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F. A. HAYEK'S FAMILY AND THE VIENNA CIRCLES

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Bruce Caldwell and Hansjoerg Klausinger

Abstract:

This working paper – like its companion, Caldwell and Klausinger 2021 – grew out of the authors' joint work on *Hayek: A Life 1899–1950* (Caldwell and Klausinger 2022) and it contains material supplementing it. This paper examines the intellectual circles of fin-de-siècle Vienna in which the Hayek family moved and which therefore shaped Fritz's education. After looking at the academics within the Hayek family we turn towards the intellectual communities in which Friedrich's father, August von Hayek, participated. Here we focus on the various associations of biologists and botanists and on the so-called "Brunnwinkl community." We show that participation in these circles resulted in Fritz coming in close contact with future Nobel prize winners like Erwin Schrödinger, Karl von Frisch and Konrad Lorenz. Austrian School economists Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk and Friedrich von Wieser were also among the close friends of the Hayek family. Finally, we point out a link to Austria's early liberal women's movement.

Keywords: Friedrich Hayek, Juraschek, Wieser, Böhm-Bawerk, Schrödinger, Exner, Vienna, Brunnwinkl, liberalism, Austrian women's movement.

Apart from the hereditary relationships that made it members of the “second society” the Hayek family also was very much a part of the intelligentsia, those with a doctorate or some other advanced academic degree. Herbert Furth’s comment that in Vienna “‘everybody’ knew ‘everybody’ else” (letter, Furth to Haberler, May 11, 1984, GHP 14.Haag) is fully confirmed by a further look at the Hayek family’s genealogical links and at the academic and social circles in which they moved.¹

Family and Friends: Mostly Academics

Hayek himself often emphasized that he had been in touch with academic circles since his earliest days.² Similarly, when applying for a chair in anatomy at the University of Vienna in 1952, his brother Heinz in his curriculum vita pointed to his descent from a family of university professors.³ In the first instance these references were certainly to their father August von Hayek, the grandfather Franz von Juraschek, and possibly the great-grandfather Alois Pokorny.⁴

Yet many of Fritz’s uncles and aunts had academic connections, too. On the mother’s side, after Felicitas the next of the Juraschek siblings to marry was Margarete in 1909. Her husband was Eduard Castle (1875–1959), who in a short first marriage had lost both his wife and his son.⁵ From the marriage between Eduard and Margarete Castle descended six daughters, of whom two died during childhood; the four surviving children all became academics. Eduard Castle had acquired a doctorate at the University of Vienna in philology

¹ Despite Furth’s claim about “everybody,” this group of many “interlocking circles” (Craver 2012) of course constituted only a very small part of the population.

² See e.g., Bartley n.d., 3; this is a collection of material for Hayek’s biography, titled “Inductive Base,” henceforth cited as IB.

³ See AUW, Med PA 189 (personal file Heinrich Hayek).

⁴ For their academic credentials see Caldwell and Klausinger 2021.

⁵ On Castle see Meister 1960, Haider-Pregler 2005, 145ff., Schmidt-Dengler 2005, 212ff., and ÖStA, AdR, ZNSZ, Gauakt Eduard Castle; see also the item Castle in ÖStA, HHStA SB Partezettelsammlung.

and history, and from 1901 onwards he earned his living as a teacher – for some years only part-time in order to pursue his research interests – at the Franz-Joseph-Realgymnasium, the very school that would be attended by the Hayek brothers, Fritz, Heinz, and Erich. In 1907 his habilitation in modern German philology was accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy – one more case of a Gymnasium teacher who aspired to an academic career. Yet it was not until 1923 that the ministry, against some resistance from the faculty, appointed him to an extraordinary professorship at the University of Vienna. Castle abandoned his job as Gymnasium teacher for the university position, though the gain in reputation had to be paid for by a loss in remuneration. In the 1930s his main accomplishment was the edition of two volumes of a monumental history of German-Austrian literature, stretching from 1848 to 1918 (Castle 1935/1937). His emphasis on the specific Austrian nature of the literature surveyed was ill-suited to elicit applause from a faculty whose majority leant towards pan-German ideas. Therefore his hopes for a chair of a full professor were disappointed throughout the 1930s. Still worse, after the Anschluss he was retired compulsorily for political reasons as the National Socialist offices in question found him either too much of a liberal or too faithful a Catholic to be trusted.

In 1913 Margarete's sister Gertrud married Wilhelm Mathäus Schmidt (born 1883). His father, Wilhelm Schmidt (1843–1924), a lecturer in geography at the University of Graz, worked as teacher first in Graz, then at the Elisabeth-Gymnasium in Vienna, before retiring 1907. His son studied mathematics and physics at the University of Vienna, where his habilitation in physics was approved in 1911. From 1919 onwards he taught meteorology and climatology at the Vienna Hochschule für Bodenkultur (now University for Natural Resources and Life Sciences), first as an extraordinary, then from 1923 as a full professor. In 1930 he was appointed to a chair at the University of Vienna, at the same time succeeding Felix Exner as the director of the Central Institute for Meteorology and Geodynamics (ZAMG), where he

kept to the tradition of the so-called Vienna School of Meteorology.⁶ He died of a stroke in 1936, leaving a wife and two children.

The only male offspring of the Juraschek family, Franz junior (1895–1959), studied art history in Vienna and earned his doctorate in 1918.⁷ In 1919 he married the Innsbruck-born Maria Micheluzzi (born 1890); their only son Franz Josef Otto (born 1930) had Down syndrome and was in need of life-long care. Franz Juraschek worked at the Vienna office for the preservation of monuments from 1915 to 1923, with a short interruption for military service. In 1924 he initiated the buyout and became director of a small publishing house, the Krystall-Verlag, which specialized in art books and lyric poetry. Jointly with Eduard Castle he edited the journal *Belvedere*. When the Nazis occupied Austria, he had to dissolve the publishing house, although not before publishing a *Bekenntnisbuch österreichischer Dichter*, a book of commitment of Austrian poets to Hitler's Germany (Bund deutscher Schriftsteller 1938). He was appointed conservator for Upper Austria in 1939, yet his application in February 1938 for membership in the NSDAP was not accepted. After the war and a light process of denazification, he continued his work as a conservator. In 1953 he acquired the *venia legendi* for Christian art history at the Theological Faculty of the University of Salzburg.

Finally there is Felicitas' sister Beate, one year her junior, whose life followed its own distinct path – as Felicitas once put it to Fritz, Beate chose “to live in beauty as much as she can” (letter, Felicitas to Fritz, 1945, undated, FAHP 173.1). After attending the same school as Felicitas, she remained single until the age of 50, living with her step-mother, Ida von Juraschek. After the First World War she befriended Karl Petraschek, born in 1846, who after

⁶ See Coen 2011, 287–88.

⁷ On Franz Juraschek junior see ÖStA, AdR, ZNSZ, Gauakt Franz Juraschek and the obituary in *Österreichische Hochschulzeitung*, Dec 15, 1959. On his activity as a publisher see Hall 1985 (entry Krystall-Verlag).

having worked at the Forestry Research Center at Mariabrunn, just outside Vienna, and from 1887 a member of the k.u.k. Ministry of Finance in charge of the forests of Bosnia-Herzegovina, had retired in 1909.⁸ He moved to Munich in 1919, where his son Karl Otto Petraschek (1876–1950) was a lecturer for philosophy of law at the University of Munich. In the early 1920s Beate also spent most of her time in Munich, close to Petraschek and the Munich branch of the Hayek family. She did not marry Karl Petraschek until 1926, when he was 80 years old. When her husband died two years later she returned to Vienna, living for a time with Felicitas.

Apparently, she had been writing novels for some time, yet it in the early 1930s that one of her works found a publisher: The novel *Einsame Blume* (Lonely Flower) (Petraschek 1932) was characterized by a reviewer in a Viennese daily characterized as “a lyrical book, especially recommended to women” (*Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, July 21, 1933, 5). She continued writing albeit with little success: numerous unpublished typescripts, mostly of short novels, have been preserved in the papers of Eduard Castle, her brother-in-law.⁹

In November 1936 Beate entered into another short-lived marriage with an older husband, this time with Ludwig Reitz-Brachelli.¹⁰ Born 1854 as Ludwig Reitz in Budapest, he had become a high-ranking officer of the Austrian army and retired from the position of the town major for the City of Vienna, with the rank of a deputy field marshal, in 1912. His first marriage had been to Helene von Brachelli (1863–1917), the daughter of the statistician Hugo Franz von Brachelli, a colleague of Beate’s father, Franz von Juraschek; after the death of his first wife Ludwig Reitz added her surname to his own. By the time he married Beate, Reitz-

⁸ On Petraschek see the obituary Jugoviz 1928.

⁹ See Nachlass Eduard Castle, at the Vienna City Library.

¹⁰ On Reitz-Brachelli see his papers preserved in ÖStA, KA, Nachlass Reitz-Brachelli.

Brachelli (called “the excellency” by Felicitas) was probably rather sickly and in need of care. He died in January 1937, just three months later.

On the father’s side there was “Uncle Paul,” Paul von Hayek (1875–1947), August’s brother. After his doctorate in law Paul entered the judiciary and worked as a district judge at various places outside Vienna (in Wels, Retz and Eggenburg). In 1908 he married Stephanie (“Stephie”) (1881–1947), the daughter of Karl Alois Löbl Edler von Laminzfeld (1851–1921), who in 1912 retired from the Austrian army with the rank of major general. In 1916 Paul returned to Vienna. His career peaked when in 1930 he was appointed judge of the Vienna Court of Appeals, which is a level just below the Austrian Supreme Court. He retired in 1938.

Among the Hayeks’ closest friends, of paramount importance for Fritz (due to his contacts with their son Walter) was the family of Julius and Helene Magg. The most prominent ancestor of the Magg family was the lawyer and politician Julius Magg (1837–1914), Walter’s grandfather.¹¹ His career may be taken as a symbol of the (short-lived) rise and (ultimate) fall of Austrian liberalism. Julius had been a member of the Diet of Lower Austria (of which then the capital Vienna was a part) from 1871 to 1896, and of the Austrian (i.e. Cisleithanian) parliament, the Reichsrat, from 1876 to 1891. It was a peculiarity of the Austrian electoral law that Magg, who lived and worked in Vienna, represented a constituency of which he was not a resident. In the Diet he was elected by the urban curia of the small Lower Austrian towns Neunkirchen, Ebenfurth and Pottenbrunn, and in the Reichsrat he had first been delegated by the Chamber of Commerce of Graz, then by the Styrian towns Leibnitz and Radkersburg. As a life-long adherent to liberalism as it had been

¹¹ On the Magg family see also the death notices in the *Neue Freie Presse* for Gustav (June 24, 1909) and Nelly Magg (Mar 27, 1923), and her sons Walter (Nov 8, 1917) and Hans (Sept 2, 1931), as well as Herbert Magg’s mother-in-law Helene Lecher (Apr 10, 1929); on Julius Magg see also the obituary by Ernst von Plener, in *Neue Freie Presse*, Nov 17, 1914.

understood during the short period of the reign of the Liberal Party, he was active in advocating many of its causes. He had been a founding member in 1880 of the Deutscher Schulverein, which defended the Austrian system of education against clerical influence, participated in the more radical Verein Freie Schule (Free School Movement) and also – like Anton Menger, the brother of Carl – in the Deutscher Reformclub, described as a melting pot of all German progressive parties. Moreover, he was a member of the Protestant church, indeed President of the Association of Evangelical Believers, a somewhat awkward position in predominantly Catholic Austria – after questioning in public the Austrian monarchy’s base in Catholicism the association had been on the brink of compulsory suspension in 1899. Julius Magg also acquired some fame for coining the term “Fortwursteln” (“muddling through”) to describe the reign of the long-lived conservative cabinet of Eduard Taaffe, a term still in currency in Austria today. Towards the end of the 19th century Austrian politics were changing, and the eventual decline of the old liberals corresponded to the ascent of German nationalist and anti-Semitic parties. In order to save – for one last period – his seat in the Diet for the liberal party, Magg in 1896 resigned in favor of a resident candidate. After the end of his political career he practiced law, the profession from which he retired in 1909. As a final act of appreciation for his work he was elected in 1905 to the Staatsgerichtshof, the Constitutional Court of Cisleithania, a mostly honorary office as the court lacked any authority in practice.

Not much is known about Julius Magg’s private life, though we know that he was married twice. Gustav Magg (born 1871) was the son from his first wife, who died in 1873; his second marriage yielded four children, three sons (Paul, Wolfgang and Julius) and a daughter (Berta). Of these the most outstanding career was certainly that of Julius Magg Junior (1884–1931). After studying at the Vienna Technische Hochschule (Vienna University

of Technology), he specialized in the research on diesel engines and in 1920 was appointed to a chair at the Technische Hochschule in Graz.

The crucial link to the Hayek family was the first son Gustav Magg. He followed his father's profession, studying law in Vienna, later practicing law and holding an office in the Lawyers' Chamber of Lower Austria. He was also a highly regarded tennis player, serving as the president of the WAC (for Wiener Athletiksport-Club), a prestigious Viennese sports club. Shortly before his death he worked towards founding an Austrian Olympic Committee (see Menzel 2013).

On December 8, 1896, Gustav Magg married Helene ("Nelly") von Hohenbruck (born 1875) in the Vienna Dorotheerkirche, the main evangelical church of Vienna. Helene's father was Arthur Baron von Hohenbruck (1837–1902), a high civil servant in the Austrian Ministry for Agriculture. His wife Prisca (1845–1924), whom he had married in 1865, descended from the Viennese Hornbostel dynasty. Prisca's mother, Helene von Hornbostel, was an early advocate of women's rights. She was a founding member and the first President in 1866/67 of the Vienna Frauenerwerbsverein, which was pivotal in founding in 1871 a new type of school for girls, called Mädchen-Lyzeum.¹²

Nelly accordingly attended the Mädchen-Lyzeum of the Verein at Rahlgasse in Vienna's sixth district. She entered school in 1885/86, and two years later in 1887 was joined by the two Juraschek sisters. Nelly and Felicitas von Juraschek were pupils of the third class, the younger sister Beate of the second. The lists published in the annual reports (*Jahresberichte*) show that its female pupils originated mainly from families of the Vienna bourgeoisie, with a disproportionate share of the girls of Jewish origin. An example is Elsa Cronbach, who later in life earned a doctorate in law in Germany and before 1914 participated

¹² More on female education and the women's movement below.

with Ludwig von Mises in an economics discussion group that became a nucleus of the famous “circles” of interwar Vienna (see Hülsmann 2007, 184). Both Nelly and Felicitas completed school in 1891 and from then on remained close friends. After Felicitas’ marriage to August von Hayek in 1898 these close contacts extended to the Hayek family, too.

Nelly had four children with Gustav, Walter (born 1897), Herbert (1900), Hans (1905) and Helene (n.a.). When her husband died in 1909, a friend of the family, the lawyer Hans Adler, was appointed as the children’s guardian; at the time women were barred from exercising guardianship. As a modest sign of their wealth the Magg family owned a house in the countryside, in Miesenbach in the Piestingtal (Lower Austria). The location was at a suitable distance from Vienna so that when the rest of the family spent the summer there, the father could work during the week in Vienna then join the family at the weekend – a common practice among the better off. Members of the Hayek family were often guests in Miesenbach and spent part of many Easter and summer vacations there (IB 14).

The Magg family also provides another example of the intricate, and often surprising, connections inside the Vienna academic milieu. In the 1920s Nelly’s son Herbert Magg was to marry Grete Lecher (ca. 1899–1967), the daughter of Ernst Lecher (1865–1926) and Helene, née von Rosthorn (1865–1929). Helene was the daughter of a wealthy industrialist and devoted herself during and after the war to activities of child care, financially supported by the Wittgenstein family (H. Wittgenstein 2015, 348-49). Of her brothers, Alfons von Rosthorn (1857–1909) studied under the famous physician Theodor Billroth and became professor of gynecology, and Arthur (1862–1945), a sinologist, Austria’s ambassador to China before the war. The father Ernst Lecher was professor of physics, first appointed at Innsbruck in 1891, then in 1895 at the University of Prague as the successor to the chair held by Ernst Mach, and eventually in 1909 at Vienna. Ernst’s father was the journalist, first editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* and co-founder of the Viennese journalists’ association Concordia,

Zacharias Konrad Lecher (1829–1905). A sister of Ernst, Emma Lecher (1859–1936), in 1885 married the physician Adolf Lorenz (1854–1946), a world-famous orthopedist. The second son from this marriage was baptized, in memory of his maternal grandfather, Konrad Zacharias Lorenz (born 1903). Thus, it turns out that the future Nobel prize-winner Konrad Lorenz was a cousin of Grete Magg, the wife of one of Friedrich Hayek’s friends of his youth.¹³

Biologists and Botanists

The relationship with Nelly Magg and the circumstantial contacts with Konrad Lorenz are but one example of the Hayek family’s being embedded within a tight network of primarily academic associations and circles. The wide horizon of Fritz’s early experiences in this regard is demonstrated by the host of names of prominent figures that he counted among his family’s acquaintances. Such a non-exhaustive list would include the economists Friedrich von Wieser and Eugen Böhm von Bawerk, the future Nobel prize laureates Karl von Frisch, Konrad Lorenz, and Erwin Schrödinger and their respective families, the biologists Richard von Wettstein (and his sons), Othenio Abel, Armin and Erich Tschermak von Seysenegg, and Ludwig von Bertalanffy, and the physicists Ernst Lecher and Gustav Jäger. It could be supplemented by important figures from the fields of medicine, art, and the women’s movement, though not all are mentioned explicitly by him as contributing to the stimulating atmosphere in which he grew up.

The family’s affinity to biology began with the older generations. Grandfather Gustav von Hayek as well as maternal step-great-grandfather Alois Pokorny taught biology at Viennese Gymnasiums; Pokorny and Fritz’s father August acquired lectureships at the

¹³ On Konrad Lorenz see in particular Taschwer and Föger 2003.

University of Vienna for the very same field, plant geography.¹⁴ Throughout their lives all three were affiliated members of, and elected into positions in, various scientific associations. Gustav's early activities concentrated on ornithology.¹⁵ In addition, he and Pokorny were members of the Verein zur Verbreitung naturwissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse (Association for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge), where they presented and published (in its *Schriften*) numerous contributions, especially between 1862 and 1869, and 1878 and 1887, respectively.¹⁶ The hiatus of almost ten years resulted from frictions that led to a temporary split in the Verein – Hayek, Pokorny and the whole scientific board left after having been defeated on the question of whether entrance to the presentations should be free – they were in favor although space was almost always scarce (Müllner 1960, 25–26). Later on, from 1920 to 1931, the physicist Gustav Jäger was the Verein's president. At the Zoologisch-Botanische Gesellschaft (the Austrian Society for Zoology and Botany), Pokorny was a founding member, and in 1866 vice-president, as was August von Hayek one generation later, a member since 1898 and vice-president in 1922. Both published heavily in the society's journal (*Verhandlungen*, now *Acta ZooBot Austria*) and in *Österreichische Botanische Zeitschrift* (*ÖBZ*, now *Plant Systematics and Evolution*). August von Hayek also contributed to the journals of the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein der Universität Wien, which had elected him for president in 1903, and the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein für Steiermark (that is, the Scientific Associations of the University of Vienna and for Styria, respectively), the latter mirroring the focus of his research on the plant geography of Styria (A. von Hayek 1908–56).

Fritz's contact with important botanists and biologists derived not solely from his father's presence in the above-mentioned associations. Still more important, especially in their impact on the young Fritz, were the informal meetings of botanists, the "floristischen

¹⁴ On Alois Pokorny see Burgerstein 1887 and Castle 1936, Dec 25.

¹⁵ See Caldwell and Klausinger 2021.

¹⁶ Their contributions in the various journals can be accessed through Zobodat (www.zobodat.at).

Zusammenkünfte” (Vierhapper 1929, 138), taking place from 1913 every other Thursday in his father’s residence. Botanist visitors might also have been attracted by August von Hayek’s comprehensive library and one of the biggest private herbariums – now located at the University of Gothenburg (Hayek 1983b, 7).

Certainly, the most prominent among August von Hayek’s botanist teachers and friends was Richard Wettstein von Westersheim (1863–1931).¹⁷ He studied science and medicine in Vienna, earning his doctorate in 1884. Afterwards he worked as an assistant to the chair of botany occupied by Anton Kerner von Marilaun, whose daughter Adele he married in 1890. Having acquired a *venia legendi* for botany in 1886, he was called to a full professor’s chair at the University of Prague in 1892, where he taught until 1899, when he returned to Vienna in order to succeed Kerner. He was elected Rector of the University for 1913/14. His main field of research was plant systematics. A member since 1883, he was elected president of the *ZBG* in 1901 and remained in this position until 1919. From 1892 to his death in 1931 he edited the *ÖBZ*. Janchen (1933, 184) in his obituary counted August von Hayek among Wettstein’s pupils.

Of his three sons, the zoologist Otto (1892–1967), the botanist Fritz (1895–1945), and the agricultural scientist Wolfgang (1898–1984), Fritz von Wettstein had the closest contacts with the Hayek family. Fritz Hayek’s senior by four years, he attended the Franz-Joseph-Realgymnasium in the same class as Fritz’s uncle Franz von Juraschek when Fritz spent there his first two years. At the time we know from a letter (Dec 14, 1912, FAHP) that Fritz negotiated with him an exchange of items from their respective botany collections. After the war Fritz Wettstein pursued an academic career that soon led him to emigrate to the German Reich where he taught at Göttingen, Munich, and Berlin, and finally in 1934, when it was

¹⁷ See the obituary, Janchen 1933.

already under Nazi rule, became director of the biology section of the Kaiser Wilhelm-Institut (the predecessor of the Max Planck Society).

Another intimate friend of the family was Othenio Abel (1875–1946).¹⁸ Hayek (IB 3, 15, 18–19) refers to him as a frequent visitor at dancing parties at the Jurascheks. There he is said to have met his future wife, Friederike Dengg, allegedly a school mate of Felicitas (although this cannot be confirmed from the available school records). Furthermore, Abel was a regular visitor (or host in his villa at Mondsee) and a companion on hiking tours when the Hayek family lived at the Salzkammergut during their summer vacations (see e.g., letters, Felicitas to Fritz, Aug 15, 1917, FAHP 172.7, and August to Fritz, Aug 24, 1918, FAHP 172.2). At the beginning of his career, until 1900, Abel focused on botany, becoming a member of the *ZBG* and befriending Richard von Wettstein and August von Hayek. In 1897 Abel named a nigritella orchid after Wettstein (“*Gymnadenia Wettsteiniana*”) and in 1898 Hayek an orchid-hybrid after Abel (“*Gymnadenia Abelii*”). However, Abel changed his focus towards paleontology and paleobiology, the field for which he was eventually appointed to a chair at the University of Vienna in 1917.

Other participants at the Juraschek dancing parties, and thus friends of the family, were the brothers Erich and Armin Tschermak von Seysenegg.¹⁹ Armin (1870–1952) was a physiologist, professor at the Vienna University of Veterinary Sciences and later in Prague. Erich (1872–1962) was an agronomist teaching plant breeding at the Vienna Bodenkultur from 1909 to 1944 and was regarded as the most important of its professors in the interwar period. His main accomplishment was his independent rediscovery in 1900 of Mendel’s laws of genetics, a topic on which he – and, Hayek remembered, also Mendel’s biographer Hugo Iltis – presented papers before the *ZBG*. Just as Abel stimulated Fritz’s engagement with

¹⁸ See Svojtka 2011.

¹⁹ IB 3. See Tschermak-Seysenegg 1951 and Hänsel 1962.

paleobiology, so Tschermak roused his interest in genetics and, in a wider sense, evolutionary biology.

The link between Friedrich Hayek and the Nobel prize winner in physics Erwin Schrödinger (1887–1961) was established by his father Rudolf Schrödinger (1857–1919).²⁰ Although in his civil occupation an industrialist and merchant, Rudolf's heart belonged to science. He started studying botany sometime after 1900, becoming a member of the ZBG, its general secretary in 1913, and vice-president in 1917; his obituary characterized him as “the administrative soul of our society” (Handlirsch 1921, 35). Fritz recollected his presence at the botanists' evenings at his father's home. After the war Erwin Schrödinger responding to a letter by Friedrich Hayek reminisced: “Naturally, when I read the name at the envelope, some old pictures immediately turned up ... of your father and mine, of the ‘Zoo-Bo’ and of the Juraschek circle” (Feb 2, 1945, FAHP 48.37).

Brunnwinkl and the Exner-Frisch Community

Brunnwinkl is a small hamlet, just a few houses, a part of the municipality of St. Gilgen on the shores of the Wolfgangsee, a lake in Upper Austria. The lake district to which it belongs, which stretches over the Austrian provinces of Upper Austria, Salzburg and Styria, is called Salzkammergut, indicating both the existence of salt mines and their running, during the monarchy, by an Imperial Chamber (“Kammer”). At the time the region was famous as a summer resort for the well-to-do, and the fact that in summer the Emperor Franz Joseph regularly resided at Bad Ischl enhanced its attraction. In order to understand how Brunnwinkl could become the center of an important scientific community, a look at the history of its inhabitants, the Exner and Frisch families, is indispensable.²¹

²⁰ See Handlirsch 1921; see also Moore 1989, especially 114–16.

²¹ For reminiscences of the Brunnwinkl community see H. Frisch 1931 and K. von Frisch 1973, 1980; see also Coen 2011 and Munz 2016.

The philosopher and school reformer Franz Exner (1802–1853) was the founder of a veritable dynasty of scientists. He taught from 1831 to 1848 at the University of Prague, where he developed a specifically liberal approach that contrasted with the Hegelian teachings then ruling German universities. After returning to Vienna, he took a leading position at the Ministry of Education in creating and instituting the Thun-Hohenstein school reform. The reform, executed between 1848 and 1853, not only shaped the system of secondary education, especially of the Gymnasium, for a long time, it also freed university teaching from the Catholic church's control and introduced the principle of academic freedom in Austrian universities.

After his early death Franz Exner left his widow, Charlotte Exner, née Dusensy (1814–1859), with five children, four sons and one daughter. All the sons became professors at Austrian universities. The eldest son Adolf (1841–1894), a jurist, taught first in Zurich and then from 1872 in Vienna, where in the 1891/92 academic year he was elected Rector of the University of Vienna. Adolf's son Franz (1881–1947) specialized in the field of criminal law and occupied chairs at Czernowitz, Prague, Tübingen, Leipzig, and from 1933, Munich. In 1910 Franz had married Marianne Wieser (1888–1920), the daughter of the economist Friedrich von Wieser, a leading member of the second generation of the Austrian school. The dynasty's founder's second eldest son Karl (1842–1914) started as a Gymnasium teacher; after his habilitation in Vienna he was appointed in 1894 to a chair for mathematical physics in Innsbruck. The third son Sigmund (1846–1926) studied medicine and in 1891 became professor of physiology in Vienna. His wife's Emilie, née von Winiwarter (1841–1906), writings were devoted to the problems of the education and labor force participation of women. Their son Felix Exner (1876–1930) is considered the founder of the statistically-based approach of the "Vienna school of meteorology" – to which, as we have seen, Fritz's uncle Wilhelm Schmidt also belonged. Franz's youngest son Franz Seraphim (1849–1926)

was appointed to a chair of the Chemist-Physicist (later on: the Second Physicist) Institute of the University of Vienna; he is best known for his contributions to color theory. In his inaugural lecture as the university's Rector in 1908 he offered a staunch defense of academic freedom in face of the turmoil caused by the so-called Wahrmond affair, which concerned the removal of an Innsbruck theologian from the faculty for his undue criticism of the Catholic clergy.²²

The only daughter of Franz and Charlotte Exner, Marie (1844–1925), became the wife of the physician Anton von Frisch (1849–1917), a marriage from which another dynasty of scientists descended. Of the four sons Hans von Frisch (1875–1941) was appointed professor of the state sciences at the Vienna Technische Hochschule; professor of medicine Otto von Frisch (1877–1956) worked as a surgeon and then as director at the Vienna Rudolfinerhaus hospital; and Ernst von Frisch (1878–1950) became a librarian in Salzburg. The son who rose to the utmost prominence, becoming known as the “bee Frisch,” was Karl von Frisch (1886–1982), a zoologist, who jointly with Konrad Lorenz and Nikolaas Tinbergen received the 1973 Nobel Prize in Medicine.

The crucial moment for the formation of the Brunnwinkl community must have been Marie von Frisch's decision in 1881 to purchase one of the existing buildings for the family's summer resort. With successive purchases, by 1900 the estate extended to five houses, and served as the summer residence for the Exner and Frisch families and their relatives. Some of the houses were rented for the summer by friends of the family, and some were occupied on a short term by other guests.²³ Nearby the famous surgeon and professor of medicine at the University of Vienna, Theodor Billroth (1829–1894) – Karl von Frisch had been his assistant for some time – built a country mansion (Sommervilla) in 1884, which also proved an

²² See Caldwell and Klausinger 2022, chapter 7.

²³ See the list in H. Frisch 1931, 42–43, on which the following is based.

attraction for guests from the Vienna intelligentsia. Brunnwinkl even got its own train station, named “Billroth,” on the newly constructed local railway to Salzburg. Guests who spent one or more summers at Brunnwinkl, included, for example, the sculptor Carl Kundmann with his four daughters, the musicologist Guido Adler, the economist Friedrich Wieser (who died there on July 22, 1926), the industrialist Max Friedmann, and members of the Rosthorn family, in particular the gynecologist and pupil of Billroth, Alfons von Rosthorn. The Vienna physics professor Gustav Jäger (1865–1938) also spent his summers at St. Gilgen in a newly constructed villa and had close contacts with the Brunnwinkl community. His wife Hertha (1879–1970) was the daughter of Carl Mautner von Markhof, a member of a Jewish brewery dynasty, and Editha Baroness von Sunstenu. ²⁴ Another regular visitor was the poet Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach. With all these links the Brunnwinkl community became the model of what has been called a “third place” (see, e.g., Streeten [1986] 1989, 91), something besides the home and workplace, for eliciting fruitful intellectual discussion and debate.

So how does all this fit into the Hayek family history? There is of course the genealogical link – Friedrich Hayek ([1970] 2004, 16n.) could trace a line from the common ancestor with the Bitterlich family, Anton von Bergenstamm, four more generations backwards to arrive at one Thomas von Reherzheimer who, on the eve of the 17th century, was said to have been the founder of the Brunnwinkl hamlet. But there existed also more recent connections. First, Hayek referred to his father’s friendship with the older Frisch brothers, Hans and Otto. ²⁵ He also reported that his father, when twenty years old, had courted Laura Kundmann (born 1876), the third of four daughters of the sculptor Carl Kundmann, at Brunnwinkl, which would fit with the Kundmann family’s presence there in summer 1890 or later. ²⁶ The friendship apparently lasted up to and beyond Carl Kundmann’s death – August

²⁴ On Gustav Jäger see in particular the entry in Angetter and Martischinig, eds. 2005.

²⁵ See e.g., Hayek 1983, 403, and letter, Friedrich Hayek to Karl von Frisch, July 20, 1981, FAHP 22.20.

²⁶ See K. von Frisch 1931, 42–43. On the Kundmann family see Beier 1994.

congratulated him on his 70th birthday in a letter,²⁷ and in New York Fritz (letter to family, Jan 17, 1924)²⁸ wondered teasingly why another Kundmann daughter Tina (Christina) was treated like a family member. Friedrich Hayek also remembered several visits of his own to Brunnwinkl: among them one in 1912 with his father, his brothers and Helene Bitterlich. In the 1920s Fritz often spent a few days of his summer vacations there, meeting among others Friedrich Wieser and Hilde, the daughter of the Jäger couple.

The Economists

Fritz's early affiliation with two of the leading members of the Austrian school of economics derived from the time that his grandfather Franz von Juraschek spent as professor in Innsbruck. His occupying a chair for statistics and constitutional law 1883–1887 overlapped with Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk's time there in an economics chair, 1881–1889. The relationship between Juraschek and Böhm went beyond the professional, extending to joint excursions in the Alps. Their friendship continued after both had returned to Vienna, as witnessed by the young Fritz: "I happened to know him [Böhm-Bawerk] as a friend of my grandfather and a former colleague at [the University of] Innsbruck, and as a mountaineering companion of my grandfather's" (Hayek 1983a, 248, see also IB 11). Böhm-Bawerk (1851–1914) was both a personal friend and the brother-in-law of the other leading figure of the second generation of the Austrian school, Friedrich von Wieser (1851–1926). In 1880 Böhm had married Wieser's sister Paula (1856–1928), who became a motherly friend of Fritz's mother Felicitas (Hayek 1994, 57). It was probably through this connection that at the time of his study at the University of Vienna Fritz also developed a relationship to Friedrich Wieser that went beyond that between teacher and pupil (see Hayek 1983a, 403). In any case,

²⁷ The autograph of the congratulation letter, August von Hayek to Karl Kundmann, June 14, 1918, is preserved in Nachlass Kundmann at Vienna City Library.

²⁸ The copy is in possession of Richard Zundritsch, who generously granted us access to Fritz's letters from New York.

after Böhm's death in 1914 there are numerous references in the family correspondence to Paula, his widow, called "Excellency Böhm."

The Austrian Women's Movement

A connection that at first glance may come as a surprise is that to the liberal strand of the Austrian women's movement.²⁹ With the beginning of the liberal era in Austrian politics in the last third of the 19th century, associations addressing the question of women's rights gradually came into existence.³⁰ In the monarchy this development was severely restricted by the prohibition of women's membership in "political" associations – an obstacle the new associations had to circumvent. The two most important ones were the Wiener Frauenerwerbsverein and the Verein für erweiterte Frauenbildung, founded in 1866 and 1888, and dedicated to the furthering of the gainful employment and extended education of women, respectively; they eventually merged in 1915. The former represented a moderate position, advocating female participation in the labor market but primarily in those fields thought suitable to the nature of women, that is, education, care and pharmacy. In its founding years the Frauenerwerbsverein was directed by Helene von Hornbostel. Her daughter Prisca von Hohenbruck – the mother of Felicitas's friend Nelly Magg – acted as the Verein's president from 1897–1901 and again in 1906–09, replaced in the intervening 1901–06 period by Emilie Exner, the wife of Sigmund Exner. The merger with the Verein für erweiterte Frauenbildung in 1915 took place under the presidency of Editha Mautner von Markhof, the mother of Hertha Jäger. Of the leading figures of the Austrian women's movement two more must be mentioned: Marianne Hainisch (1839–1936), the mother of the future President of the First Republic Michael Hainisch, and Ernestine von Fürth, the mother of Herbert Fürth – who was

²⁹ For sources on the Austrian women's movement see the website "Frauen in Bewegung: 1848–1918, <http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/index.htm>.

³⁰ See e.g., Braun et al., eds. 1930 and Bader-Zaar 2015.

to become one of Fritz's closest friends. Ernestine von Fürth was also the leader of the Frauenstimmrechtskomitee (Committee for Women's Suffrage), active from 1906 to 1918, and jointly with Hertha Jäger and Clara Wittgenstein (1850–1935), one of Ludwig's sisters, a member in the Neuer Wiener Frauenclub. The umbrella organization of all the liberal women's associations, the Bund österreichischer Frauenvereine (BÖFV), was founded in 1902 and led by Marianne Hainisch until 1918.

Summing up, although the intelligentsia made up only a very small segment of the population, the Hayek family was well connected with many of the Vienna intellectual circles. The young Fritz must have experienced these circles as the natural environment of his education. He will also have become aware of some special features of his family's contacts with the sphere of academia. As his father's and other examples demonstrated, when forced to combine high scientific ambitions with the modest possibilities for earning a living in a job outside academia, life at the margin of the academic community could be precarious. Christine, Fritz's daughter, aptly characterized these tensions that shaped her youth as well as her father's as "High ideals and spartan living."³¹ Moreover, keeping in mind the threefold classification of Vienna's intellectual circles that Hayek put forward later in life (cf. Hayek 1994, 59), that is, between "purely Christian", "mixed", and "purely Jewish" groups, it should be noted that the Hayek family moved almost exclusively within "purely Christian" (i.e. "Aryan") circles – the ZBG was a case in point, where the few Jewish members remained almost invisible.

All these experiences formed Fritz's expectations when he entered the University of Vienna after his return from military service at the Isonzo front. Apparently, his experiences

³¹ Christine Hayek interviewed by Bruce Caldwell, May 20, 2013.

did not prevent him from entertaining ambitions for an academic career, much in the footsteps of his father, yet he would soon leave the narrow confines of his family's intellectual circles and benefit from becoming a member of various "mixed groups."³²

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³² See Caldwell and Klausinger 2022, chapters 8 and 9.

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