved that academic rank through baptism).³⁵

Schutz's relationship with Hans Kelsen lacked the intensity of his connection with Mises. When asked by Marvin Farber to review an article touching on legal theory for *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Schutz did reminisce fondly about vigorous discussions with Felix Kaufmann and others in Kelsen's apartment in the early 1920s. However, upon reading Roscoe Pound's criticisms of Kelsen's pure theory of law, Schutz admitted to Farber that, although under Kelsen's influence earlier, he would have now sided more with Pound. Nevertheless, Schutz and Kelsen exchanged cordial letters when Schutz invited his mentor to review Pound's *Law and Social Control* and when Kelsen later appealed to Schutz for testimony on behalf of his naturalization process.³⁶

Another important friend at this time was the Japanese scholar Tomoo Otaka, who had worked with Hans Kelsen and Edmund Husserl and who regularly visited Schutz's Vienna home. According to Ilse Schutz, Alfred helped Otaka with difficulties with the German language, and Otaka returned the favor by helping finance the publication of *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt*, which Springer printed in 1932 along with Otaka's *Grundlegung der Lehre vom sozialen Verband*. Otaka had been motivated to write this book by the desire to protect the rationality of the state from irrational movements, to criticize justifications of the divine nature of Japanese emperors, and to advocate for the democratic values that, as shall be seen later, were dear to Schutz's own heart.³⁷

Although this discussion of Schutz's education has focused on the persons and practices involved in his theoretical development, he never abandoned the aesthetic interests of his youth, particularly literature, music, and poetry. In an interview, Ilse, commenting on his continuing interest in literature, claimed that he was capable of quoting by heart Goethe, Shakespeare, Johann Nepomuk Nestroy, and Karl Kraus, and she described his written studies on Goethe. She further recalled his love for music:

He played piano every night until about ten-thirty, when it was not allowed any more in order not to disturb the neighbors. We had a lot of chamber music in our house. He studied with them [those who came to play at Schutz's house] for a half a year trios and quartets; he had his violinist coming every Saturday afternoon, when they played violin sonatas, for eighteen years. I think he could have been without food all week long, but he couldn't have been without his Saturday afternoon violin sonatas. There was a flutist joining [them], who didn't do anything else but play the flute; my husband knew more about the flute literature than the flutist. And that happened with the cellist and others. He went to the library and copied scores[,] which were not even published. And then, after having practiced for

half a year, we invited a lot of friends as guests, and gave a wonderful concert afternoon, with all of them performing.³⁸

He coached various singers throughout the 1920s, evaluating their interpretations of scores, and he himself would have been able to become a polished pianist—his son George speculated years later—if his other activities would have allowed him the time.³⁹

Moreover, Schutz continued writing poetry. Among his personal papers, one can find a volume of plays and poems dated February 10, 1925, that contain poems such as “Quaker Religious Service” and a long poem entitled “To A Friend.” A lovely poem entitled “Venedig” (Venice), dated November 28, 1922, captures a melancholy about opportunities passed by. While a child might know nothing of such a melancholy, a young man deepened by experiences of war and facing the self-limiting choices of career and future lifestyle (marriage) would be keenly aware of it. Schutz wrote:

And so it is with all things
Which meet us on our way:
We think to grasp them, them to gain
And yet they are still so far off . . . and everything is illusion
And we, we glide by.

And it is always: On our way
One time someone comes, a man comes before us
Perhaps he could be. . . . And yet we are sad.
And we remain alone on our way
And we glide and glide by.⁴⁰

Schutz’s lifelong familiarity with different forms of literature, poetry, drama, and the novel became evident years later when in 1955 he delivered a lecture entitled “Sociological Aspect of Literature,” which addressed the sociological relations between reader and author in all these literary forms.⁴¹

Winternitz, in an essay in a memorial volume honoring Schutz, summarizes how important art was for him, beginning with their first encounter in the standing room section high up under the roof of the Vienna Opera House, each clutching his score of *The Abduction from the Seraglio*. In addition to possessing a comprehensive knowledge of French and German literature, Schutz, according to Winternitz, could become ecstatic before Giovanni Bellini’s *Pietà* or Rembrandt’s *Jewish Bride*. When it came to his deepest love, music, he was thoroughly familiar with the theory and history of music, and his interests extended from Pachelbel to Heinrich Schütz to Alban Berg’s *Wozzeck*. Winternitz continues:

He knew by heart J. S. Bach's Passions, most of his Cantatas and the Goldberg Variations; he was equally at home with Mozart's Masses and operas and the chamber music of Brahms. One of his special idols was Gluck; he knew every page of the standard treatises by Spitta, Schweizer, Chrysander, Jahn-Abert, and Thayer. He played the piano with little technique, but the form and emotional content were magically conjured up by his enthusiasm. We played four-hand music throughout all the years of our friendship, and though we often squabbled over Brahms's triplets or Bruckner's hemioles, his shining face and radiant pleasure and our ensuing arguments belong to my dearest memories. We often discussed the experience provided by music, and analyzed the nature of flow, succession and time and their relationship to Bergson's *durée*, and the musical structure as a model of the role and function of memory as creator of form and flux.⁴²

While later discussions will examine how Schutz intellectually engaged his mentors, it is important to consider his employment. According to Ilse, two months before his final law examination he was hired, with Mises's intervention, as executive secretary in the Association of Austrian Middle Banks. Schutz himself recorded in his various curricula vitae that in this position at the service of thirty-seven Austrian banks between 1921 and 1927, he acquired a general knowledge of the legal, financial, economic, and tax problems in Austria and the Central European countries. In that same time period, as a member of several committees, he counseled the Austrian government on pending legislation. In addition, he participated in negotiations relating to the formation of the Austrian national bank, to currency reform in Austria, and to the League of Nations loan to Austria, secured by Seipel.⁴³

In 1927, he was named executive officer of Reitler and Company, one of the leading Viennese private banking firms with international business relations. Reitler introduced Austrian shares at foreign stock exchanges; arranged and underwrote international loans for Austrian provinces, communities, and industries; financed exports and imports; and managed investments. At Reitler, Schutz supervised sixty people under Robert Lambert's supervision and gained a solid grasp of the legislation, economic situations, and industrial problems of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and Holland. Splitting his time from 1931 onward between Vienna and Paris, he served on boards of international corporations, including the Société de Pétroles Silva Plana, S.A., and reorganized the international brewery interests of R. Gaston, Dreyfus & Cie, and Heineken of Amsterdam in French, British, and Dutch colonies and Egypt and Palestine. In 1937, he visited the United States and Canada on business for several months and left a diary to be considered later. After the *Anschluss*, he continued working in Paris for R. Gaston-Dreyfus &

Cie, S.A., and he later joined with Emil Reitler, Lambert, and Paul Jeral in the United States as they financially advised former clients, pursued real estate interests, and undertook new industrial ventures in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. After the war, Schutz frequently traveled to Europe to reestablish old contacts and to attend to business interests. He was not only constantly busy, but his work was of the highest quality, as Emil Reitler testified in an affidavit for his 1943 civil service application. Reitler wrote: "Schutz has been employed for over seventeen years in various organizations under my and my associates' control in Austria and France, and since 1939 in the United States. He has always held executive positions of responsibility and enjoyed the full confidence of my associates and myself."⁴⁴

This account of Schutz's employment is from an objective viewpoint, based on public, official documents, but his subjective experience of this employment is revealed in his personal papers, especially letters to and from his wife. In the mid-1930s, Schutz found himself quite angry when, for instance, Robert Lambert demanded that he assume the company responsibilities at which others had failed. Lambert himself was a moody person, and Schutz dreaded business trips with him, often feeling discouraged in his dealings with him. Moreover, Lambert often sent him on unexpected trips, frustrating his expectations to spend time with his family or attend to academic duties. In addition, there were repeated conflicts with Lambert over salary, and Schutz often would prepare himself for salary discussions by poring over his figures with Ilse. When Lambert experienced difficulties arranging his passport and delayed his return to France in 1939, Schutz wrote Ilse, "I'm glad that at least in this respect we made ourselves independent of him." Ilse felt that Lambert took great advantage of her husband, and so she pressed Alfred to insist on his full vacation time so that they could plan vacations together. At one point, Paul Jeral confirmed for Ilse how Lambert mistreated Alfred. He admitted that time and time again he had cautioned Lambert about asking the impossible of Schutz; one day Lambert expected Schutz to use his own initiative and the next to be his mouthpiece. It comes as no surprise that Ilse in an interview much later would summarize in an understatement that Alfred "certainly did not love his other [nonacademic] profession." In spite of all these difficulties with Lambert, Schutz displayed great magnanimity in allowing Lambert to appoint him guardian of Lambert's illegitimate daughter, whom he would visit regularly.⁴⁵

Marriage and the Founding of a Family

Ilse Heim was born February 10, 1902, to Leopold Heim of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and Gisella Heim, born Frankl, in Vienna. Her father, who supplied the railway with lumber, moved his family to Sarajevo two years later, during the

construction of the transcontinental railway system. Ilse's parents sent their daughter to a nunnery school and even hired a tutor so that she and her younger brother Eric would learn German. When Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo, the Heims returned to Vienna, where Ilse enrolled in a *Mädchen Realgymnasium*, since girls could not attend the boys' gymnasium. In spite of her shyness, she did well at school, took piano lessons at a private institute, and developed an interest in the history of art that she would later pursue at the University of Vienna. Ilse's memories of her youth included hunger demonstrations during wartime and summer vacations in resort towns, where boys and girls—about ten to a group at a time—played tennis, bicycled, or climbed mountains. She had even dreamed that she would meet her future husband on top of a mountain, with him ascending from one side and she from the other.⁴⁶

In July 1920, she *did* meet her future husband on a mountain, when he, who had climbed the mountain—but on the same side as her group—joined her group to search for a lost wristwatch. Ilse was formally introduced to Alfred Schutz, who fell in love with her at first sight, but she feared that he might be too serious too soon and later confessed that “no fire was burning in me, even for years.” Their courtship, though, continued for years, with them meeting infrequently. Ilse sometimes refused to meet with him until a week after he had asked to see her, and she often marveled at his patience, “because he usually was very spoiled.” In Alfred's personal papers, there are signs of his persistence in numerous small envelopes containing his calling card with messages inscribed on the back. At times, though, Alfred grew weary of trying, and he expressed this weariness on an undated newspaper editorial that praised the greatness of a will committed to moral living beyond mere conventionality. He wrote, “I believe I won't marry Ilse. Why, were you not up to your ears in love? I was, but finally one gets fed up, hearing only 'no,' when one makes a proposal to her.” However, in 1923, they met again with others on vacation in the Swiss Alps, and the following summer they met in Aussee; and from then on their letters took on a decidedly intimate tone. Alfred commented, “I begin to test all my relations to things and people, profession, books, my spiritual direction, art, friends, women, prospects, meanings, truths, half-truths, and I order them anew.” He added, “I want to tidy up much rubble, to throw away much ballast, to free myself from superficial bonds of a personal and material type, in order to be free and light and ready for you.” Not surprisingly, they were engaged in 1924.⁴⁷

Ilse and Alfred finally married on March 28, 1926. For the occasion, Winternitz composed a romantic poem entitled “Poem with a Hyacinth Dedicated to the Schutz Married Couple.” Alfred, too, partook of the romanticism of the moment, writing from his office to thank Ilse for their beautiful days at Aussee (on a delayed honeymoon or merely summer vacation) and to wonder what they had done to deserve such happiness. The intensity of their

affection rendered the anonymity of everyday bourgeois life, criticized by the authors and artists of their time, all the more difficult to bear. To these sentiments, Alfred's letter gave voice: "And now I sit in this horrible (*grauslichen*) office in a horrible city and among horrible workers and I think of you, dear loved one, and the beautiful atmosphere that you know how to create."⁴⁸

The honeymoon never seemed to end, since the couple was able to sustain a high level of expressiveness throughout their marriage. Ilse observed about Alfred:

He could love so deeply as few other human beings could love. But not only in his heart and soul, he could also say it and express it in words, what [*sic*] I rarely could. There was rarely a day when he didn't tell me I was the only woman he ever could live with. For him I was high on a pedestal from the beginning to the end. His last words before he died were: "Even now you are wonderful."⁴⁹

Every birthday and every wedding anniversary day, he sent flowers and a card on which he would write "Behalt mich lieb," the expression that was inscribed on her engagement ring and that she translated as "Keep loving me." Nine years later, after meeting a colleague cheating on his wife, he would write her, "I thank the dear God every day that it is so pure and clear among us, that we can allow ourselves [to be together] without boring each other and to love without hurting each other."⁵⁰

After Ilse informed him that she was pregnant the first time, he wrote her a letter in which he deliberately embraced responsibility for his marriage and family, revealing clearly his own personal relevance-ranking:

The only content, the only totally clear and fulfilled hope of my life is our relationship—our child I include in this concept "our marriage." I have experienced many illusions in life . . . I have never experienced people to be as superfluous or as unsatisfying as I do now. I do not like my profession, as you know. Voegelin's book, the last theory of Kaufmann, the difficult (*schlechte*) book of Mises, and the heavy tome of Otaka with which I am occupied—all this has convinced me of the disvalue of such activity. I once thought of being a poet, another time a musician. I recognized these as illusions. Today I see wholly clearly and even peacefully that my scientific talent (*Begabung*) is *no* illusion. But also, that it, under the prevailing circumstances—at least then, if not generally—is meaningless, that is, to want to work scientifically, be it through lectures or publications. When I have completed these [book] reviews, I will cease work on these areas. You and the child will no more regularly be

confined to Sundays and holidays. I will study and think more systematically and intensively than before but without any goal orientation (e.g., publication). I want to divide up my week with a measured number of hours to be reserved for study—help me with this. I'd like to spend some measured time on music. You and the child will stand in the center; your needs will take precedence over mine, over all my projects under all circumstances. Help me to realize these plans.⁵¹

And give generously to their relationship Alfred did. They vacationed together to enjoy their mutual love of nature, mountains, and hiking; they regularly took excursions together on Sundays; and they socialized with the music group and members of the Mises Circle. Ilse showed herself continually appreciative of the fact that because of his responsibility for his family he continued working for the likes of Lambert and was unable to devote his life solely to philosophy and sociology.⁵²

By the same token, Ilse proved herself utterly generous. She discontinued work on her own dissertation to help him with his work, and she took the dictation of all his papers, at least until the invention of tape recorders, one of the first of which she gave him as a birthday present. Over a period of twelve years, he dictated the entire *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt* five or six times to her; she recorded it in shorthand, returned it to him for revisions, and retyped it. In addition, she patiently endured the many difficulties that any married couple face, such as, for instance, the fact that they had to live the first four years of their marriage with his parents until they obtained their first apartment in 1930. The *great* inconvenience in their marriage, though, had to do with his frequent absence from home because of business trips. On the basis of his letters, which indicate his absence from home, one can conclude that he was gone during (at least parts of) July 1929; October and November 1931; June and August 1932; September 1933; January and May 1934; and February, May, June, July, August, October, and November 1935. In 1936, he was on trips in April, June, July, August, September, and December; and in 1937 he took his already mentioned business trip to the United States from March 18 until May 12. In 1938, the year of the *Anschluss*, Schutz was apart from his wife, in what must have been an excruciating time, from early March (the *Anschluss* occurred on March 13) until June 12, when Ilse and the children arrived in Paris. He was also impelled to travel on business in July, August, September, and October 1938; and in May 1939, it was she who journeyed to the United States to prepare for their emigration there. In Alfred's absence, Ilse filled her life with various familial and cultural activities, from playing with the children to reading Dostoyevski. In brief, Ilse showed herself as generous as Alfred in taking responsibility for their marriage and in reacting with

strength and creativity to its inescapable diminishments, absences, and dissatisfactions. It is not shocking then, that she could sum up her relationship with Alfred in an interview twenty-two years after his death: “Our personal relationship was always a wonderful one, I had a very wonderful marriage, from the first minute to the last . . . ”⁵³